

**DECORATED INITIALS OF THE TROGIR EPISTOLARY — BENEVENTAN
VS. »NON-BENEVENTAN« PROTOTYPES**

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Analyses of the late thirteenth/fourteenth century Trogir Epistolary decorated initials and the comparison with two thirteenth century Evangelistaries kept today in Trogir and written in the Beneventan script reveal continuity of usage of initials typical for eleventh century Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script. These are geometric initials composed from rectangular upper forms divided into compartments and placed on slender vertical shafts, and ornamental initials composed from the typical Beneventan repertory of forms such as interlacing pattern, pearl ornament and ornamental animal heads.

The Trogir Epistolary also contains archaic initials with human and animal depictions that derive from the Beneventan tradition.

Possible prototypes for these initials from manuscripts written in Carolingian script are suggested as well as one of the possible explanations of the conservative features of its decoration.

Key words: Beneventan script, Trogir, Epistolary, Evangelistary, decorated initials

Ključne riječi: beneventansko pismo, Trogir, Epistolar, Evandelistar, iluminirani inicijali

Introduction

Trogir is the only town in Dalmatia that still keeps illuminated thirteenth/early fourteenth century codices written in the Beneventan script, the Mediaeval minuscule script used exclusively in southern Italy and Dalmatia.¹ The

¹ Many Dalmatian codices written in Beneventan script are kept today in libraries and collections outside Croatia: e.g. Zadar codices from the eleventh and early twelfth century are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, MS. Bibl. Lat. 61), Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Evangelistary from 1259 is presently on display at the Museum of Sacred Art in Trogir while the Evangelistary from the late thirteenth century and the thirteenth-fourteenth century Epistolary are preserved at the Treasury of the Cathedral of St. Lawrence.²

Although the three manuscripts written in Beneventan script were produced within a similar time frame, two of them — the luxuriantly decorated Evangelistary and Epistolary — most probably originated in Trogir,³ their pictorial decoration differs substantially. It is not possible to talk about a homogenous group or the same workshop, which is the case for some other Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script e.g. the eleventh century Zadar codices preserved in different collections outside Croatia.⁴

However, there are similarities as far as the typology of the initials is concerned. All three manuscripts employ Beneventan initial types that betray the conservative features in their decoration.

The decorated initials of the Trogir Epistolary are done in brown ink and show the hand of skilful illuminator.

Scribe »A« of the Trogir Epistolary, who wrote the most calligraphic Beneventan script from 1r-65r⁵, may be responsible for the decoration since it disappears from the manuscript after he stopped working on it.⁶ The initials can

(K. 394), Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Ms. Lat. Qu. 278); the Dubrovnik Missal, the so-called *Missale Ragusinum* is also kept today in the Bodleian Library (MS. Canon. Liturg. 342), Osor Evangelistary in the Vatican Library (MS. Borg. Lat. 339). For Bibliography about codices stored in Trogir, see: Rozana VOJVODA: *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts written in Beneventan script and Benedictine scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir*, PhD dissertation, Central European University, Budapest 2011. (available at <http://www.etd.ceu.hu/2011/mphvor01.pdf>), 174-176 and in: Emanuela ELBA: *Miniatura in Dalmazia. I codici in beneventana (XI-XIII secolo)*, Congedo, Galatina 2011, 192, 201, 207.

² Virginia Brown proposed a thirteenth-fourteenth century date for the Epistolary since it exhibits a distinctive codicological feature: on each leaf, the text begins below the top ruled line, a practice found in many fourteenth-century manuscripts. Virginia BROWN: »Epistolary« in *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June — 4th November, Edizioni Multigraf, Venice 2001, 174, 175.

³ In my opinion, this Evangelistary from 1259 is of Split origin. See Rozana VOJVODA: *Evangelistar pisan beneventanom iz 1259. godine: analiza sanktorala i slikanog ukrasa te argumenti za moguće splitsko porijeklo rukopisa* (Evangelistary written in Beneventan script: the analyses of the sanctoral and painted decoration and the arguments for the Split origin of the manuscript), in: J. Belamarić — B. Lučin — M. Trogrlić — J. Vrandečić (eds.): *Splitska hagiografska baština: povijest, legenda, tekst*, Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog u Splitu od 26. do 27. rujna 2011. (Split hagiographic heritage: history, legend, text. Proceedings from the international scientific conference held in Split from September 26th — 27th, 2011), Književni krug Split, Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu, Split 2014, 335-352.

⁴ See footnote 1.

⁵ Among three Beneventan scribes who worked on the Epistolary, Scribe A wrote fols. 1r-65r, while Scribe B and Scribe C are responsible for fols. 65v-68v and 69r-78v, respectively. On fol. 79r (toward the end of the tenth quaternion) the text continues, without interruption, in Gothic script to the final epistle on fol. 107r. Virginia BROWN: »Epistolary« in *Tesori della Croazia*, 174, 175.

