

PH. ROELLI

THE ROLE OF THE BENEVENTAN SCRIPT IN THE TRANSMISSION OF LATIN MEDICAL TEXTS

1 On Medical Manuscripts in Beneventan Script

The Beneventan script developed locally in Southern Italy in the eighth century from earlier uncial scripts¹. Unlike other regional pre-Carolingian scripts, it kept flourishing for half a millennium in Southern Italy and some places in nearby Dalmatia alongside the Carolingian minuscule, albeit in a rather narrow geographical scope². Its main centres were located at Monte Cassino, Benevento, Naples, and Bari. The script declined in popularity only in the 13th c. There is a decree by Frederick II of 1231 banning its use in notarial documents with the words: *litteraturam communem et legibilem [...] scribi debere*³. The Beneventan script has some typical letter forms that differ greatly from other Latin scripts, especially for the letters *a*, *e*, *t* and give it a reputation of being hard to read – both to non-South Italians back then and to modern readers; besides there are unusual ligatures, especially of *t* and *r* with following vowels, and some special abbreviations. Already Poggio Bracciolini (who discovered the important Beneventan Tacitus manuscript) complained in a letter to Niccolò Niccoli about its readability⁴. This typically Southern Italian script is of great importance in the transmission of some antique authors; texts by Varro, Apuleius, Tacitus, Hyginus are only extant thanks to manuscripts in Beneventan script⁵. Apparently antique textual transmissions in Southern

¹ The oldest dated manuscript is from AD 779, the last one 1295. Monte Cassino 753 seems to be a bit older (middle of the 8th c., see: Lowe E. A., Brown V. *The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980. P. 41). Some nunneries still used the script as late as mid 16th c. See: Newton F. *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*. Cambridge: University Press, 1999. P. 332.

² Cf. the map in Lowe E. A., Brown V. *The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980. P. 49.

³ From Lowe E. A., Brown V. *The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980. P. 45.

⁴ Epistola iii. 15, ed. Tonelli 1:213: *Misisti mihi librum Senecae et Cornelium Tacitum, quod est mihi gratum: at is est litteris longobardis, et majori ex parte caducis, quod si scissem, liberassem te eo labore* (Oct. 21, 1427).

⁵ Details: Lowe E. A., Brown V. *The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980. P. 16. See F. Brunhölzl

Italy have a tendency to follow their own independent transmission for literary works, as G. Cavallo⁶ concluded. He did not study the transmission of medical works, which we try to do in this article for the three main groups of medical works often present in Beneventana manuscripts.

In total, there are some 2 000 extant Beneventan manuscripts today, some 75 % of them liturgical ones, Monte Cassino alone possessing 232 Beneventan manuscripts⁷. Despite the fact that Salerno, which is situated in the Beneventan zone, was clearly a centre for medical studies already before its school's hey-days in the 12th and 13th centuries, there are to my knowledge only the following eleven extant medical manuscripts in Beneventan⁸. Only relatively few (five) of them are as yet available in digitised form; a link in a footnote is provided in these cases. A. Beccaria⁹ provides details on the contents of these manuscripts. The list is chronological:

1. Firenze, BML 73.41, 9th c., main first part early 9th c. Possibly from Monte Cassino¹⁰.

2. Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 69, late 9th c. Possibly from Monte Cassino¹¹.

3. Glasgow, Hunter cod. V.3.2, early 10th c. Provenance unclear, A. Cuna¹² considers Salerno, G. Cavallo¹³ Naples.

(*Brunhölzl F.* Zum Problem der Casinenser Klassikerüberlieferung. München: Fink, 1971) on classics transmitted in the region and G. Cavallo (*Cavallo G.* La trasmissione dei testi nell'area beneventano-cassinense // *La cultura antica nell'Occidente latino dal VII all'XI secolo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo XXII (Spoleto, 18–24 Aprile 1974). Spoleto, 1975. P. 355–424.) on the region's importance in textual transmission.

⁶ *Cavallo G.* La trasmissione dei testi nell'area beneventano-cassinense // *La cultura antica nell'Occidente latino dal VII all'XI secolo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo XXII (Spoleto, 18–24 Aprile 1974). Spoleto, 1975. P. 412.

⁷ Lowe's initial list had a total of some 600 (*Lowe E. A., Brown V.* *The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980. P. 50). The new number is from Brown (*Newton F.* *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*. Cambridge: University Press, 1999. P. 333).

⁸ Cf. the list in *Lowe E. A., Brown V.* *The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980. P. 18–19.

⁹ *Beccaria A.* *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956.

¹⁰ <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000883258>. Dating: *Lowe E. A., Brown V.* *The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980. P. 18; *Beccaria A.* *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956. P. 282. 'Principio del secolo IX'. *Bandini A. M.* *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana seu catalogus manuscriptorum [...]*. Vol. 3. Florentiae: Typis Caesaris, 1776. P. 84, wrongly dated it to the 11th c.

¹¹ *Beccaria A.* *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956. P. 293. The project 'Memory of Monte Cassino' plans to digitise their manuscripts: <https://www.memo.pyile.it>.

¹² *Cuna A.* Per un 'census' dei manoscritti 'de re medica' d'origine salernitana // *Quaderni Utinensi*. 1993. Vol. 13–14. P. 41

¹³ *Cavallo G.* La trasmissione dei testi nell'area beneventano-cassinense // *La cultura antica nell'Occidente latino dal VII all'XI secolo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo XXII (Spoleto, 18–24 Aprile 1974). Spoleto, 1975. P. 382.

4. Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 97, early 10th c., its final leaves in later hands. Probably from Monte Cassino¹⁴.

5. Wien, ÖNB 68, 10th c. Probably from San Vincenzo di Volturmo¹⁵.

6. München, BSB 337, 10th c., parts are damaged¹⁶. Probably not from Monte Cassino¹⁷.

7. [Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, lat. 1496: palimpsest, lower writing (10th or 11th c.) in Beneventan, scribes of the upper writing (12th c.) sometimes lapse into Beneventan¹⁸].

8. København, Det kongelige bibliotek, Gamle kgl. samling 1653, 11th c. Possibly from Monte Cassino, at a later date in England¹⁹.

9. Città del Vaticano, BAV, cod. Barberiniano lat. 160, 11th and 12th c. A large compound, composed of four or five parts²⁰, mostly in Beneventan with some parts in Caroline. Some pages towards the end are in Bari type script²¹. The first, main part may be Salernitan²².

10. Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 225, 11th c. Probably from Monte Cassino.

11. Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 351, 11th c. Probably from Monte Cassino.

12. [Torino, Bibl. Nazionale cod. K. IV. 3, end of 11th c. Destroyed in the fire of 1904²³. From Monte Cassino in Desiderius' time.]

¹⁴ *Beccaria A. I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956. P. 297.

¹⁵ <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/101F729A>. Cf. A. Beccaria (*Beccaria A. I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956. P. 106–108) including dating and provenance. A. Cuna (*Cuna A. Per un 'census' dei manoscritti 'de re medica' d'origine salernitana // Quaderni Utinensi*. 1993. Vol. 13–14. P. 41) considers a provenance from the zone of Salerno.

¹⁶ <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00006544>.

¹⁷ *Beccaria A. I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956. P. 222.

¹⁸ Its ultimate provenance is unknown, but it is known that in the 18th c. it was in the possession of cardinal Domenico Passionei (personal communication Anna Letizia Di Carlo). The earlier dating by C. Tristano (*Tristano C. Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale // Scrittura e civiltà*. 1979. Vol. 3. P. 139), the later by A. Beccaria (*Beccaria A. I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956. P. 306). Further information: <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/cnmd/0000101366>.

¹⁹ Catalogue: <http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/699/dan/426>.

²⁰ Four: *Beccaria A. I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956. P. 324, five: *Cuna A. Per un 'census' dei manoscritti 'de re medica' d'origine salernitana // Quaderni Utinensi*. 1993. Vol. 13–14. P. 44.

²¹ https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.160. Details in *Tristano C. Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale // Scrittura e civiltà*. 1979. Vol. 3. P. 117–119.

²² *Cuna A. Per un 'census' dei manoscritti 'de re medica' d'origine salernitana // Quaderni Utinensi*. 1993. Vol. 13–14. P. 44. Cf. the argumentation below for Liber Aurelii.

²³ See F. Crivello on what is known about this lost manuscript: *Crivello F. L'erbario in scrittura beneventana della Biblioteca Universitaria di Torino // Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*. 2015. Vol. 56. P. 15–31.

13. Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Capitolare della Basilica di S. Pietro cod. H. 44. Palimpsest, lower writing 9th c., upper ca. 1200 (both Beneventan)²⁴. Provenance unknown.

I will quote these manuscript by № plus the number in this list. Most of these Beneventan medical manuscripts are large compendia containing several (in some cases: a large number of) medical texts. Copenhagen (№ 8), the Barberinianus (№ 9), and Monte Cassino 97 (№ 4) are especially voluminous. One of the manuscripts in the list was destroyed in the fire of Turin, two of them were scraped and rewritten, one again in Beneventan, one in Caroline. Apart from these manuscripts, there are some fragments and more manuscripts with some parts written in Beneventan. I am aware of the following fragments²⁵:

- Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal: Casa Forte, a miscellany of fragments, 10th c.

- Cremona, Archivio di Stato Frag. cod. 1, late 10th c.²⁶ or early 11th²⁷ a bifolium with Ps-Apuleius (see below).

- Paris, BnF, Fonds latin nouv. acq. cod. 1628, late 11th c., only the last of five fragments (19r–26v)²⁸.

- Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek 4^o Cod. Ms. hist. 63m (ca. AD 1100).

- Monopoli, Archivio Unico Diocesano B 27, 12th c. Three fragments that were used to strengthen the binding.

- Girona, Arxiu de la Catedral: S. N. Medica, 12th c. A bifolium discovered at Castellar de la Selva (near Girona).

- Zagreb, Arhiv Jugoslavenske Akademije, frag. 2, no dating available.

Some manuscripts partly written in Beneventan:

- Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversitet, Voss. lat. Q. 1 (ca. 1000).

- Orléans, Bibliothèque de la Ville 283 (237), 12th c., pp. 78–109 in Beneventan²⁹.

Some more manuscripts show lapses into Beneventan or use it as *Auszeichnungsschrift*³⁰, some of which will be discussed below. Certainly there were a lot more than these eleven extant full manuscripts in the past.

²⁴ <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/gui/console?service=shortDetail&id=242864>.

²⁵ Data in these lists mostly from Virginia Brown in Lowe E. A., Brown V. The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980; Brown V. A second new list // Mediaeval Studies. 1978. Vol. 40. P. 239–289; Brown V. A second new list // Mediaeval Studies. 1980. Vol. 50. P. 584–625; Brown V. A second new list // Mediaeval Studies. 1994. Vol. 56. P. 299–350.

²⁶ Brown V. A second new list // Mediaeval Studies. 1978. Vol. 40. P. 248.

²⁷ Cau E. Frammenti cremonesi di scrittura beneventana // Ricerche medievali. 1969–1970. Vol. 4–5. P. 30.

²⁸ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10022498s>.

²⁹ Especially of these last two categories there are likely more manuscripts, missed by previous scholarship. More on such manuscripts (not restricted to medicine) see: Tristano C. Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale // Scrittura e civiltà. 1979. Vol. 3. P. 89–150.

³⁰ E.g. Città del Vaticano, BAV, Urbinates latini 1415 (from ca. AD 1100), with only headings in Beneventan. It contains Constantinus Africanus, De urinis.

There is an extant list of codices copied by order of abbot Desiderius (1058–1087) for the Monte Cassino library. It mentions an item ‘*medicinalis*’³¹. There will have been more medical manuscripts in the monastery. According to F. Newton³² the candidates for medical manuscripts from Desiderius’ time at Monte Cassino are: № 8, № 10³³, № 11, № 12, Leiden, Voss. lat. Q. 1 (only partly in Beneventan), BnF, nouv. aqu. 1628 (fragment). Three older ones are also likely to be from this abbey (№ 1, № 2, № 4). Thus, seven of the fourteen full medical Beneventan manuscripts may stem from Monte Cassino. Only three are quite certainly from somewhere else (№ 5, № 6, № 9). The abbey seems to have played a crucial role in the production of medical manuscripts in Beneventan script, although one should consider that the chances of survival was certainly higher for manuscripts in a monastery library compared to those in private property. Despite this high incidence in Monte Cassino, a plot of the numbers of extant manuscripts (fig. 1) shows that the Beneventan script lost its importance for medical texts some two centuries before it did for other content³⁴. This must have happened around the time of abbot Desiderius: after the 11th century there is only one extant Beneventan medical manuscripts. Below we will see traces of users who clearly struggled with this script.

Some of the identifiable medical works contained in these manuscripts recur frequently, especially the three groups of text investigated in this essay: (i) the anonymous nosological treatises *Liber Aurelii* and *Liber Esculapii* [№ 4, № 5, № 9] as well as Gariopontus’ *Passionarius*, which incorporates their texts into an *a capite ad calcem* compendium [№ 13], (ii) the *Alphabetum Galeni*, a pharmaceutical collection of simple medicines [№ 4 (twice), № 7, № 9], and (iii) the herbal by Ps-Apuleius, *Herbarius*, which is usually transmitted together with some further texts, especially Ps-Dioscorides, *Liber medicinae ex herbis femininis* [№ 1, № 2, № 9, № 12]³⁵. There are also several *receptaria*, collections of medical recipes, of very unequal length that I did not study. In general this genre is as yet badly known, there are many manuscripts and their texts often contain some similar recipes but also differ in others. Other medical works are found more rarely in manuscripts in Beneventan script, by Paul of Aegina, Oribasius, Caelius Aurelianus, Vindicianus among others. The first of these groups of texts is now studied in some detail, then the other two more summarily in the following chapters.

³¹ *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* III.63. See: Hoffmann H. Die Chronik von Monte Cassino (*Chronica monasterii Casinensis*), MGH SS34. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980. P. 445.

³² Newton F. *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*. Cambridge: University Press, 1999. P. 258.

³³ According to Newton probably produced elsewhere but it was certainly at Monte Cassino before the end of the 11th c.

³⁴ I counted: 9th c.: 2, 10th: 4, 11th: 4, 12th: 1. The palimpsest (№ 13) is counted for the extant (second) writing.

³⁵ Riddle J. M. *Pseudo-Dioscorides, Ex Herbis Femininis and Early Medieval Medical Botany* // *Journal of the History of Biology*. 1981. Vol. 14/1. P. 46. Also figuring in Howald’s stemma.

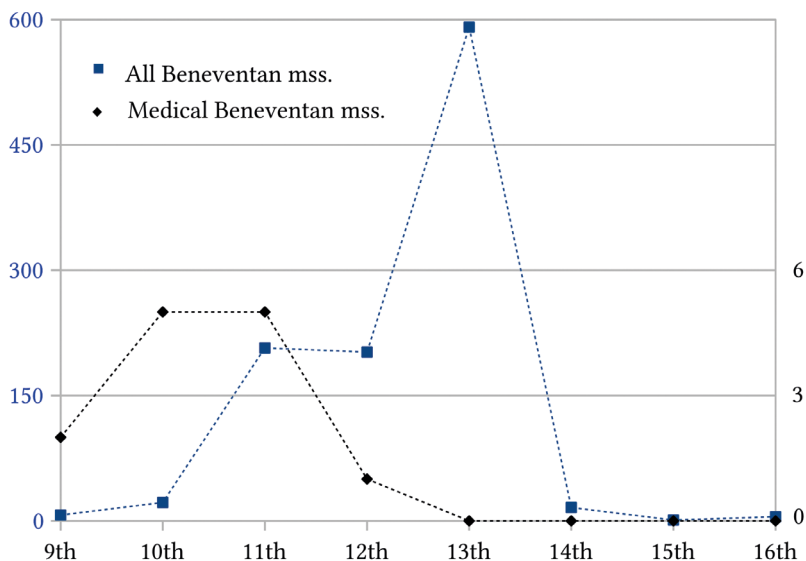


Fig. 1. All Beneventan manuscript vs. medical ones per century. Only those fully written in Beneventan are counted. The former are counted from the list by E. A. Lowe and V. Brown³⁶. All numbers are rounded to full centuries

2 Overview of the *Aurelius* tradition

The *Libri Aurelii* and *Esculapii* were apparently compiled in Late Antiquity, they treat acute and chronic diseases, respectively, and originally formed one single work. I recently edited the *Liber Aurelii* for the first time critically and studied its complex transmission³⁷. Both authors' names are fictitious and unknown to the best manuscripts. The work is an anonymous compilation, which uses primarily methodic sources, especially Soranus of Ephesus (2nd c. AD). Fig. 2 shows a stemma of the parts of the transmission relevant here. The work's second part, *Liber Esculapii*, was printed by Ioannes Schottus in Strasbourg 1533. The *Aurelius*' text state is much worse, the text is more theoretical and suffered strongly in the transmission, besides the top manuscript branch in the stemma only preserves Esculapius³⁸. *Aurelius* was first printed only in the 19th c. by Daremberg (1847) based on a single, late manuscript, apparently the same one that was used by Schottus for his *Esculapius* print (1533). In addition to the direct transmission represented by five manuscripts, there are two reworked texts: an abridged and slightly revised version (in nine manu-

³⁶ Lowe E. A., Brown V. *The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980.

