

AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY FRAGMENT OF
THE *OPUS IMPERFECTUM IN MATTHAEUM*
IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT
(CLUJ, BIBLIOTECA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE,
COD. LAT. 8, FOL. 72)*

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THE manuscript fragment examined in this note has been known to scholars for several decades and was included by Virginia Brown in the first instalment of her “Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts” published in *Mediaeval Studies*, but the fragment has never been studied closely, and its text has remained hitherto unidentified. The single folio, which appears at the end of Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române, Cod. Lat. 8 and is known in the Bibliography of Beneventan manuscripts as CLF 8,¹ was first mentioned by the historian Sigismund Jakó in his catalogue of medieval Latin manuscripts at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj.² Cod. Lat. 8 is a fifteenth-century humanistic copy of Macrobius’s commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* (fols. 6r–69r), preceded by the excerpt from Cicero’s *De republica* 6 (fols. 2r–5v).³ The humanistic manuscript is made up of seven paper *quiniones* (fols. 2–71; fols. 69v–71v are blank), reinforced with parchment strips in the middle of each quire. Two independent parchment leaves were added at the beginning and at the end of the paper manuscript: fol. 1 is a thirteenth-century

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¹ AA. VV., *Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana* (Rome, 1990–) and online at <http://edu.let.unicas.it/bmb/>.

² Sigismund Jakó, “Codicele latine medievale din biblioteca lui Timotei Cipariu,” *Revista arhivelor* 10 (1967): 35–72, at 64.

³ The colophon (fol. 69r) reads “P(ater) Georgius scripsit sibi ac cui bona fortuna concedit.” A contemporary hand added “videlicet d(omino) Iac(ob)o pechiaro.”

copy of Horace's *Carmina* (1.2.47–6.3),⁴ and fol. 72 is the Beneventan fragment discussed here.

The faded appearance of fol. 72v (plate 2) suggests that it had been pasted down to the boards of a previous binding. The horizontal creases at the centre of the page correspond to the spine of the previous small-format book; one can also note holes resulting from stitching along the spine in the former binding. The top of the page seems to have been folded to serve as a turn-in, which suggests that the fragment was used as an exterior jacket rather than an interior pastedown; the symmetrical bottom turn-in disappeared when the fragment was trimmed. Fols. 1 and 72 were bound together with the humanistic manuscript to protect it, but they were never pasted to the present nineteenth-century cardboard binding.

The manuscript belonged to the Romanian scholar Timotei Cipariu (1805–1887), who published a transcript of the Horatian fragment in 1857.⁵ Cipariu's correspondence reveals that he had purchased the manuscript in December 1856 from the Viennese antiquarian Johann Schratt.⁶ After Cipariu's death, the manuscript entered the library of Blaj, under the shelfmark 171.⁷ In 1950, the holdings of the Central Library from Blaj were transferred to the newly created Academy Library in Cluj, and the manuscript received its current shelfmark.⁸

The Beneventan manuscript fragment on fol. 72 was described by Jakó as “folium membr. posteriori teguminis parti conglutinatum fragmentum a manu sec. XIII litteris beneventanis exaratum exhibens fragmentum incerti auctoris

⁴ The fragment is listed by Claudia Villa in her census of Horatian manuscripts, “I manoscritti di Orazio,” *Aevum* 66 (1992): 95–135, at 109.

⁵ T. Cipariu, “Horatiana,” *Annales gymnasii gr. catholici maioris Blasiensis*, 3 (1857): 9–12. For further information on Cipariu's remarkable library, see Sigismund Jakó, “Istoricul bibliotecii lui Timotei Cipariu” in his *Philobiblon transilvan* (Bucharest, 1977), 310–61.

⁶ Ioana Botezan, Alexandru Matei, *Arhiva personală Timotei Cipariu. Catalog* (Bucharest, 1982): nos. 2151–52; Liviu Botezan, Ioana Botezan, Ileana Cuibus, eds., *Timotei Cipariu. Corespondență primită* (Bucharest, 1992), 234–37. Most likely, it was Schratt who wrote on the front pastedown “67 Bll.” [=Blätter].

⁷ Iosif E. Naghiu, “Catalogul manuscriselor latinești și în limbi moderne dela Biblioteca Centrală din Blaj,” *Hrisovul* 3 (1943): 35–74, at 55, with a misleading description (“Historia Romana,” “printed parchment”). Another shelfmark (“Cod. 2 1”) was written in the twentieth century on the front pastedown.

⁸ L. Ursuțiu, “The Library of the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy,” *Transylvanian Review* 4 (1995): 29–47.

clericalis.”⁹ When Virginia Brown included the fragment in her “Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts” in 1978, she acknowledged that in the absence of a photograph she relied “solely on the information in Jakó’s article.”¹⁰ By 1980, when the enlarged edition of Lowe’s *Beneventan Script* was published, Brown had been able to see a picture of the fragment and revised the dating to “saec. XI.”¹¹ So far as the text of the fragment is concerned, Brown suggested “Sermones (?)” but made no further identification.

