

primer | 1 SERMONS
Laura Light

primer | 2 ALCHEMY
Lawrence M. Principe
and Laura Light

primer | 3 LAW
Susan L'Engle
and Ariane Bergeron-Foote

primer | 4 BESTSELLERS
Pascale Bourgain
and Laura Light

primer | 6 MANUSCRIPT
PRODUCTION
Richard H. Rouse
and Laura Light

forthcoming titles :

primer | 5 NEO-GOTHIC

general editor Sandra Hindman
a series published by *LES ENLUMINURES*
New York • Chicago • Paris

primer | 6

LES ENLUMINURES LTD.

23 East 73rd Street
7th Floor, Penthouse
New York, NY 10021
Tel: (212) 717 7273
Fax: (212) 717 7278
newyork@lesenluminures.com

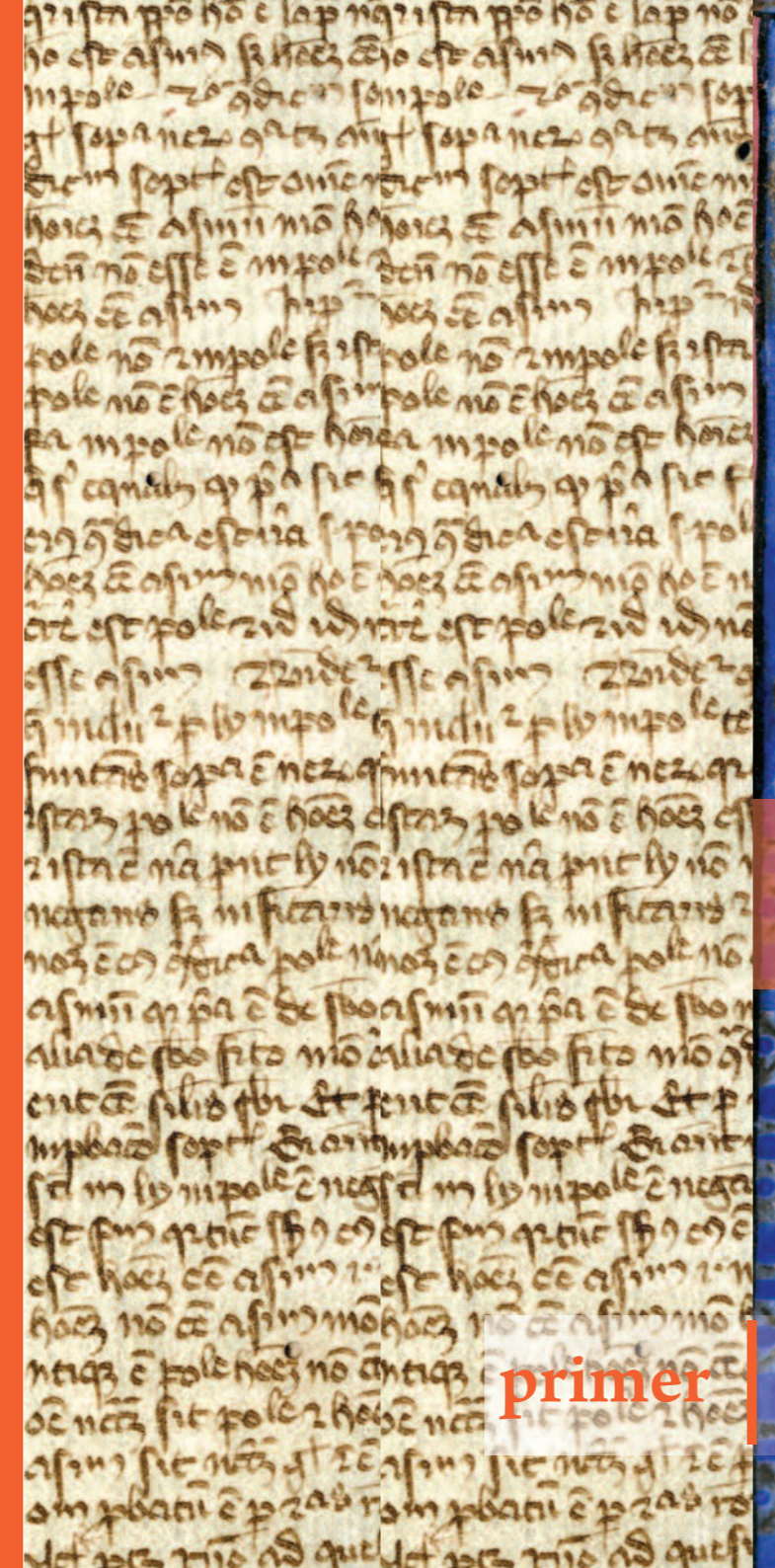
LES ENLUMINURES LTD.

2970 North Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, IL 60657
Tel: (773) 929 5986
Fax: (773) 528 3976
chicago@lesenluminures.com

LES ENLUMINURES

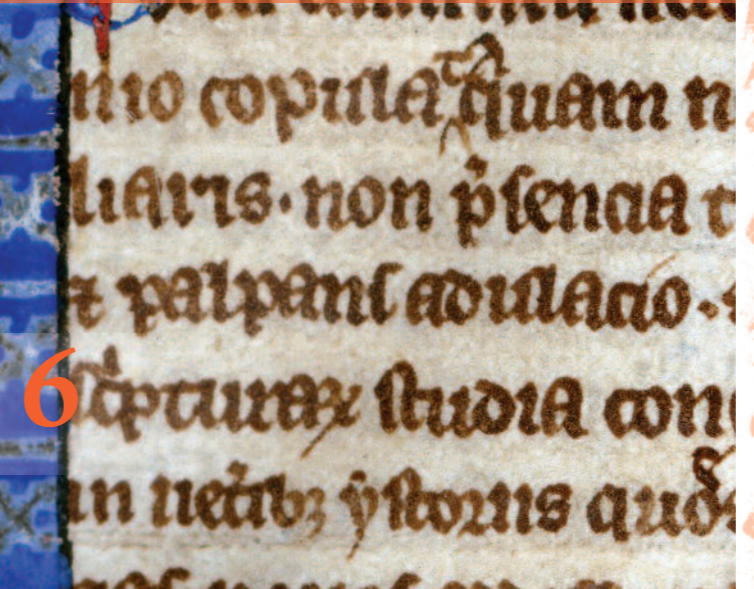
1, rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau
75001 Paris
Tel: (33) (0)1 42 60 15 58
Fax: (33) (0)1 40 15 63 88
info@lesenluminures.com

www.lesenluminures.com
www.textmanuscripts.com



MANUSCRIPT PRODUCTION

primer | 6



Each volume in the series of “primers” introduces one genre or a problematic of medieval manuscripts to a wider audience by providing a brief general introduction, followed by descriptions of the manuscripts, study aids, and suggestions for further reading. We believe that these “primers” will help answer in a concrete way what certain types of manuscripts actually looked like and how they functioned for their medieval readers.

The manuscripts presented in this “primer” and the informative introduction by Professor Richard Rouse, one of the world's leading authorities on the topic, address the most basic questions: how were manuscripts made? who made them? and even (in one case), how long did it take? None of these questions are necessarily easy to answer, but as is shown here, the first step toward an answer involves careful study of manuscripts as material artifacts (evidence of production, the organization of the page, aids to the reader, and marginal additions). It has been almost four decades since L. M. J. Delaissé coined the phrase the “archaeology of the book” to describe this methodology. Used first to study medieval manuscripts, this approach has now been embraced by scholars in the growing discipline of the history of the book.

primer | 6

general editor Sandra Hindman

MANUSCRIPT
PRODUCTION

Richard H. Rouse and Laura Light

a series published by *LES ENLUMINURES*
New York • Chicago • Paris

Authentic Witnesses: Manuscript Making and Models of Production

How did manuscript books come into being? What are they written on, what are the colors made from, how was that shiny gold put on the page? These are useful questions for any admirer of manuscripts; ones that also interest paleographers and specialists in the conservation and repair of manuscripts worn from use and age. What I have to say in response holds true for most of Western Europe from the twelfth through the sixteenth century, in the period of production mostly in the monastic scriptorium to roughly 1230, and in the period of principally commercial urban production that extended from around 1200 on into the sixteenth century.

To begin with the basics: the word “manuscript” comes from the Latin *manu scriptus*, a text written by hand. The fundamental building block of a manuscript book is the bifolium, a rectangular sheet of parchment or paper folded in half across the longer side. A folio – one half of a bifolium – has two sides which we call the recto and the verso (called pages, in a printed book). Quires, or gatherings, are formed when bifolia are placed one inside another, usually four or six of them in northern Europe and often five in the south. Each quire has twice the number of folios and four times the number of pages as it has bifolia. The quires are sewn in sequence on thongs, to form a “codex” or book. Scribes used different methods to keep the book in order while it was unbound. Catchwords (that is the first words of the following quire) are found at the end of quires in Western manuscripts as early as c. 1000, and they were in widespread use by the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century the practice began of numbering the individual bifolia, often with a letter of the alphabet to designate the quire and an Arabic

numeral, the leaf (a1, a2, a3...), and the individual quires of the book were also sometimes numbered in Roman numerals, especially early in the Middle Ages, usually in the lower outer margin of the last page.