³⁷ *Liber Aurelii 'On Acute Diseases'* / ed. Ph. Roelli. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2021.

³⁸ Ph. Roelli studies how the bad text state led to interventions in the transmitted text: *Roelli Ph. Sinn aus Unsinn? Der Umgang mit der Überlieferung spätantiker medizinischer Literatur bis zum 16. Jahrhundert // Die antike Literatur und die Wissenschaftliche Revolution* / ed. M. Korenjak, I. Tautschnig. Baden-Baden: Rombach, 2023.

recent edition⁴² of the Nuremberg fragments (N) he found, it can be established that N is very similar to O but not its direct ancestor⁴³. Since a further witness (K, 9th c.) contains the *Oxiapate* but without the Aurelius *prooemium*, it looks as if this chapter was added to this short text and now appears in the later *Oxiapate* manuscripts (NOX). Thus it can be concluded that the borrowing went from Aurelius to *Oxiapate* not conversely. Unfortunately we know very little of how, when, and by whom the present text form of Aurelius itself was put together⁴⁴.

3 Its Beneventan manuscripts and their network

Two of the most important manuscripts of the unabridged Aurelius are written in Beneventan script: the Vienna manuscript (№ 5 in the above list; M in the edition) as well as the large Monte Cassino 97 compendium (№ 4; C). The older A is written in early Caroline and stems from Northern Italy, around Verona. The earlier group that contains only Esculapius is mostly of French origin, one manuscript (Sg) may be Northern Italian⁴⁵. The oldest extant traces of the entire work, thus, point to Northern Italy. The lost ancestor of M (№ 5) is the likely candidate for the text's introduction to South Italian Beneventan lands. M is written in the late 10th c. and suffered contamination – also in Beneventan – by a scribe who had access to a manuscript similar to or identical with A. Unfortunately he often wrote over the stemmatically better original text of M which is, thus, in some instances lost to us.

The best manuscript of the abridged version is also written in Beneventan, R (№ 9) is the large Barberinianus compendium; several of the other older manuscripts of this reworked text are at least of probable Southern Italian origin (cf. fig. 2). This together with the abbreviator's probably Beneventan source manuscript (as the stemma suggests) makes it likely that he worked in South Italy too. Thence LP moved to England, and SQ apparently to France. The abbreviator may have been an early scholar at Salerno or a monk at Mon-

⁴² Jacobsen P. C. *Unbekannte Fragmente eines medizinisch-Sammelcodex des späten 10. Jahrhunderts*, Erlangen: Fau University Press, 2022. P. 43–50.

⁴³ The only strong error is *brancus* XO, missing in N; apart from this there are some weak ones: *laxatum* N, missing in XO (shortly after *relaxatur* the added word makes little sense), *communit* N vs. *commune* XO. On the other hand NO share many (mostly nonsensical) innovated readings, e.g. the new phrase *Auctores vero antiqui et peritissimi medici diviserunt omnes passiones vel valitudines* or the omission of *vel in illo quem ad te misimus* (both against X and Aurelius). O added new errors, e.g. *forgetting stomachi aut ventris nec tamen fluor desit*, or *changing cum pondere to qui non potest comprehendere*.

⁴⁴ What is known about the sources from antiquity: *Liber Aurelii 'On Acute Diseases'* / ed. Ph. Roelli. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2021. P. xxv–xxviii.

⁴⁵ Hu: around AD 800, probably from the Narbonnensis (*Bischoff B. Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998–2017. P. 292, no. 1396), Sg: 2nd half of the 9th c., possibly Italian, but has only slightly later German glosses (*Beccaria A. I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956. P. 372), Ch: late 10th c., possibly from Chartres (*Beccaria A. I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956. P. 127).

te Cassino. He made a compilation of six works beginning with Ps-Galen's *Ad Glauconem* (in two books). Aurelius and Esculapius are books four and five, both are shortened considerably, Aurelius to about half its original length. Most of these six works are already found in the same order in C (№ 4), but without being reworked⁴⁶. It seems that the abbreviator did not include hard to understand text, in some cases he seems to consciously rephrase the text in order to make it clearer. Further work about this abbreviator and his method would be rewarding⁴⁷.

We are on somewhat firmer ground for Gariopontus, although little external evidence about this 11th-century medical pioneer and his successful *Passionarius* is available. Petrus Damiani mentions him in the 1060s as an old man: *Dicam, quod mihi Garimpotus senex, vir videlicet honestissimus, adprime literis eruditus ac medicus, retulit*⁴⁸. 'The *Liber confratrum* of the Cathedral of St Matthew in Salerno contains six separate listings for "Guarimpotus", charting his progression from clericus to subdiaconus to presbyter' as E. Glaze⁴⁹ found. Her announced edition is likely to change our views of this influential text, my comments especially about its transmission must remain provisional. Of the three oldest manuscripts probably still dating from the late 11th c., two are likely to be from Southern Italy:

- Wien, ÖNB 2425⁵⁰,
- Arezzo, Biblioteca Città di Arezzo 246,
- Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.14.50⁵¹.

The Cambridge manuscript is written in a Caroline script with round forms and may be of English origin (it is certainly not Italian), the book was mutilated after the foliation, which still shows what is missing, namely about half of the folios. The Arezzo and especially the Vienna manuscripts show typically Southern Italian ornamental initials. But the Arezzo scribe commits atypical mistakes for an Italian⁵². The Vienna manuscript conserved the most original text of these (at least for the Aurelius parts), its design is also the most 'Ben-eventan'. Stemmatics show that none of these manuscripts is an autograph. A Zurich manuscript (Z in the stemma, Zentralbibliothek C 128) is not much

⁴⁶ C does not seem to be the manuscript the abbreviator used (*Liber Aurelii 'On Acute Diseases'* / ed. Ph. Roelli. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2021. P. Iv), that was most likely its ancestor.

⁴⁷ Some more details in the edition: *Liber Aurelii 'On Acute Diseases'* / ed. Ph. Roelli. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2021. P. xi–xiv.

⁴⁸ *Reindel K. Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani. München: MGH, 1988. No 70. P. 318.* For his correspondence with Laurentius of Amalfi, see: *Newton F. Tibullus in Two Grammatical Florilegia of the Middle Ages // Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. 1962. Vol. 93. P. 278.* The spelling of his name varies, the now common form is due to 16th c. Basle printer Henricus Petrus.

⁴⁹ *Glaze E. Gariopontus and the Salernitans: Textual traditions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries // La Collectio Salernitana di Salvatore De Renzi / ed. D. Jacquart, A. Paravicini Bagliani. Firenze: SISMEL, 2008. P. 156.*

⁵⁰ <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00175761>.

⁵¹ <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.14.50>.

⁵² *Liber Aurelii 'On Acute Diseases'* / ed. Ph. Roelli. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2021. P. xlviii.

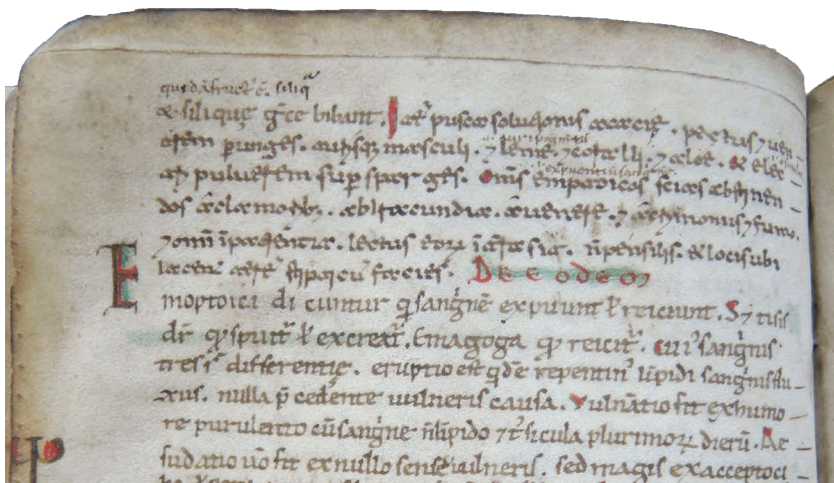
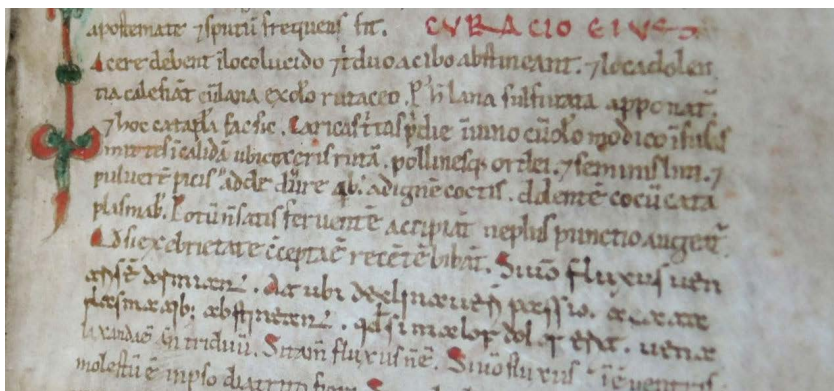


Fig. 3. Two passages in the Zurich manuscript (Zentralbibliothek C 128) where the scribe falls into Beneventan script for a few lines (13v, 25r).