Before we turn to the text, a few codicological details must be supplied. Fol. 72 was cropped down to 302 × 220 mm. to match the binding to which it previously belonged, and it is thus slightly shorter than the humanistic codex it currently accompanies (315 × 220 mm.). The text is written in two columns (120 mm.; 90 mm.), with a space of 23 mm. between the lines, and the fragment has 33 lines out of an original 34 in each column; the extant top and bottom lines were mutilated, and the former bottom line is missing. Nothing is missing from the inner margin, which was folded in to make the sewing of the leaf possible, but about three letters were trimmed away from the outer margin. Since the text follows from the verso to the recto of the leaf, the outer margin used to be the inner margin of the Beneventan codex. The size of the original manuscript must have been in the region of 370–400 × 250–70 mm. Drypoint ruling was applied on the flesh-side of the parchment leaf (now 72v).

The text, running from what is now fol. 72v (plate 2) to fol. 72r (plate 1), can be identified as a passage from the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, attributed to John Chrysostom (PG 56:611–946). The commentary on Matthew (1:1–8:27; 10:16–11:30; 12:22–13:13; 19:1–25:37), divided into fifty-four homilies, was composed by an Arian author and enjoyed a very wide circulation in the Middle Ages.¹² It is preserved in about one hundred manuscripts from the late eighth century to the fifteenth century, and single

⁹ Jakó, “Codicele latine medievale din biblioteca lui Timotei Cipariu,” 64.

¹⁰ Virginia Brown, “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I),” *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978): 239–89, at 280, rpt. in Virginia Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries: Collected Manuscript Catalogues, 1978–2008*, ed. Roger E. Reynolds, *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* 6 (Toronto, 2012), 44.

¹¹ E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, second edition by V. Brown. II. *Handlist of Beneventan Manuscripts*, *Sussidi Eruditi* 34 (Rome, 1980), 34. See also the “Harmonized List of Manuscripts” in Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries*, ed. Reynolds, 319.

¹² Jean-Paul Bouhot, “Remarques sur l’histoire du texte de l’*Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 24 (1970): 197–209, at 197.

homilies are found in various homiliaries, some copied in Beneventan script.¹³ The passage transmitted by the fragment in Cluj corresponds to homily 34 (PG 56:817–18). The final lines on fol. 72r are quite legible:

Si ui|⟨dua⟩
 es, noli transire ad sec|⟨un-⟩
 das & tercias nupcias, &|⟨ope-⟩
 rata ⟨es castita⟩tis uite⟨m⟩ (PG 56:818, ll. 67–69).

The passage begins, on fol. 72v, in the middle of the sentence “Opera autem nostra sunt opera iustitiae: non ut agros nostros colamus, et vineas: non ut divitias acquiramus, et congregemus honores sed ut proximis proximis” (PG 56:817, ll. 63–66), but there are no legible words on the first two lines. A few words from the beginning of the next sentence become legible on the third line of fol. 72va: “quamvis hec . . .” (PG 56: 817, l. 66).

Despite the relative brevity of the passage, a few textual variants can be checked. According to J. van Banning, at least one sentence from this passage was omitted through *homoioteleuton* in copies belonging to the second family of *Opus imperfectum* manuscripts, related to Monte Cassino: “tamen nec de tuis . . . non tollis” (van Banning 34.111–12; PG 56:818.52–54).¹⁴ Similarly, third-family manuscripts add “Unde hoc?” after “cooperuit” (van Banning 34.93; PG 56:818, l. 31).¹⁵ Since none of these variants appears in the fragment, it seems not to belong to either the second or the third families of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaemum*, as identified by the most recent editor.¹⁶ As it stands, the text adheres to the early sixteenth-century editions used by Migne, which depended on the first and fourth family of manuscripts, according to van Banning.¹⁷

As noted above, the dating proposed by Virginia Brown is “saec. XI.” As for the origin of the fragment, one would naturally be tempted to think of Monte Cassino, where the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaemum* was used in numerous eleventh- and early-twelfth-century homiliaries (MSS 12, 100, 102, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 117, 305, 310), all belonging to van

¹³ Ibid., 204–6; J. van Banning, *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum. Praefatio*, CCL 87B (Turnhout, 1988), xxx–xxxv.

¹⁴ Van Banning, *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum. Praefatio*, xl.

