

with warmest best wishes
and gratitude,
- J. H.

Ag 144-3
THE
BOOKMARK

Friends of the University of North Carolina Library

Chapel Hill

October, 1973

FRIENDS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY
AT CHAPEL HILL

At the annual meeting of the Friends, held at the Carolina Inn on the evening of March 30th, 1973, Dr. Berthe M. Marti, Professor of Classical and Medieval Latin, introduced the speaker for the occasion, Dr. Francis [Newton, Professor of Latin in the Department of Classical Studies at Duke University. Dr. Newton has generously contributed an expanded version of his address for publication in this issue of the Bookmark.

Beneventan Scribes and Subscriptions

With a List of Those Known at the Present Time*

By Francis Newton, Duke University

1. Types of Subscriptions in Beneventan Books
2. a. List of Beneventan Scribes, with Subscriptions
b. Rejected and Doubtful Scribes
c. Index

1. Types of Subscriptions in Beneventan Books

The debt we owe to the scribes of mediaeval Europe is almost incalculable. To them, overwhelmingly, is due the preservation of the texts of the great Latin classics that we possess today. We have no autographs of the classical Latin authors. For a very few writers, such as Virgil, there survive mss. which were written before the fall of the Roman Empire, that is, from the fourth and fifth centuries. Even for these authors the mediaeval mss. are of value and importance. For the great majority of texts, the oldest surviving copies are no earlier than the ninth century in date. Hence the importance of the scribes who made these copies, whether in monastery, in cathedral school, in uni-

*I wish to express particular thanks to the archivist of the Abbey of Monte Cassino, Dom Tommaso Leccisotti, and to his assistant Dom Faustino Avagliano, to the staff of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris, to Professor Bernhard Bischoff of the University of Munich, to Professor T. J. Brown of the University of London, and to Professor Hartmut Hoffman of the University of Göttingen. The travels necessary to this research could not have been carried out without the generous grants I received from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Duke University Research Council.

UNIVERSITY OF
NORTH CAROLINA
LIBRARY
1973

MGH-Bibliothek
Nachlaß B. Bischoff

versity, or — at the end of the Middle Ages — in commercial centers in the cities.

For this reason it is of interest to know who these scribes were, where they came from, and especially how well educated they were. A broad and sympathetic introduction to this field is found in Reynolds and Wilson's admirable book, *Scribes and Scholars* (Oxford University, 1968). Less sympathetic but interesting is the incidental information furnished by James Willis in his recent *Latin Textual Criticism* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. 61, Urbana, Univ. of Illinois, 1972). My own interest in this subject is more restricted and arises from a study which I have pursued for a number of years, of the mediaeval mss. of southern Italy. It was southern Italy which preserved through the Middle Ages the text of Tacitus' *Histories* and one-half of what survives of his *Annals*, Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, Apuleius, and a number of other very important classical works. In addition to the texts which were preserved only in southern Italy of all Europe, there are others for which south Italian mss. provide a very important source. It was the late E. A. Lowe who established the basis for any study in this area with his monumental book *The Beneventan Script*, a study of the writing system which prevailed all over southern Italy from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries and continued sporadically until the fifteenth century. This is the script in which these important Latin classics and many others were preserved in that region. The student who follows in Lowe's footsteps and examines closely the monuments of Beneventan writing that are preserved will find his interest stimulated in the men who penned these S. Italian mss. Who were they? How well educated were they? This latter question is really the one to which I want to call attention.

We can form some idea of the practical side of the copying of mss. The many pictures of scribes in mediaeval mss. perhaps enable us to envision the appearance of the scribe at work. Imagine for a moment the scribe at his task in the *scriptorium*. He sits at a table, or perhaps with a tablet on his knee, the goose quill pen in his right hand, and the knife in his left. This is the *scalpellum* or *cultellus* or *temperatorium* that is used for erasing, and also for sharpening his pen. The prepared parchment lies on the table and there also is the *atramentarium* or ink pot. Close at hand are other instruments, the *punctorium* used for punching the guide lines and the *ligniculum* which will score a depression or mark along the lines on which the scribe

is to write. Ruling with lead is a later development. Perhaps nearby there is an *armarium* or chest which will hold all these materials as well as the pens in their cases and the books themselves.

Yet, for all the miniatures that survive, the main source of our knowledge of the scribes remains the mss. they copied. Unlike the modern printed book, most mediaeval mss. bear no inscription giving date or place of writing. Probably more Greek mss. than Latin ones provide this sort of information—a matter of difference in the traditional practice, between East and West. Nevertheless, where scribes do provide a subscription or colophon, they give us most valuable information (often still without giving date and place) about themselves, partly intentionally and partly unintentionally.

From the fine collection of mediaeval colophons published (2 vols. have been issued so far) by the Benedictines of Le Bouveret (see introduction to section 2a), here is a specimen—a subscription in a ninth century ms. now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This is not a south Italian ms., but illustrates some of the typical features of mediaeval subscriptions.

O beatissime lector lava manus tuas et sic librum adprehende. leniter folia turna. longe a litteris digitos pone. quia qui nescit scribere nullum putat esse laborem oculos gravat, renes frangit et tota membra conturbat: quia sicut nautos desiderat venire ad proprium portum ita scriptor ad ultimum desiderat venire versum ΩΡΑΘΗ ΠΡΩ CAV

“O most blessed reader, wash your hands and so take the book. Turn the pages gently [*the word turna is of course a mediaevalism*]. Keep your fingers away from the letters, because one who does not know how to write thinks there is no work in it. It makes the eyes tired, breaks the back, and wracks all the limbs: because as the sailor longs to arrive at the home port, so the scribe longs to arrive at the last line. [*then in large Greek letters, but in the Latin language:*] PRAY FOR SAV . . .” (*Colophons*, 2541).

When we turn to southern Italy—the rest of my examples are from that region—the survival of subscriptions can be calculated. Very roughly, 1000 mss. or fragments in the writing called Beneventan survive. Of these 1000, only about 30 possess subscriptions. Probably very few scribes were allowed to add a subscription of their own. We have subscriptions in mss. from Naples, Cava, Capua, Benevento, and a group of smaller centers as well, including Carminiano (near Troia), Vico Equense (near Sorrento), Cesamo, and Albaneta. But it is especially Monte

Cassino, the abbey founded by S. Benedict himself in the sixth century and cradle of the order he founded, which produced a wealth of books in this script and in this period, most particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Therefore, the largest number of subscriptions is from Monte Cassino.

To south Italian centers we must also add the cities of the Dalmatian coast (Yugoslavia) which used the same script, and where one center (the library in Zagreb) still preserves a Beneventan ms. with subscription.

The subscriptions found in Beneventan mss. have been partially published. A list was furnished in Lowe's *Beneventan Script*, but today that list is in need of revision. A few names of scribes can be added. Several of the ones that Lowe has must be dropped, as not representing scribes, but other persons. Besides, the texts of the subscriptions are poor. (Lowe depended, as he says, on earlier transcriptions.) The reader, as a result, gets an erroneous impression of the men who are known to have copied S. Italian mss., and of their subscriptions.

The kinds of information supplied by the subscriptions vary widely. I cite some examples by the number assigned in the attached list, in section 2a. One of our south Italian scribes (no. 2), Ascarius, tells the day (it was Thursday (*die Iovis*), February first, in the year 1145), when he started work. He (perhaps being especially interested in figures) also tells us his age—he was 20 at the time. Another scribe, Martin (no. 23), reveals he has been a monk 3 years; since he was copying the book in the year 1010, his "conversion" as he calls it would have occurred in 1007. Still another, the priest John (no. 12), lets one know his home town—the little village of Troia in southern Italy—east of Monte Cassino. Because of that name, he apparently compares himself with Aeneas, when he says:

If you want to know the scribe's name,

He is called John, a priest, though quite unworthy.

He too came as a stranger from Troy.

There is a familiar motto of mediaeval scribes embedded in a subscription by Subdeacon John (no. 15) who copied a ms. at Monte Cassino between the years 1011 and 1022: "One who does not know how to write, thinks it is no labor. But one who has his eyes fixed and neck bent [*understood*: "knows better"]. *Three fingers write, but the whole body toils.*" To give the Latin of this famous dictum:

Tria digita scribunt sed totum corpus laborat.

For the scholar, the most helpful subscriptions are naturally those that give the date, or at least, as this last one did, the

name of the abbot or prior under whom the book was copied. He said, "O Father Benedict, kindly shepherd of monks, graciously receive, I beg, the tiny gift, which Abbot Atenolf humbly presents to you now."

Sometimes writers were jealous of, or hostile to, other scribes. A Monte Cassino ms. (Monte Cassino 287) has a later remark in the margin, not in Beneventan: "Rainaldus est malus scriptor francigenus . . ." that is, "Rainaldus is a wretched French scribe:" note that the nasty word in this brief statement is *francigenus*: "French." Another, earlier, scribe (no. 3), of the ninth/tenth century, wrote his name twice in a famous book containing Prudentius; the name was deliberately erased in one place or perhaps both, probably out of jealousy.