Pictures by the author

younger than these three⁵³. This small manuscript was very professionally written in ordinary Caroline. It has ornamental initials in several colours that are typical for Southern Italy. At the beginning of books it uses elaborate initials with floral and animal parts. It also has a few lines in Beneventan. Within Gariopontus there are only two such cases that extend over several lines (fig. 3). The Gariopontus text continues normally, there is no indication as to why these few lines were written in Beneventan. The scribe may have lapsed into his primary script unwittingly.

The Angelica manuscript (Nº 7, An) is also among the older ones, stemming from the early 12th c. It is a palimpsest whose lower text was in Ben-

⁵³ Early 12th, see: *Tristano C. Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale // Scrittura e civiltà. 1979. Vol. 3. P. 129–130.*

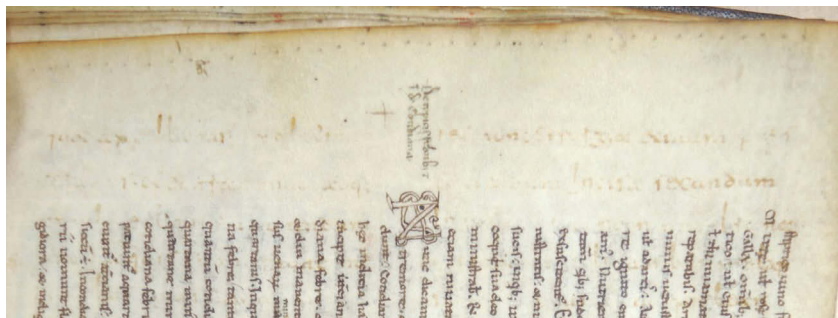


Fig. 4. The lower text of An (N^o 7) can be identified as Caelius Aurelianus, *Tardae passiones*, on f. 121v. Picture by the author.

eventan of the 10th or 11th c. and also contained medical texts⁵⁴. Among them Vindicianus' *Gynaecia* had already been identified. I was able to additionally identify a few words from Caelius Aurelianus, *Tardae passiones* (fig. 4)⁵⁵. This text is otherwise only known from an early print, whose printer apparently discarded his manuscript. Unfortunately not much of it is still visible in An. As E. Glaze⁵⁶ emphasises 'we see South Italian scribes shifting from the calligraphic Beneventan script to a more internationally-legible Late Caroline script'. The Caroline is rather clumsy, especially towards the end of the text it often falls into Beneventan. A contemporary reader was obviously not happy with the Beneventan letters and added on some pages their Caroline forms *supra lineam*, he also added some marginal comments on other pages (fig. 5)⁵⁷. Apart from this, Glaze found that Gariopontus' Prologue A seems to originate in this interesting manuscript.

As the tentative stemma shows (fig. 2), several other early manuscripts are also from the same region, but there is only one manuscript written fully in Beneventan and it is more than a century later, the palimpsest from San Pietro (N^o 13) from around AD 1200. It is written in a nice regular late Beneventan. Rubricated titles are mostly written in a somewhat stiff Caroline by a first hand. A new hand continues (from f. 113r onward) with Beneventan rubrics. The end

⁵⁴ See on this manuscript: Glaze E. Gariopontus and the Salernitans: Textual traditions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries // *La Collectio Salernitana* di Salvatore De Renzi / ed. D. Jacquart, A. Paravicini Bagliani. Firenze: SISMEL, 2008 P. 181f. On the lower text: Beccaria A. I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI). Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956. P. 306.

⁵⁵ 120v (the underlined parts are readable, the rest from the edition, see: Caelius Aurelianus: *Akute Krankheiten Buch I–III, Chronische Krankheiten Buch I–V* / ed. G. Bendz. Vol. 2. Berlin, 1990–1993. P. 930): quod appellatur Ariu et Menecratus et ex tracanto atque... sed apparet nunc chirurgia exitum puris faciendum, incisa secundum inguen peritoneos membrana, quo corruptis liquoribus prolapsio inferioribus apertis praebeatur. ...

⁵⁶ Glaze E. Gariopontus and the Salernitans: Textual traditions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries // *La Collectio Salernitana* di Salvatore De Renzi / ed. D. Jacquart, A. Paravicini Bagliani. Firenze: SISMEL, 2008. P. 181.

⁵⁷ On 131v–132r the same hand rescued text by copying it to the margin from a damaged place.

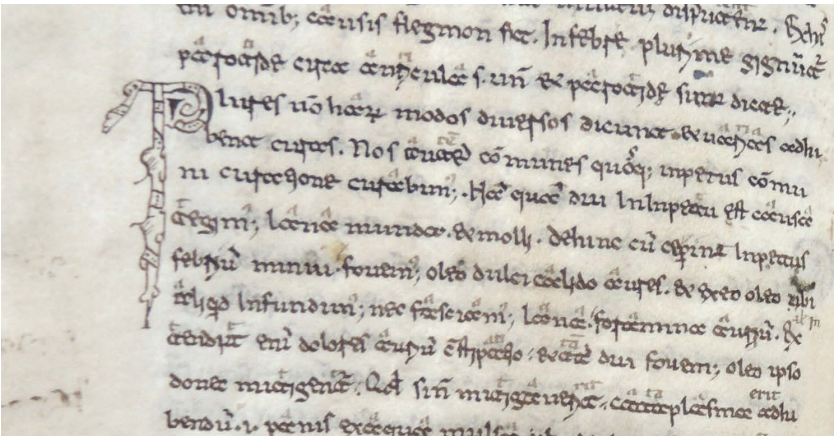


Fig. 5. Angelica manuscript (Nº 7), 133v, with ‘corrected’ Beneventan letter forms. Picture by the author

of the text is lost. The use of Caroline as *Auszeichnungsschrift* is quite common in non-medical manuscript of this time-frame. E. Lowe⁵⁸ observed that the ordinary minuscule becomes a rival for the Beneventan after the 12th c. F. Newton⁵⁹ established that there are cases of scribes competent in both scripts. Our manuscript seems to show that such a skill was not generally available.

Gariopontus manuscript G (Cologne, Codex Bodmer 177) is yet another palimpsest of the early 12th c., but it stems from Northern Italy and the lower writing is also Caroline.

Let us summarise the medical manuscripts belonging to this textual tradition with Beneventan features in a table.

Table 1

Medical manuscripts with Beneventan features; B: Beneventan, C: Caroline script

	Time	Provenance	Script	Content	Other texts
C. Monte-Cassino Nº 4	Early 10 th	Probably Monte Cas- sino	B	<i>Aurelius– Esculapi- us</i>	<i>Ad Glauconem I–II, Liber Tertius</i> , Alexander Trallianen- sis, <i>Therapeutica. Alphabetum Galenii</i> (2x), Ps-Apuleius, <i>Her- barius</i> , Ps-Dioscurides, <i>Liber medicinae ex herbis femininis</i>
M. Wien Nº 5	End of 10 th	San Vincenzo al Voltorno	B	<i>Aurelius– Esculapi- us</i>	A receptarium

⁵⁸ Lowe E. A., Brown V. The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980. P. 92.

⁵⁹ Newton F. The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105. Cambridge: University Press, 1999. P. 127.

