

# traces

## People and the Book

Laura Light  
Preface by Sandra Hindman

TEXT MANUSCRIPTS 6 traces People and the Book

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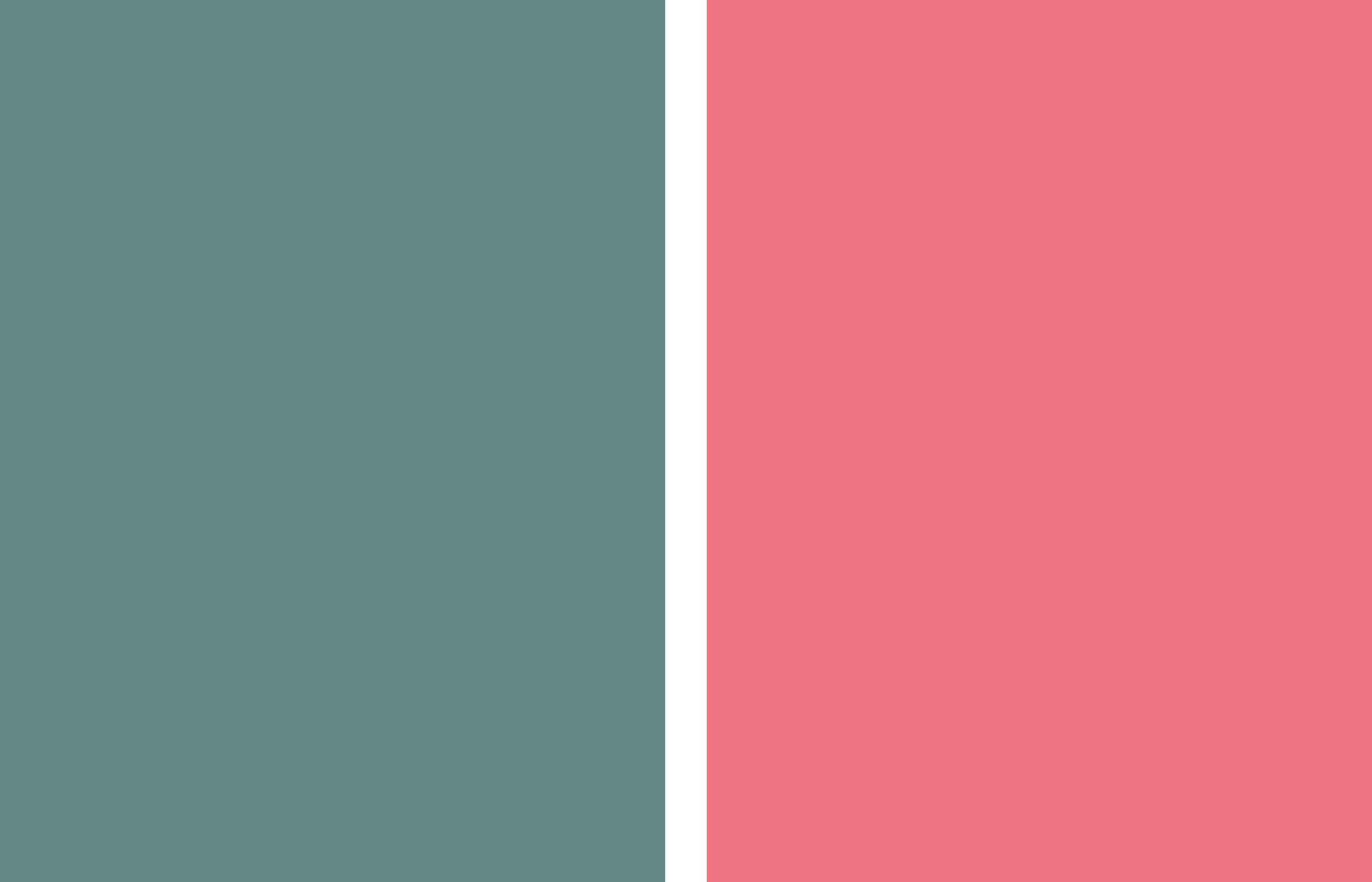
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TEXTMANUSCRIPTS 6

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Gebet nomy & philosofo  
Habitu amara  
Kaimé do  
Komallos da uilla nomy  
jo da ouya sija  
Kasi ul lib:lla linim  
Morion  
Ruggiero Buccone.  
Hermes  
Kros yha la sayho  
Klyhidio.  
Krisfo al Kloi.  
Haly' philosofo

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## PREFACE



"And the bird's delight  
with swift drops made frequent traces  
over the brown surface;"  
— *Exeter Book* (riddles), 10<sup>th</sup> century

"Covered now with lines and creases/ ... Memories in bits and pieces/ ...."  
— *Traces* (lyrics), by The Classics IV, 1969

THIS IS THE SIXTH CATALOGUE IN OUR SERIES ON TEXT MANUSCRIPTS. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT about text. Instead, it is about the manuscript and the people who came into contact with it. Its title "traces" is defined by the dictionary as "a surviving mark, sign, or evidence of the former existence, influence, or action of some agent or event." The two quotations I have selected are telling uses of the word over a millennium. The tenth-century Exeter Book includes Anglo-Saxon riddles related to manuscripts. This section of riddle 26 refers to the ink from a feather quill as it glides over the pages of browned parchment, leaving traces – a vestige of its maker. From the twentieth century, a popular song by a Jacksonville Florida rock group titled "Traces" (one of the 100 top songs of the century) employs language of "lines and creases" and "bits and pieces" of old photographs and discarded tickets to pine for a lost love – vestiges of their users. We are concerned here with manuscripts. But the idea is the same. Medieval manuscripts, just like the pages written by the scribe in the Exeter Book, or even the souvenirs handled by the ex-lover in the lyrics of a rock song, divulge evidence of the people who interacted with them over time.

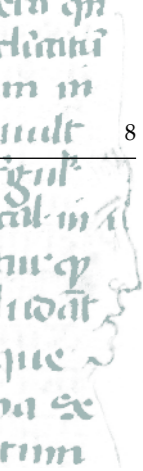
WE EXAMINE WHAT PHYSICAL EVIDENCE CAN REVEAL ABOUT WHO MADE MANUSCRIPTS and how they made them, who used them and in what ways, and how over time up to the present day many different people left their marks on manuscripts. Laura Light, the author of the book, has divided the material into six categories that follow the path of the manuscript from its origin to modern times. She begins with People Making Manuscripts (I), examining different appearances of parchment and paper, and guides to the actual production of a book. Then, she considers People Using Manuscripts, either by adding to them (II, pilgrims's badges, doodles, family history, saliva from kisses, spilled wine, residues of dirt) or by removing things from them (III, pages, initials, scraps, offending images or text). A section on People Reading Manuscripts (IV, notes and glosses) follows. People Owning Manuscripts

(V) provides a glimpse at how owners inscribed their identity in their books, whether by a written ex-libris, a bookplate, a special binding, or their name incorporated into the text. In the final section on Unused, Unread (VI) there is a brief coda speculating on manuscripts that show very little sign of any use at all. Almost any manuscript will do for such a study of traces, but the thirty-five examples carefully selected here engage an unusually expansive treatment of the subject, and the reader will find many welcome surprises in the details discussed.

I HAVE ALREADY DEALT WITH THE TITLE "TRACES." THE CHOICE OF THE SUBTITLE OF THIS catalogue – "People and the Book" – has an obvious inspiration, given our particular analysis of the manuscripts. But, the subtitle actually deliberately makes reference to the title of another book, a novel by Geraldine Brooks, *The People of the Book* (2008). This novel offers a fictional account of the history of the Sarajevo Haggadah, an actual Hebrew illuminated manuscript now located in the National Museum of Bosnia, through the eyes of the made-up heroine, Hanna Heath, a book conservator. By pursuing clues (traces) in the book she is about to examine before it is put on public exhibit – the wing of a moth, salt crystals, a white hair, wine stains, even blood – Hanna is able to travel back in time with the manuscript: to its escape from under the noses of the Nazi's in the 1940s, to an owner in fin-de-siècle Vienna, to a priest who spared it from a book burning at the hands of the Inquisition in 1609 in Venice, and eventually to the very artist who painted it in medieval Seville. Hanna confesses in the book that "the gold beaters, the stone grinders, the scribes, the binders" are "the people I feel most comfortable with. Sometimes in the quiet these people speak to me."

TODAY WHEN DIGITAL REPRODUCTIONS OF MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS ARE WIDELY AVAILABLE, it is vital to recall that even the best reproduction cannot replace the actual physical objects that give us real access to people who handled them long ago. We hope that in the present landmark publication you, like Hanna, will hear these people's voices from our manuscripts.

Sandra Hindman



## HOW MANUSCRIPTS SPEAK TO US

“The goal, from first to last, is a clearer understanding of the human beings behind the page, the individual people and the societies that produced and used these manuscripts.... Like a potsherd, a manuscript has meaningful and measureable physical properties; unlike the potsherd, a manuscript also has a voice.”

— Richard and Mary Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1991, pp. 2-3.

“Books no less than tools, apparel, and habitats, can show signs of wear, but their markings can be far more eloquent of manufacturing processes, specific of provenance, telling of human relations, and suggestive of human thought.”

— Roger Stoddard, *Marks in Books, Illustrated and Explained*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985, p. 1.

**BOOKS FIRST AND FOREMOST ARE MEANT TO BE READ, AND MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE** manuscripts, like modern printed books, were valued for their contents when they were made, and for many generations (sometimes centuries) after. Their texts and decoration are still read and enjoyed today, and studied by modern scholars. This catalogue, however, pays very little attention to content, either textual or artistic, and instead focuses on books as material artifacts made and used by people. Our interest here is the people in the book – the people who made them, and (even more) the people who used them, read them (not always the same thing), and owned them.

**MANUSCRIPTS THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES AND INTO THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD** were expensive. They were not, however, objects that were handled only on special occasions. To a degree that might surprise the average person who enjoys exhibitions of illuminated manuscripts in libraries or museums, manuscripts were part of daily life. Many people worked to make manuscripts, and many people used them. Although in most cases these people of the book are not known by name, every manuscript still holds traces of its history on its pages. The parchment maker or paper maker, the scribe, the artists, the binder, the readers, the owners, and the other users down through the centuries – in short, everyone who handled a manuscript in some fashion – left their mark. They are all waiting to be discovered in the traces they left behind.

**TODAY, THIS APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF BOOKS IN GENERAL, AND MEDIEVAL** manuscripts, in particular, will probably not strike most readers as odd, even if it is an unusual one for a catalogue from a gallery dealing in medieval art. Thinking and writing about books as material

artifacts, and then studying their influence on history is now an established – and flourishing – academic discipline (book history or history of the book). Questions of use, reading, marginalia, ownership, and how these shaped communication, have moved into the mainstream. As one author pithily commented, “... book historians do more than write the history of books: they show how books mould and reflect history” (Rose, 1994, p. 101). But this was not always the case. The two quotations that stand at the beginning of this essay were chosen to acknowledge how much this catalogue owes to the work of three scholars, Richard and Mary Rouse, and Roger Stoddard, who were pioneers in their approach to the history of medieval manuscripts and printed books. I owe a personal debt to all three. Richard and Mary Rouse taught me how to look at and think about medieval manuscripts; Roger Stoddard was an inspiring (and awe-inspiring) colleague, who always seemed to know everything there was to know about any sort of book.

**IN 1984, WHEN ROGER STODDARD ORGANIZED THE EXHIBITION ENTITLED, “MARKS IN BOOKS,** Shown and Explained: an Exhibition Devoted to Those Mysterious Traces Left in Books by Printers, Binders, Booksellers, Librarians, and Collectors,” he was without a doubt breaking new ground. The printed catalogue of this exhibition, published in the following year, has remained a classic. It was innovative not only in its attention to small physical details that a less discerning, and less learned, eye might have missed or dismissed as insignificant, but also in its scope. It is a study of books as material objects with an eye not only towards evidence of how they were made, but also how they were used and owned.

**THE QUOTATION FROM RICHARD AND MARY ROUSE WAS TAKEN FROM THE INTRODUCTION** to their first volume of collected essays, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*. The Rouses are today most well-known for their magisterial work on the book trade in Paris (Rouse and Rouse, 2000), but this volume, published in 1991, also represented decades of work on diverse topics related to medieval manuscripts. Its contents showcase the remarkable breadth of their research, including essays on scrolls and medieval poets, on medieval book owners and libraries, on how and why books changed in the context of the schools and universities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and more. The preface eloquently explains how they aim to study the whole book as a material artifact seen in its historical context. Their work teaches us the history of medieval books to be sure, but it also informs us about the people who made and used them.

**THE IDEA OF STUDYING BOOKS AS PHYSICAL ARTIFACTS WAS NOT NEW IN THE 1980S.** Analytical bibliography, the scholarly discipline that studies books (primarily printed books in the early days) as material objects in order to understand how they were made, and how this influences their text, goes back to the end of the nineteenth century (Belanger, 1991, and Online). The Bibliographical Society (England) was founded in 1892, and the Bibliographical Society of America, the oldest society in North American dedicated to the study of books and manuscripts as physical objects, dates from 1904.

ADOPTING A SIMILAR APPROACH TO MANUSCRIPTS IS ALMOST AS OLD. THE NUMEROUS catalogues of the medieval manuscripts in the Cambridge colleges and elsewhere by M. R. James (1862-1936) reflect an understanding of the importance of describing both the textual and material properties of manuscripts (three examples, James, 1900-1904; 1912; 1912) that was exceptional in his lifetime. His catalogues are still valuable today. *Scriptorium*, a journal dedicated to the study of the material description of the manuscript book, or codicology, was founded in 1946.

L. M. J. DELAISSÉ'S CODICOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF THE *Imitation of Christ*, published in 1956, studied every aspect of the manuscript, both material and textual, and used this evidence to establish its authenticity. Throughout his career, Delaissé was a proponent for studying medieval manuscripts as physical artifacts, an approach he called the archaeology of the book. His essay, "Toward a History of the Manuscript Book," first published in 1967, remains an excellent introduction to this methodology. To understand any single aspect of a manuscript, such as its text or illumination, we must first study the manuscript as a whole, taking into account all the available evidence (Delaissé, 1967; reprinted 1976, p. 79). This approach, he argued, will not only allow us to construct the history of the manuscript book, but will also deepen our understanding of medieval civilization.

IN 1988, WHEN BARBARA SHAILOR'S INFLUENTIAL EXHIBITION AND CATALOGUE, *THE MEDIEVAL Book*, appeared – certainly directly inspired by Delaissé's words – she still spoke of the idea of concentrating on the physical characteristics of medieval manuscripts and their historical context as controversial (Shailor, 1988, p. 3). We have come a long way since then. But it is interesting that most exhibitions that have followed in the tradition of *Marks in Books*, at least as far as we have been able to discover, have focused on printed books rather than manuscripts (Considine, 1988; Rosenthal, 1997; Baron, Walsh and Scola, 2001; Cormack and Mazzi, 2005; Brown and Considine, 2010; Brown and Considine, 2012). In contrast with *Marks in Books*, Shailor's topic was how manuscripts were made, rather than how they were used. The 1992 exhibition at the Houghton Library, *Marks in the Fields: Essays on the Uses of Manuscripts*, directly inspired by *Marks in Books*, explored the use of manuscripts from the Middle Ages to the present, and included relatively few medieval manuscripts (Dennis and Falsey, 1992).

THE TIME THEREFORE SEEMS OVERDUE FOR A CATALOGUE THAT LOOKS AT THE PHYSICAL TRACES found in medieval manuscripts that allow us to uncover the people who were part of their history. We begin by briefly discussing the signs left by the men and women who made manuscripts (nos. 1-6), and then turn to people who used them, looking at things people added (nos. 7-15), and things they removed (nos. 16-20). Evidence left by readers interacting with the text (nos. 21-27), and evidence linked to owners (nos. 28-33) are examined next. We conclude, very briefly, by flipping our topic on its head, and asking why some manuscripts survive with almost no signs that they were ever used at all (nos. 34-35).

WE BELIEVE THAT THIS GROUP OF THIRTY-FIVE MANUSCRIPTS, AND THE MANY PHYSICAL traces they hold, demonstrates how fertile an approach this is. Some of the evidence we discuss – scribal colophons, readers's notes, and book plates, to name a few examples – will be familiar. But recent scholars have shown the value of asking new questions, and looking for new evidence. In this respect, the contribution of Kathryn Rudy has been particularly important; this catalogue certainly owes much to her work (Rudy, 2010; 2011). Thanks to her innovative approach, no one examining a medieval prayerbook with smudged initials will simply ignore them. And I doubt anyone will now take dirty pages for granted.

READING THROUGH THE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THIS CATALOGUE, IT WILL become obvious that there are many questions that remain unanswered. Physical traces are not always easy to interpret with confidence. I hope these unsolved puzzles will inspire other lovers of medieval manuscripts to keep looking. Something seen once in a single manuscript may mean little. Seen again in several manuscripts, or re-interpreted in light of additional evidence, it can become meaningful.

LET US CONCLUDES WITH ONE ILLUSTRATION THAT DEMONSTRATES THE POTENTIAL OF connecting physical and documentary evidence. Benvenuto da Imola's commentary on Dante's *Divine Comedy* (*Paradiso* 22.73-75), composed c. 1375-1380, includes a description of Giovanni Boccaccio's (1313-1375) visit to the library of the famous Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino (we thank Consuelo Dutschke for bringing this to our attention; Dartmouth Dante Project, Online). Boccaccio finds the library in a deplorable state, without a door, with grass growing at the windows, and with dust covering the books. Some manuscripts, he reports, are missing quires. In other manuscripts, the blank margins surrounding the text have been trimmed away, stolen by greedy monks who use the blank parchment to make amulets or charms (*evangelia et brevia*) to sell to women.

WAS THIS STORY TRUE? THE PHYSICAL TRACES LEFT IN MANUSCRIPTS DO IN FACT SUPPORT IT. Manuscripts with one or two margins trimmed away are quite common, and might seem unremarkable (for example, nos. 14, 19, 20, 26). But in a stately fifteenth-century copy of the *Compendium moralium* by Hieremias de Montagnone (no. 2), fifty-five leaves are lacking their lower or outer margins. These numerous missing margins are physical evidence that Benvenuto's tale probably reflected an actual practice in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy (there is no evidence that this particular manuscript was ever in the library at Monte Cassino). And while we cannot say for sure that our manuscript was plundered by monks making "*evangelia et brevia*," this documentary evidence gives us insight into one possible explanation for what happened to this book. It seems quite likely that at some time early in its history, its margins were trimmed and the parchment was used to copy short texts of some sort (and amulets or charms are one possibility).

THIS IS JUST ONE EXAMPLE. BUT IT ILLUSTRATES HOW SIGNIFICANT EVEN A MINOR A PHYSICAL detail can be. Manuscripts do have a voice that we can hear when we are ready to listen carefully.





## I. PEOPLE MAKING MANUSCRIPTS

**PART OF THE AESTHETIC PLEASURE OF MANUSCRIPT BOOKS IS THE INTIMATE CONNECTION** we still feel with the craftsmen of so long ago who made them. It took many people to make a manuscript. In most cases, these people are nameless, yet we can still recognize their work by the physical traces they left behind in the manuscripts they made. It would, of course, be possible to discuss this topic using any of the manuscripts in this catalogue, but we have chosen five to highlight the work of parchment and paper makers (nos. 1 and 4), scribes (no. 2), artists (no. 5), and binders (no. 6).

