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Roger E. Reynolds
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

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Apocalypses New: The Recently Discovered Beneventan Illustrated Beatus in Geneva in its South Italian Context¹

By Roger E. Reynolds, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

During the past quarter century very few full or virtually full manuscripts written in the Beneventan script of southern Italy and Dalmatia have been discovered and reported. Most of the manuscripts reported since Lowe's magisterial work² on the script have been libelli, stray folios, fragments, and offsets.³ But two extraordinary full or virtually full manuscripts have recently come to light and have been reported.

The first of these was put on auction a few years back by Sotheby's in London.⁴ In their sale catalogue, the manuscript, described as coming from a private collection, was dated to the fifteenth century and the sale price was estimated at about GBP 4,000. On seeing this description the late Professor Virginia Brown suspected that the date was too early, and she and I pooled our resources to bring what she thought was an extraordinary manuscript to Canada as the only full Beneventan item in the country. Early one morning the manuscript was placed at auction. On

¹ Research for this article has been completed with the support of a grant by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the program *Monumenta liturgica beneventana*. For their assistance with the Beatus fragment in Milan I am grateful to dott.ssa Anna Lucia Brunetti and dott. Emilio Fortunato. Also for their help I am grateful to Professors Richard F. Gyug, Charles Hilken, Aden Kumler, and Rebecca Maloy.

² E. A. Loew [Lowe], *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford, 1914), reprinted as *E. A. Lowe, The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd revised and enlarged edition, (Rome, 1980) and 'A New List of Beneventan Manuscripts,' in *Collectanea vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita (Studi e Testi 220; Vatican City) 211-244*.

³ For lists of these see Virginia Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries: Collected Manuscript Catalogues, 1978–2008: Preface and comprehensive indexes* by Roger E. Reynolds (*Studies and Texts 179; Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana 6*; Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 2012).

⁴ See *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures ... Day of Sale Monday, 5th December 1994*, lot 88, pp. 114–17 and facsimile on p. 115 (fol. 1r).

bidding on the telephone, I was quickly told that the item had drawn more than considerable interest, and in twenty-five seconds it was sold for many times what Virginia Brown and I had prepared to spend. On asking who had bought the manuscript, the Sotheby's agent reported that another London firm had purchased the manuscript. This was an indication that the purchaser had been Virginia's good friend, Martin Schøyen of Oslo,⁵ who was then amassing a collection of manuscripts written in Beneventan script.⁶

Shortly thereafter Schøyen contacted Virginia, asking for a better description of the manuscript he had purchased. Virginia reported that she would gladly provide this, on the condition that she be allowed to publish a study and description. Schøyen generously agreed and furnished Virginia with a copy of the manuscript. Thereafter on an Iter Beneventana to Scandinavia I drove to Schøyen's farm-cum-museum-library in Spikkestad in the countryside outside Oslo, where he graciously allowed me to examine the manuscript. Using this description and her own research on the codex in London Virginia submitted a study of this extraordinary manuscript to the Pontifical Institute's journal, *Mediaeval Studies* to be published in the section *Miscellanea Beneventana*. For reasons of his own the editor of the journal did not publish the article, and hence she published her study in a Festschrift in my honor.⁷ In this brilliant article, Virginia showed that the manuscript contained prayers in Italian written in Beneventan script – a

⁵ Schøyen had earlier very generously given one of his Beneventan fragments to Virginia, and this remains the only Beneventan item in Canada: Toronto, Virginia Brown Collection 2 (s.XII^{ex}, scrap), on which see *Beneventan Discoveries*, III. 339, IV. 387.

⁶ See Martin Schøyen 740 Manuscripts Spanning 5000 Years, 22nd internet edition, London, July 2009, <http://www.schoyencollection.com/patristic.html#1981>. On this manuscript, Schøyen Collection MS 1981, see *Beneventan Discoveries*, III.349, IV. 386. For Schøyen's collection of Beneventan-script manuscripts, see *Beneventan Discoveries*, pp. 362-64, and for a recent sale of some of Schøyen's Beneventan manuscripts, see <http://www.sothebys.com/en/catalogues/ecatalogue.html/2012/the-history-of-script-sixty-important-manuscript-leaves-from-the-schoyen-collection#/r=/en/ecat.fhtml.L12242.html+r.m=/en/ecat.grid.L12242.html/1/15/lotnum/asc/>. Sotheby's Sales Catalogue for 10 July 2012, lots. 18-20.

⁷ Virginia Brown, "Latin and Italian Prayers in a Sixteenth-Century Beneventan Manuscript from Naples" in *Ritual, Text and Law: Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds*, eds. K. G. Cushing and R. F. Gyug (Aldershot, 2004), 95-122 + 9 figures.

rare and unexpected occurrence of the use of Beneventan for a vulgar text -- and that the manuscript was copied in the sixteenth century in a convent of conservative nuns in Naples. This was further evidence that conservative sisters in that city used the Beneventan script long after the fourteenth century, which Lowe had argued was the *terminus post quem* non for the script.⁸

The second virtually complete manuscript written in Beneventan script is fully as sensational as the Schøyen item – even to being called the “the bibliographical find of the twenty-first century,” “after a hiatus in news of any similar discovery in this domain since the nineteenth century.”⁹ It was sent for safe keeping in 2007 to the Bibliothèque de Genève (known until 2006 as the *Bibliothèque publique et universitaire*)¹⁰ by the Congrégation des Missionnaires de saint François de Sales who had a school in Geneva, Switzerland (the Institut Florimont).

(Figure 1) The manuscript, which was assigned the shelf mark 357, is in two parts, the first

⁸ On this see, especially, Virginia Brown, “The Survival of Beneventan Script: Sixteenth-Century Liturgical Codices from Benedictine Monasteries in Naples” in *Monastica. Scritti raccolti in memoria del IV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480-1980)*, ed. F. Avagliano, vol. 1 (Montecassino, 1981), 237-355 and 9 figures; and “The Montevergine 6 Codex and Sixteenth-Century Beneventan Script in Naples,” in *Per la storia del Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno. Studi in memoria di Jole Mazzoleni*, ed. S. Palmieri, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Saggi 48 (Rome, 1998), 407-18.

⁹ See “A Word from the Editors” in *Beatus ‘Emilianense’ from the Spanish National Library in Madrid. Tenth Century. Original held in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Vitr. 14.1; Studies*, (Burgos, 2011), 13; and “De los Editores” in *Beato ‘Emilianense’ de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo X. Original conservado en la Biblioteca Nacional de España Códice Vitr. 14-1. Estudios y traducción* (Burgos, 2011), 13. The importance of this manuscript for Beneventan studies is reflected in the decision of the International Society for Beneventan Studies to devote a complete session of lectures to it at the XLVIII International Congress on Medieval Studies, 2013, at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, including papers by John Williams on the iconography of the manuscript and by Juan José García of Burgos on the crafting of the outstanding new facsimile edition by the firm of Gil de Siloé S.L.

¹⁰ For another highly interesting Beneventan-script MS in this library see Virginia Brown, “A New Beneventan Calendar from Naples: The Lost ‘Kalendarium Tutinianum’ Rediscovered,” *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), 385-449 + 14 figures.



Figure 1 Geneva Apocalypse, covers and spine, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. Parchment, 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian), 13th-14th century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana), 11th century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

containing the *Institutes* of Priscian and the second an illustrated manuscript written in Beneventan and strange Carolingian scripts with the Commentary on the Apocalypse by the eighth-century Asturian monk, Beatus of Liébana.

Of all medieval manuscripts written before the thirteenth century, biblical manuscripts are the most lavishly illustrated. After this come the Beatus manuscripts with their brilliantly colored fantastic illustrations. There exist hundreds of extant illustrated biblical manuscripts, whereas only twenty-seven of the illustrated Beatus manuscripts have been known to scholars until now – so striking in their colors and designs that they are virtually the “signatory”

manuscripts of Spain, even to being pictured on stamps issued by the Spanish postal service.¹¹

(Figure 2)



Figure 2 Spanish stamp with Urgell Beatus image. Photo: author.

After the manuscript was identified as an illustrated Beatus, specialists in Geneva, Paule Hochuli Dubuis and Isabelle Jeger, quickly produced a fine preliminary description of it in the *Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana* (Rome, 2009, vol. 17, 11-29; see <http://edu.let.unicas.it/bmb>) and a digitization of the manuscript on <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/bge/signature/20/0>.¹² As they have done with other Beatus manuscripts, the Spanish firm of Gil de Siloé S.L. in Burgos undertook to produce a facsimile edition of the Genevan Beatus manuscript,¹³ and this was published in 2012 with a notarized copy sent to me, No. 102/898. Forthcoming is a companion study to the facsimile including chapters by such noted art historians and palaeographers as John Williams and Barbara Shailor, experts in Visigothic manuscripts, and by such Beatus aficionados as Umberto Eco.¹⁴ But because the manuscript is in large part written in Beneventan script and touches the work of the Monumenta liturgica beneventana project in Toronto's Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, it is

¹¹ See, e.g., the Spanish Postage Stamp issued in 1975 with a scene from the Beatus of Seu d'Urgell.

¹² A recent description of the manuscript can be found in <http://www.turismo-prerromanico.es/artesrural/MINIATURA/BGINEBRA/BGINEBRAficha.htm>.

¹³ See http://siloe.es/titulos_en_preedicion/beato_de_ginebra.shtml.

¹⁴ See *Beato di Liébana : miniature del Beato de Fernando I y Sancha (codice B.N. Madrid Vit. 14-2) / testo e commenti alle tavole di Umberto Eco; introduzione e note bibliografiche di Luis Vázquez de Parga Iglesias* (Parma, 1973).

appropriate to make some preliminary observations on the manuscript and its place in southern Italy.

But before turning to the Geneva manuscript itself, several comments can be added regarding the text and illustrations of Beatus' Commentary as they relate to the liturgical and canonistic concerns of the *Monumenta liturgica beneventana*. One of the thorniest questions about the Commentary is why Beatus composed it in the first place. One of the answers is that Beatus produced it in three versions from 776 to 786 in expectation of the end of the world close at hand, since the sixth age of the world was supposed to end in A.D. 800. Another answer is that Beatus had witnessed the conquest of the Iberian peninsula by the Muslims and the hardships and martyrdoms of Christians there. He thus saw in the New Testament Apocalyptic "beast" of Rome during the early persecutions a foretelling of the contemporary situation in the Iberian peninsula and would have replaced Rome with the Muslim Caliphate and the city of Babylon with the Spanish Cordoba. Another answer is that the Commentary reflects the Adoptionist controversy, in which Beatus had a major role in defending the orthodoxy of western Christology. Attractive as these answers may be, there really is no specific mention of either the Muslim conquest of Spain or the Adoptionist controversy in the Commentary. Perhaps Beatus foresaw the end of the world in the dire straits facing Christians in the Iberian peninsula in the late eighth century and attempted to bolster their spirits with accounts of the final coming of God's kingdom in the Apocalypse. That was what one of the later versions of the Commentaries briefly notes.

But other reasons entering into the composition of the Commentary might have been theological, liturgical, and canonistic concerns in early medieval Spain. From late patristic times the Apocalypse had played a significant role in the theological thought of the Iberian peninsula.

