

Original paper  
UDC: 091(497.584Dubrovnik)“12”  
DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.21857/m8vqrtq2j9>

## **A FRAGMENT OF ST. AUGUSTINE’S MANUSCRIPT IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT IN THE SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY IN DUBROVNIK (MS. 950): ARGUMENTS FOR ITS DATING AND DUBROVNIK ORIGIN\***

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**ABSTRACT:** The article examines a manuscript fragment written in Beneventan script (MS. 950), acquired at Sotheby’s in 2012 for Dubrovnik Libraries, and provides arguments for its dating to the thirteenth century and a possible Dubrovnik origin. On the basis of script features of the Beneventan manuscripts whose Dubrovnik origin has been confirmed (*Missale Ragusinum*, *Libellus S. Nicolayi*), and of the plausible thirteenth century date, along with the manuscript fragments from the thirteenth century kept in the collections in Chantilly and Graz, surveyed are the distinguishing features of Beneventan script used in Dubrovnik in the thirteenth century. Also analysed are the fragments from this period preserved in local collections, and which, in terms of general features, most closely resemble the fragment in the Scientific Library MS. 950 (Dubrovnik Libraries, Franciscan Monastery of the Friars Minor, Scientific Library of Juraj Habelić in Zagreb, which houses two manuscripts from the Jesuit Monastery in Dubrovnik). Based on the identification of the text of Beneventan fragments from the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik (MS. 463), as well as on the comparison with the features of the Beneventan fragment from the Scientific Library in Dubrovnik (MS. 950), the author comes forward with a thesis that the fragments under study are *membra disiecta* of the same manuscript of Dubrovnik provenance, which contains the tractates of St. Augustine on the Gospel of John.

**Key words:** Beneventan script, Dubrovnik, 13th-century fragment, manuscript, *Missale Ragusinum*, *Libellus S. Nicolayi*, Scientific Library in Dubrovnik, MS. 950

\* This research has been supported by the Croatian Science Foundation (HRZZ), under project CROMUSCODEX70, IP-2016-06-6619.

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## Introduction

Beneventan is a minuscule script that developed in the eighth century within the mother house of the Benedictine Order in Monte Cassino, and was used exclusively in south Italy and Dalmatia (Osor, Rab, Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor). The fragments of Beneventan script are an invaluable testimony of Beneventan literacy, each representing a trace of the once complete manuscript. The fragments owe their preservation mainly to the fact that they were used as book covers, or in binding codices. The study of fragments written in Beneventan script, including those kept in Dubrovnik collections, is facilitated by the fact that they have been continuously listed from the start of twentieth century to the present.

A monograph of Beneventan script, published by Elias Avery Loew in 1914, contained an exhaustive catalogue of all the manuscripts and fragments written in Beneventan script, while of great relevance for Dalmatian manuscripts and fragments in this script is the systematisation provided by Viktor Novak in 1920, within his study of the Beneventan script of Dalmatian type.<sup>1</sup> In 1962, Elias Avery Loew enlarged the list given in his monograph,<sup>2</sup> while in 1980, Virginia Brown (1949-2009), Loew's former assistant and major authority on Beneventan scholarship, in the second edition of Loew's book revised and extended the list of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments. Over the years of her comprehensive study of Beneventan script, from 1978 to 2008 in the *Mediaeval Studies* Virginia Brown continuously published all the newly discovered Beneventan manuscripts and fragments.<sup>3</sup> Liturgist Roger Reynolds

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<sup>1</sup> Elias Avery Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914; Viktor Novak, *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> Elias Avery Loew, »A New List of Beneventan Manuscripts.«, in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. card. Albareda a Biblioteca Apostolica edita*. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1962: pp. 211-244.

<sup>3</sup> Elias Avery Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2 vol, ed. Virginia Brown. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980; Virginia Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I).« *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978): pp. 239-290; eadem, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II).« *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): pp. 584-625; eadem, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (III).« *Mediaeval studies* 56 (1994): pp. 299-350; eadem, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (IV).« *Mediaeval studies* 61 (1999): pp. 325-392; eadem, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V).« *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): pp. 275-355.

and one of the members of the team *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana*<sup>4</sup> compiled all the lists of Virginia Brown, so that a complete catalogue of manuscripts and fragments in Beneventan script of the 2008 research status is available in one book.<sup>5</sup>

As Elias Avery Loew, author of the still unsurpassed monograph on Beneventan script, remarked more than a century ago, the use of Beneventan in the thirteenth century presupposes its extensive usage in the earlier centuries. Indeed, Dubrovnik collections house a large number of fragments written in Beneventan script from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Arguments for the use of Beneventan script in Dubrovnik from the end of the eleventh century and the existence of at least one monastery scriptorium (most probably in the Benedictine Monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum) abound, yet do not fall within the frame of this study in which emphasis is placed on the type of Beneventan script used in Dubrovnik in the thirteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

*Analysis of the Beneventan fragment (MS. 950) housed in the Scientific Library in Dubrovnik in the context of the use of Beneventan script in Dubrovnik area in the thirteenth century*

The Beneventan fragment that Dubrovnik Libraries acquired in 2012 at Sotheby's auction in London<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 1, 2), Virginia Brown catalogued in her lists

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<sup>4</sup> *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* is a project aimed at the study and edition of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments. Principal investigators were Virginia Brown, Roger E. Reynolds and Richard Francis Gyug, who, after an early death of Virginia Brown in 2009 and Roger E. Reynolds in 2014, resumed the study on the project. For more information on the project, see: <http://www.pims.ca/research/monumenta-liturgica-beneventana> (accessed 10 November 2019).

<sup>5</sup> Virginia Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries. Collected Manuscript Catalogues 1978-2008*, ed. Roger E. Reynolds. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012.

<sup>6</sup> With manuscripts and fragments in Beneventan script, along with the research into the thesis on the possible existence of a Benedictine scriptorium of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum I have dealt in the chapter on Dubrovnik in my PhD dissertation. Also included in the chapter are the descriptions of Dubrovnik fragments and manuscripts from the thirteenth century that I employed for the comparison with the fragment MS. 950 from the Scientific Library, in this article supplemented with new data. See: Rozana Vojvoda, *Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts Written in Beneventan Script and Benedictine Scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir*. Budapest: Central European University, PhD dissertation, 2011: pp. 101-173.

<sup>7</sup> The manuscript fragment was on 10 July 2012 offered for sale at auction "The History of Script: Sixty Important Manuscript Leaves from the Schøyen Collection" at Sotheby's in London, and was purchased by Dubrovnik Libraries with the support of the Society of Friends of Dubrovnik

of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments in 1978 and 1980,<sup>8</sup> dated it to the thirteenth century, and provided with a detailed description in *Bookhands of the Middle Ages: Beneventan script*.<sup>9</sup> In the description she identified the text of the fragment, its material features, dated it, and proposed its origin. The fragment contains St. Augustine's text *Tractatus in Iohannem* (*Tract*, 12:4-12:7), is of fairly large dimensions 389 x 330 cm (310 x 230 cm), written in double columns in Beneventan script with angular features, spaced 2 cm apart, including 33 lines of text. It is ruled on the hair side of the parchment with a hard point, double bounding lines, capitals touched with red. Brown writes that the fragment was used as a wrapper, corners severely cropped affecting the text at the top, the verso faded and worn, but the recto in good condition. As place of origin she suggests Dalmatia, dating it to the thirteenth century. Brown writes that its angular script with its slant to the right, seems to be an example of a late non-Bari type of Beneventan practised in Dalmatia. She adds that the absence of a hyphen is in keeping with other contemporary specimens from Dalmatia, and is in contrast with thirteenth-century Beneventan manuscripts copied on the mainland.

Nowhere in her description does Virginia Brown suggest Dubrovnik as a possible provenance of the manuscript, yet the overall appearance of the Beneventan script may be compared to Beneventan script from the thirteenth-century manuscripts of confirmed Dubrovnik origin, and to the fragments in Beneventan script from the thirteenth century preserved in Dubrovnik collections. It is also worth noting that in the collection of Martin Schøyen (London—Oslo), from which the fragment MS. 950 originates, and which in the Martin Schøyen collection was filed under shelf mark MS. 56,<sup>10</sup> there is a Beneventan fragment from the eleventh century, also fragment of St. Augustine's manuscript under shelf mark MS. 62 (both fragments formerly belonged to the private collection

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Antiquities. The information on the sale of a Beneventan fragment of Dalmatian origin reached Flora Turner, art historian and president of the British Croatian Society in London, who notified Joško Belamarić from the Institute of Art History "Cvito Fisković". He soon contacted me, and having surveyed the photograph, I introduced him with my thesis on the possible Dubrovnik origin. We notified Vesna Čučić, head of Dubrovnik Libraries at the time, who promptly reacted towards a common goal of acquiring the fragment for Dubrovnik Libraries.

<sup>8</sup> V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I).«: p. 272; E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: p. 135.

<sup>9</sup> Virginia Brown, *Bookhands of the Middle Ages: part IV: Beneventan script*. London: Bernard Quaritch Catalogue, 1990: pp. 42-44.

<sup>10</sup> The fragment was part of the Rosenthal private collection in San Francisco, and later of the private collection of Martin Schøyen. This change has been evidenced in the list of manuscripts and fragments from 1994: V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (III).«: p. 345.

