

XIV. Two Manuscripts in the Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana

JAMES W. HALPORN

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

The manuscript collection of George A. Poole of Chicago, acquired six years ago by the rare books library of Indiana University, provides in its variety abundant material for palaeographical study. In this paper I shall give a bibliographical description of two MSS. from the collection.¹

I

In 1948, Mr. George A. Poole obtained from the estate of Ernst Detterer of Chicago, among several other items, a Psalter listed in the De Ricci-Wilson census as a Beneventan Psalter of the eleventh century.² Detterer had bought the Psalter in 1931 from the Munich bookseller, E. Hirsch.

This Psalter, now in the Lilly Library as Poole MS. 117, is written in a minuscule script characteristic of the south Italian writing centers which were located in the Duchy of Benevento. The most important writing center was at the major Benedictine abbey, the home of the order, the Abbey at Monte Cassino. Since the time of the major study of this regional script by E. A. Lowe (1914 and 1929)³ it has been called the Beneventan script. Lowe's work is so thorough that it is especially interesting to find

¹ Part of the discussion of the Beneventan Psalter was delivered as a paper before the Conference on Medieval Studies held at Indiana University in March, 1961. I wish to thank Prof. Meyer Schapiro of Columbia University for his helpful suggestions.

The following works will be referred to subsequently: **Hurst**: *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, Pars 3-4, ed. D. Hurst, CCL 122 (Turnhout 1955); **Lowe, Ben.**: E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford 1914); **Lowe, Scrip.**: E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana* (Oxford 1929); **Rose, Verzeichnis**: Valentin Rose, *Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften der kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin 1893-1919), 1 (1893) *Die Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps*, 2 (1901-3) *Die Handschriften der Kurfürstlichen Bibliothek und der Kurfürstlichen Lande*; Weber: R. **Weber**, *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens Psautiers latins*, *Collectanea Biblica Latina* 10 (Rome 1953).

² S. De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* 1 (New York 1935) 603, MS. 9.

³ See above, footnote 1.

an unmentioned complete MS., all the more so when it appears, as we shall see, to be not from Monte Cassino, but from a provincial center, from which only two other extant MSS. are known to have come.⁴

Poole MS. 117 contains the 150 Psalms of the *Psalterium Romanum* arranged in the Biblical order. To indicate and facilitate the liturgical use of the book, certain Psalms are furnished with large illuminated initials. These include the seven Psalms which serve as the opening Psalms for the first Nocturn of Matins for each day of the week. Another hand has added in the margins to a number of Psalms the corresponding antiphons, though these were not included in the original. This "glossing" of the Psalms makes it quite clear that the book was commonly used for recitation of the office, probably in private where reference to an antiphonary might be difficult. In arranging the Psalms for recitation, it often occurred that a single Psalm might be too long and would then be divided to make it the equivalent of two or more Psalms. Since, in liturgical recitation at most seasons, the end of each Psalm is marked by the saying of the *Gloria Patri*, the MS. indicates these *divisiones* by placing the word "Gloria" in red at the proper points.

The Psalm text of Poole MS. 117 agrees, as might be expected, with the Italian tradition, especially closely with two Cassinese products listed by Weber,⁵ which is hardly surprising. In addition to the Psalms, the MS. contains a set of canticles,⁶ followed by a set of what we might call standard liturgical texts.⁷ Then there appears a litany, followed by a set of prayers for various purposes

⁴ Prof. Lowe is going to publish shortly a supplement to his "Handlist of Beneventan Manuscripts" (Lowe, *Ben.* 334 ff.).

⁵ The major witnesses of the Italian tradition of the *Psalterium Romanum* (see Weber, ix and xv) are MONTE CASSINO Archivio della Badia 559, a Psalter/Hymnary of the eleventh/twelfth century (listed as MS. *P* by Weber) and VATICAN CITY BAV Urbinas Lat. 585, a breviary copied at Monte Cassino between A.D. 1099 and 1105. Curiously enough, *P* (Badia 559) like Poole 117 is also missing leaves containing parts of Ps. 117-8 (Weber, 290-99), but they are not the same leaves as those which have been added to our Psalter. Thus, we are faced with the coincidence of two extant Psalters from the same area missing leaves at approximately the same point, and a third Psalter (the source of the additional leaves in Poole 117) which, if extant, also lacks these pages.

⁶ The text and arrangement of these canticles in Poole 117 is that called the "Roman" since it always appears together with the *Psalterium Romanum*. See Heinrich Schneider, *Die altlateinischen Biblischen Cantica* (*Texte und Arbeiten* 29-30 [Beuron 1938]) 46 f., 58 f.

