

Between Southern Italy and Dalmatia: Missal *MR 166* of the Metropolitana Library, Zagreb

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The Missal MR 166 from the Metropolitana Library, Zagreb, written in Beneventan script and dating back to the twelfth–thirteenth centuries, has long been considered a Dalmatian product, similar to the coeval illuminated manuscript in Beneventan script preserved in the Trogir Cathedral and originating in Zadar. Nevertheless, later studies – specifically based on the textual features of the manuscript – showed that it is undoubtedly a Southern Italian product, and a significant testimony of the uninterrupted book circulation that existed on both sides of the Adriatic for three centuries, roughly from the eleventh to the thirteenth, thus influencing the activity of the Benedictine scriptoria on the Dalmatian coast. On the basis of the study that makes it possible to define more closely the group of manuscripts that make up the “corpus of the illuminated manuscripts from Dalmatia”, the paper aims to support the Southern Italian origin of the Missal by means of a critical analysis of the theories put forward so far about the “typically Dalmatian” features of its Initialornamentik.

Keywords: Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts, Beneventan script, votive missal, miniature painting, Apulian illuminated manuscripts

Recent studies have stressed the importance of the Adriatic sea for the exchange of artistic and cultural forms between its eastern and western sides.¹ This paper deals with a manuscript which testifies specifically to the close links between the Eastern Adriatic area and the Southern Italy territories.

With regard to the same issue, research has been conducted on the illuminated manuscripts in Beneventan script from Dalmatia, for the first time gathered in a unified and systematic “corpus” that in a detailed description of the decorative sets, aims to emphasize the essential features of the Dalmatian miniature painting while also focussing on the history of the Adriatic area between the 11th and 13th centuries.²

The systematic and comparative analysis of the surviving evidence has shown two main groups of manuscripts. The first one, based on the *scriptorium* of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar, implies manuscripts dated to between the mid–11th century and the first decades of the 12th century. The second one, based on the codices of the Cathedral of Trogir, is dated to the 13th century. Since the beginnings, these manuscripts were characterized by a strong influence coming from Apulia, mainly from the manuscripts of Bari, and with the arrival of the 13th century, an influence also began to penetrate from the northern part of the Adriatic Sea, particularly from the area of Venice and Padua.

A completely isolated case and undoubtedly the most problematic of the whole *corpus* of Dalmatian manuscripts is

Missal *MR 166* of the Metropolitana Library, Zagreb (the library of the Zagreb Archbishopric, now located in the Croatian State Archives), a composite manuscript made up of two different codicological units: the first one, mutilated at the end, is characterized by a Beneventan script, which is absolutely different from that of the coeval Dalmatian codices, and more similar to the typology of Montecassino rather than to the *Bari type*. The second one, on the other hand, is characterized by a script that, even though careless and unadorned, seems like a rounded Beneventan script and therefore it is more similar to the typology of the manuscripts of Dalmatian origin. The decoration of the missal clearly shows that there is a qualitative difference between the two parts of the Missal and there is no doubt that the second one was decorated later by a less skilled hand.

The decoration of the first unit of the codex includes a page with the *T* deriving from the *Te igitur* (p. 209) on a colour-striped background (fig. 1) and 179 decorated initials. There are initials with geometric and ribbon-like forms (fig. 2–4), zoomorphic initials (fig. 5–8), and initials with squared interlaces (so-called “a mattonella”) (fig. 9–10). In just two cases, there are initials of the so-called “Ottonian type”, used

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¹ See, in general, with particular focus on the Middle Ages: *Andar per mare. Puglia e Mediterraneo tra mito e storia*, ed. R. Cassano, R. Lorusso Romito, M. Milella, Bari 1998; *Tra le due sponde dell'Adriatico: la pittura nella Serbia del XIII secolo e l'Italia. Gli affreschi medievali della Serbia nelle copie della Galerija Fresaka del Narodni Muzej di Belgrado e i rapporti con l'Italia*, Ferrara 1999; *Adriatico. Un mare di storia, arte, cultura*. Atti del Convegno, ed. B. Cleri, I–II, Ancona 2000; *Adriatico mare d'Europa: la cultura e la storia*, ed. E. Turri, Cinisello Balsamo 2000; *Le vie mediterranee dell'icona cristiana. Icone del Museo Nazionale di Belgrado (Bari, Pinacoteca Provinciale, 14 dicembre 2001–31 gennaio 2002)*, ed. B. Ivanić, Bari 2001; *Il Trecento adriatico. Paolo Veneziano e la pittura tra Oriente e Occidente (Castel Sigismondo, Piazza Malatesta, Rimini, 19 agosto–29 dicembre 2002)*, ed. F. Flores d'Arcais, G. Gentili, Milano 2002; *Arte per mare. Dalmazia, Titano e Montefeltro dal primo cristianesimo al Rinascimento (San Marino Città, Museo di san Francesco, 22 luglio–11 novembre 2007)*, ed. G. Gentili, A. Marchi, Milano 2007.

² The forthcoming *corpus* is based on my Phd Thesis: *Sulle relazioni culturali tra le due sponde adriatiche. La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo*. I wish to express here my gratitude to Prof. Maria Stella Calò Mariani, (Università di Bari), Head of the Doctoral Program, and Prof. Giulia Orofino (Università di Cassino), my Tutor, for their invaluable, constant support to this research. I am grateful as well to Prof. Valentino Pace (Università di Udine) for his editorial comments. My present essay is dedicated to the late Virginia Brown, who devoted her attention to the Missals in Beneventan script. For a preliminary overview of my research, v. E. Elba, *La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo*, *Segno e Testo* 4 (2006) 107–147.



Fig. 1. Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 209

to mark the beginning of the masses, the evagelic pericopes and the lessons.

The initials can all be attributed to the same illuminator, apart from those corresponding to the palimpsest pages (p. 160–163), where the Mass-text *pro imperatore* was substituted by a Mass-text *pro rege*. Most likely these pages were illuminated by a second artist, at the same time when the text of the *scriptio inferior* with the Mass-text *pro imperatore* was written. Those done by the first artist are written with a dark inked pen. They are coloured red, yellow, blue, dark green, light green, white and black. The geometrical initials, done by the second artist on the pages 160–163 are drawn with a dark inked pen. At some points, they are marked with red lines and coloured with red, yellow and gold.

Alongside these initials, there are some others belonging to a simpler typology. They are characterized by the development of coloured backgrounds and an irregular profile created by bowl-like prominences and the extension of the external lines with plant-shaped endings (fig. 11). However, close to the text with neumatic notation (p. 173–224), there is a set of small red inked letters drawn on a square golden background.

The decoration of the second part of the manuscript is far poorer. It only includes 35 decorated initials: they are simple letters, with characteristic bars animated by nodular, bowl-like prominences. With a pen, their contours were drawn using a sepia coloured ink and simply filled in with red.

Missal MR 166 was discovered by the palaeographer Viktor Novak in December 1916. He described it in detail, attributing it to a southern Italian *Scriptorium* of the late 11th century for codicological and palaeographical reasons.³

While the Italian origin of the manuscript had been confirmed by the liturgist Dragutin Kniewald,⁴ Novak himself revised his initial hypothesis after about thirty years.