A few scribes even have their picture in the book they copied. So Grimoaldus (no. 5) is shown presenting his book with the note, "Grimoaldus diaconus et monachus scrip(sit) [*or scrip(tor)*]. Our scribes *regularly* express themselves in an humble tone. Several characterize themselves as a *peccator*, "sinner." Five of them mention their unworthiness as "unworthy priest," (twice) "unworthy servant," "unworthy deacon," "unworthy deacon and monk," or a combination in "John subdeacon and monk, unworthy sinner," or "the lowly deacon Maio, the scribe."

This prevailing humility, however, had to do with their spiritual life chiefly, not their mss. Scribes do, in fact, apologize for the text they present; a south Italian scribe in a ms. now in Paris (Paris lat. 17177, fol. 17v, col. 2), says: "do not blame me because I could not write it." (He is not one who gives his name). Among our named scribes, some, in addressing the reader, ask as does Subdeacon John (no. 15):

I ask you all who gather here honey-sweet flowers,
when you do not find something, not to heap curses
on me but to grant forgiveness. Life to the reader.
To the scribe, forgiveness. To the possessor, salvation.

John of Troia (no. 12) says, "If you find less or more [*than should be here*], I ask you all, emend it." But there is nothing modest about the way one scribe, Eustasius of Benevento, or Eustace in English (no. 14)—described his art. Skipping the subject of his unworthiness altogether, he tells us frankly, "The scribe is Eustace, a scribe without an equal." The skilful verses in which Eustace addresses the reader are rhythmical and rhymed in groups of four. Here is an attempt at a rough English translation:

Everyone who takes pleasure in the beauty of this work,
 As he gazes on it and holds it in his hands,
 Should turn his inner ear to its advice,
 For it offers the greatest gain to men of wisdom.
 Indeed the four-fold work set out by authors
 Prunes away wickedness and forms men's morals;
 It soothes the eye, setting before the gaze
 Letters, knots, and colors quite outstanding.
 Holy Benedict wrote the words of it;
 The scribe is Eustace, a scribe unsurpassed;
 He by whose command the book was copied
 Is called John, the prior of the monastery.
 Finally Sipontinus, powerful in design,
 With living color, gold, and paints,
 Has decorated it with different knots and figures,
 Making it wondrous with wondrous arabesques.

His is the only subscription that we have in our group that mentions the painter (illuminator), a man from Sipontum. Besides, he omits the traditional elements. Most scribes beg the reader to pray for them. Sabinus (no. 25) says, "All you who read, I beg you, pray for me, a sinner." In Maio's subscription (no. 22), the Dalmatian archbishop Paul vividly exclaims: "And you too, studious readers, I earnestly beg anyone in whose hands this shall come, remember me in your prayers. Say, all of you, 'King of kings, Christ, our God, take from him his sin.'" Among other familiar commonplaces, these scribes include the injunction to the reader to wash his hands, and the comparison, frequent throughout Europe, of the sailor longing for land and the scribe longing for the last line.

Closely related to scribal subscriptions is another feature. A few books were specially protected by a curse or imprecation against thieves, invoking, not fear of the law, but fear of the Last Judgment. Here is what an anonymous scribe added to a Monte Cassino ms. in the first half of the eleventh century; it stands at the bottom of the very first page:

Si quis nobis hunc librum quolibet modo malo ingenio tollere temptaverit aut voluerit, sit anathema maranatha, et cum Iuda traditore Domini triginta maledictiones (*added by another hand: experiatur*), iuxta numerum triginta argenteorum quibus Dominum vendidit quae in centesimo octavo psalmo scriptae reperiuntur. Has omnes maledictiones, et hic et in aeternum possideat, qui hunc ut dictum est nobis tollere maluerit.

(Monte Cassino 302, bottom of p. 1, 11th c. addition.)

“If anyone in any way through evil purpose attempts or wishes to take this book from us, let him be ‘anathema maranatha’ and, with Judas the betrayer of the Lord, know the 30 curses, corresponding to the number of pieces of silver for which he sold the Lord, which are found mentioned in the 108th Psalm. Let him possess all these curses, both here and for eternity, he, who, as has been said, chooses to take this book from us.”

It is worth mentioning that these imprecations seem to have done the job, as far as I can tell. At least, of the Monte Cassino mss. that I know of, many were carried away from the monastery over the centuries, but the ones that bore imprecations have in general remained where they were written.

One of the handsomest books ever produced at Monte Cassino is a book of Homilies which is still there—now numbered Monte Cassino 99 (no. 19). There is a complex colophon on its first two pages. (Most mss., by contrast, have subscriptions at the end.) Let us examine this one. On the opening page, with capital letters written in red with yellow, green, and blue touches are the four lines:

Graciously accept, good Father, the gift John brings;
And grant to *him* the gifts of your eternal kingdom.
And then lovingly favor the ~~gifts~~ of kneeling Leo,
Through whose zeal the creation of this ms. was ac-
complished.

pra

On page 2 at the top begins the long statement: “In the year of our Lord’s incarnation one thousand seventy-two, in the 10th indiction, when, after the passing of the most holy and noble father Benedict, in this his venerable monastery of Cassino where the most holy bodies of the same, our father and lawgiver, and of his noble sister Scholastica lie buried, in the 37th place Dom Desiderius [*that is, 37th abbot in line*] the venerable abbot presided; among the other monuments of his greatness in which he surpassed all his predecessors in marvelous fashion, he commanded this most fair book to be written. Containing those lessons which are to be read on the eve of the principal feasts, that is, Christmas, S. Stephen’s, S. John the Evangelist’s, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. This book I, brother John, once archpriest of the Marsican church, but now the last servant of the same holy place, for my salvation and that of my family, have caused to be written at my own expense. And in devotion I presented it to the very most holy Father Benedict on that day on which I put on his habit, on his holy altar.

Calling men to witness besides, that if any man for any intent should presume to take it away from this holy place, let him gain an eternal dwelling with those to whom at the Last Judgment Christ will say, "Depart ye accursed into the eternal fire, which is made ready for the Devil and his angels." Yet whoever you are that reads this, do not fail to read also the attached distich: (The distich is in dactylic hexameters, like the four lines at the beginning, with assonance at middle and end of lines:)

Huius scriptorem libri, pie Christe, Leonem

In Libro vite dignanter supplico scribe.

"O holy Christ, graciously, I beseech, inscribe

Leo, the scribe of this book, in the Book of Life."

The copyist then is Leo, a figure whom E. A. Lowe called "the prince of Beneventan scribes." There is nothing awkward or superfluous in this two-line prayer: omitting his rank and conventional expression of humility, he addresses his petition to Christ. The image of the Book of Life is an ancient one found in the Bible and in a number of Church Fathers. It is often used in combination with a Roman tradition—the census or roll-call of the senate in Rome. Early Christian poets who refer to the names of the apostles as "written in golden letters in the list of the heavenly senate" reflect a tradition that the Roman senate list under the later Empire was so written—either on a golden tablet or in letters of gold. From this double tradition, Judaic-Christian and pagan Roman, comes the form of the mediaeval belief in the heavenly book. (See L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum* (Theophaneia, Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums 8, Bonn, Hanstein, 1952.) The copyist Leo then, is not only a master scribe; he is also a well educated monk, capable of turning out easy, flowing verses *that* scan correctly and, according to late eleventh century taste have a bit of internal rhyme besides and an epigrammatic use of the Biblical reference. He is therefore set apart from most of the scribes I have mentioned so far.

This is, I think, the heart of the problem—the level and degree of education of the individual scribe. We can see two aspects of the question in a single ms. The one I want to describe is a rare ms.—we even know the date of its writing! It is a codex written at Monte Cassino and still preserved there, and contains a part of Augustine's *City of God*. Careful examination shows it was written by two scribes; we do not have the name of either one. But at the time a scribe added a subscription at the end which informs us of the date. The Abbot Theobaldus or Theobald who is named in it became Monte Cassino's abbot in the

year 1022; his reign begins an intensive copying activity at the monastery. I give only the beginning of this subscription and I shall translate that portion:

In nomine domini nostri iesu christi anno dominice incarnationis M.XXIII. Indictione VI. anno videlicet ordinationis sue secundo. Domnus theobaldus reverentissimus abbas, hunc librum de civitate dei, aedito a sancto augustino aepiscopo . . . scribere praecepit, cum alios [*corr. to aliis*] XX codices [*corr. to codicibus later*]. Hi sunt. In primis, omelia [*corr. to homelia*] quadraginta. Pars prima moralium. Liber psalmorum, exposito a sancto augustino, divisum in duo volumina, super epistolas sancti pauli edie [*corr. to edite*] a claudio episcopo. Ravanum . . .