	Time	Provenance	Script	Content	Other texts
R. Barberinianus № 9	11 th	Partly (248r–253r) Bari-type script	B	<i>Aurelius</i> , <i>Esculapius</i> (ensemble versions)	<i>Ad Glauconem I–II</i> , <i>Liber Tertius</i> , Ps-Antonius Musa, <i>De herba vettonica</i> , Ps-Apuleius, <i>Herbarius</i> , Sextus Placitus, <i>Liber medicinae ex animalibus</i> , Ps-Dioscurides, <i>Liber medicinae ex herbis femininis</i>
Z. Zürich	Early 12 th	S. Italy	C/B (rare- ly)	Gariopontus	Some short fragments
An. Angelica № 7	Early 12 th	S. Italy	C/B	Gariopontus	Fragments of recipes – Palimpsest, below: Vindicianus, <i>Gynaecia</i> , Caelius Aurelianus, <i>Tardae passionnes</i>
Pi. San Pietro № 13	ca. 1200	S. Italy	B	Gariopontus	None – Palimpsest: lower text: a receptarium

Four of them are fully in Beneventan, two more partly. Southern Italy was clearly of great importance for the transmission of this group of texts. Especially the *réécriture* in the form of the ensemble (comprising six medical texts) and Gariopontus' compendium (based on an as yet unknown number of source texts) happened in the Beneventan area. But, apparently, ordinary minuscule was already becoming the norm for medical texts in the 11th and 12th centuries as Z and An show.

4 The *Alphabetum Galeni*

The second medical tradition with many extant manuscripts in Beneventan is that of the *Alphabetum Galeni*. Its transmission is as yet very imperfectly known. The *Alphabetum Galeni* is a collection of some 300 medically relevant substances and was edited for the first time by N. Everett⁶⁰. Partly it also figures as book 5 of Ps-Oribasius, *De simplicibus*. Unfortunately Everett's 'stemma codicum of sorts'⁶¹ only roughly traces groups and the editor overlooked at least three more manuscripts:

- Ed: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Adv. 18.5.16, early 12th c.⁶²,
- Ro: Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B. 61, 13th c.,
- Po: Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Santa Cruz de Coimbra 55 (794), 13th c.⁶³

⁶⁰ The Alphabet of Galen. Pharmacy from Antiquity to Middle Ages / ed. N. Everett. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

⁶¹ Fischer K.-D. Drugs to declare. Two pharmaceutical works attributed to Galen // Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Griegos e Indoeuropeos. 2018. Vol. 28. P. 230.

⁶² Details: <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/79858>, <https://www.galenolatino.com/manoscritti.php?id=105&l=e&p=1>.

⁶³ The first cited by K.-D. Fischer (*Fischer K.-D. Starch and the Alphabet of Galen* // *Studia Philologica Valentina*. 2015. Vol. 17. N.s. 14), the latter two by mirabile. The Herbal of Rufinus (at

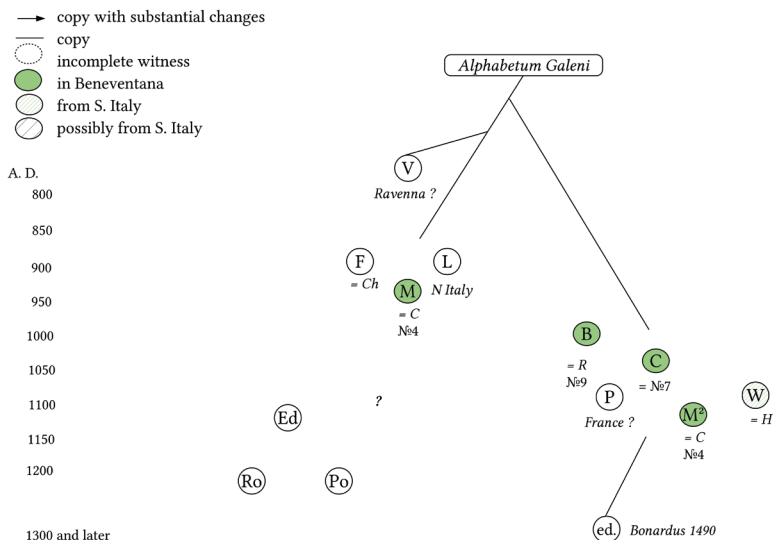


Fig. 6. Redrawn stemma of the *Alphabetum Galeni*⁶⁴. The positions of Ed, Ro, and Po are unknown. M² is written in a later hand (12th c.) in N° 4

None of these three manuscripts is written in Beneventan script. Fischer studied the text of one chapter and found numerous mistakes in the edited text and the apparatus⁶⁵. It becomes clear that we should take this rough stemma with a large pinch of salt. My redrawing of Everett's stemma (fig. 6) keeps his sigla but adds those of the Aurelius tradition below for manuscripts that feature texts of both as well as the 'N°' of the list of Beneventan medical manuscripts above. Among the older manuscripts we have two from Northern Italy, one from Southern Italy, one probably from France. The 11th–12th century branch consists of three Southern Italian manuscripts, two of which in Beneventan, one (P) probably French and one (Ed) English⁶⁶. The oldest manuscript may stem from Ravenna and is from the 8th c.⁶⁷ If R and H are indeed close relatives, one will be tempted to see them both as products of early Salerno. We remember that they are the best manuscripts of the ensemble version of *Liber Aurelii* and that of Gariopontus, respectively. Unfortunately this interesting least three manuscripts, see: Fischer K.-D. *Drugs to declare. Two pharmaceutical works attributed to Galen* // Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Griegos e Indoeuropeos. 2018. Vol. 28. P. 229) and Ps-Oribasius should also be considered as Nebenüberlieferung for an edition.

⁶⁴ The Alphabet of Galen. Pharmacy from Antiquity to Middle Ages / ed. N. Everett. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012. P. 119.

⁶⁵ Fischer K.-D. *Starch and the Alphabet of Galen* // Studia Philologica Valentina. 2015. Vol. 17. N.s. 14. P. 114–117. More cases in Fischer K.-D. *Drugs to declare. Two pharmaceutical works attributed to Galen* // Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Griegos e Indoeuropeos. 2018. Vol. 28. P. 225–241.

⁶⁶ cf. Fischer K.-D. *Drugs to declare. Two pharmaceutical works attributed to Galen* // Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Griegos e Indoeuropeos. 2018. Vol. 28. P. 228.

⁶⁷ Online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/bav_pal_lat_187.

transmission is not yet well enough known to warrant further reaching conclusions, but Southern Italy, again, seems to play an important role in a second stage of the still accessible tradition: for the transmission from the 11th and the 12th centuries.

5 Ps-Apuleius' *Herbarius*

The third conglomerate of medical texts is the one centring around Ps-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. This herbal, possibly dating from the fourth century⁶⁸, was very successful in the middle ages; the transmission is complex and there are many extant witnesses⁶⁹. For each of its (usually) 130 plants we find: a usually very schematic drawing (missing in some manuscripts), its name, synonyms for it, description, habitat, medical uses. The apparently still late antique archetype carried the following five texts together as a compendium of medically used substances (the first four edited in the work of E. Howald and H. Sigerist⁷⁰, the last by H. Kästner⁷¹) in three recensions α , β , γ :

- Ps-Antonius Musa, *De herba vettonica*. On the herb *Stachys officinalis*, short.
- Ps-Apuleius *Herbarius*. The longest work.
- Anonymus, *De taxone*. On medical uses of parts of the badger; two strongly differing versions in α and β , missing in γ , short.
- Sextus Placitus, *Liber medicinae ex animalibus*. Two strongly differing versions in α and β , missing in γ .
- Ps-Dioscorides, *De herbis femininis*. Missing in γ ⁷².

Howald and Sigerist⁷³ studied the transmission in some detail and provided a stemma⁷⁴. An uncial late 6th-century manuscript is extant (Leiden, MS. Voss. Q. 9⁷⁵); by its time the three hyparchetypes had already separated. Four of the

⁶⁸ Riddle J. M. Pseudo-Dioscorides, *Ex Herbis Femininis* and Early Medieval Medical Botany // *Journal of the History of Biology*. 1981. Vol. 14/1. P. 67.

⁶⁹ See Maggiuli and Buffa Giolito about its date of composition and its sources (mostly Pliny). The text was probably compiled in Latin, it does not seem to be a translation from the Greek.

⁷⁰ Antonii Musae *De herba vettonica liber*; Pseudoapulei *Herbarius*; Anonymi *de taxone liber*; Sexti Placiti *liber medicinae ex animalibus* etc. / ed. E. Howald, H. E. Sigerist. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927.