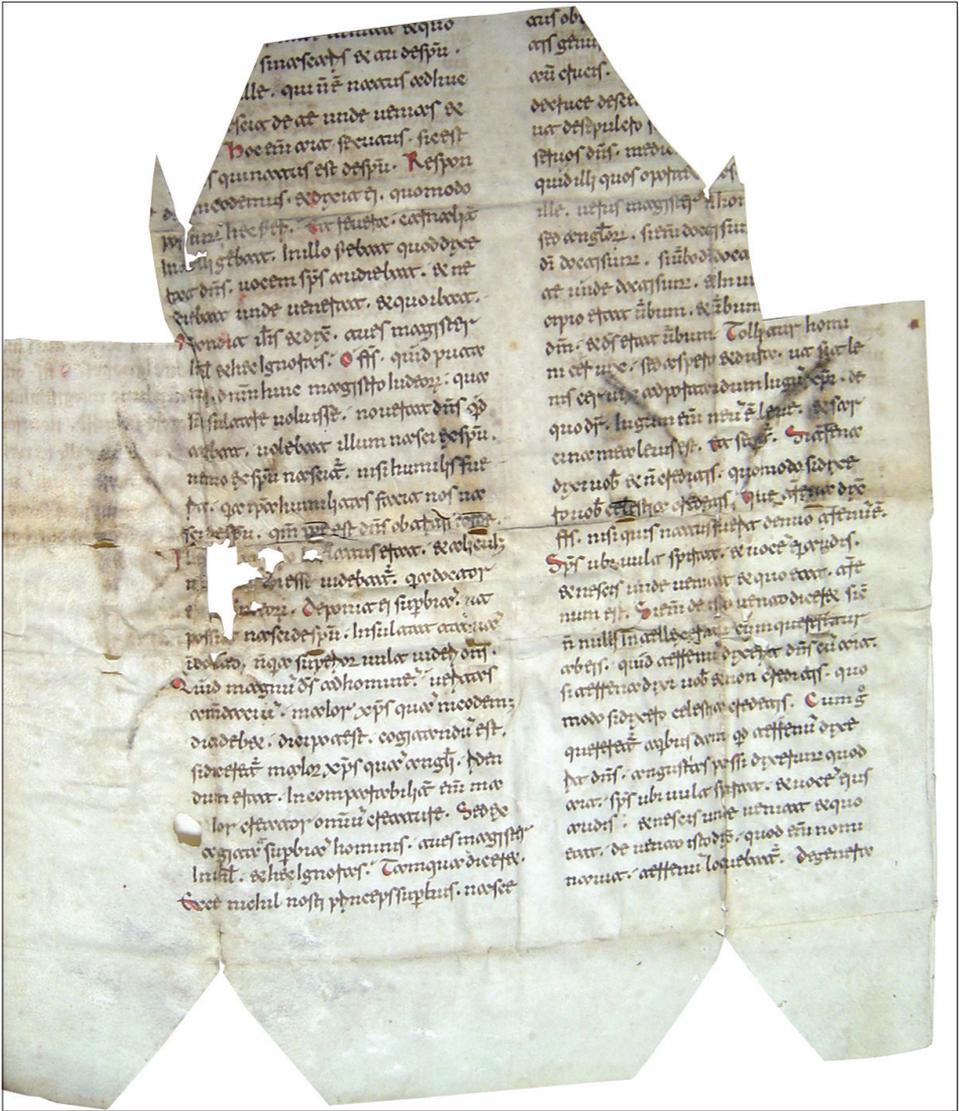


Fig. 1. MS. 950, 13th c., Dubrovnik Libraries, Scientific Library.  
Photo by Rozana Vojvoda

of Bernard M. Rosenthal from San Francisco). The fragments or *membra disiecta* of the mentioned manuscript MS. 62 from the eleventh century are among the holdings of different world collections (*Bloomington, Indiana University, Lily Library; Parma, Archivio di Stato*), but also in the Franciscan Monastery of the



the text flow, the damaged side of the parchment, that which was the outer wrapper of the fragment's secondary use is the *recto*, while the better preserved side is the *verso*.

The fragment MS. 950 from Dubrovnik Libraries is written in Beneventan script with pronounced angularity, which in no way can be compared with the angular Cassinese Beneventan script used in the eleventh century when this script flourished, as it is a specimen of a fairly late variant of the Beneventan which in the thirteenth century obtained its angular features most probably under the influence of contemporary Gothic script. The script is of irregular appearance because of the different letter heights and a tendency not to place the words directly on the base line. Apart from the overall impression leading to its thirteenth century date, in the fragment we find abbreviations the use of which was typical of the thirteenth century only, such as "ipe" with a horizontal line above the letter "p" for *ipse*. Equally, in the word *propterea*, two "p's" are joined together as in Gothic script, which is yet another argument for dating the fragment to the thirteenth century, while in the word *fili* accents are on the consecutive "i's", a practice established not earlier than the twelfth and thirteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The scribe uses a sign resembling the Arabic number 3 for an omitted letter "m", "eni" with horizontal line above the letter "n" for *enim* (both of which are typical Beneventan abbreviations), Beneventan forms for "pro", "qui", "que", "us", "tur", and of the ligatures he uses "et", "ei", "ri", "fi". Ligature "fi" only slightly descends below the line, which is a feature of the round Beneventan script in an earlier stage of its development,<sup>13</sup> and this feature persisted in Dalmatian Beneventan in the later period, too.

The scribe uses the standard Beneventan abbreviations: for instance, "sps" with horizontal line above "p" for *spiritus*; "dns" with horizontal line above "n" for *dominus* (usual abbreviations from the *nomina sacra* group); "n" with horizontal line for *non*; "e" with horizontal line for *est*; "dix" with horizontal line above "x" for *dixit*; "omium" with contraction line above the letter "i" for *omnium* (older form); "frs" with horizontal line above "r" for *fratres*; "vbum" with a suprascript sign shaped like the Arabic numeral 2 above the letter "v" for *verbum*; "sic" with horizontal line above c for *sicut*; "g" with a suprascript letter "o" for *ergo*; "nom" with horizontal line for *nomen*; "eccla" with "l" crossed out for *ecclesia*.<sup>14</sup> In some words, such as *quereretur*, *diceretur* the

<sup>12</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: pp. 184, 276.

<sup>13</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: p. 150.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: pp. 174-196.

horizontal part of two “r’s” and the letter “e” is joined with a straight continuous line in such a manner that the curved part of the letter “r” cannot be seen as in the earlier period, which is a feature that allows comparison with the script of the manuscript *Missale Ragusinum*.<sup>15</sup>

Comparative analysis of the Beneventan script in the thirteenth century is richer due to the fact that two medieval manuscripts have survived to date (the so-called *Missale Ragusinum* and *Libellus S. Nicolayī*), whose Dubrovnik provenance has been established with certainty, and which, in my opinion, belong to the thirteenth-century period. The thirteenth-century dating of manuscript MS. Canon. Liturg. 342, kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (*Missale Ragusinum*), has not been disputed by recent scholarly literature until the advent of the study of Miho Demović, suggesting the twelfth century as its date of origin.<sup>16</sup> Despite an indisputable value of Demović’s study which brings numerous novel conclusions—among others, a discovery of the exact location where this codex was used (Dubrovnik Cathedral and not the Benedictine Monastery of St. Mary in Rožat)—on the basis of the palaeographic features, I support the dating of the manuscript to the thirteenth century as proposed by Elias Avery Loew, Virginia Brown, Viktor Novak, Richard Francis Gyug, Thomas Forrest Kelly and other scholars.<sup>17</sup> Given that the study of Elias Avery Loew, as well as the critical edition of the manuscript by Richard Francis Gyug clearly outline all palaeographic arguments, which I have also included in my doctoral thesis,<sup>18</sup> I will not address palaeographic arguments for the dating of the manuscript *Missale Ragusinum* to the thirteenth century in this article. With regard to the manuscript *Libellus S. Nicolayī*, the Beneventan part of which Miho Demović dates to the eleventh century, the situation is significantly different because, apart from Demović, palaeographic analysis of the manuscript has attracted no attention in scientific literature. Therefore I consider it appropriate

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<sup>15</sup> Richard Francis Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990: pp. 32-34.

<sup>16</sup> Miho Demović, *Beneventanski notirani misal dubrovačke katedrale iz XII. stoljeća / rasprava uz faksimilno izdanje Oxford, Bodleian library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 342*. Dubrovnik: Dubrovačke knjižnice, 2011.

<sup>17</sup> E. A. Loew, *Scriptura Beneventana. Facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian Manuscripts from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929: plate 94; E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: p. 111; V. Novak, *Scriptura Beneventana*: p. 37; R. F. Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum*; Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

<sup>18</sup> R. Vojvoda, *Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts*: pp. 123-130.

to submit my own arguments in support of the dating to the thirteenth century and challenge Demović's arguments for the eleventh century. Having provided an insight into Beneventan fragments from Chantilly and Graz, I aim to outline the distinguishing features of Beneventan script used in Dubrovnik in the thirteenth century, provide comparative analysis of the fragments from Dubrovnik collections, and try to position the fragment from the Scientific Library into the context of Beneventan literacy in the Dubrovnik area in the thirteenth century.

*The Book of St. Nicholas—palaeographic features of the manuscript as argument for the dating to the thirteenth century*

Miho Demović's discovery of a manuscript written in Beneventan and Gothic script containing legends, miracles, songs and the office of St. Nicholas is invaluable for the study of Beneventan script in Dubrovnik because the manuscript, apparently, originated in Dubrovnik. In 1997 Miho Demović published its analysis in an article "Bašćinski glasi", while a facsimile and a comprehensive study were published in 1998.<sup>19</sup> As Demović puts it, the manuscript was part of the archives of the Ragusan confraternity of clerics officially known as *Congregatio presbyterorum Sancti Petri in Cathedra*, in 1948 relocated to the Diocesan seminary. In the Gothic part of the manuscript, in the mass canon after the mention of St. Mary and SS. Peter and Paul, St. Blaise is mentioned—patron saint of Dubrovnik. Demović also refers to some examples of the Croatised versions of Latin words, such as *zabulus* for *diabolus* and *Nycole* instead of *Nycholae*, and warns about the strong cult of St. Nicholas in Dubrovnik, as testified by many churches, notably the Church of St. Nicholas at Prijeko from the eleventh century.<sup>20</sup> Demović dated the Beneventan part of the manuscript to the eleventh century,<sup>21</sup> and the Gothic to the thirteenth century. In my opinion, the Beneventan and the Gothic part of the manuscript originate from the same period. The practice of writing texts in both Beneventan and Gothic script was

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<sup>19</sup> Miho Demović, »Napjevi dubrovačkog beneventanskog liturgijskog priručnika blagdana svetog Nikole iz XI. stoljeća.« *Bašćinski glasi* 6 (1997): pp. 93-147; idem, *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik legende i obreda blagdana sv. Nikole iz XI. stoljeća*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Kor Prvostolne crkve zagrebačke, Biskupski ordinarijat Dubrovnik, 1998.