**FOR MOST OF THE MIDDLE AGES, MANUSCRIPTS WERE MADE FROM PARCHMENT MADE FROM** animal skins, most commonly from cows, goats, and sheep. (Parchment is used here as an inclusive term for membranes from any type of animal). It was a laborious process that required numerous animals, lots of fresh water, and skilled craftsmen. The parchment used in a twelfth-century example (no. 1) is representative of parchment made by monks for their own use in the monastic scriptorium. Paging through this volume, one notices the variation in the color and texture of its leaves. There are only a few holes. One, a long and narrow gash, is surrounded by tiny holes, evidence that it once repaired, probably sewn together by the parchment maker while the skin was still drying, stretched on its frame. The scribe made a virtue of a defect in the case of several small holes, and circled them in red. Parchment makers working in commercial shops in the later Middle Ages produced parchment that was more uniform in texture and color, as seen here in a fifteenth-century example from Italy (no. 2), an especially impressive demonstration of the skill its makers.

**PAPER CAME INTO GRADUAL USE FOR BOOKS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY (ALTHOUGH** it never replaced parchment entirely). Handmade paper, like parchment, varies from sheet to sheet, reminding you of the craftspeople who made it. I have never noticed a thumb print, but this is Timothy Barrett's lyrical account of how he felt when he did: "Up in the corner of this sheet, impressed permanently in its surface, was the indentation of a person's thumb.... Placing my own thumb in that same indentation was like slipping on another man's shoe. In that gesture, I was connected, in a most intimate way, with one of the original makers. I was in 1483, or he was in 1989, and the five hundred-year interval ceased to exist" (Barrett, 1989, and Online). Papermakers also "signed" their work with

watermarks. Medieval paper was made on large metal molds, and papermakers identified their work by twisting metal designs onto the mold that left translucent impressions in the paper (visible only when a light source shines through the paper). Watermarks can be helpful in dating manuscripts. A Franciscan manuscript from Italy includes an unusual watermark (a variety of a Maltese cross or a cross pattee) that helps to date the manuscript between 1450-1475 (no. 4).

**SCRIBES WHO COPIED BOOKS OCCASIONALLY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES IN COLOPHONS, AND** dated their work (nos. 3, 23, 32, 33). One scribe did not reveal his name, but he did conclude his work with an expression of his feelings: "Laus sit nato dei celi terreque rectori/ Laus tibi fuit christe quoniam liber explicit iste" (Praise to the son of God ruler of heaven and earth; Praise be to you oh Christ since this books ends here) (no. 2). The relationship between the scribe, the artist (or artists), and the binder is particularly clear in this manuscript since it was left unfinished. The scribe copied the text, leaving blank spaces for the initials, with tiny letters indicating which letter was to be inserted later by the artist. Some manuscripts include initials that were probably added by the scribe (for example, nos. 3, 7); in other cases several artists worked on a manuscript, one (or more) adding initials, and others working on major decoration such as miniatures. In the later Middle Ages, miniatures on single leaves were sold separately to be inserted into books (no. 5). Binding the book was the final step, and here too, the scribe played a role, leaving signs, catchwords and/or quire signatures, that ensured that the book would end up in the correct order.

**MEDIEVAL OWNERS OF MANUSCRIPTS COULD BE RUTHLESSLY PRAGMATIC. PARCHMENT WAS** expensive – probably more expensive than any other element that went into a manuscript – and when a manuscript was deemed obsolete, its parchment could be re-used. A palimpsest is made from previously used parchment sheets that are scraped clean and then re-purposed for a new text. An elementary grammar text was copied on leaves from law books, and the under-text is clearly visible on many of its pages (no. 3). In fifty-five instances, the margins of a large-format Italian manuscript (no. 2) were cut away for re-use. Binders, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, often used leaves from earlier manuscript to line spines, and to serve as pastedowns and endleaves (nos. 6, 28, 29, 32).

## 1.

PASCASIUS RADBERTUS, *De corpore et sanguine domini*  
(On the Body and Blood of the Lord)

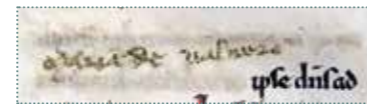
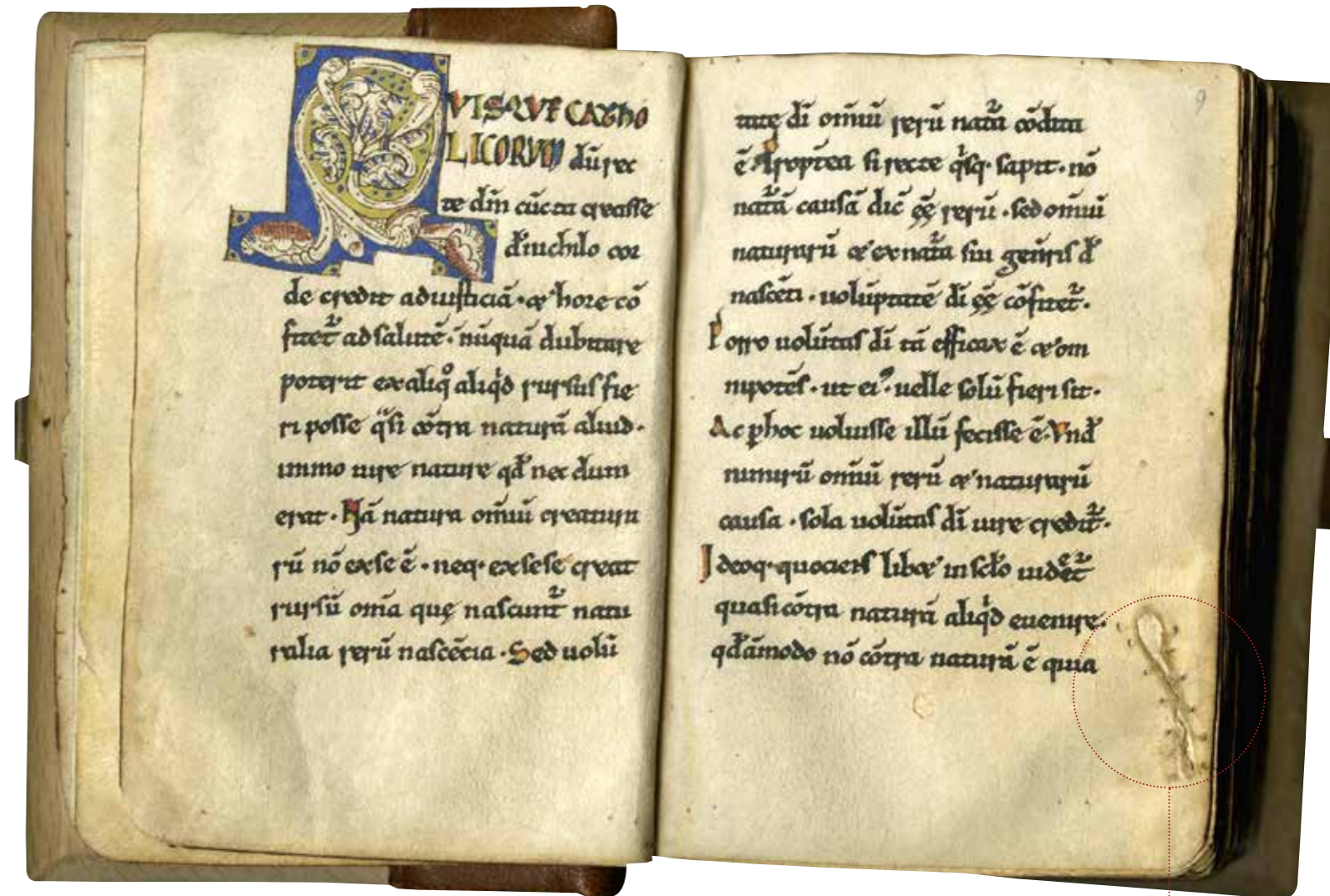
In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment  
Southern Europe (Southern Italy or France?), c. 1120-1140

The craftsman and women who made manuscripts left traces behind on the parchment, which also bears traces of the original animal. For instance, the tiny black dots scattered across some of these pages are the remnants of the original hair follicles (b). The parchment is generally of good quality; one leaf (f. 9) has a hole (a) – perhaps from a weakness in the original skin, or because the parchment maker scraped a spot too vigorously. The parchment maker noticed this hole early on, and stitched it together (the stitching is missing, but the sewing holes remain). In some manuscripts, holes are found on almost every page. The fact that there are so few in this manuscript is a sign that it was relatively expensive. Two very small holes were left unsewn (c), and instead of ignoring them, the scribe treated them as decorative features and outlined them in red (ff. 42 and 46).

The most unusual feature of this manuscript is its size. It is very, very small for a twelfth-century copy of a theological text. It includes only one later note, but does include a sophisticated marginal apparatus including subjects, initials identifying authors cited in the text, nota marks, and chi-rho signs (d), almost certainly copied by the scribe from his exemplar. But this does not seem like a text made for study. Rather, its size seems more appropriate for personal reading. Was this an example of monastic frugality, a tiny copy made from parchment left from another project? On ff. 83v-84, there is an intriguing rust-colored mark (e). Perhaps made by something used as a book mark? [TM 822]

**DESCRIPTION:** 148 folios on parchment, complete, written in a Carolingian minuscule on the top line in 13 long lines, red or black initials, some with touches of other colors, two 3- to 4-line white initials with white acanthus infill, very good condition, bound in modern half leather and wooden boards. Dimensions 112 x 77 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Bedae Paulus, ed., Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini: cum appendice Epistola ad Fredugardum*, Corpus christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis 16, Turnholt, 1969.



\*



b



c



d



e



a

# 2.

## HIEREMIAS DE MONTAGNONE, *Compendium moralium notabilium* (Compendium of Memorable Moral Sayings); [ANONYMOUS], *Florilegium on the Virtues and Vices*

In Latin, with some Italian, manuscript on parchment  
Northeastern Italy (Padua or Vicenza?), c. 1400-1435

Many people participated in the making of a manuscript, especially commercially available ones in the later Middle Ages. This is easy to see here, since this manuscript was never finished. The scribe copied the text, leaving blank spaces for the initials – we cannot tell what sort of initials were planned, but we know what initial was meant, since he added tiny “guide” letters (b, f) in each of the blank spaces (see also nos. 27 and 29). He also included leaf and quire signatures and flourished horizontal catchwords (g) to ensure that the binder assembled the quires in the correct order. Although the book necessarily looks odd and incomplete, it was used: running titles (e) were added by readers, as were folio numbers (h) (which were certainly not routinely present in manuscripts at this time).

We do not know why this book was never finished. But it is obvious from its size and the quality of the parchment and script that it was expensive. Perhaps the person who ordered it simply over-estimated his budget, and had to tell the bookseller to stop. Three additions on the paper pastedown at the end might tell us part of the story. A tiny note in Hebrew characters (c) may be a loan note. In the fifteenth century, an owner recorded that he bought the volume for twelve ducats (a), and not long after it was part of a library large enough to have a shelfmark. At some point in its history parts of the margins on fifty-five pages were carefully cut out (d). Where was this when it was being used as a source of parchment? And why? Was it still being read at that time? [TM 669]

**DESCRIPTION:** 208 folios on parchment (very fine), lacking one gathering at the beginning and six leaves, written in 2 columns of 50-48 lines in a round gothic bookhand, blank spaces for initials, lower or outer margins of 55 leaves cut away (no loss of text), slight rodent damage, bound in 15<sup>th</sup>-century leather (traces remain) over wooden boards, spine bare. Dimensions 395 x 265 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Berthold Louis Ullmann, "Hieremias de Montagnone and His Citations from Catullus," *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, Rome, 1973, pp. 79-112; Christ Nighman, "The *Compendium moralium* project," <http://web.wlu.ca/history/cnighman/CMN/index.html>



reduced

b

\*

pro libro est meo et hinc meo afluente empta ante p. dicitur duodecim auri

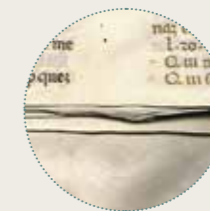
a



c



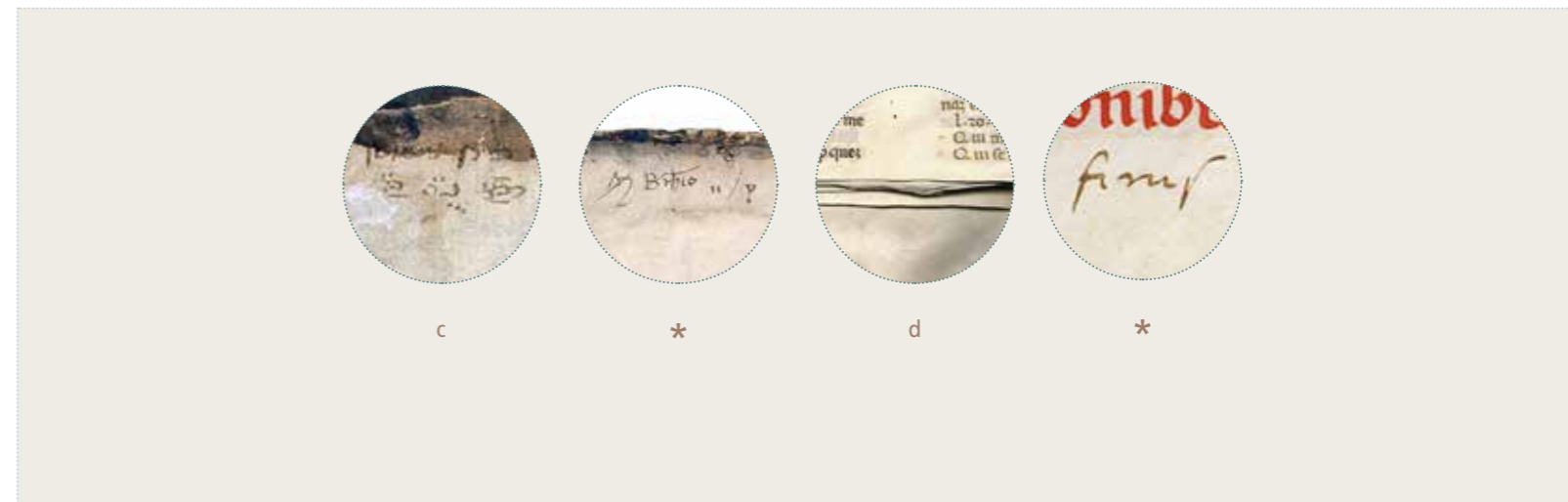
\*



d



\*



Genus infirmitate suavis est  
senes maritus et uxorē caritatis  
ardore flagrans frigidis gremio  
affectibus.

**Uenialis. l. 2. sat. 1.**

Sep hē litres alinaq; uirga  
lectus.

**Uigenaus mittolagranū. l. 1.  
fab. 2. a. et. fi.**

Sicut nichil temigna supius uir  
ge ita in infesta crudelibus muliere.  
ato. c. 2.

Nil temē uxorē desuis ce  
te querenti  
Sēp et eni mulier quē uirum  
diligat odit.

**Udreas appellatus. pp. Inca.  
quart. in. l. de disuisione**  
uxoris. Simuliter hācorū illi  
gauebis simib; latētib; uideat.

Ofelix uita mortalium si eaz no cō  
suptent corubina muliere. quas coi  
tu tm neciās dnamus ut ex fili  
sulle nā gūstice pducam?

Duce iphe nō uxorē sicasta fūit  
supbia nō deat.

Si diues si nobilis uirge spnab  
formosa; plezq; suspiat gmitat.  
Situipis nūq; letis carebit in  
mure.

Si iesta tubescet facies ipudore  
eo frequent accidit qd uxorē cō  
tepta dēpōit. ds vnde nāstatur  
mura. vñ rebuit pōire gōtōria.

Librys nbi admittit sine q; scia  
facit nec tuus esse potens q; quo  
fugas nō hēbis.

Si uiuēnem senec duxis dēpōit.  
Si senex fem uirgat uoluptatis  
amor nō sequitur.

**Jardus uirer uenustus.  
l. de pētracatē. nupt. c. 40.**  
Est mulier ligosa uirō ps mortis  
amare.

Nate dieq; moys mille sangat eā.  
Cū bñ pēatē potare qesit scā.  
oprat tē illa ungra seua pāt.  
Noma reuubatu mag; pugnare  
animam.  
Sēp qm mulier ligosa uuum.

**Erasmus conomia. c. 10.**  
Dolore de mala uxorē tū  
mitigabis qm audies de uxorē  
altēris. a. e.

**De consuetudine et sepatō ma  
trimonij. Fabria. 11**

**Athenus in euāgelio. c. 10.**  
Qd deus uirū hō nō sepat.

Jam uō dicit. uxorē. 16. c.  
uores ad dūctā cordis nū pē  
milit nobis dimitte uxorē mē.  
Cūq; dimisit uxorē suā et  
aliā. exceptā cā fornicatōis q; aliā  
dūctā mechabit. q; dimissam dū  
rexit mechabit.

Jam luc. 1. 6. c.  
Aras iouang. c. 1. 6.  
Q; uiaq; dimisit uxorē  
suā et aliā dūctā adulterū cō  
munit sup eam. Si uxor dimisit  
uixū suū q; alij nupit mechabit.

Julius apłs. eplā. 1. ad co  
rinthos. c. 11.  
hys qui mēmōrio uiciū sunt  
pāpō nō ego s; dñs uxorē auro  
non dūctā. a. e.

Qd si dissepit manē inupta  
aut uirō suo recōlari. uirū uo  
nem nō dimittat. a. e.

Aligatus es uxorē noli querē  
solucionem.

**V I N T E  
et ultime pa  
tis. l. 1. p. m.  
Tractat de  
fortitudine.  
Et pñētib;  
ad eam. sub hys uiculis scēpōtib;  
De fortitudine animi. l. 1. 1.  
ob historia. c. 1. Job. uicula  
sibi morte oīū suoz tonoz  
drat.**

**Alomon ipronhys. c. 14.**  
Nudus egillus suz deus mēz  
mee q; nudus reūtar illuc dñs ab  
stulit. Sicut dñs placuit ita fām  
est. sit nom dñi bñdām.  
Alomon ipronhys. c. 14.

fortis liber - 5. 111

Secura mēs q; uirge iuuuū.  
2. c. e. vñ sapiens foris ē. qui  
terris robustus ualidus.

21. c. 1. si. aruliere foris q; iuciet.  
conica de nugis pñoz. c.  
q. de pietate.

Pitacus. dñus de. vñ. sapiētib;  
dicebat prudenti uxorē esse pō  
q; fiant difficilia pmeditari ne  
siant. forāui nō scā bñ disponē  
c. 1. 1. de cleobolo de paupatis nō  
hūbēis.

auaciones forūne uulit ato  
ferre.  
14. c. 1. de maratogora.  
Anaxagoras ad annatē qd m  
terra eēna moxerit. undiq; i  
quit fillis est de senis mōros.  
1. 1. c. 1. de forate.

Socrates aditēte morte. Athen  
enses cōpēnauerūt illos q; aut  
nā.

**Historias et hōz. l. 2. c. 2.**  
Alieti cōpēnē fibilia et  
subitūē ipā efficiēt. forēs et  
efficti macē potimus subitūē  
terribilia.

Qui subitmet paila et gaudi  
foris est. qui aut restat timidus.  
6. c. arca timores q; audiaas  
fortitudo medietas est.

1. c. fortitudo medietas ē cē.  
ausibilia q; fibilia.  
8. c. subitudo tristitia forēs  
diuina.

Difficillimus est tristitia scēpō  
q; alectatōtib; abstine.  
Jam magnoz moraluz. 1. 1. c. 1.  
Si aliqd ualde facias ipandū  
qd acos nō timet. nō foris s;  
instans est.

Si aut timetem oīā timē forē  
q; eat nō qui timet oīā neq; q  
micti.

mensurati timores auget forē  
tudine.

2. 1. c. Si quis nō timet ton  
trua aut coruscantē aut aliud  
qd sup hōis fibilia nō foris est

si in sanus.  
6. 3. c. Nō utiq; oīd absq; pōne q  
motu sit foratudo.

Jam reth. 1. 1. c. 11.  
fortitudo ppter q; singuli actū sūt  
tonoz opum ipiculis. aut lex pap  
q; obseqtes legi timiditas aut aluz.

