

## THE MISSAL OF KOTOR: A LITURGICAL MONUMENT OF MEDIEVAL DALMATIA<sup>1</sup>

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### *Abstract*

The Missal of Kotor has long been known to scholars specializing in Beneventan script. The designation of it comes from a brief notice in the Calendar for the feast of St. Tryphon, patron of the Kotor cathedral, and an illustration of a young man above which was much later written Tryphon's name.

Whether or not the manuscript was made for the cathedral of Kotor dedicated to St. Tryphon or elsewhere and then eventually taken to or used in the cathedral is the question addressed by this article.

**Key Words:** Beneventan script, Berlin, Dalmatia, Kotor, Missal, St. Tryphon, Benedictines, Martyrologium pulsanensis, decorative initials, illustrations, Exultet

**Ključne riječi:** beneventansko pismo, Berlin, Dalmacija, Kotor, Misal, sv. Tripun, benediktinci, Martyrologium pulsanensis, iluminirani inicijali, ilustracije, Exultet

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With the forthcoming publication of Richard F. Gyug's new edition and study of the Pontifical of Kotor<sup>2</sup> the attention of specialists in liturgical and Beneventan-script studies is again being drawn to Dalmatia and its relation to far distant regions of Europe — Normandy, England, Italy, and even Russia — and to the Slavic speaking regions of the Balkan peninsula. The pontifical itself has, naturally, texts proper to Kotor itself, to southern Italy, and even far away northern Europe.<sup>3</sup> There are, in addition, texts related to the Slavic population in southern Dalmatia, and thus, the pontifical's presence now in St. Petersburg Russia makes it, in a sense, a European union — although the Russian Federation is not a member but a partner in the present European Union.

So important were the texts of the pontifical to liturgical and historical scholars that its discovery delayed the monumental study and edition of liturgical conciliar *ordines* in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series by Herbert Schneider for several years until its importance could properly be digested.<sup>4</sup> But another liturgical monument of medieval Dalmatia can be found in a manuscript now in Berlin's Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, making it, as it were, a companion to the Pontifical of

<sup>2</sup> *Pontificale et lectionarium catarense: An Edition and Study of the Pontifical and Lectionary of Kotor* (St. Petersburg, Biblioteka Akademii Nauk, F. no. 200), *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto). This work came out of his doctoral dissertation written under my direction in the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto, 'An Edition of Leningrad Manuscript BAN f. 200: The Lectionary and Pontifical of Kotor' (Toronto, 1983). GYUG earlier published a study and edition of another important Dalmatian liturgical codex, *Missale Ragusinum: The Missal of Dubrovnik*, *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana I*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto 1990. This same missal appeared later in a facsimile edition and study by Miho DEMOVIĆ, *Beneventanski notirani misal dubrovačke katedrale iz XII. stoljeća/The 12<sup>th</sup> Century Beneventan Notated Missal of Dubrovnik Cathedral*, Dubrovnik 2011. This valuable study is marred, unfortunately, by attacks on scholars outside Croatia, including the 'Hungarian musicologist R. F. Gyug,' (p. 116), in reality a distinguished Canadian in the History Department of Fordham University. Liturgical volumes in the *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* series include those by another distinguished Croatian/American historian, Brother Charles Hilken, of St. Mary's College of California, also my former student in Toronto. Interest in Beneventan-script manuscripts of Dalmatia at the Pontifical Institute extends back some 40 years. Dr. Branka Pecarski, a student of Viktor Novak, was a visiting fellow for two years at the Pontifical Institute, where I obtained for her several stipendia for her stay there. She was followed by the Glagolitic specialist Dr. Marica Čunčić and by series of visits and lectures by Prof. dr. Stanislav Tuksar and Dr. Hana Breko Kustura. The late Virginia Brown and I began our search in Croatia for hitherto-unreported manuscripts in Beneventan script in the 1980s with the help of Prof. Stanislav Tuksar, Dr. Hana Breko Kustura, Dr. Joško Belamarić in Split, and the generous support of Dr. Ivan Picukarić, Consul, Consulate General of the Republic of Croatia in Toronto. [Dr. Picukarić, kindly arranged for lodging in Croatia for us, and presented me with cravats decorated with Croatian interlace and tiny baptismal fonts of Duke Višeslav — both of which I continue to wear proudly.] The rich harvest of newly reported manuscripts from Croatia can be found in the lists of manuscripts in Virginia BROWN, *Beneventan Discoveries: Collected Manuscript Catalogues, 1978—2008: Preface and comprehensive indexes* by Roger E. Reynolds, *Studies and Texts 179*; *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana 6*: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Roger E. REYNOLDS: The 'Isidorian' *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties, *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979), 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Ordines de Celebrando Concilio*, ed. H. Schneider, Hannover 1996, 66, 243, 393, 402.