<sup>20</sup> M. Demović, *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik*: pp. 23-24, 27-29.

<sup>21</sup> M. Demović, *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik*: pp. 27-29.

not uncommon in the thirteenth century, as exemplified by the Trogir Epistolary from late thirteenth/early fourteenth century.<sup>22</sup>

Virginia Brown dated the Beneventan part of the manuscript to the thirteenth century, yet without any elaboration, since it concerns the catalogue of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments published in *Medieval Studies*. Hana Breko Kustura dated to the thirteenth century the musical section of the Beneventan part of the manuscript in her study of the Croatian music codices.<sup>23</sup> Demović holds that the *conspectus generalis* of the Beneventan part of the manuscript points to the eleventh century, mentioning the appearance of the parchment, ink tone, shape of letters, formation of columns and modest illumination. In my opinion, the basic feature of the script, its angularity, is completely different from the angularity of the Cassinese manuscripts of the eleventh century. Unlike the calligraphic angular Beneventan script of the eleventh century, in the thirteenth century Beneventan script tended to become angular under the influence of Gothic script and was characterised by certain irregularity, notably in the fact that the letters were not placed precisely on the base line whereby a broken, irregular appearance was created. Fairly short ascending and descending letter lines, especially of the ligature *fi*, which does not descend below the line, are not the features that may be found in angular Beneventan, whereby angular Beneventan, judging by the extant Dubrovnik fragments written in round Beneventan, was not even used in Dubrovnik in the eleventh and twelfth century. Ink tone and the appearance of the parchment are not convincing arguments as E. A. Loew observed long ago,<sup>24</sup> while the fact that the text is written in a single column speaks little in favour of the eleventh century. In Trogir, for instance, all manuscripts from the thirteenth century and in Beneventan script had texts written in one column: Evangelistary, Epistolary and Evangelistary from 1259. Moreover, it is not uncommon for the manuscripts from the eleventh century to be written in two columns: fragment “p” from the Dominican Monastery in Dubrovnik or the fragment with the Passions of St. Tryphon and

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<sup>22</sup> Bibliography of the manuscript up to 2008 is available in: Emanuela Elba, *Miniatura in Dalmazia. I codici in beneventana (XI-XIII secolo)*. Lecce: Congedo Editore, 2011: p. 201; R. Vojvoda, *Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts*: p. 291.

<sup>23</sup> V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (IV).«: p. 341; Hana Breko, »Hrvatski srednjovjekovni glazbeni kodeksi – na razmeđu različitih kulturnih tradicija.«, in: *Raukarov zbornik*, ed. Neven Budak. Zagreb: FF press: p. 133.

<sup>24</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: pp. 286-287.

St. Blaise from the Library of the Archaeological Museum in Split.<sup>25</sup> Column formation is not an argument for the dating to the eleventh century, nor the modest illumination that depends on the type of codex. For example, some eleventh-century Dalmatian codices were most richly illuminated, as exemplified by the Zadar manuscripts from the eleventh century intended, most likely, for private devotion.<sup>26</sup>

Demović writes that the scribe uses abbreviations commonly employed in the eleventh century, and not those used in the thirteenth century. He mentions the use of “ama” with horizontal line above “m” for *anima* instead of the recent form “aia” with horizontal line above “i”; “noe” with horizontal line above “o” for *nomine*, instead of the recent form “noie” with horizontal line above “i”; lastly, “omis” with horizontal line above “m” for *omnis* instead of the recent form “ois” with horizontal line above “i”. Demović rightly asserts that the mentioned abbreviations were in use from the eleventh century, yet it does not exclude their use in the thirteenth century because of the conservative features of Beneventan script in Dalmatia. The old abbreviation system is being used in the Trogir Evangelistary from the late thirteenth century, Trogir Evangelistary of 1259, and the manuscript *Missale Ragusinum* (although the scribe of *Missale Ragusinum* uses the old system for *omnis* and *omnia*, and the recent for *anima* and *nomen*). Demović also mentions the use of abbreviation “ei” with a horizontal stroke that intersects the letter “I” as a signal for the eleventh century instead of abbreviation “ei” with us-sign (a dot and comma). It should be noted, however, that the abbreviation for *eius*, “ei” with a horizontal stroke intersecting the letter “I” is a feature of all Beneventan manuscripts from the end of the ninth to early fourteenth century,<sup>27</sup> and therefore cannot be used as argument for the eleventh-century dating. Demović also draws attention to the use of abbreviation “frs” for *fratres* with a horizontal stroke above the letter “r” instead of “ff” with a

<sup>25</sup> V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)«: p. 296; Viktor Novak, »Notae palaeographicae chronologicae et historicae I-VII, VI Fragment dalmatinskog pasijonala s pasijama Sv. Trifuna i Sv. Blaža.« *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* n.s. 15 (1928): pp. 159-222.

<sup>26</sup> MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61 the so-called Vekenega's Evangelistary, MS. Canon, Liturg, 277, the so-called Čika's Book of Hours, Oxford: Bodleian Library; K. 394 the so-called Vekenega's Book of Hours, Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The literature on Zadar manuscripts abounds, and of particular relevance was the publishing of the PhD dissertation of Marijan Grgić, containing the facsimile edition of the manuscript MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. See: Marijan Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*. Zagreb-Zadar: Hrvatski državni arhiv, Kršćanska sadašnjost, Matica hrvatska, 2002.

<sup>27</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: p. 199.

horizontal line above. Nor may this be taken as argument in support of the eleventh century because the abbreviation “ff” with horizontal line above the letter “f” for *fratres* appears in old manuscripts,<sup>28</sup> while abbreviation for “frs” with horizontal line above the letter “r” appears in all periods of the script’s usage. Further, Demović writes that the scribe uses “popl” with a stroke intersecting the shaft of the letter “l” for *populus* instead of abbreviation “pp” with a surmounted letter “s”. Abbreviation for *populus* as used in the manuscript was actually employed in the thirteenth century, too, while abbreviation “pp” with a suprascript letter “s” is rarely to be found in Dalmatian Beneventan. Demović concludes that not a single abbreviation in the whole manuscript testifies in support of an earlier dating. Quite the contrary, used in manuscript is the abbreviation “ipo” with contraction line for “ipso” (f. 1v, 6v), along with different forms of the word “ipm” with contraction symbol for *ipsum* (f. 3r, 5v), an abbreviation that cannot be traced in manuscripts prior to the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Equally, the script includes features that became common in the thirteenth century and not before, such as the use of accent above consecutive letters “i” (f. 4r, 9v, 10r, 11r)<sup>30</sup>. Another proof in support of the thirteenth century is the pronounced angular shape resembling the Arabic number 3, i.e., a sign, which in Beneventan script signifies an omitted letter “m”. With regard to other script features, it should be noted that the scribe often used the Carolingian “a” even in the middle of the word. In one place in the manuscript (f. 9r), the scribe uses abbreviation for *sicut*, which is less common and which we also find in *Missale Ragusinum* (“sic” with a suprascript sign shaped like the Arabic number 2). Although I hold that the angularity and irregularity of the script are the fundamental arguments for dating the manuscript to the thirteenth century, in addition to its closeness to the script of *Missale Ragusinum* manuscript, abbreviation system and other script features of the manuscript confirm its thirteenth century date.

Script analysis has also shown that the Beneventan part of the manuscript, most likely, was written by two scribes. One wrote from f. 1r-11v, while the other, using letters of a much larger scale, wrote from f. 12r-24v. Although both use a similar abbreviation system, and there are significant morphological similarities between letters, the difference lies in punctuation. The punctuation

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<sup>28</sup> Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, HJ IV 15 saec. VIII; E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: p. 181.

<sup>29</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: p. 184.

<sup>30</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: p. 276.

of the first part (f. 1r-11v) consists mainly of points for both the final and medial stops; the scribe sometimes uses two or three points for the final stop e.g. on f. 6r, 9v; point-and-strokes are used sporadically, while for interrogative sentences he uses a sign shaped like the Arabic number 2 above the question word and a point at the end of sentence (f. 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r). In the punctuation of the second part (f. 12r-24v), the scribe uses a standard Beneventan sign for final stop-two points and a comma. In interrogative sentences he uses a sign shaped like the Arabic number 2 above the question word and a sign resembling the Arabic numeral 2 at the end of sentence, usually highlighted in red (e.g. f. 13v, 15v), a practice also encountered in *Missale Ragusinum*. The second part (f. 12r-24v) also contains abbreviations that cannot be found in the first part, such as “m” with a suprascript “i” for *michi* (f. 13v) and “oium” with contraction line above “i” for *omnium* (recent abbreviation system). The difference is also apparent in the shaping of initials. Whilst in the first part simple initials are illuminated in red and yellow, in the second part of the manuscript the initials at a scale of 3 to 4 lines of text are used, exhibiting a distinctive Beneventan feature (stylised floral motifs and protuberances in the shafts of the letters).

