

## NEW FRAGMENTS OF MANUSCRIPTS IN CAROLINE MINUSCULE FROM THE AREA OF SALERNO\*

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**D**URING visits to libraries and archives in the Campania region and specifically in the area of Salerno for the purpose of registering manuscript codices and documents, I have found twenty-one fragments, originally from three manuscripts, in Caroline minuscule. A folio from one manuscript serves as the cover of a notary's register from 1518 to 1519,<sup>1</sup> a folio from another manuscript serves as the flyleaf of a fourteenth-century manuscript containing part of the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas,<sup>2</sup> and nineteen small fragments from a single manuscript have been used to reinforce the spines of four sixteenth-century printed volumes also containing the *Summa theologiae*.<sup>3</sup> In the following description and palaeographic analysis of the fragments, I identify their contents and formulate some hypotheses about their date and the circulation of the original *codices*,<sup>4</sup> while also attempting to place them within

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<sup>1</sup> Salerno, Archivio di Stato, Protocolli notarili, busta 6641, Matteo de Pino (Scala) an. 1518–1519.

<sup>2</sup> Baronissi, Convento SS. Trinità, Archivio storia della Curia provinciale, MS [s.n.].

<sup>3</sup> Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/1, 94/2.1, 94/2.2, 94/3. On reused manuscripts and their description, see, for example, Elisabetta Caldelli, *I frammenti della biblioteca Vallicelliana. Studio metodologico sulla catalogazione dei frammenti di codici medievali e sul fenomeno del loro riuso* (Rome, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> The census and description of medieval fragments has intensified in recent years; see, e.g., Bonifacio Baroffio, "I frammenti liturgico-musicali medioevali nell'Archivio di Stato di Roma," in *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma 4–7 giugno 1992*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, and Vera Vita Spagnuolo (Lucca, 1994), 67–78; Bonifacio G. Baroffio, "I frammenti liturgici nella collezione delle pergamene dell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone," in *"In the Shadow of Montecassino": Nuove ricerche dai frammenti di codice dell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone*, ed. Raffaele Santoro et al., Quaderni dell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone 3 (Frosinone, 1995), 77–91; *Frammenti di storia medioevale. Mostra di codici e frammenti di codici liturgici dei secoli XI–XVI dall'archivio storico del*

the framework of manuscripts from the area of Salerno, a strategic zone as crossroads between Lombard, Norman, Byzantine, and Arabic cultures and known to be rooted in the Beneventan-Cassinese cultural influence.

By the twelfth century, the period to which the fragments can be dated, Norman domination had completely taken over the Lombard rule in southern Italy, introducing its own administrative and bureaucratic apparatus, and the Benedictine monasteries gradually gave way to Cluniac and then Cistercian monasteries which used their own graphical styles. In Salerno this change occurred after the defeat of the Lombard prince Gisulfo II and with the entry of Robert Guiscard. The area of Salerno was largely under the political control of the Benedictine abbey of Cava,<sup>5</sup> and it was strongly characterized by the use of Beneventan script (still evident in the thirteenth century both in books and documents).<sup>6</sup> Manuscripts from this period written in Caroline minuscule can also be assigned to the area,<sup>7</sup> such as the *Chartularium Ecclesiae Salerni-*

*Comune di Stroncone*. Stroncone, 9–29 agosto 1998, Sala consiliare Palazzo municipale e Biblioteca Convento di S. Francesco (catalogue), ed. Bonifacio Baroffio, Cristina Mastroianni, Fabrizio Mastroianni (n.p., n.d.); Bonifacio Baroffio, “‘Colligere fragmenta ne pereant.’ Il recupero dei frammenti liturgici italiani,” *Rivista liturgica* 88 (2001): 679–94, and “‘Colligere fragmenta ne pereant.’ I frammenti liturgici italiani,” in *Die Erschließung der Quellen des mittelalterlichen liturgischen Gesangs*, ed. David Hiley (Wiesbaden, 2004), 11–32; and Caldelli, *I frammenti della biblioteca Vallicelliana*. See also websites on fragments, e.g., for the “Archivi di Stato” of Bologna, Pistoia, and Reggio Emilia.

<sup>5</sup> See Vito Loré, *Monasteri, principi, aristocrazie. La Trinità di Cava nei secoli XI e XII*, Istituzioni e Società 10 (Spoleto, 2008), in particular the section “Strutture signorili e caratteri dell’espansione cavense nel Salernitano,” 86–91.

<sup>6</sup> Cava dei Tirreni, Archivio della Abbazia SS. Trinità 24, dated 1295, is one of the last examples in Beneventan script.

<sup>7</sup> The presence and circulation of manuscripts in Caroline minuscule along the Amalfi Coast already at the beginning of the eleventh century is given, for example, by the bequest left by the *presbyter* Giovanni da Fontanella to the female convent of Santa Maria de Fontanella in Atrani, including *libri manu francesca (eptaticum unum . . . libri duo de regum . . . Ysidorum unum)*, according to evidence reported by Matteo Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell’antica città e ducato di Amalfi* (Naples, 1876), 1:221; see also E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2d edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown, I: Text, Sussidi eruditi 33 (Rome 1980), 23. Furthermore, there may have been a consistent circulation of manuscripts in this area during the eleventh century on account of the cultural activity of Lorenzo di Amalfi (Amalfitan archbishop in 1029, then abbot of Montecassino, named Leo II); see Gerardo Sangermano, “Uomini di cultura e forme dell’arte nel Medioevo amalfitano e sorrentino,” *Rassegna storica salernitana*, n.s., 4 (1985): 109–32, rpt. in idem, *Scritti “amalfitani.” Vent’anni di studi su Amalfi medievale e il suo*

*tanae* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Patetta 1621), dated to the early twelfth century;<sup>8</sup> a section of the *Necrologium* of the *liber confratrum* of the Cathedral of St. Matthew, which presents obits in Caroline minuscule from the first half of the twelfth century;<sup>9</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 1496, dated between 1150 and 1170 and written in a “pure” Caroline minuscule and in Beneventan script, but also in a Caroline minuscule influenced by Beneventan script; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Arch. S. Pietro H 44, with rubrics in Caroline minuscule (dated to the end of the twelfth century);<sup>10</sup> some records of the *Annales Cavenses* (Cava, Archivio 3);<sup>11</sup> and Cava, Archivio 6, whose third and fourth sections have Caroline minuscule by a hand trained in Beneventan, Beneventan script influenced by Norman Caroline, and an atypical Caroline datable between the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>12</sup> At the beginning of the twelfth century, therefore,

*territorio*, ed. Maria Galante and Amalia Galdi (Salerno, 2014), 37–59; Gabriella Braga, “Lorenzo d’Amalfi, un agiografo lettore di classici nella Montecassino del secolo XI,” in *Virgilio e il chiostro: Manoscritti di autori classici e civiltà monastica*, ed. Mariano Dell’Omo (Rome, 1996), 91–101.

<sup>8</sup> See Hartmut Hoffmann, “Die älteren Abtslisten von Montecassino,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 47 (1967): 347–54.

<sup>9</sup> See Maria Galante, “Un necrologio e le sue scritture: Salerno, sec. XI–XVI,” *Scrittura e Civiltà* 13 (1989): 49–328 (index: I–XXXIII), at 72–73.

<sup>10</sup> Paolo Cherubini, “Tra longobardi, normanni e greci: osservazioni su scrittura e cultura a Salerno nei secoli X–XII,” *Scrittura e Civiltà* 25 (2001): 113–44, at 134.

<sup>11</sup> See *Annales Cavenses*, ed. Fulvio Delle Donne, *Fonti per la storia dell’Italia medievale. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 9; *Analecta Cavensia* 5 (Rome, 2011).