As early as the sixth century, Aspringius of Beja, whose Commentary on the Apocalypse Beatus used, had quoted the Apocalypse to defend orthodox ideas concerning the full divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the Trinity -- this even though the Visigothic ruler at the time was an Arian. Sometime thereafter it appears that in Visigothic Spain there were those who rejected the Apocalypse as part of sacred scriptures and would not, as their orthodox neighbors did, use texts from it in their liturgical practice. Hence, the IV Council of Toledo (633) under Isidore of Seville ruled that the Apocalypse had been accepted by many authorities as a work of John the Evangelist and was to be considered a part of the canon. It is not known who the persons were at IV Toledo who refused to acknowledge the Apocalypse as canonical, but one suspects it could have be the Arian Visigoths, who might have understood the importance of the book for such orthodox figures as Aspringius in their arguments for the full divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit. Unfortunately we have no full manuscripts of the Bibles the Arian Visigoths used, especially in Latin. The famous purple, silver, and gold Ulfilas Codex in Uppsala written in Gothic script in the fifth century has only the Gospels, and the Milan and Wolfenbüttel palimpsest manuscripts only the Pauline letters. Philostorgius, in his *Ecclesiastical History* reports that Ulfilas translated “all the books of Scripture with the exception of the Books of Kings, which he omitted because they are a mere narrative of military exploits, and the Gothic tribes were especially fond of war” But we really do not know what Philostorgius meant by “all the books of Scripture,” and surely the Apocalypse is full of wars. And in any event, the Arian Visigoths in Spain might not have included the Apocalypse in their Bibles. Beyond accepting the Apocalypse as part of the canon, the IV Council of Toledo, c. 17, anathematized those who would not read the text in the liturgy and mandated that it be read in the Mass of the

great season from Easter to Pentecost.¹⁵ It is interesting that the word “praedicaverit” used in the canon can mean either “to read” or “to preach.”¹⁶

The Visigothic/Mozarabic liturgy, both in the Mass and Office, is filled with references to texts in the Apocalypse, and these are reflected in Beatus’ Commentary. One of the most popular characterizations of Christ as the Alpha and Omega was taken from the Apocalypse. In the Visigothic liturgy the text from Apocalypse 1 was read as the first lesson in the joyful Easter liturgy. Also, after the Post Nomina Christ was called the Alpha and Omega, and the “Isidorian” *Epistula ad Leudefredum* states that it is the duty of the deacon to recite the nomina or names. Of course, the Alpha and Omega are prominently displayed beneath a cross in many Beatus and other Visigothic/Mozarabic manuscripts, (**Figure 3**) and it may be significant that in the time of Beatus at the monastery of St. Martin de Turieno in Liébana (later called San Toribio) it is reported that there was a relic of the True Cross brought there with the relics of St. Toribio of Astorga, who had earlier carried it from Jerusalem, to be hidden thereafter during the Muslim conquest of the peninsula near Liébana.¹⁷ Moreover, in the mysterious text of 845 attributed to a

¹⁵ c. XVII. *De Apocalypsis libro in omnibus recipiendo*. Apocalypsis librum multorum conciliorum auctoritas et synodica sanctorum praesulum Romanorum decreta Joannis evangelistae esse praescribunt, et inter divinos libros recipiendum constituerunt: et quia plurimi sunt qui ejus auctoritatem non recipiunt atque in Ecclesia Dei praedicare contemnunt, si quis eum deinceps aut non receperit aut a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non praedicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit. PL 84.372.

¹⁶ In the “Isidorian” *Epistula ad Leudefredum* with its extensive treatments of the role of clerics in the Visigothic liturgy it is said for the lector: Ad lectorem pertinet lectiones pronuntiare, et ea que profete vaticinaberunt populis predicare (taken from El Escorial d.I.1, fol. 336r). The *Epistula* says for the deacon: Ad diaconum pertinet adsistere sacerdotibus, et ministrare in omnibus que aguntur in sacramentis Christi, in baptismo scilicet, in chrismate, in patena et calice; oblationes inferre, et disponere in altario, componere mensam Domini, atque vestire, crucem ferre, predicare Evangelium et Apostolum. Nam sicut lectoribus Vetus Testamentum, ita diaconibus Nobum predicare praeceptum est: ad ipsum quoque pertinet officium precum, recitatio nominum; ipse premonet aures ad Dominum, ipse ortatur orare, ipse clamat et pacem ipse adnuntiat. (taken from El Escorial d.I.1, fol. 336r-v) On the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* see my “The ‘Isidorian’ *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: its Origins, Early Medieval Manuscript Tradition, and Editions,” *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. E. James (Oxford, 1980), 251-272 + 2 pls. and “The ‘Isidorian’ *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties,” *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979), 252-330.

¹⁷ The first written evidence of the relic’s presence in the monastery of Liébana is an inventory made in 1316.

bishop Eldefonsus of Spain it is directed that azyme (unleavened) hosts be inscribed with the cross and an Alpha and Omega, and in one manuscript of this text with Visigothic features and



Figure 3 Facundus Beatus with cross and Alpha and Omega, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-2, 360 x 268 mm, c. 1047. Photo: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

texts such a host is pictured.¹⁹ **(Figure 4)** It is further interesting that one sees on an eleventh-century host press, now in the Museu Episcopal at Vic, a cross with pendant Alpha and Omega. **(Figure 5)** In his Commentary Beatus frequently mentions the cross and the Alpha and Omega four times,²⁰ as well as once in his letter with his confrere at Liébana, Bishop Heterius of Osmá, against Elipandus.²¹

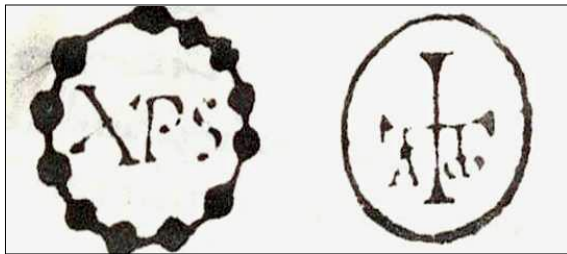


Figure 4 Host diagram, Paris, BNF Lat. 2855 by Bishop Eldefonsus of Spain, 845. Photo: author.

Figure 5 Host press with cross and Alpha and Omega, 11th-12th century, Museu Episcopal de Vic 9722. Photo: Museu Episcopal de Vic.



¹⁹ On this tract and its illustrations, found in PL 106.881-890, see my “God’s Money in the Pseudo-Isidorian *Collectio canonum hispana Augustodunensis*” to be published in the *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Toronto, 2012).

²⁰ Praef., cap. 2; L.1, cap.3; L.12, ss; L. 12, cap. 2. *Beati in Apocalipsin libri duodecim*, ed. H. A. Sanders (Rome, 1930). My copy of Sanders’ edition of the Beatus came from my good friend and former mentor at Harvard and Lowell House, Dr. Walter Muir Whitehill, who before the Spanish Civil War specialized in the manuscripts of Silos, including the famous Beatus manuscripts there. Walter’s volume was given me by his wife, Jane Revere Coolidge Whitehill, who also generously donated his library of rare medieval Spanish volumes to the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

²¹ Adv. Elipandum libri duo, L. 1, cap.114; CCCM 59 (1984).

A second dramatic reference to the Apocalypse is made in the Visigothic liturgy during the unusual fraction of the host on Easter Sunday. After the consecration of the Eucharistic elements the priest held (and still does in the Mozarabic liturgy) one of the particles he broke off over the chalice and said three times: *Vicit leo de tribu Juda radix David alleluia* (“The Lion of Judah's tribe, the Scion of David, he has triumphed ... Alleluia”) with the response “*qui sedes super cherubim, radix David, alleluia.*” A copper-alloy Visigothic paten in the British Museum, into which the particles of the host were placed, has these very words inscribed around its rim: +VICIT LEO DE TRIBVS IVDA RADIS [sic] DAVID ALLELVIA. (Figure 6) Again, Beatus cites this text from the Apocalypse no less than five times in his Commentary²² and once also in his *Adversus Elipandum*.²³



Figure 6 Vicit Leo text, Visigothic paten, copper alloy, 7th-8th century, found in León, Spain. In rustic Latin around the rim: +VICIT LEO DE TRIBVS IVDA RADIS DAVID ALLELVIA (“The Lion of Judah's tribe, the Scion of David, he has won ..., Alleluia,” Revelation 5:5), diameter 18.3 cm British Museum (M&ME 1900,12-14,1). Photo: British Museum.

²² L. 2, prolog., cap. 2; L. 3, cap. ss; L.3, cap. 3; L. 3, cap. 4; L. 8, cap. 1

²³ Adv. Elipandum libri duo, L. 1, cap.111.

In the Visigothic/Mozarabic Mass liturgy the unusual fraction is one of its most distinctive features. The consecrated host was and still is divided and the particles laid out in the form of a cross. This practice likely arose out of canon 3 issued at the Synod of Tours in 567, which directed that the particles must be arranged "non in imaginario ordine sed sub-crucis titulo."²⁴ In some churches this practice must have been followed well into the twelfth century because we find it in three Beneventan-script Missals written at Montecassino: Montecassino MS 127, p. 317 and Vatican BAV lat. 6082, fol. 140r, where it is said, "tunc ordinet oblationes super corporale immodum crucis (+ sign) dicens. In spiritu humilitatis ..., " and in the mutilated Montecassino Compactiones VII and XXII, fol. 99, where it is said, "Et tunc faciat crucem (+ sign) cum obl<ationibus> in altare. et patena;< iusta <... ..> Domine <iesu christe fili dei uiui qui in cruce> passionis" In the Visigothic/Mozarabic liturgy the particles were not simply laid out in cross form but each was to be designated by the priest as an event in the life of Christ and his reign thereafter. This has lead commentators to find parallels in the works of Aspringius, Ildefonsus, the mysterious Visigothic "Pseudo Alcuinian" *De septem sigillis*, and Beatus,²⁵ where before citing the Vicit leo text Beatus comments on the seven seals of the Apocalypse as representing events in the life of the divine savior: ipsa septem signa, quae in Christo soluta sunt, id est, per omnem mundum manifestata, haec sunt: primum corporatio, secundum nativitas, tertium passio, quartum mors, quintum resurrectio, sextum gloria, septimum regnum. These commentators have argued these texts reflect the elaborate fraction of the Eucharistic host in the Visigothic/Mozarabic liturgy, where the consecrated host is broken not into seven but into nine

²⁴ "Ut corpus domini in altari non [in] imaginario ordine, sed [sub] crucis titulo comparatur," *Concilia Galliae* A.511-A.695 (ed. C. de Clercq, CCL 148A), 178.

²⁵ See, e.g., E. Ann Matter, "The Pseudo-Alcuinian 'De Septem Sigillis': An Early Latin Apocalypse Exegesis," *Traditio* 36 (1980), 111-137.

particles, first into two parts and then five and four to be distributed on the paten (with its Vicit leo text?) and altar. They have then shown diagrams of these nine fragments as they appear in later medieval and modern Mozarabic liturgical books: in a cross with the vertical shaft as corporatio, nativitas, circumcisio, apparitio, passio, the arms of the cross as mors and resurrectio, next to which are gloria and regnum.²⁶ **(Figure 7)** But in the thirteenth century Jacques de Vitry, in his description of the Mozarabic rite, noted that the Mozarabs distribute sometimes nine, sometimes seven fragments.²⁷ And indeed, if one looks to the earliest representation of the distribution in the margin of the tenth-century *Liber ordinum* of Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 56, fol. 139v there are precisely the seven fragments Beatus designated as: I. Corporatio, II. Nativitas, III. Passio, IIII. Mors, V. Resurrectio, VI. Gloria, VII. Regnum, and called the septem signacula. **(Figure 8)** In later Mozarabic directories it is mandated that the priest, when he consumes the host, does so from the last Regnum particle (Omega) to the first, Conceptio (Alpha) thereby consuming Christ from end to beginning as the Alpha and Omega.

Because the Visigothic rite had three readings, especially in Eastertide, the first or prophetic reading might be from the Old Testament prophets, the prophetic Apocalypse, or even the Saints lives. In the Visigothic Mass the first of these readings from Easter to Pentecost, presumably read by the lector (specified in the “Isidorian” *Epistula ad Leudefredum*) was from

²⁶ The diagram often appears in texts of the Mozarabic liturgy, down to the current text in use, inaugurated in 1985 in the Cathedral of Toledo in the presence of the Queen of Spain, Sofia, during the II. Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes. The ancient diagram here comes from the program for a rare concelebrated Mozarabic Mass in the old Cathedral at Salamanca during the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Salamanca, 1976).

²⁷ Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale/Historia orientalis. Introduction, édition critique et traduction par Jean Donnadieu* (Turnhout, 2008), cap. 81, p. 324. Jacques included the Mozarabs in his enumeration of Christians living under Muslim rule. He says of them, “The Christians who dwell in Africa and Spain among the Saracens of the West are called Mozarabi; they use the Latin alphabet, read the Scripture in the Latin tongue, and like all the other Latins humbly and devotedly obey the Holy Roman Church without deviating in any way from its articles of faith and sacraments. They celebrate the Eucharist with unleavened bread, as do the other Latins. However, some of them divide the Eucharist into seven parts, and some into nine, whereas the Roman Church and its other subjects divide the Eucharist into three parts only. But as this division has nothing to do with the essence of the sacrament, it does not alter it or hinder its value.”



Figure 7 Distribution of Nine Hosts, Mozarabic. (Program, *Libellus Missae*, V. International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Salamanca, 1976) Photo: author.