Unusual features of the script, such as the use of little flag-like strokes pointing downwards on the minuscule letter “d”, as well as intensive use of a sign resembling the Arabic numeral 2 above “u” for “ver” in the words *reversus* (f. 5r-v, 8r, 10r, 11v, 14v), *anniversario* (f. 12r), *adversus* (f. 9v), *conversus* (f. 15r), *diversa* (f. 10r), *verticem* (f. 5r, 13v), *verba* (f. 15r), *vermium* (f. 9v) are just as equally employed throughout both parts of the manuscript.

### *Beneventan fragments of Dubrovnik origin from the thirteenth century from Chantilly and Graz*

According to the opinion of earlier scholars, Beneventan fragments kept in the collections of the Musée Condé in Chantilly (Impr. Fol. V. A. 8) and in the University Library in Graz (MS. 1703) are of Dubrovnik origin. Virginia Brown was the first to identify the fragments as *membra disiecta* of the same manuscript, which I fully support.<sup>31</sup> Before I come forward with some arguments that I believe strengthen the thesis submitted by Virginia Brown, it would be useful,

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<sup>31</sup> V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I).«: p. 253.

for reasons of inaccessibility of older literature, to elucidate the so far known research results of these fragments.

The fragment from the University Library in Graz has been examined by Viktor Novak in 1970, upon notification of the famous palaeographer Bernard Bisschoff.<sup>32</sup> Novak identified the fragment as *Necrologium Ragusinum* and dated it to the year 1225, which is written on the fragment in Roman numerals by a hand of the same scribe who had written the remainder of the text. Novak explains that the fragment is written in the Beneventan script of specific angularity as testified by its dating to the thirteenth century. By analysing the names in the *Necrologium*, Novak reveals that the names correspond to those used in Dalmatia and Dubrovnik, and as one of the most important arguments for Dubrovnik origin he emphasises the mention of *Agapis uxoris comitis Gervasii*, Count Gervasius or Krbaš mentioned in a charter issued by Bosnian ban Kulin in 1189.<sup>33</sup> Novak has also observed unusual features related to the saint feasts in the *Necrologium*: the feast of the birth of St. Virgin Mary is celebrated on the standard date in September (8 September), yet the feasts of St. Michael and St. Geminianus fall on unusual dates, 6 September for St. Michael and 31 January for St. Geminianus (instead of the standard dates 29 September and 3 September respectively). Considering that both saints were venerated in Dubrovnik, which in the case of St. Geminianus has been confirmed by a church located in Gruž<sup>34</sup> and the existence of many churches devoted to St. Michael, Novak concludes that the mentioned dates most certainly pertain to the translation of saints' relics or consecration of the churches.

In his study of the fragment from Graz, Novak mentions the Ragusan necrology kept in Musée Condé in Chantilly, France (Musée Condé Impr. Fol. V.A. 8), which consists of two folios. He holds that the fragment from Chantilly is of somewhat later date than that from Graz, but that most probably both fragments originated in the Benedictine Monastery on the island of Lokrum.<sup>35</sup> On the basis of palaeographic features, Elias Avery Loew dated the fragment

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<sup>32</sup> The fragment is available at: <http://sosa2.uni-graz.at/sosa/katalog/images/1703/137v.JPG> (accessed 3 November 2019).

<sup>33</sup> Viktor Novak, »Necrologium Ragusinum (A. D. M. CC. XXV).« *Zbornik Filozofskog univerziteta u Beogradu* 11 (1970): pp. 161-164.

<sup>34</sup> V. Novak »Necrologium Ragusinum (A. D. M. CC. XXV).«: p. 167.

<sup>35</sup> V. Novak »Necrologium Ragusinum (A. D. M. CC. XXV).«: pp. 170-171.

from Chantilly to the thirteenth century.<sup>36</sup> Branka Telebaković Pecarski analysed the fragment from Chantilly in her PhD dissertation (in doing so she had no knowledge of the fragment from Graz) and compared it with the documents from the State Archives in Dubrovnik under shelf mark Nr. III, 5; Nr. I, 2 (today kept under shelf marks XII 26 d and XII 26f) from the collection of the so-called "Lokrum Forgeries". In her opinion, the fragments from Chantilly and two documents from the Lokrum forgeries originated in the same place, that is, in the Lokrum scriptorium. Telebaković Pecarski corrects Loew's statement that Archbishop Bonaventura died in 1293, because he can still be traced in 1300, and it was not until 1312 that Pope Clement V installed a new Archbishop of Dubrovnik. She does not agree with the dating of the fragment to the year 1250 as suggested by Milko Kos<sup>37</sup> and proposes the dating between 1257 and 1268.<sup>38</sup> All scholars until now agree that the fragments may be dated around the middle of the thirteenth century. In the list of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments, Virginia Brown joins the fragments from Chantilly and Graz, believing them to be the parts of the same codex and, based on palaeographic features, she dates them to the late thirteenth century.<sup>39</sup> Considering that the dating was published as part of the list of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments, Virginia Brown provided no argumentation for the proposed date or for the fact that she joined the fragments as part of the same manuscript. Palaeographic features that point to the assumption that we are dealing with *membra disiecta* of the same manuscript are many: the script of both fragments is distinctively angular, the scribe uses the Tironian note for "et", a later abbreviation system for *omnis*, *omnia* and in punctuation points only. The closest parallels between the fragments lie in the letter morphology: letter "e", for example, has a horizontal line protruding outside the letter shaft if the letter is at the final position in a word; letter "d" has little triangular flag-like strokes pointing downwards, while the capital letter "B" in both fragments has the same wavy decorative line at the top of the letter. Given a substantial morphological similarity between the fragments from Graz and Chantilly, we are most certainly dealing with the fragments of the same manuscript, which calls for the revision of the dating of

<sup>36</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: 64, n. 1.

<sup>37</sup> Milko Kos, »Fragment jednog dubrovačkog obituarija XIII veka.« *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* (1924): pp. 193-209.

<sup>38</sup> Branka Telebaković-Pecarski, *Beneventanski skriptoriji i slikarstvo u Dalmaciji od 11-13-tog veka*. Beograd: Sveučilište u Beogradu, PhD dissertation, 1965: pp. 236-240.

<sup>39</sup> See n. 31.

the fragment from Graz, i.e., the year 1225 ought to be corrected with the late thirteenth century.

A comparison of the script used in the manuscript from Oxford (*Missale Ragusinum*, MS. Canon. Liturg. 342), Book of St. Nicholas and the fragments from Graz and Chantilly makes it quite clear that in the thirteenth century Dubrovnik witnessed a type of Beneventan script of pronounced angularity, whereby the letters are not written precisely on the base line, thus creating an impression of irregularity. There exists an inconsistency in the standard Beneventan punctuation which is confined mainly to points. The scribes use standard abbreviations typical of the thirteenth century although the fragments possess certain conservative features, such as, for instance, prevailing use of the older system of abbreviation for the words *omnis* and *omnia*.

*Beneventan fragments from the thirteenth century housed in Dubrovnik collections: Scientific Library and Franciscan Monastery of the Friars Minor*

Beneventan fragments from the thirteenth century in Dubrovnik collections have been catalogued in the lists of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments,<sup>40</sup> and like the Beneventan fragments from the earlier period, i.e., eleventh and twelfth century, owe their survival to the fact that they were used as wrappers for incunabula and printed books. Scientific Library in Dubrovnik houses several Beneventan fragments from the tenth/eleventh to the thirteenth century,<sup>41</sup> which also include the oldest sample of Beneventan script from Dubrovnik collections, a fragment of the manuscript of Isidore of Seville from the tenth/eleventh century.

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<sup>40</sup> See n. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Scientific Library Dubrovnik:

A-478, saec. XIII, 2 fragments, *Smaragdus, Expositio in Regulam Sancti Benedicti*, prol. (on the cover of the book Cicero, *Epistulae familiares*, Lyon, 1526)

A-1006, saec. XII/XIII, 1 folio, *Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Job* (attached to the book Theodoretus, *De providentis sermones* X, Rome, 1545)

CR 20.799, saec. XIII, 1 folio, Haymo Autissiodorensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsim* 2 (Apoc 3:19-21) (fragment attached to the book Aristoteles, *Ethica*, Lyon, 1556)

CR-20. 911, saec. XII / XIII, 2 folios, Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob* 4.23.42, 43-44, 45, 46 (attached to the book Francois Titelman, *Philosophiae naturalis libri XII*, Lyon, 1551)

(from the same manuscript as fragments m+n+o from the Dominican Monastery in Dubrovnik)

CR-III 206, saec. XII, 2 folios, Breviarium (*De Auctoritate T.P.; Dom. 2 p. Oct. Pasch.*), formerly attached to the covers of *Commentarii in Ciceronis Orationes*, Basel, 1539, nowadays kept in a separate envelope without shelf mark

The Beneventan script of the fragments from the Scientific Library that date from the twelfth century such as CR-III-206,<sup>42</sup> i.e., two folios of the *Breviarium*,<sup>43</sup> and late twelfth/early thirteenth century, such as CR-20.911<sup>44</sup> and A-1006<sup>45</sup> which contain the text *Moralia in Iob* by St. Gregory the Great,<sup>46</sup> in fact *membra disiecta* of the same manuscript, do not display pronounced angularity of the fragments from Chantilly and Graz, or the script of *Missale Ragusinum* and Book of St. Nicholas. Other *membra disiecta* of the manuscripts CR.20.911 and A-1006 are kept in the Dominican Monastery of St. Dominic in Dubrovnik catalogued as fragments m, n, o.<sup>47</sup>

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*Incunabulum* 68, saec. XI in, 1 folio, *Isidorus, Etymologiae*, formerly attached to the book Guilielmus Paraldus, *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*, Brescia, 1494, nowadays kept in an envelope, shelf mark MS. 936 / 1a-c inc. 68 / Fragmenta 6 (corr. ex 4)

A-1349, saec. XI ex, binding fragment, *Vitae sanctorum*, currently used to support the binding of the book Suetonius, XII *Caesares*; Ausonius, *De XII Caesaribus per Suetonium Tranquillum scriptis and Tetrasticha a Iulio Caesareus que ad tempora sua*; Giovanni Battista Egnazio, *De romanis principibus libri III and Annotationes in Suetonium*; Erasmus, *Annotata in eundem et loca aliquot restitute*, Lyon, 1537

From the same manuscript as fragment p, Dominican Monastery in Dubrovnik, and fragment Passionala with the lives of Saints Cyriacus, Largus and Smaragdus, Franciscan Monastery in Zadar MS. 950, saec. XIII.