Manuscripts were written on parchment bifolia usually of sheepskin, or of calfskin if large pages were needed such as those in Choir Books. Skins, whether of sheep, goats, or calves, were prepared by being soaked in a solution of lye to loosen the hair and the fat and flesh, and then stretched tight on a frame and scraped by the parchmenter. He used a blade shaped like a crescent moon, and thus called a *lunellum*, to remove the remaining hair and flesh from the hide. The strokes of the knife are sometimes still visible on the parchment. When the last bits of hair, fat, and flesh had been removed and the skin was dry and taut on the frame, the parchmenter would then smooth the surface with a pumice stone. The final finishing was done by the scribes, who knew the quality needed for the texts they were preparing to write.

By the fourteenth century, Italian *cartolai* or parchment and paper sellers offered ruled parchment in various sizes for purchase; but paper was seldom used for monastic books until late in the Middle Ages. Imported paper was known in Italy from the twelfth century, but the first paper mill in Europe was built in 1267 at Fabriano, Italy, where paper is still made today (there was an earlier paper mill at Xativa near Valencia in Spain, then still under Arab rule). Mills appeared along streams, which could be used to drive wheels with hammers to pound the vegetable fiber into pulp. Paper was used for text manuscripts, but was ordinarily too thin and flexible for manuscripts that were to be illuminated with beaten gold, such as Books of Hours or presentation copies. Paper was quite suitable, though, for drawings in pen or brush and ink, which are often seen in manuscripts of German origin.

In the monastery the entire work of making the manuscript was often carried out by the scribe (no. 1). He cut and folded the parchment to the dimensions of the page he desired. He would then prick holes down both sides of the open bifolium, probably several bifolia at a time, using an awl or possibly a spiked wheel. He would then line up his ruler on the parallel rows of pricked holes on each side of the open bifolium and rule his pages to produce the layout of the text he was to copy. The works the scribe copied for the house were normally the works of the Church Fathers, required reading during Lent.

In the growing cities of the twelfth and later centuries, books were made commercially by artisans who worked not for God but for their daily bread (nos. 2 and 3). Commercial production was specialized, with different craftsmen doing the work of scribe, illuminator/decorator, and binder. The training of parish priests and the emergence of the university in the thirteenth century required an effective method of making multiple copies from a single exemplar. University stationers had the most popular texts available in *peciae* (literally, "pieces") or unbound quires, to be rented cheaply and copied one after the other.

The commercial scribe of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had to cope with texts that had formal glosses. If his text was a work with a formal gloss such as a Bible or a legal text like Gratian's *Decretum*, it would be laid out so that the page was ruled for two lines of gloss for each line of text. The gloss would be connected to the text with tie marks, medieval "footnotes," comprised of a set of symbols or series of letters of the alphabet.

Where a historiated or decorated initial occurred for the beginning of a new paragraph, the scribe would write the desired letter in lead in the space (nos. 1 and 2), with an abbreviated indication of the color wanted for the initial. If a

miniature was to be painted, the illuminator would sometimes draw a sketch as a reminder or as an instruction from the client that here he was to draw the Crucifixion or the Annunciation, with initials designating the colors, "a" for azurite or blue, the most expensive after "or" for gold, and so on.

As the professions, law, theology, and medicine took form in the thirteenth century, each with their own curriculum and text books, each developed its particular vocabulary and special abbreviations for them. Of the many features that emerged, the various finding devices made necessary by the length and density of legal and theological works are perhaps the most significant in the history of the book. Some are things we now take for granted on the page: punctuation such as the question mark, paragraph marks, the alternation of the colors red and blue for majuscule letters to catch the eye, the systematic addition of running headlines with the author or title on the left and the book and chapter number on the right (no. 2). Other devices are more ambitious: the creation of tables of contents and, by 1230, alphabetical subject indexes enabling the reader to search through a work for every appearance of a word or topic (no. 7). By 1300 virtually every major work of the Church Fathers was provided with an alphabetical subject index. In addition, free-standing alphabetical reference tools appear in the thirteenth century, most impressive among them being the alphabetically arranged concordance to the words in the Bible.

The appearance of the orders of mendicant friars, the Franciscans confirmed in 1209 and the Dominicans in 1216, profoundly affected the content and shape of the Bible (no. 3). With its ordinary gloss, a complete Bible often filled twenty-one or twenty-two volumes, rather impractical for itinerant missionaries. By around 1230 one-volume portable Bibles (less than 200 mm. in height) were being copied in Paris, possibly originally associated with the Dominicans of Saint-Jacques

in Paris, that involved both textual and physical changes, less text, smaller script, and thinner parchment. In the course of the thirteenth century a body of works concerning the major aspects of pastoral care came into being to serve the parish priest, handbooks such as confessionals, penitentials, and collections of model sermons, as well as works to help in the compilation of sermons such as the collections of biblical “distinctions,” which listed the figurative meanings of words in the Bible (nos. 2 and 6).

It is often assumed that the invention of printing around 1455 by Johan Gutenberg brought the era of the manuscript book to a close. This is correct in the long run, but in the middle of the fifteenth century the printing press added extensively to the longevity of the profession of both scribes and illuminators (nos. 6, 8, 9, and 10). Printing in two colors was not economically feasible until near the end of the century; therefore, rubrics and titles had to be added by hand to the leaves of the some fifty to one hundred copies in the print run of each book or else omitted. Fortunately, most of the problems in the layout, construction, publication, and sale of books had been resolved in Europe’s manuscript era, to the degree that early printed books were made to look like manuscripts, their type fonts cut to imitate the appearance of scripts, German *Fraktur* and humanist script among them. As for providing continued work for illuminators, the practical and affordable printing of images in color was not achieved until the twentieth century.

The examples included in the descriptions that follow testify to the wide diversity of manuscript production in the Middle Ages and provide a useful survey of various models of book-making as they evolved over three centuries. Early in the medieval era, we see multiple monk-scribes collaborating within one volume and even sharing their work within a single gathering (no. 1). By the later Middle Ages, commercial urban production in France (Paris) and England (possibly Oxford) was in full swing, responding in part to the growing needs of students and mendicant

preachers (nos. 2 and 3). An interesting example contributes to the question as to whether during this time the friars also produced manuscripts “in house” for their own use (no. 4). Certainly students, keen to earn a little extra pocket money on the side, transcribed works for others (no. 5), and owners, perhaps also to save money, wrote out less expensive books for their own use (no. 6). Just how long it took a professional scribe to copy a manuscript is a frequently asked question, to which one exemplar that is signed and dated in sections as it was completed contributes additional evidence (no. 7). Deluxe manuscript production at the end of the Middle Ages in Italy was in the hands of the *cartolaio*, an Italian version of the stationer, who coordinated the work of many craftsmen (no. 8). Finally, we see the rebirth of the monastic scriptorium in the fifteenth century when the copying of books played an important role in the reformist *Devotio Moderna* movement and in certain nunneries that specialized in hybrid productions (nos. 9 and 10). A special case reminds us of the wide range of types of books, some calling for different techniques altogether, such as the medieval scroll or roll (no. 11). All these examples survive as “authentic witnesses” to the men and women who made books so many centuries ago.

Richard H. Rouse
Professor Emeritus of History, University of California, Los Angeles

1

ARNOLDUS BONAVALDIS, *De ultimis verbis Domini; De laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis; and Preface to De operibus sex dierum; Treatise on the Sacraments (especially the Mass) and Treatise on the Eucharist* by UNKNOWN AUTHOR(S); **PATRISTIC** extracts on the Eucharist; **RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA**, preface to *Periarchon*; and *Apologia ad Anastasium*; **HIERONYMUS**, *Epistola ad Rufinum*; and *Liber tertius adversos libros Rufini*