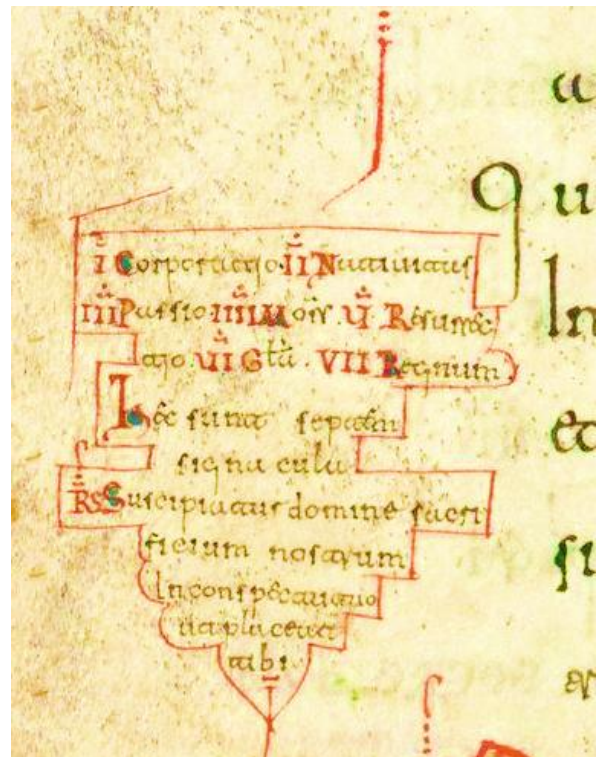


Figure 8 Distribution of Seven Hosts, *Liber ordinum*, 10th century, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 56, fol. 139v. Photo: Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.

the Apocalypse. Listeners (or private readers) must have been puzzled by the meaning of these mysterious readings, and it was thus appropriate to have explanations of them in a homily.

Although there is no direct evidence for this in the manuscripts, it has been suggested that Aspringius' commentary the Apocalypse, used by Beatus, was originally created from homilies or explanations of readings from the Apocalypse in the Visigothic liturgy.²⁸ Could it be that the Beatus was intended, originally or later, in part as a homiliarium for the readings from the

²⁸ See *Latin Commentaries on Revelation By Victorinus of Petovium, Apringius of Beja, Caesarius of Arles, Bede the Venerable, Ancient Christian Texts*, trans. and ed. William C. Weinrich (InterVarsity Press, Downers Grove, IL, 2011), xxix.

Apocalypse in the Mass liturgy (or in other forms of private reading – Beatus in his text occasionally refers his readers to the illustrations that scholars think originally accompanied his text)? The illustrations would have been pictorial prompts as to where to find the explanations for the reading of the pericope from the Apocalypse. In northern Europe in Gospel Evangeliaria there were Capitularia at the end of the manuscripts to aid one in finding the appropriate reading for the day, giving an incipit, “usque,” and explicit, and one could then turn to the passage that might be marked in the margin with a + and F. So in the Beatus “homiliarium” one would use the illustrations to find the appropriate passage and explanation. For example, for the reading for the Secunda Feria Pasche ad Missam in the Visigothic Mass, one would look for the illustration of the angel giving John the letter to the Ephesians. In a sense this would not be unlike the northern illustrated Gospel Evangelistaria where the illustrations would act as visual prompts as to which Gospel pericopes were to be read on certain feasts. It is interesting that the modern liturgical historian Giacomo Baroffio described our newly discovered Milanese Beatus fragment in Beneventan script, to be treated later, not as a Beatus Commentary, but as a homiliarium, perhaps because the *Storia* from the Apocalypse contains only an incipit, “usque,” and explicit and not the full text of the pericope from the Apocalypse, implying that one would have to look in another book, such as a *Liber comicus*, for the full text of the pericope. Of course, in southern Italy where there is no firm evidence that the Visigothic liturgy with its readings from the Apocalypse was used in Eastertide and hence no need for a homily on it leads one to wonder if the manuscript from which it was copied was a Visigothic one in which the *Storia* was an abbreviated pericope followed by the *Explanatio* “homily” for liturgical use. In early medieval Spain, then, the Beatus Commentary could have been used practically in the liturgy.

Yet another theological–liturgical concern of the Visigothic church is reflected in Book 2, Prologue, cap. 10. of Beatus, when he presents an abbreviated version of the Nicene Creed with the words, “Credimus et in sanctum spiritum ex patre et filio procedentem” referring to the double procession of the Holy Spirit. This was a Trinitarian concern of the Visigothic church going back to the III Council of Toledo (589) in which Visigothic Spain rejected Arianism for Orthodoxy, and the Creed with the so-called double procession clause was repeatedly cited in numerous Visigothic councils thereafter.²⁹ Moreover, a form of the Nicene Creed with the double procession was inserted into the Visigothic Mass at the fraction. According to most historians it was from Spain that the Nicene Creed with the *filioque* entered the liturgy of Charlemagne’s court, via Ireland, England, and Alcuin, to be recited after the Gospel, and eventually accepted in Rome in 1014 at the urging of the Emperor Henry II. This Hispanic derivation of the *filioque* in the Mass liturgy is unlikely since the *filioque* is not used in the Visigothic Mass, only “et filio,” and is recited at a different place in the Mass. Rather, the Nicene Creed with the *filioque* appears to have come from Lombard or Beneventan sources³⁰ through Paulinus of Aquileia and officially accepted at the Council of Aachen (809) at the urging of the Visigoth Theodulf of Orleans.³¹ In short, Beatus in his Commentary with its credal statement,

²⁹ On the importance of the creeds in the Visigothic councils and the creed commentaries of such Visigothic writers as Leidrad of Lyon and Theodulf of Orleans, see the studies of the late Susan Ann Keefe (my first doctoral student in Toronto), “Creed Commentary Collections in Carolingian Manuscripts” in *Ritual, Text and Law*, 185-204, and her forthcoming *Explanationes fidei aevi Carolini*, CCCM 254 (Turnhout, 2012).

³⁰ We have no Beneventan-script examples from the eighth century with the *filioque* in the Creed said after the Gospel, but it does appear at this point in the Beneventan-script MSS, Montecassino MS 127, and Vatican, BAV lat. 6082, fol. 139v: “et in spiritum sanctum domionum [sic] et uiuificantem qui ex patre filioque procedit....”

³¹ On this see my “*The Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne*” in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationpunkt karolingischer Kultur (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 80*; Mainz, 1997), 933 f.

“ex patre et filio procedentem,” reflects a theological-liturgical concern not only in Visigothic Spain but in the wider realm of Charlemagne.

The earliest Beatus manuscripts have illustrations in columns (like our Geneva Beatus, which belongs to the earliest branch of the Beatus text). Then with the great painter Magius and his successors the illustrations were expanded to full and double pages and dominated the text of Beatus. Hence, the illustrations became the best known and valued aspect of the manuscripts. It is interesting, too, that as the Roman rite with its two readings, without the Apocalypse, began to penetrate Spain in the eleventh century, eventually supplanting the Visigothic/Mozarabic rite except in Toledo,³² the Apocalypse and the text of the commentary became less important. Thus, Beatus was copied more as a treasure or prestige item for its brilliant illustrations than for its text, and hence important patrons of the arts such as Ferdinand I commissioned the magnificent Facundus Beatus, or wealthy and important ecclesiastic and monastic patrons commissioned such Beatus manuscripts as the Gerona or Silos examples.³³ A parallel can be found in the rare south Italian Exultet rolls with their brilliant illustrations, which Thomas Forrest Kelly has argued were made not so much for instructing congregations with a visual explanation of the Exultet text, but as prestige, artistic items for important ecclesiastical patrons.³⁴

Turning to the Geneva manuscript, if one compares the illustrated Spanish manuscripts of the Beatus with the Geneva codex, it is at first obvious that although heavily illustrated, the

³² On this process see my “Baptismal Rite and Paschal Vigil in Transition in Medieval Spain: A New Text in Visigothic Script,” *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993), 262-264; reprinted in my *Studies on Medieval Liturgical and Legal Manuscripts from Spain and Southern Italy* (Aldershot, 2009), III.

³³ On the “decline” of the Beatus text and the “rise” of its artistic value in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Peter Klein, “La fonction et la ‘popularité’ des Beatus ou Umberto Eco et les risques d’un dilettantisme historique,” *Études Roussillonnaises offertes à Pierre Ponsich* (Perpignan, 1987), 321; and his comments in *El Beato de Berlín. Berlín, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Theol. Lat. 561* (Madrid, n.d.), 19, 133.

³⁴ Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (New York, 1996).



Figure 9 Defects in the parchment (left) and (right) Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13th-14th century and (right) (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11th century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

Geneva manuscript lacks the brilliant colors of the Spanish manuscripts. Like many of the earliest Spanish Beatus manuscripts the Geneva illustrations are largely confined to single columns between the “*Storiae*” (biblical texts of the Apocalypse) and the “*Explanationes*” (commentaries) of Beatus. Moreover, like the earliest Spanish exemplars, such as the Aemilianense in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Vit. 14-1, very few illustrations are placed within frames or borders.

It is notable also that the manuscript has many holes, both substantial and tiny, and partial pages, around which text and illustrations were copied. **(Figure 9)** This probably indicates that

the manuscript was made in a scriptorium with limited stores of parchment for a text as important as an illustrated Beatus commentary. This would not have been the case with such centers as the great abbey of Montecassino where beautiful parchment without holes, patches, and the like was usually abundant and where manuscripts of our age were written on beautiful parchment pages or in Benevento itself, which produced such magnificent illustrated manuscripts as the Exultet rolls.³⁵ Nonetheless the use of gold in the illustrations indicates that the scriptorium was not without resources.

As to the composition of the manuscript, it appears that the scribe or scribes copied the text in darker ink, at times leaving space for the illustrations, which were then sketched in and later colored, perhaps some even by the principal scribe or scribes.³⁶ At times, the illustrations were entered first, around which the text was written.³⁷ This means that the scribe was working extremely closely with the illustrator or that the scribe himself was the illustrator. Also, space was left for the rubricator (whether he was the original scribe or another) to add rubrics for the biblical text in bright orange or red. In some instances it seems that the rubricator or textual scribe entered his text after the illustration was entered. Occasionally, the space left for the rubric was too large, resulting in an awkward space (**Figure 10**) or too small, resulting in the squeezing of the rubric. (**Figure 11**) At times the biblical text was not rubricated but entered by the main

³⁵ On these see my “Les cérémonies liturgiques de la cathédrale de Bénévent” in *La cathédrale de Bénévent*, ed. T. F. Kelly (Atelier de Recherche et d'Interprétation des Musiques Médiévales, Royaumont, France, Ghent, 1999), 167-205 + 15 pls. and “Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art,” *Gesta* 22 (1983), 27-38 + 17 figures.

³⁶ In some cases the color of the illustration overlaps the text: fols. 165v, 172r, 187r, 202v, 204r and 234r (where the text “bleeds” through the color), 205v, 227v.

³⁷ In the following instances the text or rubrics seem to have been entered after the illustration was made, the text being written around the illustration: fols. 152r, 160r, 162r, 174r, 183v, 198v, 199r, 200r, 200v, 206v, 207r, 207v, 208r, 208v, 211r, 220r, 224r, 225v, 227r, 228r, 231r, 233v, 235r, 235v, 236r, 236v, 237r, 238r, 244r.

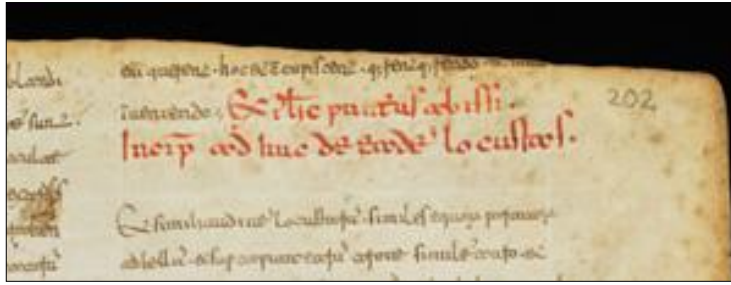


Figure 10 Rubric space is too large. Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13th-14th century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11th century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève

Figure 11 Rubric space is too small. Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm (The Institutions of Priscian) 13th-14th century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11th century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