64 He claimed that the manuscript should have been produced

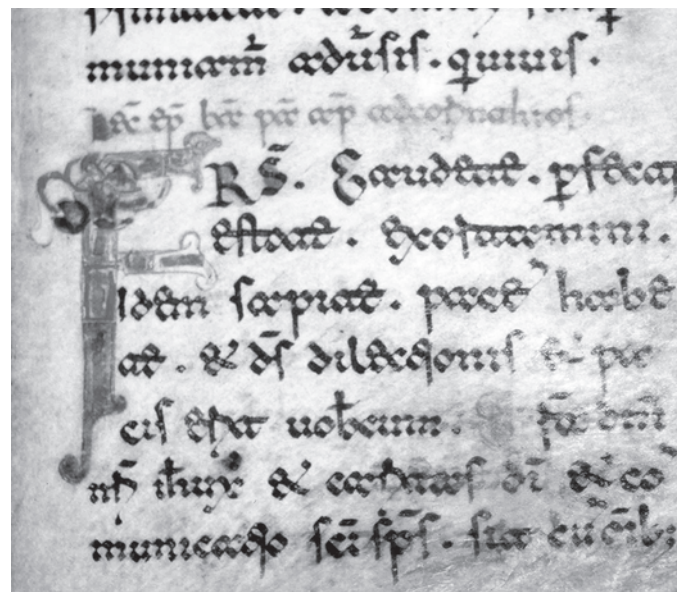


Fig. 2. Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 103

in Dalmatia, basing his new hypothesis on two different considerations.⁵ The first one was that the “semi-angular” script was not unusual in the context of 11th century Dalmatian library production, in which it was characteristic to use both types of script, as shown by the Gospel Book of the Cathedral of Trogir, mistakenly attributed by him to the 11th and 12th centuries. The second consideration was that on the palimpsest pages of the Missal (pp. 160–161), the mention *pro imperatore* of the *scriptio inferior*, replaced with a mention in favour of a king — in whose initials “Em” Novak identified the abbreviation of the Hungarian king’s name *Emericus* (1196–1204) — coincides with the same mention which exists in the *Exultet* of the Evangeliary of Zadar (*Bodl. Canon. Lat. 61*). This manuscript is considered without any doubt to be of Dalmatian origin and datable, according to Novak, to the last decade of the 11th century, on the basis of the allusion to the emperor. In fact, after the death of King Zvonimir (1076–1089) there was a long period of political uncertainty, during which the power of Byzantium strengthened. According to these circumstances, Novak claimed that the dating to the last decade of the 11th century excludes the possibility that MR 166 was produced in Italy, since the allusion to the emperor could be explained only in the ‘unlikely’ case of the completion of the manuscript before the fall of Bari to the Normans in 1071.⁶

³ V. Novak, *Scriptura beneventana: s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane. Paleografska studija*, Zagreb 1920, 51, 52, 72–79 (tab. V–XIII).

⁴ D. Kniewald, *Zagrebački liturgijski kodeksi XI–XV stoljeća*, Croatia Sacra 10 (1940) 1–128, particularly 30–33; idem, *Illuminacija i notacija zagrebačkih liturgijskih rukopisa*, Rad Hrvatske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 279 (1944) 7, 21–24, 98, 100–105; and particularly: idem, *Ordo et Canon missae e missali S. Sabina MR 166 saec. XI*, *Ephemerides liturgicae* 70 (1956) 325–337. Kniewald believed that MR 166 was produced at the end of the 11th century in the central part of Italy, probably in Rome or in the territory of the abbey of Farfa, and was brought to Dalmatia, probably to Split, during the 12th century.

⁵ V. Novak, *Neiskorišćavana kategorija dalmatinskih historijskih izvora od VIII. do XII. stoljeća*, Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru 3 (1957) 39–74, particularly 43–45 and 160–161 (tab. 1). In this circumstance, Novak specified that the presence of MR 166 in Zagreb was already documented at the beginning of the 14th century, because it is mentioned in the inventory of the Metropolitana Library (*ibid.*, 43).

⁶ Novak, *op. cit.*, 44.

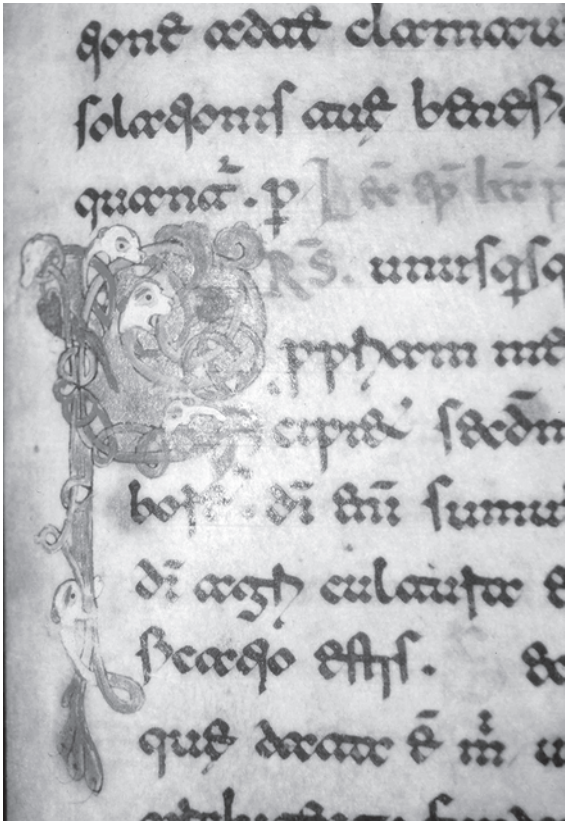


Fig. 3. Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 63

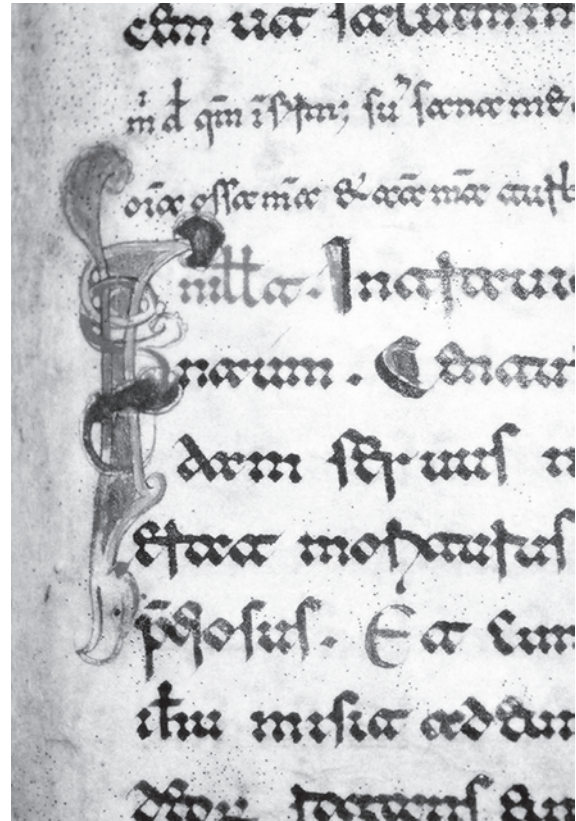


Fig. 4. Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 149

Branka Pecarski, a student of Novak, supported his ideas and developed a monographic study based entirely on the decorative set of the manuscript.⁷ She tried to demonstrate that the codex, while characterized by clear references to the miniature painting of southern Italy, shows evident connections with other Dalmatian manuscripts, in particular with the *Evangelary of Zadar*. In addition, following Novak's hypothesis about the existence of a *scriptorium* that in the 11th century already used the semi-angular script in Trogir — when the rounded script was used in Zadar — she concluded that *MR 166* was probably produced right in Trogir.

The subsequent studies disagree with the thesis claiming the Dalmatian origin of the manuscript and its dating to the 11th century, unanimously maintaining that *MR 166* was done in the area of Montecassino during the 12th century and that only later was it exported to Dalmatia, where it was completed with a final part, presumably at the beginning of the 13th century.⁸

This position, based on the musicological considerations by Boe,⁹ was further supported by the studies of Virginia Brown on the “votive Missal”,¹⁰ a type of monastic book that was particularly widespread in the area of Benevento and Montecassino from the 11th century. The “votive Missal” differs from the *Sacramentary* because of the presence of Masses-texts ascribed to the domain of private worship and a heterogeneous set of prayer intentions that belong to public and private worship.¹¹ The preliminary comparative analysis by Virginia Brown on the votive Missals of southern Italy, produced between the 11th and 13th century,¹² pointed out that *MR 166*, considered as one of those examples, is very similar to the codices of Montecassino. This means that they were probably produced in the same *scriptorium* or in a monastery under its control.¹³

⁷ B. Telebaković-Pecarski, *Illuminacija misala MR 166 iz zagrebačke Sveučilišne knjižnice*, *Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku* 6–7 (1959) 149–160.