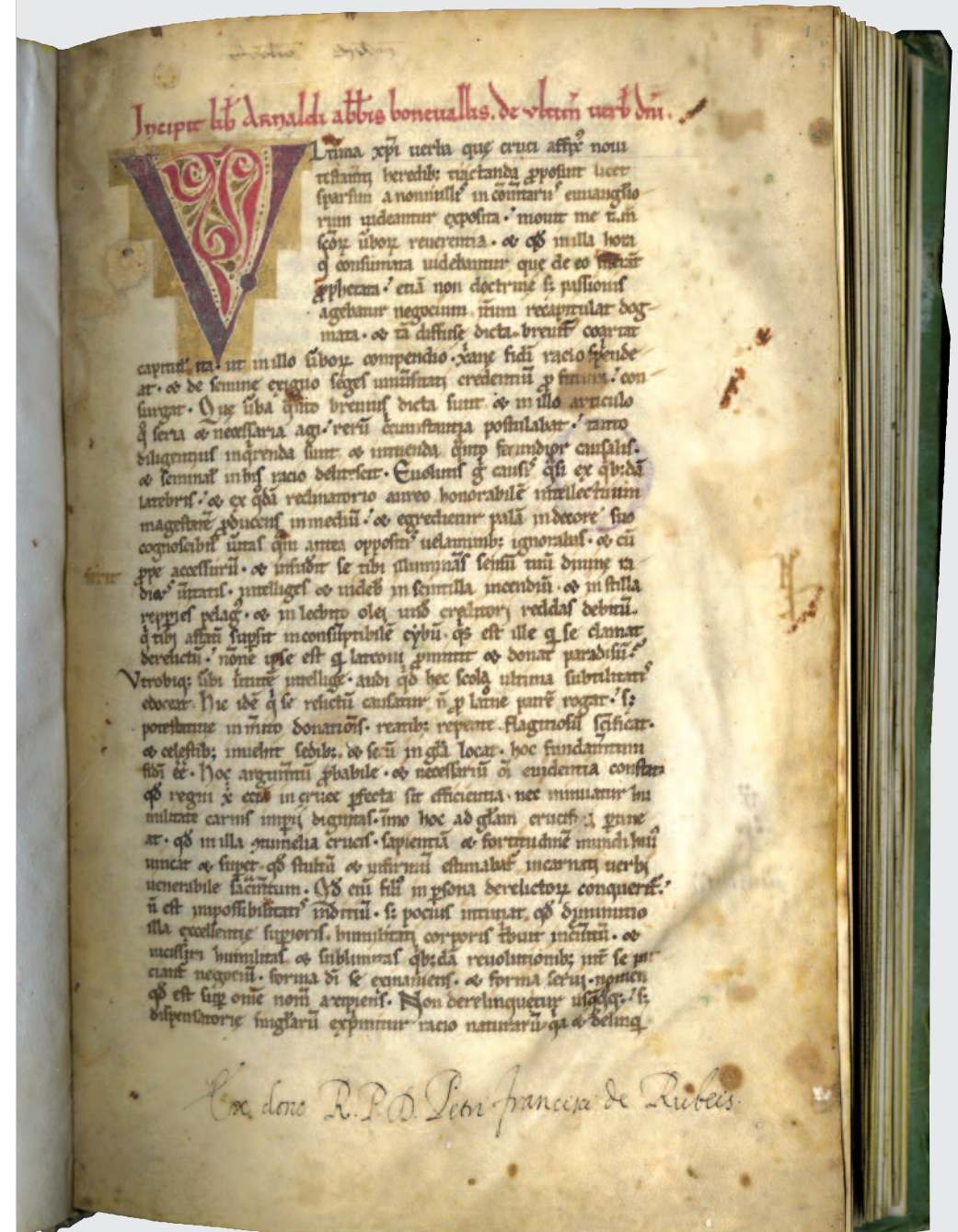
In Latin, with isolated words in Greek, decorated manuscript on parchment
Southern France or Spain (?), c. 1160-80

This manuscript was probably copied and decorated in a monastic scriptorium. Some of the most well-known products of twelfth-century monasteries are large format copies of Patristic texts and Bibles that were read aloud in the refectory and choir. This is a more modest-sized manuscript with two texts by a contemporary twelfth-century author, Arnold of Bonneval, together with two, yet unidentified texts on the Sacraments and Eucharist, also probably contemporary, and texts by Rufinus and Jerome. The first and second texts were accented by a later hand for public reading, but this book was likely originally made for study.

It was copied by three scribes, each copying a cohesive section of text (the first, the texts by Arnold of Bonneval, the second, the treatises on the Sacraments and Eucharist, and the final scribe, the Patristic texts). These changes of hand do not coincide with the beginnings of new quires, so we know the scribes were not working simultaneously. The first, and longest section, was completed with a rubric in red and handsome initials, but the remaining texts have only blank spaces for initials. It exhibits the simple organization of many twelfth-century monastic manuscripts, with very few aids to the reader; there are no running titles, and initials were planned only at the beginning of texts. Clues to how it was made are still visible, including the prickings in the three outer margins used by the scribes when they were ruling the manuscript, and the tiny letters copied in the spaces they left blank for initials to indicate which letter was to be added in color later. [TM 654]

DESCRIPTION: 60 folios, incomplete, last text ends imperfectly, written above the top ruled line in skilled pre-gothic bookhands by three scribes in 41-38 long lines, plain red initials and arabesque initials, first leaves slightly darkened, a few small stains. 17th-century green vellum binding, back board bowed, split along spine, top and bottom of spine damaged. Dimensions 255 x 163 mm.

LITERATURE: Jean Leclercq, "Ecrits monastiques sur la Bible aux XI^e-XIII^e siècles," *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953), pp. 96-98; P. Lardet, ed., *Contra Rufinum*, CCSL, v. 79, Turnhout, 1982; M. Simonetti, ed., *Tyranni Rufini Opera*, CCSL, v. 20, Turnhout, 1961.



Ex dono R. P. D. Petri francisci de Rubis.

reduced

2

RAYMUNDUS DE PENAFORTE, *Summa de poenitentia* [or *Summa de casibus poenitentialis*]

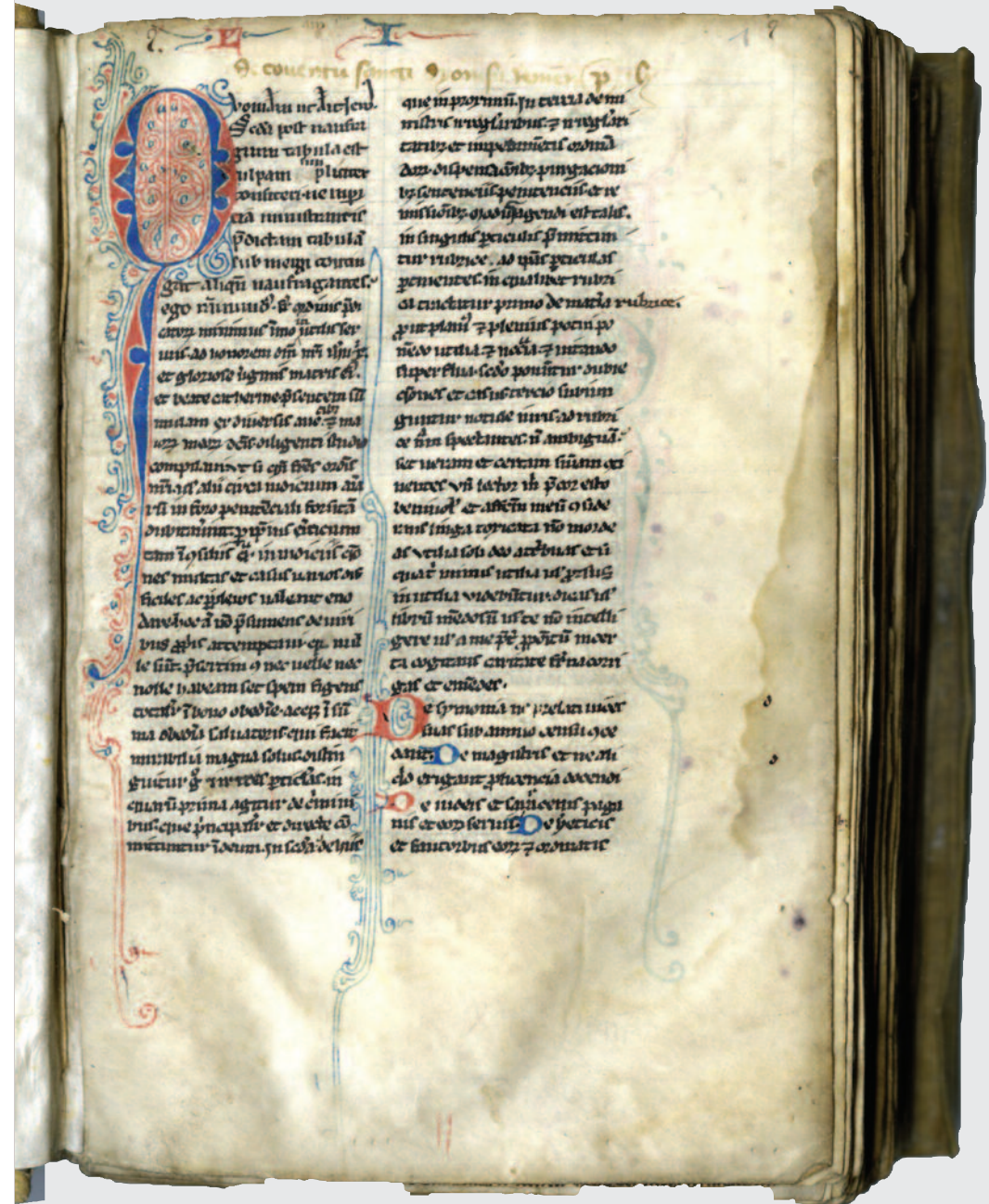
In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment
Northern France (Paris), c. 1235-1250

The concentration of students and teachers in the thriving city of Paris from the late twelfth century supported a new type of book production. This copy of the extremely popular manual for confessors composed by the distinguished Dominican, Raymond of Peñafort (c. 1180/85-1275) was probably commissioned by a student or teacher, possibly someone from the Dominican Convent of St.-Jacques, from a commercial bookseller, known as a *libraire*, who had access to the exemplar and the parchment and hired the craftsmen who made the book, including scribes, artists (for illuminated books), and binders. Later in the thirteenth century, *pecia*-exemplars of this text were available for rental at the university stationers, accounting for the numerous surviving copies.

In contrast with the simple presentation of the text to the reader in the previous manuscript (no. 1), the layout of this book is designed to help the reader efficiently use the text and find needed passages. Each double page opening includes running titles in red and blue, with “L” for *liber* on the left, and the number of the book in Roman numerals on the right. Alternately red and blue initials with contrasting pen decoration are used in varying sizes to articulate the text; larger and more complex initials at the beginning of each book, and two-line initials at the beginning of chapters. Chapter titles are copied in red (“rubrics”). Smaller divisions within the text are marked by red paragraph marks, and each book begins with a list of chapters. These innovations in book design were developed in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century schools, where finding needed information efficiently was crucial. [TM 580]

DESCRIPTION: 160 folios, almost certainly complete, written in an upright gothic bookhand in two columns of 33-35 lines, red and blue penwork initials, slight ink flaking, f. 151rv, stains, and other signs of use; vellum binding. Dimensions 175 x 115 mm.