(Monte Cassino 28 (Augustine), 1023, p. 587)

“In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the year of the Lord’s Incarnation M.XXIII, in the 6th indiction, that is, in the second year after his ordination, Dom Theobaldus most reverent abbot, commanded to be copied this book, *De Civitate Dei*, written by S. Augustine, Bp., in this church of S. Benedict, where his [S. Benedict’s] most holy body is buried, along with 20 other mss. They are these: First, 40 *Homilies*. The first part of the *Moralia* [both these works by Gregory the Great]. The Book of Psalms, with commentary by S. Augustine, divided into 2 volumes. *On the Epistles of S. Paul*, written by Claudius the Bishop. Rabanus, etc.”

Here we get a very good idea of the scribe’s Latin; aside from the confusion usual in mediaeval Latin, between *b* and *v*, as in *Rabanum*, spelled with *v*, or *e* and *ae* (*dominicae* with only *e* at the end) or the omission of *h* (silent in this period — see *homelia* which the original scribe wrote without *h*), there are more basic errors: *edito* ought to agree with *hunc librum*, and *exposito* and *divisum* ought to be *expositus* and *divisus* to agree with *Liber*. In the expression, “with 20 other mss.” the scribe wrote first: *cum alios* (he after corrected this) *XX codices* (corrected by a later hand to *codicibus*); the correct version should, of course, be: *cum aliis XX codicibus*. In the modern printed versions of these subscriptions, the errors are often not noted and the reader has a false impression of the scribe’s command of Latin. This Latin is, in fact, far below the standards of well educated men of the day; it is the Latinity of the rude business

documents that survive from the period, when Latin has just ceased to be spoken and the *volgare* is succeeding to its place; the writers of documents (including many of these subscriptions) are trying to write Latin but without the knowledge of grammar that is essential.

Fortunately this same ms. of the *City of God* was not allowed to stand as the two scribes had left it. A corrector appeared, whose very distinctive changes are seen on the first 388 pages of the ms. This corrector left a subscription of his own at the opposite end of the ms.—for he set his note at the top of the first page of text. Like Leo the super-scribe whom we met in the handsome Homilies volume, this monk writes in verse:

†Corrigit hunc cursim viblum Laurentius imus;
Quem repetet, dederit vitales si Deus auras.
“Lowliest Lawrence hastily corrects this book;
[viblum is the Greek Biblon, of course]
A task he will resume, if God grants him the breath
of life.”

And, as Leo brought in a commonplace from the Bible, this Lawrence introduced a Virgilian reminiscence—of the passage in *Aeneid I* in which Venus interrupts Aeneas' pitiful tale to reassure him: “Whoever you are, I believe it is not because the gods hate you that you draw the breath of life [*vitales auras*]. . .” This corrector, Lawrence, is in fact a historical figure. A native of Amalfi, he was successively monk of Monte Cassino, archbishop of Amalfi, and after suffering exile from that see, resident in Florence, and later in Rome, where he died. In his closing years, in Rome, he is said to have been the teacher of the young Hildebrand, who became as Gregory VII the most important and influential of eleventh century popes.

The gap between this Lawrence who writes, like Leo, graceful dactylic hexameters at the beginning of this book, and the unnamed scribe who wrote the rough, ungrammatical subscription at the end of the book, is more than just the 500-odd pages that separate their individual messages. It is the difference between the scholar and teacher on the one hand, and the ordinary scribe on the other. The learned Secretary of the Mediaeval Academy of America, Paul Meyvaert, who was once a Benedictine monk himself, says of Monte Cassino scribes (in “The Autographs of Peter the Deacon,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 38 (1955), p. 136), “Presumably, in the twelfth century, as nowadays, not all the boys in the monastic school showed an inclination or a gift towards calligraphy.” What

Meyvaert says of the twelfth century was true in earlier centuries too. Those whose chief task was to be calligraphy doubtless did not continue the study of Latin past a certain point. (See H. Fichtenau, *Mensch und Schrift im Mittelalter*, Vienna, Universum, 1946 = Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Bd. 5), p. 165 and references there.) The exact level of accomplishment is revealed on those occasions when they write these messages—these “subscriptions” or “colophons” of their own composition. On such occasions, they can rely on formulae: “Three fingers write, but the whole body labors,” or the simile about the mariner, or an entreaty for the prayers of the reader. These elements, often in verse, they found in earlier mss. and simply appropriated for themselves. When, however, they tried to add elements of their own invention, the grammatical endings are faulty, the sense often becomes obscure, and the metre limps or is completely abandoned. The *scholar* who writes or corrects a ms. is easily distinguishable from the common scribe. We know of several who worked at Monte Cassino—though all did not leave subscriptions. Lawrence of Amalfi (no. 18) who shortly after 1023 corrected the Augustine ms. I have discussed, became archbishop of Amalfi. John of Gaeta (no. 6 in 2.b.) who corrected a famous papal register at Monte Cassino, in the 1070’s probably, became later Pope Gelasius II. Leo Marsicanus (no. 19), whose autograph and corrections are seen in a number of Monte Cassino mss., including a ms. of the Chronicle of the Abbey which he wrote around the year 1100, later was Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. To these three we must add the Leo (a different person) who names himself as scribe of the beautiful book of homilies already discussed — we do not otherwise know who he was, but, while he is a master calligrapher, he also belongs clearly in the group of scholar-scribes. Perhaps some day we will know his identity.

Part of the history of the transmission of classical and Christian texts in southern Italy—a history which will be written some day—will include consideration of what these scribal subscriptions tell us about the men who composed and penned them. The subscriptions are not as many as we would like, but from them and especially from correct publication of the words they wrote can be traced a history of the education of scribes in this region, as we have seen, on two distinct levels, from the ninth to the thirteenth century.

Such a history will have, however, some curious gaps. For there is a strange phenomenon about these subscriptions which I have not mentioned and which has not yet been noted. The largest group of them comes from Monte Cassino; they are especially frequent in the first half of the eleventh century. The striking fact is that beginning with the second half of that century, the subscriptions virtually cease—and that at a time when Monte Cassino was turning out more books than ever! For the 100-year period from 1050-1150, there survives only one ms. with the scribe's name—the Leo whom I have so often mentioned, scribe of the volume dated in 1072. Not only is Leo a scholarly man and preeminent scribe, he is also the sole exception to a very strict rule which I imagine to have been laid down at Monte Cassino shortly after the year 1050; I imagine it as a brief response of the writing-master when a scribe asked if he might sign his book: a simple "Non licet." The ban seems to have reflected a stricter monastic discipline—a deliberate reform. The abbot's name might be mentioned but not the scribe's. Other centers, such as Eustace's home in Benevento, continued to permit scribes' signatures, but not Monte Cassino. A perusal of the list appended here will, I think, be convincing.

The study of south Italian scribes is far from complete. It will be interesting, for example, to consider the relationship between the Latinity of the individual scribe as seen in his subscription and his performance in copying the text. This and other problems will be considered on the basis of more accurate transcriptions of the scribes' own words. More accurate transcriptions will not only pinpoint the ignorance of some scribes; they will also set in relief the precision and care of the better educated. (An example of the latter is Ascarius, no. 2 below.)

I have saved a small surprise for the end of this paper. It is this: though there was, it seems, a general ban after 1050 on scribes' signing their names in the copying center at Monte Cassino, there is one other subscription to mention, which is dated shortly after 1150. We know that because of a Beneventan ms. that has recently turned up. It was a breviary written at Monte Cassino in the year 1153. Beautifully penned and handsomely decorated, it was for centuries a treasure of the abbey. In the late eighteenth century, apparently during the period when French soldiers sacked the monastery, the breviary disappeared. For more than 150 years it seemed the book had vanished from the face of the earth. It only came to light, two or three years ago, when the New York bookseller H. P. Kraus acquired what

is unmistakably the very same ms. I mention it here because we know the scribe's name; he wrote it there. This, the last Beneventan scribe at Monte Cassino whose name is known to us before the great decline of the script does not, properly speaking, use a subscription, however. It is probable that no one in his lifetime had composed a subscription of his own at Monte Cassino; the tradition was broken. So we do not have the scribe's own words. He inserted instead among a series of prayers "For the Abbot," "For the Pope," and so forth, a prayer "for the Scribe." Yet it was not even an original prayer. It is found in many breviaries and has no particular relevance to the scribe's task.

O God, who justifiest the ungodly and willest not the death of sinners, we humbly beseech thy majesty graciously to protect with thy aid thy servant trusting in thy heavenly mercy; and with continual protection to preserve him; that he may forever serve thee, and may be separated from thee by no temptations, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

To this traditional prayer, the scribe added only two things: at the head, the title "Pro Scriptorum," and, after the words "thy servant" his name "Sigenulfus" (no. 26). Unfortunately, the lack of a colophon of his own composition means that we know nothing more of him besides his name. It is not a true subscription.

With Sigenulfus and his beautifully written and decorated book, we are almost at the end of the roll-call of Monte Cassino copyists in the Beneventan script who make themselves known to us—sometimes with originality and personality, at other times, as with Sigenulfus, with the minimum of self-revelation. The student today is especially grateful for every scribe who spoke out (or was allowed to speak out), and so represented, in some way, his many silent brothers.