⁷¹ Pseudo-Dioscorides, *De herbis femininis* / ed. H. Kästner // *Hermes*. 1896. Vol. 31. P. 578–636. He used Firenze, Laur. Plut. 73.16 and 41.73, as well as Paris, BnF, lat. 6362. See for more recent insights: Riddle J. M. Pseudo-Dioscorides, *Ex Herbis Femininis* and Early Medieval Medical Botany // *Journal of the History of Biology*. 1981. Vol. 14/1. P. 43–81.

⁷² Some manuscripts add a short *Precatio terrae matris* (missing in α , R).

⁷³ Antonii Musae *De herba vettonica liber*; Pseudoapulei *Herbarius*; Anonymi *de taxone liber*; Sexti Placiti *liber medicinae ex animalibus* etc. / ed. E. Howald, H. E. Sigerist. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927.

⁷⁴ This is hardly the last word on this complicated transmission. For instance the 'mass-grave' of the manuscripts under the 'archetypus' of β and the lost manuscript below it do not inspire trust. H. Grape-Albers (*Grape-Albers H. Spätantike Bilder aus der Welt des Arztes: medizinische Bilderhandschriften der Spätantike und ihre mittelalterliche Überlieferung*. Wiesbaden: G. Pressler, 1977) proposed minor changes. M. Collins provides a summary (*Collins M. Medieval Herbals. The Illustrative Traditions*. London: University of Toronto Press, 2000. P. 167).

⁷⁵ According to Lowe, C.L.A. 10, no. 1582: 'Written presumably in Italy, to judge by the script.'

later manuscripts (plus one fragment) of this herbal are written in Beneventan (marked in green in fig. 7). Many manuscripts are dated somewhat differently today than in the stemma, especially among the old ones⁷⁶, and today some more manuscripts are known to be extant⁷⁷. The older of the manuscripts not yet known to the editors are:

- Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek C 664 I, 2nd half of 9th c.
- Herrnstein, Bibliothek des Grafen Nesselrode (olim Herten, Bibliothek des Grafen Droste-Nesselrode) lat. 192 (+), unit 1, 9th/10th c.
- Den Haag, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum MS. 10 D.7, 10th c.
- Leiden, Bibliotheek der Universiteit Voss. lat. 4^o 40, 12th c.
- Eton, College Library 204, ca. AD 1200.
- London, Wellcome Library 573, 13th c.
- Cambridge, Trinity College O.2.48, 13th c. According to the catalogue 'possibly German'.

None of these newly discovered manuscripts is written in Beneventan script. Ch. Singer⁷⁸, somewhat rashly, christened the left-most group in the stemma Southern Italian, although more manuscripts in Beneventan script are found in the β family⁷⁹. The Cremona fragment (see P. 11 above) belongs to group α ⁸⁰. Indeed, the four manuscripts and one fragment in Beneventan are scattered over the stemma. These texts seem to have arrived and left the Beneventan writing region at least twice; if the stemma is to be fully trusted more times. The provenances of the other manuscripts is rather evenly distributed over England, Northern Italy, Germany, and France (in decreasing order).

In this complex textual tradition the Beneventan script played a less significant role than in the preceding two. In general this text enjoyed a steady popularity over a long time and space. In the 12th c. the Salernitan *Circa instans* by a certain Matthaeus Platearius started to compete with Ps-Apuleius and began to slowly supplant this very successful text⁸¹.

⁷⁶ A clear case is the Laur. 73.41 (N^o 1). The more recent information I used for the arrows in the figure comes from mirabile and/or the most recent manuscript catalogues.

⁷⁷ M. Collins mentions some of them: *Collins M. Medieval Herbals. The Illustrative Traditions*. London: University of Toronto Press, 2000. Some more are found in mirabile.

⁷⁸ *Singer Ch. The Herbal in the Antiquity // The Journal of Hellenic Studies*. 1927. Vol. XLVII. P. 38.

⁷⁹ For instance the Lucca manuscript in the South Italian group (of which Singer copies the wrong shelf number from the edition) is probably from Northern Italy (Beccaria). The Beneventan manuscripts in β are not mentioned at all.

⁸⁰ The more striking differences to the edition are [in brackets readings in the apparatus]: p. 22, 18–19: quae nimio calore uruntur, et persanat. – que nimia vim calere coguntur et persanat. Cr(emonia) | ib 31: fuerit. – euenit Cr | 24, 37 vel tumorem. – deest Cr | ib. 47 contusa [contrita $\beta\gamma$, tusa M] – tunsia Cr | ib. vetere [om. M] – deest Cr | ib. 63: β has a different text. In contrast to $\alpha\gamma$: et immittitur [mittitur γ] eisdem deest Cr | 25, 70 alii [Corinthii β] – alii Cr | 70–72 Siculi ... thetarion deest L, Cr. Thus, Cr. sometimes goes with L, sometimes with M.

⁸¹ Though some late manuscripts copied both texts, so Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Chart. A. 708 I (mid 15th c.). An edition is being prepared by Iolanda Ventura; there are over 200 witnesses. For now, see: *Ventura I. Il Circa instans attribuito a Platearius: trasmissione*

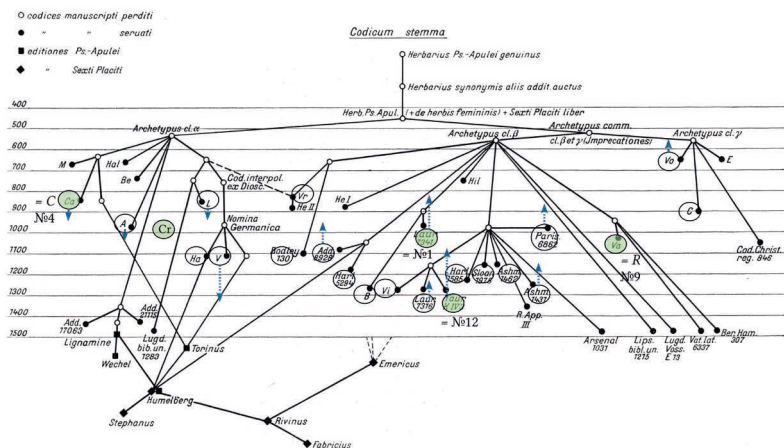


Fig. 7. Stemma from the edition E. Howald and H. Sigerist⁸², with some changes: added circles for complete older witnesses (after the 14th c.), blue arrows for more recent datings, and green colouring for manuscripts in Beneventan script. The Cremona fragment (Cr) belongs to group α

6 Conclusions

Our results have to remain provisional: all three briefly treated medical text conglomerates have a very complicated transmission that is in all cases only partly explored as yet. The role of the Beneventan script seemed to be significant in the first two cases, but less so for Ps-Apuleius; in all cases its importance was concentrated in a rather tightly delimited time-frame: in the 11th century give and take a little. In the first two traditions the Southern Italian manuscripts form their own groups and provide glimpses of local transmission for parts of the extant witnesses, although they do not constitute a radical bottleneck leaving no other parts of the transmission to us (as happened for the mentioned classics of for instance Varro). Of the earlier history of these texts little can be said with any certainty, but the role of Cassiodorus' Vivarium library – known to have contained medical works – may have played a role in some of them. The manuscript Leiden, MS. Voss. Q.9 of Ps-Apuleius would fit the time-frame as a candidate to be associated with that institution (but it is not related to the extant manuscripts in Beneventan script). For *Aurelius-Esculapius* an earlier branch was found that seemed to be of French provenance.

The Gariopontus tradition shows nicely that the Beneventan script tends to be avoided for medicine from the late 11th c. onward. Some examples have also shown that some scribes clearly struggled with the apparently imposed

manoscritta, redazioni, criteri di costruzione di un'edizione critica // *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*. 2015. Vol. 10. P. 251–362.

⁸² Antonii Musae De herba vettonica liber; Pseudoapulei Herbarius; Anonymi de taxone liber; Sexti Placitii liber medicinae ex animalibus etc. / ed. E. Howald, H. E. Sigerist. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927. P. xxvi (xxiv for their sigla; Lucca 236 is a misprint for 296).

change of script. In order to understand the importance and unexpectedly early end of the use of the Beneventan script for medicine, one will have to compare external events. In the second half of the 11th c. the Normans became organised in Southern Italy beyond their earlier status of being mercenaries and holding local strongholds, the Battle of Civitate (AD 1053) was decisive in their favour. Pope Nicholas II formally acknowledged their conquest in 1059. The ensuing Norman administration decided to use the ‘international’ Caroline script for their documents⁸³. It seems that Beneventan was avoided as a script for medical texts after the 11th c. as well (the exception being our № 13). We have also met several Beneventan medical codices that were palimpsested in the 12th c.⁸⁴ We do not have documents that would show an explicit involvement of the Normans in this transition of scripts, but it hits the eye that it happened in the same time-frame. In other fields, such as liturgy, the transition happened centuries later.