Kotor. It is this companion that is the subject of this paper, the liturgical Missal of Kotor, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Ms. lat. fol. 920.

In his magisterial *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule* published a century ago (1914) E. A. Lowe did not discuss the missal. Where the manuscript was at that time is unsure, but the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin had obtained it by 1930 (Akz No. 1930 46) and assigned it the shelfmark Lat. Fol. 920.<sup>5</sup> Thereafter in his 'A New List of Beneventan Manuscripts,' *Collectanea Vaticana II* (Studi e Testi 220, Vatican 1962) Lowe counted it among the newly discovered manuscripts in Beneventan script. Since that time, the manuscript has often been mentioned briefly in a number of studies on other manuscripts in Beneventan script,<sup>6</sup> but there have been four more substantial studies of the manuscript.

The first of these was a long article by Sieghild Rehle,<sup>7</sup> in which she studied the calendar in the manuscript, presented a list of the Masses in the manuscript and a brief description of their location in the *Missale Romanum* and other manuscripts.

The second more substantial study of the manuscript was by Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (Oxford 1996), in which he examined in detail the text and music of the Exultet in the manuscript and compared it to the Exultet in three other Dalmatian manuscripts.<sup>8</sup>

The third substantial study of the manuscript is an unpublished seminar paper at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (PIMS, Toronto) by Wanda Zemler Cizewski with a short introduction and an extensive presentation of the complete text and *apparatus fontium* in the manuscript.<sup>9</sup>

A fourth substantial study is the recent doctoral thesis of Rozana Vojvoda, *Dalmatian Illustrated Manuscript written in Beneventan Script and Benedictine Scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik, and Trogir*, PhD. Thesis, Budapest, CEU, 2011.<sup>10</sup> In this she describes the provenance, date, codicology, liturgical structure, and especially the decoration of the manuscript.

The purpose of this current brief essay is to emphasize several of the unique features of the codex and comment especially on the question of origin.

<sup>5</sup> See Andreas FINGERNAGEL: Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften süd-, west- und nordeuropäischer Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin PK: 4. 12. Jahrhundert, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1999, 49.

<sup>6</sup> Many of these since 1990 are listed in the *Bibliografia dei manoscritti beneventani* under Manoscritto BEP — 920.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sieghild REHLE: *Missale Beneventanum* in Berlin, *Sacris erudiri*, 28 (1985), 469-510.

<sup>8</sup> In his magisterial Thomas F. KELLY: *The Beneventan Chant*, Cambridge University Press, 1989, he briefly mentions the Berlin manuscript, pp. 59, 132 n. 25, and 159.

<sup>9</sup> This study and edition does not, unfortunately, deal with the extensive musical notation in the manuscript.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. especially pp. 314-325.

It is no surprise that the manuscript has traditionally been called the Missal of Kotor, written in the twelfth century in Bari-type Beneventan script. Especially important for assigning the manuscript to Kotor have been several entries at the beginning of the manuscript. One of these on fol. 5v is a full page illustration with two arches under which stands a figure with a cross in his right hand. In a later Gothic hand is written under the left arch the words 'Santo Martir' and under the right arch 'Triphon glorioso.'

In her study of Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts Rozana Vojvoda offers a description of the colored arches and illustration.<sup>11</sup> There are several curious things about the illustration and its context. Fol. 4v has pointed arches on columns and 5r has two semi-circular arches on columns.

But these are quite unlike these on the following 5v under which the figure stands. One wonders why the difference, although the colors and other characteristics are similar to those in the prior calendric decorations — stylized foliage ornament and animal and human heads.

Were these arches and columns intended to surround something other than the standing figure? This individual is clad in vestments of the same color as the previous figures, and his young pink face, dark hair, and red/orange eyebrows resemble the human heads on previous folios, especially that on fol. 4r.