<sup>12</sup> Maria Galante, “Esperienze grafiche a Cava nel XII secolo: il Cod. Cav. 6,” *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 3d ser., 21 (1982): 7–25, at 22–23 and n. 28; Caterina Tristano, “Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell’Italia meridionale,” *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979): 89–150, at 96. Also in the fourth section is a palimpsest quire (fols. 187r–192v) whose lower script, arranged in two columns, is a Caroline minuscule not earlier than the tenth century (which could have been part of a large manuscript, perhaps a *Sacramentarium*) and whose upper script is Beneventan, written in the “Cassinense” style and attributed to the *scriptorium* of the abbey of Cava; it can be assumed that the original *codex* in Caroline minuscule had been brought to Cava by the French monks who settled there, and was reused once it was considered obsolete (Galante, “Esperienze grafiche,” 23 n. 29). While Caroline minuscule was adopted in Norman public documents (and used by scribes following the new sovereign and educated to the use of that script), in private documents it would be a prerogative of ecclesiastics; see Cherubini, “Tra longobardi, normanni e greci,” 126. Towards the middle of the twelfth century, however, in a territory between Vietri and Cava, some notaries were able to write a very elegant Beneventan script with some letters in Caroline minuscule and with a particular stylistic element used until the twelfth century and resulting di-

mixed forms in Beneventan-Caroline writing were adopted which gave way to late Caroline/Gothic writing models.<sup>13</sup>

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The nineteen small fragments presented here are pieces of a liturgical manuscript, perhaps a *missale plenarium* or a *rituale*,<sup>14</sup> placed on the spines of the four volumes of the *Summa theologiae* printed in 1581 by Giunta in Lyons,<sup>15</sup> and now preserved in the library of the Franciscan convent of Baro-

rectly from Norman influence: a little fork at the end of the stems of letters *b*, *d*, *h*, *i*, and *l* (see *ibid.*, 128–34). On the use of mixed forms in private documents of the notaries from Salerno, see for example, Francesco Magistrale, “Fasi e alternanze grafiche nella scrittura documentaria: i casi di Salerno, Troia e Bari,” in *Civiltà del Mezzogiorno d’Italia: Libro, scrittura, documento in età normanno-sveva. Atti del Convegno dell’Associazione italiana dei paleografi e diplomatisti (Napoli, Badia di Cava dei Tirreni, 14–18 ottobre 1991)*, ed. Filippo D’Oria, *Cultura scritta e memoria storica 1* (Salerno, 1994), 169–96, and “I centri di produzione libraria,” in *Centri di produzione della cultura nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo. Atti delle dodicesime giornate normanno-sveve* (Bari, 17–20 ottobre 1995), ed. Giosuè Musca (Bari, 1997), 247–73.

<sup>13</sup> Galante, “Esperienze grafiche,” 23. For other manuscripts presumably from the Salerno area written in Caroline minuscule and in Beneventan script and dated about the twelfth century (Vat. Urb. lat. 1415, Vat. lat. 3973, Zurich C 128, and Leiden, Voss. Lat. Q. 1), see Tristano, “Scrittura beneventana,” 134–36.

<sup>14</sup> On the features of liturgical manuscripts in central-southern Italy, in particular the *missalia*, see, e.g., Klaus Gamber, “La liturgia delle diocesi dell’Italia centro-meridionale dal IX all’XI secolo,” in *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia nel Medioevo (sec. IX–XIII)* (Padua, 1964), 145–56, at 150–51. On the nomenclature of liturgical books, see Giacomo Baroffio, “Glossario,” in *ACOLIT. Autori cattolici e opere liturgiche. Una lista di autorità*, ed. Mauro Guerrini (Milan, 2004), 3: *Opere liturgiche XCV–CXXI*.

<sup>15</sup> *Summa totius theologiae d. Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici . . . cum commentariis D. Thomae de Vio, Caietani cardinalis. . . Quibus accesserunt & alia, nempe Supplementum tertiae partis, ex auctoris potissimum scriptis collectum, deinde Quotilibeta eiusdem auctoris, postremo opuscula omnia eiusdem D. Thomae de Vio Caietani. Cum indicibus rerum particularium copiosissimis, quibus additi sunt octo totius Summae indices . . .* (Lugduni, apud Ioannam Iacobi Iuntae F., 1581):

1. *Summa totius theologiae d. Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici . . . cum commentariis d. Thomae de Vio Caietani . . . cuius Summae Prima pars hoc primo tomo continetur cui adiectus est eiusdem d. Thomae Tractatus, de Dei Omnipotentia, praescientia et praedestinatione* (Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento, Museo, FA 94/1 - ex 119);

2.1. *Prima secundae partis Summae totius theologiae d. Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici reverendissimi domini Thomae a Vio Caietani . . . commentariis illustrata cui accesserunt postillae locis suis ad textum adpositae quaestionum item et singulorum articulorum additus est index* (Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento, Museo, FA 94/2.1 - ex 120);

nissi (which is currently the Friar Minor Curia of the province of Salerno and Lucania).<sup>16</sup> These volumes come from the convent of S. Francesco del Cilento, within the Lustra district,<sup>17</sup> situated in the area of ancient Lucania, about 70 km south of Salerno).<sup>18</sup> Originally some Benedictine monasteries were located in this area under the control of the Badia of Cava, like S. Magno and S. Arcangelo of Perdifumo.<sup>19</sup> The monk Pietro (1038–1123), later

2.2. *Secunda secundae partis Summae totius theologiae d. Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici reverendiss(imi) domini Thomae a Vio Caietani . . . commentariis illustrata cui accesserunt postillae locis suis ad textum adpositae cum indicibus quaestionum earumque singulorum articulorum ac rerum singularium quae in textu et commentariis continentur locupletissimis* (Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento, Museo, FA 94/2.2 - ex 121);

3. *Tertia pars Summae totius theologiae sancti Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici reverendiss(imi) domini Thomae a Vio Caietani . . . commentariis adaucta atque illustrata cui accesserunt postillae locis suis ad textum adpositae. Item Supplementum eiusdem tertiae partis quam d. Thomas morte immatura praeventus absolvere non potuit ex eius scriptis excerptum atque huic operi additum . . .* (Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento, Museo, FA 94/3 - ex 122).

On sixteenth-century printed books by the Giunta family printers see, for example, Decio Decia, *I Giunti tipografi editori di Firenze, 1497–1570*, 1: *Annali 1497–1570* (Florence, 1978) and website *Edit16* ([http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web\\_iccu/ihome.htm](http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ihome.htm)). Other examples of the same edition but coming from the Convent of S. Maria della Pietà di Vatolla (another Cilento district) are also kept in the convent of Baronissi.

<sup>16</sup> Notices about the Franciscan convent are, for example, in Giuseppe Pergamo, “Il Convento della SS. Trinità di Baronissi (parte I),” *Rassegna storica salernitana* 19 (1958): 101–41 “(parte II ed ultima),” and 20 (1959): 123–74; Donato Cosimato, “Il Convento della SS. Trinità di Baronissi,” *Rassegna storica dei comuni* 1.2 (1969): 73–96. On the library, which also preserves books from the last provincial Franciscan Curia, see Costantino Nappo, “Salerno. Biblioteca francescana del ‘S. Cuore’” and Egidio Siviglia, “Baronissi. Biblioteca del convento della SS. Trinità,” in *Guida alla storia di Salerno e della sua provincia*, ed. Alfonso Leone and Giovanni Vitolo (Salerno, 1982), 3:956–57 and 960–61.

<sup>17</sup> “San Francesco / de / Cilento” is noted on the edges of the four volumes. On the Cilentan convent of San Francesco in Lustra Cilento, see Arcangelo Pergamo, *Il convento di S. Francesco del Cilento* (Salerno, 1962). Three of these books have a cover in parchment; one volume (Museo FA 94/2.1 - ex 120) is not covered.