LITERATURE: Marian Michèle Mulchahey, “First the Bow is Bent in Study”: *Dominican Education before 1350*, Toronto, 1998; Giovanna Murano, *Opere diffuse per “exemplar” e pecia*, Turnhout, 2005, no. 801; Xavier Ochoa and A. Diez, eds., *Sanctus Raimundus de Penafort, Tomus B. Summa de poenitentia*, 1976; Rouse and Rouse, 2000.



reduced

Vulgate Bible

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment
England, c. 1230-50

The creation of small, portable Bibles that included the complete text of the Old and New Testaments in one volume was one of the great innovations of the thirteenth century. The first truly portable Bibles (often called pocket Bibles) were copied at the end of the 1220s or early 1230s, almost certainly in Paris (although examples appear almost as early in England), and Paris continued to be a major center for the copying of Bibles throughout the thirteenth century. Many, many hundreds of Bibles were copied in the French capital, where they were one of the mainstays of the commercial booktrade.

Paris was the most important center for producing these new Bibles, but examples also survive from England, including the Bible described here (somewhat larger than a typical pocket Bible). The text of English thirteenth-century Bibles, however, is often quite distinct from contemporary Bibles from Paris. Centralized production in Paris resulted in numerous Bibles that share the same text (the text modern scholars call the Paris Bible). In England, a much more diffuse production meant that there is a much greater variety in the text of the Bibles; there is no "typical" English text. This is a handsome Bible, although not a luxurious one. Only the opening page and Genesis begin with illuminated initials. It includes extensive contemporary corrections, including alternate readings, cross references, and other marginal notes that show that it was used for study, perhaps by a student or master of theology, possibly a Franciscan or Dominican friar. The presence of very early annotations in English hands does not, perhaps, prove that this Bible was copied in England, but together with the evidence of its text and the style of the penwork initials, it does seem almost a certainty. [TM 781]

DESCRIPTION: 493 folios, lacking at least a quire at the end, written below the top line in an upright gothic bookhand in 2 columns of 45 lines, red and blue pen initials, 2 illuminated initials, some wear to opening page, 3 replacement leaves. Bound in 18th-century gold-tooled red morocco by Richard Wier. Dimensions 205 x 150.

LITERATURE: Light, 2012; Rouse and Rouse, 2000.



reduced

4

MARCHESINUS DE REGIO LEPIDI, *Mammotrectus* (abbreviated)

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment
Northern Italy (Bologna?), c. 1300-1330

The Franciscan and Dominican Orders inaugurated a new type of religious life based on poverty and itinerant preaching. They therefore needed manuscripts like this one that were quite small and easily portable. There has been considerable scholarly debate about how many Franciscan and Dominican manuscripts were copied “in-house” by the friars themselves. This manuscript certainly was. It is signed by its scribe who calls himself Brother Francis, born in Appignano. The most famous Friar from Appignano (now Appignano del Tronto in Ascoli Piceno) was the theologian Francis of Marchia. This manuscript, however, was copied by another Francis of Appignano, who signed two other manuscripts, a Breviary dated 1333, and a copy of St. Bonaventure’s Life of St. Francis in 1332, and identifies himself as the guardian of the Franciscan convent at Montalto Marche (only about ten kilometers north-northwest of Appignano del Tronto). The script in the present manuscript is of particular interest, since it is an early example of a cursive script (the type of script used for documents), used here as a bookhand. We can also ask whether its historiated initial depicting the author in a Franciscan habit was done “in house,” or if the friars sent their manuscript elsewhere to be painted?

The *Mammotrectus* was written between 1279 and 1297 by Marchesinus de Regio Lepidi (its curious title here means “wet nurse”). It is an introduction to the Bible and to the Divine Office, written for young friars. This is an early copy of this text (and possibly one of the few manuscripts that include an attribution to the author). [TM 678]

DESCRIPTION: 188 folios, complete, written in a small cursive gothic bookhand in 33-40 long lines, parted red and blue penwork initials, one historiated initial, margins trimmed close with the text occasionally cropped (primarily the index), small holes and other signs of use. Bound in limp vellum wrappers from a fourteenth-century manuscript, some wear. Dimensions 124 x 96 mm.

LITERATURE: D’Avray, 2001; Frans van Liere, “Tools for Fools: Marchesinus of Reggio and His *Mammotrectus*,” *Medieval Perspectives* 18 (2003), pp. 193-207; Chris Schabel, “Francesco d’Appignano on the Greeks, or Doing Theology without the Bible,” in Domenico Priori, ed., *Atti del VI Convegno Internazionale su Francesco d’Appignano*, Appignano del Tronto, 2013, pp. 206-221; S. Loggi, *I codici della libreria di S. Giacomo della Marca nel Museo Civico di Montepreandone*, 2000.



5

ALBERT OF SAXONY, *Sophismata*

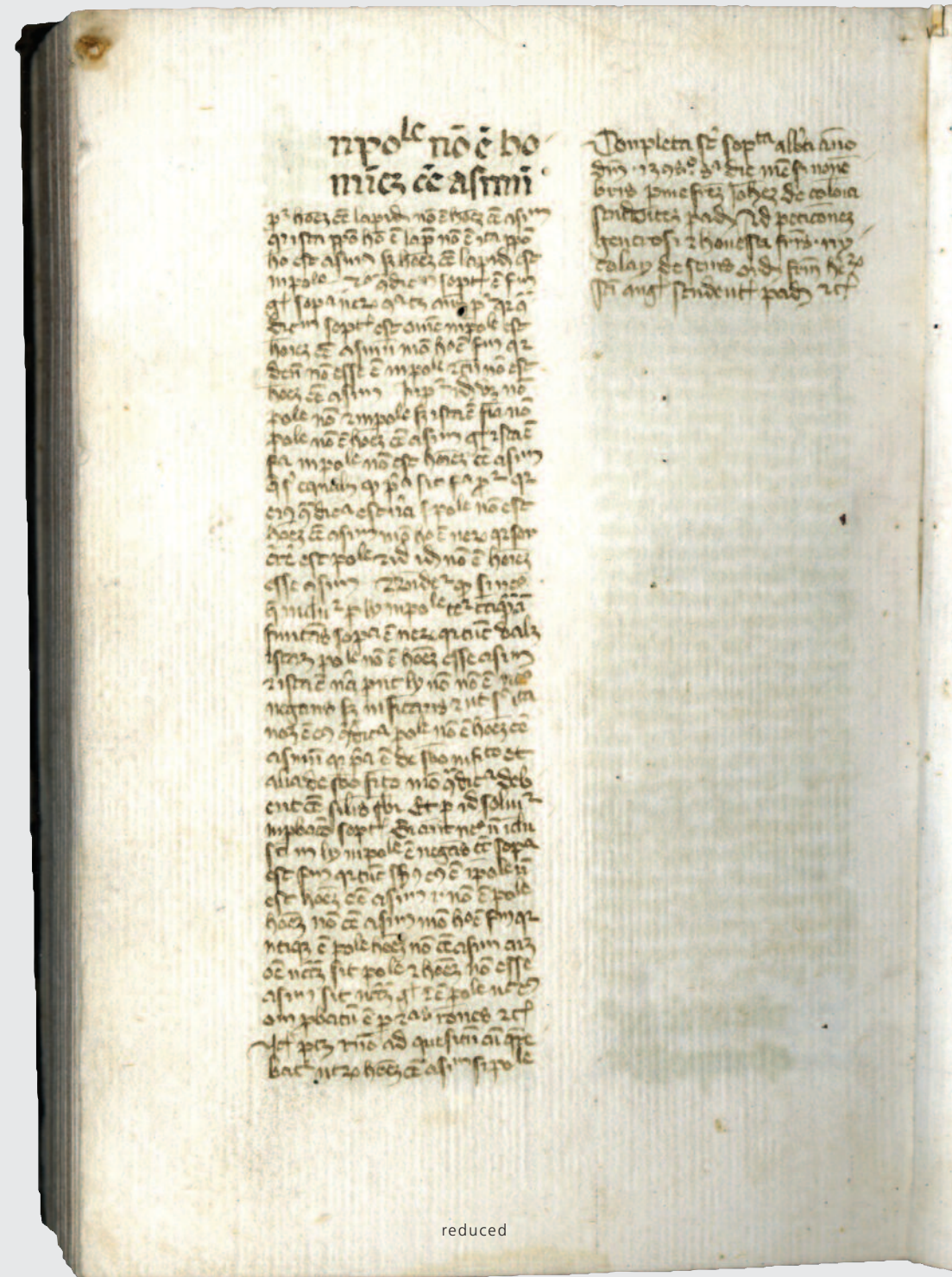
In Latin, manuscript on paper
Italy, Padua, dated 1398

This is a copy of one of the most interesting, and still unedited, texts on logic, copied just eight years after the death of its author, Albert of Saxony (c. 1320-1369). We know from its very detailed colophon that it was copied by a student at the University of Padua, James of Cologne, for another student, Nicholas of Siena, an Augustinian friar (another order of mendicant friars), and completed 8 November 1398. The wording of the colophon suggests that Nicholas paid John to copy the manuscript. Arrangements such as this one involving students earning extra money as scribes must have been a common way in which university texts were copied. Neither John nor Nicholas appear in the published lists of graduates of the University of Padua, so it is possible that they were students at the Augustinian house of studies in Padua. If so, they would have studied under one of the most renowned logicians of Middle Ages, Paul of Venice, who taught there from 1396-99.