2a. List of Beneventan Scribes, with Subscriptions

(The following abbreviations are constantly used:

Loew: E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 320-333. Loew gives references to the older literature; he is particularly dependent, for the chapter on scribes, on A. Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino*, Monte Cassino, 1869-1871, particularly vol. II.

Lowe, S.B.: E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, Oxford, 1929.

Inguanez: *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, recensuit D. Mauro Inguanez, 3 vols., Monte Cassino, 1915-1940.

Colophons: *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIe siècle* (Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 2 & 3), 2 vols., Fribourg, Editions Universitaires, 1965, 1967.

The text of the subscriptions attempts to reproduce the orthography (except that *u* is written sometimes *u*, sometimes *v*), the pointing, the accents, and the arrangement in lines (for texts written as poetry) of the mss. themselves. Abbreviations have been regularly expanded. Only abbreviations whose expanded form was doubtful (because of multiple possibilities of inflectional ending or of spelling) have been left in the form given by the ms. *No conclusions should be drawn regarding scribal habits of abbreviation from the transcriptions given here.* The combination .; is used to represent the Beneventan period in its various forms (normally a comma surmounted by two points.)

1. Albuinus. Monte Cassino 42, saec. XI in. Page 303, col. 2 (the capitals filled with yellow, green, and orange) :

Divinas quicumque cupis sumere dapes.
Hic pone supercilium si te cognoscis amicum.
Aut si magnarum caperis dulcedine rerum.
Nobiliúmque nítidis doctorum vescere cęnis.
Divináque sollers pię studes servari mandata.
Vernantia campi flores hic carpe perhęnnes.
Beda presbyter lampat sua hic rite vobis fluenta.
Cordarum davidis placida iure verbis.
Hunc albuinus. respectus divina gratia librum.
Cultorem ascivit acervum mature sulcari.
Cuiusque voti sacer domino pio favens ardore.
Strenue cuncta superno id solus egit amore.
Sed operis compti iudex auctoris debitum solve.
Pręmii vice dignus nec tritis bovum ora ligare.
Sane optat astulti murus morsum tineamque cavere.
Sed ne rore madescat. neque phędus arescat.
Illum si optime servas semper tibi novos sempérque erit iocundus.
GLORIA TIBI DOMINE

In the 14th line, tritis was corrected from tritu by the original hand. In the 16th line, ne was corrected to nec by the first hand. Line 17: novos corrected to novus by the first hand, and seperque

corrected to *semperque* by a second hand. The phrase *pone supercilium* is drawn ultimately from Martial, Epigr. 1. 4. 2.

Inguanez I, p. 57. Colophons, No. 381.

2. Ascarius (Ascarus?) Subdeacon of Carminiano. Naples VI B 3, A. D. 1145. Fol. 1r at bottom (written in red, the capitals being adorned with green or blue, and the words *petrus-servitium* touched with green) :

Anno millesimo. Centesimo. quadragesimo. quinto.
Mense februario. Indictione octava. Die iovis
primo int̄ hic liber inceptus est. cuius sumptus
petrus malum servitium bone memorie in omnibus
operibus ecclesie sancti laurentii in carmi
niano primus distributor extitit.

In quo tempore domnus hismahél sacerdos ecclesiam
→ *procurabat.*

In the third line, Loew expanded the abbreviation to intervallo. It is more probable that the scribe intended intrante; that is, the date on which Ascarius began the copying was Thursday, February 1, 1145.

Same MS. Fol. 219r, a full page devoted solely to this subscription (the words being written in blue, green, and red in such a way that each word is in a different color from those on either side of it and those above and below it) :

HIC. LIBER. FINITUS.
ATQUE. SCRIPTUS. EST.
DIGITIS. ASCARI.
ECCLESIE. SANCTI.
LAURENCII. IN. CARMI-
NIANO. SUBDIACONI.
ETAS CUIUS. ANNOS.
VIGINTI. OCCUPABAT=

Loew, No. 3. Colophons, No. 1452. Lowe, S. B. plate 87.

3. Aut [____]. Monte Cassino 374, saec. IX/X. Page 213 in the right margin (in red uncials) :

EGO [____]

The name has been erased thoroughly. It is possible that the first three letters were AUT.

Same MS. Page 219, at the end of Prudentius, *Adv. Symm.* II (in red uncials) :

EGO QUI SCRIPSI. AUT[_____] PECCATOR.

The entire name was erased here, also. The letters AUT are readable. Loew's Autaris is impossible, since the last letter cannot have been an S, and the name probably contained more than seven letters. The name AUTPEART would fit the traces that remain. The last letter appears certainly to have been T or I. It is not clear why the scribe's name was erased in two places, but a thorough job was made of the erasing.

Loew, No. 4. Colophons, No. 1524. Lowe, S. B. plate 28. Inguanez II, p. 232.

4. Eustasius of Benevento. Vat. lat. 5949, saec. XII ex. Fol. 231r under the picture of the scribe at work (the lines of the subscription being in red and brown alternately):

Omnis' huius operis decor quem delectat.
Dum inspectat oculis' manibus attrectat.
Aures' eius mónitis' intérnas infléctat.
Lucra nam prudéntibus máxima convéctat.;
Tetrás nam explícitum opus per auctóres.
Prava queque résecat.' instruitque móres.
Mulcet visum lítteras' nodos et colores'
Íngerens optútibus excellentiores.;
Huius sacer edidit' verba benedictus.
Scriptor est eustasius' scriptor indevíctus.
Is cuius imperio' liber est conscriptus.
Prior monasterii Iohannes est dictus.;
Sipontinus dénique' potens in scultúris.'
Vívidis coloribus' auro' celatúris'
Decoravit variis' nodis et figuris.'
Miris hunc efficiens mirum ligatúris.

In the fourth line the ra in Lucra is in ras.; perhaps the original spelling was Luccra. In the sixth line, instruitque is in ras. Line seven: the m of visum is a later addition. The entire line twelve stands in ras.; it is clear only that the line below it was in red. In the thirteenth line, Sipontinus was originally written Sipunpontinus; this was corrected by erasure and by a black line, leaving: Si--pontinus.

Loew, No. 6. Colophons, No. 3974. Lowe, S. B. plate 89 (shows this p.).

5. Grimoaldus Diaconus et monachus of Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino 109, saec. XI¹. Page 295, within the circle of a painted

O, a miniature showing Christ enthroned between the Virgin and St. Benedict; on the left a smaller figure, a monk with oblong nimbus (the other figures have round ones) approaches carrying a book, and beside him is written in red letters:

Grimoaldus diaconus et monachus scrip̄

The last word may be expanded as either scriptor or scripsit. As Schwarzmaier suggests (Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 48 (1968), p. 112), the scribe may be identical with the Grimualdus diac. et mon. named in the list of Cassinese monks found in the Subiaco Sacramentary. The testimonia are not close in time, however, since the list is to be dated no later than 1010, while Monte Cassino 109 is thought to have been written around 1035 (Lowe in Scriptura Beneventana, plate 64).

Loew, No. 7. Lowe, Scriptura Beneventana, plate 64. Inguanez, I, p. 151.

6. Grimoaldus Vicanus. Rome, Bibl. Vallicell. D. 36, saec. XII. At the end, fol. 100v, in red Caroline minuscule with yellow-tan touches:

Sancte iohannes intercede pro anima grimoaldi scriptoris.;

The text is in Beneventan.

Loew, No. 8.

Vat. lat. 11978, saec. XII. Fol. 126v (in ordinary minuscule, the capitals shaded with red):

Hoc opus est aptum parvo quoque tempore factu	M.
Scriptor salvetur lector quoque iustificetu	R.
Vicanus scriptor hunc denique scripsit grimaldu	S.
Omnes vos fratres dominum pro me deprecatur	E.

The first line of the subscription is copied in lighter ink in the same column below.


Same MS. Fol. 253v (in red capitals):

GRIMOALDUS VICANUS
SCRIPSIT., *The text is in Beneventan.*

Dom Roberto Weber showed conclusively that the two MSS. bound together in Vat. lat. 11978 were copied by the same hand that produced Vallicell. D. 36. See his article "Due nuovi codici beneventani," Benedictina 4 (1950), pp. 149-150.

7. Iaquintus (Hyacinthus) Sacerdos et Monachus of Capua. Monte Cassino 269, ante A. D. 949. Page 13 (in capitals of several colors):

INCIPIT
TIONE BEA
MORALIO
TA ≡ SANCTI
PAPÆ URBIS
IN LIBROS
GUITUR ≡
GERNUS VE
BENEDICTI
ABBAS IPSI
CAPUANI ≡
CE

IN EXPOSI
TI IOB ≡ PARS
RUM QUAR
GREGORII
ROMAE ≡ QUAE
SEX DISTIN
QUEM ALI
NERABILIS ≡
MONASTERII
US CENOBII
FIERI PRE
PIT 

Same MS. Page 351 at bottom, in capitals touched with blue, yellow, green, and red:

QUI LIBRO LEGIT IN ISTO UT ORET PRO IAQUINTO
SACERDOTE ET MONACHO SCRIPTORE UT DEUM
HABEAT ADIUTOREM.;

and below that, the same text in red Beneventan:

Qui libro legit in isto. ut oret pro iaquinto sacerdote et monacho
scriptore. ut deum habeat adiutorem.