<sup>18</sup> Pietro Ebner, *Economia e società nel Cilento medievale*, *Thesaurus Ecclesiarum Italiae. Recensoris Aevi* 12.4 (Rome, 1979), 1:268; Mario Infante, *Actus Cilenti: le origini. X–XI secolo* Quaderni di storia 1 (Salerno, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Loré, *Monasteri, principi, aristocrazie*, 38, 143 (“[il] cenobio di S. Arcangelo divenne il fulcro economico sociale del territorio e il polo di maggiore attrazione del rito romano rispetto a quello greco di S. Maria di Pattano”); see also Infante, *Actus Cilenti*, 87–96, 159–87.

abbot of Cava, retired here for six years after having been a monk in Cluny for five years under the guidance of the saint abbot Hugh.<sup>20</sup>

The fragments are attached to the spines of the volumes, and therefore only one side is visible except in a few instances.<sup>21</sup> Five fragments are on the spine of the first volume, containing the *Prima pars* of the *Summa* (fig. 1);<sup>22</sup> four are on the spine of the second volume, containing the *Prima secundae partis* (fig. 6);<sup>23</sup> five are on the third volume, containing the *Secunda secundae partis* (fig. 12);<sup>24</sup> and five are on the fourth volume, containing the *Tertia pars* (fig. 18).<sup>25</sup> The fragments have up to eleven lines of text (always mutilated), though some show only sporadic letters next to broad blank areas from the margins of the original manuscript. Some items have been identified and are transcribed below.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> On the political-religious structure of the Badia of Cava in the twelfth century, see Giovanni Vitolo, "Cava e Cluny," in *L'Italia nel quadro dell'espansione europea del monachesimo cluniacense. Atti del Convegno internazionale di storia medievale. Pescia, 26–28 novembre 1981*, ed. Cinzio Violante, Amleto Spicciani, Giovanni Spinelli, Centro storico benedettino italiano, Italia benedettina, Studi e documenti di storia monastica 8 (Forlì-Cesena, 1985), 199–220, rpt. in Alfonso Leone and Giovanni Vitolo, Minima Cavensia, *Studi in margine al IX volume del Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis, Iter Campanum 1* (Salerno, 1983), 19–44; and Hubert Houben, "Il monachesimo cluniacense e i monasteri normanni dell'Italia meridionale," *Benedictina* 39 (1992): 341–61, rpt. in *Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo. Monasteri e castelli, ebrei e musulmani* (Naples, 1996), 7–33. On the monk Pietro, see also Loré, *Monasteri, principi, aristocrazie*, 29–35, at 30.

<sup>21</sup> See fragments 1\_II; 2.1\_I; 2.1\_IV (fig. 11); and 3\_V below.

<sup>22</sup> I have distinguished the fragments by a Roman numeral preceded by the Arabic numeral of each volume. The five fragments in the first volume (FA 94/1) are identified as fragments 1\_I, II, III, IV, and V.

<sup>23</sup> Fragments 2.1\_I, II, III, and IV.

<sup>24</sup> Fragments 2.2\_I, II, III, IV, and V.

<sup>25</sup> Fragments 3\_I, II, III, IV, and V.

<sup>26</sup> In the transcriptions, italics are used for rubrics and for initial capitals that are written in red in the fragments. Parentheses ( ) are used for expansions of Latin abbreviations. Text enclosed in brackets < >, now illegible or incomplete in the fragment, is a reconstruction of what probably existed before the cutting of the original parchment leaf; a precise number of periods between brackets signifies an estimated number of unidentified original letters, and three periods signify an unknown quantity of letters. The *j* is transcribed with *i*, and the tailed *e* for the *ae* diphthong has been retained. The abbreviations *Ihs* and *Xps* have been expanded as *Iesus* and *Christus*. Editorial additions and comments are in square brackets. Whenever music occurs, there is a reference to the musical notation reproduced in the illustration of the fragment. References to sources consulted for text identification are in the footnotes.

The five fragments attached to the spine of the first volume (fig. 1), separated by the four raised bands across the spine, are arranged so that the long edges of the fragments are parallel to the raised bands and the lines of text run perpendicular to the bands. With the exception of fragment 1\_v, which shows the hair side, the fragments show the flesh side of the original sheet. Fragments 1\_I–III have a wide margin to the left of the visible lines of text, and the lines in fragment 1\_IV are extensions of the lines that begin in fragment 1\_III.

1. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/1.  
Spine with fragments I–V (left to right).

In particular, fragment 1\_I (fig. 2), measuring 100 × 65 mm., has the initial rubricated letters of ten lines from a litany visible on the right edge of the fragment, though partly covered by the stitching at the base of the spine; and in fragment 1\_II (fig. 3), also measuring 100 × 65 mm., the litany continues to the bottom of the folio with the beginning of four more lines including rubricated initials, of which there is an uncial-type *M*, in double vertical ruling. The fourteen lines from fragments 1\_I and II are reconstructed below, and another four lines of the litany, from the top of the next folio or column of the original manuscript, are preserved in fragment 2.1\_IV.<sup>27</sup>

[1\_I]

<i>K</i>		⟨yrie eleyson⟩
<i>K</i>		⟨yrie eleyson⟩
<i>X</i>		⟨pe⟩
<i>P</i>		⟨ropitius esto parce nobis domine⟩
<i>P</i>		⟨ropitius esto libera nos Domine⟩

<sup>27</sup> See p. 254. The proposed integration of the text of fragments 1\_I and 1\_II and the expansion of the lines is modeled after a part of the litany belonging to the ordeal of the hot iron, in Leo F. Miller, “Missal W.11 of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore,” *Traditio* 2 (1944): 123–54, at 132.

*A* | <b omni malo libera nos Domine>  
*A* | <b insidiis diaboli libera nos peccatores>  
*U* | <t pacem nobis dones>  
*U* | <t oculos misericordiae tuae super nos ...>  
*V* | <t hoc ferrum pro tua pietate benedicere digneris>

[1\_II]

*Ut sup(er)* | <eum tuam sanctam benedictionem mittere digneris>  
*Ut ver* | <issimam iustitiam tuam nobis manifestare digneris>  
*Filii* | <Dei te rogamus>  
*Me(d)* | <iator mundi te hominum>

A small part of the second fragment has come slightly detached from the spine and thus the following letters are visible on the back, the hair side: “⟨.⟩ine v.”

Fragments 1\_III and IV (fig. 4), both measuring 95 × 65 mm., are positioned side by side to constitute eight extended lines of writing divided by the raised band between the two fragments. In the first two lines, letters without ascenders have a height of 3 mm., those with ascenders (including long *s*) and the capital *s* at the end of the word “educas” have a height of 4 mm., and in addition a capital *s* measuring 5 mm. is found at the end of word “sacerdos.” The psalm verses and incipits of the seven penitential psalms in the next six lines of the fragment are in a smaller script.

[1\_III]

[1\_IV]

one ||sanum educas P(er) F⟨inita oratione⟩  
 inci||piat sac(er)dos hos v(e)⟨r⟩(sus) |

D(eu)s i||n adiutorium meum inten⟨de Domine⟩  
 ad ad||iuvandum me festina | ⟨et tribue⟩ [Ps 69:2,3]

<i>P.</i> D(omi)ne	ne in furore tuo [Ps 6]	<i>P.</i> ⟨Beatus vir⟩ [Ps 31]
<i>P.</i> D(omi)ne	ne in furore tuo [Ps 37]	<i>P.</i> ⟨Miserere⟩ [Ps 50]
<i>P.</i> D(omi)ne	exaudi or(ationem) [Ps 101]	<i>P.</i> ⟨De profundis⟩ [Ps 129]
<i>P.</i> D(omi)ne	exaudi or(ationem) meam aurib	⟨us⟩ [Ps 142]

4. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/1. Fragments III–IV.

In fragment 1\_v (fig. 5), measuring 95 × 50 mm., the only visible letters on the hair side, “⟨a⟩re,” have a height of 4 mm.

5. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/1. Fragment v.

The four fragments on the spine of the second volume (fig. 6), separated by three of the raised bands across the spine, are arranged so that the writing is parallel to the bands on two of the fragments and perpendicular on the other two. Fragment II has a wide margin on the left of the text, and fragment III has wide margins on the left of the text and beneath the last line.

6. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.1.  
Spine with fragments I–IV (left to right).

Fragment 2.1\_1 (fig. 7) is ripped and shows the flesh side. The fragment's height, perpendicular to the raised bands on the spine, is about 65 mm., and the width, with the writing parallel to the raised bands, is about 50 mm.; some unidentifiable letters and the word "iudicii" are visible.

7. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.1. Fragment I.