⁸ E. A. Loew, *A new list of Beneventan manuscripts*, in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda: a Biblioteca Apostolica edita*, II, Città del Vaticano 1962, 211–244; idem, *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, Roma 1980², I, 343, II, 177; A. Badurina, *Illuminated manuscripts in Croatia*, Zagreb 1995, 105. The complete bibliography can be found on *BMB. Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana*, 1–17, Roma 1993–2009.

⁹ J. Boe, *Präfatation*, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. L. Finscher, Kassel – New York 1997², 1771. According to Boe, the text of the *Prefatio in solemnitatibus*, quoted on ff. 188–193 and 202–205, comes from the area of Montecassino.

¹⁰ V. Brown, *Messale votivo*, in: *I fiori e' frutti santi. S. Benedetto, la Regola, la santità nelle testimonianze dei manoscritti cassinesi*, ed. M. Dell'Omo, Milano 1998, 152–153 nr. 36, 153; eadem, *Il messale medievale e le 'Missae 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. O. Pecere, Cassino 2003, 119–153.

¹¹ The prayers are divided into different categories, such as thanksgiving for the intercession of saints at public events or private occasions, or for the benefit of the deceased, or of all the faithful in general, for the benefit of particular figures, such as lay benefactors, who, in exchange for gifts of different kinds, tried to “establish a spiritual affiliation with the monastery”, and requested the celebration of masses for themselves and for their families (*Ibid.*, 139).

¹² Besides *MR 166*, the following belong to the typology of “votive Missal”: *Casin. 127* and the *Vat. Borg. Lat. 211*, both written in Montecassino in the time of Abbot Oderisio (1087–1105); *Casin. 426*, dating back to the second and third decade of the 11th century and produced in a monastery under the control of Montecassino; *Vat. Lat. 6082*, copied in Montecassino in the 12th century; *Ms. W6* of the Baltimore Walters Art Gallery, written in *Bari* type in the 11th century for the diocese of Canosa; *Vat. Lat. 7231* of the 13th century and the *Vat. Ott. Lat. 576*, composed of texts dating back to the 13th and 12th centuries, and some palimpsests dating back to the 11th century, both produced presumably in Abruzzi; *Oxon. Bodl. Canon. liturg. 342*, written in Dalmatia, probably in Dubrovnik, in the 13th century.

¹³ The production of *MR 166* in the area of Montecassino is mainly attested by the presence in the codex of a huge list of prayers for the mass of St. Benedict. It is only equivalent to that of the *Missal Casin. 426* (Brown, *Messale votivo*). Furthermore, *Casin. 127* and *Vat. Borg. Lat. 211*, but above all *Vat. Lat. 6082*, share the repetition of many other masses, often in the same order and with the same prayers.

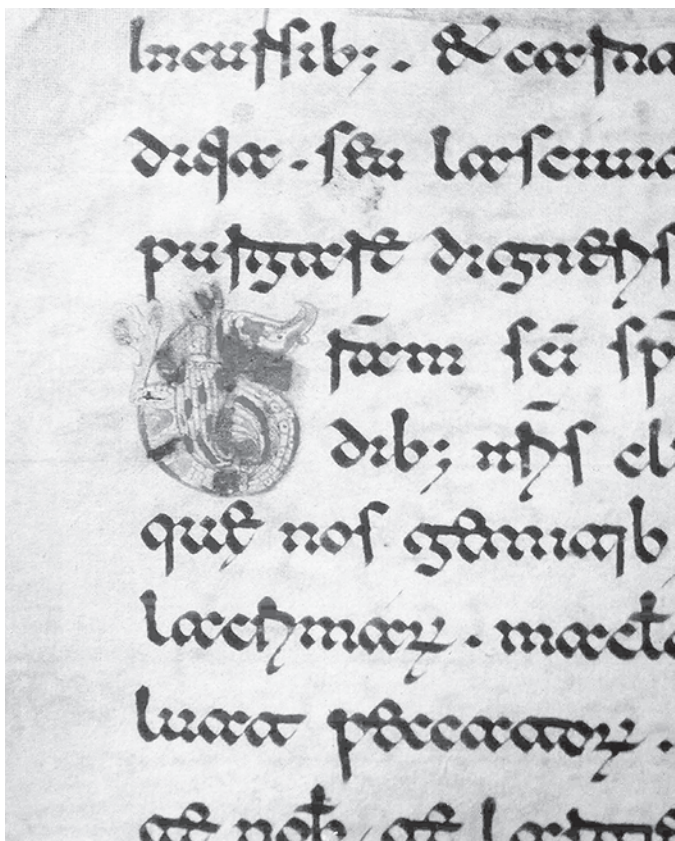


Fig. 5. Metropolitan Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 128

The analysis of the manuscript decoration contained in this paper on the one hand calls into question the hypothesis of the Dalmatian origin; on the other hand, it aims to confirm the thesis of a southern Italian origin currently supported by the scholars.

After closer observation, it is possible to identify some specific elements belonging to the ornamental repertoire, such as the vegetal endings made up of lanceolate leaves, and rarely of curled leaves, or buds. There are zoomorphic appendices, characterized by protomes of a dog or bird of prey, or by full or half-length bodies of dogs with the coat marked with small red signs on the back. Finally, there are anthropomorphic heads that in two cases are located at the end of the letter.

Pecarski's analysis aimed to underline the relationship between the Dalmatian miniature painting tradition and that of southern Italy through the systematic classification of the *Initialornamentik* of the manuscript and a direct comparison (according to typology and single ornamental elements) with some of the most important Beneventan illuminated manuscripts.¹⁴ However, the methodological validity of her analysis fails when she tries to demonstrate, with the same emphasis, the affinity of some decorative elements with codices that were definitely created in Dalmatia, the most important testimony of which is the *Bodl. Canon. Lat. 61*.

The anthropomorphic heads and the dark backgrounds filled with small blank discs (in Italian so-called "motivo a occhi", i.e. eye-like) are the elements that the two manuscripts *MR 166* and *Bodl. Canon. Lat. 61* share, both directly derived from the manuscripts in *Bari type*.¹⁵ In the case of *MR 166*, they do not characterize the decoration of the manuscript at all, while in the Evangelary of Zadar *Bodl. Canon. Lat. 61* they systematically appear, showing the reiteration of some typical elements of the illuminated manuscripts from Apulia, probably used for years in the

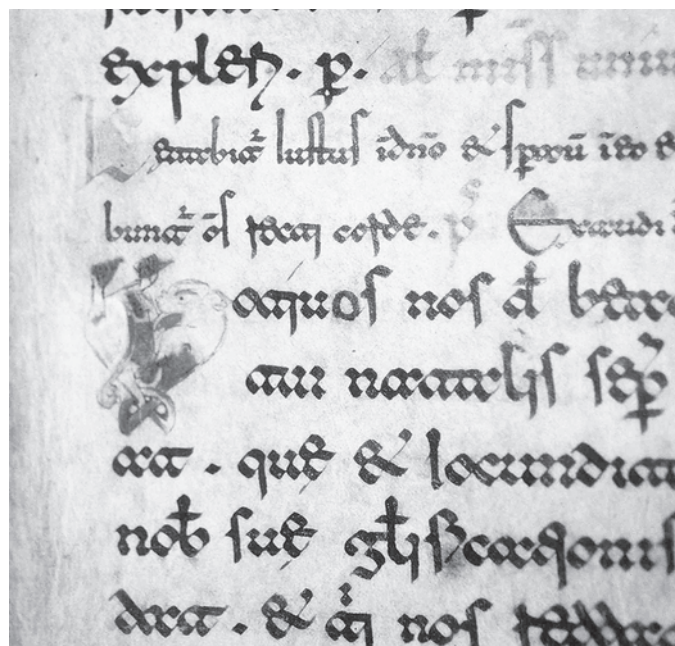


Fig. 6. Metropolitan Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 25

scriptorium of St. Chrysogonus (figs. 8, 12). In addition, the heads, in profile with a beard under the chin or with peaky ears (the features of a satyr rather than a human being), differ remarkably from those which are characteristic of the production of Zadar and Dalmatia. These heads are in profile (or frontal), with thick hair defined by a rounded mass often surmounted by a head covering or a crown — so related to the model of Bari that, in some cases, they can be considered almost identical.¹⁶