Loew, No. 9. Lowe, S. B. plate 46. Inguanez, II, p. 80.

8. Iohannes. Monte Cassino 77, saec. X. At the end, p. 492 col.
2 at the bottom (capitals in yellow, red, purple, and green):

n
Hoc in libro constat volumina.
Non plus octo.;
Papa a gregorio.
Édita sanctissimo.;
Hunc iohannes scribere decrevit.
Atque complevit.;
Quisquis quem tetigerit.
Sit illi lota manus.;
Aperiat dominus lectori.
Per omnia sensum.;
Scriptori autem.
Perpetuum regnum.;
AMEN.;

*In the first line a second, but contemporary, hand corrected
constat to constant. The verses on p. 1, col. 1 of the same MS.,
which Inguanez (Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Cata-*

logus, I, p. 84) says refer to Iohannes also, are in a different hand and refer neither to the scribe nor to the MS. They are printed accurately in Bibliotheca Casinensis II, p. 292. John's subscription is substantially the same as Stephen's and Landus's (nos. 27 & 17).

Loew, No. 10. Lowe, S. B. plate 52. Inguanez, I, p. 84.

9. Iohannes Capuanus, of Cava. Cava 24, A.D. 1268-1295. Fol. 37r, col. 2 (these lines at end of poem all in red) :

Huius scriptoris. capuani vita Iohannis.

[S]it multis annis. quem ditet celicus annis.

[Q]ui monachus fidus. lucet quasi nobile sydus.

[I]n Christo nitidus virtutum cui placet ydus. .

Quod iussit fieri scrutatrix sedula veri.

Plena dei donis abbatis cura leonis.

[C]aenobio felix cluat abbas crimine mundus.

Aet post in celis.' leo militet iste secundus.

In the first line, the scribe first wrote iohannis, which he afterward corrected to Iohannis. In the second, third, fourth, and seventh lines, the initial, which had been omitted, was supplied by a Gothic hand using brown ink; these initials were later erased. The same Gothic hand correctly emended, at the end of the second line, to caelicus amnis; rewrote the form of scrutatrix in the fifth line; changed aenobio in the sixth line to Coenobio and (less happily) cluat to elucet; and corrected the spelling of celis and secundus in the last line to celis and secundus. Almost all these Gothic corrections were later erased. These verses in rough leonine hexameters are difficult, but not hopelessly obscure. They are not the words of the scribe himself. Our subscriptions may allow a scribe scope to boast of his prowess in calligraphy, as Eustasius does. Scribes are not, however, free to boast of their Christian character in the terms used about John (I change punctuation and spelling) :

Qui monachus fidus, lucet quasi nobile sidus,

In Christo nitidus virtutum cui placet εἶδος.

The poet is describing a fellow monk, the scribe John.

For an edition of the entire poem, see L. Mattei Cerasoli, ed., Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Tomo VI, Parte V), Bologna, Zanichelli, 1941, pp. 37-38.

Loew, No. 13. Lowe, S. B. plate 99.

10. Iohannes Diaconus. Vat. Reg. lat. 1823, saec. IX. Fol. 117r
(the first part in uncials) :

EGO IOHANNES, QUAMVIS. INDIGNUS
DIACONUS. QUI HOC CODICEM EXARA
V I T. OMNES QUI HUNC LIBRUM
LECTURI estis oret pro me peccatorem si deum
habeatis protectorem

The dot after the word exaravit and the m of protectorem appear to have been erased. The spreading of VIT and crowding at end seem to me to be due solely to poor planning.

Loew, No. 14. Lowe, S.B. plate 17.

11. Iohannes Diaconus of Naples. Vat. lat. 5007, saec. X in. Fol. 130r (in capitals) :

HUCUSQUE.' IOHANNES DIACONUS.;
QUE SEQUUNTUR.' PETRUS EDIDIT.'
NEAPOLITANE SEDIS SUBDIACONUS.

The MS. is regarded as an autograph; the authors are therefore included in our list of scribes.

Loew, No. 15 and 26. Lowe, S.B. plate 41.

12. Iohannes Presbyter from Troia. Monte Cassino 552, saec. XI in. Page 205, col. 2 (in very black letters, with capitals touched with orange) :

Rogo vos omnes christicole qui in hunc librum legitis ' ut oretis pro mé ad dominum.' Aut si minus sive plus inveneritis. Rogo vos omnes emendate illum. quia sicut nautes desiderat portum videre.' ita scriptor desiderat librum adimplere. Scriptoris si forte velis cognoscere ônoma. Pbr̄ vocitatur iohannes. et ipse indignus. È troia ádvena fuit et ille.' Hoc opus auxiliante deo perfecit et ipsę. Ipsius ad laudem et sancti patris ob benedicti. Oro ne dominum césse lector rogitare. Ut meis vestrisque pecaminibus indulgeat ipse. Qui sine fine regnat In secula cuncta. Amen.;

Loew, No. 16. Inguanez III, pp. 213-217 (does not mention subscription).

13. Iohannes Sacerdos. Monte Cassino 543, saec. XI. Page 407 (capitals with red and green) :

ROGO vós omnes christícole qui in hunc librum legitis. Ut pro mé i^ho^s Indignus famulus preces dirigatis ad dominum.; Ut ille qui regit cuncta clímata. Mé et vós perducatur ad regna etherea. AMÉN.;

Loew, No. 12. Inguanez, III, p. 205.

Monte Cassino 760, saec. XI. Page 442, bottom of col. 1 and top of col. 2 (capitals in a rusty orange outline with faded touches in a deep blue-grey) :

ROGo vos omnes christicole qui in hunc
LIBRUM LEGITE. ORATE
Pro i^ho^s InDiGnus SacER.
AD DOMINUM. Ut meis vestrísque
Peccaminibus Indulgeat ipse.;
Qui vivit Et Re^g per se^cula cunc
TA. A^m.

Loew, No. 11.

The similarity of the wording in these two subscriptions suggested to Loew that they were the work of the same scribe. A palaeographical examination of the MSS. confirms the suggestion. The ex-libris of S. Benedetto di Cesamo, found in both these books, indicates that the scribe John was quite likely a monk of that house.

14. Iohannes Subdiaconus. Flor. laur. 66.40, saec. IX ex. Fol. 20r, at end of Dares text, in Beneventan letters :

Huc usque historia darêtis. perscripta fuit.

After an elaborate cross, there follows, in angular capitals by the same hand :

▼ EXPAICIT ▼
IΩHANNES ▼ SUBDIAC[≡] ▼
SCRIPSIT ▼

Possibly a copy of an earlier, Irish subscription.

Loew, No. 17. Lowe, S. B. plate 25.

15. Iohannes Subdiaconus of Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino 5, A. D. 1011-1022 (dated on the basis of the subscription). Page 530 (heading in red) :

prologuscriptoris

Christe qui sédis' súmme in arce.

Iohannes subdiaconus' qui tertia

pars de me scripsit.' christe parce eis

delictis.'

Ad omnes' qui éclegunt' christe parce
eis in evum.'

Sicut qui navigat' desiderat por
tum.' ita scriptor' novissimum versum.;

[sic] Qui néscit scribere. putat nullus
esset labore. Sed qui habet inten
tos oculos' et inclinata cervice.;

Tria digita scribunt. sed totum
corpus laborat.; Rogo vos omnes qui
híc méllifluos flores carpitis.

cum híc aliquid minus inveneritis' non
maledicta' ingeratis' sed ut ve
niam tribuatis. Legentis. Vitam.

Scriptori.' veniam

Possidentis.' salutem.;

Same MS. Page 531, at top (one line in red is illegible
except for the last word; the following two lines are also in red,
as are most of the accents; the rubricator failed to fill in the
initial O of the first line of the poem):

_____ mōn.'

Ite \bar{v} beati benedicti

congregationis mbr.

i [O] benedícite pâter.' mo
nachorum pâstor' alumne.

ii Exiguum mûnus.' súscipe que
so líbens.

iii Quod tibi. nunc súplex.' atenólfus
óptulit abbas'.

iiii Ad laúdem tuám.' sérvulus ille
tûus.

v Pro quô funde préces.' mona
chôrum cêtibus átque.

vi Díluat ut dominus.' crímina cúnc
ta súa.

vii Atque sús iúngat.' celesti
pace chorêis.

viii Cum quibus altithrono. pán
gat in ethrê mêlos.

viiii Hinc précor^o/supplex rima
tor.' pósce tonantem.'

x Scriptor ut ammíttat
veniam.' peccaminis ácri.

précor

- xi Hestérnum fácinus. ínstans.
câreátque futûrum.'
- xii Cum sanctis dehínc ęterna luce
fruátur.'
- xiii A súmmo celôrum descéndens cul
mine nostrum
- xiiii Laxatôque ígni.' paulísper fo
mite préstat.
ns
- xv Víolat cárnes. aurásque vi
ásque.
- xvi Et sâta terrarum praestans.'
adoléscere cuncta.;
- xvii Et fórsán satagis scriptôris.
nósse vocam;
- xviii Iohannes subdiaconus. et monachus. indígnus pec
câtor.