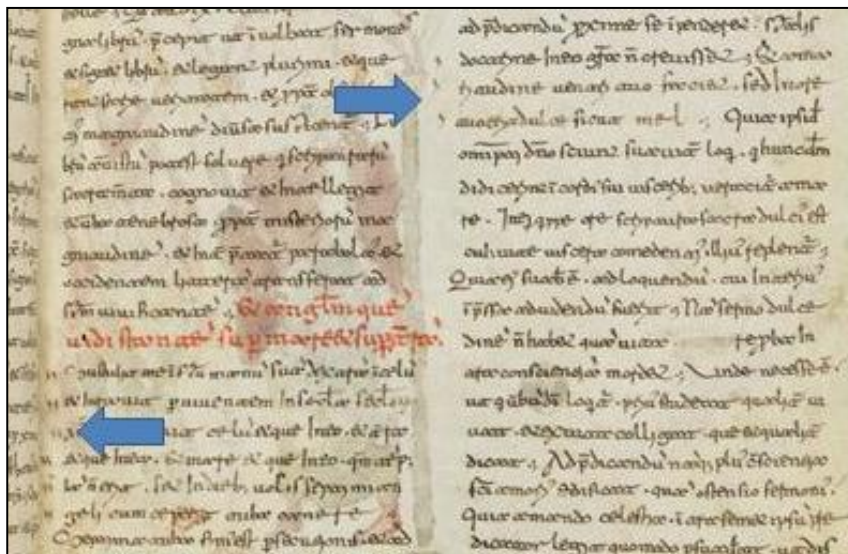
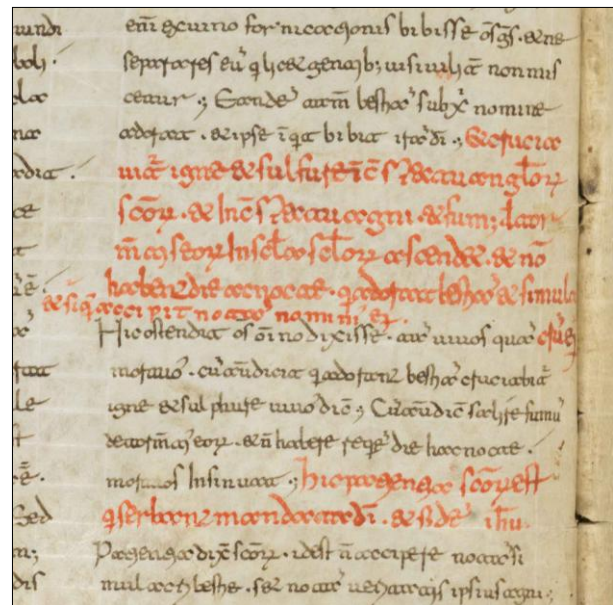


Figure 12 “SS” denoting appropriate biblical passage, Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13th-14th century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11th century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

scribe/scribes in dark ink, and to note that it was indeed the appropriate biblical text “SS”-shaped squiggles were placed in the margins. **(Figure 12)**

In the beginning of the manuscript, most of the rubrications are in Carolingian script, but then the Beneventan is used. In some cases the rubricator seems to have been the scribe of the dark text. For example, on fol. 165v the text of the *Storia* is in Beneventan, the rubrication is then in Beneventan, and this is followed by the next textual words in Beneventan, only to be followed by text in Carolingian script in the same ink. **(Figure 13)**

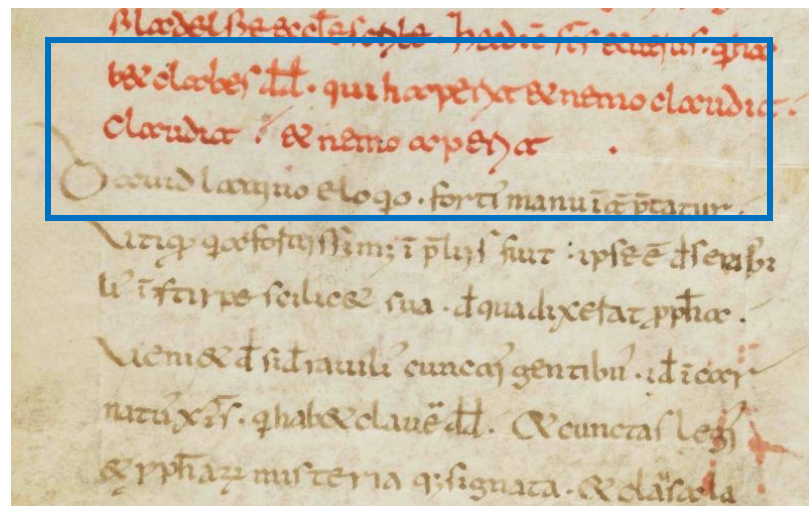


Figure 13 Beneventan and Carolingian scripts, Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13th-14th century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11th century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

As to the text of the Geneva Beatus, Roger Gryson, in his new edition of the Beatus Commentary, deals briefly with it as MS X and places it in the “gamma” textual tradition, also found in the San Millán Beatus (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 33 [Castile s.X^{4/4}]



Figure 14 Woman and Dragon in the Geneva Beatus (left); Facundus Beatus (right). Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13th-14th century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana)

11th century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-2, 360 x 268 mm, c. 1047. Photo: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

[Gryson's MS H]) and the Escorial Beatus (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo & II. 5

[c. 1000] [Gryson's MS E],³⁹ that is, in the first branch of the Beatus manuscripts.

³⁹ *Beati Liebanensis Tractatus de Apocalipsin*, ed. Roger Gryson, CCSL CVIIB, (Turnhout, 2012) I. xiv, lviii-lxi.

Professor Williams in his forthcoming study of the illustrations of the manuscript will comment more fully on them, but is clear that they radically differ iconographically from their Spanish counterparts. In some instances the illustrations in the Geneva Beatus more accurately reflect the text of the Apocalypse than other Beatus manuscripts. **(Figure 14)** For example, in the Woman and Dragon illustration one sees on the left the woman and the dragon facing her. The text from the Bible reads:

And a great sign was seen in heaven: a woman arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars; and she was with child; and she crieth out, travailing in birth, and in pain to be delivered. And there was seen another sign in heaven: and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his heads seven diadems. And his tail draweth the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon standeth before the woman that is about to be delivered, that when she is delivered he may devour her child.

In the Geneva manuscript, the woman is clearly pregnant; she has a crown of twelve stars and the sun and moon below her. The red dragon has seven heads, ten horns, and seven diadems. For comparison, in the Spanish Facundus Beatus the woman is not obviously pregnant and has only eleven stars around her. In other illustrations, such as the table of names of the Antichrist, the Geneva illustration is fully the equal in size and complexity of other Beatus manuscripts. **(Figure 15)** Occasionally the Geneva manuscript reproduces themes found in the Spanish manuscripts, such as found in Spanish manuscripts with the typical Visigothic T-shaped altar with the souls of the martyrs beneath it.⁴⁰ **(Figure 16)**

What especially sets the Geneva manuscript apart from its “sisters,” most of which are in Visigothic script, are the scripts in which it is written, Beneventan and Carolingian. The Beneventan script is called not after the southern Italian city of Benevento, but for the large area

⁴⁰ On the stipites of altars see my “Altar and Altar Apparatus,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 1, ed. J. R. Strayer (New York, 1982), 221.

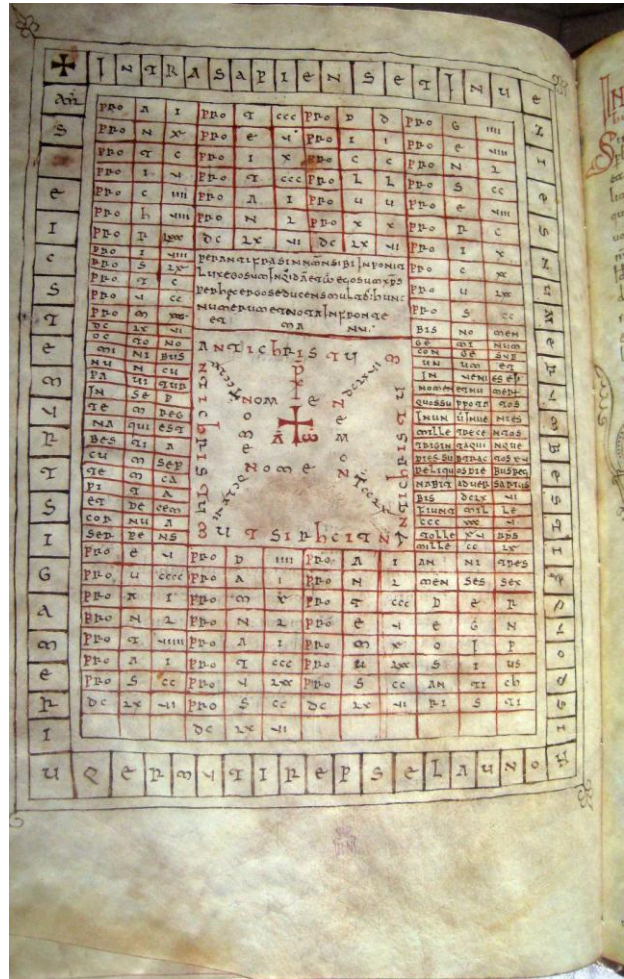
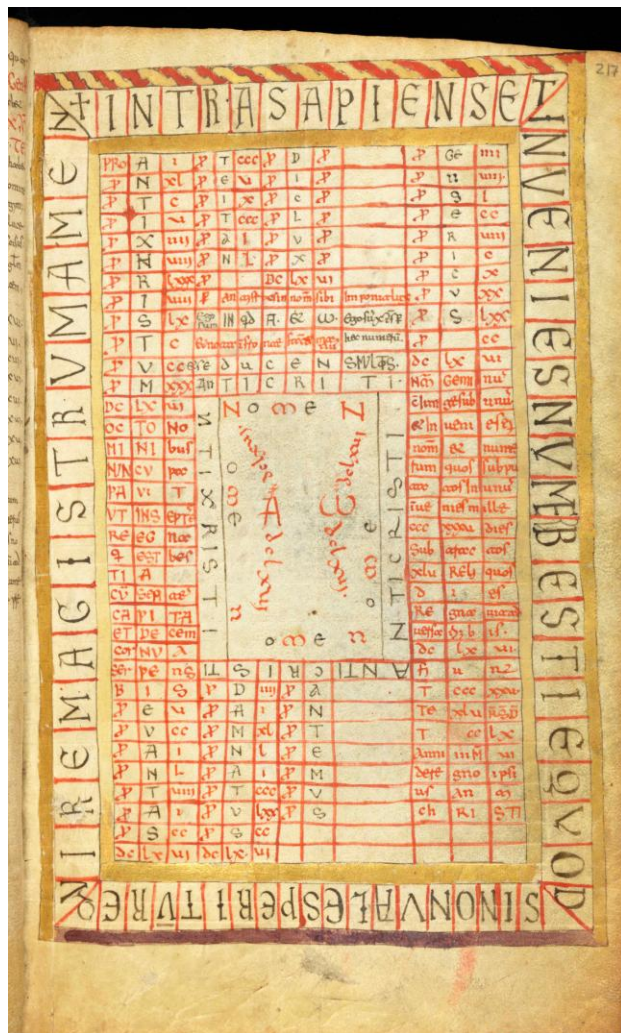


Figure 15 Names of the Anti-Christ in the Geneva Apocalypse (left) and Aemilianense Apocalypse (right): Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, fol. 217r, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) and 13th-14th century (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11th century Italy and Southern Italy, and (right) Aemilianense Apocalypse, 37 x 27 cm. 10th century, Spain, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Real Vit. 14-1, fol. 221v Photos: Bibliothèque de Genève and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

of the southern Lombards called the Duchy of Benevento. This hand has been magisterially described in a famous volume published in 1914 entitled *The Beneventan Script* by the great twentieth-century palaeographer, E. A. Lowe. Lowe's palaeographic expertise extended not only to the Beneventan script, but also to the Visigothic script.⁴² Both scripts grew out of late classical cursive hands, but many of the letters and ligatures are quite different. The Beneventan

⁴² Even before the publication of his *The Beneventan Script* in 1914, Lowe had published a major study of the Visigothic script "*Studia Palaeographica. A Contribution to the History of Early Latin Minuscule and to the Dating*



Figure 16 The Souls of Martyrs under the Altar in the Geneva Apocalypse (left) and the Facundus Apocalypse (right). Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva, 25 x 16 cm (The Institutions of Priscian) 13th-14th century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11th century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-2, 360 x 268 mm, c. 1047. Photo: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

has a regular, even appearance achieved by the perfect alignment and measured spacing of letters and words; the masterful alternation of thick and thin strokes; uniformity of punctuation; the joining of letters by means of the horizontal connecting stroke and the junction of bows. Of course all this joining of letters can also make for illegibility in the eyes of a non-afficionado and doubtless caused Beneventan to be designated in medieval catalogues as “littera langobarda,” i.e., a difficult script used by barbarians. A look at the Beneventan alphabet shows

of Visigothic Manuscripts” in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1910, Abhandlung 12* Munich, 1910), reprinted in E. A. Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers, 1907-1965*, ed. L. Bieler (Oxford, 1972), 1.2-61 + 7 plates.

that some of the troublesome letters are: *a* (shaped like *oc* touching), *c* (a single curve) and broken *c* (resembling one *c* surmounted by another), *e* (with high upper loop), and *t* (with curved stroke on the left and a horizontal stroke extending to the right from the vertical stroke). In **Figure 17** one can see some of the differences with the Visigothic script written only in Spain and southern France.