¹⁴ Pecarski subdivided the initials into four categories (Telebaković-Pecarski, *Illuminacija*, 150–152). The first category (composed of two groups), included the bow-shaped and geometrical letters ("In the first group the letters consist of stems, of ribbons intertwined in various ways, and zoomorphic motives... The initials of the second group consist exclusively of interlaced multi-coloured ribbons with spaces in between, most often filled with pearls"): for those she referred to the initials of the *Exultet* rolls of Avezzano. In this scroll she found many direct similarities, such as the initials *O* (probably initials with squared interlaces). The second category was composed of simpler initials characterized by the "the omission of the interlace". Drawing these initials "the illuminator rounds them off, splits or tapers them, and adds fine strokes; sometimes even a highly stylized leaf". To the third category belong initials characterized by a "ornamentally floral character", coloured with only blue and red, some traces of green and mainly gold (among these is also the monogram *Vere Dignum*). For these initials, identifiable with those of the Ottonian type, the proposed comparisons, based on the features of their general structure, were: the *Vat. Lat. 1202*, the *Vat. Barb. Lat. 529* and the *Exultet* roll of the British Library (*Add. MS 30337*). The *Exultet* rolls of Pisa and Fondi were used for a comparison of the similar shape of the interwoven ribbons.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 158. The recent contributions to the study of the Apulian miniature painting coincide with this remark of Pecarski. They claim that the head motif can be considered as the "trademark" of the manuscripts manufactured in the *scriptorium* of Bari, such as the *Exultet* scrolls of Bari. See: G. Orofino, *Miniatura in Puglia agli inizi dell'XI secolo: l'Omiliario VI B 2 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, *Miniatura* 3–4 (1990–1991) 21–32; eadem, *L'illustrazione delle Metamorfosi di Ovidio nel ms. IV F 3 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* 49 (1993) 5–18. For the *Exultet* scrolls of Bari cf. *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale* (Catalogo della mostra, Montecassino, 1994), ed. G. Cavallo, G. Orofino, O. Pecere, Roma 1994.

¹⁶ In the Dalmatian illuminated manuscript tradition, the head motif appears not only in the Evangelary *Bodl. Canon. Lat. 61*, but also in the slightly earlier Monastic Book of Hours *Ms. K. 394* of the Major Tudományos Akadémia of Budapest and in the Missal *Lat. fol. 920* of the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin, dating back to the 12th century. As already mentioned, the close comparison, particularly in the case of the heads in the

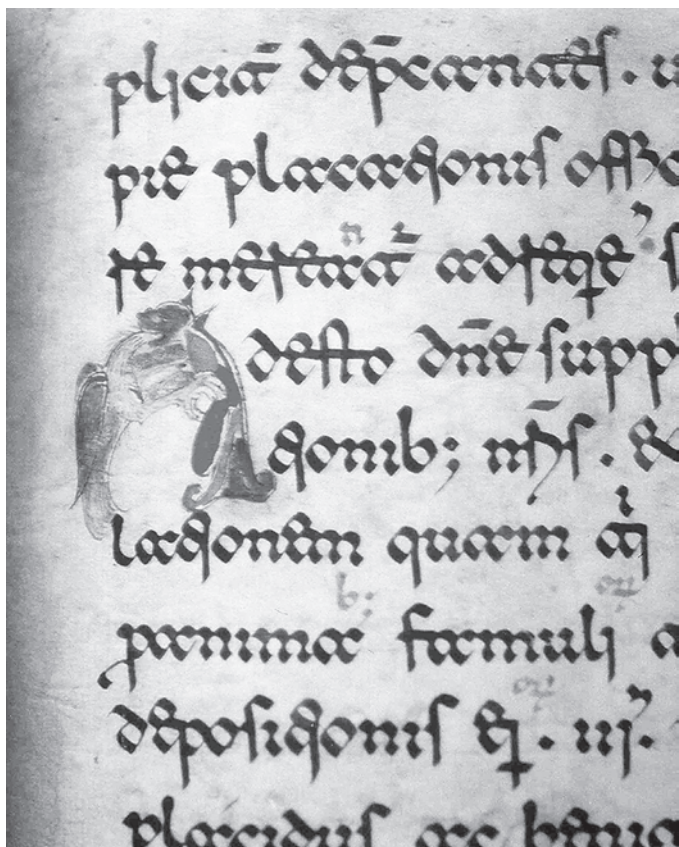


Fig. 7. Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 249

The comparison with *Bodl. Canon. Lat. 61* fails completely when analyzing the Byzantine elements that characterize — according to Pecarski — the fauna of the zoomorphic initials, in particular the letter *A* on page 249 and the letter *G* on page 128 (fig. 5, 7). Rather than the Byzantine models, the animals of the Missal — dogs, birds of prey and even a dragon — belong to the decorative model of the area of Benevento and Montecassino — revitalized by the contribution of Norman art.¹⁷ Furthermore, there are no peacocks, birds that preponderantly differentiate the decoration of the Oxford manuscript and, "typical of Byzantine art, not so freely or independently applied in southern Italy," they can be considered as distinctive features of the codices of Zadar, dating back to the second half of the 11th century (fig. 13).¹⁸

In contrast with what Pecarski claimed, the fact that the decoration of the Missal of Zagreb is completely different from that of the Oxford Evangeliary shows the "uniqueness" of the manuscript compared to the other more or less coeval Dalmatian examples. These Dalmatian manuscripts, even though they were not created by the same *scriptorium* — like in the case of the *Vat. Borg. Lat. 339* — clearly show the diffusion of a homogeneous decorative language on the whole of Dalmatian territory, based on the illuminated manuscript production of St. Chrysogonus. As a result, because of the lack of comparable manuscripts, it is impossible to affirm that *MR 166* was produced in Dalmatia, even less by a *scriptorium* such as the one of Trogir, whose very existence, due to the lack of documentary evidence, should be called into question even for the 13th century codices.¹⁹

Going back to the illumination of the manuscript, the morphological and decorative features of the initials point to some elements characterizing a *scriptorium* operating in the area of Montecassino, according to the text analysis of Brown, or rather to the *scriptorium* of Benevento,²⁰

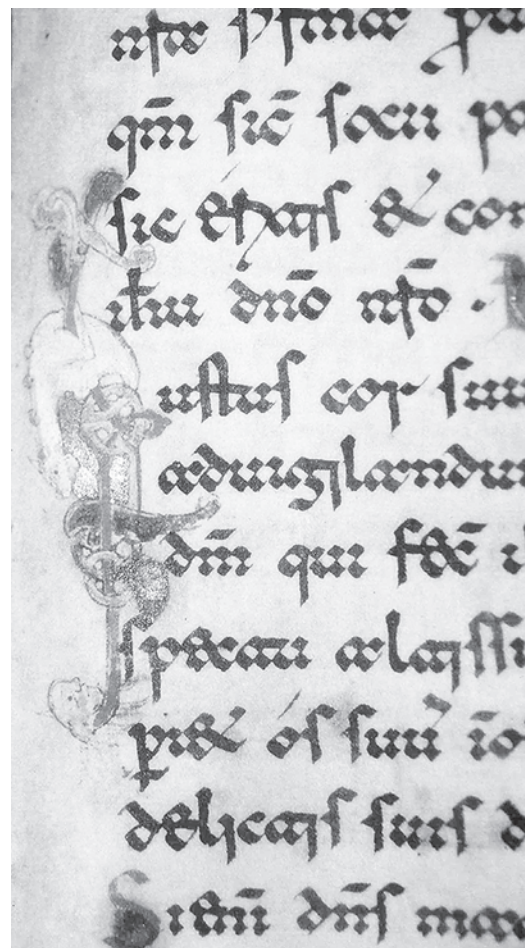


Fig. 8. Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 27

codex of Budapest, with the models of the Bari type is clear. Cf. Elba, *La decorazione*; eadem, *Lungo le rotte adriatiche: il Libro d'ore in beneventana di Budapest e la miniatura pugliese dell'XI secolo*, *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 12 (2008) 45–55.