The book remained in Padua through the fifteenth century, and includes six separate ownership marks and other entries, including marginal notes and an astronomical diagram, proving it was used by students at the university for a remarkably long time. The trade in second-hand books was an extremely important way students gained access to the books they needed (and in Paris and Bologna it was closely controlled by the university). It is copied on paper in a cursive script, and represents a good example of the “new” more affordable book of the later Middle Ages. [TM 659]

DESCRIPTION: 114 folios, complete, written in one hand in a small, heavily contracted cursive gothic bookhand in 2 columns of 36-38 lines, red and blue penwork initials. Modern grey-brown leather binding, somewhat cockled. Dimensions 204 x 135 mm.

LITERATURE: Harald Berger, “Albert von Sachsen,” *Verfasserlexikon* (2. Aufl.) 11, Berlin and New York, 2004 [online edition]; Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Die Aristotelisch-scholastische Theorie der Bewegung. Studien zum Kommentar Alberts von Sachsen zur Physik des Aristoteles*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen N. F. 32, Münster, 1989.



6

Sermons by an UNIDENTIFIED AUTHOR(S)

In Latin and German, decorated manuscript on paper
Southern Germany or Austria, after 1497-c. 1510

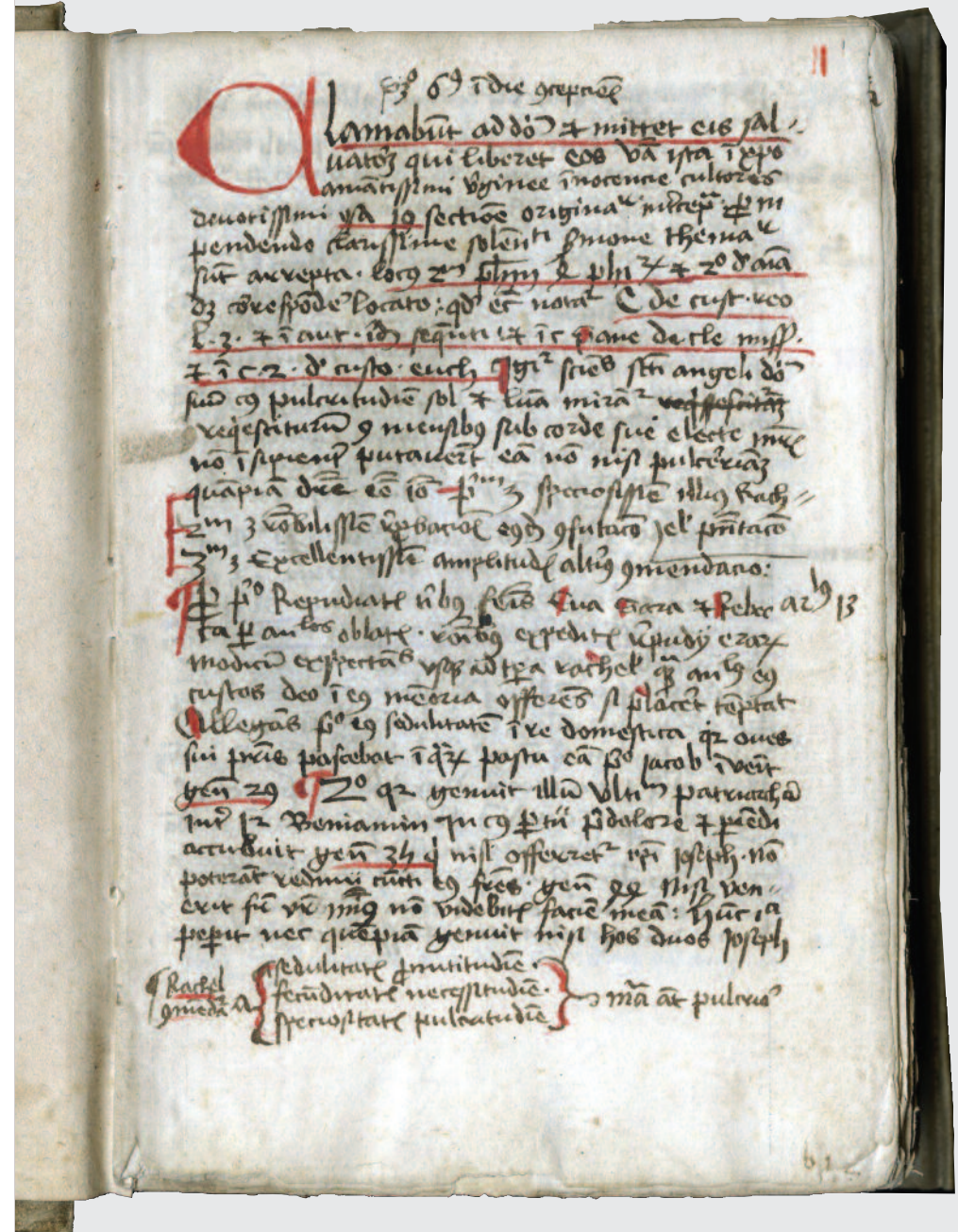
This manuscript was most likely not copied by a paid scribe, but rather by the owner for his own use. It is an informally copied manuscript. Passages are sometimes added in the margins, or copied in a smaller script at the bottom of a page. The last folios are out of order because the writer found he had not completed the last sermon when he reached the end of the quire, and therefore used blank folios at the end of the previous text to finish copying his text. He was, however, conscientious, noting in one case that his exemplar was faulty, and labeling some of the sermons as extracts. Like the previous manuscript (no. 5), this manuscript was copied on paper in a cursive script, hallmarks of the new, less expensive manuscripts of the later Middle Ages. To save time, the pages are unruled apart from the vertical bounding lines on either side of the text.

The forty-two sermons in this manuscript by an unknown author or authors have not been identified in the standard sources, and they almost certainly have not been published, or indeed, studied by modern scholars. The broad range of sources cited suggests that the author was very well educated, and most likely studied, or was studying, theology at a university. The sermons also suggest an interest in popular preaching; one is in Latin and German, and there are a few German phrases in other sermons; one sermon on the Ten Commandments is labeled as particularly suited for preparing people for confession.

[TM 537]

DESCRIPTION: 122 folios, watermarks dated 1488-1497, original foliation, missing first 10 folios, written in current gothic script in 25-29 long lines, red initials. Modern vellum binding. Dimensions, 165 x 110 mm.

LITERATURE: L. Hödl and W. Knoch, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1350 bis 1500 nach den Vorarbeiten von J.B. Schneyer*, CD-ROM edition, Münster, 2001; Johann Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, Münster, 1969-1990; Reiter, 1996; Reiter, 1998.



reduced

SAINT JEROME, *Epistulae; Adversus Vigilantium; and De Perpetua virginitate beatae mariae adversus Helvidium*

In Latin, decorated manuscript on paper

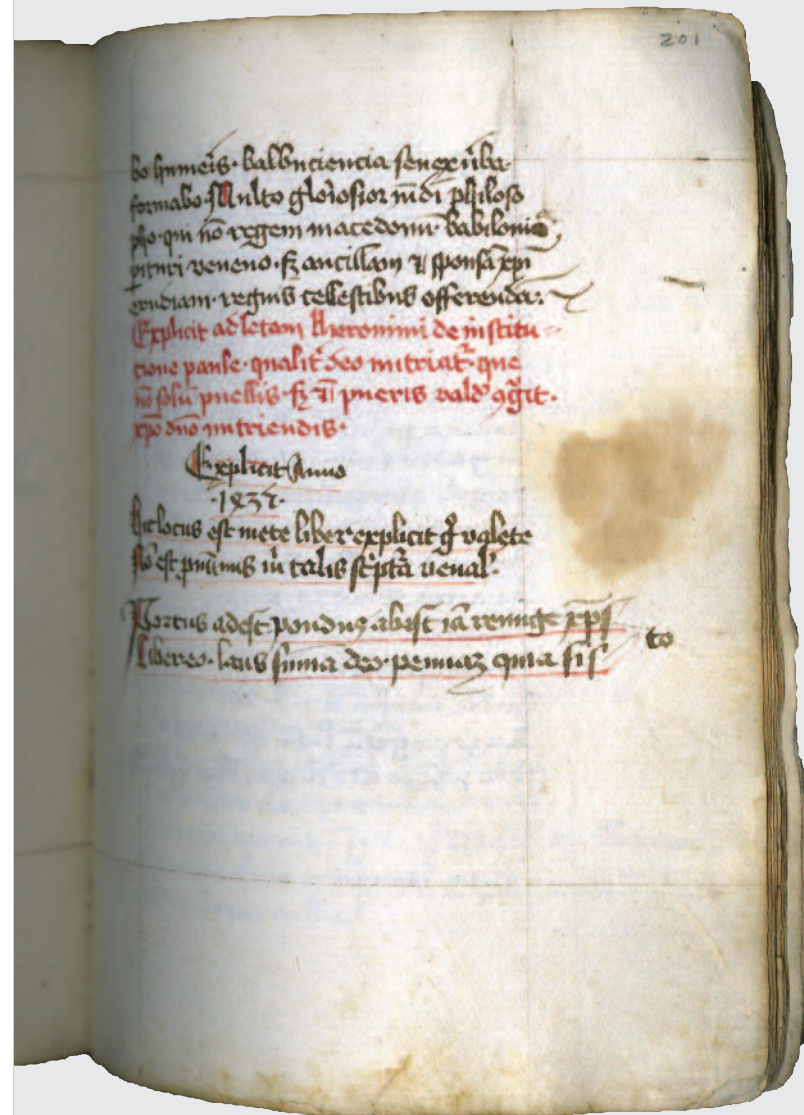
Southern Germany, Regensburg, signed and dated 1435