<sup>42</sup> The shelf mark actually signifies the published book in which the fragments were found, i.e., the commentaries on Cicero's speeches (Basel, 1539). Now they are kept separately. On the book is an inscription *Iunii Nicolai de Sorgo and Resid. Ragusinae. Soc. Jesu*.

<sup>43</sup> *Breviarium (De Auctoritate T.P.; Domenica secunda post octavam paschae)*. V. Brown, » A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V).«: p. 340.

<sup>44</sup> The shelf mark signifies the printed book Franciscus Titelmanus, *Philosophiae Naturalis libri XII*. Lugduni: Apud Antonium Vincentium, 1551.

<sup>45</sup> The shelf mark signifies the printed book Theoderetus Episcopus Cyri, *De providentia sermones X*. Rome, 1545.

<sup>46</sup> CR-20.911: *Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Iob*, 4.23.42, 43-44, 45, 46; A-1006: *Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Iob*, 22.5.10-7.14. V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V).«: p. 340.

<sup>47</sup> The fragments marked by letters "j-s" are kept in the Archives of the Dominican Monastery in the same fascicle as the fragments marked by letters "a-i" which have been known to scholars since their publishing in Loew's monograph on Beneventan script. Antonin Zaninović, scholar and prior of the Dominican Monastery of St. Dominic in Dubrovnik, was planning to publish the fragments marked by letters "j-s", yet his efforts were never brought to fruition, and the fragments remained uncatalogued. During my research for the doctoral thesis at the Dominican Monastery of St. Dominic in Dubrovnik I found the fragments, of which I informed Virginia Brown, who in 2005 came to scrutinise them, after which they were published in the last list of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments of 2008. V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V).«: pp. 294-296.

The fragment under shelf mark CR-20.799<sup>48</sup> (Fig. 4) in the Scientific Library in Dubrovnik was used as a cover of the printed book of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, while the introductory page contains a note on the book's owner, congregation of Mljet, that is, Benedictine Monastery of St. Mary on the island of Mljet.<sup>49</sup> As regards the general features of the script, notably its pronounced angularity, the script may be ascribed to the thirteenth century. In the word *propter*, for example, two letters "p" are joined in a manner typical of the Gothic script, while the Beneventan sign shaped like the Arabic number 3 used to signify an omitted letter "m" has a sharp, angular shape. With regard to the fragment's punctuation, the scribe uses only points for both final and medial stops, which departs from the clear Beneventan rules, and uses standard inverted commas for Bible quotations. Interestingly, employed in this fragment is an unusual abbreviation for *sicut*, "sic" with a suprascript Arabic number 2, which is used in the fragments of manuscripts *Moralia in Iob* by St. Gregory the Great (A-1006, CR-20. 911 fragments m, n, o), as well as in an earlier manuscript, "The Rules of St. Benedict" from the twelfth century in the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik, for which Branka Telebaković Pecarski proposed to be of Dubrovnik origin.<sup>50</sup>

Fragment under shelf mark A-478<sup>51</sup> from the Scientific Library in Dubrovnik consists of two smaller parts, and it is a Homiliary containing commentaries of Abbot Smaragdus on the rules of St. Benedict.<sup>52</sup> From a note written on the

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<sup>48</sup> The shelf mark actually signifies the printed book Aristotelis, *Ethicorum sive de moribus ad Nicomachum filium libri decem, nuper quidem à Ioachino Perionio*. Lyon, 1556. The content of the fragment has been identified as Haymo Autissiodorensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsim 2* (Apoc 3: 19-21). V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V).«: p. 340.

<sup>49</sup> It is less plausible, however, that the owner's note concerns the Mljet congregation established in 1527. Among its members were all Benedictine monasteries in the Dubrovnik area (Monastery of St. Mary on Mljet, Monastery of St. James in Dubrovnik, Monastery of St. Michael in Pakljena on the island of Šipan, Monastery of St. Andrew on the islet of St. Andrew near Dubrovnik). Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, vol. 2. Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1963: pp. 436-441.

<sup>50</sup> Agostino Pertusi, Branka Telebaković Pecarski, »Dubrovački fragmenti jedne latinske verzije Pseudo-Klementovih Recognitiones.« *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 10 (1967): pp. 39-45.

<sup>51</sup> The shelf mark actually signifies the printed book *M. T. Cicero. Epistole ad familiares*. Lyon, 1526.

<sup>52</sup> *Smaragdi commentaris in regulam Sancti Benedicti. Expositio in regulam B. Benedicti. Incipit prologus regulae B. Benedicti patris monachorum (saeculum IX Smaragdi abbatis monasterii Sancti Michaelis Viridunensis)*. V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V).«: p. 340.



introductory page of the book to which the fragment is attached we learn that the book belonged to the congregation of Mljet. The script is of pronounced angular shape and given the overall appearance, it may be dated to the thirteenth century. Although the small dimensions of the fragment do not allow a full insight into the abbreviation system of the formerly complete manuscript, it may be noted that the scribe uses “g” with a suprascript “o” for *ergo*, “no” with contraction line for *non*, and that a typical Beneventan sign used to signify an omitted letter “m” (a sign resembling the Arabic numeral 3) has a sharp, angular shape. The punctuation of the manuscript is confined to points for final and medial stops, as well as to point-and-stroke medial signs. Beneventan sign for question,<sup>53</sup> which resembles a comma, is to be found above the first and last word in a question, a system similar to that used in the fragment “o” from the Dominican Monastery, in the Book of St. Nicholas and in *Missale Ragusinum*. Above the words are the accents for reading aloud, while the letters at the beginning of paragraphs are touched with red and yellow.

In the Franciscan Monastery of the Friars Minor, apart from Beneventan fragments from the eleventh and twelfth century, also extant are two fragments from the thirteenth century, kept inside the later manuscripts:<sup>54</sup> a manuscript

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<sup>53</sup> Unlike non-Beneventan manuscripts which, as a rule, have a question mark at the end of an interrogative sentence, in Beneventan manuscripts the question mark may and may not necessarily be placed at the end, depending on the period from which the script originates. E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: pp. 236-270. Cf. also: R. F. Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum*: p. 35.

<sup>54</sup> Franciscan Monastery of Friars Minor in Dubrovnik:

5310/230/7, 8, saec. XII, 2 folios, *ordo* for the consecration of the church

Allig. 1, saec. XI, 2 fragments, Augustinus, *Tractatus in Iohannem* 47.1, 2-3

Allig. 5, saec. XI ex, 2 folios, *Sermones (S. Augustini admonitio in sermonem de symbolo contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos. caput xi, xii, Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis episcopi expositio evangelii secundum Lucam libris x comprehensa, liber secundus)*

Allig. 11, saec. XII, 1 fragment, *Liber regum*

*Incunabulum* 98, two leaves saec. XI ex, *Commentarius in regulam S. Benedicti*, currently cannot be located at the monastery, they were attached to and later separated from the book Guilelmus Duranti, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, Venice, 1485

*Incunabulum* 104 saec. XII, Ps.-Clemens, *Recognitiones*, four leaves were attached to the incunabulum Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica* II-II, Venice, 1495, currently cannot be located at the monastery

5310/210/16 saec. XII/XIII, 2 fragments, *Liturgica*, with neums

MS. 189, *Martyrologium Romanum*, 1541, opening and closing attached leaves are written in Beneventan script, saec. XIII

MS. 463, *Antiphonarium*, 1545, opening and closing leaves attached are written in Beneventan script, saec. XIII

under shelf mark MS. 189 (*Martirologium Romanum*) (Fig. 5), written by fra Bernardin Gučetić Gerić in the Franciscan Monastery on the isle of Daksa in 1541<sup>55</sup> and a manuscript under shelf mark MS. 463<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 6-9), Antiphonary from 1545, written by friar *Ioannes de Hammo Raguscinus* in the Franciscan Monastery of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik.<sup>57</sup> The fact that both manuscripts are of Dubrovnik origin enhances the possibility that the Beneventan fragments which were used secondarily in the manuscripts might originate from the Dubrovnik area.

The text of the fragments has not been identified in the lists of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments to date, so that the fragments enclosed with MS. 189 have been published under the title *Sermones*, while for the text of the fragments in manuscript MS. 463 an entry "unidentified text" is attached.<sup>58</sup> I have established that the Beneventan fragments kept in the manuscript MS. 189 contain the Book of Jeremiah from the Old Testament, and that the fragment attached to the front inner side of the cover of manuscript MS. 189 and the fragment attached to the inner back side of the cover are actually parts of the same folium. The front fragment attached to the inner side of the cover contains Jeremiah 9:26-10:13 (first column 9:26-10:1-4; second column 10:9-13), while the fragment attached to the back inner side of the cover contains Jeremiah 10:13-25 (first column 10:13-17, second column 10:21-25). Judging by the text flow, the former complete manuscript written in Beneventan script in two columns contained at least thirty lines of text (on the basis of the volume of the missing text, it must have had two to three additional lines). The other front fragment bound in the manuscript MS. 189 is a fragment of a separate folium which, on the basis of the text flow, in the original manuscript somewhat preceded the manuscript content, since it contains Jeremiah 6:15-7:16 (*recto* / first column

<sup>55</sup> Anđelko Badurina, »Illuminirani rukopisi samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku.«, in: *Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku*, ed. Josip Turčinović. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Kršćanska sadašnjost Zagreb i Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku, 1985: pp. 517-562.