¹⁷ This consideration is mainly due to the presence of the initial shaped by the figure of the dragon. It is a typical element of the zoomorphic repertoire of Norman art that spread in Dalmatia thanks to the influences of the models coming from southern Italy and particularly attested by the codices in Beneventan script of the 12th and 13th centuries, as the already mentioned Missal of Berlin, the Lectionary and the Evangeliary of Trogir.

¹⁸ Telebaković-Pecarski, *Illuminacija*, 158. This opinion is widely supported by the fact that, as opposed to the models of the Bari type, in the codices of Zadar and, particularly in the *Bodl. Canon. Lat. 61* and in the *Bodl. Canon. Lat. 277*, the peacock, instead of being a simple decorative motif of the zoomorphic repertoire of the manuscript, systematically substituted the eagle, symbolizing the evangelist John. Cf. Elba, *La decorazione*, 126 (and tab. 8 and 11d); eadem, *Lungo le rotte*, 48 (and figs. 8–9).

¹⁹ The quality of the decoration and the peculiar iconographical affinities that in particular relate the Evangeliary of Trogir both to the miniature painting of southern Italy and to the library production of the 13th century in the area of Padua and Venice, support the hypothesis that the manuscript, even if done for the cathedral of Trogir, could have been produced in Zadar. Zadar was the full-fledged, leading centre of the book tradition of Dalmatia and it remained so even when the Franciscan *scriptorium* replaced that of the Benedictines of St. Chrysogonus. Cf. E. Elba, *L'Evangeliario miniato in beneventana della cattedrale di Trogir e la cultura artistica adriatica del XIII secolo*, in: *Medioevo: l'Europa delle cattedrali*, Atti del IX Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Parma, 19–23 September 2006), ed. A. C. Quintavalle, Milano 2007, 362–369.

²⁰ On the manuscripts from Benevento, cf. J. Mallet, A. Thibaut, *Les manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent*, I–III, Paris 1984–1997; *La cathédrale de Bénévent*, ed. T. F. Kelly, Gand–Paris 1999; *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae: cod. Vat. Lat. 4939*, ed. J.–M. Martin, Roma 2000 (con uno studio sull'apparato decorativo di G. Orofino); G. Orofino, *La miniatura nel ducato di Benevento*, in: *I Longobardi dei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento*. Atti del XVI Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo (ottobre 2002), I, Spoleto 2003, 545–565 (tab. I–XVIII).

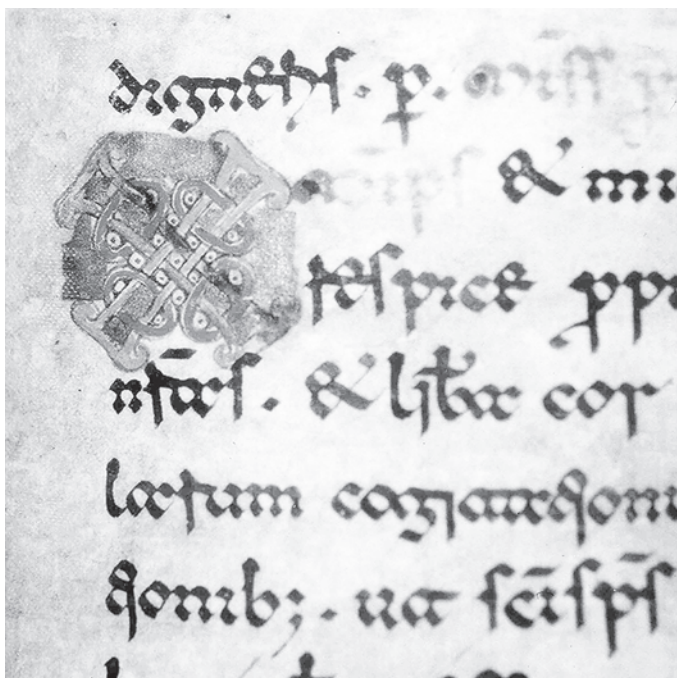


Fig. 9. Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 157

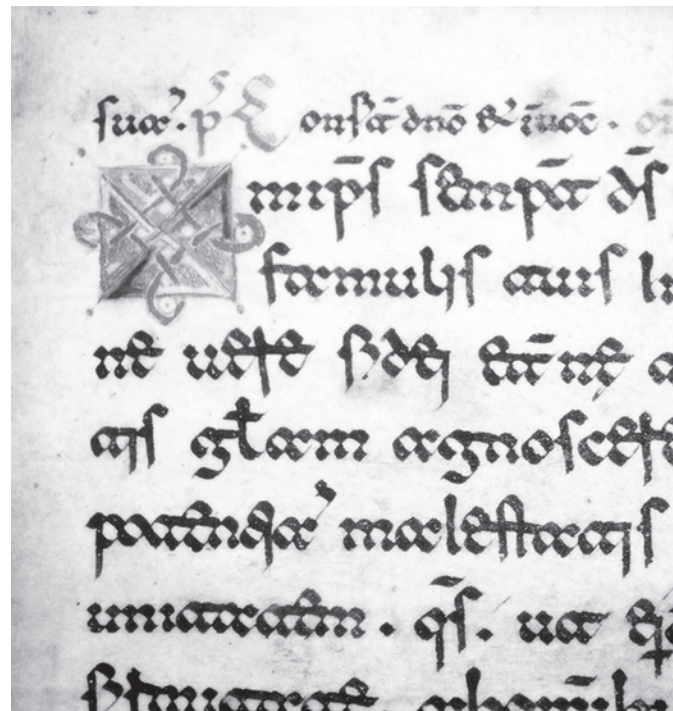


Fig. 10. Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 103

according to the research by J. Boe and A. E. Planchart.²¹ Clearly the manuscript was influenced by both traditions.²²

This is proved, from a compositional point of view, both by the letter *V* on page 25 (fig. 6), shaped by the figure of a dog, lying on its back and licking its paw — reusing a solution very similar to the one used in the codices of Montecassino and Benevento — and by the small letter *D* on page 154, where two dogs compose the shape of the letter, like in many other examples belonging to the repertoire of Montecassino, in which animals substitute the contour of the letter in a symmetrical position.²³ On the other hand, at the ornamental level, the comparison with the miniature painting tradition of Montecassino and Benevento is essentially focused on the presence of the eye-like motif, on the use of vegetal endings with lanceolate leaves and, particularly, on the use of a systematic and differentiated use of squared interlaces that shape

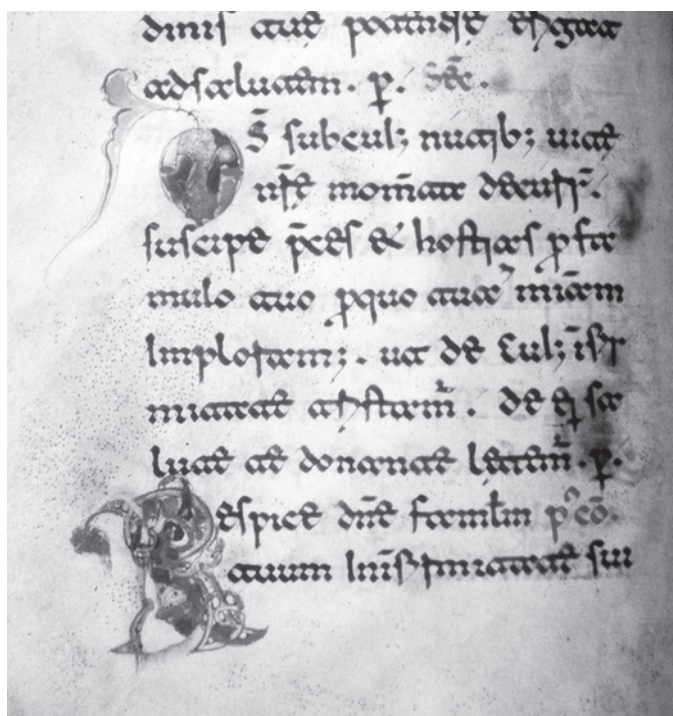


Fig. 11. Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. MR 166, p. 152

the letter *O* on ff. 103–157. There are many similarities with the manuscripts of Montecassino also in these small details.²⁴

It is also likely (but still needs to be checked) that in the case of the manuscripts from Benevento, the major similarities of the decorative solutions (fig. 14–15) can be seen in the missals of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Benevento, *cod. 19*, *cod. 20* and *cod. 29* — all probably created in the local *scriptorium* of Santa Sofia in the 12th century²⁵ — or the Missal *Ms. Egerton 3511* (ex *Benev. 29*).