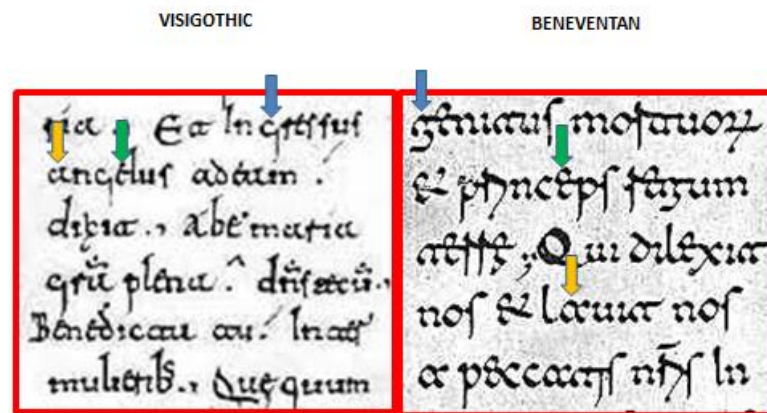


Figure 17 Comparison of Visigothic (left) and Beneventan (right) Scripts. Photo: author.

Coming back to our Geneva manuscript, not all of the Beatus text is in Beneventan. On fols. 149-166, fol. 196, and fol. 229 the text is in Carolingian hands. One might conclude that two or more scribes were at work, one coming from the north in Italy or Europe where Carolingian was written and the other from the south where Beneventan was written. But this is not the case. In some instances – even in mid-sentence or word -- the scribe will change from Carolingian to Beneventan and vice versa. Several paleographers, including Francis Newton, Caterina Tristano, and myself have shown that this was occasionally the case, especially in

Beneventan and Romanesca manuscripts written in the eleventh century.⁴⁴ Further, one of the Carolingian hands has been contaminated by Beneventan features. Hence, it would seem that this scribe normally used Beneventan and had been “retrained” in Carolingian where he continued to use Beneventan traditions. For example, in the first folio of our Beatus, he indiscriminately uses a Beneventan “a” and a Carolingian “a” in the same line. (**Figure 18**)

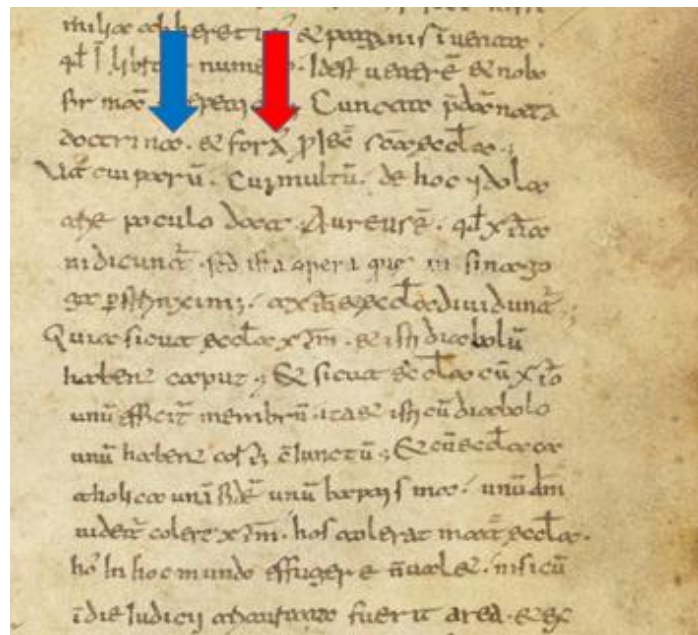


Figure 18 Indiscriminate use of Beneventan “a” and Carolingian “a” in the same line, Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, fol. 149r. Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13th-14th century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11th century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

This brings up the interesting question of when and where was the Geneva manuscript written. The hand is a rounder hand more like that written in the middle of the eleventh century

⁴⁴ Francis Newton, “One Scriptorium, Two Scripts: Beneventan, Caroline, and the Problem of Marston 112” in *Beinecke Studies in Early Manuscripts*, Yale University Library Gazette, Supplementary 66 (1991), 118-133; Caterina Tristano, “Scrittura beneventana et scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell’Italia meridionale,” *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979), 89-150; and Roger E. Reynolds, “Odilo and the *Treuga Dei* in Southern Italy: A Beneventan Manuscript Fragment,” *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), 450-462 on Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana Tom. XVIII.

(like Montecassino MS 125). It is clearly not in the developed classic Beneventan hand of the late eleventh century such as was practiced at the abbey of Montecassino under the great abbot Desiderius. Further, the folios do not have the tell-tale rubbing on the flesh side that manuscripts of that abbey had in the eleventh century.⁴⁵ Moreover, the simplicity of the illustrations would likely not have been characteristic of Montecassino, even in the early and central eleventh century, such as one finds in the great *De universo* text of Montecassino MS 132 or the Theobaldian *Moralia* Montecassino MS 73. With respect to the precise scriptorium in which it was written, one could only wish that Virginia Brown were still with us, because if anyone could identify it, she could. Alas.

There is also another puzzling question. How did manuscripts written in Visigothic script, such as the Beatus, come to southern Italy? In Lowe's study, *The Beneventan Script*, it is noted that there are only three known Visigothic script codices in southern Italy, and only three more in the north of Italy.⁴⁶ In the south Lowe pointed to Montecassino MS 4, written in Visigothic script in the eighth or ninth century -- perhaps in Cordoba-- where a Beneventan hand has transcribed Visigothic marginalia in a cursive hand.⁴⁷ He also notes another manuscript of approximately the same age in Visigothic script at Montecassino MS 19, but without Beneventan notations.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ It is a characteristic of codices written in Beneventan script at Montecassino in the eleventh century that there is rubbing or flaking of the text on the flesh sides of the folios, on which see Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Montecassino 1058-1105* (Cambridge, 1999) 120 f. and my "Montecassino Cod. 125 and Henry," *Classica et Beneventana: Essays presented to Virginia Brown on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday*, eds. F. T. Coulson and A. A. Grotans (*Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales; Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 36) ed. J. Hamesse (Turnhout, 2008), 407-422.

⁴⁶ *The Beneventan Script*, p. 107 f.

⁴⁷ On this manuscript see Lowe, "Studia Palaeographica," plate 3, and Susan Ann Keefe, "Creed Commentary Collections in Carolingian Manuscripts" in *Ritual, Text and Law*, p. 195.

⁴⁸ According to M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "La circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique du VIII^e au XI^e siècle," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 12 (1969), 239, these two Cassino manuscripts may perhaps have come to southern Italy via Spanish contacts with Amalfi. On these two manuscripts see Gabriella Braga, Bartolomeo Pirone, Biancamaria Amoretti Scarcia, "Note e osservazioni in margine a due manoscritti Cassinesi (Cass. 4 e 19)" in *Studi*

Finally, Lowe cites the great Visigothic Danila Bible, written likely in the Asturias in Spain in the ninth century, and containing one of the best examples of the Spanish Vulgate Bible intermixed with the Old Latin version of the Bible (Cava dei Tirreni, Archivio della Badia 1). This famous manuscript, with its Beneventan and Arabic marginalia, came to the Benedictine monastery at Cava (founded in 1011), where it was annotated in Beneventan script likely in the last decade of the eleventh century.⁴⁹

But Lowe's numbers have been substantially increased. First, it is well known that manuscripts in Visigothic script did come to Italy as early as the eighth century. Indeed, the oldest liturgical codex in that script, the famous Verona *Orationale* written before 732, came from Spain through Sardinia and perhaps Pisa to Verona in the early eighth century, likely in the luggage of Christians fleeing the onslaught of the Muslim invaders of Spain. Moreover, the remains of what was once a glorious three-column Visigothic pandect Bible of the late eighth century found its way to Lucca, where other Visigothic script codices of the same age are to be found.⁵⁰ It is interesting here to note the connections between Montecassino and its dependency

sulle società e le culture del medioevo, eds. Ludovico Gatto and Paola Supino Martini (Florence, 2002), 57-84, connecting the Montecassino MSS and Cava MS 1 with their same Arabic marginalia as having come together to southern Italy together. One wonders if the Arabic marginalia were entered in the Asturias, where the Cava Bible was made, or farther south with its Mozarabic population. That Christian texts written in Latin could be copied in Arabic can be seen in the Arabic MS, El Escorial Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo 1623 (s.XI) on which see my "The 'Isidorian' *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties," p. 278.

⁴⁹ On this manuscript and its possible relation to Montecassino MSS 4 and 19, see Paolo Cherubini, "Le Bibbie spagnole in visigotica" in *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Vatican, Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2005), 166; and "Note e osservazioni in margine a due manoscritti Cassinesi (Cass. 4 e 19)," 57-84. On the origins of this Bible, see Paolo Cherubini, "La Bibbia di Danila: un monumento 'trionfale' per Alfonso II di Asturie," *Scrittura e civiltà* 23 (1999), 75-131; and on its presence at Cava in the late eleventh century, see Guy Lobrichon, "Riforma ecclesiastica e testo della Bibbia" in *Le Bibbie Atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione (Abbazia di Montecassino, 11 luglio - 11 ottobre 2000 / Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, settembre 2000 - gennaio 2001)*, eds. Marilena Maniaci and Giulia Orofino (Milan, 2000), 19 f.

⁵⁰ See my "Visigothic-Script Remains of a Pandect Bible and the *Collectio canonum hispana* in Lucca," *Miscellanea Beneventana: Parerga Beneventana, Mediaeval Studies* 58 (1996), 305-31 + 2 figs.; reprinted in my *Studies on Medieval Liturgical and Legal Manuscripts from Spain and Southern Italy* with material on an additional fragment in the collection of Domenico Maffei.

of San Giorgio of Lucca⁵¹ and that Beneventan influence can be found in Luccan manuscripts.⁵² Lowe also missed another set of Visigothic fragments of the ninth century in Compactiones XIII at Montecassino.⁵³ Another Visigothic fragment of a canon law manuscript written in the eleventh century, probably in northern Spain is also in Lucca.⁵⁴ Yet a further Visigothic-script liturgical manuscript has now been identified in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, likely again brought to Italy by visiting monks.⁵⁵ And finally there are thirty-two fragments of Visigothic-script codices bound into volumes printed in Venice, now in the Rijksmuseum of the Catherijneconvent in Utrecht Holland.⁵⁶

There is also the unusual case of an extremely rare Visigothic text coming to southern Italy in the tenth century and being copied in Beneventan script by monks of Montecassino when in exile in Capua (915-934), now Vatican, BAV lat. 5845. This text, for the holding of a church council, *Ordo de celebrando concilio*, is found elsewhere only in the famous tenth-century illustrated Visigothic canon law Codices Vigilano and Aemilianensis now kept in the library of

⁵¹ Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 269, n. 2.

⁵² See my "The Ritual of Clerical Ordination of the Sacramentarium Gelasianum saec. viii: Early Evidence from Southern Italy," *Rituels: Mélanges offerts au Père Gy O.P.*, eds. P. De Clerck and E. Palazzo (Paris, 1990), 437-445. The manuscript Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana 606 with its Beneventan musical notation clearly has connections with south Italy and the Beneventan-script zone: on which see Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 270, noting Beneventan interrogation signs; and Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The Baptism of the Apostles," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9-10 (1955-56), 243-45, who dates the manuscript to s.X-XI and notes that it contains Beneventan-rite peculiarities within Roman sets. The specialist in Beneventan musical notation, Professor Thomas Forrest Kelly, has kindly informed me that in the material at the end of the manuscript there are liturgical texts for Good Friday he has found only in Benevento.

⁵³ On this manuscript fragment containing the *De Trinitate* of Augustine, see Braga et al, "Note e osservazioni in margine a due manoscritti Cassinesi (Cass. 4 e 19)," 58-59, 61, 68, 70, 74, 79.

⁵⁴ See n. 50.

⁵⁵ See my "Baptismal Rite and Paschal Vigil in Transition in Medieval Spain," 257-272 + 2 figs.

⁵⁶ See my "Utrecht Fragments in Visigothic Script," *Miscellanea Beneventana: Parerga Beneventana, Mediaeval Studies* 58 (1996), 313-320 + 2 figs.

El Escorial (d.I.1 and d.I.2), both postdating the Capuan manuscript.⁵⁷ Lowe has suggested that some Beneventan-script codices, such as Vatican BAV lat. 3320 (s.IX), were copied from Visigothic exemplars,⁵⁸ and this may be the case here with a Visigothic exemplar older than the Vigilano or Aemilianensis being used.

But how did these Visigothic texts and manuscripts reach southern Italy? It is known that texts written in southern Italy early travelled to Spain,⁵⁹ and presumably texts from Spain came to southern Italy. It has been mentioned that some of these might have come with refugees fleeing Muslim domination in Spain. But there is another possibility that they came with monks, clerics, or even laymen who visited or settled in southern Italy. It is known that there were

⁵⁷ See my "The Civitas Regia Toletana before the Reconquista: A Mozarabic Vision in the Codices Vigilanus and Aemilianensis" *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la Reconquista de Toledo: Actas del II. Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes*, 3, ed. R. González-Ruiz (Toledo, Spain, 1989), 153-184 + 14 figs.; and my review of *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, ed. H. Schneider (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Ordines de Celebrando Concilio*) (Hannover, 1996) in *Speculum* 74 (1999), 832. There is a copy of this *Ordo* in Montecassino MS 541 (s.XI).