This would suggest that the illustrator of this figure was the same as that on the previous folios. But the most curious thing about our figure is that he seems to be misplaced, not standing in the middle of the columns and arches but placed as if floating up into the arches — as if an awkward and hurried afterthought on the part of the illustrator? Might it have been the illustrator's original intention to place another saint (St. Blais?) under St. Tryphon? In his right hand the figure carries a cross, not unusual in the early iconography of Tryphon, but also common for other saints. His left hand, palm open with five extended fingers, may be blessing of some sort, but it does not hold another traditional symbol of Tryphon such as a falcon or merlin, billhook, or lily. Finally, there are the Gothic words written later above the figure. Could the figure originally not have been recognized as Tryphon but at some point it was necessary to identify the figure as such?

Also helping to identify the manuscript as coming from Kotor is the insertion of name Tryphon in the calendar on fol. 1r. His name follows that of St. Blaise, both written in red letters next to February III Non.: Blasii mar. & S. Trifori m. If the manuscript were indeed intended for Kotor, one wonders why Tryphon would not have preceded Blaise, the patron of Kotor's rival city, Dubrovnik. Moreover, in the missal itself there seems to be no emphasis on either Blaise or Tryphon, something one would have expected in a missal from Kotor (or Dubrovnik). Indeed,

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Rozana VOJVODA: *Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts*, PhD. Thesis, CEU, Budapest, 2011, 321.

in the liturgical texts themselves there is the blessing of candles on the feast of the Purification of Mary and Mass (fol. 34r-36r), followed thereafter by Masses for Saints Agatha (fols. 36r-v) and Scholastica (fol. 36v).

There are no texts for Tryphon or Blaise. The unusual things about the figure under the arch and the calendric notation in the first quaternion as well as the lack of material regarding Tryphon in the liturgical texts leads one to wonder if the manuscript was originally intended for a church in the city of Kotor whose patron Tryphon was.

The feast of St. Scholastica (and later St. Benedict, fol. 39r), feasts universally known, suggests a connection with the Benedictines. And perhaps there is a connection with the Benedictines in the vicinity of Kotor, more precisely the peninsula of Prevlaka. In an article entitled 'Dalla Puglia alla Dalmazia: note sul Martirologio di S. Maria di Pulsano (XII secolo)'<sup>12</sup> Emanuela Elba points out the similarities of the decorative letters in the *Martyrologium pulsanensis* (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Neap. VIII C 13) and the Berlin decorative initials. She emphasizes the close relations between the Benedictines of Capitanata and the Benedictine abbey of San Michele de Tumba on the peninsula of Prevlaka.

Could it be that the Berlin manuscript was made for use there, not the cathedral of Kotor?

There is definitely a monastic flavor to the manuscript. In the *Exultet*, fol. 124v, there is the prayer for the pope, our bishop: 'necnon et abate nostro. Cum omni congregatione beatissime Marie semper virginis....' Who this abbot might be and what the congregation of the most blessed Virgin Mary is difficult to say.

Also on fol. 125r there is a prayer for 'imperatoris nostri et regem nostrum,' perhaps a reference to a Byzantine emperor and local ruler. Of course these references may have come from a copy of an *Exultet* used elsewhere.

Moreover, there were many monasteries dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Puglia and Dalmatia. Nonetheless, this reference does suggest a connection with Santa Maria di Pulsano, whose decorative initials in the Martyrology resemble those in the Berlin manuscript. Also, one must remember that the Berlin manuscript has texts for the Purification of Mary and well as a *Prephatio in sancte Marie* (fol. 142v) — and not Tryphon. Further, it is notable that the Benedictines from Pulsano became the feudal lords of the island of Mljet in 1151, having come from Montegargano, and that the Serbian Prince Desa, who had made a pilgrimage to Montegargano, built and donated to them the Church and Monastery of Saint Mary in the north-west end of the island.

Beyond this monastic reference in the *Exultet* the list of saints in the Calendar is filled with monastic saints:

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Emanuela ELBA: *Dalla Puglia alla Dalmazia: note sul Martirologio di S. Maria di Pulsano (XII secolo)*, in: Armando Gravina (ed.): *Proceedings of 27° Convegno Nazionale sulla Preistoria-Protostoria-Storia della Daunia*, San Severo 25-26 novembre 2006, San Severo 2007, 169-181.