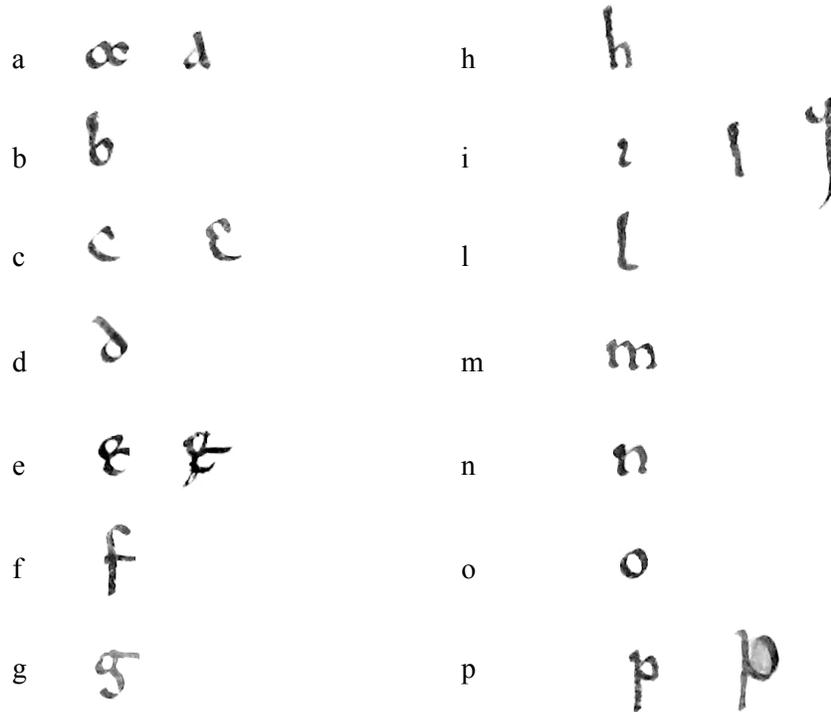
¹⁵ Ibid., cv.

¹⁶ The passage “tamen nec de tuis . . . non tollis” (van Banning 34.111–12; PG 56: 818, ll. 52–54) can be read on fol. 72rb, ll. 3–5; the question “Unde hoc?” is not added after “cooperuit” (van Banning 34.93; PG 56:818, l. 31) on fol. 72ra, l. 1 (mutilated, but still legible).

¹⁷ Van Banning, *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum. Praefatio*, xl.

Banning's second family.¹⁸ The task was facilitated by Francis Newton's monumental study of the scriptorium and library at Monte Cassino under abbots Desiderius and Oderisius (1058–1105).¹⁹ Newton includes the *Opus imperfectum* among the "unique, rare and valuable texts . . . produced at Monte Cassino or by Monte Cassino monks."²⁰ The palaeographical examination of the fragment, however revealed that its script lacked the consummate formalism displayed by Monte Cassino homiliaries: the treatment of the minims was considerably less manneristic; the characteristic shape of letters *c*, *r*, *s* and the punctuation also differed from the Desiderian and Oderisian production at Monte Cassino in the second half of the eleventh century, dominated by what Francis Newton called the "New Angle."²¹

Characteristic letter forms, ligatures, abbreviations, punctuation marks, and types of accents are reproduced below:



¹⁸ Bouhot, "Remarques sur l'histoire du texte," 204–5; van Banning, *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum. Praefatio*, xxx–xxxv.

¹⁹ Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 7 (Cambridge, 1999).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 266.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 57 ff.

q		<i>sti</i> ligature	
r		- <i>m</i> suspension	
s		- <i>orum</i>	
t		question mark	
u		period (<i>positura</i>)	
x		<i>punctus elevatus</i>	
<i>ci</i> ligature		circumflex	
<i>ec</i> ligature		acute	
<i>et</i> (ampersand)			

Professor Newton, who had the kindness to examine the fragment, singled out a few features of its script, and most importantly the breadth of letters and the “absence of the heavy contrast between thick and thin strokes so characteristic of the Monte Cassino tradition.”²² To these, he added the rounded ap-

²² Private communication from Professor Francis Newton on 10 October 2015: “What I especially note is: the breadth of letters, in proportion to height; the absence of the heavy contrast between thick and thin strokes so characteristic of the Monte Cassino tradition—the effect of the cut of the pen—; the dominant Old Angle (note the rounded appearance, mostly, of the *o* and *d* at the base line); the short final *r*; the strongly vertical 3-shaped stroke for the abbreviation of *m* (beginning in the first half of the eleventh century to be inclined); the “broken” *c*, as in “dicuntur”; the beautiful rich profusion of accents, such as the circumflex over

pearance of such letters as *d* and *o*, the short final *r*, the vertical 3-shaped stroke for the abbreviation of *m*, the broken *c*, the profusion of circumflex and acute accents, and the peculiar use of the 2-shaped question mark. All these point away from Monte Cassino, and possibly to centres like Capua or Benevento, and suggest a dating in the first half of the eleventh century, according to Professor Newton.

Further study by specialists in Beneventan script and in the manuscript tradition of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem* is needed to establish the origin of the fragment, and the exact nature of the text, which may belong to the full version of the work or to a homiliary using it.

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the long penultimate syllable of ‘otiosus’ and ‘uxore,’ and the acute over the antepenultimate syllable in ‘videris’; and even richer tonal signs in the uniquely helpful system; the 2-shaped sign for questions, usually near the beginning of the sentence or clause (as in ‘quo modo’), but—reflecting an earlier system—also over the last word (as in ‘diem transisse’), or over both (as in ‘Vis esse otiosus’). Virtually every one of these characteristics points away from the second half of the eleventh century. Most of them point away from Monte Cassino. The broad style of the proportions and the relative thinness of the strokes, in particular—as well as the other considerations listed—, lead me to date your beautiful fragment in the first half of the eleventh century, and to suggest that it may have been produced at a center like Capua or Benevento.”