One of the most frequently asked questions about medieval manuscripts is how long it took to copy them. Because the scribe who copied this manuscript, Johannes Tyrolf (or Tyrell), signed and dated it in numerous places, we can calculate that it took him twenty days to copy the twenty-seven pages between f. 145v and f. 159 (a little more than a page a day), but only four days to copy the thirty-seven and a half pages between f. 159 and f. 178 (about nine pages a day). Certainly how quickly a scribe worked was determined by many factors, including the type of script. One scholar has suggested scribes writing a moderately formal bookhand averaged between four and six pages a day; cursive scripts could be copied more quickly. Johannes Tyrolf was an active scribe, who copied (and signed) at least five other manuscripts. Remarkably, he completed three of these, in addition to the manuscript described here, in 1435 – no wonder he made slow progress at times. The evidence suggests he was working as a professional scribe at this time, since he copied books for a number of different people and institutions, although he eventually became a monk at the Benedictine monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg.

The sophisticated layout of this manuscript is designed for easy searching. The texts are numbered in the table of contents; numbers that are repeated in the running titles. Each topic in the alphabetical subject index is followed by the number of the text and a letter that refer to letters that were added in the margins as needed to pinpoint the location of the subjects in the index. [TM 582]

DESCRIPTION: 216 folios, unidentified watermark, complete, written in a skilled hybrida script in 24-20 long lines, red initials, two folios partially missing, minor signs of use. Bound in original red leather over wooden boards, in fragile condition, upper board partially detached, lower board mostly missing. Dimensions 146 x 109 mm.

LITERATURE: De Hamel, 2006; Gullick, 1995; Gumbert, 1995; Ian F. Rumbold, "The Library of Hermann Pötzlinger (ca. 1415-1469), *Rector Scolarium* at the Monastery of St Emmeram, Regensburg," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 60 (1985), pp. 329-340.



THOMAS AQUINAS, *Sententia libri Ethicorum, or Liber super ethicorum aristotelis* (Commentary on the Ethics of Aristotle)

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment
Northeastern Italy (Venice), c. 1470

Everything about this large-format copy of the Commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* by Thomas Aquinas (c. 1224/1225-1274) speaks of high-quality, professional book production, from the beautiful parchment to the careful script and the several layers of decoration: hundreds of colored initials with contrasting pen flourishing, illuminated initials at the beginning of each book, and the historiated initial depicting the author on the opening page, accompanied by a full border. In Italy, if you wanted a book such as this one, you would seek out a bookseller known as a *cartolaio*, from the Italian word for parchment (*carta*), who would coordinate the work of the many craftsmen necessary to produce the manuscript. All over Italy in the fifteenth century, there were urban patricians, from the Aragonese Kings of Naples, the Medici in Florence, to the Sforza in Milan, who were avid collectors of books and patrons of the booksellers, scribes, and artists who made them.

The exact identity of the original owner of this manuscript is not known, but the distinctive style of the illumination, script and pen work all support an origin in Northeastern Italy in Venice c. 1470. The manuscript was probably illuminated by Leonardo Bellini (fl. c. 1443-1490), or a close follower. His work was strongly influenced by Ferrarese illumination (the flowers with long stamens in the border and the roundel depicting a swan are very close in style to other manuscripts by him). Probably the most important illuminator in Venice c. 1460-1480, he came from a family of notable artists, including his uncle, Jacopo Bellini, and his even more well-known cousins, Giovanni and Gentile. [TM 629]

DESCRIPTION: 160 folios, complete, written in rounded southern gothic bookhands by three scribes in two columns of 40-38 lines, red and blue pen initials, diagram, 9 gold initials with borders, one historiated initial with border, ff. 1-2 creased, some flaking of opening initial, ink abraded on occasional pages, overall in excellent, almost pristine, condition. Bound in 19th-century red crushed morocco by R. Petit, minor rubbing and scuffs on the front and back covers, but in very good condition. Dimensions, 340 x 235 mm.

LITERATURE: Giordana Mariani Canova, "Leonardo Bellini," in *La miniatura veneta del Rinascimento 1450-1500*, ed. G. Mariani Canova, Venice, Alfieri, 1969; Thomas de Aquino, *Sententia libri ethicorum, Opera Omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita*, vol. 47, Rome, 1969; Rouse and Rouse, 1988.



Latin translation by **GEERT GROTE** of **GODEVERD VAN WEVELE**, *De duodecim virtutibus*; **GEERT GROTE**, *Epistola de novo monacho*; **THOMAS A KEMPIS**, *Epistola incitativa ad spiritualem profectum* (excerpt); et alia

In Latin, manuscript on paper

Low Countries or North-West Germany, c. 1500

The fifteenth century saw a rebirth of the monastic scriptorium. In large part this was due to the important role copying books played in the life of the reform movement known as the *Devotio Moderna*. The texts in this manuscript, including the rare Latin translation by Geert Grote (d. 1384), the founder of the *Devotio Moderna*, of a work on the twelve virtues by Godeverd van Wevele (d. 1396) and a text by Thomas a Kempis, point with certainty to this milieu, and this may have been made at a house of Brethren of the Common Life, an Augustinian canonry of the Windesheim Congregation, or a Carthusian monastery. (It did belong to the famous Charterhouse at Buxheim later in its history.) The script in this manuscript is a classic hybrida script, a formal version of a cursive gothic script often found in books associated with the *Devotio Moderna*.

The survival of this manuscript is remarkable since it was probably never intended to circulate in this state. It is made up of five quires (there were originally six, but the first is missing), copied as a unit, and lightly stitched into a temporary parchment cover. We can assume that it was meant to be bound with other similar booklets to make a complete book. Since the quires surviving here were never trimmed by a binder, the instructions to the rubricator, as well as the quire signatures, are preserved (both also sometimes survive in manuscripts that were formally bound, of course). This system of making a manuscript has been documented by Erik Kwakkel for the fourteenth century at the Carthusian monastery at Herne. [TM 670]

DESCRIPTION: 42 folios, watermarks dated 1496-1516, lacking one quire at the beginning, written in a small hybrida script on 31-35 unruled lines, red initials, some wear to edges. Quires individually sewn and lightly tacketed into an originally temporary parchment cover, darkened and mottled. Dimensions 217 x 147 mm.

LITERATURE: Erik Kwakkel, *Die dietsche boeke die ons toebehoeren. De kartuizers van Herne en de productie van Middelnederlandse handschriften in de regio Brussel (1350-1400)*, *Miscellanea Neerlandica* 27, Leuven, 2002; Rouse, "Backgrounds to Print," in *Authentic Witnesses*, 1991.

neq; delābilis. Qui em hoc dicere poterit in ve-
ritate. nunqm habere poterit turbationē nec oppōssus
fore. Et in maiori dimissione. maiorē mueniet sapore
et pacē: qm̄ deus fundus est dimissionis. Et in quali-
bet dimissione qua scrip̄m integraliter vel inq̄i: sentiet
fundū dimissionis. qui est imutabilis **De via abstr**
Quia abstractā voluerit h̄c **m. Capit. quintū**
vitam oportet ip̄m rōmorari in civitate h̄m. que
est civitas pacis: et oportet ip̄m eē sine reprehensioē p̄ci
mortalis. ac liberū ab om̄i inordinata inclinatioē crea-
turarū. et absq; dilōne et odio. ac habere aīm suū
erectū ad deū sine impedimēto. et illi atimue intende-
re: et tactu suū attactū dīno satisfacere vel satis eē.
ac deo inseparabiliter fore unū. Em̄ vita abstracta nō
solū est ab extra: sed etiā abintus. Et sicut oportet hōi
nē imp̄m fugere res exteriores. si debeat se integra-
liter vertere ad deū et hoc nō magna pena et labore.
qm̄ res quas nō amore possidemus. admonitionē sui fa-
ciūt. sive velim. sive nō velimus. Sic nō indiget hō
p̄fectus fugere res ab eē. qm̄ nullā illarū nō inordinata
possidet dilōne. Et sua introuersio ad deū me^{te} amo-
re ita est sibi p̄opta et pata. et continua exortatio. et
deo attendere seu intendere. qd̄ nō h̄z nō sibi aliqm̄
vī facere ad introuertendū se ad deū. Et q̄muis inter-
dū mueniat se v̄sū ad inutilia qm̄ impossibile est qd̄ si-
ne dimissione eēmus sursum erecti ad deū. q̄m̄dū su-
m hoc tpe. Sed subito qm̄ p̄fectus sc̄tū se versū ad i-
utilia. subito auertit se ab illis nō maḡ indignatioē sup̄
scrip̄m. quia ita instabilis est et inconstans. Et q̄a absq; i-
clinacione respexit sup̄ res ipsas. iō p̄t absq; vi se aute-
re ab eisdem. Em̄ introuersio sua ita pata seu p̄p̄-
ta est sibi sicut extrouersio. et amplius pata q̄a ma-

reduced

Noted Antiphonal for the Day Offices (Augustinian Use)

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment, with added illuminated initials
Southern Netherlands or Germany, c. 1530-50 (before 1579)

Two facts about this Antiphonal or Diurnal (a liturgical book containing the words and music for the day-time services of the Divine Office) stand out. First, it is a palimpsest, in other words, it was copied on parchment leaves from earlier manuscripts that were erased for re-use. Secondly, it is decorated with seventeen illuminated initials meticulously cut from earlier manuscripts of different origins (French, Netherlandish, and German), and pasted in. Although historians have explored manuscripts decorated with printed materials, manuscripts decorated with cuttings from earlier manuscripts are much rarer. Hybrid manuscripts are so often associated with nuns, that it seems very likely that this manuscript was made by nuns as well. One has to admire both the frugality and the careful craftsmanship that allowed them to produce this "new" liturgical book from the materials they had at hand, even if they doubtless mutilated or destroyed earlier manuscripts in the process.