⁵⁸ *The Beneventan Script*, p. 111. Other texts of Visigothic authors such as the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville were early copied in Beneventan script, such as the famous Isidore MS, Cava MS 2 (s.VIII) but texts as well known as this could have come from many areas of Europe and not Spain itself. Bernhard Bischoff also has shown that before 800 many manuscripts have traces showing that they were copied from Visigothic exemplars either in southern Italy or Gaul. See Díaz y Díaz, "La circulation des manuscrits," 234.

⁵⁹ See my "South Italian Liturgica and Canonistica in Catalonia (New York, Hispanic Society of America MS. HC 380/819)," *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), 480-495; and "An Early Rule for Canons Regular from Santa Maria de l'Estany (New York, Hispanic Society of America MS HC 380/819)," *Miscel.lànea litúrgica catalana* 10 (2001), 165-191. Beneventan-script manuscripts presently in Spain and Portugal are: Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cod. frag. 33, "saec. x," bifol. (Medica), Ripoll 103, saec. xi, palimpsest (Medica): Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade 1063 (formerly S.N.), "saec. xiii," 1 fol. (Missale); El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo L III 19, saec. xii, 4 foll. (Collectio canonum); M II 16, saec. xii, flyleaves (Missale); Rx III 1, "saec. xi," ex-covers (Missale); Z III 19, saec. xi ex. (Collectio canonum); R I 18 (Rx I 18), palimpsest, "saec. X" (Libri Regum): Girona, Arxiu de la Catedral S.N., saec. x² (Medica ['Receptarium']): the newly discovered Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional Cod L 1503, Frag. 17 (Gradual) (on which see http://gregorian-chant.ning.com/group/benevent/forum/topic/show?id=3327296%3ATopic%3A52626&xgs=1&xg_source=msg_share_topic); Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 194 (formerly B 3), saec. x (Homiliarium); 373 (formerly A 151) (i) "saec. xii" (Ps.-Isidorus) (ii) saec. xi/xii *ut vid.* (Fulgentius ep. Ruspensis); 413 (formerly D 117), saec. xi *ut vid.* (Leges Langobardorum); 4585 (formerly O 74), flyleaves, saec. xii, 2 foll. (Poenitentiale); Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir 1347, cover, saec. xi¹, part of fol. (Haymo): Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal Casa Forte - Gaveta de Fragmentos (i) saec. x, 5 bifoll. (Ps.-Oribasius) (ii) saec. x, 2 bifoll. (Ps.-Galenus): Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular Veterum codicum frag. I, 1, 'saec. x,' bifol. (Commentarius in Psalmos): and Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral 122, palimpsest (unidentified text). Of course, not all of these came to the Iberian peninsula in the Middle Ages. Thomas Forrest Kelly is presently preparing a study on the transmission of these manuscripts to the Iberian peninsula.

Spanish clerics and monks in southern Italy as early as the eighth century and certainly by the eleventh. In the *Vita Willibaldi* we read of a Spanish presbyter, Diapertus, living at Montecassino, and of his journeying to Rome in 739 in the company of the English monk Willibald.⁶⁰ During the tenth century and early eleventh centuries, there was continuous contact between Catalonia, especially the monastery of Ripoll, with Montecassino and Rome. Oliba Cabreta (c. 920 – Montecassino, 990), count of Cerdanya from 965 and count of Besalú from 984 until his abdication in 988 traveled twice to Rome, first in 968 with the Abbot Garin of Cuixà and second in 988 on his journey to Montecassino, the monastery to which he retired.⁶¹ Arnulf, abbot of Ripoll and bishop of Girona, visited Rome and Venice. Oliba's son, another Oliba, who became abbot of Ripoll and bishop of Vic (1018) also visited Rome and brought back relics from Italy. In 998 Bernard I of Besalú joined Ermengol I of Urgell on a pilgrimage to Rome. There they participated in a synod held under the auspices of the Emperor Otto III. Ermengol returned to Rome in 1001. In 1016–17 Bernard and a large entourage of many dignitaries and prelates went to Rome to celebrate Christmas at Saint Peter's Basilica. There Bernard petitioned Pope Benedict VIII to create a see in Besalú. We also know that two monks of Ripoll were sent to Naples to obtain books for the monastery.⁶³ Later in the eleventh century we read in the *Dialogues* of Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino of a Spanish “vir venerabilis vitae,” named Gumizo, who was a hermit near the Cassinese dependency of San Nicola di

⁶⁰ MGH, SS. XV, pars i, 102.

⁶¹ On this see Manuel. C. Díaz y Díaz, “La circulation des manuscrits.” 232 f. Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino*, 312, points out that Oliba may have been accompanied to Montecassino by the confrere and friend of St. Romuald, John Gradenigo, whom he had known during his stay at Sant Miquel de Cuixà. Newton also emphasizes that visitors from all over Europe came to Montecassino, some to study and stay and many bringing gifts and even manuscripts with them, which were copied at the abbey. He notes that the Montecassino manuscripts, MS 4 and 19, written in the eighth century in Visigothic script may have been gifts to the abbot Desiderius.

⁶³ See C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800-1200* (New Haven, 1993), 252.

Cicogna. This monk had come from “Hispana Ulterior” or Baetica/Lusitania. Desiderius had heard of him from Abbot John of San Vincenzo al Volturno, who had been very close to Gumizo. His fame was also known as far away as Benevento. Gumizo, according to Peter the Deacon’s *Ortus et vita iustorum Cenobii casinensis*, had come to Montecassino likely in the first quarter of the eleventh century. Also, another Spanish monk, Fortunatus, was the founder of San Matteo de Castello in the mountains near Montecassino, and in the Necrology of San Nicola we find that several of the land tenants of San Nicola hailed from Spain, Iohannes Adenulfus Yspanie and Auerez.⁶⁴ While there is no firm evidence that any of these individuals brought manuscripts with them, at least we now are aware of the presence of Spanish clerics or monks and laymen in the Beneventan-script zone at the time our Geneva manuscript was copied. And as we have seen, there were manuscripts written in or annotated in Visigothic script at Montecassino, perhaps brought or copied by men like these.

Is there any evidence that the Beatus Commentary came to southern Italy in the early Middle Ages? Indeed there is. **(Figure 19)** In Berlin there is a copy of the Beatus Commentary written in Carolingian script with Beneventan notations, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. Lat. Fol 561. Folios 91-98 of this manuscript with an as yet unidentified text were originally written in double columns in Beneventan script of the tenth century and overwritten in the eleventh or twelfth century. **(Figure 20)** Caterina Tristano has noted the Beneventan-script features in the Carolingian text and has suggested it was copied in

⁶⁴ For these Spanish figures in the Beneventan zone, see Charles Hilken, *The Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna (Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, cod. 179, ff. 1-64)*, (*Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana II. Studies and Texts*, 135; Toronto, 2000), 12-19, 152.

Apulia in the late eleventh century,⁶⁵ whereas other scholars have suggested the early twelfth century in Farfa or the vicinity on the northern boundary of the Beneventan zone.⁶⁶ In his brief

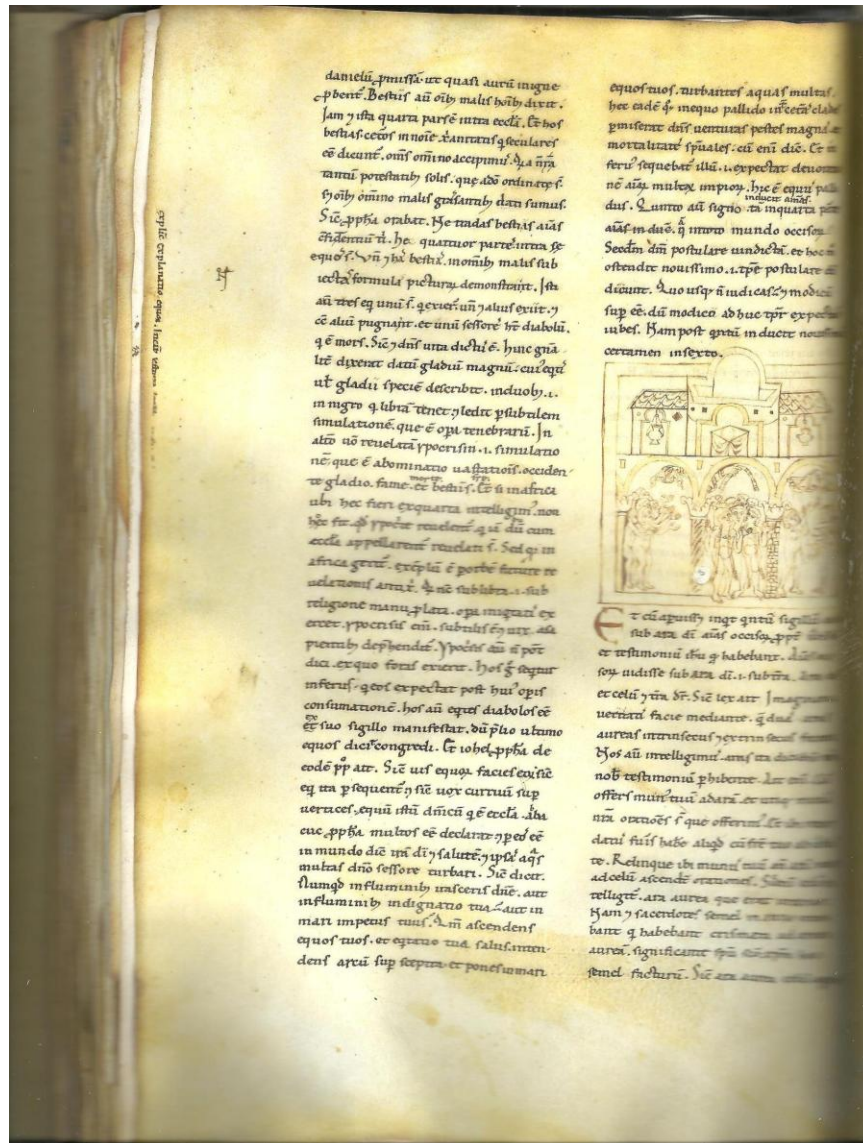


Figure 19
Commentary
written in
Carolingian cript
with Beneventan
notations, Berlin
Beatus. Berlin,
Deutsche
Staatsbibliothek
Preussischer
Kulturbesitz,
Theol. Lat. Fol
561, fol. 48v.
Photo: author.

⁶⁵ See Tristano, "Scrittura beneventana et scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale," 94. She notes that the shafts of the tall letters often have a fork and a small stroke turned to the left, something that is clearly present on fol. 97v. This, of course, is also true of Visigothic tall letters (see **Figure 17**).

⁶⁶ Foremost is Andreas Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften süd-, west- und nordeuropäischer Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz. 4.-12. Jahrhundert. Mit Nachträgen zu Band I. I (Text) - II (Abbildungen), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Kataloge der Handschriftenabteilung. Dritte Reihe. Illuminierte Handschriften*, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1999), 29-35. For the ten Beneventan-script MSS at Farfa see Virginia Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries*, 324.