Fragment 2.1\_II, shows the hair side and has a height of 85 mm., and a width of 75 mm., with the writing and musical notation perpendicular to the raised bands. Five lines of text followed by a line of neumatic notation and a line of sung text begin to the right of the side margin (fig. 8). The body of the letters is 3 mm., and those with ascenders measure 5 mm. The letters in the sung text are 2 mm., and those with ascenders are 4 mm.:

[2.1\_II]

anima |⟨plus est quam esca, et corpus⟩  
 plus qu|⟨am vestimentum. Consi-⟩  
 derate c|⟨orvos quia non seminant⟩  
 neque me|⟨tunt, quibus non est cellarium⟩  
 neque or|⟨reum et Deus pascit illos⟩ [Lc 12:23–24] ⟨*Offertorium*⟩  
 [neumatic notation (see fig. 8)]  
 Illumi|⟨na oculos meos ne umquam ob-⟩<sup>28</sup>

8. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.1. Fragment II.

<sup>28</sup> The text (*Antiphonarium Missarum Sextuplex* [AMS], ed. R.-J. Hesbert [Rome, 1935], no. 52) continues in fragment 3\_III. See p. 261 below.

Fragment 2.1\_III (fig. 9) also shows the hair side and has a height of 90 mm. and a width of 65 mm., with the writing perpendicular to the raised bands. The initial rubricated uncial-type *H* is cut on the top; the height of the part that remains is 7 mm and its width is 10 mm.; the *p* measures 5 mm. The beginning of four lines are visible:

[2.1\_III]

*His*|  
*tuę*|  
*sine*|  
*per*|

9. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.1. Fragment III.

Fragment 2.1\_IV (fig. 10) shows the flesh side and has a height of 56 mm. and a width of 85 mm. with five lines of writing running parallel to the raised band. The body of the letters is 3 mm. and 5 mm. for those with ascenders. The text is from the top of the folio or column following the text on fragments 1\_I and II and contains the conclusion of the litany.

[2.1\_IV]

*Agne Dei qui tollis peccata m*|⟨undi⟩  
*Agne Dei qui tollis peccata mun*|⟨di⟩  
*Christe audi nos III vicib(us) K(yrie)*|⟨Se-⟩  
*quit(ur) Or(atio) d(omi)nica. Pater* ⟨noster⟩ *qui es*|⟨in caelis⟩  
*E*⟨...⟩|

The fragment has one edge which has slightly come away from the spine, so that letters at the ends of four lines of text and the upper part of a rubric are visible on the hair side (fig. 11).

10–11. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.1.  
Fragment IV (recto and verso).

For the five fragments on vol. 2.2 (fig. 12), the dimensions vary. With the exception of fragment v, the long edges of the fragments are parallel to the raised bands and the lines of text run perpendicular to the bands. Empty spaces predominate in the fragments, corresponding to the original side margins of the page.

12. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.2.  
Spine with fragments I–V (left to right).

Fragment 2.2\_1 (fig. 13) shows the hair side and measures 80 × 55 mm.; it contains parts of the first letters in ten lines of text, including rubricated initial *P* and *O*(?), respectively at a height of 20 mm. and 10 mm. The margin to the left of the rubricated initials is 47 mm. and 55 mm. to the left of the other lines.

13. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.2. Fragment I.

Fragment 2.2\_II (fig. 14) shows the flesh side and measures 85 × 70 mm., with three lines of text and two lines of neumatic notation above lines of sung text. The body of the letters is 3 mm., and 2 mm. for the sung text. The margin to the right of the text is 40 mm. and the top margin is 20 mm.

[2.2\_II]

	<.) et
	rnam
	ssimo
	[neumatic notation (see fig. 14)]
	ccur
	[neumatic notation (see fig. 14)]
	//a

14. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.2. Fragment II.

Fragment 2.2\_III (fig. 15) shows the hair side and measures  $90 \times 70$  mm. It contains the letters at the end of seven lines, with capital letters used for the rubric on the fourth and fifth lines. The ascenders of *ille* on the sixth line are retouched in red. The side margin on the right is 45 mm. and the top margin is 25 mm.

[2.2\_III]

	lę
	<.)m
	ta
	nat.
	ep̄i def.
	.ill.
	cem

15. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.2. Fragment III.

Fragment 2.2\_IV (fig. 16) shows the flesh side and measures  $85 \times 68$  mm.; two vertical ruled lines are visible with a distance of 10 mm. for the initials. The beginning of nine lines of text are visible, including a rubric on the second line and a large rubricated initial on the third line, and the top a rubricated initial beginning a tenth line is visible on at the bottom. The initial rubricated uncial-type *D* with a curl at the top has a height of four lines, and has within the loop of the letter an *s* with a stroke over it *Deus*. The body of the letters measures 3 mm.,  $\frac{5}{6}$  mm. for those with ascenders. The left side margin measures 48 mm.

[2.2\_IV]

sed|  
 M|  
 D(eu)s ⟨.⟩|  
 a|  
 con⟨g⟩|  
 trar|  
 virg|  
 s(an)c(t)is|  
 cons|  
 ⟨.⟩|

16. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.2. Fragment IV.

Fragment 2.2\_v (fig. 17) shows the flesh side and has a height of 58 mm. and a width of 95 mm.; after the blank space of an upper margin the fragment has four lines of writing, parallel to the raised band, followed by the top of a rubricated line. The body of the letters is 3 mm., and those with ascenders measure 5 mm. The *g* is made up of five strokes; a sort of small comma on the line marks the ending *-us*; and the horizontal stroke of the *t* closes the ascender. The side margin on the left is 55 mm.

[2.2\_v]

tui fidelibus t|⟨uis veritas⟩  
 quatinus pa|⟨tefiat laudabile et glori-⟩

osum nomen| <tuum in sancta Ecclesia tua>  
semper glor|ificetur<sup>29</sup>

17. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/2.2. Fragment v.

The five fragments placed on the spine of the last volume (fig. 18) all show the hair side of the original page and are arranged so that the long edges of the fragments are parallel to the raised bands and the lines of text and musical notation run perpendicular to the bands. With the exception of fragment 1\_v, which shows the hair side, the fragments show the flesh side of the original sheet.

18. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/3.  
Spine with fragments I–V (left to right).

<sup>29</sup> For the text in brackets see MGH, *Leges, Sectio V. Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi. Accedunt ordines iudiciorum Dei*, ed. Karl Zeumer (Hannover, 1886), 599–722, at 698 (also the *Benedictio ferri judicialis oratio*, in PL 138:1135B). These sources have “patefiat” before “quatenus.”

In fragment 3\_I (fig. 19) measuring  $103 \times 62$  mm., only the initial or first two letters on four lines are present (fig. 19), including an initial rubricated *A* with a broken cross-bar measuring 20 mm. The left margin measures 45 mm. before the initial and 55 mm. before the first letter of the other lines.

19. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/3. Fragment I.

Fragment 3\_II measures  $95 \times 60$  mm. and contains four lines of writing occupying 40 mm. of the overall height, above a lower margin of about 58 mm. (fig. 20). The body of the letters measures 3 mm., and the ascending *f* and *s* measure 6 and 5 mm. respectively; both uncial-type *d* and upright *d* are used, as well as the abbreviation *om̄* for *omni*.

[3\_II]

⟨Su-⟩|sanna de falso crim|⟨ine libera-  
sti⟩ |ita et qui innoce|⟨ns de hac supra-  
dicto⟩ |furto seu adulteri|⟨o  
...⟩|⟨i⟩d crimen ab omni|⟨. . .⟩.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The words supplied in brackets are based on the *Exorcismus ad caldaria sive ad aqua*, in *Recueil général dans l'empire des Francs du V<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Eugène des Rozière. Deuxième partie (Paris, 1859). *Formulae ad ritus ecclesiasticos spectantes, Exorcismus ad caldaria sive ad aqua*, DCXII, 861; this textual section, as in the fol-

20. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/3. Fragment II.