⁶ Spaces were left for the initials in the following two quaternions written by different scribes. However, they were never executed. The Gothic part of the codex was meant to be accompanied by initials because there are empty spaces left in the text and tiny letters indicating which initial was to be drawn later in the space.

be divided into several types: initials with human and animal depictions (animals represented in full figures); ornamental initials conceived from a typical Beneventan repertoire of forms (interlacing, pearl ornament, bird heads); and geometric initials and initials decorated with voluminous stylized foliage leaves. As the initials open the beginning of the epistles or the Old Testament readings throughout the liturgical year, the most common letters are »F« for »fratres«, »I« for »In diebus illis«, »K« for »Karissimi« and »H« for »Haec dicit«.⁷

The analyses of the decorated initials of the Trogir Epistolary, which is the main topic of this article,⁸ aim to identify conservative features in comparison with the two other codices already mentioned and to explore their art historical context with special focus on Dalmatia.

Initials with Human Figures and Zoomorphic Initials of the Trogir Epistolary — the Visual Parallels with Special Emphasis on the Dalmatian Context

The most elaborate initials in the Trogir Epistolary are initials with human figures and zoomorphic initials. These initials have no parallels in contemporary initials in manuscripts written in Gothic script, which is even more strange if we take into consideration that the content of the manuscript continues without interruption from the Beneventan to the Gothic (from fol. 79r — 107r), which presupposes a workshop where both Beneventan and Gothic scripts were used interchangeably. There is an obvious difference if we compare the initials with human figures⁹ in the Trogir Epistolary with the figures from the free minia-

⁷ The initials »R«, »L«, »P«, and »Q« are each used once in the manuscript.

⁸ The article is related to the chapter on Trogir in Rozana VOJVODA: *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts written in Beneventan script and Benedictine scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir*, PhD dissertation, 174-219.

⁹ Initials with human depictions: fol. 2v, »I« (approx. 6.5 lines of text); Figure with a beard wearing a tunic points to the text. The illuminator made a mistake in the depiction of the legs: the left foot is drawn in the wrong direction so that the biggest toe is again pointing to a line »et dicens«, while it should be the smallest one. The relationship with the text identifies the figure as the prophet Isaiah; fol. 28v, »I« (6 lines of text and 3.5 lines of marginal space); The letter consists of two parts: a plant ornament in the upper part and a human figure. His left hand is already entangled by the ornament and with his right hand he is pulling the longest sprout of the plant ornament. The figure looks up in quarter-profile position and his body bends as he struggles with the ornament or simply climbs the structure of the letter. The figure is youthful and the hair falls down to his neck. Since it accompanies the text for Palm Sunday, there is a possibility that the figure represents a boy climbing a tree, an iconographical motif present in the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem; fol. 52v- »F« (5 lines of the text and 6 lines of marginal space), the letter is composed of the drawn structure of letter »F« adorned with plant ornament. A human figure dressed in the same short tunic as the character on fol. 28v and probably also barefooted (although the parchment is cut and only the beginning of the left leg's heel is visible) is set completely in the marginal space and is climbing the letter. The head of the youthful figure is depicted in profile; he looks up and wears a hat with a wide brim and two stripes on it. The upper part of the body is depicted in three-quarter position, the right hand grabs the stem of the letter and the left one the tail of the plant ornament while the lower part of the body is depicted almost frontally. In the depiction of the right hand grabbing the stem of the letter, the line of the letter

tures¹⁰ and »I«-initials of the luxuriant Trogir Evangelistary with their pronounced Byzantine features. Human figures from the initials of the Epistolary are unmistakably western, both in their facial types and in their clothing.

However, similarly to the figures from the Trogir Evangelistary, which was thought to be an eleventh century product by the first scholars, the initials with human figures in the Epistolary also reveal conservative features.

Some of the closest parallels are with initials in eleventh century manuscripts; initials containing youthful male figures on fol. 28v and fol. 52 v climbing the trunk of the letter substantially resemble the figures in initial »F« in fol. 9r in an early eleventh century Ottonian manuscript preserved in fragments and attributed to Nivardus of Milan.¹¹ (Figures 1, 2, 3)¹²

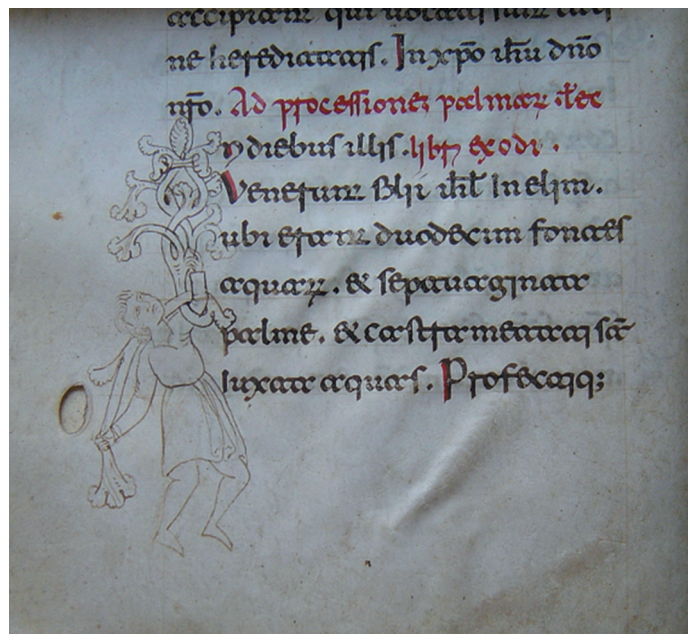


Figure 1: Treasury of St. Lawrence Cathedral in Trogir, Epistolary, 13th/14th Century, fol. 28v

is visible below the figure's hand, which means that the drawing grew from the top to the bottom, the depiction of the figure was final and that the drawing was possibly meant for colouring.