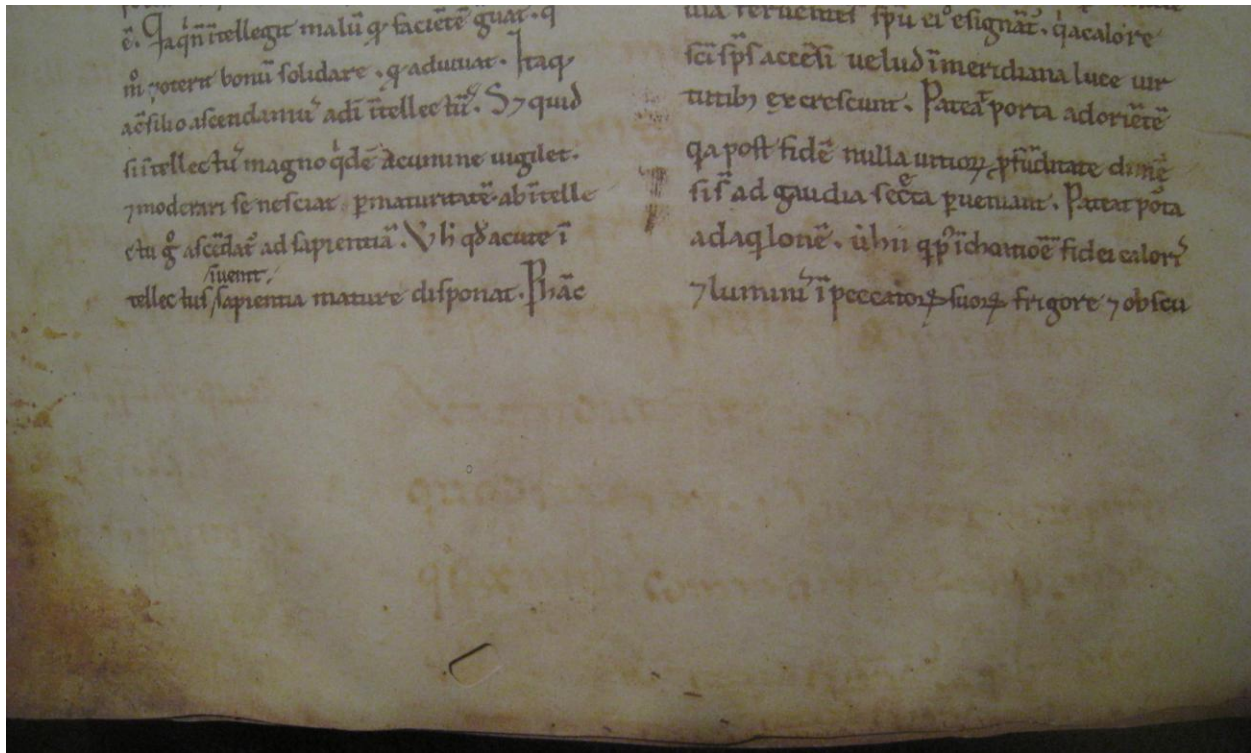


Figure 20 10th-century Beneventan palimpsest, over-written in 11th or 12th century, Berlin Beatus. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. Lat. Fol 561, Folios 91-98. Photo: author.

description of the manuscript Lowe noted glosses and corrections in Beneventan script.⁶⁷

Virtually all of these are not in Beneventan, but on fol. 37v there is clearly an interlinear addition in Beneventan script, (**Figure 21**) meaning that the manuscript was in the Beneventan zone or that a Beneventan scribe outside the zone had annotated the manuscript. Also, on fol. 66r a scribe has corrected the word “accipe” to “accepi” and has written the “e” in Beneventan style with a high upper loop. Reflecting, perhaps, a Visigothic script model in the past, the scribes at times add an aspirated “h” to words such as “hostende...” on folios 94v or 97r.

⁶⁷ On this MS see Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, 24, where the manuscript is described as “Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Theol. Lat. Fol. 561 (formerly in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek). Palimpsest, lower script of foll. 91-98. ‘Saec. x’. Unidentified text. Upper script (Beatus super Apocalypsim) in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii, has glosses and corrections in Beneventan,” with bibliography as P. Lehmann in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Jg. 1920, 13. Abh. 26 n. 2; Lowe, *New List* 216

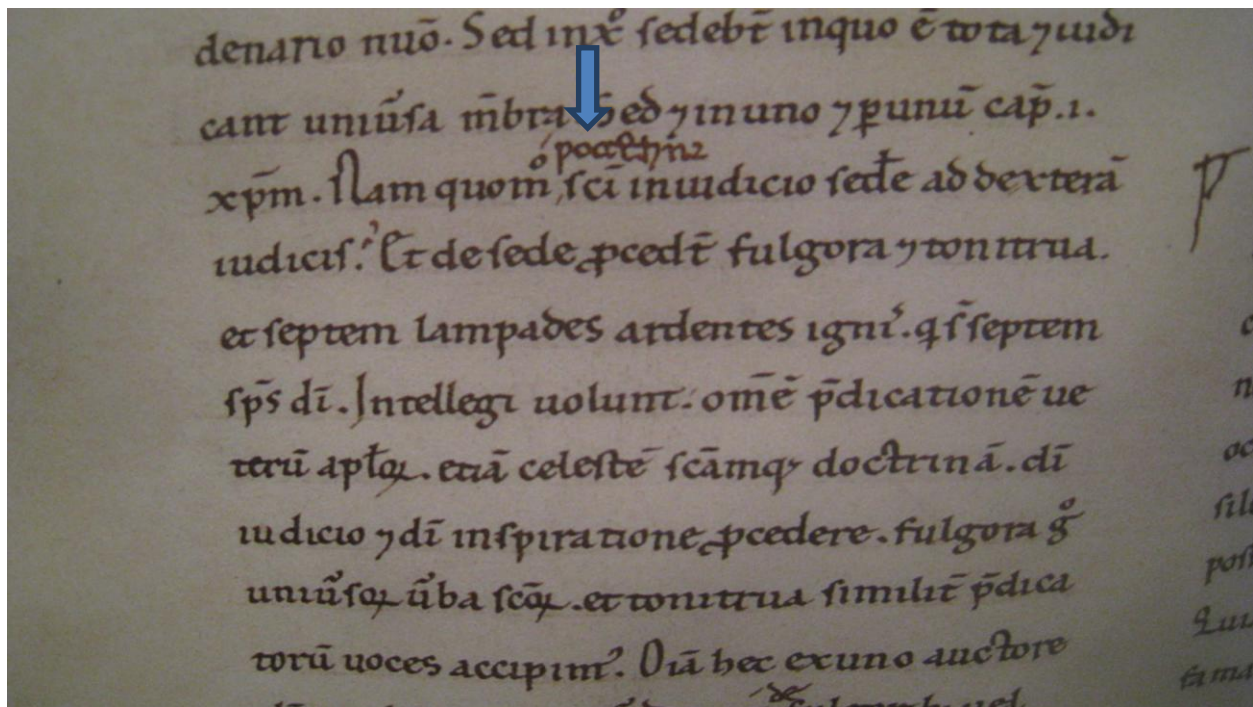


Figure 21 Beneventan script addition, Berlin Beatus. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. Lat. Fol 561, Folio 37v. Photo: author.

Highly interesting are the illustrations of the text in the Berlin Beatus, which are usually placed within frames and like the earliest Beatus manuscripts are mostly confined to a single column. They bear little or no resemblance to those in the Spanish Visigothic Beatus manuscripts, a phenomenon also of our newly discovered Geneva Beatus. It is instructive to compare the differences in like scenes of the Geneva and Berlin Beatus. For example, the Geneva depiction of the souls under the altar has the typical Visigothic T-shaped altar, (**Figure 16**) whereas the Berlin Beatus on fol. 48v has a block-shaped altar (**Figure 19**) such as one finds in the Warmund Sacramentary.⁶⁸ Moreover, the illustrations in the Berlin Beatus are only line drawings without color, except for halos and tubas, which are colored in yellow. Line drawings

⁶⁸ See my "Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art," figure 4; and Evan A. Gatti, "In a Space Between: Warmund of Ivrea and the Problem of (Italian) Ottonian Art," *Peregrinations* 3.1 (2010), figure 2.

might have been the case in the Geneva Beatus as originally conceived, after which many colors were added (although this is probably not the case).

But most important, there is now hitherto unreported evidence that illustrated manuscripts of the Beatus Commentary written in Beneventan script were copied in southern Italy in the middle of the eleventh century. This evidence comes in a damaged fragment from an illustrated Beatus manuscript used to reinforce the binding of a volume of notarial records for the years 1543–98 of Giuseppe Porro quondam Giovanni Giacomo, who was active at Milan 1543–1600.⁶⁹ This fragment in Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili 3823, was first identified by Giacomo Baroffio, as a “frammento di un probabile omeliario del s. XII originario di Bari,”⁷⁰ and later as a “frammento di omeliario del s. XI.”⁷¹ He alerted Virginia Brown to the manuscript, and she described it in her “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts IV” simply as a commentary on the Apocalypse with an angel dictating to a scribe, not more specifically as the Commentary of Beatus.⁷² She implied that in the item there are two strips, one small and the other a larger leaf. In the notes she left on her death, now deposited in the Archivum Scripturae Beneventanae at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, there is a black and white photocopy of the volume of the notarial record with the Beneventan fragment wrapped around it. **(Figure 22)** On the spine of the volume pasted over the Beneventan text is the identification tag 3823. The tag has now been removed, the fragments opened, and color photos of the recto and

⁶⁹ I intend to do an extensive study of this manuscript, on which see my preface to *Virginia Brown, Beneventan Discoveries*, xiii.

⁷⁰ Bonifacio Giacomo Baroffio, *Iter liturgicum Italicum* (Padova, 1999), 127. I have not been able to consult his newly published *Iter Liturgicum Italicum - Editio Maior & Nomina Codicum* ed. Fabrizio Mastroianni (Associazione San Michele Arcangelo, 2012).

⁷¹ Giacomo Baroffio, *Manoscritti liturgici italiani: inventario sommario*, (2005) nr. 10150: <http://musicologia.unipv.it/baroffio/repertori.html>.

⁷² See *Beneventan Discoveries*, IV, 357.

verso sides of the leaf kindly provided me by the staff of the Archivio di Stato. **(Figures 23 and 24)** What appears to be a darkened strip in the center is the discolored spine. In these color photos the angel is clad in blue with golden wings, and hands a golden letter to a kneeling John. The large leaf is a bifolium with two columns per folio, and because the text is consecutive, it appears that the bifolium was the innermost of a quire. The first folio (here called fol. 1r) is



Figure 22 Virginia Brown's photocopy of binding of notarial document bound into Beatus fragment, original dates to 11th century. Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili 3823. Photo: Archivum Scripturae Beneventanae at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

opposite the folio with the angel illustration. The two folios on the reverse side of the leaf would have been fols. 1v and 2r. The folio with the angel would have been fol. 2v. Strangely, the biblical text of the *Storia* is only partially copied -- the incipit, then a rubricated "usque" followed by the explicit of the *Storia* before the illustration. Why the complete text from the Apocalypse is not written out is a mystery, but it may indicate that the full text would have to have been located in another volume, to be followed as part of a homily by the *Explanatio* of the text, as has been discussed earlier. While the position of the two figures of the angel and St. John is opposite to that appearing in the Geneva Beatus, the two manuscripts have the figures in the same position elsewhere. **(Figure 25)** As for the script of the Milan example, it appears close to the so-called Bari Beneventan script used in Puglia.

Could it be that one or more illustrated Beatus texts in Visigothic script were in southern



Figure 23 Beneventan Beatus fragment in Milan binding, fol. 2v (left), fol. 1r (right). Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili 3823. Photo: Archivio di Stato.

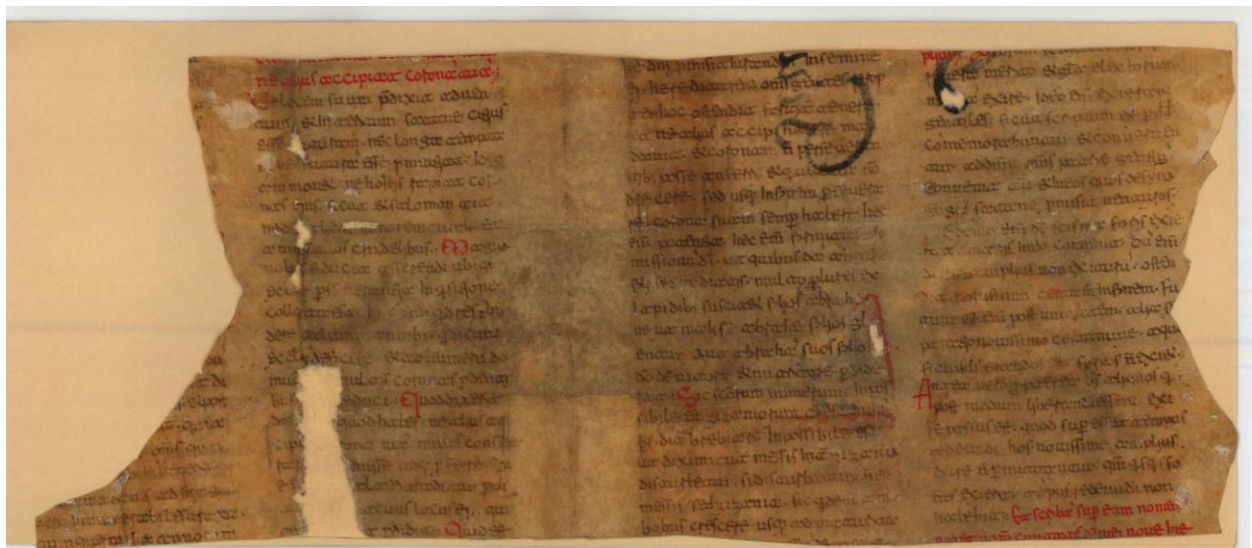


Figure 24 Beneventan Beatus fragment in Milan binding, fol. 1v (left), fol. 2r (right). Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili 3823. Photo: Archivio di Stato.