Fragment 3\_III (fig. 21) measures 95 × 75 mm. and comprises three lines of neumatic notation above lines of sung text in a small script, followed by five lines of text in a larger script, beginning with an initial, rubricated capital *D* of 15 × 10 mm. (with *s* included within the initial). The margin on the left of the *D* is 45 mm. The fragment begins with the conclusion of the offertory “Illumi⟨na oculos meos ne unquam ob-⟩” at the end of fragment 2.1\_II.<sup>31</sup>

[3\_III]

[neumatic notation (see fig. 21)]  
 dormi|⟨am in morte⟩ [Ps 12:4] ⟨*R* Ne quan-⟩  
 [neumatic notation (see fig. 21)]  
 do dicat i|⟨nemicus meus prevalui adversus⟩  
 [neumatic notation (see fig. 21)]  
 e|⟨um⟩ [Ps. 12:5]  
*D(eu)s* qui| ⟨tres pueros Sidrach, Mysach⟩  
 et A|⟨bdenago iussu regis Babylonis⟩  
 Na⟨bu⟩|⟨chodonosor in camino⟩

lowing fragment (3\_III), is contained with some differences in the *Benedictio aquae ferventis* and in the *Iudicium aquae ferventis* prayer; see MGH, *Leges, Sectio V. Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, 606 and 688 (and the *Benedictio ferri ferventis ad iudicium Dei*, in PL 138:1136B); see also *Iudicium ignis*, in *Das Klosterrituale von Biburg - Budapest cod lat m ae Nr 330, 12 Jh.*, ed. Walter von Arx, Spicilegium Friburgense 14 (Freiburg, 1970), 459.

<sup>31</sup> AMS 52. The text of Ps 12:4 is “Illumina oculos meos ne unquam obdormiam in morte.”

ignis (m)|(issos accenso fornace salvasti et illesos per)  
ang(e)l(u)m| (tuum eduxisti)<sup>32</sup>

21. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/3. Fragment III.

Fragment 3\_IV (fig. 22) measures 95 × 65 mm.; the body of the letters measures 3 mm., with *s* ascending to 6 mm. Only the ends of three lines are visible before the right margin which measures 54 mm.

[3\_IV]  
|ice  
|ris  
|  
|tia(m)

<sup>32</sup> The words within brackets are based on the *Exorcismus ad calidaria sive ad aqua* (PL 87:942D). The title and the text vary from source to source and do not always appear in the form supplied: it is contained with some differences in the *Iudicium aquae ferventis* in the Sacramentary of Palermo (Palermo, Archivio storico diocesano MS 2, fol. 224r, see Francesco Giuseppe La Mantia, “*Ordines iudiciorum Dei*” nel messale gallicano del XII secolo della Cattedrale di Palermo [Palermo-Turin, 1892], 30, lines 27–29; and Francesco Terrizzi, “Il sacramentario di Palermo e la sua struttura,” *Ephemerides liturgicae* 94 [1980]: 69–79), in the *Benedictio aquae ferventis* and in the *Iudicium aquae ferventis* (MGH, *Leges, Sectio V, Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, 606 and 688); and the *Benedictio ferri ferventis ad iudicium Dei* (PL 138:1136B); see also *Iudicium ignis*, in *Das Klostrituale von Biburg*, ed. Arx, 459.

22. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/3. Fragment IV.

Fragment 3\_v (fig. 23), measuring 85 × 55 mm., contains five lines written in a larger script followed by two lines of neumatic notation and two with the relative sung text in a smaller script. In the larger script an initial *C* in black ink is highlighted in red, and the ligature *st* has a height of 6 mm.

[3\_v]

⟨consensist⟩|is aut scistis qui|⟨s⟩  
 ⟨hoc egerit q⟩|uando dat ei com|⟨mu-⟩  
 ⟨nionem⟩ |dicit Corpus| ⟨hic et sanguis⟩  
 ⟨Domin⟩|i nostri Iesu Christi sit| ⟨vobis⟩  
 ⟨ad probation⟩|em hodie<sup>33</sup> co|⟨mmunio⟩<sup>34</sup>  
 [neumatic notation (see fig. 23)]  
 ⟨Memento ve⟩|rbi tui servo tuo Dom|⟨ine⟩  
 [neumatic notation (see fig. 23)]  
 ⟨in quo mihi⟩ |spem dedisti| [Ps 118:49–50]

<sup>33</sup> The supplied text is based on the *Incipit exorcismus aquae ad iudicium Dei demonstrandum*; see MGH, *Leges. Sectio V*, 710–11; and *Ritus probationis per aquam frigidam ab Eugenio papa II institutae* (PL 129:986B-C); and *Ordo ad faciendum iudicium ad aquam frigidam*, in *Manuale Ambrosianum*, ed. M. Magistretti, vol. 2, *Monumenta veteris liturgiae ambrosianae* 3 (Milan, 1904), 493 (with “qualiter hoc egerint” following “scitis,” and “tibi acceptum” following “sit”).

<sup>34</sup> AMS 71b and 195.

23. Baronissi, Biblioteca del Convento SS. Trinità, Museo FA 94/3. Fragment v.

A small strip of the fragment is unglued and thus the rubricated capital letters *tan*(.) are visible on the flesh side.

As indicated in the notes to the transcribed texts, some of these fragments refer to the blessing ceremonies of cold water and of hot iron in the *iudicia Dei*, also included in the liturgy.<sup>35</sup> The rites of cold water and of hot iron are also contained, for example, in the Sacramentary of Palermo, dated to 1130 and considered a product of the Norman-Sicilian area.<sup>36</sup>

In general, the nineteen fragments are characterized by dry-ruling on the hair-side, with vertical and horizontal lines detected as coloured on the flesh-side in some fragments (fig. 16). The letters, written with brown ink in the text, are rubricated at the beginning of the minor parts and in words containing instructions for the execution of liturgical rites, and often written with uncial-type forms. Generally the writing has a straight appearance, although some letters tend to tilt slightly to the right (in particular *m*, *n* and *s*); on four fragments brief tracks of neumatic diastematic notation on a red line in *fa*-clef

<sup>35</sup> Gabriele De Rosa, *Tempo religioso e tempo storico. Saggi e note di storia sociale e religiosa dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*, Storia e Letteratura 184 (Rome, 1993), 2:69 n. 86.

<sup>36</sup> Palermo, Archivio storico diocesano MS 2. See Terrizzi, "Il sacramentario di Palermo e la sua struttura," 69–79; about this liturgical manuscript see also La Mantia, "Ordines Iudiciorum Dei."

are visible (fig. 8), while dry-lines for neums are not detected. Traits of neums (particularly those of the *clivis*) are thin and lacking in contrast.<sup>37</sup> Among the graphical features, the fragments contain initial *D* in uncial and capital types, in the former case with a curl (see fig. 16); in the text the uncial-type *d* is usually found at the beginning or at the end of a word; the lower loop of the letter *g* appears flattened; the letter *s* sometimes at the beginning and at the end of the line or at the end of the word is rounded; the horizontal stroke of the letter *t* engages the upper end of the vertical stroke and, in combination of the letters *st*, it crosses the vertical stroke of the letter *s*; and the diphthong *ae* is expressed by the letter *e* with a cedilla. The neumatic notation and general writing appearance suggests a twelfth-century date for the fragments.

Localization of the fragments to a particular region is difficult, although we could reasonably propose two hypotheses. The first leads to a wide cultural-geographic area presumably in central Italy (northern Lazio-Toscany-Umbria) in analogy with neumatic notation in manuscripts from this area.<sup>38</sup> The

<sup>37</sup> They could be compared—solely as an example, with obvious differences—to models attested in the *missale* of Benevent, in the first half of the eleventh century (Benevento, Biblioteca capitolare 33); see J. Mallet and A. Thibaut, *Les manuscrits en écriture Bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent. II: manuscrits 19–23, 25–31, 33–40, 44, 66, 68 et fragments. Formulaire liturgiques (messes)*, Documents, Études et Répertoires (Paris and Turnhout, 1997), 168–73; *Paléographie musicale: Les principaux manuscrits de chant Gregorien, Ambrosien, Mozarabe, Gallican publiés en facsimilés photographiques par les moines de Solesmes*, vol. 20: *Le Missel de Bénévent VI–33*, intro. Jacques Hourlier, tables Jacques Froger (Berne-Frankfurt, 1983). The *missale* could have been used in the Salerno diocese, perhaps at the parish church of Castel S. Giorgio (SA), during the thirteenth century; see Thomas Forrest Kelly, “La musica, la liturgia e la tradizione nella Salerno del dodicesimo secolo,” in *Salerno nel XII secolo: istituzione, società, cultura*, ed. Paolo Delogu and Paolo Peduto (2004), 188–212, at 204, and “Note per una catalogazione dei manoscritti beneventani,” in *Il canto beneventano*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly, Lupo Ciaglia, Elvira Landino, Quaderni di Ricerca del Conservatorio 5 (Benevento, 2008), 11–21; see also Virginia Brown, “Il messale medievale e le ‘Misse votivae’: esempi di pratica monastica in area beneventana,” in *Il monaco, il libro, la biblioteca. Atti del Convegno Cassino-Montecassino, 5–8 settembre 2000*, ed. Oronzo Pecere (Cassino, 2003), 119–53, at 136.