⁷ These include the *Gloria*, the *Pater noster*, the Nicene Creed, and the creed "Quicumque vult."

and for different seasons, as well as collects and *capitula* for specific occasions. At the end of the MS. there remains one leaf of the Office of the Dead.⁸

Often with liturgical manuscripts of this sort it is possible to determine the location of the manuscript from the evidence either of the litany or the prayers. The Litany of the Saints in Poole MS. 117 shows clearly that the MS. was written for a Benedictine house, since, alone of all the names of saints, the name of Benedict appears in red (fol. 96^r). At the end of the list of monks and hermits appears the name of Dominic. The presence of a St. Dominic is a problem, especially since no attempt has been made to single him out (with red letters or a capital). The St. Dominic mentioned can hardly be the well-known saint, founder of the Order of Preachers, for he was only canonized in A.D. 1234, a date which seems too late for our present MS. Further, even if we could assume so late a date for the MS., the absence of St. Francis, who had been canonized some eight years earlier, would be most surprising. There is, however, another St. Dominic whose appearance in a Beneventan litany would make perfect sense.

The impetus given to monasticism by the Cluniac reforms in the north, and the consequent increase in the number of new foundations of monasteries, was reflected also in southern Italy. St. Dominic of Sora (or Foligno), a monk of the eleventh century († A.D. 1031) was among the most active in building new monasteries and reforming the life and habits of both priests and monks in this area by preaching and example. In A.D. 1006, in the region of Campania, St. Dominic founded a monastery, San Bartolomeo in Trisulto,⁹ and later another monastery at Sora.¹⁰ The lack of definite evidence for books from San Bartolomeo and the lack of binding evidence for the location of this Psalter there, made me think that the MS. came from the monastery of San Domenico at Sora. Additional support for ascribing the book to Sora is offered by the "doubling" which appears in the litany

⁸ Sometime after the loss of the last folios of the MS., part of this Office which was missing was added from another MS. When the Poole MS. was rebound in the seventeenth century, one of these added leaves (all that remained) was misplaced and bound among the prayers (fol. 100).

⁹ The apostle Bartholomew was important throughout the Beneventan zone, for his remains were brought to the Abbey of Sancta Sophia at Benevento in the year 838; see *AA. SS.* 25 Aug. 5 (1868) 42-43.

¹⁰ P. Schmitz, *Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* I (Zurich 1947) 163 f.; *Analecta Boll.* 1 (1882) 284.

next to the name of the virgin, St. Restituta. She was venerated as a saint and martyr at Sora.¹¹

There are two other books known to have come from Sora. One is VATICAN CITY BAV Reginensis Lat. 334, s. xi/xii,¹² containing prayers and a Benedictine processional with antiphons and tropes. The other is a Latin Psalter, OXFORD Bodleian Douce 127 (sc 21701), s. xi/xii.¹³

The date of Poole MS. 117 has been variously set from the end of the eleventh century to the beginning of the twelfth century, i.e. circa A.D. 1100, the same date as the other two Sora MSS. The provincial script, which often, as Lowe states,¹⁴ develops somewhat slower than that at the major center of Monte Cassino, may have caused De Ricci to set so low a dating. Similarly, as Prof. Meyer Schapiro kindly pointed out to me, the simplicity of the initials, compared with an earlier though more elaborate book,¹⁵ might have suggested to some a fairly early date. This may, however, just as well indicate a lack of artistic ability on the part of the illuminator in so small a monastery as Sora.

There are several features in Poole MS. 117 which seem, taken together and following the criteria of Lowe,¹⁶ to point to a date in the second half of the twelfth century. These include (1) a pause sign made up of two points separated by a comma, tending to join in a zigzag line, (2) insertion of strokes over two consecutive *i*'s, but not over single *i*'s, (3) addition of hyphens at line ends to indicate word divisions, (4) ruling with a dry or hard point, and (5) use of *aia* as the abbreviation for *anima*. One also finds the occasional presence of an abbreviation of *ser-* (an *s* with a diagonal

¹¹ Francesco Lanzoni, "Le diocesi d'Italia," *Studi e testi* 35 (1927) 170; AA. SS. 27 Mai. 6 (1866) 655 ff. Sora is located just south of Latium (see Lowe, *Ben.* map facing page 48).

¹² Reproduced in H. M. Bannister, *Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina* (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti* 12 [Leipzig 1913]) No. 364 and plate 73a.

¹³ F. Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 4 (Oxford 1897) 530. There are two somewhat unsatisfactory reproductions of parts of pages from this MS.: J. O. Westwood, *Palaeographia sacra pictoria* (London 1843-45) plate 29, No. 4; Oxford, University, Bodleian Library, *Catalogue of Printed Books and Manuscripts bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq. to the Bodleian Library* (Oxford 1840) plate 1.