¹⁰ I am using the term 'free miniatures', because the miniatures in question do not contain or form initials that open the text.

¹¹ Jean Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. Ludwig V 1, fol. 9, attributed to Nivardus of Milan, illuminator (Italian, active about 1000 - about 1025), *Decorated Initial D*, first quarter of the 11th century, tempera colours, gold, silver, and ink on parchment, Leaf: 23.2 x 17.9 cm (9 1/8 x 7 1/16 in.), available at <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=1578> (last accessed 23.6.2014., 2:24 pm)

¹² Figures 1-7 are published with permission.



Figure 2: Treasury of St. Lawrence Cathedral in Trogir, Epistolary, 13th/14th Century, fol. 52 v



Figure 3: J.P. Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Ms. Ludwig V 1, 11th century, fol. 9r, decorated initial D

It can also be added that the figures climbing the trunk of the letter are widespread in eleventh century initials.¹³

Zoomorphic initials¹⁴ are entangled in quite naturalistic and exuberant foliage forms with tri-partite ends while the usual features of the Beneventan ornaments, such as interlacing pattern or pearl ornament, are rarely used.

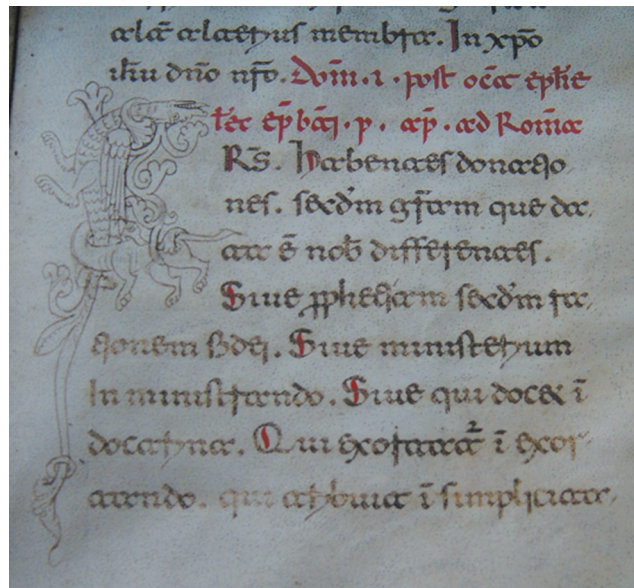


Figure 4: Treasury of St. Lawrence Cathedral in Trogir, Epistolary, 13th/14th Century, fol. 16r

¹³ See the initial »I« of the early eleventh century Pericope Book reproduced in J. J. G. ALEXANDER: *The Decorated Letter*, Thames and Hudson, London 1978, plate 14. They may represent, in the words of J. J. Alexander, the »soul's upward journey« but they might just as well simply be »a product of the artist's fantasy and humour«. J. J. G. ALEXANDER: *The Decorated Letter*, 66.

¹⁴ Fol. 12r — »I« (11 lines of text); The initial represents a snake formed by interlacing pattern with pearl ornament, the letter ends on both sides with trefoil plant ornament, the head with a slightly hooked beak bites the lace of the letter. Fol. 16r — »F« (10 lines of text), the body of the skilfully drawn dragon is distorted to create the shape of the letter. The body of the dragon, covered with scales and winged, ends in a plant ornament with a ring on it. In the lower part of the dragon's body, there is a depiction of an animal resembling a dog forming the lower part of the letter »f« and biting its own body. Animal motifs are connected with a plant ornament, which is entangled around the dragon's neck and around the rear of the other animal. Fol. 20r — »F« (10. 5 lines of text), the letter is formed by the animal body in profile and its tail, while stretched legs form the lower part of the letter. The depiction has a somewhat heraldic character. The right side of the initial contains a naturalistically depicted plant ornament, which entangles the animal (similarity with the dragon initial). Fol. 32v — I (9 lines of text), this is the most unusual beast in the whole manuscript, the beast represents the initial »I«. It has two heads, the left one is bound down with open dog-jaws, longish ears and hair represented by thin pen strokes on the long bended neck, the other head bites its own body, the head resembles the left one, only the ears are slightly more pointed. The body of the animal is slightly curved, one wing is visible (similar to the dragon depiction). Two front legs are stretched

Although a repertoire of fantastic animals exists in Dalmatian eleventh century manuscripts written in the Beneventan script,¹⁵ fantastic animals in the Epistolary, such as a skilfully drawn dragon are distorted to create the shape of the letter and the stylized dog biting its own body (fol. 16r-**Figure 4**).

A three-headed beast (fol. 32r) and others can more convincingly be compared with the general Romanesque repertoire of forms, found in stone plastic and manuscripts written in the »non-Beneventan« script.