In the first line of the subscription, summe was corrected from summes. In the numbered verses, there are the following corrections: i O not written by the rubricator; iii nunc added by the first hand; ivi tuum corrected to tuam by the first hand; vi Dilua the first hand, Diluat ut a third hand; xv Violat the first hand, corrected to Violans by a second hand; xvi adolelescere the first hand, corrected by the rubricator; xvii forsan corrected from for...m? vocam; is almost certainly intended for vocamen, although this MS. regularly uses the abbreviation m; for mus.

Loew, No. 18. Lowe, S. B. plate 58. Inguanez I, p. 11.

16. Iohannes Ungarus of Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino 466, saec. XV. Page 214, following the Beneventan text, but written in Gothic):

Istum librum scipsit frater Iohannes Ungarus.;

Dom Mauro Inguanez has shown ("La Scrittura Beneventana in codici e documenti dei secoli XIV e XV," in Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica in onore di Vincenzo Federici, Florence, Olschki, 1945, pp. 311-312) that the entire MS. is the handiwork of the Iohannes Ungarus who died at Monte Cassino in the year 1462. Iohannes was therefore able to write both in Gothic and in Beneventan.

Loew, No. 19. Inguanez, III, p. 107.

17. Landus. Monte Cassino 81, saec. XI. At the end, p. 416, col. 1, after the *explicit* (capitals and the scribe's name in uncials touched with blue, red, yellow, and purple) :

Hoc in libro constant volumina.

Non plus .xiii.

Papa a gregorio.' *Æ*ditā sanctissimo.

Hunc aANDOYS scribere decrevit. atque complevit.

Quisquis quem tetigerit.' Sit illi lota manus.;

Aperiat dominus lectori. per omnia sensum.;

Scriptori autem perpetuum regnum. Amen.;

The scribe's name was Landus, as Prof. Bischoff pointed out ("Miscellen zur Beneventana," Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 47 (1930), 537-539). He chose to write his name in a "Greek transcription," with lambda for L, and omicron, upsilon, sigma for the -us ending. In spite of that choice, he used only Roman letters, OYS instead of OYC, and the rather similar uncial a instead of Λ at the beginning. The bizarre result is: aANDOYS. The scribe was almost certainly a monk of the house of S. Maria de Albaneto (see Bischoff article listed above). His name is probably found in the prayer list of that house: Monte Cassino 426, page 125, line 7, Lando.

Loew, No. 1. Inguanez, I, p. 86. Colophons, No. 505 (where the name is erroneously interpreted as Amandus).

The text is almost identical with that in nos. 8 and 27.

18. Laurentius Amalfitanus, monk of Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino 28, A. D. 1023. Page 3 in upper margin (brown ink) :

†Corrigit hunc cursim viblum laurentius imus.

Quem repetet dederit vitales si deus auras.;

Same MS., P. 388, at upper left:

Huc stilus usque tuus

laurenti venit egenus.

Scriptorum vitium pellere

parcis ab hoc.;

Because of trimming of the margins, some letters have disappeared in the second couplet; these have been restored with certainty, except for parcis (linquis?).

As the verses indicate, and as a palaeographical examination shows, Lawrence is not one of the copyists of the MS., but its corrector; his hand is seen on every page from the beginning

(p. 3) to p. 388, where he had to leave off. The first set of verses was noted by the editors of the Bibliotheca Casinensis and by Inguanez in his catalogue; both sets were published by the present writer in: Laurentius Monachus Casinensis, Archiepiscopus Amalfitanus, Opera (M.G.H., Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, Bd. 7, Weimar, Böhlau, 1973, p. 43. The verses are not mentioned in Loew or in Lowe, S. B. plate 61. Inguanez I, p. 36.

19. Leo of Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino 99 A. D. 1072. At the beginning, pp. 1-2, starting under the large miniature depicting the presentation of the book (capitals in red, with yellow, green and blue, these colors being used also for the names Iohannes, Leo, Benedict, Scholastica, Desiderius, and for some punctuation) :

Accipe dignanter quod fert pater alme' iohannes.

Munus. et æterni sibi confer munera regni.

Supplicis ac votis pius inde faveto leonis.

Est studio cuius opus actum codicis huius.;. .;

ANNO DOMINICAE

Anno dominice.

incarnationis millesi

mo septuagesimo secundo.'

indictione decima.'

Cum post transitum sanctissimi

et eximii patris Benedicti/

in hoc eius venerabili cœnobio

casinensi ubi sacratissimum

eiusdem patris et legislatoris nostri/

qui ipsius egregie sororis

Scolasticę corpora honorifice

humata quiescunt/ Septimo

et tricesimo loco domnus

Desiderius venerabilis abbas

pręssset.' inter cetera suorum

monimenta magnalium quibus

prę omnibus suis antecessoribus

mirifice floruit.' hunc quoque

pulcherrimum librum describi

pręcepit. Continentem scilicet

eas lectiones quę in vigiliis

precipuarum festivitatum.' id est

Nativitatis domini.' Sancti stephani.'

Sancti iohannis evangelistae.' Epyphanię.'
Resurrectionis. Ascensionis.' Ac

Pentecostes. debeant legi ~~~~~

Quem videlicet librum ego frater iohannes
marsicánę dudum ecclesie archipresbyter.

nunc autem ultimus ~~ultimus~~ eiusdem sancti loci famulus.'

ob meam meorumque salutem ex propriis
sumptibus componere feci. Ipsique sanctissimo
patri. B. eo die quo eius habitum suscepi.
super illius sacrum altare devotus obtuli.

Contestans de cetero. ut siquis hunc

quolibet obtentu ex hoc sancto loco

aufferre presumpserit.' cum illis mansionem

sortiatur ęternam quibus in extremo iudicio

dicturus est christus. Ite' maledicti in ignem

ęternum.' qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius ~~~~~

Quisquis tamen hęc legeris. Subiectum quoque
dysticon legere ne pigriteris

Huius scriptorem libri pie christe Leonem

In libro vite dignanter supplico scribe.;

The last four lines, Quisquis-scribe, appear to be in a different hand from the preceding, and are very much smaller. The last line is in rasura, it appears.

Loew, No. 20. Lowe, S. B. plate 67 and 68. Inguanez, I, pp. 102-103.

20. Leo Marsicanus. Prof. Hartmut Hoffmann has shown conclusively that the hand that wrote the lion's share of the marginalia in clm. 4623 (Leo Marsicanus, Chronicle of Monte Cassino), saec. XI/XII, also added certain entries in the calendar found in Vat. Borg. Lat. 211 (the calendar of Leo Marsicanus, as Fedele had proved). This must, by Hoffmann's showing, be the hand of the chronicler himself. See Hartmut Hoffmann, "Der Kalender des Leo Marsicanus," *Deutsches Archiv* 21 (1965), 89-94.

Loew, No. 21.

21. Madelbertos (Mathelbertos?). Monte Cassino 439, saec. X. Page 269 at bottom (in partly Latin, partly Greek uncials, in an ink and hand that seem to be the same as the main text):

ΕΓΟΜΑΟΕΛΒΕΡΤΩC.

The simple formula Ego followed by name is found also in the Aut(peart?) subscription in its first appearance. If the third letter of the name is D, it has neither the uncial nor the rustic capital form; perhaps the scribe intended ⊕.

Loew, No. 22. Inguanez, III, p. 55.

22. Maio Diaconus of Split. Zagreb, Nacionalna i Sveučilisna Biblioteka, Metropolitanska 164. The main volume is a *Passionale* in ordinary minuscule. Fols. 258r-266v contain part of a commentary on the Psalms and *Vita marie egipciace* in Beneventan, saec. XI. Fol. 259r, col. 1, at end of text on the Psalms (the capitals filled with cherry red color) :

Arbiter eterne. solus mirum qui finxerat globum.; Iube hunc volumen tuo sacro sereno aspicere vultu.. Quod pro suam.' Adque suis debita.. Obtulit domno paulus Venerabilis archiepiscopus hoc librum psalmorum. Ad laudem sanctorum MARTYRUM.... Domnii.' Anastasi. Atque sanctorum Cosmas Et damiani.; Sed et vos quoque studiosi lectores.; Obnixie precamur. Ut cuique manu venerit. in vestris precibus Me comemoretis. Rex regum dicite cuncti. Christe deus abde ei scelus.; Mē simul infimus Diac̄ Maioni scriptore. Ut et vos deum habeatis adiutorem.; Et in eum feliciter letetis.; AMEN..

An erasure of approximately four letters after paulus and another after MARTYRUM. In the word psalmorum, the letters psal were retraced, apparently by the first hand, presumably the person who also erased the letters in the line above and in the line below this part of the word.