E. W. B. Nicholson, who examined Douce 127, suggested (*Summary Catalogue* 5 [Oxford 1905] xvii-xviii) that the MS. came from the church of St. Restituta at Morrea, nine miles north of Sora because her name is capitalized in a list of saints. This fact, in itself, seems insufficient evidence for localization.

¹⁴ Lowe, *Ben.* 315.

¹⁵ Cf. NAPLES Biblioteca Nazionale 6. E. 43, reproduced in Lowe, *Scrip.* plate 81.

¹⁶ Lowe, *Ben.* 316 ff., 193, 174.

line cutting through it from right to left), three times in *servo* (abl. sing. of *servus*) and twice in *servum* (*servo*: Ps. 18.14, 26.9, 118.65; *servum*: 77.70 and 118.176), out of some forty uses of the word *servus* in the *Psalterium Romanum*. This abbreviation does not usually appear until the thirteenth century; but its use is so scattered here that it seems more likely to be an experiment, and thus the MS. probably dates still to the twelfth century.

A MS. of quite similar appearance, also from a provincial center, though a larger one, is VATICAN CITY BAV Vat. Lat. 5949 (*post* A.D. 1179), a Martyrology and Rule of St. Benedict from Sancta Sophia at Benevento.¹⁷ This MS. shows, in the formation of the letters and in the punctuation, the same general features seen in Poole MS. 117. The punctuation, for example, shows the tendency towards a join of the points in the mark for the final pause.¹⁸

II

One of the last acquisitions of Mr. Poole was a purchase made from C. A. Stonehill in 1954. It consists of two consecutive single leaves containing the text of a homily for Advent by the Venerable Bede. A short palaeographical description follows:

BLOOMINGTON Lilly Library Poole 136 (259). s. ix/x. parch. 295 × 230 (245 × 205) mm. 2 fols. 2 cols. 29 lines. Beda Venerabilis *Homelia* 1.3: “. . . desponsatam uiro cui nomen . . . praedixit quomodo fieri” (Hurst, 14.9–18.136). The beginning of the homily is given by another hand (s. xiv) at the bottom of 1^r: “Secundum lucam. In illo tempore. Missus est angelus gabriel . . . Nazareth ad uirginem.” Another hand (s. xvii?) added at the top of 1^r: “XLIII. Homelia Bedae in festo Annunciationis.” The leaves were ruled with dry-point beginning on leaf 1.

The MS. shows abbreviations and ligatures which are common among continental manuscripts of this date.¹⁹ There are some peculiarities of spelling: initial *h* is added which is unnecessary

¹⁷ Reproduced in Lowe, *Scrip.* plate 89.

¹⁸ A palaeographical description of Poole MS. 117 can be found in B. L. Ullman, *Documents in Roman Lettering in the Poole Collection* (typescript covering Poole MSS. 1–130 at the Lilly Library).

¹⁹ See Doris Bains and W. M. Lindsay, *A Supplement to Notae Latinae* (Cambridge 1936).

(*hutero*); *d* is found for *t* (*inquit*); *ci* for *ti* (*arcius*, *tocius*); *i* for *e* (*genitrix*). The abbreviations and spelling agree with that of the manuscripts of Bede's *Homilies* of Class 1A (see Hurst, xvii), especially with *S* (ZURICH Zentralbibliothek C 42). Collation of the text shows that the MS. belongs to Hurst's first class of manuscripts, but has more affinities with Class 1B.

The Poole MS. is part of the same manuscript as a quire of three bifolia now at the Detroit Public Library.²⁰ The Detroit MS. contains:

1. (1^r-1^v) Beda Venerabilis *Homelia* 1.4: "... Semena tuem abrahae non illos... omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen." (Hurst, 29.312-31.370).

2. (1^v-6^v) Gregorius M. *Homeliae XL in Evangelia* 1.20: "Lectio sancti euangelii secundum lucam. Anno quinto decimo imperii tiberii... sacerdotum anna et caifa et reliqua (*Luc.* 3.1 sqq.). Redemptoris praecursor quo tempore uerbum praedicationis acceperit... quippe dominus in stagnum aquarum et terram inuiam in riuos." (*PL* 76.1159D-1166C).