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile 601; facsimile edition in *Paléographie musicale. Les principaux manuscrits des chants*, vol. 9, *Antiphonaire monastique, XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Codex 601 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Lucques* (Solesmes, 1906). Beneventan liturgy and the musical-liturgical influence of Montecassino extended to Subiaco and Lucca: “[I]l flusso liturgico-musicale di Montecassino su tutto il territorio centro meridionale italiano [...] trova una ramificazione fino a Subiaco e Lucca” (Nicola Tangari, “Musica e liturgia a Montecassino nel medioevo: vent’anni di ricerca,” in *Musica e liturgia a Montecassino nel medioevo*.

simultaneous presence of notation generically ascribable to a wide central area<sup>39</sup> and general analogies to graphical elements from that area might suggest the writing of the manuscript in one of the Benedictine monasteries of central Italy by a monk educated in the new script. Later, the original *codex* would have reached the area of Cilento as a result of regular migration flows of monks to and from monasteries of the same order; and other ecclesiastics connected to the pontifical curia, who came to Salerno for a short period,<sup>40</sup> could have imported the original manuscript or could have ordered a copy to be made from “Roman” models. The second hypothesis leads us back to a local production: the *Chartularium Ecclesiae Salernitanae* and others *codices* mentioned earlier,<sup>41</sup> with their Caroline features most likely produced *in loco*, leaves open the possibility of a Salernitan production of the manuscript from which our fragments have been extracted. It may be noted that between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, during the Reform under Pope Gregory VII, some high Salernitan ecclesiastics, such as Maraldo and Alfano II, were experts in the use of Caroline minuscule in their subscriptions.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, con-

*Atti del Simposio internazionale di studi (Cassino, 9–10 dicembre 2010)*, ed. Nicola Tangari, *Scritture e libri del medioevo 10* (Rome, 2012), 11–20, at 13. A fragment of a *missale* kept at Stroncone, in Umbria, contains a cassinese-beneventan version of the *Exultet* (*ibid.*, 19).

<sup>39</sup> The notation named Beneventana, with some differences, extends from northern Lazio to Campania and Puglia, and it was so named because it was studied in reference to manuscripts of the “cassinese-beneventana” area; the name was also applied to evidence belonging to other areas, particularly to “Romana” sources. New studies on manuscripts from the Lazio region suggest that Beneventan neums were produced in Rome and then spread to southern areas; see Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Antifonario della Basilica di S. Pietro (Sec. XII)*, introduction and indices by Bonifacio Baroffio and Soo Jung Kim, presentation by Leonard E. Boyle, *Musica Italiae Liturgica I* (Rome, 1995), 1:25 and n. 66. In reference to the liturgical-cultural relationship between Montecassino and the Umbro-Marchigian area, see Francesco Zimei, “Da Montecassino all’Umbria. Nuova luce sul *Planctus Compactio XVIII*,” in *Musica e liturgia*, 189–98.

<sup>40</sup> Two cardinals, Oddone from Ostia (who became pope as Urbano II) and Bruno from Segni, were in Salerno with the papal court of Pasquale II in 1100 and they stayed there for about three months before leaving for Montecassino, see Loré, *Monasteri, principi*, 126–27 n. 58.

<sup>41</sup> See pp. 244–46 above.

<sup>42</sup> Maraldo, archbishop of Capaccio and Paestum and Alfano II, archbishop of Salerno, signed their documents by a “carolina [. . .] a riprova di un’educazione grafica estranea alla beneventana”; see Cherubini, “Tra longobardi, normanni e greci,” 125–27, at 126. On the other hand, the dissemination and the presence of liturgical texts con-

sidering the relationships between Benedictine monasteries, we cannot exclude the possibility that in one of the monasteries in Cilento a monk trained in Caroline minuscule script may have written the original *codex* and, at the same time, continued to use the notation style of his native lands.<sup>43</sup>

\*  
\* \*

The two parchment fragments stored respectively at the Archivio di Stato of Salerno and at the Convent of Baronissi may also be dated to the twelfth century. The first fragment was reused as a cover for a “bastardello”<sup>44</sup> (figs. 24–25) concerning the activity of the notary Matteo *de* Pino,<sup>45</sup> in the years 1518–19 in the territory of Scala, a place near Ravello, on the Amalfi Coast.<sup>46</sup>

taining ordalic rites in a contemporary liturgical manuscript originating from Palermo might allow us to hypothesize a southern Italian source of the original manuscript. During the reign of William II, in 1174, the abbot Benincasa introduced the *Consuetudines Cavensis* in the abbey of Monreale, where monks from Cava were sent in 1176. See Gregorio Penco, *Storia del monachesimo in Italia. Dalle origini alla fine del Medioevo*, 3d ed. (Milan, 1995), 187; and Vitolo, *Cava e Cluny*, 20–23. The relationship between Benedictine monks of Cava and Sicily are also attested by the presence in the abbey of Cava of illuminated manuscripts attributed to a Sicilian *scriptorium*, such as Cava, Archivio 11 and 42; see Mario Rotili, *La miniatura nella badia di Cava, 2: La raccolta di miniature italiane e straniere* (Cava dei Tirreni, 1978); and Alessandra Periccioli, “Cava,” in *Enciclopedia dell’arte medievale* (Rome, 1993).

<sup>43</sup> The evidence of south-to-north communication can be found in a manuscript from Lucca that “does not involve the use of the characteristic south-Italian Beneventan script” but provides “evidence of the importation of the old Lombard liturgy of southern Italy”; see Thomas Forrest Kelly, “Beneventan Liturgy and Music in Tuscany: Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, ms. 606,” *Ricerche di Storia dell’arte* (1993), 51–54, at 51.

<sup>44</sup> It is a small notarial register, measuring approximately 150 × 112 mm. On its editorial processes, see *Registri notarili di area salernitana (sec. XV). Inventario*, ed. Giuliana Capriolo, Schola Salernitana, Documenti 1 (Salerno, 2009), 45 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Some of his registers would be attributed to the notary Giovanni Falcone of Scala; see *ibid.*, 39 and 353–54.

<sup>46</sup> The most ancient notarial registers of the Salernitan area are edited in the series *Cartulari notarili campani del XV*, directed by Alfonso Leone. On some fragments in Beneventan script used as cover of notarial registers, see, for example, Giuliana Capriolo, “Frammenti in scrittura beneventana da protocolli notarili di Scala,” in *Fonti documentarie “amalfitane” conservate negli archivi e biblioteche dell’Italia centro-meridionale. Prospettive di studio e chiavi di lettura. Atti del Convegno di Studi in memoria di Catello Salvati (1920–2000), Amalfi 24–26 ottobre 2002*, ed. Michele Cobalto, Salvatore Ferraro (Amalfi, 2006), 89–105, and “Una nuova testimonianza in

The fragment measures 180 × 193 mm., and on the hair side of the sheet, corresponding to the inner surface of the cover, sixteen lines of writing can be seen; the outer cover has twenty-three lines. The ruling and the margins are made with a hard point.

24, 25. Salerno, Archivio di Stato, Protocolli notarili, busta 6641. Matteo de Pino (Scala) an 1518–1519. Cover (recto and verso). (Per concessione del Ministero dei Beni delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo)

scrittura beneventana dall'Archivio di Stato di Salerno," in *Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana* (Rome, 2013), 19–31.