A direct relationship with Salerno could not be demonstrated for any of the thirteen medical manuscripts in Beneventan script, but then this is not easy as there is no institution that would have collected and kept them. Nonetheless, A. Cuna⁸⁵ considers several of them to be Salernitan (№ 5, № 7, № 9, Z, Voss. lat. Q. 1⁸⁶) and argues (46–47) that they used a somewhat different kind of Beneventan script and turned to Caroline early on. A complementary explanation for this early transition could be that the medical school in Salerno had become supra-regional towards the end of the 11th c.⁸⁷; many readers from outside of Southern Italy will have had trouble reading the unfamiliar script, as can be seen in our manuscript № 7 (fig. 5)⁸⁸. The early school seems to have stood in close contact with the flourishing monastery of Monte Cassino, where for instance Alfano (ca. 1020–ca. 1085) lived as a monk. Another case in point can be made with an extant partial autograph of Constantinus

⁸³ See: *Enzenberger H. Chanceries, Charters and Administration in Norman Italy // The Society of Norman Italy / ed. G. A. Loud, A. Metcalfe. Leiden: Brill, 2002. P. 121–123. This line of thought was already taken by E. Glaze: ‘almost no medical texts were written in Beneventan after the opening of the twelfth century’: Glaze E. Gariopontus and the Salernitans: Textual traditions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries // La Collectio Salernitana di Salvatore De Renzi / ed. D. Jacquart, A. Paravicini Bagliani. Firenze: SISMEL, 2008. P. 182.*

⁸⁴ More examples: *Brown V. Palimpsested texts in Beneventan Script: a handlist with some identifications // Early medieval palimpsests / ed. G. Declercq. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007. Table 103.*

⁸⁵ *Cuna A. Per un ‘census’ dei manoscritti ‘de re medica’ d’origine salernitana // Quaderni Utinensi. 1993. Vol. 13–14. P. 41–50.*

⁸⁶ A similar list already in *Vitolo G. Tra Cava e Salerno: cultura e scrittura in età normanno-sveva // Rassegna Storica Salernitana. 1992. Vol. 9/2. P. 15.*

⁸⁷ See M. Oldoni about the little that is known about the school’s early history: *Oldoni M. Un Medioevo senza santi: la Scuola Medica di Salerno dalle origini al XIII secolo // Maria Pasca. La scuola medica salernitana: storia, immagini, manoscritti dall’XI al XII secolo. Napoli: Electa, 1988. P. 13–28.*

⁸⁸ V. Brown discusses further possible reasons: *Brown V. Palimpsested texts in Beneventan Script: a handlist with some identifications // Early medieval palimpsests / ed. G. Declercq. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007. P. 109–110.*

Africanus' *Pantegni* stemming from Monte Cassino. The manuscript Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek KB 73 J 6 (around 1070) is written in Caroline with some Beneventan characteristics, thus the same as several early Gariopontus manuscripts we have met. Fig. 8 shows a Caroline page, but with the distinctively Beneventan *ri*-ligature (e.g. second last line: *solet dubitari*). Note also the typically Southern Italian floral initial. The main text is written by scribe Geraldus who wrote both scripts under abbot Desiderius⁸⁹. We also know of scribe Grimoald (also under Desiderius), familiar with both scripts too; he used Caroline only *in margine* in a 'subordinate position' as Kwakkel calls it. In contrast, among the many manuscripts⁹² of Constantine's *Isagoge ad Tegni Galeni* three early ones in Beneventan script are known⁹³: № 10, Paris, BnF, Fonds latin nouv. acq. cod. 1628 (only one gathering), and London, Wellcome 801A. All of them have ties to Monte Cassino.

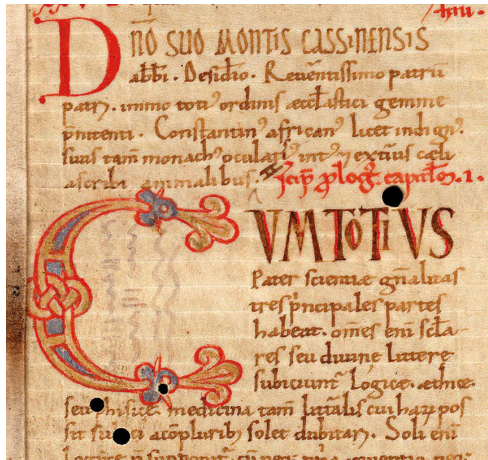


Fig. 8. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek KB 73 J 6 in Caroline with some Beneventan features⁹⁰. The full manuscript is online⁹¹

F. Newton⁹⁴ divides the Monte Cassino manuscripts from this time (11th–12th) into *nobiliiores*, *notabiliores*, and *viliores*. The first class are still all written in Beneventan. All *Fachtexte*, including medical ones, belong to the less carefully made *viliores*. These latter ones may be written fully in Caroline, in Beneventan, or in a mix of the two⁹⁵. Among them, 'Caroline minuscule [...]

⁸⁹ Kwakkel E., Newton F. *Medicine at Monte Cassino: Constantine the African and the Oldest Manuscript of His Pantegni*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019. P. 47

⁹⁰ On the use of Caroline Minuscule in the Beneventan zone see: Kwakkel E., Newton F. *Medicine at Monte Cassino: Constantine the African and the Oldest Manuscript of His Pantegni*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019. P. 48. Further examples: Monte Cassino 104, 109, and 434.

⁹¹ <https://galerij.kb.nl>.

⁹² https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Liber_pantegni_-_KB_73_J_6_-_folio_001r.jpg (altered).

⁹³ Glaze E., Glen E., Han Yang, Lee B., Newton F. *Monte Cassino and the Isagoge: The three Beneventan manuscripts of Constantine the African's Latin translation / adaptation of Hunayn ibn 'Ishāq's Arabic treatise // BMB, Bibliografia dei Manoscritti in scrittura Beneventana*. Roma: Viella, 2022. P. 22.

⁹⁴ Newton F. *One Scriptorium, Two Scripts: Beneventan, Caroline, and the Problem of Marston 112 // Yale University Library Gazette*. 1991. Suppl. 66. P. 121.

⁹⁵ Cf. Lowe's chapter on this topic, improved by E. Kwakkel's chapter 'Caroline Minuscule Script in the Beneventan Zone' (Kwakkel E., Newton F. *Medicine at Monte Cassino: Constantine the African and the Oldest Manuscript of His Pantegni*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019. P. 48–54) and Newton 1991.

represented a lower register of book production in Monte Cassino⁹⁶. So we find that the typical Salerno texts from the school's heydays beginning in the later 11th c. are no longer written in Beneventan⁹⁷. At the same time the school becomes more visible (at least to us) and more 'international' by attracting foreigners, including some with linguistic skills to translate Arabic medicine (like Constantinus), the Beneventan script seems to begin to fall out of use for medical texts.

РЕЗЮМЕ

Число сохранившихся медицинских рукописей, выполненных бене-вентанским письмом, сравнительно невелико (немногом более дюжины). Это удивительно, учитывая, что школа Салерно располагалась в области Беневенто. Тем не менее, эти рукописи сыграли ключевую роль в истории бытования некоторых латинских медицинских текстов, особенно Aurelius-Esculapius, Alphabetum Galeni Псевдо-Галена и Herbarius Псевдо-Апулея (вместе с родственными текстами, особенно Liber medicinae ex herbis femininis Псевдо-Диоскурида). Статья содержит краткое рассмотрение рукописной традиции этих текстов.

В традиции Liber Aurelii рукописи бене-вентанского происхождения наиболее значимы. Бене-вентанским письмом написана рукопись, самая близкая к оригиналу из сохранившихся; тем же письмом в нее затем были внесены исправления переписчиками, подвергшими текст контаминации. Помимо этого, еще одна рукопись из Монтекассино, а с ней и наилучший список сокращенной версии этого текста тоже написаны бене-вентанским письмом. Удивительно, но в переработке XI в. этих и других медицинских текстов Гариопонтом (Passionarius), который, по-видимому, работал в Салерно, обнаруживаются только следы бене-вентанской графической традиции. Рукописная традиция других упомянутых текстов пока менее известна. Рукописи, выполненные бене-вентанским письмом, имеют большее значение для текста Alphabetum Galeni, чем для текста Herbarius.