In her article on the decoration of codices written in Beneventan script and her book on miniatures in Dalmatia, Emanuela Elba has argued that the initials in the Epistolary with exuberant plant forms and zoomorphic initials with elegant snakes and dragons showed influences from Norman art transmitted from Apulia to Dalmatia and replaced the assimilation of traditional Beneventan repertoire of forms.¹⁶ Elba's proposal that Norman art exerted an influence via Southern Italy is extremely interesting. This is a topic that has never been touched upon in Croatian scholarship and deserves special attention.¹⁷ Although Elba does not explain the mediation of Norman influence to Dalmatia — it is not clear whether she proposes that the influence came through Norman liturgical books that arrived in Dalmatia from Apulia, or via Apulian manuscripts written in Beneventan script influenced by Norman practices, or both — she argues that the interaction between Apulia and Dalmatia, evident in the eleventh century, continued in the twelfth century as well. Elba convincingly demonstrated her thesis in her study of the Martirology of St Mary of Pulsano and its illumination, which she compares to the twelfth century Kotor Missale preserved in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.¹⁸ In my opinion, however, the parallels are less evident with the Trogir Epistolary, which is a late thirteenth century manuscript. Giulia Orofino has shown that the Norman influence on the illumination of Apulian manuscripts written in

and parallel in the middle of the body. The lower part of the animal body is very unusual, it is drawn *en face*, in the places where we would expect legs, there are two tail-like structures; one is longer and goes in the marginal space and one is shorter and ends with an animal head (a hooked beak) biting the other and a pointed leaf. Fol. 34v — »I« (4 lines of text and 5 lines in the marginal space), the letter is composed of the plant ornament created by the depiction of a snake and plant ornament sprouts; the empty space in between is filled with brown ink and pearl ornament.

¹⁵ Manuscript K. 394, of Zadar origin, kept at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest.

¹⁶ Apart from the influence of the Normans, she proposed Venetian influence based on a parallel to the figure climbing the letter in fol. 52v of the Epistolary and an initial in fol. 143r in the third volume of the *Legendary* in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, (Cod.lat. IX-28 (2798)). Cf. Emanuela ELBA: La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo, *Segno e testo*, 4 (2006), 137-139, Table 15 a-d, table 16 a-b. Cf. also Emanuela ELBA: *Miniatura in Dalmazia. I codici in beneventana (XI-XIII secolo)*, Congedo, Galatina 2011, 100-109, 183-194.

¹⁷ For the influence of Norman art on Apulian manuscripts written in Beneventan script, see Giulia OROFINO: La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi in beneventana della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, in G. Vitolo and F. Mottola (Eds.): *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Cava 1991, 457-488.

¹⁸ Cf. Emanuela ELBA: Dalla Puglia alla Dalmazia: note sul Martirologio di S. Maria di Pulsano (XII secolo), in: Armando Gravina (ed.): *Atti del 27 Convegno sulla Preistoria-Protostoria e Storia della Daunia*, San Severo 2007, 169-181.

Beneventan script is found only in a few late eleventh/twelfth century manuscripts¹⁹ and none of these can convincingly be compared to the Trogir Epistolary. Richard F. Gyug's liturgical studies clearly indicate that there was Norman influence on liturgical practice in Dalmatia.²⁰

However, there is also evidence — although incomplete because of the fragmentary state of the manuscript — that the illuminations in Dalmatian manuscripts written in the Beneventan script do not necessarily reveal Norman influences, even if these are evident in the text. Twelfth century illuminated fragments kept at the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik (MS 52310/230/7,8) containing *ordo* for the dedication of a church reveal standard Beneventan features resembling Zadar eleventh century illumination, although their texts show the influence of Norman liturgical practice.²¹

In my opinion, as there is no proper comparative material in Dalmatia as far as the manuscripts are concerned to confirm this proposed Norman influence on the illumination of the Trogir Epistolary, it cannot be stated with certainty that non-Beneventan forms in the Trogir Epistolary were influenced by Norman illumination practices that came by way of Apulia. They could also have been influenced by »non-Beneventan« manuscripts from Dalmatia (not necessarily of Dalmatian origin).

As the Epistolary was most probably created to be a liturgical complement to the Trogir Evangelistary with free miniatures composed according to ancient prototypes,²² I believe that the choice of initials in the Epistolary could not have

¹⁹ MS. Neap. VI AA 3 (the last decades of the eleventh century), MS Neap. VIII B 5 (the second half of the twelfth century), Neap. VIII C 13 (the twelfth century). Cf. Giulia OROFINO: *La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi in beneventana della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, 457-488.

²⁰ Richard Francis GYUG: *An Edition of Leningrad, B. A. N., F. No. 200: The Lectionary and Pontifical of Kotor*. Diss., Toronto 1983. Cf. Richard Francis GYUG: Tropes and Prosulas in Dalmatian Sources of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, in: Claudio Leonardi e Enrico Menesto (eds.): *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*. Atti dei convegni sui tropi liturgici Parigi (15-19 ottobre 1985) — Perugia (2-5 settembre 1987) organizzati dal *Corpus Troporum* sotto l'egida dell' *European Science Foundation*, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1990 (Biblioteca del »Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia«, 3), 409-438. Richard Francis GYUG: Innovation, Adaptation and Preservation: The Genealogies of Christ in the Liturgy of Medieval Dalmatia, in: Stanislav Tuksar (ed.), *Zagreb 1094-1994. Zagreb i hrvatske zemlje kao most između srednjoeuropskih i mediteranskih glazbenih kultura / Zagreb and Croatian Lands as a Bridge between Central-European and Mediterranean Musical Cultures*, Radovi s međunarodnog muzikološkog skupa održanog u Zagrebu, Hrvatska, 28. 09. — 1.10. 1994. / Proceedings of the International musicological symposium held in Zagreb, Croatia, on September 28-October 1, 1994, Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, Zagreb 1998, 35-55. Cf. Richard Francis GYUG: From Beneventan to Gothic: Continuity and Change in Southern Italian Liturgical Ceremonies, in: F. T. Coulson and A. A. Grotans (eds.): *Classica et Beneventana: Essays presented to Virginia Brown on the occasion of her 65th Birthday*, Brepols, Turnhout 2008, 293-310.