The folios of the Detroit MS. are numbered (not in a contemporary hand) x-xv, while the two Bloomington leaves are numbered i and ii. If we hypothesize²¹ that nothing else stood between the two Bede homilies, and if we measure the amount of text missing and divide by the average number of printed lines to a folio of this MS., we find that exactly seven leaves are missing between the Bloomington and Detroit fragments of the original manuscript. This would indicate that the two pieces originally formed two quaternions, the first beginning near the opening of Bede *Homelia* 1.3, containing the rest of that homily and the beginning of *Homelia* 1.4. The number "x" on fol. 1^r of the Detroit MS. indicates that it was probably the second leaf of this second quaternion. The condition of fol. 1^r of the Bloomington MS., which is quite dark and worn, shows that it was probably the first or cover leaf of the manuscript at some point.²²

The order of the homilies presented by the two extant parts

²⁰ Purchased from H. P. Kraus *cat.* 80 (New York n.d.) 3, No. 2, where it is listed as a MS. of s. x. Prof. Bernhard Bischoff, who saw both MSS. in 1959 and reported their connection, dates both to s. ix/x.

²¹ It will be shown below that this is a legitimate hypothesis.

²² The number LXIII on fol. 1^r of the Bloomington fragment is probably the number of this codex in some library list.

appears also in other manuscripts.²³ This arrangement of homilies belongs to the group of such texts compiled, edited, and arranged by Paulus Diaconus around the end of the eighth century.²⁴ The major innovation added by Paul to preceding collections seems to have been the use of more homilies of Gregory and especially of Bede whose works had an exceptional popularity in his time.²⁵

It is likely that the original manuscript from which our Bede and Gregory homilies come contained further quaternions before what we have of Bede *Homelia* 1.3, for it must have contained the lost beginning of this homily, and perhaps the first ten homilies of the Paulus collection.²⁶ A study of the Carolingian hand used by the scribe of the Bede/Gregory MS. shows that it was probably written in some north Italian writing center.²⁷

Further information on this MS. has come to light quite recently.²⁸ Prof. Bernhard Bischoff noted that the outer columns of the Bede/Gregory MS. are narrower than the inner columns. This peculiarity is also found in a homily fragment of sixty-one leaves now MS. 2 (151) in the possession of T. E. Marston of the Yale University Library. The MS. had belonged to Laurence Witten and was from the Cistercian monastery of Hautecombe (dioc. Geneva; Savoy).²⁹ Prof. Bischoff also noted in a list of the manuscripts of Hautecombe³⁰ a *Homeliarium Pauli Diaconi* having the same format as the Bede/Gregory MS. This MS. is now TURIN Seminario Metropolitano 15, s. x, 72 fols.³¹

²³ Cf. MS. olim CHELTENHAM Phillipps 407 (= Heinrich Schenkl, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica* [Vienna 1891] No. 1016, *Homeliarium* s. xii). See also J. Leclercq, "Tables pour l'inventaire des homiliaires manuscrits," *Scriptorium* 2 (1948) 205.

²⁴ "Collectaneos duos super anni circulo Pauli diaconi volumina duo," so named in a list of books given by Abbot Ansegisus (823-33), *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium Anno 823*, MGH, SS 2 (Hanover 1829) 296.13-14 (quoted in Rose, *Verzeichnis* 1.84). See also W. A. Oldfather and I. G. Lough, "The Urbana MS. of the Homiliarium of Paulus Diaconus," *Speculum* 6 (1931) 293-94.

²⁵ Rose, *Verzeichnis* 1.84.

²⁶ J. Leclercq (see above, footnote 23) 205. Cf. MS. olim BERLIN theol. fol. 46 (Rose 342) described in Rose, *Verzeichnis* 2.151.

²⁷ The hand may be compared (for purposes of comparison, not proof of origin) with Bobbio codices of about the same period. Cf. P. Collura, *La Precarolina e la Carolina a Bobbio* (*Fontes Ambrosiani* 22 [Milan 1943]) plate 68 and plate 81.

²⁸ Personal communication from Prof. Bernhard Bischoff (Munich) dated 20 August, 1961.

²⁹ W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the De Ricci-Wilson Census* (to be published in 1962).

³⁰ J. Leclercq, "Manuscrits Cisterciens dans les Bibliothèques d'Italie," *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* 7 (1951) 76.

³¹ Prof. Bischoff intends to examine the Turin leaves from photographs.

The MS. now at Bloomington/Detroit is then of importance since it contains parts of two Bede homilies which date as early as the earliest complete manuscripts of these homilies, and as one of the earliest examples of the collection of homilies made by Paul the Deacon which comes from Italy proper. It is also, as far as I know, the earliest example of the Paulus collection in the U.S. Incidentally, the fact that the text is so close to that presented by the complete manuscripts of Bede's homilies shows the care with which Paul established his collection. Within less than a century the successful collection made originally in south Italy could be found at the other end of the peninsula.