<sup>56</sup> The manuscript is catalogued in: Paul Oscar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic MSS, Volume 5 Alia itinera 3: Sweden to Yugoslavia, Utopia. Italy 3: Supplement to Italy*. Leiden: Brill, 1990: p. 436.

<sup>57</sup> Inscription on f. 1r reads: *Hec est tabula totius libri quem scripsit frater Joannes de Hamo Raguscinus ad laudem dei et conceptionem Virginis Marie et ad utilitatem cantantium anno domini MDXXXXV cui dedit finem die XIII. martii in conventu Sancti Francisci Raguscii. Incipit tabula*

<sup>58</sup> V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I).«: p. 249.

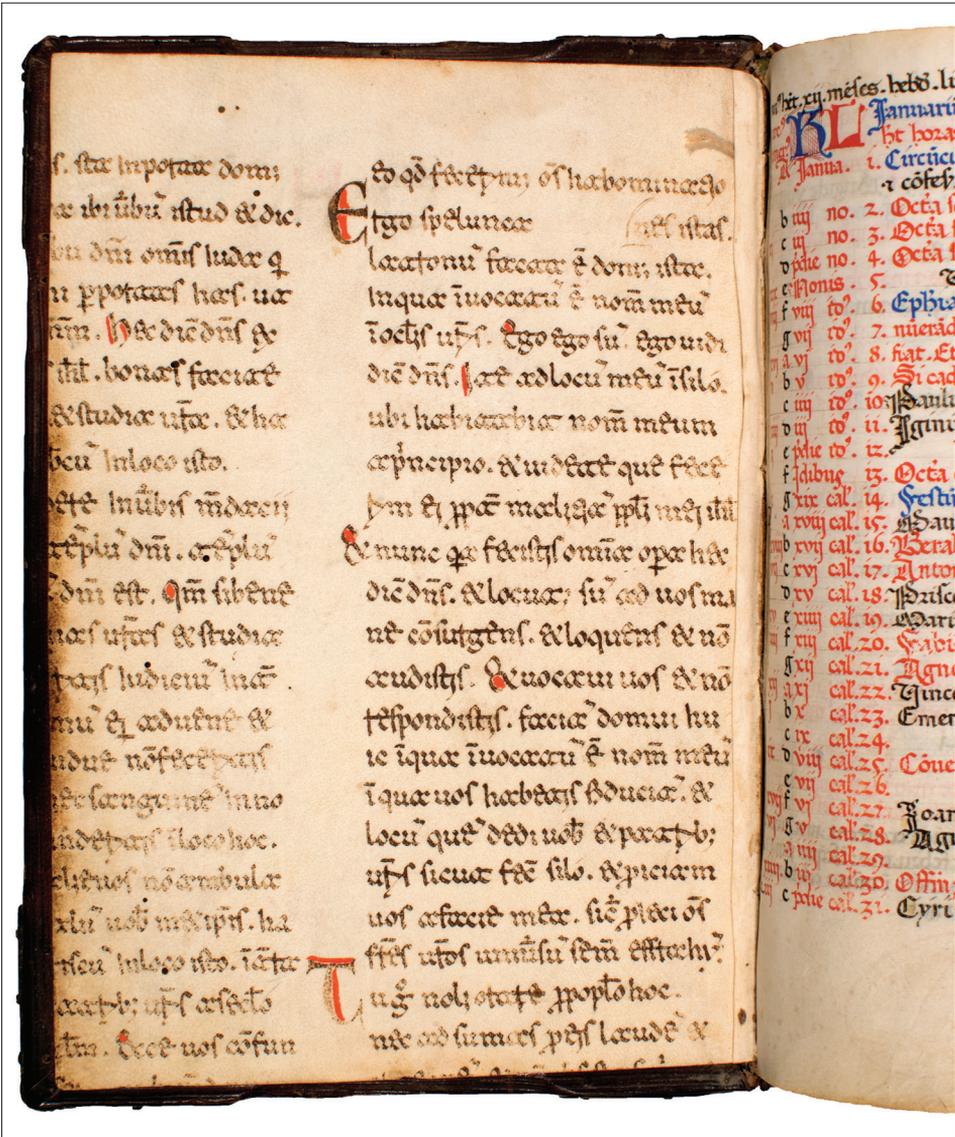


Fig. 4. Beneventan fragments from the 13th c. kept within manuscript MS. 189 (*Martirologium Romanum* written by fra Bernardin Gučetić Gerić at the Franciscan Monastery on the isle of Daksa in 1541). Photo by Ana Opalić

6:15-20, second column 6:22-28; *verso* / first column 7:2-8, second column 7:10-16).

Palaeographic features indicate that the scribe was equally inclined towards older (“omis” with horizontal contraction line) and recent (“ois” with horizontal contraction line) abbreviation system for *omnis*, *omnia*. The word *anima* he abbreviates as “aia” with contraction line, which is a practice common in the twelfth and thirteenth century,<sup>59</sup> and also uses “ipe” with contraction line for *ipse*, encountered in the thirteenth century only. Considering that abbreviation “ipe” with contraction line for *ipse* indisputedly indicates that a manuscript fragment originates from the thirteenth century, this fragment testifies to the simultaneous use of the older and recent abbreviation systems for *omnis*, *omnia* in the thirteenth century. Dating to the thirteenth century is confirmed by the angular shape of script and the details, such as two minuscule letters “p” joined together, which reminds of the features from the contemporary Gothic script (e.g. in the words *propterea* and *populo*). Similar to other fragments from Dubrovnik collections, also displayed is the use of “no” with contraction line for *non* and the sporadic use of the Carolingian “a” at the end of line. A similarity with the abbreviations of the previously analysed fragments is also displayed in the abbreviation “sic” with a suprascript sign resembling the Arabic number 2 for *sicut*. The scribe uses abbreviated form for *populus* with omitted vowel and a horizontal line intersecting the letter “l”, a less common Beneventan abbreviation<sup>60</sup> which may be traced in the earlier fragments from Dubrovnik collections (e.g. fragment “f” from the eleventh century in the Dominican Monastery in Dubrovnik). Equally, the scribe does not use the standard abbreviation for *tempore*:<sup>61</sup> on one occasion he used “tepure” with a suprascript sign shaped like the Arabic number 3, i.e., standard Beneventan abbreviation for omitted letter “m”, and also once he used “tpe” with a suprascript sign resembling the Arabic number 3, while the shaft of the letter “p” is intersected by a horizontal line. In terms of punctuation, the scribe uses points only. At the beginning of paragraphs, letters are of somewhat larger scale (2-3 lines of text) and touched with red. In 2008 Virginia Brown discovered remarkable closeness with the Beneventan fragment kept in the Bancroft Library of the Berkeley University

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<sup>59</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: p. 175.

<sup>60</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: p. 188.

<sup>61</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: pp. 194-195.

in California under shelf mark 130:f1200:17.<sup>62</sup> The Beneventan leaf written in one column contains the text of commentary on the Gospel of Matthew by Bruno of Segni, and the fragments most probably are not part of the same manuscript, yet striking resemblance between the scripts leads to a conclusion that both manuscripts were written by the same scribe, preserved merely in fragments.

Beneventan fragments kept in the Antiphony under shelf mark MS. 463 are in a fairly bad condition and virtually illegible in places, and curiously, are not attached to the front side but bound into small volumes of the Antiphony.<sup>63</sup> I have established that Beneventan fragments contain the tractates of St. Augustine on the Gospel of John. More precisely, “fragment 1” from the front side of the codex contains *Tractatus in Iohannem* 19:14,<sup>64</sup> considerable volume of text is missing, while on the *verso* the *Tractatus in Iohannem* 19:16 is continued.<sup>65</sup> The second front fragment, i.e., “fragment 2”, from which it is apparent that the text was written in two columns, contains the text *Tractatus in*

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<sup>62</sup> Available on-line in the database *Digital scriptorium*: <https://digital-scriptorium.org/xtf3/search?rmode=digscript;smode=basic;text=beneventan;docsPerPage=1;startDoc=5;fullview=yes> (accessed 3 November 2019).

<sup>63</sup> On the front side of manuscript MS. 463 are the fragments 1 and 2, dimensions 13.8 x 9.5 cm, while on the back side is the fragment 3, dimensions 28 x 9.5 cm.

<sup>64</sup> “fragment 1”, *recto*:

(...) sapientem, fateris resurgere animam meam, si tibi obtemperavero, si tibi credidero. Volentes [Col. 1552] ergo sibi credi omnes qui instituerunt alicujus etiam falsae religionis sectam, negare istam mentium resurrectionem non potuerunt; omnes de illa consenserunt: sed multi carnis resurrectionem negaverunt; dixerunt in fide jam factam esse resurrectionem. Talibus resistit Apostolus, dicens: *Ex quibus est Hymenaeus et Philetus, qui circa veritatem aberraverunt, dicentes resurrectionem jam factam esse, et fidem quorundam subvertunt* (II Tim. II, 17, 18). Jam factam esse resurrectionem dicebant, sed eo modo ut alia non speraretur: et reprehendebant homines (...) *Tractatus XIX, 14, In Evangelium Ioannis tractatus centum viginti quatuor, S. Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia, Patrologia cursus completus. Series latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne vol. 35, Parisiis 1845, cols. 1379-1977, accessed on *Patrologia latina Database*, Chadwyck-Healey Inc., 1996.