Loew No. 23. See description of the MS. in the catalogue of the Metropolitanska Knjižnica by Antun Markov in Kulturne Poviestni Zbornik zagrebačke Nadbiskupije u Spomen 850. Godišnjice osnutka, I. Dio, Zagreb, 1944, Izdanje Hrvatskog izdavačkog bibliografskog Zadova (Razprave i Spomenici iz hrvatske kulturne poviesti I. Svezak uredia dr dragutin Kniewald), p. 528.

23. Martinus of Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino 148, A. D. 1010, is dated by the subscription on p. 505, col. 2:

Hunc librum scriptum anno domi-
nice incarnationis. millesimo .x.
Indictione octaba. feliciter.;
Martinus peccator et scriptor libri
huius habebit in conversione
monachorum annos .iii

There is no end punctuation, and the subscription gives the appearance of being incomplete.

Loew, No. 24. Lowe, S. B. plate 57. Inguanez, I, p. 237.

24. Petrus Subdiaconus of Naples. Vat. lat. 5007, saec. X in. See above No. 11, Iohannes Diaconus of Naples.

25. Savinus (Sabinus). Monte Cassino 305, saec. XI. Page 686, col. 1, after the words DEO GRATIAS. in capitals and CEPTUM EST ET PERFECTUM EST.; in large red Beneventan letters:

Ego frater Savinus scripsi. Omnis qui legitis. Rogo vos orate pro me peccatore.; Etherii rutilant.' hic regis dogmata clara. Faustásque mentes semper ad astra ferunt. Hec via christigeros deducit ad átria vite. Hec celum pandens cordis opaca fugat. [O veneranda dei mater pulcerrima virgo] Hoc sacrum munus suscipe queso placens.; Quod mente fideli optulimus nos tibi. Liutius PRIOR. et savinus scriptor. atque monachis iure. Vinclis huic anathematis.' Innodavit in eum. Hunc librum istinc qui demere temptaverit.;

Obsitus atque tue. metuende motibus ire.

Ultima iudicia pro hoc tibi solvat ait.

Redde vicem secli tus idus opimum.

Letus percipiat gaudia summa dei.;

Liutius was prior of Santa Maria in Albaneta; he died in the period 1039-1055. The book is therefore no more recent than the year 1055. In the first line, the original reading was scripsit, corrected by erasure to scripsi. The lines beginning Etherii rutilant to the end were added by a contemporary hand, as was pointed out in Florilegium Casinense V, p. 87. Faustásque is for Faustas que. The line O veneranda dei mater pulcerrima virgo has been erased. In the last line but one, metrical analysis shows a word is missing; besides, tus idus should probably have been written tu sidus. A reasonable suggestion for the missing word might be iusto. The word temptaverit does not scan; it was perhaps a gloss in the MS. from which the poem was drawn for the text's maluerit. It would appear that an earlier poem, used as a subscription and imprecation, had been drawn upon; the poem was adapted because it was addressed appropriately to the Virgin. The earlier poem, in elegiac couplets, had some distinction; hence this effort to restore the text (the spelling being standardized):

Aetherii rutilant hic regis dogmata clara,

Faustas quae mentes semper ad astra ferunt.

Haec via Christigeros deducit ad atria vitae;

Haec caelum pandens cordis opaca fugat.

O veneranda Dei mater, pulcherrima virgo,

Hoc sacrum munus suscipe, quaeso, placens.

[Quod mente fideli optulimus nos tibi, Liutius prior, et Savinus scriptor, atque *monachi* iure.]

Vinclis huic anathematis innodavit in aevum,

Hunc librum istinc qui demere *maluerit*;

Obsitus atque tuae metuendae *molibus* irae,

Ultima iudicia pro hoc tibi solvat, ait.

Redde vicem saeculi *iusto*, tu sidus opimum;

Laetus percipiat gaudia summa Dei.

Sabinus the scribe is identified by Hansmartin Schwarzmaier ("Die Liber Vitae von Subiaco," Quellen und Forschungen 48 (1968), p. 112) with the "Savinus pbr. et mon." listed in the roll of the Cassinese congregation found in the Subiaco Sacramentary. The identification seems doubtful, for the scribe Sabinus specifically names himself "frater Sabinus;" surely, on one of the two occasions when he gives his name, he would have told us he was a priest, if indeed he was. More probable is the identification of this scribe with the "sabinu" of the Albaneta prayer list found in Monte Cassino 426, p. 126, a list which also mentions Liutius ("lido" on p. 127). The present writer is preparing an edition of the Albaneta list.

Loew, No. 27. Lowe, S. B. plate 63. Inguanez, II, p. 134.

26. Sigenulfus of Monte Cassino. New York, H. P. Kraus: Beneventan Breviary, dated A. D. 1153 (=formerly Monte Cassino 199). Fol. 248r at bottom is heading "Pro scriptore;" at top of fol. 248v is the prayer, which names "famulus tuus Sigenulfus." This is not a true subscription; the prayer is not even a new one but one met with in other Beneventan prayer books, for example, Paris Bibl. Maz. 364. Nevertheless, it preserves the scribe's name.

27. Stephanus. Monte Cassino 80, saec. XI med. At the end, p. 336, at the bottom of col. 1 (capitals and the numeral touched with red):

n	tredecim
Hoc in libro constat volumina _____	Non plus xiii
Papa a gregorio. _____	Edita sanctissimo.
Hunc Stephanus scribere decrevit.	Atque complevit.

illum
Quisquis quem tetigerit. _____ Sit illi lota manus.
Aperiat dominus lectori. _____ Per omnia sensum.
Scriptori autem.' _____ Perpetuum regnum.;
AMEN.,

*In the first line, the n above constat is an 11th cent. addition;
the interlinear tredecim and illum are 13th cent. corrections.
This is substantially the same text as nos. 8 and 17.
Inguanez I, pp. 85-86. Loew, No. 28.*

28. Thomas Archidiaconus of Split. Split, Archives of the Cathedral: *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas Archidiaconus, ca. A. D. 1268. The MS. or at least its corrections are regarded as the author's autograph.

Loew, p. 65. Lowe, S. B. plate 96. Victor Novak, Scriptura Beneventana, Zagreb [Tisak "Tipografije"], 1920, p. 58.

29. Turbo Diaconus et Monachus of Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino 23, saec. XI in. Page 121, the last page, is blank save for some *probationes pennarum* and the following subscription:

Rex deus immense. quo cón
stat machina mundi.
Infelix ego quicquid posco.'
perficie clemens.
Ob hoc precor.' quicumque frater
legens istum percurrerit librum.
Præcando dicite.' deus cęli dele
cuncta turbóni indigni diáco
ni et monachi facinora.
Ac clementer cunctis ꝑ pecca
tis suis veniam.
Et in cęlis mansionem pariter
cum omnibus sanctis. Amen.

The first line is taken from Eugenius Toletanus, Carmina I, 1 (M.G., A.A., vol. 14, p. 232), as Prof. Bischoff pointed out to me. Turbo is named in the list of Cassinese monks in the Subiaco Sacramentary, as Schwarzmaier saw ("Liber Vitae von Subiaco," Quellen und Forschungen 48 (1968), p. 112). In that list he is "Turbo diac. et m." He was a deacon when he died, for in the necrologium in Monte Cassino 47, under the date Sept. 19, is the entry: "Torbo diac. et mo." (See M. Inguanez, I Necrologi Cassinesi, I: Il Necrologio del Cod. Cassinese 47 (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia), Rome, Tipografia del Senato, 1941, under Sep-

tember 19th (fol. 301v.) Under the same date, the necrology in Monte Cassino 179 lists "turbo levita [sic!] et mon." The name is otherwise unknown at Monte Cassino, it seems. Loew, No. 30. Inguanez, I, p. 33.

2.b. Rejected and Doubtful Scribes

1. Antonius. Monte Cassino 324, saec. XI in. Page 282, col. 2, at the end:

ego autem fratres minimus omnium antonium pauca ex multa eius acta. quae oculis mei vidi prout capere potui adiuvante domino scripsi.; Ipso auxiliante qui cum patre. una cum sancto spiritu. in unitate vivit et regnat deus in secula seculorum.,

An attentive reading of the text or a glance at the MS. shows that this not a subscription but a part of the text (Life of St. Simeon Stylites). Antonius names himself as author. This was the interpretation of the editors of the life in Florilegium Casinense 5, pp. 332-339, where this passage appears at the end (p. 339).

Loew, No. 2. Inguanez, II, p. 165. Colophons, No. 930.