²¹ Cf. R. GYUG: From Beneventan to Gothic: Continuity and Change in southern Italian Liturgical Ceremonies, 301, note 40.

²² Virginia Brown has suggested that the principal scribe of the luxurious Trogir Evangelistary is very similar to Scribe »A« of the Trogir Epistolary, who wrote from 1r-65r and used the most calligraphic Beneventan script. She stated that many paleographical similarities between the scripts

been random. The illuminator had probably consulted different manuscripts; those written in Beneventan script along with those written in different script, in my opinion, Carolingian script for »non-Beneventan« initials.

I have found a parallel to the initials in the Trogir Epistolary in the initials of the late eleventh / twelfth century Evangelistary kept today in the Treasury of Split Cathedral (MS 625 C) and written in Carolingian script. These parallels are »I-initials« with human depictions in fols. 6v and 7r. (Figures 5, 6)



Figure 5: The Chapter Archive Split, Evangelistary, MS 625 C, fol. 6v

The initial on fol. 6v of the Evangelistary (MS 625 C) accompanying the reading for the Feast of the Holy Innocents represents a naked child partly visible behind the shaft of the letter »I« and hugging it. Although it lacks the plasticity and movement of the thirteenth century initial with a human depiction in fol. 28v of the Epistolary, the boy's head looking upwards curiously enough all three human depictions in the Trogir Epistolary are shown looking upwards — with its stylized curly hair and the relationship between the body of the letter and the figure itself is what connects them.

of the two scribes suggest, at the very least, someone trained in the same tradition who was writing later and on a larger scale. Due to the similarities in the liturgical structure of the manuscripts she has suggested that the Epistolary had possibly been compiled to complement the Evangelistary. Cf. Virginia BROWN: »Epistolary« in *Tesori della Croazia*, 2001, 174-175.



Figure 6: The Chapter Archive Split, Evangelistary, MS 625 C, fol. 7r

A similar comparison can be made with the initial on fol. 7r of the Evangelistary. The zoomorphic initials of the Evangelistary with realistic portraits of rabbits, lizards and other creatures are substantially different from the repertoire of the Epistolary. The decorated initials with human depictions in the Evangelistary, however, represent one of the possible models for the artist of the Trogir Epistolary.

The link between the Trogir Epistolary and the Split Evangelistary and the possibility that the artist of the Epistolary consulted the Evangelistary, amongst other non-Beneventan codices, is strengthened by their richly decorated late thirteenth century silver covers, which were probably executed by the same master.²³

²³ For the complete analyses of the silver covers as well as the bibliography on the subject see Rozana VOJVODA: *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts written in Beneventan script and Benedictine scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir*, PhD dissertation, 211-219.

As the studies by Caterina Tristano, Francis Newton and Roger Reynolds show,²⁴ the usage of Carolingian script was not impossible in an environment with predominant usage of Beneventan script. In Dalmatia there are also examples of interaction between Beneventan and Carolingian script and accompanying illumination. A typical Beneventan initial may be found in the eleventh century Rule of St Benedict written in Carolingian script and kept at the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik. Beneventan initials accompany the Carolingian script in the eleventh century Cod. Lat. 329 preserved in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest²⁵ and the twelfth / thirteenth century Cartulary of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter near Omiš, written mostly in Carolingian script with Beneventan additions.²⁶

In my opinion, the interaction between Beneventan and Carolingian script in the eleventh/twelfth century in Dalmatia demands a revision.

Geometric and Ornamental Initials in the Trogir Epistolary — the Usage of Old Prototypes

Decoration of the 1259 Evangelistary, the luxuriantly decorated Evangelistary and the Epistolary contain typical geometric Beneventan initials — rectangular upper forms divided into compartments and filled with interlace pattern and pearl ornament, oblique at the lower end placed on slender vertical shafts. In a simpler form, this type of initial was introduced into Dalmatian illumination as early as in the first half of the eleventh century.²⁷ It was used sporadically in the manuscript K. 394, the so-called Vekenega's »Book of Hours«²⁸ from the end of eleventh century and in its elaborate form — with or without the anthropomorphic or zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists on the top of the initial — became the characteristic

²⁴ Cf. Francis NEWTON: One Scriptorium, Two Scripts: Beneventan, Caroline, and the Problem of Marston 112, in: *Beinecke Studies in Early Manuscripts*, Yale University Library Gazette, *Supplementary* 66 (1991), 118-133; Roger E. REYNOLDS: Odilo and the *Treuga Dei* in Southern Italy: A Beneventan Manuscript Fragment, *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), 450-462 on Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Tom. XVIII; Roger REYNOLDS: Apocalypses New: The Recently Discovered Beneventan Illustrated Beatus in Geneva in its South Italian Context, *Peregrinations*, 3 (2012) 4, 1-44; Caterina TRISTANO: Scrittura beneventana et scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale, *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 3 (1979), 89-150.