Jam politoz. 1. 1. c. 10.  
Deuiz studiosis uir q; paupate  
et agnitudine q; alijs pñat forū  
tis tene.

Errenius iherera. c. 14.  
Itud est. sape ubiq; opus  
sit uir possit flexere.  
Inphormone. c. 6.  
fortis forūna adiuuat.

Titius in fōmōib;. 1. 2. 1. 2.  
uirtute forēs.  
fortia q; aduēctus oppōit pectora  
rebus.

1. 1. c. 1. 1. c. 3. 6.  
fortis ai q; cōstāas nō plu  
bati mētib; aspis nec timētāz  
de gradu deca.

Si pñat ai uā pñalo nec arōne  
discedere.  
Jam reth. aris uetis. 1. 2. c. 9.  
fortitudo est residerita pailozū  
suscipio et laboz. possio.

fortitudies ptes sūt magnificētia.  
fidētia. pācētia. pñctātia.  
Jam reth. aris noue. 1. 3. c. 2.  
fortitudo est res magnaz. app  
alo q; res humiluz. cōtētia. labo  
ris ai uulitans rē pñctio.

1. 4. c. 10.  
Et nō pōt obēē fortūā quis sibi s;  
m iuritate q; itau pñdū colla  
uit.

2. 1. c. fortitudo cōpōtio est laboz  
q; pñcti ai rē utilitans q; pñctā  
cōmodozū.

Jam de oratore. 1. 2.  
magna laus et admirabil' uicē  
solet uillisse caus sapiētē ad uillū  
nō scā esse forūna retinuisse ires;  
aspis dignitatem.

Jam tu saluaz. qd m. 1. 1. 1. 1.  
Tenam' ut mēb' amēdamus esse

Secura

17

## 3.

ALEXANDER OF VILLEDIEU, *Doctrinale puerorum*  
(Teaching Manual for Children)

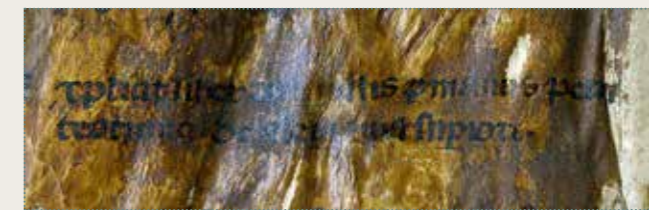
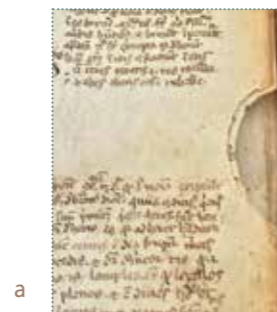
In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment  
Italy, dated 1374

People (as well as animals (a)) used this manuscript vigorously throughout its history (like no. 20 it was chewed by rodents), and this was true from its very earliest moments. It is a palimpsest, copied on parchment leaves from manuscripts that were scraped to erase their text (palimpsest is from the Greek word meaning "scraped again"). The process must have been labor intensive, but parchment was expensive, and recycling earlier manuscripts (in this case two legal manuscripts) was not an uncommon practice. Here, one can still see the under-text on many of the leaves, even with the naked eye (c). In other manuscripts, the under-text must be studied with the aid of ultraviolet light and special photography. The very dark stains on the first (d) and last leaves of this manuscript (e) are the remnants of a chemical reagent, almost certainly applied in the nineteenth century by a zealous owner to make the under-text more visible. This process (no longer used today), did render the under-text temporarily more visible, but unfortunately then rendered both layers of text permanently illegible. Palimpsests are fascinating examples of medieval frugality and ingenuity (and of course there is always the tantalizing hope that the text lurking beneath might be a precious lost text from Antiquity). Asking why people thought the new text was more important than the text that they discarded is equally interesting.

The text here is a popular elementary Latin grammar. It was signed by a scribe who calls himself "Petrus Teotuma," and says he was from Southern Germany (e). There are notes from several generations of students added to the text (b). Was this scribe a school master showing off his learning by adopting a Greek form of his name? [TM 871]

**DESCRIPTION:** 70 folios (numbered 1-54, 56-71) on parchment (palimpsest), written in 18-20 long lines in a rounded gothic bookhand, red or blue initials, 5-line initial on f. 1 is damaged, four leaves treated by reagent, part of f. 1 missing, lower margin, ff. 1-12, frayed, many leaves chewed, bound in an early vellum long-stitch wallet binding. Dimensions 243 x 175 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Philip H. Ford, "Alexandre de Villedieu's *Doctrinale puerorum*: a Medieval Bestseller and its fortune in the Renaissance," in *Forms of the "Medieval" in the "Renaissance": a Multidisciplinary Exploration of a Cultural Continuum*, ed. G. H. Tucker, Charlottesville, Virginia, 2000, pp. 155-174; D. Reichling, ed. *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei*, Berlin, 1893.



## 4.

BARTOLOMEUS DE RINONICO, *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam domini Ihesu* (excerpt); THOMAS A KEMPIS, *De imitatione Christi*, book four; PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, *De dignitate sacerdotum*; [ANONYMOUS], *De officio et tempore septuagesime*; PSEUDO-JOHN OF CAPISTRANO, *Animadversiones circa sacrosanctum missae sacrificium*, in Italian translation

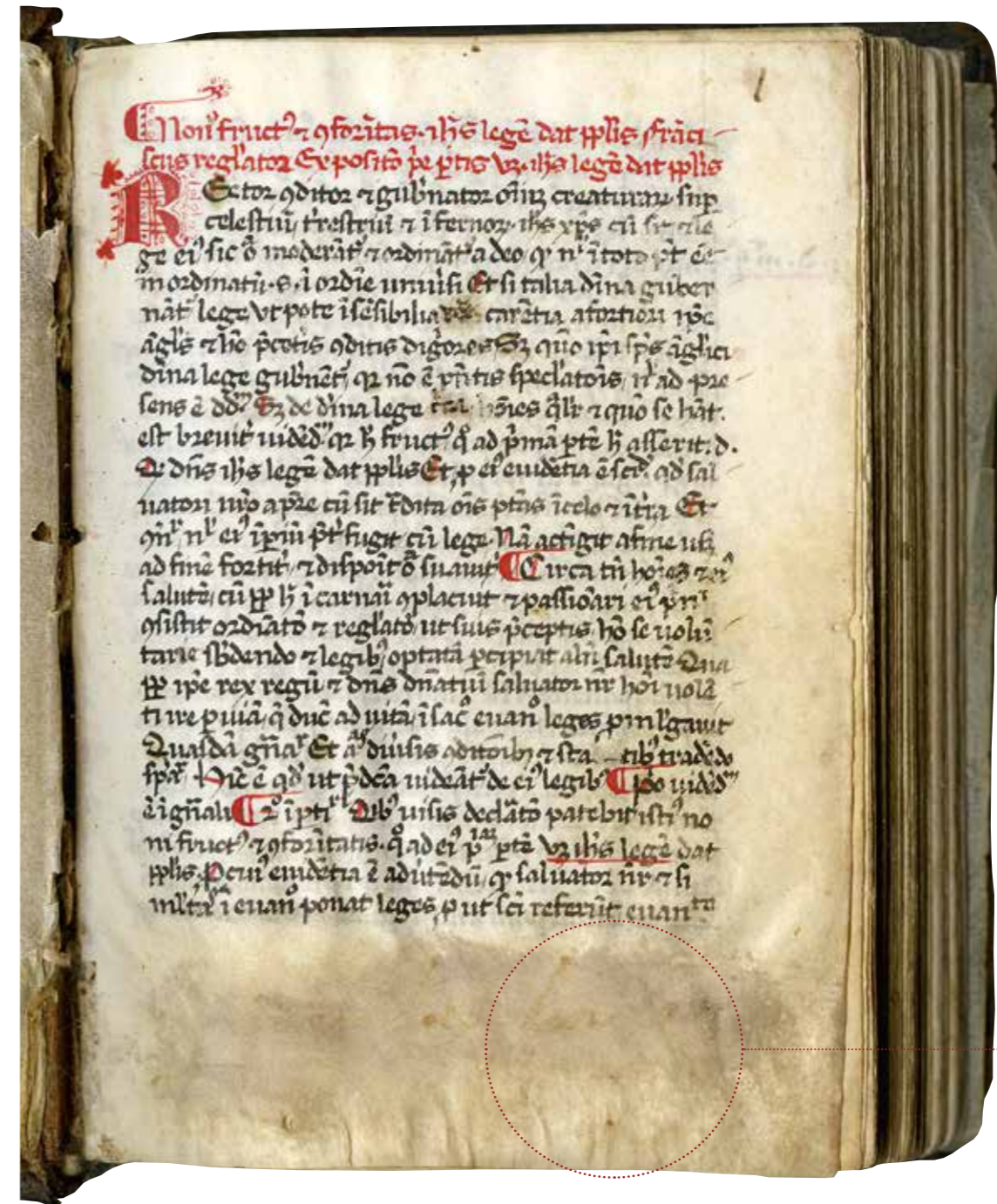
In Latin and Italian, manuscript on parchment and paper  
Central Italy (Lanciano?), c. 1450–1475

By the fourteenth century, numerous manuscript books in Western Europe were copied on paper instead of on parchment, and in the fifteenth century its use was widespread. Medieval paper was handmade, and like parchment, varied from book to book, and indeed, from sheet to sheet. The papermaker soaked cloth rags (usually linen) until they turned into a pulp, and then spread out the pulp on wire frames to form thin sheets. The resulting paper was not completely flat; one can still feel and see the chain lines from these frames. When held up to light, small pictures imprinted on the finished paper from wires fastened to the frames appear. These watermarks identified the papermaker, and today they are useful tools for dating manuscripts. This manuscript includes two watermarks, one of which is a distinctive Maltese cross (or a cross pattee (b)) listed in a relatively few manuscripts in the standard repertory of watermarks, allowing us to date the manuscript confidently to the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

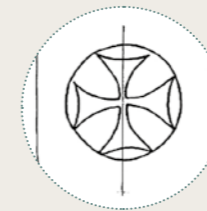
The Franciscan Convent at Lanciano in the Abruzzo region in Italy owned this book quite early in its history. It includes a note (c) stating it was given to “this place in Lanciano” by brother Thomas: “Questo libro fie dello loco de lanzano lo quale libro fo de frate tomaso de lanzano.” The slightly later addition in Latin “et pertinet ad loco eius” (and it belongs to this place), is a phrase often associated with Franciscan ownership. Another inscription from the same convent was erased from the first folio (a). Was this made by the Franciscans for their own use? The combination of the different hands, different texts, and different annotations, suggest that it was, but we cannot be certain. We also do not know who erased their ownership note on the first page, but it is not uncommon for subsequent owners to erase earlier marks of ownership. [TM 770]

**DESCRIPTION:** 109 folios on parchment and paper, complete, two independent units, written by three scribes on 26-31 lines in different types of gothic scripts, red initials, 7- to 5-line decorated pen initials, text worn on ff. B 1v and 12, bound in late 15<sup>th</sup>-century Italian blind-stamped brown leather over wooden boards. Dimensions 135 x 90 mm.

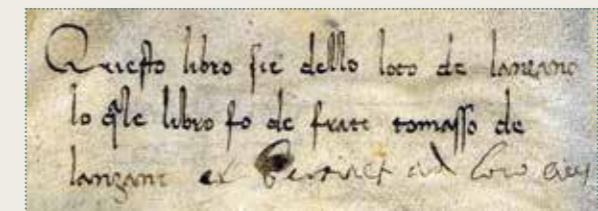
**LITERATURE:** Corrado Marciano, “La Chiesa e il convento di S. Francesco di Lanciano. Appunti di storia religiosa e civile,” *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria*, Ser. 3 (1945-1946), pp. 7-70; PP. collegii S. Bonaventurae, ed., *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam domini Iesu auctore Fr. Bartholomaeo de Pisa*, 2 vols, Analecta Franciscana 4-5, Quaracchi, 1906-12.



reduced



b



c

## 5.

## The Ovray Hours (Use of Sarum)

In Latin and Middle English, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Belgium (Bruges), c. 1430 to before 1449  
8 miniatures by the Masters of Otto van Mordrecht (signed with stenciled 'b')

How the artists who made this book worked vividly emerges from evidence in this Book of Hours. Fifteenth-century Bruges was one of the most important centers in Europe for the production of illuminated manuscripts, especially Books of Hours. In 1426/1427 the city enacted legislation to protect the rights of illuminators in Bruges, who had protested that the importation of miniatures painted on single leaves was undercutting their business. The new law prohibited the sale of imported miniatures, and required painters to stamp miniatures with a mark registered with the painter's guild.

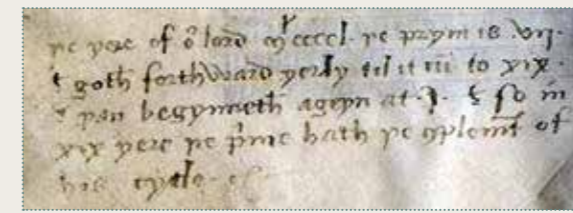
Painted in Bruges by artists known as the Masters of Otto van Moerdecht, this book is one of a small group of twenty-five manuscripts and a few single leaves that include evidence that at least some illuminators took this legislation seriously. There are very small red circles with a white gothic 'b' inconspicuously stamped just outside the upper right corner of the frames of the miniatures (a). These miniatures, all on inserted leaves, are painted in a distinctive northern Netherlandish style. The artists presumably marked their work precisely because their style is so unlike that of native Bruges painters, and could have been mistaken for illegal imports from the North. Like many Bruges Books of Hours, this was made for export to England, where it was by 1449 when an erased motto and the date, and notes in Middle English for calculating the dates of Easter and other feasts were added at the end (f. 113v (c)). A sixteenth-century hand also added prayers in Middle English and Latin on ff. 114v and 115. We know the names of two of the owners, Jane and Isabel Ovray, who signed their names with a heart (b); were they children who used this book to learn to read? [BOH 128]

**DESCRIPTION:** 116 folios, text complete, probably lacking two full-page miniatures, written in a gothic bookhand on 18 long lines, 1- to 4-line burnished gold initials, 11 large illuminated initials and 8 full-page miniatures with full borders, some rubbing and staining, bound in late-17<sup>th</sup>-century brown calf, boxed. Dimensions 150 x 103 mm.

**LITERATURE:** James D. Farquhar, "Identity in an Anonymous Age: Bruges Manuscript Illuminators and their Signs," *Viator* 11 (1980), pp. 371-83; Saskia Van Bergen, "The Use of Stamps in Bruges Book Production," in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, ed. Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow, London and Turnhout, 2013, pp. 323-337.



b



c



\*

a



72

**A**d primam  
 Eus in adu  
 toru meū  
 intende : dñe  
 Gloria pri  
 icat erat.

**Q**ui creator spiritus **ymn?**  
 uentes tuoru uisita mi  
 ple supna gracia que tu creasti  
 pectora **M**emento salutis auc  
 tor quod mi quondā corpore  
 exlibata uirgine nascito for  
 mam supseris **M**aria mater  
 grace mater misericordie in ues  
 ab ipse ptege in hora mortis  
 fulcra **G**loria tibi dñe . ut s  
**ant** **O** admirabile **ps** **da?**  
 Eus in noie tuo salu



## 6.

*Ordinarius divini officii pro ordine Canonorum Regularium,  
Capituli sive Co[n]gregatio[n]is Wyndesemensis.  
Anno Domini. M.CCCCC.XXI*

In Latin, illustrated hybrid book on paper and parchment  
The Netherlands (Deventer), Albert Pafraet, April 1521

Like palimpsests made from scraped and re-written parchment (no. 3), fifteenth- and sixteenth-century bindings – of both manuscripts and printed books – sometimes incorporate re-used leaves from manuscripts as pastedowns, endpapers, and to line the spine. Here, leaves from two tenth-century manuscripts were used to line the front and back covers of the binding (a), a rare example of a wallet-style binding with panel stamps. Like watermarks (no. 4), the metal tools used by binders to decorate their work can be associated with particular workshops. The stamps used here (b) have been associated with Antwerp, Ghent, Maestricht, and Malines. Early in its history this book was owned by Eberhardsklausen near Trier. Did these canons have the book bound? Or is the binding evidence that the volume was owned first by a house in Belgium? The question of where this book was bound is quite important, since it would shed light on the origin of the two early manuscripts used in making the binding. (It seems particularly interesting that a tenth-century Bible was considered obsolete).

This is the first edition of the *Ordinarius* of the Congregation of Windesheim, a book that describes and clarifies the liturgy as it should be followed in the monasteries of that order. It was actively used, and includes numerous marginal and interlinear corrections and additions and notes (c) on separate leaves, added by at least six different canons. These additions include three computistical tables (d) and instructions on the use of the book for the years 1529-1590. There is also a small, childish drawing of a horse (e); what should we make of that? The interaction between this printed liturgical book and the manuscript additions that kept it current for over a century are fascinating. [TM 735]

**DESCRIPTION:** In 4<sup>o</sup>; [iv]+[16]+LXXIV+[xii] leaves, on paper with parchment additions, complete, printed mostly in Roman type, title with woodcut border, 2 small astronomical woodcuts, one 9-line and forty-five 4- to 5-line woodcut initials, full-page woodcut, original blind-stamped wallet binding. Dimensions 207 x 135 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Staffan Fogelmark, *Flemish and Related Panel-Stamped Bindings. Evidence and Principles*, New York, 1990; H. M. Franke, *Der "Liber Ordinarius" der Regularkanoniker der Windesheimer Kongregation*, Studia Vindesemensa. Beiträge zur Erforschung der Devotio Moderna und des Kanonikalen Lebens, II-1, Leverkusen, 1981.



reduced

a



b



c



d



e



## II. PEOPLE USING MANUSCRIPTS (ADDING THINGS)

**THE NAMES OF MOST USERS AND READERS OF MANUSCRIPT BOOKS HAVE GONE UNRECORDED,** but they can emerge as individuals if we are attentive to the physical traces they leave behind in their books. Anyone handling a manuscript intuitively notices general things about its condition; we might notice if a book is dirty, or if it is tattered at the edges, and conclude that it had been used often (no. 3); or conversely, we notice if a manuscript survives in particularly untouched condition, suggesting it was not read very often (nos. 34 and 35). But careful analysis of this same type of physical evidence along with a book's contents, whether text or image, can tell us not only that a book was used, but in some cases, provide insight into the actual interaction between users and the book. In this section we look at things users added to their books; in the following section, we focus on things they removed from them. This approach is directly borrowed from Kathryn Rudy's discussion of devotional books (Rudy, 2011), but it is useful for many other types of manuscripts as well.

**THE DIRT LEFT BEHIND BY REPEATED TURNING OF THE PAGES IS OFTEN THE MOST DIRECT SIGN** of generations of use. In her article "Dirty Books," Kathryn Rudy explores a new technique, densitometry, which records and quantifies a reader's response to various texts in Books of Hours by using a densitometer, a device that measures the darkness of a reflecting surface (Rudy, 2010). Our analysis here is informal, and was done without using a densitometer, but owes much to her insights and methods. Dirt is rarely found uniformly on every page, and it is very interesting to note which pages are dirtiest. The dirt on the Canon pages of an Italian Missal (no. 8), is expected, since the Canon – the prayers said at every Mass, regardless of the season or feast day – saw the most use. But the lack of dirt on the other pages is harder to understand. The pattern of dirt in a tiny illuminated monastic Psalter suggests that the monks using it spent more time on the openings with illuminated initials that mark the first Psalm of an Office. Perhaps they paused on these pages while waiting for the Office to begin, maybe praying, maybe gazing at the colorful initials? (no. 9). It is always worth being attentive to the pattern of dirt in a manuscript, although it is also important to remember that it is possible that manuscripts may have been cleaned at some point in their history.