The use of catchwords on every page of this manuscript is an unusual practice, and a sign of a later date. Catchwords (that is the first words of the following page copied at the end of a quire, usually in the lower margin) are common in Western manuscripts by the twelfth century. The practice of copying the first words of the next page at the bottom of each page, however, and not simply at the end of a quire, is rarely found in manuscripts. It is found in printed books in Italy by the mid-sixteenth century, and was a common practice in the seventeenth century, suggesting that in this case, scribes may have been influenced by print. [TM 717]

DESCRIPTION: 84 folios on parchment (many, possibly all, palimpsest), complete apart from cancelled leaves, written in a bold late gothic bookhand, square musical notation on red 4-line staves, 17 illuminated initials (2 historiated), and an illuminated border, all cut from earlier manuscripts and glued in, slight inkburn, f. 1. Bound in 17th-century (?) gold-tooled dark-brown leather, worn and slightly warped, but overall in good condition. Dimensions 180 x 127 mm.

LITERATURE: Alexander, 1992; Hindman and Farquhar, 1977.



PETRUS PICTAVIENSIS (PETER OF POITIERS), *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*

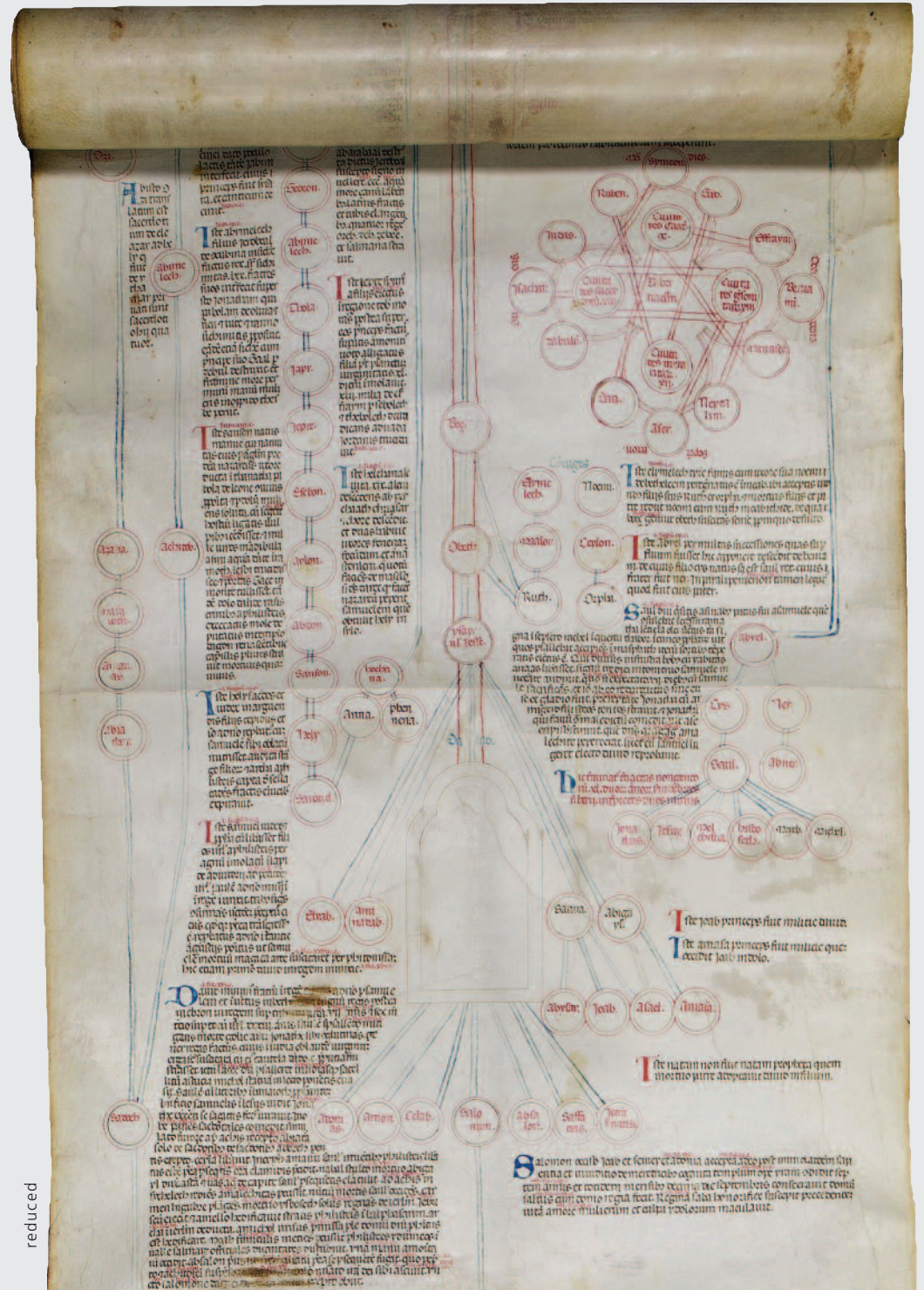
In Latin, decorated roll on parchment
Northern Italy (Piedmont or Lombardy?), c. 1300-1350

The predominant form of the book in Antiquity down to the second or third century A.D. was the papyrus scroll. Although the codex was the usual form of the book from that point on, a minority of manuscripts in roll-format were copied throughout the Middle Ages. Medieval rolls were written in long columns and read vertically, beginning at the top of the roll, and ending at the bottom (unlike ancient scrolls, which were read horizontally). They were used in many contexts: liturgically, including the Exultet Rolls from Southern Italy, and for private copies of prayers; for legal, financial and government documents, such as the English Pipe rolls of the Exchequer; for literary texts, for example for performance texts by lyric poets; for historical works, in particular genealogies and chronicles; and for teaching.

The *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers (c. 1130-1205), the prominent theologian who taught in the Paris schools from c. 1167 and became Chancellor of Paris in 1193, was a very popular text that retold the story of the Bible as a genealogy from Adam and Eve to Christ, presented as a series of names copied in linked circles to illustrate clearly the genealogical connections, with short sections of accompanying text. Peter explains in the introduction that this is a summary of biblical history for beginning students; a contemporary chronicler noted that "Being mindful of poor clerics, he invented historical trees of the Old Testament which were painted on skins." Many of the surviving manuscripts of this text, like this one, are in fact copied in roll-format, and were probably used in the classroom. [TM 726]

DESCRIPTION: parchment roll, 7 membranes sewn together, text complete running vertically from top to bottom, written in a gothic book hand, red and blue initials, planned spaces for diagrams and/or miniatures left blank, a bit frayed at the top of the first membrane, with a few stains. Dimensions 3445 x 35 mm.

LITERATURE: P. S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers: Master in Theology and Chancellor of Paris (1193-1205)*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1936; Richard H. Rouse, "Roll and Codex: The Transmission of the Works of Reimar von Zweter," in *Authentic Witnesses*, 1991, pp. 13-29; Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*, London, 1983.



reduced

Glossary



***Arabesque initial:** initials decorated with liner foliate designs forming curving patterns (no. 1); particularly common in twelfth-century manuscripts

Bifolium: two leaves (four pages) made from a single folded sheet of parchment or paper

Cartolaio (pl. cartolai): the word for Italian booksellers (equivalent to the French, *libraire*, see below), from the Italian, *carta*, or parchment; they sold paper and parchment, folded into quires and already ruled, and second-hand books, and arranged contracts organizing the production of new books, or having books decorated or bound. Perhaps the most well-known *cartolaio* was Vespasiano da Bisticci (1422-98); see also stationer (below)



*** Catchwords:** words copied by the scribe on the last page of a quire in the lower margin anticipating the first words of the next page to ensure that the quires were bound in the correct order

Codex: a manuscript in book-form, made of gatherings

Colophon: personal words added by the scribe, usually at the end of a text, that can record when or where the book was copied, the scribe's name, ask for prayers, or simply express relief that the task was finished (nos. 4, 5, 7)

Cursive script: a script that minimizes the number of times the pen must be lifted from the page; the use of cursive scripts to copy manuscript books was an important innovation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that made copying books both quicker and less expensive (nos. 4, 5, 6)

Exemplar: the book containing the text copied in another manuscript

Folio: here, one half of a folded sheet of parchment (two pages); also used to refer to a printed book of a particular size, and to a specific bibliographic format