The relation with the book models of Montecassino and Benevento also clarifies the technical quality that

²¹ J. Boe (*Beneventanum troporum corpus II: Ordinary Chants and Tropes for the Mass from Southern Italy, A. D. 1000–1250. Part 2: Gloria in excelsis*, ed. J. Boe, Madison 1990) believes that the analysis of the order of the Gloria hymns and the Tropes follows that of the tradition of Benevento, as the ‘prosula’ *Puer ascendentem*, in the f. 16v of the *Ms. Benev. 35*.

²² I exclude the connection of the decorative parts in *MR 166* with the illuminated manuscripts from Apulia, particularly in *Bari type*, since there are too many differences in style. Therefore, I do not agree with Golob’s claims, when she compares, with reference to the second part of the manuscript in the Beneventan script of the *Bari type*, the *Initialornamentik* of the manuscript of Zagreb to the manuscript of Virgil *Vat. Reg. Lat. 2090*; cf. N. Golob, *Ungarn, Slowenien und Kroatien*, in: *Romanik*, II, ed. A. Fingernagel, Graz 2007, 92 e n. 38.

²³ V., for example, the small letter *D* on f. 26^r^{bis} of the *Ms. 36* of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Benevento or the letter *O* on page 54 of the *Casin. 51*, reproduced in: Orofino, *La miniatura nel ducato di Benevento*, tab. XI, pict. 22; eadem, *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino*, II/1: *I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 1996, tab. CV.

²⁴ Among the many possible comparisons, this one refers in particular to the capital geometrical letters of Grimoaldo in the *Casin. 104*, such as the letter *N* on page 155, reproduced by Orofino, *I codici cit.*, II, 2, tab. CXX-d.

²⁵ For example, in the case of *MR 166*, the following elements are normally considered meaningful: the hooked knots like those characterizing the initials of the *Ms. Benev. 29*; the way in which the geometrical letters are structured, characterized by empty sections with a golden background and crossed by ribbons ending with long lanceolate leaves, as in the case of the letter *P* on f. 149^r of the *Ms. Benev. 20*; or the presence of Ottonian plant shoots of the letter *V* on page 202, contoured by a thin red line and coloured with gold on a blue background, as those that fill the white polka-dot field of the letter *T* on f. 108^v of the *Ms. 19* and on f. 149^v of the *Ms. 20*.



Fig. 12. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Canon. lat. 61, c. 45v



Fig. 13. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Canon. lat. 61, c. 64v

characterizes the decoration of the first part of the manuscript. Both the drawing, well defined and marked by a thin black inked stroke, and the *mise-en-page*, are typical features of an important *scriptorium* or, at the same time, of an area implying a wide circulation of manuscripts of top quality. In fact its *mise-en-page* shows a well balanced attention to the relation of the text and the initials, which may be a clue for its attribution to an important *scriptorium* or to an area where there was a wide circulation of top quality manuscripts. Waiting for an accurate evaluation of the palaeographical aspects that could deny the possibility that *MR 166* could have been copied in Dalmatia,²⁶ and a more appropriate comparative research of the decoration regarding all the missals from southern Italy dating back to the 11th and 12th centuries that could properly clarify the place in which the manuscript was created,²⁷ I can only state that the area between Benevento and northern Apulia played an important role in the network of relations between southern Italy and Dalmatia.²⁸

This is probably due not only to the close links Benevento had with Siponto, whose port, located at the foot of the Gargano mountains, was the chief point of departure for those who were travelling to the eastern coast of the Adriatic sea from the Apulian hinterland, but also to the close ties the Benedictines of northern Apulia and those of the abbey of Santa Maria delle Tremiti in particular, maintained with the populations of the eastern coast during the Middle Ages.²⁹ In addition, both the Abbey of Montecassino³⁰ and the Church of Rome were very interested in this area, as shown by the appointment of

²⁶ In my opinion the question of the existence, or non-existence, of a “Beneventan Dalmatian script” could be answered only through the identification of the specific features of its script.

²⁷ I started a comparative study of *MR 166* and *Vat. Lat. 2068*. At the time, waiting for the Vatican Library to reopen, I could only work on the microfilm. I believe and emphasize that the manuscripts, apart from being similar from a stylistic point of view (as Brown claimed), show many analogies in the decorative set. However, it must be clear that the *Vat. Lat. 2068* is characterized by a higher refinement and finer quality than the *Missal of Zagreb*.

²⁸ This idea is closely related to the statement claiming that the origin of Dalmatian miniature painting has to be sought in the Benevento area, i.e. that it can be ascribed to the same artistic land of “Longobardia”, in which the researchers identify the essential elements of the miniature painting of Apulia, as shown by the comparison of the fragment of a *Passional MR 164* of the Metropolitana Library, Zagreb. This is the earliest evidence of the *corpus*, dating back to 1015–1030, like the library production of Benevento that spanned the second half of the 10th and the early 11th centuries. Cf. Elba, *La decorazione*, 116 and tab. 1a–b.

²⁹ On the issue of the presence of the Benedictines in the area of the Gargano mountains, cf. T. Leccisotti, *Montecassino a Troia*, *Japigia* 17/2 (1946), 65–92; idem, *Antiche prepositure cassinesi nei pressi del Fortore e del Saccione*, *Benedictina* 1 (1947) 84–133; idem, *Le relazioni tra Montecassino e Tremiti e i possedimenti cassinesi a Foggia e Lucera*, *Benedictina* 3 (1949) 203–215; *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, ed. A. Petrucci, I–III, Roma 1960; V. Foretić, *L’Ordine Benedettino quale tramite nei rapporti tra le due sponde con particolare riguardo al territorio di Ragusa nel Medioevo*, in: *Le relazioni religiose e chiesastico-giurisdizionali*. Atti del Congresso di Bari (29–31 ottobre 1976), Roma 1979, 131–144; P. Corsi, *Benedettini e Ordini monastico-cavallereschi in Capitanata durante il Medioevo*, in: *Capitanata medievale*, ed. M. S. Calò Mariani, Foggia 1998, 99–109.

³⁰ The Montecassino property of the monastery of Saint Mary of Rožata in Dubrovnik is documented on the abbey’s bronze door, cf. V. Novak, *La paleografia latina e i rapporti dell’Italia Meridionale con la Dalmazia*, *Archivio Storico Pugliese* XIV/3–4 (1961) 145–158, in partic. 151; Foretić, *L’Ordine Benedettino*, 133.