Italy in the eleventh century and were used as models by the scribes and illuminators of our Geneva and Milan manuscripts? It seems almost inconceivable that a copy of the Beatus without illustrations would have come to southern Italy and was copied there with illustrations invented and added by a south Italian illuminator. There must surely have been a model or models. This is particularly the case with the T-shaped altar depiction, so typical in Visigothic Spain.



Figure 25 Comparison of Angel Messenger in two Benevetan Beatus manuscripts. Benevetan Beatus fragment in Milan binding (left), Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili 3823, fol. 2v and Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, fol. 165v, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13th-14th century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11th century, Italy and Southern Italy, Photos: Bibliothèque de Genève and Milan, Archivio di Stato.

Most of the Visigothic manuscripts of the Beatus were much larger than the Geneva Beatus, and one wonders how these could have been “reduced” to make the Geneva Beatus. There could, however, be smaller Beatus manuscripts, such as the tiny jewel, the Corsiniana Beatus of the twelfth century.⁷³ What of the script however? There were illustrated Beatus manuscripts copied outside of Spain in non-Visigothic scripts, such as the Beatus of San Sever (1060/1070) in Carolingian script, or even the Corsiniana Beatus in Carolingian and Visigothic scripts, and such as these could have been used as models. But there are traces of what may be Visigothic

⁷³ Rome, Biblioteca del'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Segn. 369 (40. E. 6), on which see Lowe, “Studia Palaeographica,” plate 7; and http://www.siloe.es/otros_facsimiles/beato_corsini.shtml.

orthography in our Geneva manuscript. On fol. 165v there are written in Beneventan the words, “*clabes dd. haperit*,” which would normally have been written “*claves dd. aperit*.” (**Figure 13**)

Lowe has pointed out that in Visigothic manuscripts the addition before words of an aspirated “h” was common (somewhat rare in Beneventan manuscripts).⁷⁴ An example of this can be found in Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit VLF 111, fol. 2v (s.IXⁱⁿ, Lyons) with the spelling “*habe*” for “*ave*.”⁷⁵ (**Figure 26**) Further, it is well known that in Visigothic manuscripts the letter “b” was frequently interchanged with “v,” such as in “*abe Maria*” (see British Library, Addit. 30844 s.X, Silos) (again this occurs at times in Beneventan-script codices).⁷⁶ (**Figure 27**)

In the Aemilianensis Beatus of Madrid, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 33. fol. 77r, precisely in the same text as the Geneva Beatus there are the words “*clabes dd.*” And in the Aemilianense Beatus of Madrid, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Real Vit. 14-1 (the oldest Beatus from the tenth century) a hand in the twelfth century has frequently changed the “b” to “v.”⁷⁷

Rather than using a Visigothic model directly, however, could the Geneva Beneventan scribe have been using a Carolingian model of Beatus with these Visigothic orthographical traces and slipped from Carolingian into his natural Beneventan?

⁷⁴ *The Beneventan Script*, p. 102. In the Aemilianensis Beatus of Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Vit. 14-1, fol. 105v there is the word *hoccident*.” See the facsimile edition published by Siloé, (http://www.siloe.es/otros_facsimiles/beato_emilianense.shtml) and John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus : a Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 2 (New York, 1995) 71 and fig. 128.

⁷⁵ See the facsimile of this: *Le manuscrit de l'Ile Barbe (Codex Vossianus latinus 111) et les travaux de la critique sur le texte d'Ausone, l'oeuvre de E. Vinet et l'oeuvre de J. J. Scaliger*, ed. H. de La Ville de Mirmont. (Bordeaux/Paris, 1917-1921).

⁷⁶ On the alteration of “v” and “b” or their omission from words in the Beatus manuscripts, see Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, 2.68, 72, 75, 92.

⁷⁷ See Peter Klein, “Codicological Description” in *Beatus ‘Emilianense’ from the Spanish National Library in Madrid*.42; and his “El Códice Emilianense” in *Beato ‘Emilianense’ de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo X*, 39.

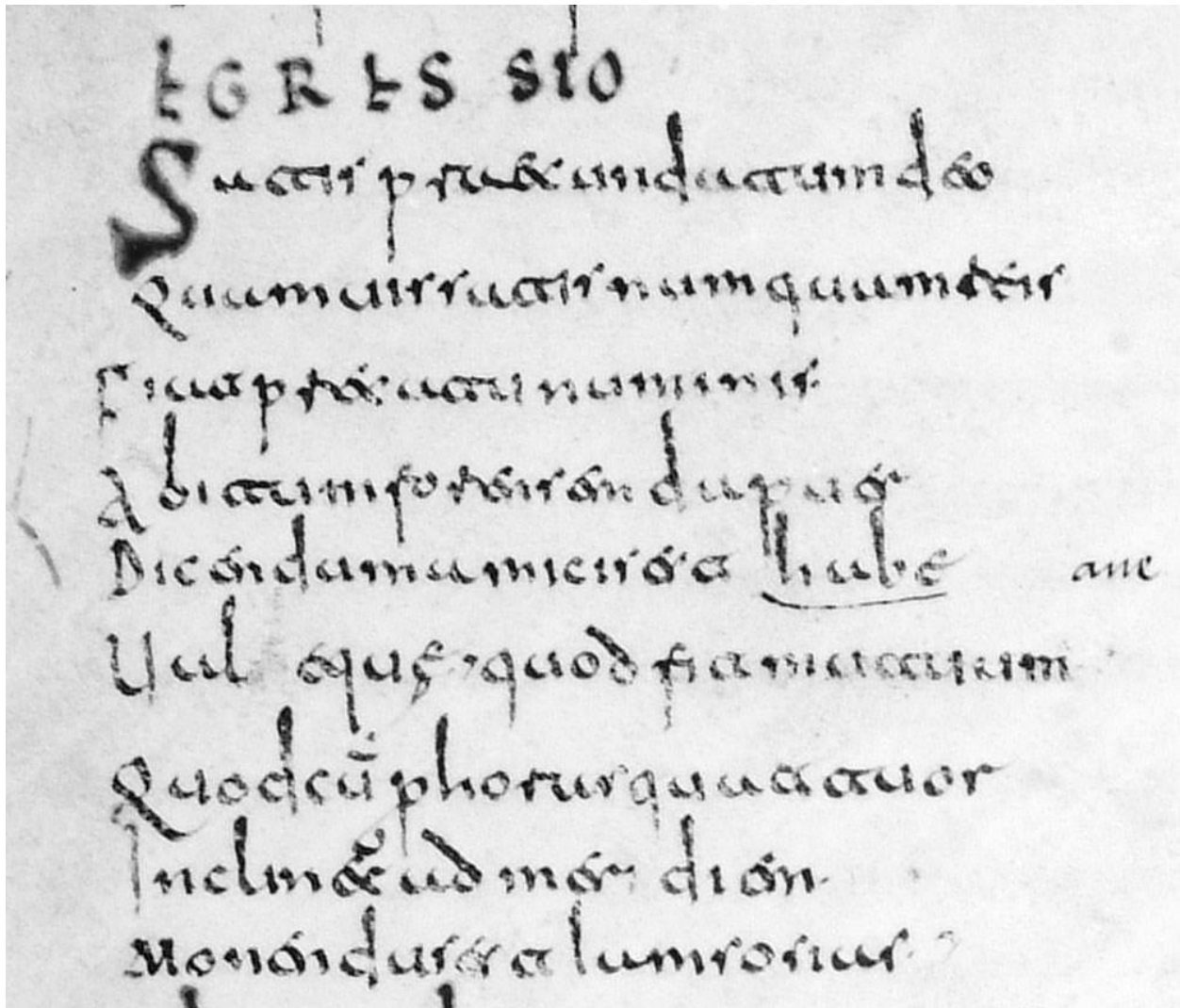
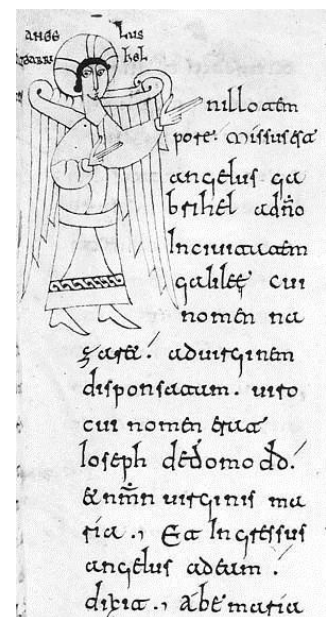


Figure 26 Visigothic aspirated “h.” Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit VLF 111. Photo: author.

Figure 27 Visigothic interchange of “v” and “b.” British Library, Add. 30844. Photo: author.



Another question is why the *Beatus* was copied at all in southern Italy? It has been mentioned that there were Spanish clerics, monks, and laity in southern Italy, and that the *Beatus* could have been used liturgically, as suggested by the Milan fragment. We know that the Byzantine liturgical rite was said in the south for Byzantine-rite Christians by clerics reading Beneventan script,⁷⁸ and even after the condemnation in 1058 of the Beneventan chant and presumably the rite, it continued to be used, as Thomas Forrest Kelly has so abundantly demonstrated.⁷⁹ Further, after the Roman condemnations of the Mozarabic rite in the late eleventh century, it also continued to be used or even mixed with the Roman.⁸⁰ There were, after all, Visigothic rite manuscripts available in Italy, as we know from the Verona *Orationale*. So, could elements of the Visigothic liturgy with its unusual readings from the Apocalypse and *Explanationes* from *Beatus* have been used by or for the Spanish people in southern Italy, especially on such important feasts as Easter?⁸¹ But perhaps the *Beatus* was copied in southern Italy simply as a prestige piece, as the illustrated Berlin, Geneva, and Milan manuscripts might suggest or was it for the *Beatus* text? Clearly the *Beatus* was considered important enough to have the tenth-century under-leaves of the Berlin codex palimpsested⁸² and have the *Beatus* written over it.

⁷⁸ On the use of Beneventan script for a transliteration of a Greek liturgical text see my "The Greek Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in Beneventan Script: An Early Manuscript Fragment," *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990), 296-302 + 2 pls.

⁷⁹ *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, 1989).

⁸⁰ On this see my "Sacraments, Liturgy, and 'Institutions,'" *Pensiero e sperimentazioni istituzionali nella 'Societas Christiana' (1046-1250)*, *Atti della sedicesima Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola*, 26-31 agosto 2004, ed. G. Andenna (Milan, 2007), 139-165.

⁸¹ The text from Apocalypse 3.14 appearing on our Milan fragment was used in the Visigothic/Mozarabic liturgy for the Mass of Sabbato Pasche.

⁸² On this see Virginia Brown, "Palimpsested Texts in Beneventan Script: a Handlist with Some Identifications" in *Early Medieval Palimpsests*, ed. George Declercq (Turnhout, 2007), 102 n. 10, 104 nn. 15-16, 106 n. 21, 108, 112.

The next puzzle surrounding our Geneva Beatus is one that has yet to be answered. How did our Geneva manuscript travel to that Swiss city? We know that it was in the Cistercian Abbey of Sancta Maria de Alpibus in Haute Savoie founded in 1108 and was there until 1792, after which it eventually came to the Congregation of Missionaries in Geneva. But how did it travel from southern Italy to the monastery in Haute Savoie? Here one can only speculate. Did a traveling monk, scholar, or merchant bring it with him to the north? It seems that our Milan Beatus fragment went from southern to northern Italy. Further, we know that the Berlin Beatus with its south Italian Beneventan notations was once a part of the library of the nineteenth-century historian and bibliophile, Carlo Morbio of Milan. Was the Geneva manuscript stolen or otherwise “removed” from its origin, as we know many Beneventan-script items were and still are?⁸³ After 1792 and the dissolution of Sancta Maria de Alpibus was it purchased by some buyer in the past and sold or donated to the Congrégation des Missionnaires de saint François de Sales? And why did the members of that Congregation fail to recognize the unique features of the illustrated Beatus Commentary? Perhaps they valued more the Priscian text now bound with it? Perhaps there was little or no interest in manuscripts in the Institut Florimont? Or perhaps the external rather scruffy features of the manuscript made it unworthy of careful study? All of these questions remain, presenting a challenge to scholars who study this extraordinary manuscript in the future – that is, if the Apocalypse does not soon overtake us all.

⁸³ See, e.g., Mario Iadanza, “Il messale 29 è tornato a Benevento” in *Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana*, Novità, <http://edu.let.unicas.it/bmb/>; or the Beneventan fragment in Montecassino MS 216, recently found missing between pp. 16 and 17, reported in my *The Collectio canonum Casinensis duodecim saeculi (Codex terscriptus) A Derivative of the South-Italian Collection in Five Books: An Incipit-Explicit Edition with an Introductory Study* (*Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* III, *Studies and Texts*, 127; Toronto, 2001) 14 f.