*** Frame ruled:** a time-saving method of ruling a page, delineating only the outer margins of the writing on a page; found most often in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts

Gathering (or quire): sets of bifolium (folded parchment sheets) that are stacked together; individual gatherings were then sewn together to make a codex

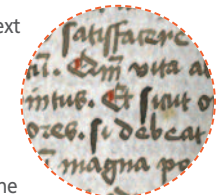
Gloss: formal commentary on a text, copied in the margins and between the lines; important examples include the *Glossa ordinaria* (or Ordinary Gloss) on the Bible, the Gloss on Roman Law by Accursius, and the Gloss of the Decretum by Johannes Teutonicus and others



*** Guide letters:** small letters copied by the scribe in the space for an initial, or nearby in the margin, that indicated the correct letter to be added later in color

Guide notes (or instructions): notes by the scribe that recorded the text of the rubrics (see below) to be added later in a different color of ink (commonly red); often found in the far outer margins, and intended to be trimmed when the book was bound

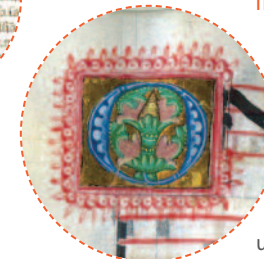
***Hybrida script:** a form of cursive gothic script, using similar letter forms, but avoiding loops, used in a formal context as a book script in the fifteenth century; hybrida is often found in books associated with the *Devotio Moderna*, and in books copied in the Low Countries



***Historiated initial:** a letter containing a picture, often related to the text, with a scene or figure of some type



***Illuminated initial:** an initial using gold to enhance or "illumine" the decoration



Libraire: the French term for a bookseller, equivalent to the Italian *cartolaio* (see above), who sold second-hand books, supplied materials, and arranged contracts organizing the production of new books, or having books decorated or bound; in Paris they were closely supervised by the university; see also stationer (see below)

Lunellum: crescent-shaped knife used to scrape an animal skin while making parchment

Manuscript: the word "manuscript" comes from the Latin *manu scriptus*, a text written by hand

Paper: introduced into Europe in the twelfth century, paper was used first for administrative documents, and was adopted for use in books by the second half of the thirteenth century in Italy, and then elsewhere in Europe by the second half of the fourteenth century

Parchment: here used to denote animal skins of any type (usually from goats, sheep, or cows), that were de-haired, scraped, and then stretched on a frame to dry and used for writing



***Pecia:** from the Latin word meaning a "piece"; the word came to mean a manuscript copied from an exemplar divided into "pieces" and rented quire by quire by a University stationer (or bookseller): in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the practice certainly flourished in Paris and Bologna, and perhaps elsewhere; used for University textbooks that were in high-demand, it was a way to greatly increase the availability of exemplars



***Pen-flourished initials (or pen initials, penwork initials):** colored initials decorated in contrasting colors of ink; red and blue are the two most common colors used in the thirteenth century and later, but other colors were also used

***Prickings:** small holes in the outer margins made by an awl or other sharp tool, which allowed scribes to mark more than one sheet at a time with the ruling-pattern; often trimmed when the manuscript was bound

Quire: see gathering

Quire signatures: the earliest, and simplest, way to keep quires in their correct order was to label them sequentially with letters or Roman numerals copied at the beginning or end of a quire; by the thirteenth century, quire signatures were added on each leaf (usually in the first half of a quire), with a letter designating the quire (or in their earliest forms an arbitrary symbol of some sort), and an Arabic numeral, the leaf (this type of signature is also found in early printed books)



***Rubrics:** headings, such as titles of books or chapters, that were not strictly part of the text; they were distinguished from the text by the use of a different color of ink, often red (thus the word rubric, from the Latin for red), although other colors were used as well, or by the use of a different script

Running titles: starting in the twelfth-century often found in books used for study, the section of the work written on the top margin on the left and the number on the right (for example, "Liber // 1")

Scribe: someone who copied books

Scriptorium: place where books were written, especially within a monastery

Stationer: most simply a bookseller (in Italian, *cartolaio*, and in French, *libraire*), but also used to refer to the booksellers who were authorized by the university to rent *pecia*-exemplars (see above)



***Tie marks:** symbols, letters, or numbers used to link a gloss (see above) copied in the margin to the text it is commenting on

Vellum: sometimes used interchangeably with parchment (see above), but technically parchment made from calf skin



Sources: Medieval Manuscript Production

General Introductions

Bischoff, Bernard. *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí ó Cróinín and David Ganz, Cambridge and New York, 1990.

Boyle, Leonard E. *Medieval Latin Palaeography: A Bibliographical Introduction*, Toronto and Buffalo, 1984.

Clemens, Raymond and Timothy Graham. *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, Ithaca, 2007.

De Hamel, Christopher. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1994.

De Hamel, Christopher. *Scribes and Illuminators*, Toronto and Buffalo, 1992.

Shailor, Barbara A. *The Medieval Book*, Toronto and Buffalo, 1991.

Collected Essays

Bataillon, Louis J., Bertrand G. Guyot, and Richard H. Rouse, eds. *La Production du livre universitaire au Moyen Age: exemplar et pecia: actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, Paris, 1988.

Gillespie, Alexandra and Daniel Wakelin, eds. *The Production of Books in England 1350-1500*, Cambridge and New York, 2011.

Rouse, Richard H. and Mary A. *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1991.

Rouse, Richard H. and Mary A. *Bound Fast with Letters: Medieval Writers, Readers and Texts*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2013.

Selected Studies

Alexander, J. J. G. *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*, New Haven, 1992.

Boyle, Leonard E. "The Interconcliar Period 1179-1215 and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals," in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, ed. Raccolti Fillippo Liotto, Siena, 1986, pp. 45-56.

Christianson, C. Paul. "A Community of Book Artisans in Chaucer's London," *Viator* 20 (1989), pp. 207-18.

D'Avray, D. L. *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print*, Oxford and New York, 2001.

De Hamel, C. "Dates in the Giant Bible of Mainz," in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow. Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. J. F. Hamburger, James H. Marrow, A. S. Korteweg, London, 2006.

Délaissé, L. M. J. "Towards a History of the Medieval Book," in *Codicologica*, vol. I. *Théories et principes*, ed. A. Gruys and J. P. Gumbert, Leiden, 1976.

Derolez, Albert. *Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin*, Turnhout, 1984.

Derolez, Albert. *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge and New York, 2003.

Doyle, A. I. "Book Production by the Monastic Orders in England (1375-1530)," in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. Linda Brownrigg, Los Altos Hills, 1990, pp. 1-19.

Doyle, A. I. and M. B. Parkes. "The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century." In *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson, London, 1978, pp. 163-210.

Gullick, M. "How Fast did Scribes Write. Evidence from Romanesque Manuscripts," in *Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of Production, Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, July 1992*, ed. L. L. Brownrigg, Los Altos Hills and London, 1995, pp. 39-58.

Gumbert, J. P. "The Speed of Scribes," in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa: atti del seminario di Erice, X Colloquio del Comité international de paléographie latine, 23-28 ottobre 1993*, ed. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio, Spoleto, 1995, pp. 57-69.

Hindman, Sandra and James Douglas Farquhar. *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed books in the First Century of Printing*, College Park, M.D., 1977.

Kwakkel, Erik. "A New Type of Book from a New Type of Reader: The Emergence of Paper in Vernacular Book Production," *The Library* 7th ser. 4 (2003), pp. 219-248.

Light, Laura. "The Thirteenth-Century Bible: the Paris Bible and Beyond," *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume two, c. 600-1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 380-391.

Reiter, Eric. "Masters, Students, and Their Books in the Late Medieval German Universities," *Paedagogica Historica* 34 (1998), pp. 389-401.

Reiter, Eric. "The Reader as Author of the User-Produced Manuscript: Reading and Writing Popular Latin Theology in the Late Middle Ages," *Viator* 27 (1996), pp. 151-169.

Rouse, Richard H. "Backgrounds to Print: Aspects of the Manuscript Book in Northern Europe of the Fifteenth Century," in *Authentic Witnesses* (listed above), pp. 449-466.

Rouse, Richard H. and Mary A. *Cartolai, Illuminators, and Printers in Fifteenth-Century Italy: the Evidence of the Ripoli Press*, Los Angeles, 1988.

Rouse, Richard H. and Mary A. *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Manuscript Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, 2 vols., London, 2000.

Rouse, Richard H. and Mary A. "Statim invenire: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in *Authentic Witnesses* (listed above), pp. 191-219.

RICHARD H. ROUSE is Professor Emeritus of History at the University of California, Los Angeles. Together with his wife, Mary A. Rouse, former managing editor of *Viator*, he has written many books and numerous articles on medieval manuscripts, including their ground-breaking study, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500* (2000), and two volumes of collected essays, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (1991), and *Bound Fast with Letters: Medieval Writers, Readers, and Texts* (2013).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS FOR RESEARCH

ARIANE BERGERON-FOOTE, NO. 11

STEPHEN MOSSMAN, NOS. 5 AND 9

FREDERICA TONIOLO, NO. 8

DESIGN

VIRGINIE ENL'ART

PRINTING

SCEI

FULL DESCRIPTIONS AVAILABLE ON WWW.TEXTMANUSCRIPTS.COM

© SANDRA HINDMAN 2014

ISBN: 978-0-9915172-2-0