### **DIRTY CORNERS FROM FINGERPRINTS ARE TRACES OF GENERATIONS OF CISTERCIAN MONKS**

who used a twelfth-century Breviary (no. 5). The drops of wax left in the manuscript help us to picture a monk arising in the middle of night for the Office of Matins. More difficult to interpret is the astonishingly large amount of plant material in the gutter of the Breviary. Perhaps it is evidence that it was used by a travelling monk who said his Office outside, and used grass and other plants as bookmarks?

### **A BOOK OF HOURS WAS A PRAYER BOOK FOR PRIVATE DEVOTION, USED BY INDIVIDUALS.**

They also functioned as family books, a fact that is revealed by the things added to the Villeneuve Hours (no. 10), used by one family living in the Auvergne in France. Their book was used devotionally; they added pilgrims's badges on the first page (now removed) and prayers. But it was also a book for instruction, evidenced by the added catechetical texts, doubtless intended for use by the younger members of the family. And most remarkably, this book was used for generations of family records (known in French as a *livre de raison*). In 1589, this book was owned by Jean Gebelin, Prior of the Abbey of Paix in Issoire in the Auvergne. In 1601 he gave it to his goddaughter on the occasion of her wedding. It remained in her family until the twentieth century, and includes notes of births, baptisms, weddings, and deaths until 1953.

### **SOME OWNERS REMAIN ELUSIVE, EVEN WHEN WE CONTEMPLATE THE PHYSICAL EVIDENCE**

of things they added. We do not know very much about the modern owner who added miniatures of Saint Benedict and Saint Augustine to his manuscript (no. 14). Others emerge with clarity. The name of a Carmelite nun, Jacoba van Dycke, is recorded in her Ritual (a volume of the services marking her monastic life from clothing and profession to burial). She may have copied this manuscript herself, and perhaps even decorated it with cuttings from other manuscripts (no. 13). We can picture her and other nuns in her convent, sitting in a circle, and industriously cutting out the painted initials and borders from illuminated manuscripts from the late fifteenth century. This extraordinary practice has been documented in a small number of other books, mostly made by nuns. Perhaps our most intriguing example is the owner and compiler – and possibly, practicing alchemist – of a recipe collection, who appears to have hidden his alchemical treatises in the middle of his book of household recipes (no. 12).

## 7.

## Breviary (Sanctorale and Common of Saints), Cistercian Use

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment

Southern France, c. 1185-1191, with additions, c. 1240-1250, and c. 1255

Five scribes, working for a period of more than a half of century, wrote different sections of this Breviary for the Sanctorale and Common of Saints. The contrasts in the script, ruling, and type of decoration they used allow us to reconstruct the story of its origin. The opening section (roughly one third of the volume) is from a twelfth-century Breviary. This volume was completed, or more likely, restored, in the thirteenth century by three scribes, writing at two or possibly three different times. A single twelfth-century leaf (a) from the Temporale added at the beginning with the same format and script as the remaining twelfth-century leaves lends support to the theory that the original twelfth-century Breviary was damaged, and then restored in the thirteenth century.

Monks belonging to the Cistercian order used this small volume. In the second half of the twelfth century, Cistercian monks were sent to Southern France to preach against the Cathar heretics, and it is possible that this small Breviary was copied for one of these travelling preachers. The monks that used this volume over the years left behind dirt and bits of wax (b); the last leaf is now very dark and damaged. These are all the type of physical additions that are common in manuscripts that were used daily for many years. But this manuscript also includes an astonishingly large amount of plant material in the gutter (c). It is hard to imagine how all these bits of plants ended up in the manuscript. Perhaps it is evidence that it was used by a travelling monk who said his Office outside, and used grass and other plants as bookmarks? [TM 749]

**DESCRIPTION:** 220 folios on parchment, missing a leaf following f. 95, gap in the text following f. 77v, composed of 4 sections of different dates, written by five scribes in 17-21 long lines; 4- to 1-line plain and penwork initials, stains, final leaf darkened (verso illegible), 15<sup>th</sup>- or 16<sup>th</sup>-century blind-stamped brown leather binding over wooden boards. Dimensions 140 x 100 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard*, Rochester, New York, 2001; Pierre Salmon, *The Breviary through the Centuries*, Colledgeville, Minnesota, 1962.



b



c



\*



\*

## 8.

## Missal

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Northern Italy (for use in Gubbio?), c. 1320-1350; [added miniature] Southern Germany, c. 1450-1500

Missals contain the prayers and other texts said during the celebration of the Mass. Some were kept in the church treasury for occasional use, but most were heavily used. The pattern of use in this Missal, however, is puzzling. It includes evidence of some mishap in its history, probably exposure to damp or some liquid (some quires are very wrinkled or "cockled," and there are minor stains), but if you ignore this accidental damage, many pages are noticeably clean. The five folios of the Canon of the Mass (the prayers said by the celebrant at every Mass, regardless of the time of year or the feast being celebrated) are quite different: the pages are darkened, some have been patched in the lower margin (b), and there is plenty of dirt about two inches above the lower corners (so priests must have turned the pages by holding them roughly in the middle (c)). The last page of the Canon of the Mass is especially dirty, but the very next page with the prayers for Easter is almost pristine. The contrast is striking. The Canon pages in Missals, used so often, are often very worn and dirty – but why does the rest of this book look so little used?

Users of the book left behind more than just dirt from their fingers (a). Several added new saints to the calendar, allowing us to chart its movement to Northern Italy and then Southern Germany; the text was updated in the margins, and additions were made on the opening and closing leaves (d). Two major changes were introduced in Germany in the fifteenth century. The book was rebound, and a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion was added before the Canon. Was this Missal without a Crucifixion miniature for most of a century? [TM 787]

**DESCRIPTION:** 266 folios on parchment, complete, copied in a rounded gothic bookhand in 2 columns of 27 lines, square musical notation on three-line red staves, 2- to 5-line penwork initials, full-page Crucifixion miniature, minor staining, cockled, 15<sup>th</sup>-century German binding of bright pink leather over wooden boards, worn but stable, boxed. Dimensions 230 x 160 mm.

**LITERATURE:** S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker. *The Origins of the Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century*, Westminster, Maryland, 1960; S. J. P. Van Dijk, ed., *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Ordinals of Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents, 1243-1307*, Leiden, 1963.



reduced

a

b



c

d

## 9.

## Psalter (Benedictine Use)

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment

Southwestern Germany (Constance?) or Switzerland (St. Gallen?), c. 1450

1 full-page illuminated initial with full border, 10 large illuminated initials with partial borders,  
1 decorated circular diagram

The Psalms were at the heart of the Divine Office, chanted in their entirety each week by monks in the choir. It is often said that monks learned the Psalms by heart, but here we have physical evidence that this was not always the case. This very tiny monastic Psalter includes signs of daily use by generations of monks. The lower outer corners of almost every page are darkened and dirty from their fingers (a). The openings with painted initials seem to be dirtiest. The initials mark the first Psalm in the series said on a particular day of the week at a particular Office. You can also see tabs (b) marking these places as well (now cut flush with the book block) that made it easy for monks to find their place. One can imagine monks holding the book open and lingering at these openings, gazing at the illuminated initials while they waited for the service to begin.

One feature that is slightly puzzling is its sixteenth-century German binding (c) (perhaps in itself evidence of early and vigorous use, since the book had to be rebound relatively soon after it was made). The binder trimmed this book so aggressively that he also trimmed the illuminated borders (d). The absence of marginal annotations in this book is noteworthy. Although it is possible that they were trimmed by the binder, their absence makes sense in a volume used for prayer rather than for study. Perhaps small Psalters like this one were used by novices learning the Office? On f. 27, almost into the gutter, there is a rust stain; did medieval monks routinely use metal objects for bookmarks? (see also no. 1).

**DESCRIPTION:** 82 folios on parchment, lacking at least one leaf at the end, written in hybrida script in 31-33 long lines, 4- to 9-line penwork initials, 2 with partial borders, 10 illuminated initials with partial borders, one full-page illuminated initial with full border, one decorated circular diagram, heavily cropped, signs of use, bound in 16<sup>th</sup>-century blind-stamped pigskin over wooden boards. Dimensions 100 x 80 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Victor Leroquais, *Les psautiers : manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Mâcon, 1940-41; Elizabeth Solopova, *Latin Liturgical Psalters in the Bodleian Library: A Select Catalogue*, Oxford, 2013.



a



b



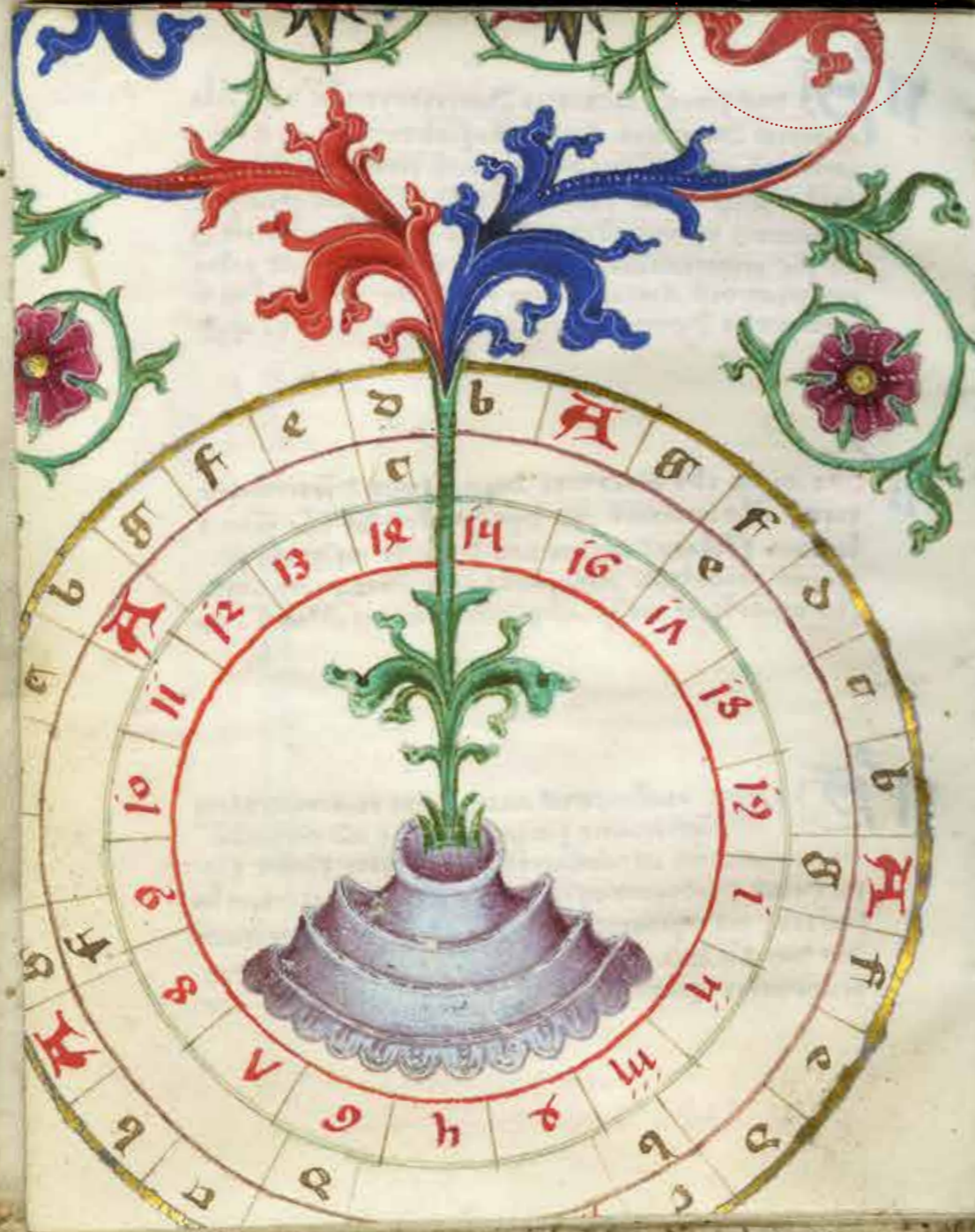
c



\*



\*



**S**i vis scire intervallū salicet nūm ebdoma  
 daz que sit a festo natiuitatis xpi si ipsum  
 fuerit dñca die vel a p̄ma dñca sequ  
 ti idest festi si no fuerit die dñca usqz  
 ad dñcam qua tant in ealia sita. In vo  
 cauit. Tūc p̄mo q̄re aucta nūm eiusdem  
 anni i p̄ti aut sequeti tabula. i p̄ma de  
 scendente versus sinistra et litrea dñcale  
 in supiori linea transversali sub qua d̄scen  
 de d̄recte donec uenias ex d̄recto aucta  
 nū Et nūm ibidem i uento ostendit interval  
 lam eiusde anni. Concurrentes uo ebdoma  
 daz que sit dies supflui inter diem na  
 tiuitatis xpi et dñcam p̄ma sequente  
 sut descripti p̄ numeros sup litreas dor  
 males positos. Et nota qd̄ in anno bisextili  
 debet querere intervalū sub secūda li  
 terea dñcale et nō sub p̄ma. Sed conur  
 rentes salicet dies superfluos querat  
 sub p̄ma litrea dominicali.

**Q**uādo litrea dñcalis ē. b. r. d. tūc  
 aduentus dñi erit p̄ma dñca ante festū  
 andree. Si uero. a. g. f. tūc erit i p̄ma  
 dñca post festū andree. Si autē est. e.  
 litrea dñcalis tūc erit in festo andree.  
 Sed festū tūc fertur in feriam secundam  
 Vel aliter. Aduentus dñi celebrat̄ ubi  
 tūqz dies dñicus uenerit inter quinto  
 faldas d̄cemb̄ et t̄rio nonas eiusde.

## 10.

## Villeneuve Hours (Use of the Netherlands?)

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Belgium (Bruges), c. 1450  
22 miniatures by the Master(s) of the Gold Scrolls

Kathryn Rudy has suggested that a binding of a manuscript prayer book can function “as the lid of a treasure chest.” It is certainly true in the case of this very fine Book of Hours, which, like the Ovray Hours (no. 4), was made in Bruges, in this case in a classic Bruges style. Most of the miniatures are by an artist from the group known as the Master(s) of the Gold Scrolls; the colors shine – lapis lazuli, brilliant green, and red vermillion. Open the cover of its Neo-Gothic nineteenth-century binding (a) and you discover layer upon layer of additions that shows us that this book was used by members of one family living in the Auvergne in France from the sixteenth through the twentieth century. The family placed pilgrims’s badges on the first page, souvenirs of pious journeys (now removed, but visible from the circular impressions in the upper margins (b)), added prayers and other catechetical texts, and most remarkably, used the book for generations of family records (records known in French as a *livre de raison*).

In 1589, this book was owned by Jean Gebelin, Prior of the Abbey of Paix in Issoire in the Auvergne (c, d). In 1601 he gave it to his goddaughter on the occasion of her wedding. It remained in her family until the twentieth century, and includes notes of births, baptisms, weddings, and deaths until 1953. Some of the early entries were added to the calendar where the time of year they occurred corresponded to the place in the calendar (e). Other entries were added in blank spaces, and have no relationship with the text. Recording family information in a treasured and holy book like a Book of Hours is similar to recording such information in family Bibles. [BOH 126]

**DESCRIPTION:** 123 folios on parchment, complete, written in a gothic bookhand on 20 long lines, gold or blue penwork initials, two 6-line initials and 22 three-quarter-page miniatures with illuminated borders, 2 illuminated pages cut down, then reinserted, 19<sup>th</sup>-century Neo-Gothic style binding by Gruel and Engelmann. Dimensions c. 205 x 140 mm.

**LITERATURE:** M. Smeyers, *L'Art de la miniature flamande, VIII<sup>e</sup> aux XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Tournai, 1998, pp. 234-236; Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400-1600*, Cambridge and New York, 2012; Rudy, 2011.



reduced



\*



a



b



c

Je Gebelin Prior de Paix 1589  
de Labbe de Issoire

d

le vingt huit décembre mil huit cent dix sept  
 Sa sœur une fille baptisée au maréchal  
 et nommée <sup>nommi</sup> Gilberte son parrain a été  
 Jean François, antoine de Chametpachery  
 de saint Louis, ayant été marié de son  
 la mariée a été Gilberte Salbigan

matériel	xvii	a	lazari m̃r.
Elle s'est	vi	b	Rufi epi.
mariée le		c	
9 Février 1847	xiii	d	Vigilia.
à Camille Thénau	ii	e	Thome ap̃li.
Adolphe		f	
Hébrard de Villeneuve	xi	g	Vigilia.
de ce mariage		a	
Henry	xix	b	Matthias dñi.
Hébrard de Villeneuve	viii	c	Stephani prothom̃r.
née le 11 Septembre		d	Johannes eũgeliste.
1848.	xvi	e	Socrū innocencium.
Baptisée le 10 d'octobre à N. D.	v	f	Thome cantuariensis.
du St Antoine		g	
Marie	xii	a	Silvestri pape.
Hébrard de Villeneuve			
née le 24 juin 1851			
Baptisée le 10 d'octobre à N. D. du St Antoine, décédée le 19 Février 1890 à Anvers			

de ce mariage deux filles :

- Marie Stephanie Henriette  
 née à Paris le 24 août 1876  
 baptisée à St Augustin et
- Marie Eugénie Jeanne  
 née au Château de Montigny  
 (Eure et Loir) - Le 8 août 1878.  
 a eu pour parrain son grand oncle M. Eugène Poriquet  
 et pour marraine sa tante Mlle Marie Hébrard de Villeneuve.

Vous le 30  
 Novembre 1880



**D** Commemoratio de S<sup>o</sup>  
 Iohanne baptista.  
 Audite iohannes bap  
 tista. qui in uentris  
 clausus est. conga



## 11.

## Prayer Book

In Latin (with some French), illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Belgium (Brussels), c. 1460 and France (Lille), c. 1475

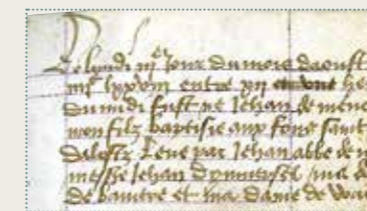
34 large semi-grisaille miniatures and 5 small miniatures by the Master of the Grisailles Fleurdelisées; 10 large coloured miniatures by the Master of Johannes Gielemans

In contrast with the Villeneuve Hours (no. 10), the *livre de raison* in this profusely illuminated Prayer Book from Brussels and Lille consists of one formally written entry on a blank page (f. 14) recording the birth in 1478 and 1480 of two of Claude de Menostey's children in Alost (nineteen miles northwest of Brussels) (a). Claude was receiver of the artillery for Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1470-1477). Why just one entry? We do not know for sure. Perhaps this book did not stay in the family. Or perhaps the impulse to record events was not maintained (how many of us have private diaries with only a few entries?). Claude himself may be depicted at work in the miniature on f. 42 (b).

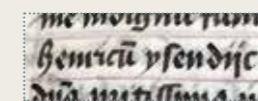
Perhaps Claude de Menostey was not the original owner of this book, which was made in two stages. The section by the second artist, the Master of the Grisailles Fleurdelisées, was added a decade or so later, perhaps in Lille. The first section was painted in or around Brussels by the Master of Johannes Gielemans, an artist associated with the famous Rouge-Cloître (Rooklooster) of the Windesheim Congregation near Brussels (see also no. 33). The name Henricus Ysendijc appears twice in a prayer on f. 186v (c). Was this Henry the original owner, or possibly the scribe? Some mistakes in Latin and the idiosyncratic placing of miniatures could indicate an amateur scribe, perhaps Ysendijc himself. On f. 147, in the lower margin, there is a triangular-shaped stain in the border (d), perhaps from a badge, now removed? [BOH 110]

**DESCRIPTION:** 234 folios, lacking at least 5 leaves, written in a bâtarde script on up to 17 long lines, 2- to 4-line initials, illuminated bracket-borders, 5 small and 34 large grisaille miniatures with illuminated borders, 10 large colored miniatures most with full borders, some wear, but in fine condition, old red velvet binding, rebacked and resewn. Dimensions 129 x 85 mm.