<sup>65</sup> “fragment 1”, *verso*:

(...) erit forma Dei. Occultus erit in servo Filius Dei, et apparebit filius hominis; quia *potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere, quia filius hominis est*. Et quia ipse solus apparebit in forma servi, Pater autem non apparebit, quia non est indutus forma servi; ideo superius ait, *Pater non iudicat quemquam, sed omne iudicium dedit Filio*. Bene ergo dilatum est, ut ipse esset expositor qui propositor. Superius enim occultum erat; nunc jam, ut arbitrator, manifestum est quia *dedit ei potestatem et iudicium facere, quia Pater non iudicat quemquam, sed omne iudicium dedit Filio*: quia iudicium per illam formam futurum est, quam [Col. 1554] non habet Pater. Et quale iudicium? *Nolite mirari hoc; quia* (...) *Tractatus XIX, 16, PL 35*

*Iohannem* 20:13<sup>66</sup> and *Tractatus in Iohannem* 21:1,<sup>67</sup> a part of the text is missing, and on the *verso* *Tractatus in Iohannem* 21:2-3 is continued.<sup>68</sup> In terms of the text flow and resemblance of script and dimensions, “fragment 3” at the back of manuscript MS. 463 is actually a torn off part of a larger folium that also contained “fragment 2” — namely, “fragment 3” includes the parts of text missing in fragment 2.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, “fragment 3” reveals the page layout of the

<sup>66</sup> “fragment 2”, *recto*, 1st column:

(...attend)e candorem solis. In coelo est, et expandit candorem per terras omnes, per maria omnia: et utique corporalis lux est. Si separas candorem solis a sole, separa Verbum a Patre. De sole loquor. Lucernae una flammula tenuis, quae uno flatu possit exstingui, spargit lucem suam super cuncta quae subjacent. Vides lucem sparsam a flammula generatam, emissionem vides, separationem non vides. Intelligite ergo, fratres charissimi, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum inseparabiliter sibi cohaerere, Trinitatem hanc unum Deum; et omnia opera unius Dei, haec esse Patris, haec esse Filii, (haec esse Spiritus [Col. 1564]...) *Tractatus XX*, 13, PL 35

<sup>67</sup> “fragment 2”, *recto*, 2nd column:

(...melius est enim) scire, quam errare: sed scire est melius quam nescire. Itaque ante omnia conari debemus ut sciamus: si potuerimus, Deo gratias; si autem non potuerimus interim pervenire ad veritatem, non eamus ad falsitatem. Quid enim simus, et quid tractemus, considerare debemus. Homines sumus carnes portantes, in hac vita ambulantes: et si jam de semine verbi Dei renuti, tamen in Christo innovati, ut non dum penitus ab Adam exspoliati. Quod enim nostrum mortale et corruptibile aggravate animam (Sap. IX, 15), ex Adam esse apparet, et manifestum est: quod autem nostrum spirituale sublevat (animam, de Dei...) *Tractatus XXI*, 1, PL 35

<sup>68</sup> “fragment 2”, *verso*, 1st column:

(...substantia et) potentia ejus ex illo est qui genuit eum. Modo autem cum dixisset se haec facere similiter quae facit Pater, ut non intelligamus alia facere Patrem, [Col. 1565] alia Filium, sed simili potentia facere Filium eadem ipsa quae Pater facit, cum Pater facit per Filium; secutus ait quod hodie lectum audivimus, Pater enim *diligit Filium, et omnia demonstrat ei quae ipse facit*. Rursus mortalis cogitatio perturbatur. Demonstrat Pater Filio quae ipse facit: ergo, ait aliquis, seorsum Pater facit, ut possit Filius videre quod facit. Rursus occurrunt humanae cogitationi tanquam artifices duo...) *Tractatus XXI*, 2, PL 35

“fragment 2”, *verso*, 2nd column:

(...) Sapientia Dei (I Cor. I, 24)? ubi quod de ipsa Sapientia Scriptura dicit, *Candor est enim lucis aeternae* (Sap, VII, 26)? ubi quod de illa iterum dicitur, *Attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter* (Id. VIII, 1)? Si quid facit Pater, per Filium facit; si per Sapientiam suam, et Virtutem suam facit: non extra illi ostendit quod videat, sed in ipso illi ostendit quod facit.

3. Quid videt Pater, vel potius quid videt Filius in Patre ut faciat et ipse? Possim forte dicere; sed da qui possit capere: aut forte possim cogitare, nec dicere; aut forte nec cogitare. Excedit enim nos illa divini (...), *Tractatus XXI*, 2-3, PL 35

<sup>69</sup> “fragment 3”, *recto*, 1st column:

(...et erastino die) sermo debetur vobis, adestote ut audiatis. TRACTATUS XXI. *Ab eo quod scriptum est, Pater enim diligit Filium, et omnia demonstrat ei quae ipse facit; usque ad id, Qui non honorificat Filium, non honorificat Patrem qui misit illum. Cap. V, V\.* 20-23.

1. Hesterno die quantum Dominus donare dignatus est, qua potuimus facultate tractavimus, et qua potuimus capacitate intelleximus, quomodo (...)

original manuscript written in two columns, because the right column of the text has survived in its original width. Fragments 2 + 3 together contain 28 lines of text, though, judging by the missing parts of the text, the original leaf contained at least a few more lines. The script of the fragments is of angular appearance similar to Beneventan manuscripts of the thirteenth century, while the dating to the thirteenth century is also confirmed by abbreviation “ipe” with contraction line above the letter “p” for *ipse*,<sup>70</sup> as well as “hoies” with horizontal contraction line above the letters “i” and “e” for *homines*. The script of fragments displays a slight slant to the right, which links it to the Beneventan fragment MS. 950 from the Scientific Library in Dubrovnik. They are also connected through an abbreviation system—the scribe of Beneventan fragments from MS. 463 uses abbreviations typical of the thirteenth century, along with an older abbreviation system for *omnis*, e.g. “ome” with contraction line above “m” for *omne*. As with the fragment MS. 950, ligature “fi” only slightly descends

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“fragment 3”, *recto*, 2nd column:

(...) nos ad immortalitatem suam. Hunc habemus magistrum, ut non peccemus; et defensorem, si peccaverimus et confessi atque conversi fuerimus; et interpellatorem pro nobis, si quid boni a Domino desideraverimus; et datorem cum Patre, quia Deus unus est Pater et Filius. Sed loquebatur ista homo hominibus; Deus occultus, homo manifestus, ut manifestos homines faceret deos; et Filius Dei, factus hominis filius, ut hominum filios faceret filios Dei. Qua hoc arte sapientiae suae faciat, in ejus verbis agnoscimus. Loquitur enim parvulis parvus: sed ipse ita parvus ut et magnus; nos autem parvi, sed in (...)

*Tractatus XXI*, 1, PL 35

“fragment 3”, *verso*, 1st column:

(...demonstret ei quidquid) facit, ut possit etiam ipse facere: *Omnia*, inquit, *demonstrat ei quae ipse facit*. Cum ergo Pater facit, Filius non facit, ut possit videre Filius quod Pater facit? Certe *omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil*. Hunc videmus quemadmodum Pater demonstrat Filio quod facit; cum Pater nihil faciat, nisi quod per Filium facit. Quid fecit Pater? Mundum. Itane factum mundum demonstravit Filio, ut et ipse tale aliquid faceret? Detur ergo mundus nobis quem fecit et Filius, Sed, et *omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil, et mundus per eum factus est* (Joan. I, 3, 10). Si factus per eum est mundus, et omnia per ipsum facta (...)

“fragment 3”, *verso*, 2nd column:

(...) illo vitae nunc aliquid irrorare dignetur et distillare in sitim nostram, ne in hac eremo arescamus. Dicamus ei, Domine, cui didicimus dicere, Pater. Audemus enim hoc, quia ipse voluit ut auderemus: si tamen sic vivamus, ut non nobis dicat, *Si Pater sum, ubi est honor meus? si Dominus sum, ubi est timor meus* (Malach. I, 6)? Dicamus ergo illi, Pater noster. Cui dicimus, Pater noster? Patri Christi. Qui ergo Patri Christi dicit, Pater noster, quid dicit Christo, nisi, Frater noster? Non tamen sicut Christi Pater, ita et noster Pater: nunquam enim Christus ita nos conjunxit, ut nullam distinctionem faceret inter nos et se. Ille enim Filius aequalis Patri, ille ae(ternus...)

*Tractatus XXI*, 3, PL 35

<sup>70</sup> E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*: p. 184.



Fig.5-8. Beneventan fragments from the 13th c. kept within the manuscript under shelf mark MS. 463 (Antiphonary from 1545, written by friar *Ioannes de Hammo Ragusinus* in the Franciscan Monastery of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik). Photo by Ana Opalić

below the basic line, while the fragments are also linked on the basis of morphological features of certain letters—for example, a specific letter “g” with a prominently bolded lower part or letter “d” with a particularly short, somewhat dwarfed upper part. The width of column which can only be determined on “fragment 3” is 10.5 cm, the columns are spaced 2 cm apart, while the parchment leaf of the original manuscript of the fragments from MS. 463 most probably had some thirty lines of text (28 preserved, in addition to several missing lines given the bad condition). The size of the letters approximates 4-5 mm, capital letters 10mm, and all the listed dimensions actually correspond to the dimensions of fragment MS. 950 from the Scientific Library.<sup>71</sup>

Considering the closeness of palaeographic script features of the fragments kept in MS. 463 and fragment MS. 950, as well as the fact that the fragments contain the same text, that is, the tractates of St. Augustine on the Gospel of John, there is a high probability that the fragments are actually *membra disiecta* of a codex of Dubrovnik origin.

