

Reviews

Richard F. Gyug, *Liturgy and Law in a Dalmatian City: The Bishop's Book of Kotor (Sankt-Peterburg, BRAN, F. no. 200)* [Studies and Texts, vol. 204; Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana, vol. 7]. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016. Pages xxxii + 640.

A new book by Richard Francis Gyug (Professor at the Department of History, Fordham University, New York and a Research Fellow at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto) is a critical edition accompanied by a critical apparatus and an all-encompassing study of a twelfth-century liturgical manuscript originating from Kotor (now Montenegro), preserved in Sankt-Peterburg, Biblioteka Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk under the shelf-mark F. No. 200. The manuscript is written in Beneventan script and contains the Lectionary with Epistles and Gospels for main feasts of the liturgical year, the Pontifical with ceremonies proper to the bishop and it was most likely written for the dedication of the Kotor cathedral in 1166. The Sermons were added in the early thirteenth century.

In an interdisciplinary way, the author meticulously analyses the manuscript in terms of its liturgical, paleographical and musical content. For the first time published integrally in this critical edition are the documents related to the history of Kotor—ecclesiastical donations, testaments, episcopal acts from between ca. 1090 and 1220 and a series of statutes and acts of the commune of Kotor, dating from 1186 to 1255, that have been added in the margins and the empty folios of the manuscript.

In the introductory part of the study, the author provides a historical survey of medieval Dalmatia from the Roman times to the twelfth century based on primary sources, but also shows his familiarity with the relevant bibliography which is not available in English or any other language used in the international academic community. Towards the end of the introductory part, the author highlights certain events from ecclesiastical history such as those on the dispute between Dubrovnik and Bar on the issue of archbishopric. As appropriate, the history of Kotor and its Church organisation before the mid-twelfth century is much more detailed than the history of Dalmatia on the previous pages, and lists the relevant primary sources as well as the bibliography by the historians from the region. Among other things, the author stresses the importance of the archeological work conducted after the earthquake of 1979, writes about the cult of St. Triphon and its Byzantine origins since the feast is celebrated on February 3rd, and points out that the return of the relics of St. Triphon to Kotor in 1227 (Samuel translated the relic of St. Triphon's head to Ohrid when he conquered Kotor in 997 or 1009/1010) is confirmed by one of the documents preserved in the present manuscript (fol. 66r). After listing the papal and local records related to the ecclesiastical history of Kotor, the author concludes that Bishop Maio's ties with Bari, his ambition and the campaign to build the new cathedral and furnish it with books can account in large part for the features that mark the present manuscript: its up-to-date use of Norman liturgical elements, its Beneventan script, and its creativity in adapting older traditions. The author's main thesis is that the liturgists of Kotor indeed saw contemporary and earlier liturgical practices as a range of options and not a single model. The author also analyses the part of manuscript on fols. 77r- 84 v, which is a palimpsest and in its notation preserves Old Beneventan chant, pre-Roman musical repertory of early medieval Europe. In one of the next chapters, the author introduces a short history of the Pontificals from the Roman-German Pontifical of the tenth century to later Pontificals, and this chapter also includes the discovery that some of the adaptations first evident in the Pontifical of Kotor became local features perpetuated in the later books. The margins and empty folios of the Kotor manuscript were gradually

filled with records of diocesan and communal business, in total sixty-six items. The earliest documents concern the church of Kotor and the first one is dated in 1090 according to the mention of Bishop Grimoald. After the documents entered in the 1180s and recording earlier events, the next records were added between 1186 and 1206 during the reigns of Stefan Nemanja and his sons Vukan and Stefan (19 items). The remainder of the items dated between 1186 and 1206 are the statutes issued by the commune. After a gap of nine years, thirty-six items were added between 1215 and 1255. The author describes the political setting in a very detailed and convincing manner. He concludes that the updating of the bishop's book with documentary additions was contemporary with regional developments and changes in the status of the city and its bishop. In addition to describing the daily life of a commercial centre, the author stresses the fact that the marginal notes are particularly telling for the light they shed on the conflicts between Kotor and the Serbian patriarch over the regions south and east of Kotor and the relations between Kotor's bishop and the city. Analysing the content of *Miscellanea Catarensia* (1715), the compiler of which used the lectionary-pontifical (known as *vetustior Ceremoniale seu Breviarium*), the author has concluded that the manuscript was still in Kotor in the early eighteenth century. As to how it was brought to Russia and acquired by the seminary remains unknown, but the author suggests several plausible hypotheses.