**LITERATURE:** B. Bousmanne and T. Delcourt, dir., *Miniatures flamandes 1404-1482*, Paris and Brussels, 2011; I. Hans Collas and P. Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux, 1, Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges*, Turnhout, 2009.



a



c



d



## 12.

Miscellany of medical, magical, and alchemical recipes: including JOHN OF RUPESCISSA, *Liber lucis*; alchemical notes, with extracts from *Turba philosophorum*, GIOVANNI AGOSTINO PANTEO, *Voarchadumia contra alchimiam*, PSEUDO-GEBER, *Summa perfectionis magisterii*, the redaction of *Secretum secretorum* by ROGER BACON, and PSEUDO-ARNOLD OF VILLANOVA, *Rosarius philosophorum*

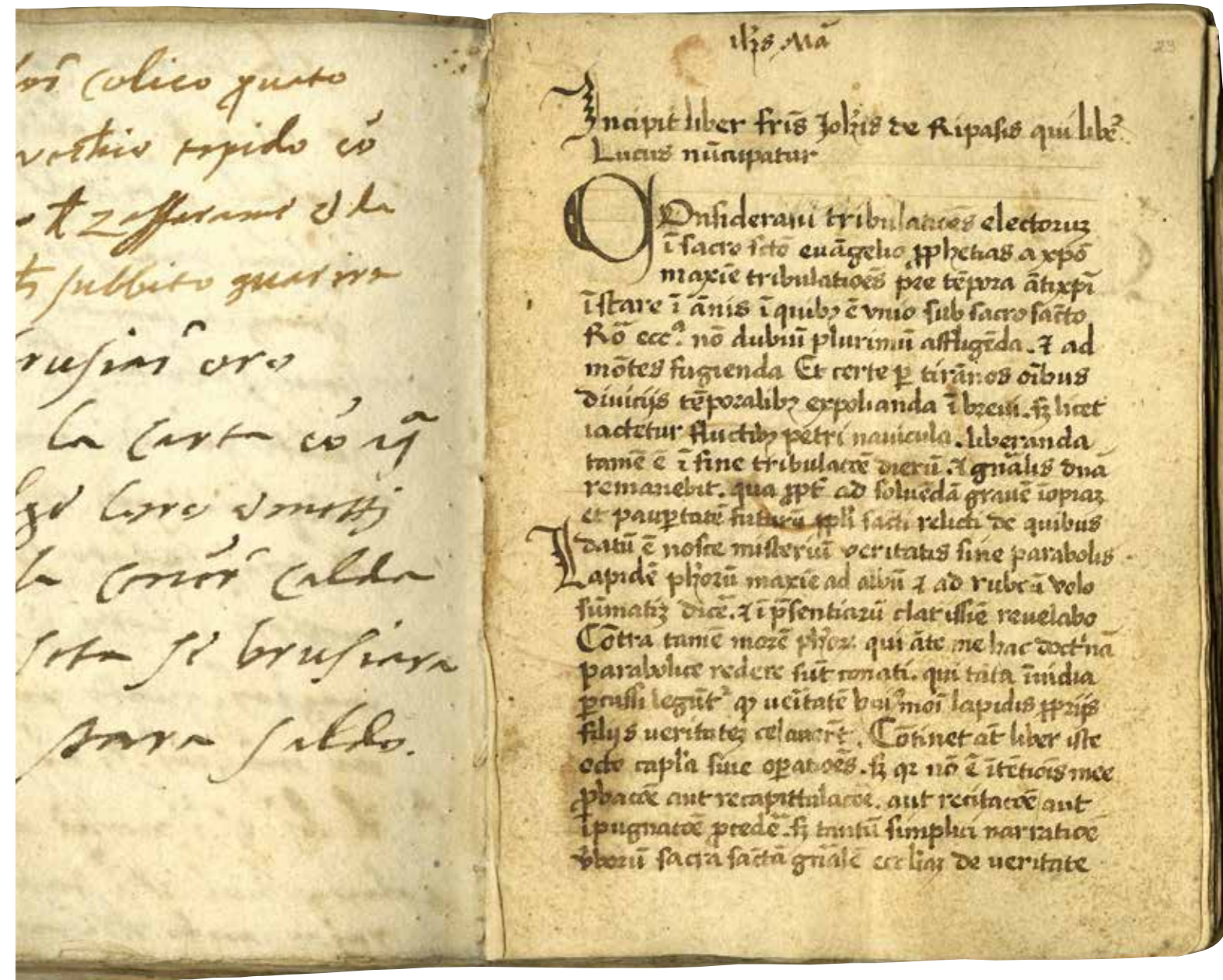
In Italian and Latin, decorated manuscript on paper  
Central Italy (Urbino?), c. 1520-1540

This manuscript looks like a standard miscellany of medical and household recipes, with the usual mix of medical, veterinary, cosmetic, and even culinary contents (a recipe for Bolognese sausage), but careful examination of its physical details provides interesting insight into the possible motives of the original owner/compiler. It is made up of a large wad of twenty-two sheets of paper, which were folded in half to form a lengthy quire, which were in turn folded around two more conventionally sized paper quires (ff. 23-34). These inner quires are copied in a different script, and based on script and watermark evidence (see no. 4), appear to be earlier. They include the *Liber lucis* (Book of Light) by Rupescissa (a), an alchemical treatise discussing how to make the philosopher's stone, followed by recipes for making precious metals, and about ten further folios of extracts from an alchemical treatise added by the owner/compiler. This is a very strange way to construct a manuscript. Was the person who put it together deliberately hiding his two precious alchemical tracts within his larger and more mundane collection?

This owner/compiler (and alchemist), was also a practical man. On f. 35rv, he inserted a recipe for a healing poultice, used to treat *ricioli*, a disease affecting the legs of horses. The directions on the back and the folds on this loose leaf all suggest that before its inclusion in this volume this recipe was folded and sent as a letter either to Messer Matheo de la Brancha, whose name is written on the back of the sheet, or his nephew Octaviano (b). Instead of recopying the recipe, he simply added it into his volume. [TM 843]

**DESCRIPTION:** 57 folios on paper, watermarks dating 1505-1546, complete, written in a humanistic cursive script on 15-17 long lines, and in a round gothic bookhand on 25 long lines, some rubbing and staining, f. 35 with six horizontal folds, original limp parchment binding, quite worn. Dimensions 148-153 x 113-115 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Andrea Aromatico, ed., *Giovanni da Rupescissa: Il libro della luce*, Venice, 1997; Andrea Aromatico and Marcella Peruzzi, eds., *Medicamenti, pozioni e incantesimi del ricettario magico urbinato*, Milan, 1994.



\*

Explicit liber lucis fris Johis de ripa cissa  
Gallia doctor parisiensis

a

Ampl. matheo de la brancha ouuo a octaviano  
no suo nepote

b

## 13.

## Carmelite Ritual

In Dutch and Latin with musical notation, illuminated manuscript and printed Psalter  
Belgium (Bruges?), c. 1600; imprint, c. 1500-1550

Here is a book that survives as a remarkable example of the continuation of the medieval tradition of manuscript-making long after the invention of the printing press in Germany c. 1455. It was made for Jacoba van Dycke, a Carmelite nun, who made her solemn profession on June 2, 1600 when she was nineteen (her name and the date are included in the vow of profession on ff. 41-42 (b)). It is even possible she copied the book for herself.

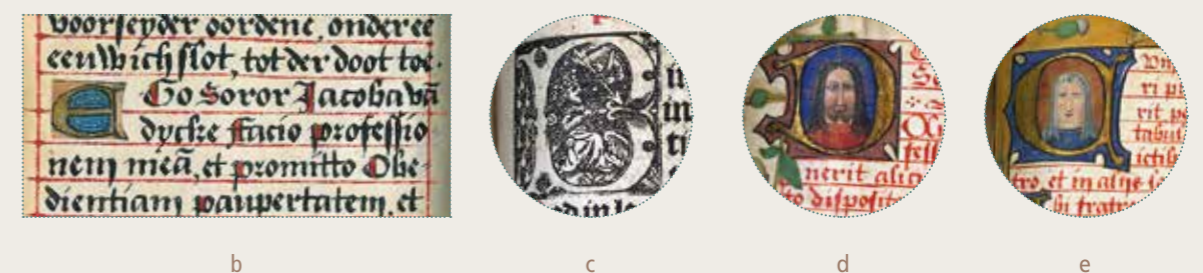
A hybrid book is one that includes both printed (c) material and manuscript. In this case the standard text of the Psalms is supplied by a printed Psalter, but the Carmelite Ritual, with texts adapted to this Order and, indeed, this particular owner, was copied by hand. It is illustrated with illuminated initials (d, e), including four historiated initials, and borders (a) meticulously cut out of earlier manuscripts (as many as four, all from the Low Countries, dating c. 1460-1520). This practice is known in a relatively small number of manuscripts, almost all linked to nuns. The numerous small initials within the text (there are well over one hundred) fit perfectly on the page. One can imagine Jacoba or another nun piecing these into place like a quilt maker, or like a printer setting type. One initial on f. 38 is even decorated with a floral border that looks as if it is part of the initial, but in actuality is assembled from several individual flowers glued around it. Could Jacoba have been a member of the Convent of Sion in Bruges, home to a number of well-known artists and manuscript illuminators including Sister Cornelia van Wulfchkercke (d. 1540)? [TM 875]

**DESCRIPTION:** Hybrid volume with 144 folios (manuscript) + 137 folios (imprint) on paper, complete, written in a cursive gothic bookhand in 17 long lines, square musical notation on red 4- and 5-line staves, red initials, pasted-in decoration: 1- to 2-line illuminated initials, 4 historiated initials, and 5 borders, bound in quarter leather and (early) wooden boards, rebacked. Dimensions 156 x 93 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Mary Erler, "Pasted-in Embellishments in English Manuscripts and Printed Books c. 1480-1553," *The Library*, series 6, 14 (1992), pp. 185-206; McKitterick, 2003.



reduced



## 14.

*Regula SANCTI BENEDICTI; Regula SANCTI AUGUSTINI*  
(Rules of Saint Benedict and Saint Augustine)

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Northern Italy (?), c. 1350-1400; [added miniatures] 19<sup>th</sup>- or 20<sup>th</sup>-century

The two miniatures in this manuscript are its most obviously striking feature. They are clearly added. The miniature of St. Benedict (b) is painted on an inserted leaf (and does not include the worm holes found on the leaves that were originally at the front of the volume), and the miniature of St. Augustine on f. 65v (a), was painted on an otherwise blank verso of a text leaf. When were they added? Stylistically they mimic Lombard illumination from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. But it seems most likely they were added in the nineteenth century, or even the twentieth century, by an artist working in the Neo-Gothic style. Perhaps they were added for someone who wished to honor the two great saints whose works are included here. Or does their presence suggest this was owned by a modern enthusiast with a romantic view of the medieval past, and in particular of monasticism?

St. Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-547?) wrote his "little rule for beginners," c. 540, setting straightforward rules to guide the life of monks living communally under the direction of an abbot. Probably no other single text had such a profound effect on the lives of religious men and women from the Middle Ages to the present day. The *Rule* of St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430), became the standard rule by which Canons Regular ordered their lives, and was adopted by many other religious orders, including the Dominicans. This manuscript includes evidence of early Benedictine ownership, which is not surprising. The inclusion of the *Rule* of St. Augustine, however, is unusual. Perhaps this was originally copied for a Benedictine monk with scholarly interest in other rules? [TM 388]

**DESCRIPTION:** 79 folios on parchment, complete, written in a cursive gothic script in 23 and 18 long lines, red initials, two full-page 19<sup>th</sup>- or 20<sup>th</sup>-century miniatures, repairs to two lower margins, 19<sup>th</sup>-century blind-stamped burgundy velvet binding. Dimensions 145 x 115 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville, *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, Paris, 1971-1972; Luc Verheijen, *La Règle de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1967; Sandra Hindman, Michael Camille, Nina Rowe, and Rowan Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age: Recovery and Reconstruction*, eds. Sandra Hindman and Nina Rowe, Evanston, Illinois, 2001.



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a



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## 15.

Franciscan Miscellany: ISAAC OF NINEVEH, *Liber de contemptu mundi*, Latin translation; PSEUDO-BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *De Contemptu Mundi*; JACOBUS MEDIOLANENSIS, *Liber de Stimulis Amoris*; AEGIDIUS ASSISIENSIS, *Dicta*; PSEUDO-BONAVENTURA (JACOBUS MEDIOLANENSIS ?), *Expositio super Pater Noster* and *Meditatio super salve regina*; RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR, *Tractatus de quattuor gradibus violentae caritatis*; ARNOLDUS BONAEOVALLIS, *De ultimis verbis domini (Tractatus de sex verbis domini in cruce)*; OGLERIUS LOCEDIENSIS (PSEUDO-BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX), *Planctus Mariae*; PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE, *Meditationes*

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Northern Italy, c. 1260-1280; c. 1280-1300

The mind or minds of the creator, who selected the texts and excerpts to be included, are revealed in the type of manuscript we call a “miscellany.” The miscellany is the ancestor of personal collections of notes that become such an important genre in early modern Europe. This is a carefully copied, portable Franciscan spiritual miscellany, illustrated with an illuminated initial and charming colored drawings of St. Francis and Franciscan monks inserted in the space for initials (b, c). Two of the many texts included here are of special importance: both certainly early and possibly even contemporary with their authors, the Latin translation of the *Liber de Contemptu mundi* by Isaac of Nineveh, a text particularly important to the Spiritual Franciscans, and the *Stimulus amoris* by James of Milan. The contemporary marginal notes are of potential importance for scholars (a).

What is most likely to grab your attention when you first you first look through this manuscript, however, are the much later additions copied in rather large scrawling hands (d). They have absolutely nothing to do with the text. The manuscript was copied in sections, leaving blank leaves at the end of a number of quires: f. 64v (quire 7), ff. 83v-84v (quire 9), ff. 135v-136v (quire 14), and ff. 217v-218v (quire 21). These blank leaves were used by two writers for notes, probably in the seventeenth century. The first copied random notes on church history; the second copied a longer text that deserves further study, but probably also relates to ecclesiastical history. Were these notes added by students – perhaps novices in a monastery, or seminarians – simply using the blank pages for their own purposes? [TM 675]

**DESCRIPTION:** 218 folios on parchment, complete, written in a variety of gothic scripts by as many as 6 scribes on 26-31 long lines, 1- to 3-line initials, some with pen decoration, 3 small colored drawings, one historiated initial, trimmed, occasional flaking or abraded ink, 17<sup>th</sup>- or 18<sup>th</sup>-century limp vellum binding. Dimensions 136 x 92 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Sabino Chialà, *Dall'asceti eremitica alla misericordia infinita: ricerche su Isacco di Ninive e la sua fortuna*, Florence, 2002; Falk Eisermann, “*Stimulus amoris*”: *Inhalt, lateinische Überlieferung, deutsche Übersetzungen, Rezeption*, Tübingen, 2001.



a



b

+  
 Victor papa Tedsorea pale  
 Anni de paschis celebrato  
 conuicti collegit chi inu  
 hi uenit lugdunensis p  
 Nephary  
 In chaf uelore a no  
 sub as 45 q sub leone p papa  
 syro in celebrat. 630 par  
 Cuthche ad abbatis. Constan  
 in uol. ca. m. yui. d. xiv. Una  
 ee natu. r. uerbi d. u. m.  
 er cui d. r. s. caru  
 syro d. y. h. u. d. i. n. e. s. y.  
**Et dicitur syro u.**  
**Chaladone u.**  
**Incipit Stimulus amoris.**  
**Sim bona uetura cadu**  
**lez de ordie frz miodo.**



Amstige dulcissime dñe medullis. ne mee suau  
 lino de saluberrimo uulnē amouē tuū uulnē uulnē  
 mē mee uera xna. aplice cūz. re. ut uē. id. ar. r. i. g. u. e.  
 at. u. q. u. ar. nā mea solo sēp. amore. r. r. e. s. i. d. i. o. m. o. c. u. p. i. s. s. i. o.  
 r. d. e. f. i. c. i. a. r. u. ā. m. e. a. m. u. n. a. m. i. a. c. u. p. i. a. r. o. u. s. s. o. l. u. m. x. e. r. e. t. i. n. i. m.  
 h. a. u. t. u. ā. m. ā. r. e. s. o. l. i. s. e. p. c. u. m. a. r. p. m. e. u. r. e. c. e. l. e. s. t. i. s. q. u. e.  
 c. e. l. o. d. e. s. c. e. d. i. s. t. i. p. m. e. m. g. l. o. r. r. e. f. e. c. t. o. r. u. ā. n. y. s. e. i. p. p. m. e. u. r.  
 c. o. r. d. i. a. m. i. s. e. p. t. h. i. l. e. h. i. n. e. d. e. d. u. l. c. e. d. m. e. r. e. d. e. s. i. p. i. e. r. e.  
 d. e. l. e. c. t. m. i. n. i. s. u. u. u. r. t. i. s. r. e. i. q. d. e. s. i. d. i. m. e. m. g. l. i. p. p. i. e. r. e.  
 s. e. p. c. u. m. a. r. r. o. m. e. d. i. t. c. o. u. e. i. l. r. d. u. l. c. e. d. m. e. s. i. p. i. s. t. u. r.  
 p. l. e. i. t. u. l. s. e. r. i. u. e. m. e. e. r. e. s. e. p. s. i. n. a. r. f. o. r. e. u. r. e. f. o. r. e. s. i. e.  
 f. o. r. e. c. i. m. l. u. m. i. n. u. s. r. o. i. e. s. i. d. u. p. t. a. n. s. u. l. e. r. a. n. s. d. o. m. i. c. e.  
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 d. e. l. e. c. t. o. r. q. ū. h. i. s. t. o. r. i. a. m. o. o. p. e. r. a. o. m. n. i.

r. e. s. i. d. i. o. m. o. c. u. p. i. s. s. i. o.



### III. PEOPLE USING MANUSCRIPTS (REMOVING THINGS)

**PEOPLE ADDED THINGS TO THEIR MANUSCRIPTS; THEY ALSO REMOVED THINGS, BOTH unintentionally as a by-product of their actions and quite deliberately.** Observing what was removed, and pondering this evidence in the context of text and image, can give us significant insight into how owners interacted with their books.

**OWNERS REMOVED PARCHMENT FROM MANUSCRIPTS FOR PRACTICAL REASONS.** BLANK margins were cut away to be used for other purposes (nos. 2 and 19); pages from manuscripts were mined to be used as materials for bindings and to reinforce paper quires (nos. 6, 17, 23, 28, 29). A page from a tenth-century Bible was used in the binding of a printed book in 1521 (no. 6). The pastedown in a thirteenth-century German Psalter was taken from a thirteenth-century manuscript of the *Disputation of a Jew with a Christian on the Christian Faith* by Gilbert Crispin (c. 1045-1117) (no. 17), a text that otherwise survives in only about thirty manuscripts. Was this text considered obsolete? Or was this leaf taken from a defective manuscript?

**SMUDGED INITIALS AND MINIATURES ARE NOT UNCOMMON IN MANUSCRIPTS, AND CAN BE easily ignored or explained as resulting from accidental damage or exposure to damp.** And certainly this prosaic explanation holds true in some cases. But Kathryn Rudy's studies have taught us that by thinking of smudges as the removal of pigment, and placing them in the context of how people prayed in the Middle Ages, they suddenly become meaningful (Rudy, 2011). Physical ritual was an important part of medieval religious practice. From the consecration of the Eucharist during Mass, to processions on major feast days that reenacted events connected with Christ's life, physical rituals answered the need people felt to physically interact with the holy here on earth. Physically connecting with the body of Christ (or representations of it), was particularly important. Believers physically touched or kissed the pages of their books while praying. During Mass, the priest kissed the image of the Crucifixion found in the Missal. These images are often smudged as a result. Illuminators sometimes added small crosses in the lower margins below the Crucifixion for the priest to kiss instead, preventing damage to the miniature. Lay men and women in prayer felt the same need to express their devotion through physical contact with their books.