²⁵ I am presently working on a detailed study of the manuscript, which I think is of Zadar origin. For the bibliography of the manuscript see Elias Avery LOEW: *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia BROWN, 2 vols., *Sussidi Eruditi* 33, 34, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 1980, vol. 2: 27.

²⁶ For the facsimile of the manuscripts and accompanying study see Viktor NOVAK — Petar SKOK: *Supetarški kartular*, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb 1952.

²⁷ State Archive in Zadar: St Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, shelf mark: Misc. 182, 1.

²⁸ Hungarian Academy of Sciences: *Horarium*, K. 394, initials of this type are found on 5r, 19v, 44r.

type of initials for Dalmatian evangelistaries from the end of eleventh century (Osor's Evangelistary, Vekenega's Evangelistary).²⁹

In the Evangelistary from 1259 and the Epistolary, the usage of this type of initial is rare and exceptional, while they are the most common initials in the manuscript in the luxuriantly decorated Evangelistary. The Epistolary has only one typical Beneventan initial of the kind found in Dalmatian eleventh century evangelistaries, located in fol. 45v. It is actually very similar to this type of initial found in the Evangelistary from the year 1259 and the different and more modest impression of the Epistolary »I-initial« is due to its lack of colour.

Two geometric initials³⁰ in the Evangelistary from 1259 are connected to the typology of initials in the Zadar eleventh century manuscript MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61, the so-called Vekenega's Evangelistary, where Beneventan »I-initials« sometimes comprise the length of the whole column of the text (e.g. fol. 32v, 34v, 44r). The thirteenth century date of the 1259 Evangelistary is recognizable in those initials made as a variant of the traditional Beneventan type of »I-initial«, with the upper part of the initial not outlined by a rectangular form but composed either of a stylized foliage form, intersecting lines or a dense interlacing ornament (ff 85r, 124r, 107v). They actually represent a mixture between geometric initials and those composed of the interlace pattern. The link with the traditional type is visible in the slender vertical shaft upon which the upper part of the initial is placed. The same hybrid type of initials can be found in the decoration of the Epistolary: three »I-initials« placed in fols. 34r, 36v and 49r are later variants of the Beneventan rectangular type of initials and closely resemble the initials in the 1259 Evangelistary. The initial on fol. 34v of the Epistolary typologically resembles the »I-initial« in fol. 124r and the initial in fol. 36v of the Epistolary resembles the »I-initial« in fol. 107v of the Evangelistary from 1259.

This hybrid type of initial, a geometric initial with a hollow upper shaft filled with stylized foliage, appears in another thirteenth century manuscript written in Beneventan script preserved in fragments in the Rab Parish Office and at the National University Library in Zagreb (NSK, R 4106).³¹

The luxuriant Trogir Evangelistary reveals variations in the form of the Beneventan »I-initials«. The »I-initials« of the Trogir Evangelistary have the usual elongated vertical stem of the Beneventan »I-initials« but are much shorter. The

²⁹ Cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library: MS. Canon. Bibl. 61 (Vekenega's Evangelistary), Vatican: Vatican Library: MS. Borg. Lat. 339 (Osor's Evangelistary).

³⁰ Cf. folios 70r, 76r.

³¹ The initials appear on two fragments preserved in the Rab Parish office; one measuring 120 x 250 cm (recto: Matthew 2:1-4, verso Matthew 2: 4-9) and the other 177 x 89 cm (recto Matthew 2: 9-11, verso Matthew 2: 12, Luke 19: 1-3). Cf. bibliography on Rab fragments in: Rozana VOJVODA: *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts written in Beneventan script and Benedictine scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir*, PhD dissertation, 300; Emanuela ELBA: *Miniatura in Dalmazia. I codici in beneventana (XI-XIII secolo)*, 233, 242-243.

large number of »I-initials« divided on three panels has one of the panels filled with different nuances of a single colour decorated with horizontal lines and y-forms. The interlacing pattern executed in bright colours and filled with a pearl ornament is omitted and there is a gold-leaf filling that makes a different impression. It is heavier and more »solemn«, especially when combined with the use of small rectangular panels filled with gold-leaf on which the incipit (*In ill(o) te(m)pore*) in blue letters is placed. These panels are not found in Dalmatian and Apulian evangelistaries but only in Desiderian eleventh century Monte Cassino manuscripts.³²

Unlike the Epistolary with only one and the 1259 Trogir Evangelistary with only two traditional geometric initials — the most numerous initials in the Trogir Evangelistary are simple Gothic calligraphic red initials — the luxuriantly decorated Trogir Evangelistary has over one hundred and twenty such initials that appear on almost every page.

This means that not only the typology but also the function of the traditional Beneventan geometric »I-initials« in eleventh century Dalmatian evangelistaries is respected.

As I have already pointed out in my previous research,³³ I am convinced that the illuminator of the Trogir Evangelistary, among other prototypes, also used some from the eleventh century Evangelistary written in Beneventan script and that he was instructed to do so. I do not think it is possible to explain the careful copying of the system of decoration as expressions of ignorance or isolation. In my opinion, the act of faithful copying of an old exemplar served to testify to a long-term tradition.