## January:

- 8 — sancti Severini monachi
- 10 — Pauli primi heremite
- 15 — natale sancti Mauri abbati
- 17 — Antonii monachi et heremite
- 27 — sancte Paule et sancti Eustochii

## February:

- 7 — Austroberte virginis
- 10 — natale sci Scholasticae virginis
- 28 — octave sancti Benedicti

## March:

- 11 — Firmiani abbatis

## April:

- 23 — Adalberti martyris

## May:

- 14 — Bonifacii martyris

## October:

- 11 — Anastasie virginis
- 12 — Athanasii episcopi

## November:

- 11 — sancti Martini episcopi
- 18 — octave sancti Martini

Beyond these monastic figures there is a number of saints connected with southern Italy. For example, in the month of February alone there is Pantaleone (6 February) venerated at Ravello; St. Sabinus (9 February), venerated at Canosa; and Barbatus (19 February), whose relics were brought to Benevento in 1124. Then there is Austoberta (7 February) the first abbess of Pavilly venerated especially by the Normans.

In her study of the sources of the Mass sets in the Berlin manuscript Rehle noted that a large number matched those in the *Missale Romanum*, something not unusual in the Beneventan zone in the twelfth century. But in the margins of the Sunday Lenten Gospels references to alternative readings, also found in Benevento Bibl. Cap. 33, are noted in a later hand, likely showing a knowledge and perhaps use of south Italian sources — not unlike the Kotor pontifical. For example, on fol. 60r for II Dominica Berlin has Mt. 17.1-9, but in the margin is noted Io 4.5-42 (also

found in the Kotor Pontifical). For III Dominica, Berlin has Lc 11.14-28 but in the margin is Io. 8.12-20 (also found in the Kotor Pontifical). For IV Dominica Berlin has Io 6.1-14, but in the margin is Io 9.1-38 (also found in the Kotor Pontifical). And for V Dominica Berlin has Io 8.46-59 but in the margin is Io 11.1-46 (also found in the Kotor Pontifical).<sup>13</sup>

### *The Missal of Kotor?*

Despite the numerous connections of the Berlin manuscript with locations beyond Kotor itself, the manuscript is truly from Kotor.<sup>14</sup> On fol. 6r one can read under ultraviolet light an *ex libris* in a Gothic cursive 'Missale sancti Jacobi de Cath . . .'<sup>15</sup> But more significant are the numerous obits of Slavic names later entered into the Calendar: the family Dragonis prominent in Kotor and Perast, Desislava, Rade, Binoslava, Stane, Bratislava, Dobre, Pioslave, Grube, Radosta, Draga, Dome, and Desa.<sup>16</sup>

In short, while some questions remain as to the exact origin of the manuscript, the Missal of Kotor is an appropriate companion to the Pontifical of Kotor.

<sup>13</sup> I owe these observations to Richard F. Gyug, who spotted these barely legible marginalia.

<sup>14</sup> Recently Thomas Forrest Kelly has written me that there is little reason to believe that the Berlin manuscript was written in southern Italy. »The constellation of lectio cum cantico for Holy Week seems characteristic of Montecassino (see T. F. KELLY: *The Beneventan Chant*, p. 159), but the script is Bari-type. Where could those come together better than in Dalmatia?«

<sup>15</sup> I owe this observation to Wanda Cizewski.

<sup>16</sup> For these entries see R. VOJVODA: *Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 314. For Latin and Slavic lists of obits see REHLE: *Missale Beneventum in Berlin*, 470-473.



Figure 1: Missal of Kotor, Codex Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin- Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Ms. lat. fol. 920, fol. 5v (with permission)



*Sažetak*

## MISAL IZ KOTORA: LITURGIJSKI SPOMENIK SREDNJOVJEKOVNE DALMACIJE

Kotorski je misal već dugo poznat znanstvenicima koji se bave beneventanskim pismom. Njegova atribucija »koterski« potječe iz rubrike u kalendaru misala u kojem se spominje blagdan sv. Tripuna, zaštitnika katedrale u Kotoru, kao i od ilustracije u kodeksu na kojem je prikaz mladića iznad čije glave je kasnije dopisano ime sv. Tripuna.

Autor se u ovom radu bavi argumentacijom provenijencije kodeksa Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Ms. lat. fol. 920, postavljajući temeljno pitanje: je li ovaj kodeks doista napisan za uporabu u katedrali u Kotoru, ili je pak bio naručen za neki drugi lokalitet i tek naknadno donesen u Kotor?