**THE DEGREE OF ALTERATION TO THE SMUDGED INITIALS IN AN ITALIAN BOOK OF HOURS** (no. 16) is not very dramatic; it would be possible to look at this book and not really notice it. But they help us to understand the people who used this book. Two miniatures are smudged, revealing the user as a penitent sinner (the image of David before the Penitential Psalms), and as someone seeking solace and the promise of salvation (the image of the infant Christ). In another Book of Hours, the user, perhaps the woman who commissioned this book, touched the faces of the mourners in the scene of a funeral, demonstrating that the images touched or kissed were not necessarily holy images (formerly *Les Enluminures*, BOH 119). Praying involved connecting with what one saw on the page.

**THE MUCH MORE OBVIOUS DAMAGE TO THE MINIATURES OF ST. FRANCIS AND ST. DOMINIC** in a thirteenth-century German Psalter (no. 17) seems ambiguous, at least to our eyes. Were these images damaged by repeated devotional touching (and kissing)? Or were they actually attacked later by users of this book who hated the friars, and were consciously damaging the images of these two saints? (The mendicant friars were often the target of sharp criticism during the Reformation). In a miniature of the Flagellation of Christ in a Dutch Book of Hours, British Library, Harley MS 2966, the image of one of His torturers has been attacked and almost totally removed. In the same miniature the body of Christ has also been almost totally obliterated, but in this case the damage was an unintended result of veneration. Comparing the damage to the image of Christ in this book, with the damage to the initials of Francis and Dominic in the Psalter, suggests that what we now see on the page is more likely a result of veneration, rather than of anger.

**UNAMBIGUOUS EXAMPLES OF READERS ATTACKING THEIR BOOKS ARE NOT UNCOMMON.** A Royal Proclamation in 1538 denounced St. Thomas of Canterbury (Thomas Becket) as a traitor and mandated the removal of his name and image from churches and books. His name and image are often removed from English Books of Hours. In a copy of a universal chronicle by a monk from Malmesbury Abbey, one reader added an image of the saint in the margin alongside the account of his martyrdom. Another user removed both his name and this marginal drawing (no. 18). Both the original addition and the subsequent removal tell us something about how this book was used.

**USERS ALSO "REMOVED" PARTS OF BOOKS ACCIDENTALLY, SIMPLY THROUGH LONG AND repeated use** (no. 19). Other non-human users also removed parts of manuscripts; bite marks from mice or rats are clearly visible in a copy of devotional texts including the *Imitation of Christ* (no. 20).



## 16.

## Franciscan Book of Hours (Use of Rome)

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Italy, Lombardy (Milan or Ferrara?), c. 1475  
5 historiated initials by an anonymous artist

The “things removed” from this Book of Hours are subtle, but they help us to understand this as a living book that was an active part of someone’s devotional life. Two miniatures are smudged. The image of David (a), honored in the Middle Ages as the author of the Psalms, and also as a sinner who was still beloved by God, introduces the Penitential Psalms. It has been smudged by someone touching, or perhaps kissing, the image repeatedly while in prayer – presumably confessing and making amends for sins. The very first image in the book shows the Virgin Mary, her hands clasped in prayer, gazing tenderly at the baby Jesus. The face of the baby is also quite smudged, leading us to picture the devotee in a happier, less penitential mode, perhaps contemplating the promise of salvation represented by the birth of Christ.

This small and intimate Book of Hours was certainly written and illuminated for someone with close ties to the Franciscans, in particular the Observant Franciscans. Bernardino of Siena, who became Vicar General of the Observants in 1438, was known for his devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, the symbol which appears at the opening of the manuscript (‘IHS’ the first three letters of the name of Jesus in Latin, in gothic letters on a blazing sun). Fifteenth-century Italian Books of Hours associated with the Franciscans deserve further study as a group, especially given the interesting links between the Franciscans, Books of Hours, and lay piety in the fourteenth century (Manzari, 2013). Random scribbling on several pages of the calendar bring us back to the use of Books of Hours to teach children (see no. 5), although perhaps there is another explanation for these stray marks? [BOH 55]

**DESCRIPTION:** 212 folios, possibly missing at least one quire after the calendar, written in a round gothic bookhand on 13 long lines, 2- to 4-line penwork initials, 8 decorated initials with three-quarter borders, 5 historiated initials, with three-quarter or full borders, modern calf binding. Dimensions 95 x 70 mm.

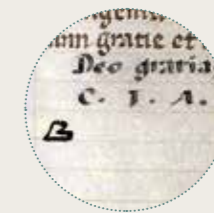
**LITERATURE:** J. J. G. Alexander, *Italian Renaissance Illuminations*, New York, 1977; Francesca Manzari, “Italian Books of Hours and Prayerbooks in the Fourteenth Century,” in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, eds. Sandra Hindman and James Marrow, London and Turnhout, 2013.



a



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## 17.

## Psalter

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Southern Germany (diocese of Constance or Augsburg), c. 1240-1260

This Psalter is unusual since it includes pictures of the two great saints of the thirteenth century: St. Dominic (d. 1221), who was canonized in 1234, and St. Francis (d. 1226), canonized soon after his death in 1228. Its original owner, almost certainly a lay person, would have revered these recent saints. There are signs of long years of use on almost every page, including added prayers, and corners that are worn and dirty. Psalters, like Books of Hours later in the Middle Ages, were used to teach children to read, and it seems likely that some of the additions were made by children (see also nos. 5 and 16). On one folio, the lower margin was used to copy the alphabet (b), and on another, someone copied the beginning of a popular hymn in an unskilled hand and with a number of mistakes (d); the work of someone still learning Latin?

Some of the painted initials have been damaged. Physical mishaps such as exposure to damp (as f. 1r (c)), or human greed (the gold removed for re-use, ff. 27v, 60) can explain some of the damage. The damage to the two initials depicting Francis and Dominic, however, is different. Parts of St. Dominic's hand and face have been scraped away (e). In the case of St. Francis, his face, hand, the rope that fastened his tunic, and the book he is holding, have been almost completely obliterated (a). Was this due to repeated touching or kissing while praying? By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the friars were objects of waves of criticism in many parts of Europe, including Germany. Is it possible these two initials – and in particular the image of St. Francis – were instead deliberately disfigured to express someone's disapproval of the mendicant friars? [TM 789]

**DESCRIPTION:** 117 folios on parchment, missing at least one leaf at end, written below the top ruled line in an upright gothic bookhand, 1- to 3-line initials, 3-line painted initial, 7 large illuminated initials (3 with dragons), 3 large historiated initials, initials worn and damaged, early binding of alum-tawed skin over thick wooden boards, restored, boxed. Dimensions 196 x 145 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Elisabeth Klemm, "Die Darstellung von Heiligen als Thema der Psalterillustration," in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*, ed. F. O. Büttner, Turnhout, 2004, pp. 362-376; Rudy, 2011.

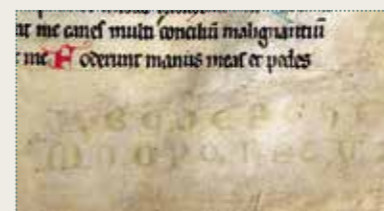


reduced

a



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b



c

bor domino nimis in ore meo et in medio mul-  
 torem laudabo eum. **Q**ui assistit ad ieris pau-  
 peris ut saluam faceret a persecutoribus ani-  
 mam meam. **G**loria patri et filio et spū sctō.  
 sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorū.  
 Amen

Crux qui lux est et dies no-  
 dis tenebras et de gis lucas que  
 lucas que lumen credetis  
 lumen verum predicatis

**P**recamur scē domine

defende nos in hac nocte. Sit nobis  
 in te requies quietam noctem  
 tribus ne grauis commul' ueniat  
 nec hostis nos' commul' nec caro  
 illi conscientia nos' tibi reos ha-



cor  
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habitabit in medio domus mee qui facit supbia  
 qui loquitur iniqua non duxit in conspectu oculi  
 loz mar. **I**n matutino inficiebam omnes  
 peccatores terre ut disperere de ciuitate dñi omīs

suavis  
 uone

**S**  
 t dñe  
 iacula  
 ambu  
 lio do  
 meos  
 in. nō  
 gnū n  
 o suo  
 iabili  
 deles  
 a m  
**Q**on



opantes iniquitate  
**O** **M** **I** **S**  
 exaudi orationem  
 mea et clamor nris  
 adueniat. **N**on au-  
 ras facie nra ame  
 quacumq; die tu  
 bulor' inclina ad me  
 aurem tua. **I**n qua  
 cumq; die inuocauero te uelociter exaudi me  
**Q**uia defecerunt sic funis dies mei et ossa mea  
 sic cinis auerunt. **P**erussus su ut ferrum  
 et aruit cor meū qd' oblitus su comedere panē  
 meū. **A**uoc' genuit' mei' adhelit' q' meū carni  
 mee. **S**imilis factus su pellicano solitudinis

102

## 18.

[ANONYMOUS], *Eulogium historiarum, liber V*  
(A Eulogy of Histories, Book 5)

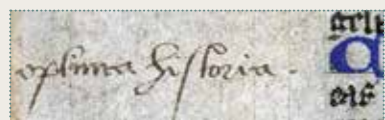
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
England (Malmesbury?), c. 1375-1400

The *Eulogium historiarum* is a universal chronicle from creation to the year 1366 by a monk from Malmesbury Abbey. This manuscript, copied not long after the *Eulogium* was completed, contains the fifth and final book that recounts the history of England. It is one of the earliest of six surviving copies, and may well be the author's fair copy, prepared for the monks at Malmesbury or an important patron. Numerous readers in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century added notes in the margins of this copy. One annotator proclaimed the narrative of King Lear and his daughters "optima historia" (an excellent history (a)) (f. 7v), a sentiment that William Shakespeare must have shared, since he would soon adapt the same story in his early seventeenth-century play.

Another reader, however, was interested in removing rather than adding text. On f. 56v, he vigorously erased both the name of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury (1162-1170) (d) from an account of his martyrdom, and (a bit less successfully) the original marginal annotation and drawing of Becket's martyrdom (showing Becket with a sword protruding from the top of his head (c)). Becket was celebrated as a man of the Church who stood up to royal power. King Henry VIII, after his break with Rome, had obvious reasons to discourage such resistance, and in 1538 he and Thomas Cromwell issued a Royal Proclamation denouncing Becket as a traitor and calling for the removal of his name and image from churches and books. Efforts to remove Becket from this book were less than thorough. Another account of the martyrdom earlier in the text has been left untouched (f. 53) (b), possibly because it is less clearly signposted in the margin. [TM 836]

**DESCRIPTION:** 63 folios on parchment, wanting one leaf after f. 10 and a quire after f. 15, ending imperfectly, written in a gothic bookhand on 37-38 long lines, 1- to 6-line penwork initials, some staining, discoloring, and loss of legibility at the ends and occasionally elsewhere, late 18<sup>th</sup>-century English quarter leather binding. Dimensions 280-288 x 190-192 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Frank Scott Haydon, *Eulogium (historiarum sive temporis): Chronicon ab orbe condito usque ad annum domini M.CCC.LXVI, a monacho quodam Malmesburiensi exaratum*, Rolls Series 9, London, 1858-1863; "Erasing Becket," *Medieval Manuscripts Blog*, British Library, 9 September 2011 <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2011/09/erasing-becket.html>.



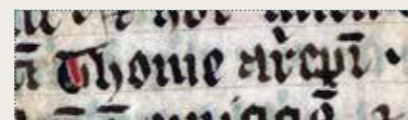
a



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b



reduced

## 19.

## Antiphonal (Franciscan Use)

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment with musical notation  
Northern Italy, shortly after 1458

Manuscripts do not all survive intact; this Antiphonal (a liturgical book for the Divine Office with musical notation), is missing sixteen leaves at the beginning, twenty-five internally, and some at the end. It is interesting to speculate how this came about. Did this manuscript simply start to fall apart and lose leaves as a result of long years of use? Or was it deliberately dismembered to be used for other things (and if so, when)? It is impossible to be sure in this case, but there are indications that at least some of the loss – and repairs – were early. In the sixteenth or seventeenth century users re-wrote passages that were damaged (a). Many of the leaves of this manuscript were trimmed along the lower and outer margins (like no. 2 above, but less carefully; here some of the text was damaged), and then repaired with parchment or paper; the paper patches are not modern (b).

Damage to a binding can result in loss at the beginning and end of a manuscript (as here), and if the sewing supports are damaged as well, quires within a volume, or bifolia from within quires can also be lost. The numerous bifolia lost in this volume may suggest something along those lines happened. But books were also dismantled deliberately, and their leaves were put to other uses. We have encountered palimpsests (no. 3) and binding fragments (no. 6) already, but there are other examples. In the fifteenth century, the nuns of the Cistercian convent at Wienhausen in Northern Germany used parchment leaves from thirteenth-century liturgical manuscripts to line the hems of garments they made to dress sculpture groups on feast days. And certainly many manuscripts were dismantled by owners and booksellers in modern times, for a variety of aesthetic and commercial reasons. [TM 827]

**DESCRIPTION:** 83 folios on parchment, missing 16 leaves at the beginning, 25 internally, and some at the end, written in a round gothic script on up to 34 long lines, square notation on 4-line red staves, 1-line penwork initials, margins of many leaves trimmed and then patched, modern parchment binding. Dimensions 330 x 243-241 mm.

**LITERATURE:** John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*, Oxford, 1991; Charlotte Klack-Eitzen, Wiebke Haase, and Tanja Weißgraf, *Heilige Röcke: Kleider für Skulpturen in Kloster Wienhausen*, Regensburg, 2013.



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reduced

b

## 20.

EKBERT OF SCHÖNAU, *Stimulus amoris* (The Goad of Love);  
 THOMAS A KEMPIS, *Imitatio Christi* (The Imitation of Christ);  
 PSEUDO AUGUSTINE [PATRICK OF DUBLIN?], *De triplici habitaculo* (On the Three Dwelling-places)

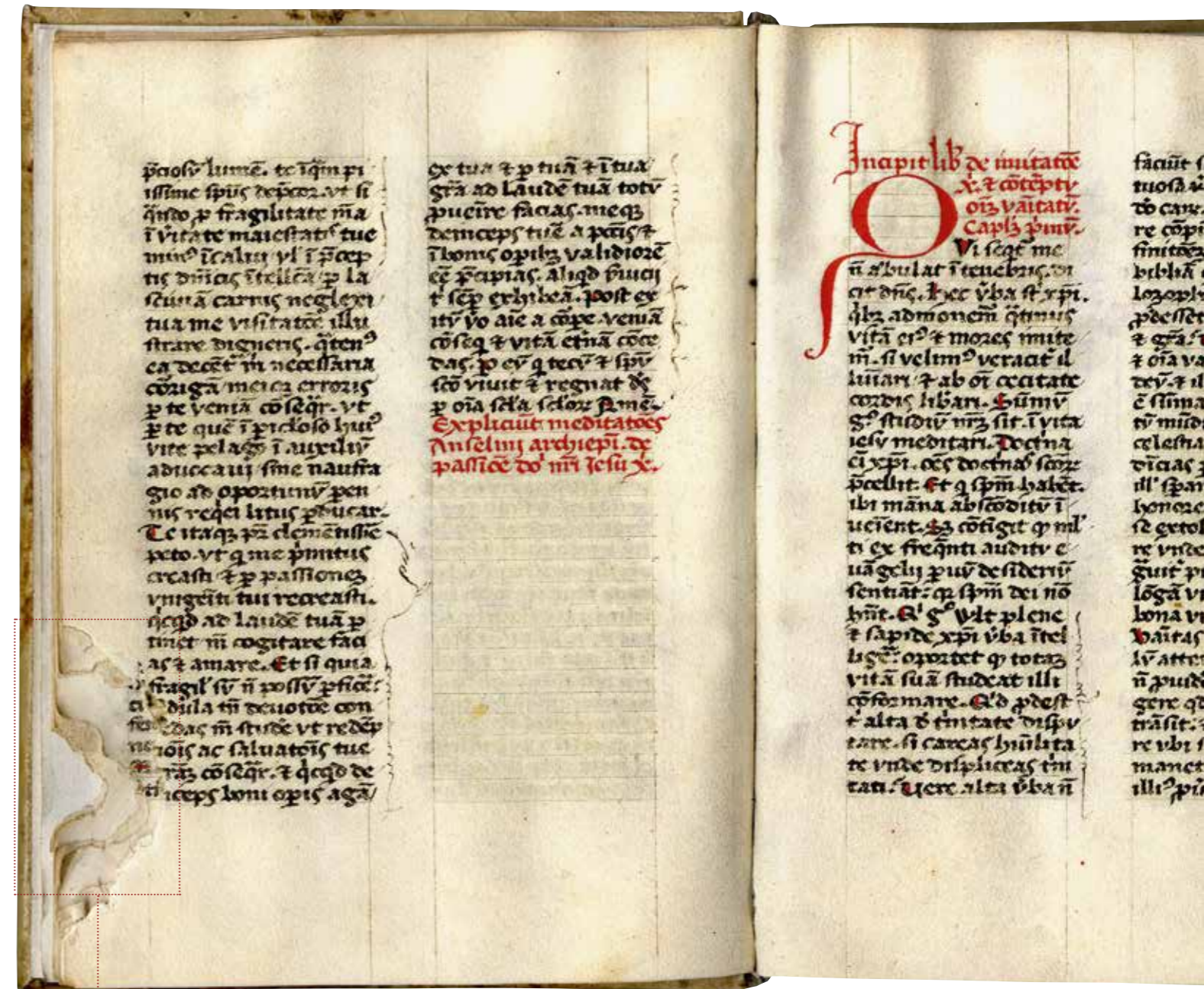
In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment  
 Southern Europe (Italy or Southern France?), c. 1440-1480

People were not always responsible for the damage done to manuscripts. The obvious bite marks in the lower margin of this book must have been made by a rodent (a mouse? or maybe a rat? someone could probably tell based on the size of the bites (a)). Apart from this damage, this book is in very good condition. People also left their mark on this book, but in a much less destructive fashion. Readers added relatively few notes in the margins (b, c), but they did add scalloped brackets alongside passages of interest (d), nota marks, and expressive pointing hands (e, f) (or manicules) (see also no. 27). In fact, one reader's enthusiasm led him to mark up very long passages (on f. 22v, for example, almost the entire text is marked as important).

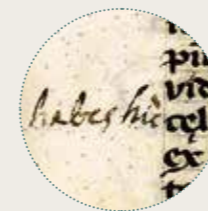
This type of attentive reading was appropriate for these texts, all of which are suitable for private devotional and spiritual reading. The *Imitation of Christ* was written and read by the *Devotio moderna*. Writers connected with this late medieval religious movement recommended people keep spiritual notebooks or *rapiaria* where they recorded favorite passages from books they read. The readers who annotated this book could have been marking passages to copy in such notebooks or to memorize; but they were certainly reading actively in order to nurture their private devotional life. Details of the script and parchment make it almost certain that this manuscript was copied in Southern Europe, in Italy or Southern France, but its contents and other details of the script suggest it may have been copied by a scribe from the Netherlands where the Modern Devotion was born. [TM 597]

**DESCRIPTION:** 89 folios on parchment, complete, written in a southern gothic bookhand in 2 columns of 30 lines, 2- to 5-line red initials, rodent damage with some loss of text, 17th- or 18th-century vellum binding. Dimensions 166 x 123 mm.