The fragment is a section of the Book of Daniel:

[recto] accessit ⟨N⟩abuchodonosor ad hostium. . . . ⟨Abdenago in provin-  
cia Bab⟩ylonis. Nabucho-⟨donosor⟩ [Dan 3:93–98].

[verso] Subter eam habitabant animalia et bes⟨tiae⟩. . . . ⟨soluti-⟩onem  
edicere mic⟨hi⟩ [Dan 4:9–15].

It is likely to be from a Bible in the *Vulgata* version. The writing looks light, with a round pattern and letters forming a fairly large module, sometimes with long and thick attachment and detachment features. The vertical shaft rods (of the letters *b*, *d*, *h*, *l*) show an enlargement in a spatula shape. The letter *d* appears mainly in upright form; in one instance, at the end of the word, it appears in an uncial type with the shaft parallel to the base line, reminiscent of the model of the “Romanesca minuscule” (fig. 25: inner side, lines 1 and 9). The letter *r* at the line end and the special mark for *-rum* appears in the form of 2. The letter *s* is also rounded at the end of the word and at the end of the line; in the latter position it may overwrite a vowel. The *y* has a dot above it and the descending stroke from right to left is thin and slightly extended below the base-line. The diphthong *ae* is written as *e* with a cedilla or as a ligature with the loss of the upper stroke of the *a*; abbreviations are used for *-er*, *-ur*, and *-us*; suspension is indicated by a simple horizontal line. The observed characteristics of the writing in the fragment could be compared, for example, to those of some Atlantic Bibles (Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 12958; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vitt. Em. III Neapol. ex Vindob. lat. 8),<sup>47</sup> written particularly in central Italy with reminiscences of “Romanesca,” or to some manuscripts from St. Zeno’s Cathedral in Pistoia (Archivio

<sup>47</sup> On this particular type of Bible, see, e.g., Paola Supino Martini, “Origine e diffusione della Bibbia atlantica,” in *Le Bibbie atlantiche: il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione*, ed. Marilena Maniaci and Giulia Orofino ([Milan and Rome], 2000), 39–43; she hypothesizes the guiding role of the Gregorian Reform and of the Church of Rome for the development and diffusion of the graphical model in Caroline minuscule within homogeneous regions. See also Emma Condello, “La Bibbia al tempo della riforma gregoriana: le Bibbie atlantiche,” in *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, ed. Paolo Cherubini, pref. Carlo Maria Martini, intro. Alessandro Pratesi, *Littera antiqua* 13 (Vatican City, 2005), 347–72. For the description of these examples, see *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, 262–71 (no. 45, by Lucinia Speciale) and 289–92 (no. 51, by Massimiliano Bassetti). Edmond B. Garrison dated ex Vindob. lat. 8 to the first half of the twelfth century and placed it in “ambiente umbro-romano” (*ibid.*, 290).

Capitolare C. 157, 158, 160bis),<sup>48</sup> and from St. Stephen's "Propositura" in Prato (Biblioteca Roncioniana Q.VIII.1[1], Q.VIII.2[2]),<sup>49</sup> suggesting a date in the first half of the twelfth century.

The second parchment sheet constitutes the initial flyleaf of a fourteenth-century manuscript containing the *Secunda secundae* of the *Summa theologiae* of St. Thomas.<sup>50</sup> The reused sheet, measuring 349 × 252 mm., has thirty-three lines of text arranged in two columns (fig. 26),<sup>51</sup> but it is mutilated in the upper section for nine or ten lines of writing; the ruling of the sheet with a hard point can be seen at some places on the hair side.

The text is from the *Life of Gregory the Great* by Paul the Deacon;<sup>52</sup> it starts from the hair side of the parchment (recto: "quadraginta composuit quas in duobus codicibus . . . dicere posset. Benedictio perituri") and originally it continued on the flesh side (verso: "Si comedi buccellam meam solus . . ."), but on this side the writing appears to have been erased, even though at certain points it is possible to make out parts of the original text.

<sup>48</sup> See *I manoscritti medievali della provincia di Pistoia*, ed. Giovanna Murano, Giancarlo Savino, Stefano Zamponi et al., Biblioteche e Archivi 3, Manoscritti medievali della Toscana 1 (Florence, 1998), 57–58, tables XCVI–XCVII and H.

<sup>49</sup> See *I manoscritti medievali della provincia di Prato*, ed. Simona Bianchi et. al., Biblioteche e archivi 5, Manoscritti medievali della Toscana 2 (Firenze, 1999), 54–55, tables E–F.

<sup>50</sup> Baronissi, Archivio della Curia provinciale, MS [s.n.]. Membr., fols. IV, 260, III'; 355 × 250 mm.; *inc.*: "(Post) communem con(side)rationem de virtu(tibus) et viciis aliis (ad) materiam moralem (perti)nentibus, nec(es)se est (consi)derare singula in sp(eci)ali . . . *expl.*: "Explicit ordo et signatio que(stio)num s(e)c(un)di libri s(ecund)e partis fr(atr)is Thome de Aquino. Benedictus Deus. Am(en), amen, amen. It has not been registered in *Codices manuscripti operum Thomae de Aquino*, ed. H. Vincent. Shooner, 3 vols., Editores operum sancti Thomae de Aquino 3 (Rome, Montréal and Paris, 1967–1985).

<sup>51</sup> The distance between the columns ranges from a maximum of 20 mm. to a minimum of 27 mm., with 8 mm. between the lines.

<sup>52</sup> BHL 3639; *Paolo Diacono: Vita Sancti Gregorii Magni*, ed. Sabina Tuzzo, Centro di Cultura medievale 11 (Pisa, 2002), 21–28, chaps. 12–13, lines 221–39 and chap. 14, lines 244–61 (recto) and chaps. 14–15, lines 264–307 (verso), although the lines of text on the verso cannot be precisely determined since the text has been erased. From line 23 of the second column of the verso it is possible to read the words "Quod (dum) perficere non posset qui(a . . .) tam longe (ab) urbe (. . .) officio functus est (. . .)" (lines 302–3; see p. xxxii in the introduction to the edition). The name *Adam* is on the verso near the lower external margin.

26. Baronissi, Convento SS. Trinità, MS S. Tommaso s. XIV (Archivio, s.n.), flyleaf.

The writing, of the same elegant and calligraphic Caroline minuscule, does not have the light aspect of the previous example. The letter *d* is straight in-

side and at the beginning of the word, but also of uncial type at the end of the word; *g* has a rounded loop at the bottom, *s* is sometimes rounded at the end of the word, always at the end of the line, and in one case it is above the line when located at the end of the line; *y* lies on the base line and has a dot above it; *z* is formed by a *c* joined by a short vertical line to a curve ending in a thin curl (fig. 27). The diphthong *ae* is marked by the letter *e* with a cedilla, and the conjunction *et* is represented as a ligature of the letters *e* and *t*. Oblique hyphens at the end of the line indicate the continuation of the word in the next line.

27. Baronissi, Convento SS. Trinità, MS S. Tommaso s. XIV (Archivio, s.n.), flyleaf (detail).

The writing, like that of the previous example, could be compared to contemporary products of central Italy, particularly, of the Umbria and northern-Lazio regions, including some fragments found in Stroncone,<sup>53</sup> from the second half of the twelfth century; it is also generally comparable to the first part of the Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana A 18, containing the *Etymologies of Isidore*, from the twelfth century and, according to Paola Supino Martini, from the monastery of Saint Eutizio in Norcia,<sup>54</sup> and also to Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Sessoriano 2.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately we do not know how the manuscript of St. Thomas (of which our hagiographical fragment is a flyleaf)

<sup>53</sup> See *Frammenti di storia medievale*, Notarile 88 and 106, 52–53 and 54–55.