The most common initials in the Trogir Epistolary are ornamental initials: »F« initials and »I« initials are mostly conceived from typical elements of the Beneventan form repertoire (an interlacing ornament, a pearl ornament, ornamental animal heads), while the creation of »H« and »K« initials relies largely on a repertoire of quite naturalistic foliage forms.³⁴ (Figure 7)

³² Compare the illustrations in S. ADACHER, Giulia OROFINO (eds.): *L'eta' dell'abate Desiderio. Manoscritti Cassinesi del secolo XI*, Catalogue of the exhibition, Abbazia di Montecassino, Università degli studi di Cassino, Montecassino 1989, Tables II-XXXI.

³³ Rozana VOJVODA: *Iluminacija trogirskog Evandelistara — raskoš i konzervativnost dalmatinskog sitnoslikarstva benediktinske tradicije* (Illumination of the Trogir Evangelistary. Luxury and Conservative Practice of Dalmatian Illumination in the Benedictine Tradition) in: N. Budak (ed.): *Raukarov zbornik*, FF Press, Zagreb, 2005, 187-208.

³⁴ Initials composed from interlacing pattern and adorned with heads of fantastic animals: »F«-initials-fols. 1r-2x, 4v, 10v, 14r, 15v, 17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 22r, 23v, 24v, 25v, 26r, 27r, 28r, 29v, 30r, 31v, 32r, 40v, 41r, 42r, 50v, 52r, 54r, 54v, 55v, 56r, 57r, 57v, 58r, 59r, 60r, 61r, 62r, 62v; »K«-initials fols. 37r, 40v, 41r, 44r, 50v; »L«-fol. 5v, »Q«-fol. 13r, »R«-fol. 4v. Ornamental initials adorned with stylized foliage forms and reduced interlacing pattern: »H«-initials: fols. 4r, 8v, 9r, 10r, 14v, 48v, 62v, 49v, 62v, »K«-initials: fols. 9r, 10r, 38v, 39r, 39v. »F«-initials: 3v, 53r, »I«-fols. 3r, 33r, 47r, »L«-fol. 5v, »P«-fol. 42v.

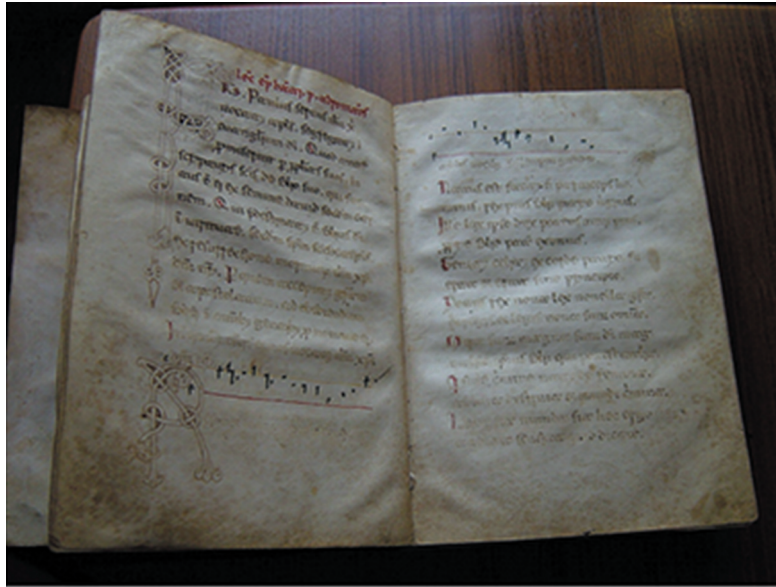


Figure 7: Treasury of St. Lawrence Cathedral in Trogir, Epistolary, 13th/14th Century, fol. 4v, 5r

Those initials predominantly made of interlace pattern have their typological counterparts in the repertoire of eleventh century initials of Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script.³⁵

»F«-initials, most numerous in the manuscript, elongated and rather austere in appearance, sometimes display unusual features that connect them to the practice of eleventh century scriptoria. The connecting of the same two initials on the opening page of the Trogir Epistolary is the same feature we find in eleventh century Zadar manuscripts.³⁶ Despite the »worn out« repertoire of Beneventan motifs, these letters never repeat themselves and it is impossible to find two letters that are completely the same anywhere in the whole manuscript.

These initials resemble the ornamental initials in the Evangelistary from 1259³⁷ despite the lack of colour and greater skill of the illuminator of the Trogir Epistolary. What connects them is the frequent introduction of three-partite foliage leaves at the ends of the laces, a feature absent from the eleventh century initials that signals their thirteenth century date.

³⁵ K. 394, *Horarium*, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

³⁶ K. 394, *Horarium*, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, fol. 10r (two letters »P«).

³⁷ Fols. 1v-»I«, fol. 1v-»A«, 6v- »C«, 11r-»I«, 45v-»I«, 54v-»I«, 75v-»V«, 118r-»F«.

Conclusion

The system of illumination found in the Trogir Epistolary shows that the initials displaying traditional Beneventan forms are the most numerous in the manuscript, as in the decoration of the luxuriant Trogir Evangelistary. These initials are mostly conceived from typical elements of the Beneventan form repertoire (an interlacing ornament, a pearl ornament, ornamental animal heads) and have their counterparts in the repertoire of eleventh century initials of Dalmatian manuscripts written in the Beneventan script.