*Beneventan fragments from the library of the Jesuit Monastery in Dubrovnik kept in the Library of Juraj Habelić in Zagreb*

Two Beneventan fragments from the Jesuit Monastery in Dubrovnik are among the holdings of the Library of Juraj Habelić in Zagreb: fragment of a missal, shelf mark 2027,<sup>72</sup> and fragments *Vitae sanctorum* which are still kept within the incunabulum.<sup>73</sup> The missal fragment consists of two parts that once formed a single leaf of manuscript. The Beneventan hand of the fragment displays pronounced angularity typical of the Beneventan used in Dubrovnik

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<sup>71</sup> Given that the fragment MS. 950 from the Scientific Library was used as a wrapper of a printed book by Franciscus Tittelmanus, dimensions 17x11 cm, in the library of the Franciscan Monastery I searched for Tittelmanus’s book that would fit the size of the mentioned cover. I did find a book by Franciscus Tittelmanus of similar dimensions (15x10.5 cm), titled *In omnes Epistolas elucidatio* (shelf mark 25-III-2), yet not the work *Elucidatio in sanctum Christi Evangelium secundum Matheum et Iohannem* written in the place of the former spine, that is, in the middle of fragment MS. 950 from the Scientific Library in Dubrovnik (*Elucidatio Fra.i Titelm.ni Euang. Mathei et Joannes*).

<sup>72</sup> Shelf mark indicates the incunabulum *Opuscula divi Bernardi abbatis Clarevallensis* (Venice, 1495) with the seal *Bibliothecae Res. Rag. S. I.* to which the fragments were attached, currently kept together with the incunabulum.

<sup>73</sup> Juraj Dragišić, *De natura angelica* (Florence, 1499), containing ex-libris *Ad Vincentii Nicolai usum amicorumque eius anno Domini M.D.LXXI. Vale.*

in the thirteenth century, along with an abbreviation system in which some abbreviations did not appear before the thirteenth century, such as “ipa” with contraction line for *ipsa*. The scribe also uses “aia” with contraction line for *anima* and a later abbreviation system for *omnis, omnia*, but also compounds including *omnis, omnia*, e.g. “oips” with contraction line for *omnipotens*. If a word contains two consecutive “p’s”, they are joined together as was common in Gothic script. The scribe also uses “no” with contraction line for *non* and an unusual abbreviation for *sicut*—“sic” with a suprascript sign shaped like the Arabic number 2, which we find in Dubrovnik fragments and manuscripts written in Beneventan script. The letters at the beginning of paragraphs are touched with red. In terms of punctuation, the scribe uses standard Beneventan signs for medial stops (point-and-stroke), yet for the final stop he uses points only. The hand remarkably resembles the Beneventan part of the Book of St. Nicholas, manuscript of Dubrovnik origin, notably the part written by the first scribe (f. 1r-11v). The fragments *Vitae Sanctorum* are the parts of two Beneventan leaves attached to the front and back side (Fig. 10). The front fragment contains the life of Blessed Virgin Mary according to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, whilst the back fragment contains the life of St. Longinus.<sup>74</sup> The hand type also displays pronounced angularity characteristic of Dalmatian Beneventan script in the thirteenth century. Dating to the thirteenth century has been confirmed with the presence of abbreviation “ipa” with contraction line for *ipsa*, as well as the manner in which two letters “p” are written closely together as in Gothic script. The scribe uses “aia” for *anima*, “no” with contraction line for *non*, “oium” with contraction line for *omnium*. Regarding the punctuation, the scribe uses standard Beneventan signs: a point-and-stroke for the middle and two points and a comma for the final stop. The words have accents for reading aloud. There is yet another curious script feature, and that is the use of little flag-like strokes on the top of the minuscule letter “d”, a feature that may be traced in the Book of St. Nicholas and the fragments from Chantilly and Graz. The script of fragment *Vitae Sanctorum* most resembles the script of the Beneventan part of the Book of St. Nicholas, particularly the part written by the second scribe (f. 12r-24v). Letter morphology, abbreviation system and punctuation of the fragments from the Scientific Library of Juraj Habelić share remarkable closeness to the manuscripts from the thirteenth century written

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<sup>74</sup> V. Brown, »A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II).«: pp. 64-65.

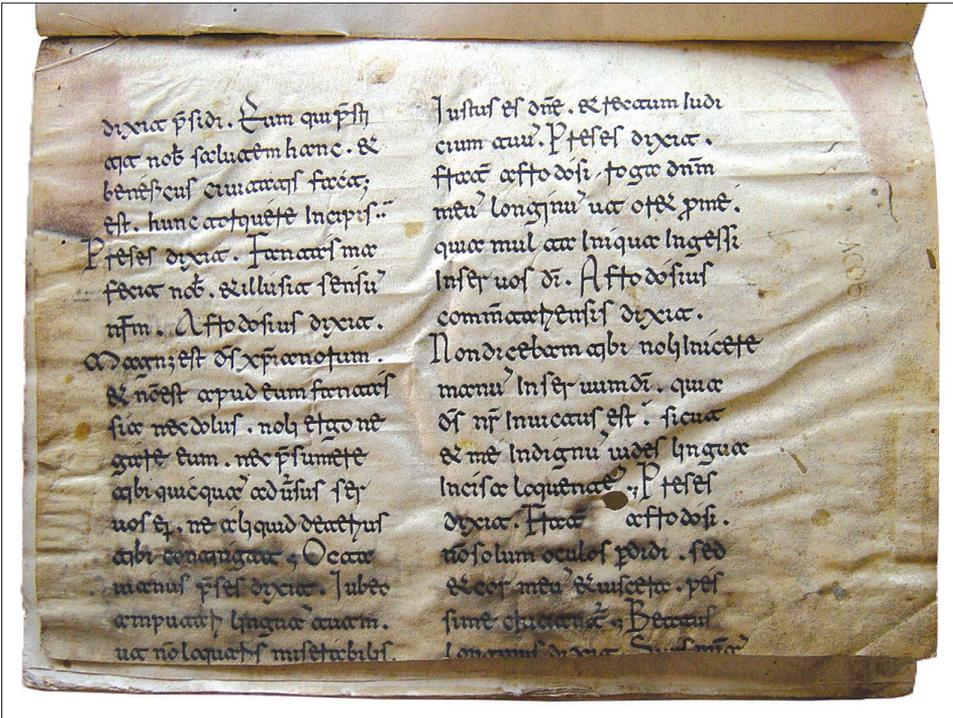


Fig.9. Beneventan fragments from the 13th c. (*Vitae sanctorum*) kept within the incunabulum of Juraj Dragišić, *De natura angelica* (Florence, 1499), Scientific Library of Juraj Habelić, Zagreb. Photo by Rozana Vojvoda

in Beneventan script, Book of St. Nicholas and the fragments from Chantilly and Graz, and thus point to the plausibility of Dubrovnik origin.

### Conclusion

The manuscript fragment of St. Augustine, which was acquired in 2012 for Dubrovnik Libraries (MS. 950), on the basis of its palaeographic features may be dated to the thirteenth century mainly because of the pronounced angularity of its Beneventan script that cannot compare to the angular script of the eleventh century, and the employed abbreviation system. The plausibility of Dubrovnik origin is further supported by a comparison with the script of *Missale Ragusinum* and the Book of St. Nicholas, as well as the fragments from Chantilly and Graz, whose Dubrovnik origin has already been determined. The mentioned

manuscripts and fragments are valuable comparative sources which testify that the Beneventan script with pronounced angularity, most probably developed under the influence of contemporary Gothic script, was used in Dubrovnik in the thirteenth century. The letters are not placed directly on the base line, thus creating an irregular appearance. Also evident is an inconsistency in the use of standard Beneventan punctuation which is mainly confined to points. The scribes use abbreviations typical of the thirteenth century although the manuscripts display a simultaneous usage of old and recent abbreviation system for *omnis*, *omnia*, which indicates the conservative characteristics of the Beneventan used in Dalmatia. The script also possesses certain features of the round Beneventan used in Dalmatia in the eleventh century, such as the ligature “fi” not descending below the base line and relatively short strokes with the letters of ascending and descending lines.

Dubrovnik collections (Scientific Library, Franciscan Monastery of the Friars Minor, Dominican Monastery of St. Dominic) also house a series of other fragments written in the Beneventan script, whose script, in terms of palaeographic features, may be dated to the thirteenth century. In support of Dubrovnik origin of the mentioned fragments is the resemblance with the type of Beneventan used in the thirteenth century in the manuscripts of confirmed Dubrovnik origin, such as *Missale Ragusinum* and the Book of St. Nicholas, along with the fragments from Chantilly and Graz. Apart from the fact that the hand of the fragments written in Beneventan from Dubrovnik collections possesses pronounced angularity, and the letters are not placed precisely on the base line, the abbreviation system and punctuation share similar features in all the analysed fragments. The most distinguishing abbreviation, which does not fall among typical Beneventan abbreviations, is “sic” with a suprascript sign resembling the Arabic number 2 for *sicut* and may be traced in the fragments in the Scientific Library (CR-20.799, A-1006, CR-20. 911), Dominican Monastery (fragments m, n, o, which are *membra disiecta* of the same manuscript as A-1006), and the fragment in the Franciscan Monastery (MS. 189), as well as the manuscripts *Missale Ragusinum* and the Book of St. Nicholas.

Closest to fragment MS. 950 in the Scientific Library with regard to script features are the Beneventan fragments from the thirteenth century kept in the Franciscan Monastery in the Antiphonary under shelf mark MS. 463, a manuscript of Dubrovnik origin written by friar *Ioannes de Hammo Ragusinus* in the Franciscan Monastery of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik. The Beneventan fragments from manuscript MS. 463 contain the same text as fragment MS.

950 from the Scientific Library (St. Augustine, *Tractatus super Ioannem*), and given the morphological characteristics of the letters, page layout, dimensions and abbreviation system, one may conclude that the fragments are *membra disiecta* of the same manuscript of Dubrovnik provenance (with some reservation due to the poor condition of the fragments in manuscript MS. 463). The here examined fragments written in Beneventan script which may be dated to the thirteenth century are an invaluable testimony of Beneventan literacy, activity of at least one Dubrovnik scriptorium, but also a clear proof of the continuity and intensity of the usage of Beneventan script in Dalmatia.

Translated by Vesna Baće