**LITERATURE:** M. J. Pohl, ed., *De Imitatione christi quae dicitur libri III*, in *Thomae Hemerken a Kempis opera omnia*, Freiburg, 1904, vol. 2, pp. 3-264; Nikolaus Staubach, "Diversa raptim undique collecta: Das Rapiarium im geistlichen Reformprogramm der Devotio moderna," in K. Elm, ed., *Literarische Formen des Mittelalters: Florilegien - Kollektionen - Kompilationen*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 15, Wiesbaden, 2000, pp. 115-147.



a



b



c



d



e



f





## IV. PEOPLE READING MANUSCRIPTS

### MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS ARE FULL OF TRACES LEFT BEHIND BY THE PEOPLE WHO READ THEM.

Readers wrote notes in their manuscripts on blank pages, between the lines of text, and in the margins. Readers added non-verbal signs to their manuscripts, and occasionally, even added pictures. Some manuscripts have only a few notes added by a single reader. The margins of other manuscripts are full of notes added by numerous readers over decades and even centuries. Although generalizations are dangerous, it seems safe to say that manuscripts with at least a few annotations or other marks by readers are more common than manuscripts with none.

### GLOSSED BOOKS ARE A SPECIAL CATEGORY OF MANUSCRIPTS WITH MARGINAL NOTES

that include an authoritative text, usually copied in a larger script, surrounded by a commentary, most often copied in a smaller script. This format is followed in a fifteenth-century manuscript of Cicero's *De Officiis* (On Duties) with the commentary by the Italian humanist, Pietro Marso (1443-1512) (no. 21). The tradition of glossed texts goes back to the early Middle Ages, and many different texts were glossed, including school books such as grammars (no. 3), hymns, Roman and Canon law, and the Bible. Glosses were usually formal commentaries copied from the scribe's exemplar. They were not spontaneous notes by readers. Nonetheless, they created a model of active reading that was followed by many medieval readers, as we can see by the examples that follow in this section.

### ONE READER OF A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PORTABLE BIBLE FROM SPAIN, USED BY FRANCISCAN

and Dominican friars at different times in its history, added notes comparing its text with the Hebrew (no. 22). The Song of Songs, a frank and very secular love song, presented special challenges to the medieval reader, and many earlier Bibles include headings or rubrics to help readers understand its religious significance. They were not included in this Bible when it was originally copied, but another reader added them. How the Bible was read in the Middle Ages is an important question that can be difficult to answer. Here the marginal annotations are direct evidence of the interests of two active and scholarly readers. A fifteenth-century sermon manuscript (no. 26), also almost certainly used by the Franciscans, includes notes in the vernacular, citing both Dante and Petrarch, among other sources. These sermons are in Latin, but they were designed to be used as models for friars preaching in Italian. These marginal notes take us one step closer to the actual vernacular sermons preached by one friar in late fifteenth-century Italy.

### A COPY OF ALBERT OF SAXONY'S *SOPHISMATA*, A TEXT USED BY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

studying logic, includes marginal annotations by numerous students in Padua, many of whom signed their name at the end (no. 23). Two readers worked on an index, although it was never completed. Students needed to find information relevant to their studies; they did not necessarily read this text cover to cover. In the same manuscript, someone used a blank leaf to draw an astronomical drawing that has no relationship to the text (see also no. 15). Occasionally marginal notes can be attributed to a specific owner of a manuscript; it is possible that the annotations in an elegant copy of texts by Ramon Llull may have been added by the Nicolaus Pol (c. 1467-1532), a physician and collector of Llull's works (no. 24).

### MANY READERS ADDED NOTES IN THE MARGINS OF THEIR BOOKS TO DRAW ATTENTION

to important passages. A common practice was to summarize the subject or add key words; a reader of a fifteenth-century canon law commentary not only noted down subjects, but illustrated them with little drawings (no. 25, see also no. 18). Notes of this type potentially had multiple functions; they enabled readers to find passages they considered important in the future, and they might have been used to compile an index. Noting down the subject of a passage in words was also linked to mastering a text, or could be the first step to memorizing it (learning and memorizing were closely linked activities).

### VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL SIGNS WERE ALSO USED TO POINT TO IMPORTANT PASSAGES.

There were many different types of these nota signs. "Nota" is from the Latin, *nota bene* (pay attention here). Some readers simply wrote "nota"; others drew monograms derived from the word (no. 1), three dots in a trefoil shape, or scalloped lines (no. 20). A chi-rho symbol, a monogram from two letters of the Greek word meaning "useful," was used in the early Middle Ages as a nota mark. Its use in a twelfth-century manuscript is unusual, and suggests that the scribe was copying it directly from his earlier exemplar (no. 1). Readers even drew hands or manicules (the Latin term is *maniculae*, means little hand), often with long fingers pointing to important passages. Some manicules are quite simple, but other readers drew elaborate hands, with rings, finger nails, and other details; one reader of a confessional manual copied in Northern France adorned his manicules with elaborate cuffs ending in tassels (no. 27; see also no. 20).

# 21.

## MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, *De officiis libri III cum interpretatione Petri Marsi* (On Duties in three books with commentary by PIETRO MARSO)

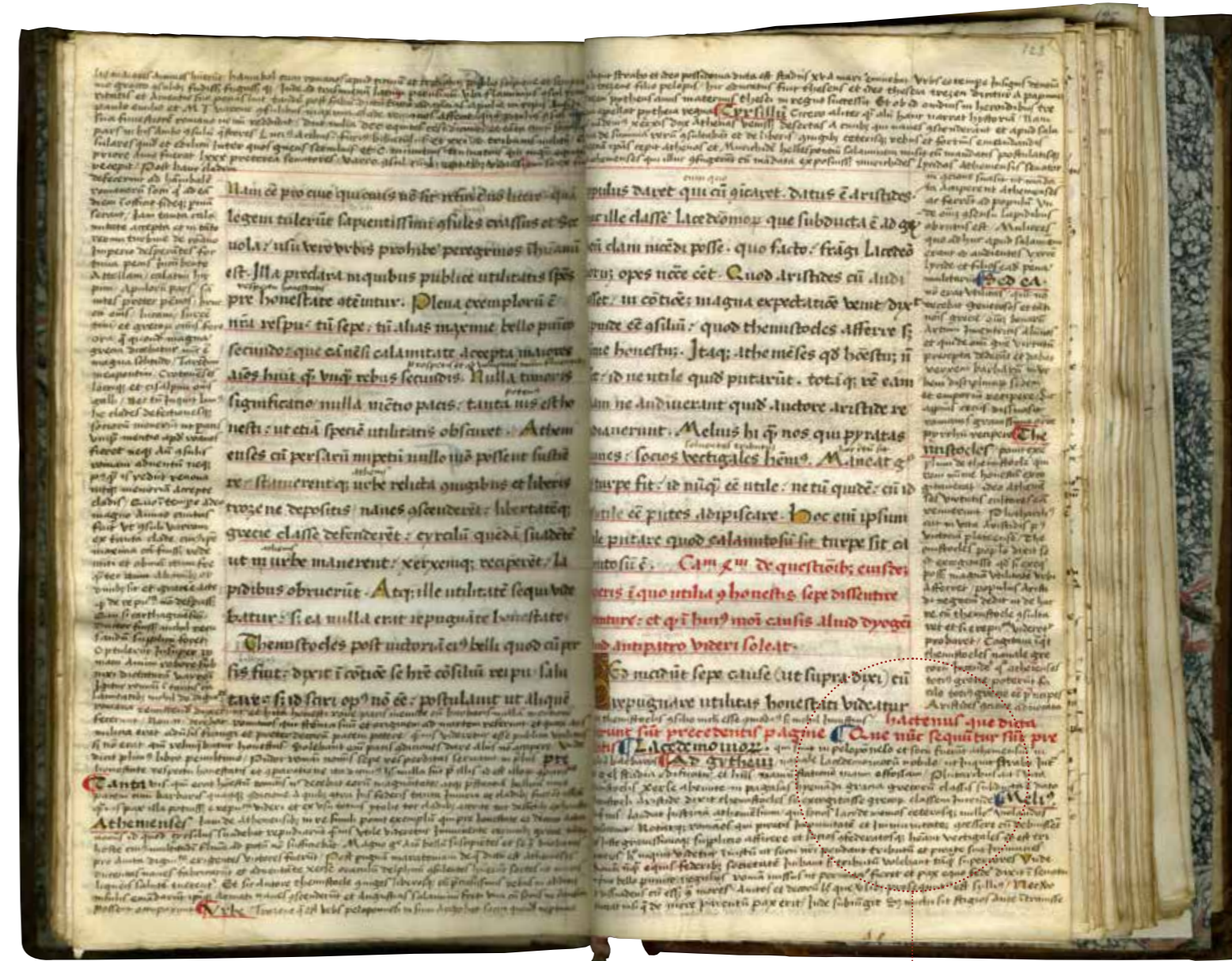
In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment  
France (Paris), certainly after 1471-72, likely between 1481-1491

Glossed books present an authoritative text, usually in a larger script, surrounded by a commentary, most often in a smaller script. The tradition of glossed texts goes back to the early Middle Ages, and many different texts were glossed, including the Greek and Roman classics, grammar texts, hymns, Roman and canon law, and the Bible. Here we have a text by Cicero with the commentary by an Italian humanist, Pietro Marso (1443-1512); this is the only known manuscript copy of Marso's commentary. Glosses were usually formal commentaries that were part of the scribe's exemplar (a, b). They were not spontaneous notes by readers. Nonetheless, they created a model of active reading that was followed by many medieval readers, as we can see by the examples that follow in this section.

This manuscript takes elements from two early imprints, but it is not an exact copy of either one. The printed editions with the commentary (Venice, 1481-1488) have a very regular textual layout, with the marginal commentary framing Cicero's text. The commentary in the manuscript is instead often distributed in an ad hoc manner, copied partially in the margins and partially between the lines. Was this book, which combines the Sorbonne edition of Cicero (Paris, 1471-1472) with a commentary as yet unknown in France (Venice, 1481) intended to provide copy for a forthcoming, though never published, edition by the Sorbonne Press? Or was it a personal, luxury copy, compiled by a French humanist from the two editions for either for a wealthy patron, or for his own use? [TM 411]

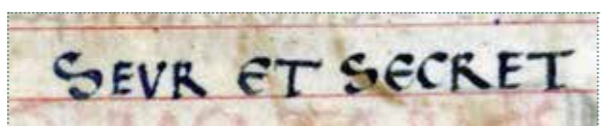
**DESCRIPTION:** 149 folios, missing the first leaf of each of the three books, written in a humanistic minuscule on up to 20 lines for main text, copious interlinear and marginal commentary, 1- to 3-line gold initials, one leaf detached, slight staining, overall fresh condition, bound in contemporary brown calf; rebaked. Dimensions 179 x 118 mm.

**LITERATURE:** M. T. Ciceronis de Officiis, de Amicitia, de Senectute et de Somno Scipionis libri et Paradoxa. Eddidit Johannes de Lapide, cum Guillelmi Ficheti ad eumden Joannem epistola, Paris, 1471-1472; Marcus Tullius Cicero, De officiis (Commentarius: Petrus Marsus), Venice, 1481; M. Dykmans, L'humanisme de Pierre Marso, 1988.



reduced

a



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b

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## 22.

## Vulgate Bible

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment  
Spain, Kingdom of Castile (Seville?), c. 1240-1260

It is sometimes said that “pocket” Bibles of the thirteenth century survive with astonishingly little indication that they were ever read. In reality, it all depends on which Bibles you look at; many thirteenth-century Bibles have numerous annotations and other signs left by readers and users. This small Bible from Spain was demonstrably used by Franciscan friars, and then later in its history by the Dominicans, who added an ownership note in 1470 (a). It was copied by three scribes and the distinctive style of some of the penwork initials (possibly in this case added by one of the scribes), with their intricate, closely packed foliate scrolls, often on reverse grounds, connect it with other Bibles from the Kingdom of Castile.

Marginal annotations reflect the interest of these friars in the contents, and significantly, the text of the Vulgate. A note in a contemporary hand alongside Hebrews 11 commented on the contents of the chapter: “Nota mirabilia de fide per totum capitulum istud” (Note the miracles of faith throughout this whole chapter) (b). A fourteenth- or fifteenth-century reader added fairly numerous comments that compare the text with the Hebrew (d). Another reader added textual elements found in earlier Bibles, including allegorical rubrics in the Song of Songs. Arabic numerals, 1-24 (c), were written alongside Ecclesiasticus 1-2, perhaps to number lessons for liturgical use. And yet another person drew a triangle in the lower margin of f. 219v labelled “pater filius spiritus sanctus” (the father, son, and holy spirit). Annotations by many different users seem to be characteristic of manuscripts from Dominican and Franciscan convents (a topic that deserves further research). [TM 844]

**DESCRIPTION:** 328 folios on parchment, missing a quire after f. 68v, one leaf after f. 289v, and 4 leaves and a quire after f. 310v, written in 2 columns of 54-58 lines in small gothic bookhands, 1- to 16-line initials, including very fine penwork initials, bottom half of the final leaf excised, 15<sup>th</sup>-century Italian or Spanish blind-tooled brown leather binding over wooden boards (possibly original?), rebacked. Dimensions 172 x 123 mm.

**LITERATURE:** François Avril, Jean-Pierre Aniel, Mireille Mentré, Alix Saulnier and Yolanta Zaluska, *Manuscrits enluminés de la péninsule ibérique*, Bibliothèque nationale, Département des manuscrits, Centre de recherches sur les manuscrits enluminés, Paris, 1982 ; Laura Light, “The Thirteenth-Century Bible: The Paris Bible and Beyond,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume two, c. 600-1450*, eds. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 380-391.



a



b



c



d

## 23.

ALBERT OF SAXONY, *Sophismata*

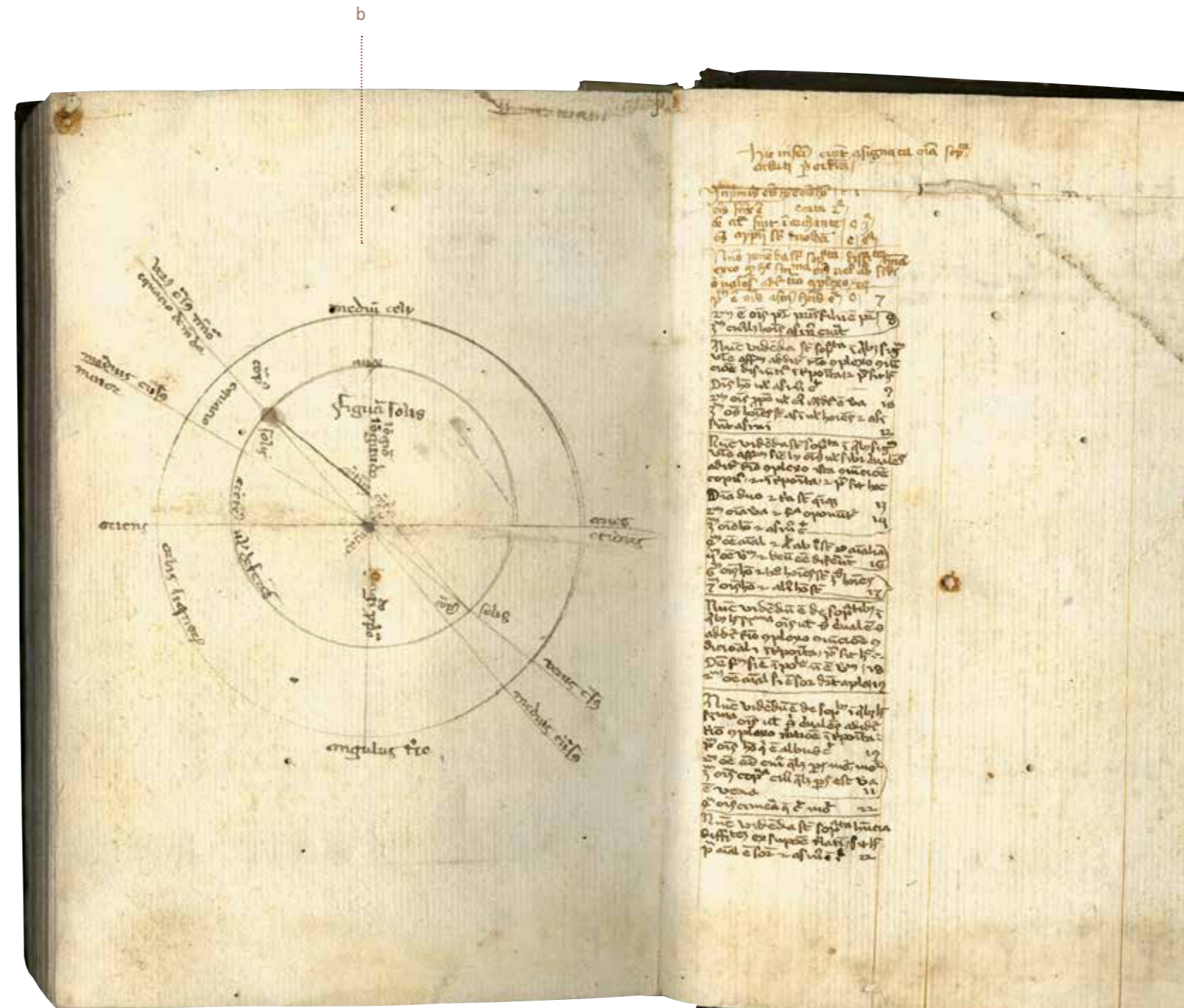
In Latin, manuscript on paper  
Padua, Italy, dated 1398

A material witness to the academic culture of the late Middle Ages, this manuscript contains one of the most interesting – and still unedited – medieval treatises on logic, the *Sophismata* of Albert of Saxony (d. 1397). We know a lot about the creators and users of this book. Its very detailed colophon records that it was copied by James of Cologne for another student, Nicholas of Siena, an Augustinian friar, who was almost certainly then studying at the *studium generale* of his order in Padua (a). It retains numerous traces of generations of Italian students, who added their names on f. 115v (all now erased, but “studentis padue” (c) can still be read following one entry), marginal comments, attempted on two occasions to produce an index, and used a blank leaf to draw an astronomical diagram (b) showing the relative position of the sun (unrelated to the text of the manuscript). The sketch in the left-hand margin of f. 2, which shows a fleur-de-lis above a shield (d), may be the seal (*signetum publicum*) of a legal notary.