Geometric initials, composed of rectangular upper forms divided into compartments and placed on slender vertical shafts, typical for Dalmatian evangelistaries written in Beneventan script in the eleventh century, also appear in the manuscript. The Trogir Epistolary as well as the 1259 Evangelistary contain initials made as a variant of the traditional Beneventan type of »I-initial«, with the upper part of the initial not outlined by a rectangular form but composed either of a stylized foliage form, intersecting lines or a dense interlacing ornament. They actually represent a mixture between geometric initials and those composed of interlace pattern.

However, the most sophisticated and most elaborate initials in the Epistolary are those with human depictions and zoomorphic initials that display a distinctive »non-Beneventan« character. This differs from the decoration of the luxuriant Trogir Evangelistary and the Evangelistary of 1259, where the most elaborate decorated initials in the manuscript are of Beneventan type.

These skilful initials of the Epistolary, particularly those with human depictions, are quite archaic and have more resemblance to the initials found in eleventh and early twelfth century manuscripts written in Carolingian script than to contemporary initials in manuscripts written in Gothic script.

As the Epistolary was most probably created as a liturgical complement to the Trogir Evangelistary with free miniatures, composed according to ancient prototypes, I believe that the choice of initials in the Epistolary could not have been random.

The illuminator had probably consulted different manuscripts; those written in Beneventan script along with those written in a different script — Carolingian script, in my opinion — for the »non-Beneventan« initials.

Whether the illuminator copied the older manuscript to testify to the rich tradition of the environment where the codex was created, as was the case with the Trogir Evangelistary, or because he was using archaic prototypes for practical reasons (after all, the Epistolary as a genre was very archaic in the thirteenth century) remains an open question.

*Sažetak*ILUMINIRANI INICIJALI TROGIRSKOG EPISTOLARA — BENEVENTANSKI
NASUPROT »NEBENEVENTANSKOM« PROTOTIPU

Epistolar iz kasnog trinaestog (ili početka četrnaestoga stoljeća) jedan je od tri kodeksa pisana beneventanom koji se čuvaju u Trogiru. U tu skupinu spada još i raskošno iluminirani Evandelistar iz kasnog trinaestog stoljeća, te Evandelistar iz 1259. godine.

Iako se slikani ukras triju kodeksa značajno razlikuje po stilskim značajkama i vještini iluminatora i stoga nije moguće govoriti o nekoj homogenoj grupi, ono što ipak povezuje jest tipologija inicijala. Naime, u sva tri kodeksa se upotrebljavaju inicijali tipični za dalmatinske rukopise pisane beneventanom u kasnom jedanaestom i ranom dvanaestom stoljeću.

Inicijali Epistolara odaju ruku relativno vještog iluminatora.

Pisani su smeđom tintom i moguće ih je podijeliti u nekoliko skupina. Prvu čine inicijali s ljudskim i životinjskim prikazima, drugu skupinu čine ornamentalni inicijali koji su komponirani od repertoara tipičnih za beneventanske inicijale (preplet, biserni ornament, ptičje i životinjske ukrasne glave), trećoj skupini pripadaju ornamentalni inicijali koji su većinom komponirani od krupnih stiliziranih vegetabilnih oblika.

Kodeks posjeduje i jedan geometrijski inicijal tipičan za dalmatinske evanđelistare iz kasnog jedanaestog stoljeća pisane beneventanom.

Epistolar, kao i Evandelistar iz 1259. godine, sadrži i inicijale koji su varijanta tipičnog beneventanskog geometrijskog inicijala komponiranog od vitke stapke i pravokutnog dijela, te su svojevrсна mješavina takvog inicijala i onih komponiranih od prepleta.

Iako su ornamentalni inicijali komponirani od beneventanskog repertoara najbrojniji u rukopisu, najraskošniji i najluksuzniji inicijali kodeksa su oni s ljudskim i životinjskim prikazima. Oni nemaju paralele u suvremenim gotičkim rukopisima (što je čudno s obzirom na činjenicu da se kodeks od fol. 79r sadržajno nastavlja gotičkim pismom), niti u starijim rukopisima pisanim beneventanom.

Inicijali s ljudskim figurama su zapadnog tipa. Izrazito su arhaični i imaju vizualne paralele s inicijalima s ljudskim prikazima iz kodeksa jedanaestog stoljeća pisanih karolinškom minuskulom.

S obzirom na to da je Epistolar prema novim znanstvenim spoznajama vjerojatno napisan s ciljem da bude liturgijska nadopuna raskošnom »Trogirskom evanđelistaru«, koji je pisan na temelju predložaka starijih beneventanskih rukopisa, što se očituje u sustavu njegove iluminacije, moje je mišljenje da je konzultiranje starijih rukopisa bilo dio stvaralačkog procesa i kod trogirskog Epistolara.

Iluminator je, naime, osim beneventanskih rukopisa konzultirao i »nebeneventanske« predloške, i to one pisane karolinom. Dostupnost karolinških rukopisa u okruženju intenzivne beneventanske pismenosti (koja se u Trogiru očituje kontinuiranom upotrebom beneventane sve do u kasno trinaesto stoljeće), može se objasniti činjenicom da je u Dalmaciji u jedanaestom/dvanaestom stoljeću, kako nam svjedoči niz primjera, postojao suživot karoline i beneventane i to možda u većoj mjeri negoli je to do sada bilo uočeno.