В статье рассматривается роль бене-вентанского письма в истории бытования названных текстов и делается попытка установить их связь с Южной Италией и её книгописными центрами, особенно Монтекассино и ранней школой Салерно. Представляется, что уже к концу XII в. этот тип письма постепенно перестают использовать для переписки медицинских текстов.

SUMMARY

The number of extant medical manuscripts in Beneventan script is rather small (little more than a dozen). This is surprising given that the School of

⁹⁶ Kwakkel E., Newton F. Medicine at Monte Cassino: Constantine the African and the Oldest Manuscript of His Pantegni. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019. P. 59.

⁹⁷ De Renzi edited seven volumes of such texts around 1850.

Salerno was situated in Beneventan terrain. Nonetheless these manuscripts play a key role in the transmission of some Latin medical texts, especially *Aurelius-Esculapius*, Ps-Galen's *Alphabetum Galeni*, and Ps-Apuleius' *Herbarius* (together with related texts, especially Ps-Dioscurides' *Liber medicinae ex herbis femininis*). The transmissions of these texts are briefly discussed.

In the transmission of the *Liber Aurelii* manuscripts in Beneventan script are especially prominent. Both the first and the contaminating hands of the most original extant manuscript write in Beneventan script. Besides, a Monte Cassino manuscript is also written in Beneventan as well as the best manuscript of this text's abbreviated version. Surprisingly, the mid 11th-century reworking of these and other medical texts by Gariopontus (*Passionarius*), who apparently worked in Salerno, shows only traces of transmission in Beneventan script. The transmission of the other mentioned texts is as yet less well known. Manuscripts in Beneventan script are of greater importance for the *Alphabetum Galeni* than for the *Herbarius*.

This article explores the role of the Beneventan script in the transmission of these texts and tries to establish their relation to Southern Italy and its scriptoria, especially Monte Cassino and the early school of Salerno. It seems that this script started to be avoided already towards the end of the 12th century for medical texts.

КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА

Медицинские рукописи, беневертанское письмо, Aurelius-Esculapius, Alphabetum Galeni, Herbarius, Liber medicinae ex herbis femininis.

KEYWORDS

Medical manuscripts. Beneventan script, Aurelius-Esculapius, Alphabetum Galeni, Herbarius, Liber medicinae ex herbis femininis.

REFERENCES

Alphabet of Galen. Pharmacy from Antiquity to Middle Ages / ed. N. Everett. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Antonii Musae De herba vettonica liber; Pseudoapulei Herbarius; Anonymi de taxone liber; Sexti Placiti liber medicinae ex animalibus etc. / ed. E. Howald, H. E. Sigerist. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927.

Bandini A. M. Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana seu catalogus manuscriptorum [...]. Vol. 3. Florentiae: Typis Caesaris, 1776.

Beccaria A. I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX–XI). Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956.

Bischoff B. Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen). 4 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998–2017.

Brown V. A second new list // *Mediaeval Studies*. 1978. Vol. 40. P. 239–289.
Brown V. A second new list // *Mediaeval Studies*. 1980. Vol. 50. P. 584–625.
Brown V. A second new list // *Mediaeval Studies*. 1994. Vol. 56. P. 299–350.
Brown V. Palimpsested texts in Beneventan Script: a handlist with some identifications // *Early medieval palimpsests* / ed. G. Declercq. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007. P. 99–144.

Brunhölzl F. Zum Problem der Casinenser Klassikerüberlieferung. München: Fink, 1971.

Caelius Aurelianus: Akute Krankheiten Buch I–III, Chronische Krankheiten Buch I–V / ed. G. Bendz. 2 vols. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1990–1993.

Cau E. Frammenti cremonesi di scrittura beneventana // *Ricerche medievali*. 1969–1970. Vol. 4–5. P. 21–34.

Cavallo G. La trasmissione dei testi nell'area beneventano-cassinese // *La cultura antica nell'Occidente latino dal VII all'XI secolo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo XXII (Spoleto, 18–24 Aprile 1974). Spoleto: CISAM, 1975. P. 355–424.

Collins M. *Medieval Herbals. The Illustrative Traditions*. London: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Crivello F. L'erbario in scrittura beneventana della Biblioteca Universitaria di Torino // *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*. 2015. Vol. 56. P. 15–31.

Cuna A. Per un 'census' dei manoscritti 'de re medica' d'origine salernitana // *Quaderni Utinensi*. 1993. Vol. 13–14. P. 41–50.

Enzenberger H. Chanceries, Charters and Administration in Norman Italy // *The Society of Norman Italy* / ed. G. A. Loud, A. Metcalfe. Leiden: Brill, 2002. P. 117–150.

Fischer K.-D. Drugs to declare. Two pharmaceutical works attributed to Galen // *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Griegos e Indoeuropeos*. 2018. Vol. 28. P. 225–241.

Fischer K.-D. Starch and the Alphabet of Galen // *Studia Philologica Valentina*. 2015. Vol. 17. N.s. 14. P. 113–138.

Glaze E. Gariopontus and the Salernitans: Textual traditions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries // *La Collectio Salernitana di Salvatore De Renzi* / ed. D. Jacquart, A. Paravicini Bagliani. Firenze: SISMEL, 2008. P. 149–190.

Glaze E., Glen E., Han Yang, Lee B., Newton F. Monte Cassino and the Isagoge: The three Beneventan manuscripts of Constantine the African's Latin translation / adaptation of Ḥunayn ibn 'Ishāq's Arabic treatise // *BMB, Bibliografia dei Manoscritti in scrittura Beneventana*. Roma: Viella, 2022. P. 45–62.

Grape-Albers H. Spätantike Bilder aus der Welt des Arztes : medizinische Bilderhandschriften der Spätantike und ihre mittelalterliche Überlieferung. Wiesbaden: G. Pressler, 1977.

Hoffmann H. Die Chronik von Monte Cassino (*Chronica monasterii Casinensis*), MGH SS34. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980.

Jacobsen P. C. Unbekannte Fragmente eines medizinisch-Sammelcodex des späten 10. Jahrhunderts, Erlangen: Fau University Press, 2022.

Kwakkel E., Newton F. *Medicine at Monte Cassino: Constantine the African and the Oldest Manuscript of His Pantegni*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019.

Liber Aurelii 'On Acute Diseases' / ed. Ph. Roelli. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2021.

Lowe E. A., Brown V. *The Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Roma: Ed. di storia e letteratura, 1980.

Maggiulli G., Buffa Giolito F. *L'altro Apuleio. Problemi aperti per una nuova edizione dell' 'Herbarius'*. Napoli: Loffredo, 1996.

Newton F. *One Scriptorium, Two Scripts: Beneventan, Caroline, and the Problem of Marston 112* // *Yale University Library Gazette*. 1991. Suppl. 66. P. 118–133.

Newton F. *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*. Cambridge: University Press, 1999.

Newton F. *Tibullus in Two Grammatical Florilegia of the Middle Ages* // *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*. 1962. Vol. 93. P. 253–286.

Oldoni M. *Un Medioevo senza santi: la Scuola Medica di Salerno dalle origini al XIII secolo* // Maria Pasca. *La scuola medica salernitana: storia, immagini, manoscritti dall'XI al XII secolo*. Napoli: Electa, 1988. P. 13–28.

Pseudo-Dioscorides, *De herbis femininis* / ed. H. Kästner // *Hermes*. 1896. Vol. 31. P. 578–636.

Reindel K. *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*. München: MGH, 1988.

Riddle J. M. *Pseudo-Dioscorides, Ex Herbis Femininis and Early Medieval Medical Botany* // *Journal of the History of Biology*. 1981. Vol. 14/1. P. 43–81.

Roelli Ph. *Sinn aus Unsinn? Der Umgang mit der Überlieferung spätantiker medizinischer Literatur bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* // *Die antike Literatur und die Wissenschaftliche Revolution* / ed. M. Korenjak, I. Tautschnig. Baden-Baden: Rombach, 2023. P. 15–36.

Singer Ch. *The Herbal in the Antiquity* // *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*. 1927. Vol. XLVII. P. 1–52 (37–48).

Tonelli T. *Poggii Epistolae*. Florentiae: Typis L. Marchini, 1832.

Tristano C. *Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale* // *Scrittura e civiltà*. 1979. Vol. 3. P. 89–150.

Ventura I. *Il Circa instans attribuito a Platearius: trasmissione manoscritta, redazioni, criteri di costruzione di un'edizione critica* // *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*. 2015. Vol. 10. P. 251–362.

Vitolo G. *Tra Cava e Salerno: cultura e scrittura in età normanno-sveva* // *Rassegna Storica Salernitana*. 1992. Vol. 9/2. P. 7–24.