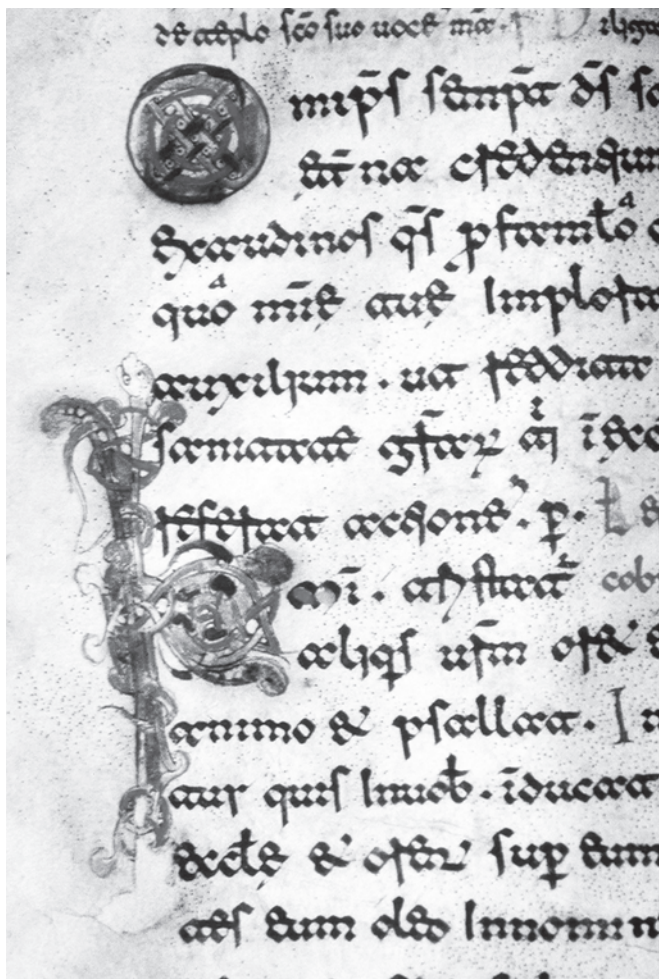


Fig. 14. Metropolitana Library, Zagreb.
MR 166, p. 148

Gerardo, Bishop of Siponto, as the papal legate to Dalmatia in the crucial years after the schism of Michele Cerulario.³¹

Returning now to the manuscript, it is possible at this point to advance the following hypothesis: just as it may have happened with Gerardo, who brought with him gifts and liturgical manuscripts when he came to Dalmatia in 1074,³² another distinguished clergyman did the same, and brought with him our Missal. He may have joined a papal delegation that left from Benevento or from one of the monasteries of northern Apulia. The sizes of the manuscript, unusual and different from those of the other Missals,³³ and the quality of the decorative set, embellished by gold, in fact show that this manuscript was meant to be used as a “travel book”.³⁴

The pocket-size characteristic of the Missal and the fact that it was used by the priest in representative contexts — therefore characterized by a certain “solemnity” — could help to further understand the necessity of adding, together with the masses for the bishop or for the pope, another one for the emperor. In contrast to Novak’s statement, this characteristic is not at all anachronistic for a southern Italian manuscript, dating back to the 11th and 12th centuries, as shown by the presence of the same mass both in the formulary of *Casin. 127* and in *Vat. Lat. 6082*.

In conclusion, I would like to draw attention to an element of this codex that has been overlooked: the texts of two votive Masses — the one *Pro Christiani qui ad sepulcrum Domini perrexerunt* (p. 242–244) and another one *In Sancti Angeli* (p. 347), celebrating St. Michael³⁵ were, as far as I know, unusual in the formularies of the other missals of Montecassino and Benevento.³⁶ This may be the

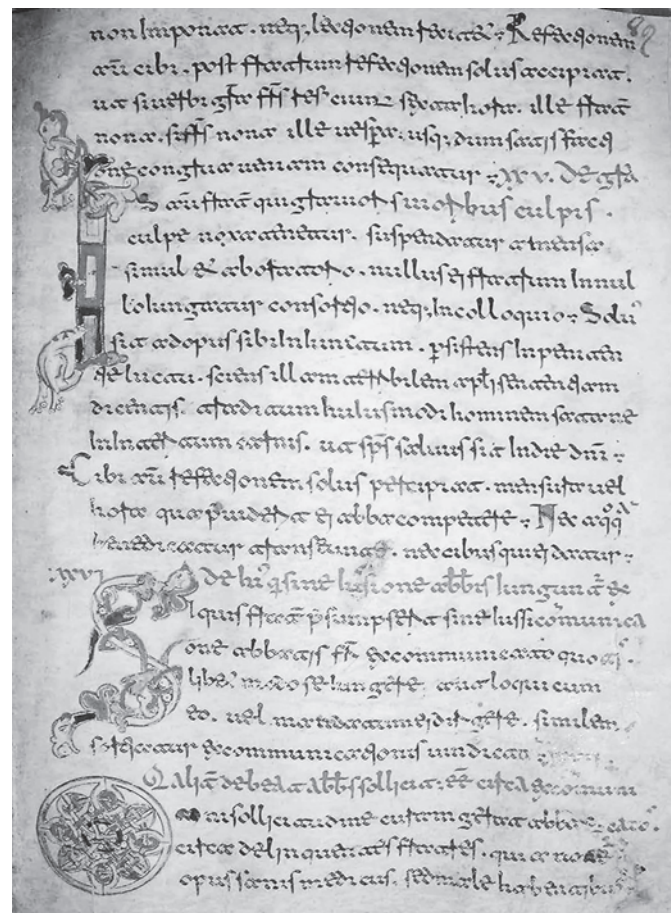


Fig. 15. Biblioteca Capitolare, Benevento.
Ms. 26, iniziali S e O, c. 89r

clue for the identification of its *scriptorium* or, at least, for the destination of the manuscript. The presence of both Masses-text can be perfectly associated with the context of

³¹ T. Leccisotti, *Due monaci cassinesi arcivescovi di Siponto*, Japigia 14/2 (1943) 155–165.

³² Leccisotti, *ibid.*

³³ The first unit of the codex measures 185 × 130 mm and the second 180 × 185 mm. The other missals of Benevento, for example, measure more or less 300 × 200 mm.

³⁴ In this case, the hypothesis advanced by Kniewald (*Zagrebački liturgijski kodeksi*, 22) seems to me to be interesting. He supposes that *MR 166* was exported to Split probably by Cardinal Gregorio De Crescenzo, when he left Italy in 1188, for Hungary to attend the canonization of St. Ladislav. Furthermore, according to Kniewald, the Missal was taken to Zagreb thanks to the Bishop of Split, Bernardo, originally from Tuscany and he was a “book lover”. To him is also attributed the substitution of the *missa pro imperatore* with that of *pro rege*.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 31. The feast and the corresponding mass are located in the second part of the missal, which is considered, as I do, myself, to be a transcription of the last part of the missal, done during the 13th century, probably in Split. Evidence of this is given by the frequent type of initials (cf. n. 15) very similar to those that characterize the *Historia Salonitanorum* of the Archdeacon Tommaso (1199/1200–1268), manuscript *KAS 623* of the archive of the Cathedral of Split created in the middle of the 13th century. Cf. *Thomae Archidiaconi. Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum Pontificum*, ed. R. Katičić, M. Matijević Sokol, O. Perić, Split 2003 (the facsimile edition).

³⁶ Two exceptions are important: the first is the Mass-text of St. Michael in *Casin. 426*, which led me to believe that the manuscript was addressed to a monastery with a special devotion for St. Michael. For the description of this ms. v. G. Orofino, *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino, III: Tra Teobaldo e Desiderio*, Roma 2006, 57–73 (tab. XV–XVII). The second is the presence of the formulary of *Inventio Sancti Angeli* and *Dedicatio Beati Michaelis* in the *Missal W6* of the Walters Art Gallery of Baltimore written for the diocese of Canosa in Apulia. On this manuscript cf. *Missale Beneventanum von Canosa* (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, *MS W6*), ed. S. Rehle, Regensburg 1972.

the Gargano area because both the pilgrimage and the worship of S. Michael were well established. Between the 12th and 13th centuries, the sanctuary of St. Michael of Gargano became one of the fundamental hubs located on the route to the Holy Land and, in general, “overseas”.³⁷

Placed in this new scenario, *MR 166* of Zagreb can be considered an extraordinary and tangible document of the intense movement of people and objects that crossed the Adriatic during the Middle Ages. The spread of artistic models, liturgical practices, and especially cults related to

this movement of people and objects represents the *trait d'union* that binds all the Adriatic and Balkan regions into the same Mediterranean cultural space.