A detailed codicological description includes the analysis of the covering, materials and collation, the analysis of script, musical format and notation and the chapter on the origin and date of the manuscript. In the chapter dealing with the script, the author first gives some general introduction on two types of Beneventan script practiced in Dalmatia (round Beneventan script or the Bari-type and angular Beneventan script). He subsequently places the script of the Kotor manuscript in Dalmatian context, mentioning the late eleventh-century manuscripts of Zadar origin written in round Beneventan script and thirteenth-century Dubrovnik manuscripts written in angular Beneventan script (actually a variant of angular Beneventan script typical of the thirteenth century which differs from Montecassino eleventh-century Beneventan script). He concludes that the Beneventan hands of the Kotor manuscript stand between two extremes. Further on he states that the hands of the Kotor manuscript are closer to early-twelfth-century Bari-type manuscripts of the Oxford Bodleian Library, Canon. Patr. lat. 175 than to the rounded form of the Bari-type in the late-eleventh-century Zadar manuscripts (MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61, Oxford, Bodleian Library; K. 394, Hungarian Academy of Science) or the angular forms in the thirteenth-century Dubrovnik manuscripts.

The author meticulously analyses the main hands of the manuscript and their major characteristics starting with the scribe of fols. 77r-80r, the hand responsible for the Lectionary (3r-63v), hand that wrote most of the Pontifical (67r-76v, 80r-177v), another hand that wrote the Sermons (178r-193v). The date of some documents in the codex is established on the basis of the script. For example, the author explains that the Beneventan hand of 199v uses a late form of the "m-abbreviation" and other features close to the manuscripts written in later variant of the Bari-type of Beneventan script. This is significant since the document itself may be dated to ca. 1090 but the script indicates that it is a later copy.

In the subchapter on the origin and date of the Kotor manuscript, the author concludes that the numerous references to St. Triphon in the manuscript and the details of the marginal additions indicate that the manuscript was made for Kotor and used there and that it may have been composed for the dedication of the new cathedral in 1166. The original manuscript appears to have been written in three parts: the Lectionary (fols. 3r-63v) in eight gatherings with three blank folios at the end (fols. 64r-66v); the Pontifical (fols. 67r-177v) on thirteen gatherings and ending several

lines from the bottom of the written space on 177v; and the Sermons (fols. 178r-193v), written likely in the first third of the thirteenth century on two gatherings with a small space left on fol. 193v. The author suggests that these three parts may have been initially separate because there are discrepancies in their liturgical features, in particular the conflicting monastic and episcopal features of the Lectionary and the Pontifical. Nonetheless, he concludes that the subsequent additions show that the three parts were soon united.

The masterly analysis of the manuscript's content with substantial comparative material is, in my opinion, the most coherent and the most innovative part of the book. In his analysis of the Lectionary, the author states that for the most part, the readings of the Lectionary and their arrangement are typical of the Roman liturgy, but stresses a number of regional variants. It follows regional practice at several significant points: the arrangement of epistles on the Sundays in Advent, the musical settings of the Genealogies and the Easter Gospel, the choice of gospels from John for the Sundays in Lent (for the Sunday of Lent, the Lectionary has a distinctive series of gospels from John that may preserve very early Roman traditions and differs from the usual late medieval gospels of the Roman liturgy *de Samaritana*, *de Abraham*, *de caeco* and *de Lazaro*). In the analysis of the Pontifical, the author emphasises the fact that the bishops acted as judges, administrators, preachers, priests and the chief celebrants in their churches and that the medieval bishops' books reflect these multiple roles and include not only pontifical ceremonies but also other sacramental material, as well as canonistic texts, liturgical commentaries, sermons, different church documents. The author makes a complex analysis of each ordo, starting with its description and genesis and suggests that the Kotor Pontifical stands as a witness to creative choice from different prototypes.

The author concludes that the result of the usage of mixed sources and authorial editing was a local form of many ordines, some elements of which were transmitted in later local ordines such as those in Dubrovnik Pontifical (Vatican, BAV, Burghes 14), which is in other ways a Roman Pontifical of the Curia. The list and the edition of the ecclesiastical donations, testaments and episcopal acts between ca. 1090 and 1220, and a series of statutes and acts of the commune of Kotor, dating from 1186 to 1255, that have been added in the margins of the manuscript in several hands is a huge contribution to the history of medieval Kotor. Although several documents were published in Farlati's and Coleti's *Illyricum sacrum* and then again in Smičiklas's *Codex diplomaticus*, until now many were unedited.

With regard to his in-depth scientific approach, the new book by Richard Gyug can be compared to his critical edition and study of the Dubrovnik missal kept in the Oxford Bodleian Library (Richard Francis Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990). The study and the critical edition of the Kotor manuscript represent an exceptional scientific contribution to the knowledge of medieval liturgy and law, the usage of Beneventan script in medieval Dalmatia as well as to the historical context of Dalmatian towns in the Middle Ages.

Rozana Vojvoda

External Associate, University of Dubrovnik