2. Atenulfus Presbyter. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 3rd. ed., Leipzig, Hirzel, 1896 (repr. Graz, 1958) (p. 282), says: "Ich erwähne noch den Subdiaconus Johannes aus Troja, welcher 1011 für den eben erwählten Abt Atenolf von Monte Cassino den Ambrosius in Lucam abschrieb, und in seiner langen Unterschrift den Satz anbrachte: *Sicut qui navigat desiderat portum, ita scriptor novissimum versum*. Als er Priester geworden war, schrieb er die Acta Apostolorum u. a. mit schönen langobardischen Initialen, und veränderte den Satz etwas: *Sicut nautae desiderat portum videre, ita scriptor desiderat librum complere*." Wattenbach identified Iohannes Subdiaconus of Monte Cassino, who with others copied Monte Cassino 5 under Abbot Atenulfus (this Iohannes is No. 15 in my list, No. 18 in Loew's), with Iohannes Presbyter of Troia, copyist of Monte Cassino 552 (this Iohannes is No. 12 in my list, No. 16 in Loew's). I see no basis for this identification. A misreading of Wattenbach's words has given rise to a supposed new copyist. It appears that the *er* of Wattenbach's second sentence was understood to refer to Atenulfus. This misunderstanding produced the "Atenoff calligraphe" of U. Chevalier (*Répertoire des Sources historiques du Moyen Age, Bio-Bibliographie*, Vol. I, Paris, Picard, 1905, col. 351) and the *Atenulfus presbi-*

ter listed in *Colophons*, No. 262. Atenulfus is a *nomen nullius*, or rather, a *nomen nullius scriptoris Casinensis*.

Omitted by Loew.

3. Benedictus Barensis of Cava. Cava 18, ca. A. D. 1227. Mattei Cerasoli (*Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Guida storica e bibliografica degli Archivi e delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. 4, 1937, Badia della SS. Trinità di Cava, page 27) says the MS. of the *De Septem Sigillis* is considered to be an autograph. Lowe, in *S. B.* plate 92, says nothing of this possibility but rather implies, in his discussion of the scene of the presentation of the book, that the scribe was a monk other than Benedict.

4. Bonifacius Diaconus of Sorrento. Monte Cassino, Exultet Roll, saec. XII in. The last miniature shows Christ in a mandorla, flanked by angels; at lower left a figure presenting the roll has, over its head in rustic capitals touched with red, green, and yellow:

BONIFAC[I]US DIACONUS.

The name seems to have been retraced as BOMIFAC[I]US. The roll, and specifically the miniature, give no support to the commonly accepted view that Boniface was the copyist. M. Avery, The Exultet Rolls of South Italy (Princeton University, 1936), p. 22, considers the figure of the Deacon to be a later addition.

Paléographie Musicale, Tom. 15, pp. 92-93.


Omitted by Loew.

5. Causus. Monte Cassino 442, saec. XI. At the bottom of page 180, the end of the first part of the MS., beside the picture of a monk:

Pro anima causi monachi.' hec facta est. Omnis qui legitis Orate pro eum causo monacho.;

Nothing is said here of Causus' having copied the MS. In fact, the form of expression, in the subscription, strongly suggests that he did not.

Loew, No. 5. Colophons, No. 2542. Inguanez III, pp. 62-63.

6. Iohannes Caietanus of Monte Cassino. Prof. Dietrich Lohrmann has shown conclusively the role played by John of Gaeta in correcting Vat. Reg. I. I have no doubt that John could and did write  Beneventan. Nevertheless, the corrections in this

book hand

volume are in a script so modified that palaeographers are divided as to whether it may rightfully be called Beneventan. See Lohrmann, *Das Register Papst Johannes' VIII (872-882). Neue Studien zur Abschrift Reg. Vat. I, zum verlorenen Originalregister, und zum Diktat der Briefe (Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom, XXX)*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1968, page 65, and, for the opposite view, Lowe, *S. B.* plate 69.

7. Iohannes Monachus of S. Vincenzo al Volturmo. Vat. Barb. lat. 2724, A. D. 1124-1130. The *Chronicon Vulturense* is described as “. . . Beneventan script, written by the monk John . . .” by M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, Princeton University, 1936, p. 43. See, however, Lowe, *S. B.* plate 83. V. Federici, the editor of the *Chronicle* had no doubt of the identity of author and scribe; see *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* vol. 58 (Rome, Tipografia del Senato, 1925), P. IX; see also G. Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters (Monumenti di Antichità Cristiana, II Serie, IV, Vatican City, Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1941)*, pp. 232-240.

8. Melus Presbyter et Monachus of Bari. Oxford, Canon. Patr. lat. 175. The acrostic verses by Melus, in honor of the Virgin, may be, in point of date, autograph. There is no positive evidence to support the supposition.

Lowe, S. B., plate 85.

9. Paulus Diaconus et Monachus. Monte Cassino 349, saec. XI in. Page 292, the end of the MS.:

Incipit versis.'

Clare beati agnoscere pauli dogmata qui vult.;
Volvere hunc studeat cum magna indagine librum.;
Carmen enim vitę retinet pariterque gehęne.;
Ecclesię pretiosa dei munilia gestat.;
Hic quoque repperiet lector frumenta animarum.;
Et satiem sine fastidio requiemque beatam.;
Scriptoris si forte vellis cognoscere omia.;
Paulus Diaconus vocitatur et ipse monachus.;
Hoc opus auxiliante deo perfecit et ille.;
Ipsius ad laudem et sancti archangeli michaelis.;
Oro ne dominum cesses lector rogitare.;
Gratum ut accipiat scriptoris votum et ipse.;
Deo gratias.;
Alium incepit ego finibit.;

In the seventh line, the scribe clearly misunderstood the abbreviation for onoma (the correct reading) in writing om̄ia, which can only be expanded as omnia. In the twelfth and fourteenth lines, Gratum and Alium show the scribe again misunderstanding his exemplar; he has put an m-stroke at the end of both words instead of a suprascript s, since the correct reading in both instances should be the nominative masculine. Line twelve: accipiati corrected to accipiat. Line fourteen: finibit corrected to finibi.

Like Inguanez, I take these verses to have been copied from an earlier MS.; whether they are from the pen of the celebrated Paulus Diaconus is still not clear.

Loew, No. 25. Inguanez, II, p. 194.

10. Petrus Diaconus of Monte Cassino. Paul Meyvaert has proved beyond doubt that Peter the Deacon used only ordinary minuscule ("The Autographs of Peter the Deacon," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 38 (1955), pp. 114-138.

Omitted by Loew.

11. Symeon. Monte Cassino Regesto 4, saec. XII and XIII. Page 214, like p. 213 originally left blank; 214 has added document of Abbot Rainaldus in a Beneventan hand different from that of the last document before (pp. 208-212) and earlier documents; at the end of the Rainaldus document, the last of a series of signatures is:

†Ego Frater symeon diaconus et monachus scriptorque.

Dom Mauro Inguanez, in Il Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis (Tabularium Casinense), Badia di Montecassino, 1925, pp. xi-xv, discussed this question thoroughly and concluded that Symeon was not the scribe of the main body of the MS., as Caravita had believed. Examination of the MS. has convinced me that Symeon is not demonstrably the copyist of the MS. or of any part of it.

Loew, No. 29. Lowe, S.B. plate 86.

2.c. Index of Scribes and Proposed Scribes Discussed in Lists

Aandoys, see Landus.

Albuinus, a. no. 1

Antonius, b. no. 1

Ascarius (Ascarus?) Subdeacon of Carminiano, a. no. 2

Atenulfus Presbyter, b. no. 2

Aut[_____], a. no. 3

Benedictus Barensis of Cava, b. no. 3
 Bonifacius Diaconus of Sorrento, b. no. 4
 Causus, b. no. 5
 Eustasius of Benevento, a. no. 4
 Grimoaldus Diaconus et Monachus of Monte Cassino, a. no. 5
 Grimoaldus Vicanus, a. no. 6
 Iaquintus (Hyacinthus) Sacerdos et Monachus of Capua, a. no. 7
 Iohannes, a. no. 8
 Iohannes Caietanus of Monte Cassino, b. no. 6
 Iohannes Capuanus of Cava, a. no. 9
 Iohannes Diaconus, a. no. 10
 Iohannes Diaconus of Naples, a. no. 11
 Iohannes Monachus of S. Vincenzo al Volturno, b. no. 7
 Iohannes Presbyter from Troia, a. no. 12
 Iohannes Sacerdos, a. no. 13
 Iohannes Subdiaconus, a. no. 14
 Iohannes Subdiaconus of Monte Cassino, a. no. 15
 Iohannes Ungarus of Monte Cassino, a. no. 16
 Landus, a. no. 17
 Laurentius Amalfitanus, monk of Monte Cassino, a. no. 18
 Leo of Monte Cassino, a. no. 19
 Leo Marsicanus, a. no. 20
 Madelbertos (Mathelbertos?), a. no. 21
 Maio Diaconus of Split, a. no. 22
 Martinus of Monte Cassino, a. no. 23
 Melus Presbyter et Monachus of Bari, b. no. 8
 Paulus Diaconus et Monachus, b. no. 9
 Petrus Diaconus of Monte Cassino, b. no. 10
 Petrus Subdiaconus of Naples, b. no. 24 a.
 Savinus (= Sabinus), a. no. 25
 Sigenulfus of Monte Cassino, a. no. 26
 Stephanus, a. no. 27
 Symeon, b. no. 11
 Thomas Archidiaconus of Split, a. no. 28
 Turbo Diaconus et Monachus of Monte Cassino, a. no. 29.