³⁷ On the issue of the worship of St. Michael and the sanctuary of Monte Gargano cf. *Il Medioevo e il Gargano*. Atti della 7. Esposizione Archeologica (Vico del Gargano, 7–8 maggio 1983), Foggia 1984; *La montagna sacra. San Michele, Monte Sant'Angelo, il Gargano*, ed. G. B. Bronzini, Galatina 1991; *L'angelo, la montagna, il pellegrino. Monte Sant'Angelo e il santuario di San Michele del Gargano dalle origini ai nostri giorni. Guida alla mostra documentaria*, ed. P. Belli D'Elia, R. Mavelli, A. M. Tripputi, Foggia 1999.

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Између Јужне Италије и Далмације: Мисал *MR 166* из Метрополитанске књижнице у Загребу

Емануела Елба

Мисал *MR 166* из Метрополитанске књижнице у Загребу представља свакако најпроблематичнији рукопис из Далмације писаним беневентаном. Ради се о композитном рукопису састављеном од две кодиколишке целине, од којих је прва писана у касинској беневентани, а друга у тзв. Бари типу.

Украшавање прве целине обухвата једну страницу са Т од Те игитур (стр. 209) и 179 иницијала геометријског стила, тракастих, зооморфних, „плочастих“ и у само два случаја такозваног „отонског“ типа. Иницијали су урађени руком једног мајстора, изузев оних на страницама палимпсеста (стр. 160–163) где је текст мисе *pro imperatore* замењен мисом *pro rege*. Ту је изгледа радио други уметник, али и он је био савременик прве редакције текста. Поменути иницијалима се придружују други иницијали једноставније типологије и, унутар неумизованог текста, једна серија мањих слова писаних црвеним мастилом у златном квадратном пољу.

Декорацији друге кодиколошке целине поклоњена је много мања пажња. Она обухвата 35 иницијала слабо артикулисане форме која је оживљена једино чворастим избочинама у облику машинске. Слова која су цртана пером и мастилом боје сепија и испуњена црвеном, дело су много мање веште руке, могуће руке самог преписивача рукописа.

Откривен 1916. године од стране палеографа Виктора Новака, мисал је у почетку био приписан јужноиталијанским скрипторијима и датован у XI век. Ускоро је, међутим, сам Новак радикално променио своје мишљење, тврдећи да је рукопис морао настати у Далмацији на основу сличности његовог писма са рукописима писаним угластом беневентаном, а пронађеним у катедрали у Трогиру. Бранка Пецарски је затим подржала Новакову тезу покушавајући да докаже, на основу декорације, сличност рукописа са другим рукописима далматинског порекла, пре свега са Јеванђелистарем из Оксфорда (Бодл. канон. лат. 61), насталим у Задру у последњој деценији XI века.

Супротно тезама о далматинском пореклу загребачког мисала, новија истраживања теже да на основу јасних рукописних и палеографских карактеристика покажу како је тај рукопис био израђен у XII веку у јужној Италији и да је тек накнадно стигао на другу страну Јадрана где је његов последњи део био преправљен можда почетком XIII столећа. Истраживања Вирџиније Браун, која су концентрисана на књижну типологију „вотивног мисала“ — манастирске књиге посебно раширене у беневентанско-касинској области почев од XI века — нарочито јасно су показала како је *MR 166* „најближи“

групи рукописа из Монтекалина, насталих управо у матичној кући бенедиктинаца или у неком њој подређеном манастиру.

Анализа украса рукописа потврђује јужноиталијанско порекло мисала. У том погледу су од значаја извесна орнаментална слова, као на пример дугачки копљасте листови (ређе коврцави или са пупољцима), зооморфни висуљци са псећим чељустима и кљуновима птица грабљивица (или пак са читавим телима или „попрсјима“ паса чија је длака на леђима назначена црвеним цртицама), антропоморфне главе којима се у два случаја завршавају репови слова.

Поређење са другим примерима далматинске минијатуре показује, затим, како декоративни систем кодекса није нимало сличан декорацији задарских рукописа, посебно не украсу Јеванђелистара из Оксфорда. У случају *MR 166* антропоморфне главе нису, уствари, карактеристичан украс, док се с друге стране оне у оксфордском јеванђелистару појављују систематски и са доста другачијим решењима. Штавише, у фауни зооморфних иницијала, преузетој из најчистије беневентанско-касинске традиције, потпуно су изостављени паунови који, будући да су типичан елемент византијске минијатуре, јесу елемент по којем су задарски рукописи из друге половине XI века особени.

Разлике кодекса у односу на задарску минијатуру из XI века и исто тако његова „нетипичност“ у односу на друге савремене далматинске примере, који су под снажним утицајем задарске минијатурне продукције, доприноси обарању хипотезе да је *MR 166* израђен у Далмацији, а нарочито да је настао у трогирском скрипторију о чијем постојању писани извори не дају никакве податке.

Загребачки рукопис требало би приписати неком од скрипторија активних у области Монтекалина или Беневента како то показују зооморфна слова сачињена у целини од паса, и кад се ради о орнаменталном речнику, употреба мотива са очима, завршеци у облику копљастих листови, и пре свега, преплета „плочастих“ и „отонског“ типа. Највеће сличности нађене су пре свега са неким мисалима из Каптолске библиотеке у Беневенту датованим у XII век.

Везама са књигама из Монтекалина и Беневента објашњава се, уосталом, технички квалитет декорације загребачког рукописа који се издаваја по врло прецизном и јасно дефинисаном цртежу и пре свега по врло негованом *mise-en-page*, што је ретко код рукописа малог формата. Те чињенице такође воде ка закључку да је *MR 166* морао да буде изведен у неком истакнутом скрипто-

ријуму или, у сваком случају, у скрипторијуму лоцираном у области која је била снажно инспирирана присуством најквалитетнијих образаца. До сада изведени закључци идентификују ту област са подручјем између Беневента и северне Апулије. Под утицајем књижне продукције из Монтекапина и Беневента, оно је представљало примарни канал за везу са Далмацијом, због своје густе мреже бенедиктинских седишта која је повезивала две обале и пре свега због луке у Сипонту, главне полазишне тачке за оне који су се са копна спремали на пут преко Јадрана.

Вероватно није случајно то што је бискуп Ђерардо, који је постао папски делегат за Далмацију 1074, потицао управо из Сипонта. Можда је следећи пример Ђерарда, који је по поласку за Далмацију морао да понесе са собом дарове и пре свега рукописе, неки други бискуп, који је потицао из Беневента или из неког од манастира у северној Апулији, неколико деценија касније понео са собом овај јединствени рукопис. Мале димензије рукописа, неубичајене у односу на друге јужноиталијанске мисале, као и богатство украса чија је драгоценост увећана

употребом злата, показују уосталом да је кодекс очигледно био „мисал за пут“, намењен некогом високом прелату са изасланичком мисијом.

Још један елемент доприноси разјашњењу питања где се налазио рукопис пре него што је стигао у Далмацију. То је присуство две вотивне мисе, *Pro christiani qui ad sepulcrum Domini perreherunt* (стр. 242–244) и *In Sancti Angeli* (стр. 347), које се користе при слављењу празника светог арханђела Михаила. Те две мисе, неубичајене у формуларима других касинских и беневентанских мисала, повезују се врло добро за „гаргански“ контекст северне Апулије, где су и култ светог Михаила и ходочасништво стекли велику афирмацију због присуства чувеног Михаиловог светилишта на планини Гаргано.

Смештен у тај нови амбијент, мисал *MR 166* из Загреба намеће се као изузетно и опипљиво сведочанство интензивног кретања људи, књига и уметничких дела. Они су прелазили преко Јадранског мора у средњем веку и тако одредили ону *trait d'union* која дубоко обележава припадност свих јадранских и балканских регија заједничком *коине* медитеранске културе.