<sup>54</sup> See the description by Valentina D'Urso in *Virgilio e il chiostro*, 164–65 (“S. Eutizio, Farfa e Subiaco condivisero con Montecassino l’area linguistico-dialettale—quella mediana longobarda benedettina—, ma non l’area grafica, rappresentata come è noto, dalla minuscola beneventana per Montecassino, dalla minuscola carolina, nella tipizzazione originatasi a Roma, e pertanto denominata ‘romanesca’”; see Paola Supino-Martini, “Itinerario monastico in area romanesca,” in *I luoghi della memoria scritta* (Rome, 1992), 49–56, at 49, rpt. in her *Scritti “romani”: Scrittura, libri e cultura a Roma in età medievale*, ed. Giuliana Ancidei et al., Studi del Dipartimento di Storia, Culture, Religioni 5 (Rome, 2012), 199–211. On manuscripts in the “Romanesca” minuscule, see also Luisa Miglio, Carlo Tedeschi, “Echi romaneschi,” *Scripta* 6 (2013): 95–113.

<sup>55</sup> See *Catalogo dei manoscritti in scrittura latina datati o databili*, 1. *Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma*, ed. Viviana Jemolo (Torino, 1971), 57, table XXVI.

arrived at the convent of Baronissi. It has a recently restored binding,<sup>56</sup> but an ownership mark at the end of the manuscript, probably from the fourteenth century, brings the manuscript back to the diocese of Lombez, in Gascony.<sup>57</sup> Manuscripts, like later printed books, could often circulate without bindings,<sup>58</sup> so we do not know whether our fragment was already a part of an original binding or whether it had been inserted in it during later bindings, and therefore we cannot determine whether the fragment had always traveled along with the fourteenth-century manuscript. It could have been a part of a codex that was kept in a monastery in the Salerno area, and later, considered obsolete, was reused to protect the Aquinas manuscript which had arrived separately. For these reasons, unlike the fragment from the Salerno Archivio di Stato, we cannot prove its local circulation.<sup>59</sup>

If, however, we trace the graphical model of reference of these last two examples (and perhaps of the liturgical sheet with neumatic notation) back to the Caroline minuscule of central Italy, their presence and circulation in the area of Salerno could be explained, in a context still dominated by Beneventan script, for example, by the relationships attested during the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the monasteries of areas mentioned earlier, particularly with the Cluniac monastery of Farfa.<sup>60</sup> The presence of fragments in the

<sup>56</sup> The manuscript was restored in 1990.

<sup>57</sup> The note lies at fol. 261v: “Iste liber est Iohannis de Monaca de Vit(er)be rectoris de pri(or)at(u) Lomberien(sis) dio(ce)s(is).” Viterbe could be identified with the French town Viterbe (belonging to the diocese of Lavaur) or, perhaps, with Viterbe Vallègue; both, however, are about 100 km from Lombez. In 1328 Giacomo Colonna was elected bishop of Lombez and diocese administration was given to his brother Giovanni. See Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, “Colonna, Giacomo,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 27 (1982), 316–18.

<sup>58</sup> See Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell’Italia del Rinascimento* (Milan, 1998), 121, 145–46, and 160–74.

<sup>59</sup> Since notarial registers are often covered by fragments of documents of local production, it is possible to assume that fragments of *codices* come from the same area; see Attilio De Luca, “Testimonianze in scrittura beneventana nelle Marche,” *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 1 (1977): 353–400, at 356–57 and n. 9.

<sup>60</sup> It is significant that merchants Mauro and Pantaleone of Amalfi donated to the abbey of Farfa the precious ivory casket, which is still preserved in the Museum of the monastery; see Antonio Braca, “Intorno alla cassetta di avorio di Farfa: il cimelio, il donatore e la bottega amalfitana,” in *L’enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno*, ed. Ferdinando Bologna (Naples, 2008), 161–201. On the liturgy of this Cluniac abbey, see Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006). See also, for example, *Farfa*,

northwest and east of Salerno (in Scala, located along the Amalfi Coast, but also in Lustra and in Cilento) can be in any case significant proof of the circulation of the manuscripts in Caroline minuscule within the territory. We cannot exclude the possibility that there was a trade of quires and loose parchment sheets, perhaps even from other areas, that were sold directly to the binders.<sup>61</sup> Probably they were extracted from time to time from the *codex* that in the meantime had become obsolete, and thus reused.

Therefore, while the new fragments can explain a presumable circulation of the texts around the Salerno area and allow us to hypothesize contacts and cultural exchanges with regions north of the Benevento-Cassino border, they do not provide evidence for precise localization. But as some codices written in Caroline minuscule in this period can be assigned to the area of Salerno,<sup>62</sup> we cannot rule out the possibility of local production of *codices* in Caroline minuscule perhaps due to the activity of local scribes who had been graphically educated.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, in this case, we can certainly confirm a fairly wide circulation of manuscripts produced in this script, inside and outside the principality of Salerno, which could have arrived as a result of cul-

*abbazia imperiale. Atti del convegno internazionale, Farfa-Santa Vittoria in Matenano, 25–29 agosto 2003*, ed. Rolando Dondarini (n. p., 2006).

<sup>61</sup> Reuse of juridical and literary manuscripts in parchment for binding was determined by the diffusion of printed books, but it is also important to consider social factors similar to the reuse of Hebraic manuscripts after persecutions and expulsions (see Colette Sirat, “Il reimpiego dei materiali dei libri ebraici,” in *We-Zo'tle-Angelo. Raccolta di studi giudaici in memoria di Angelo Vivian*, ed. Giulio Busi [Bologna, 1993], 35–48), as well as the liturgical revision issued by the *Concilium Tridentinum* and the publication of a new version of the *Missale Romanum*, which made earlier codices obsolescent.

<sup>62</sup> See pp. 244–46 above.

<sup>63</sup> It has been suggested that at the end of the twelfth century, some schools were active in Salerno, in which primary learning was based on Beneventan and Carolingian models of writing; see Galante, *Un necrologio e le sue scritture*, 80. In private documents, while Beneventan script was adopted by *notarii* until the early thirteenth century, in the Salerno area Caroline minuscule was a prerogative of ecclesiastics; see Galante, “Esperienze grafiche,” 19–20 and 25 n. 37. In the area between Cava and Vietri, however, some *notarii* could write in an elegant Beneventan script with some particular letters in Caroline minuscule directly influenced by Norman style; see Cherubini, “Tra longobardi, normanni, e greci,” 128, 134. On the use in private documents of mixed writing, see Magistrale, “Fasi e alternanze grafiche,” and “Centri di produzione libraria” (n. 12 above).

tural contacts,<sup>64</sup> Cluniac monks (e.g., Lorenzo of Amalfi and Pietro, the abbot of Cava), pro-Norman politics of the Church (which inspired Archbishop Alfano II<sup>65</sup> and the Archbishop Romualdo Guarna<sup>66</sup>), and the arrival of the Normans.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> On the cultural contacts between the *Langobardia minor* and central-northern Italy, see the study by Cristina Mantegna, “Copisti-editori di manoscritti giuridici. 2. La Lombarda del ms. Casanatense 328 e la sua posizione nella normalizzazione del testo,” in *La collaboration dans la production de l’écrit médiéval. Actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> Colloque international de Paléographie Latine (Weingarten, 22–25 septembre 2000)*, ed. Herrad Spilling (Paris, 2003), 251–65 (online in *Scrineum*. Biblioteca: <http://scrineum.unipv.it/biblioteca/mantegna.html>).

<sup>65</sup> Cherubini, “Tra longobardi, normanni e greci,” 126.

<sup>66</sup> Romualdo II Guarna, *Chronicon*, ed. Cinzia Bonetti, intro. Giancarlo Andenna, Hubert Houben, Massimo Oldoni, Schola Salernitana, Studi e testi 6 (Salerno, 2001).

<sup>67</sup> See Galante, “Esperienze grafiche,” 20 and n. 23, and “Un necrologio e le sue scritture,” 77; Armando Petrucci, “Postilla alla questione: ‘beneventana’ e non ‘beneventana’ nei documenti dell’Italia meridionale,” *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, n.s., 41 (1961): 169–74; Alessandro Pratesi, “La scrittura latina nell’Italia meridionale nell’età di Federico II,” *Archivio storico pugliese* 25 (1972): 299–308; Magistrale, “Fasi e alternanze grafiche,” and Tristano, “Scrittura beneventana,” 149.