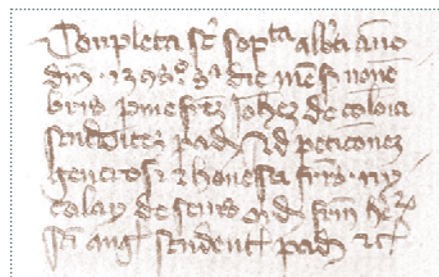
Mysteriously, the phrase *de senis*, “of Siena,” appears in red ink underneath the catchword on f. 31v, and in the right-hand margin of the same leaf (e). Is this a reference to Nicholas of Siena, who commissioned the manuscript? Could it mean that it was Nicholas himself who rubricated it (or most of it, since the rubricator gradually gave up over the final five quires, and completely mid-way through the penultimate quire)? [TM 659]

**DESCRIPTION:** 114 folios, complete, written in one hand in a small cursive gothic bookhand in 2 columns of 36-38 lines, red and blue penwork initials, modern grey-brown leather binding. 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.



reduced



a



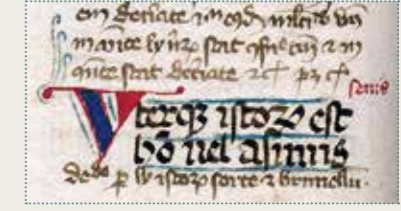
c



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d



e

# 24.

RAIMUNDUS LULLUS, *Liber de uenatione substantiae, accidentis et composite* (Book of the Quest for Substance, Accidents, and Composites); *Liber novus de anima rationalis* (New Book of the Rational Soul); *Liber novus physicorum et compendiosus* (The New and Brief Book of Physics)

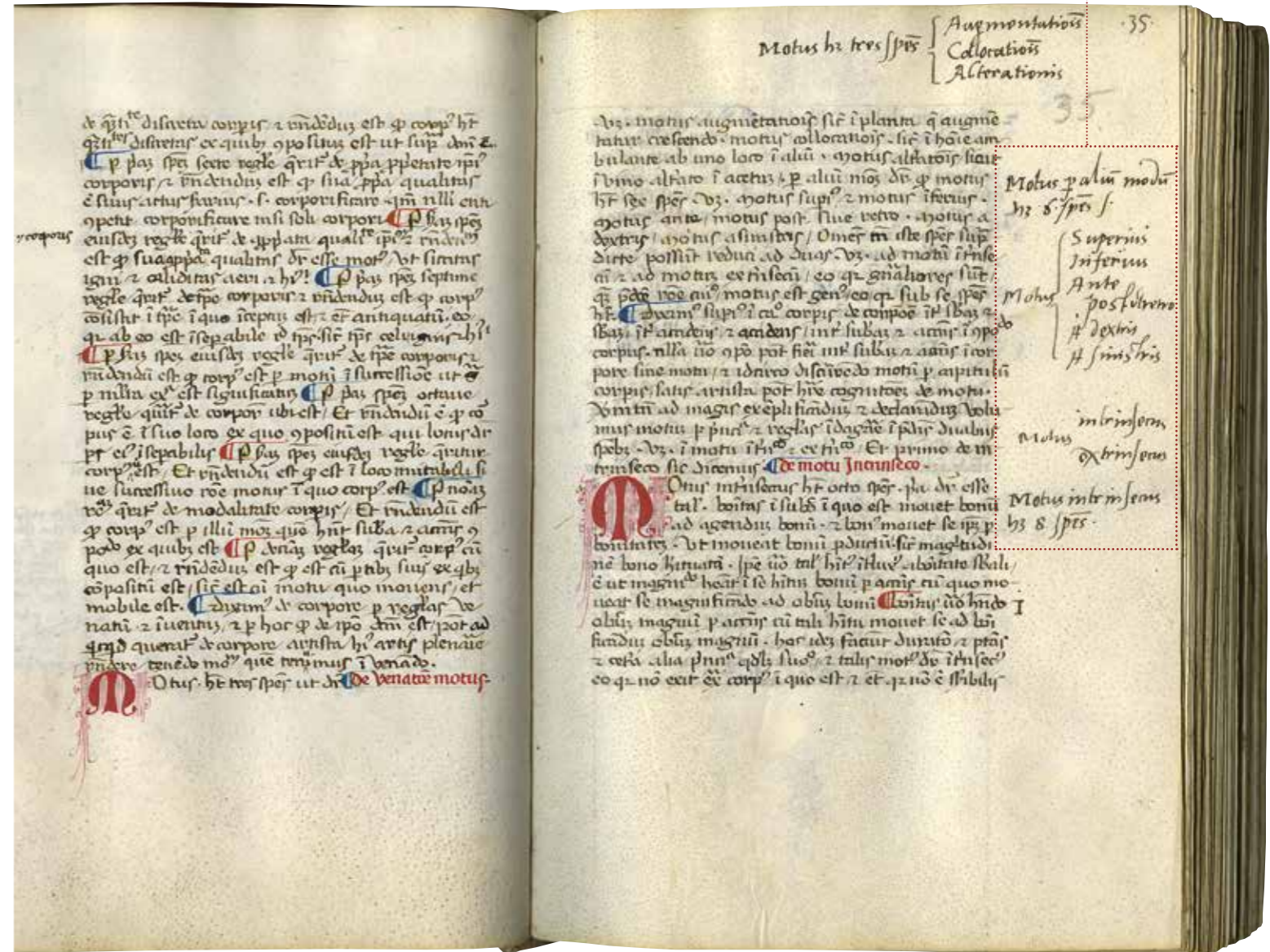
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Northern Italy, c. 1375-1425

Ramon Llull (1232-1316) was one of the most intriguing and enduring thinkers from the high Middle Ages – he still has a following today. Three texts by Llull are included here (all extremely rare on the market) in an elegant manuscript, distinguished by its skillful script, illuminated initials, and wide margins. It is not profusely annotated, but we can see how an early reader reacted to the text by analyzing the notes added in the margins (a) in a careful Italic hand. This manuscript belonged to Nicolaus Pol (c. 1467-1532), who was the physician of Sigismund, the Archduke of Austria (1427-1496), and the Holy Roman Emperors, Maximilian (1459-1526), and Charles V (1500-1558). Pol collected a substantial library, and he was particularly interested in the works of Ramon Llull. He owned twenty-two books that included works by Llull, of which fourteen, including this one, were manuscripts. Perhaps Pol himself added these notes.

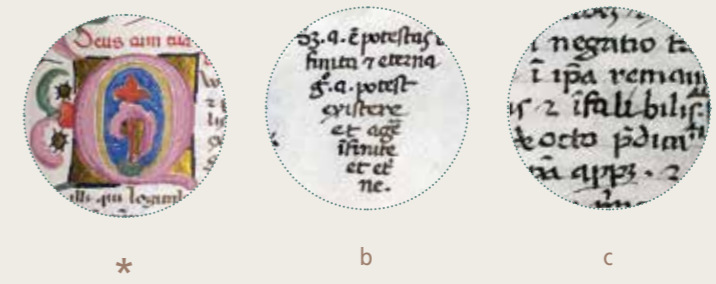
These three works all deal with different aspects of Llull's theory of knowledge. Two of them, *De uenatione*, and *Liber novus physicorum*, are late works, and are expressions of his concern at that time in his life to formulate his ideas in ways that would be accepted by the established community of academic theologians in Paris, by using logical and metaphysical methods of argument based on Aristotle. It would be interesting to know who commissioned this elegant copy, and chose to include these three works together. The text was carefully corrected after it was copied. The corrections, mostly supplying omitted passages, many quite lengthy, are not in the hand of the scribe, but are almost certainly contemporary, and suggest this was made in a commercial shop – the number of corrections through f. 45v is notable (b, c). [TM 777]

**DESCRIPTION:** 154 folios on parchment, complete, written by two scribes in rounded gothic book hands, influenced by cursive scripts, 2- to 3-line penwork initials, two 7-line illuminated initials, one with short border, a few stains, in very fine condition, early blind-tooled leather wallet binding. Dimensions 205 x 140 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Anthony Bonner, *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull: A User's Guide*, Leiden and Boston, 2007; Max Harold Fisch, *Nicolaus Pol, Doctor, 1494: With a Critical Text of his Guaiac Tract*, ed. with a translation by Dorothy M. Schullian, New York, 1947.



reduced



\*

b

c

## 25.

JOHANNES NICOLETUS DE IMOLA, *Lectura in librum secundum Decretalium* (Commentary on Book II of the Decretals)

In Latin, illustrated manuscript on paper  
Italy (Padua?), c. 1431-1447

The readers of this very grand, illuminated legal manuscript were particularly active. The text is the commentary to the second book of the *Decretales* of Gregory IX (papacy 1227-1241) by Johannes de Imola (c. 1372-1436), a teacher of canon and civil law at the universities of Bologna and Padua. This is the section of the Decretals discussing legal justice procedures and trials, copied during the author's lifetime or soon after. Manuscripts of this text are quite rare; this is one of three known manuscripts.

At least four different late fifteenth-century readers added notes in the margin. Many signal the subjects these readers found particularly important. One annotator added not only notes, but also small sketches related to their contents. On f. 16, "De fratribus tertii ordinis sancti francisci" (On the brothers of the third order of St. Francis), is accompanied by a small drawing of a Franciscan monk (a). A small open book is drawn (b) alongside the marginal note: "An libri antiqui faciant fidem" (Whether ancient books structure faith) (f. 102v). Another note forbids performing chants in a playful manner ("Contra facientes cantilenas famosas in ludis") (f. 164). Much of canon law discusses the reciprocal obligations and status of married couples, and in a blatant comment on the power of men over women, the note added by one reader states: "Licitum est viro tenere uxorem in vinculis si expediat" (It is licit for a husband to maintain a woman tied [bound up] if necessary) (f. 209 (c)). More extensive notes were included on slips of paper in two places (d) (ff. 308 and 310). So many different annotators from roughly the same time is intriguing; was this manuscript in a library where students had access to it by the late fifteenth century? [TM 505]

**DESCRIPTION:** 332 folios on paper, watermarks dating 1438-1447, complete, written in a rounded gothic bookhand in 2 columns of 65 lines, numerous penwork initials, 3 historiated initials, two with borders, one large miniature, 18<sup>th</sup>- century mottled calf binding, slightly rubbed, wormholes to spine. Dimensions 424 x 287 mm.

**LITERATURE:** A. Belloni, *Professori giuristi a Padova nel secolo XV: profili bio-bibliografici e cattedre*, Frankfurt am Main, 1986; G. Mariani Canova, *La miniatura a Padova dal medioevo al settecento*, Modena, 1999.



# 26.

## Sermons, most by unidentified authors, with some by BERNARDINO DA SIENA, MICHELE CARCANO DA MILANO, and ROBERTO CARACCIOLI

In Latin with some Italian, manuscript on parchment and paper Italy (Tuscany or Umbria?), c. 1480-1500

The format of this collection of sermons is very unusual for a sermon manuscript; the book is moderately tall (290 mm. or 11 1/2 inches), but it is notably narrow (105 mm. or just over 4 inches). This format (in Italian *vacchetta*) was commonly used for merchants's account books, registers, and family records, but it suits these contents quite well. Imagine a Franciscan friar travelling from town to town on a preaching mission slipping this volume of sermons into the pocket of his robe, or packing it with his other belongings. Arranged according to topic (which is also unusual), these are model sermons that provided preachers with ideas for their own sermons. Most are still unidentified; their content is noteworthy, including lengthy *exempla* and references to classical and medieval sources.

The margins here are full of notes that bring us into direct contact with some of the users of this book. One friar added notes in Italian, mentioning passages from Italian authors including Dante: "Dantes. Com[edia] prima cantu 3a. Quivi sospiri con pianti e alti guai / resonavan per l'aere senza stelle / per ch'io al comminciar ne lacrimai" (f. 76); and "Dantes. Com[edia] prima cantu 3a. Denanti a me non fuor cose create..." (f. 79) (a, c). Petrarch's *Triumphs* are quoted as well on f. 153 (b). The sermons are in Latin, as are most model sermons collections, but the friars preached in the vernacular. In these marginal notes therefore we can not only see how a reader interacted with the text, but also glimpse him preaching, in the vernacular, probably to a lay audience. In this regard, it is a particularly interesting to see which authors the preacher thought would catch his audience's attention most effectively. [TM 682]

**DESCRIPTION:** 324 folios on parchment and paper, unidentified watermark, ff. 297-303 missing, likely cancelled blanks, written in a cursive bookhand by at least three scribes on up to 62-64 lines, spaces left blank for initials, a few parchment strips cut out, modern sheepskin binding. Dimensions 290 x 105 mm.

**LITERATURE:** N. Ben-Aryeh Debby, *Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of Two Popular Preachers: Giovanni Dominici (1356-1419) and Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444)*, Turnhout, 2001; Roberto Rusconi, "Michele Carcano da Milano e le caratteristiche della sua predicazione," *Picenum Seraphicum* 10 (1973), pp. 196-218.

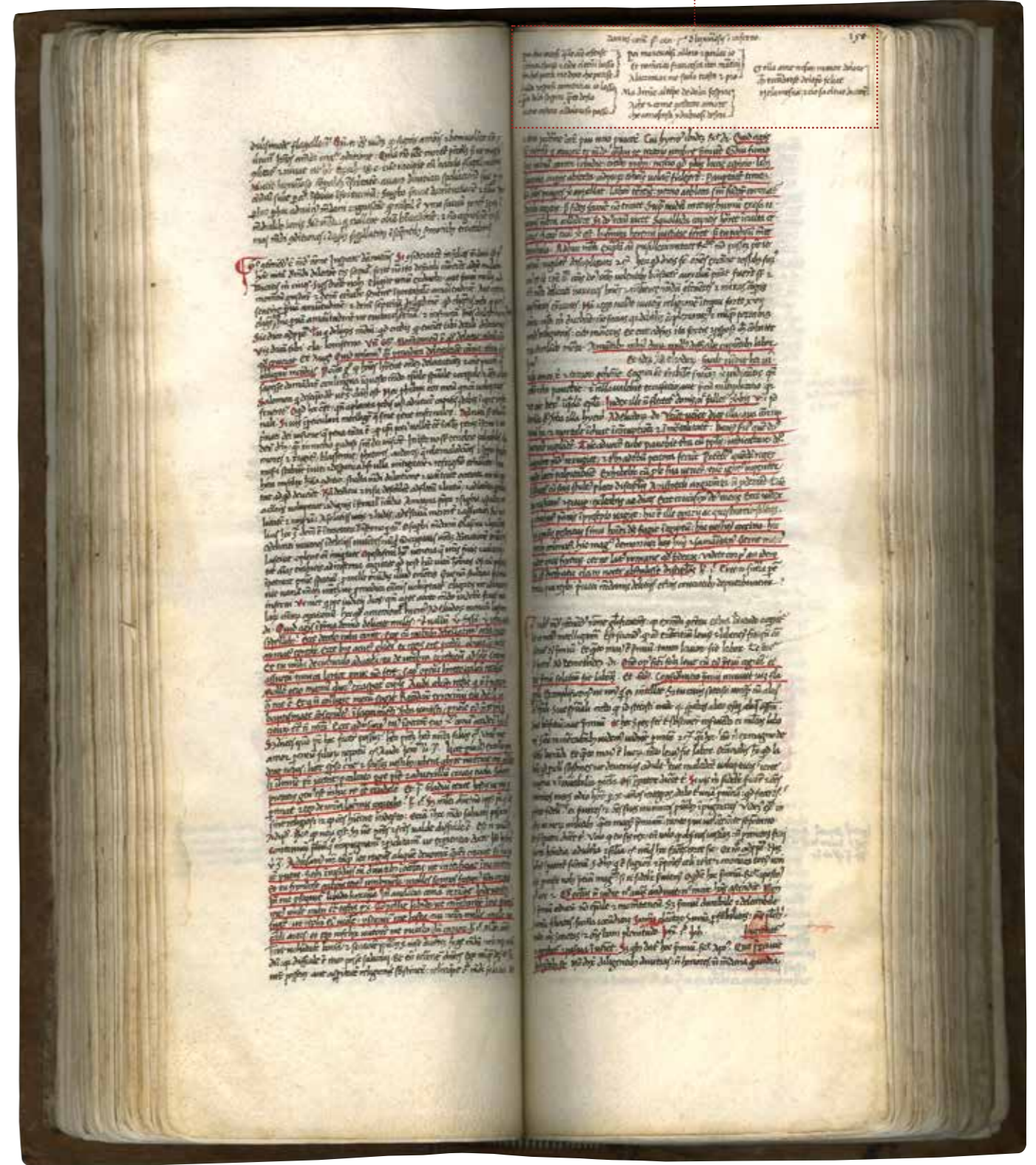
Dantes. com. p. cantu. 3o  
 Denanti a me non fuor cose create  
 si non ethe. et non eter. no duxo  
 lassate ome spanga ouon chintrate?

Queste pole deuloz obferio  
 Veddio septe isoma dura portea  
 per chio maestro ch'esso lor me duxo. *Al. Dixi*

che per ben sermo ha fatto m'adde  
 michele carcano da milano  
 che per ben sermo ha fatto m'adde

a

b



reduced

## 27.

[ANONYMOUS], Confessional Manual; ANTONINUS FLORENTIUS (ANTONINO PIEROZZI), *Confessionale*, Book II

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment  
Northern France, c. 1450-1500

At least three early readers left their mark on this elegant copy of one of the most popular confessional manuals in the later Middle Ages. One of these, whose neat notes and corrections can be found especially on ff. 22r-39v, is likely the same fifteenth-century writer who added a short extract from a different confessional, the *Poeniteas cito* by William of Montibus, on the front pastedown (a). This reader may also have added the pointing hands or “manicules” on several pages (b). A hand, usually with one long finger pointing to the passage of interest, was a popular medieval method of drawing attention to a passage (and a practice that continued into the early modern era). These hands are often quite simple, but some readers spent considerable time and attention on the details, like the reader here who added an elaborate cuff ending in a tassel.

The relatively large format of this manuscript, and its elegant script, are also of interest, and although we do not know who the original owner of this manuscripts was, they are signs that it was copied for the use of priest of some means, rather than a humble friar, or possibly even for a layperson as a guide to the sacrament of confession. The scribe may have been trained to write documents, as shown by his flourished ascenders and descenders (usually fairly simple, but occasionally quite elaborate, even growing into decorative hearts (c)). [TM 771]

**DESCRIPTION:** 85 folios on parchment, complete, written in a bâtarde script, decorative line-fillers, blank spaces for 2-line initials, original blind-stamped leather binding, rebacked, modern repairs. Dimensions 215 × 140 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Peter Francis Howard, *Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus: 1427-1459*, *Quaderni di Rinascimento* 28, Florence, 1995; Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommae de casuistica et manuels de confession au moyen âge*, Louvain and Montreal, 1962; Hieronymus Wilms, “Das Confessionale ‘Defecerunt’ des hl. Antoninus,” *Divus Thomas: Jahrbuch für Philosophie und Spekulative Theologie* 24 (1946), pp. 99-108.



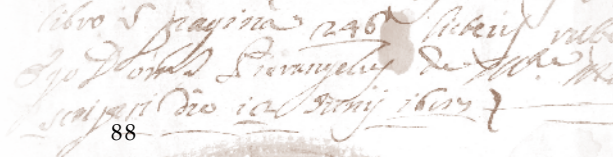
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a



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## V. PEOPLE OWNING MANUSCRIPTS

**THE PRACTICE OF WRITING YOUR NAME IN YOUR BOOK GOES BACK TO THE MIDDLE AGES,** and of course continues in the present. Both institutions and individuals recorded their ownership in this way. Bartolomeo da Fiume not only added his name to his manuscript, but notes that he had purchased it for twelve gold ducats (no. 2). A seventeenth-century owner of a canon law manuscript, Domenico Pierangelo of Montemilone, recorded his name not once, but three times in his book; two of his notes are dated, once in April, and the second time in June, of 1687 (no. 31). Why he wrote his name so many times is hard to understand, but perhaps he added his name each time he read his book?

**BEGINNING IN THE LATER FIFTEENTH CENTURY, OWNERS ALSO ADDED BOOKPLATES TO** their manuscripts. The handsome bookplate of Hilprand Brandenburg of Biberach (1442-1514), which shows an angel holding a shield with his coat of arms, is one of the first printed bookplates, dating probably from the 1480s (an example is found in the manuscript given by Hilprand to the Carthusian monastery at Buxheim, formerly Les Enluminures, TM 600). Perhaps the earliest French heraldic bookstamp included the name of the collector and poet Jacques Thiboust in the form of an anagram (QVI VOYT S'ESBAT = IAQVES TYBOUST) (Les Enluminures, TM 775). The practice continues into modern times. Dr. Andrew Gifford (1700-1784), a Baptist minister and Assistant Librarian at the British Museum, added his armorial bookplate on the front pastedown in a chronicle from Malmesbury (no. 18). Two manuscripts include the handsome twentieth-century bookplate from the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica in Amsterdam (nos. 20 and 24). Some evidence of ownership is more difficult to interpret. A Book of Hours from Milan, for example, includes a paper seal embossed with its owner's insignia, but it is unfortunately now illegible (no. 30); the coat of arms added to the Domenico Pierangelo's manuscript has yet to be identified (no. 31).

**OWNERS ALSO DECLARE THEMSELVES ON THE BINDINGS OF THEIR BOOKS.** THE OWNER OF a very beautiful fifteenth-century Italian copy of the New Testament Epistles, probably Guido Antonio Lambertini, a Bolognese humanist, had his coat of arms stamped on the binding and painted within the book itself (no. 34). At times, a binding does not reveal the name of the owner, but it can still provide evidence of use and ownership. The chained binding on a thirteenth-century sermon manuscript,

for example, is evidence of institutional ownership (no. 29). Chaining books to an immovable object above a reading desk was the ingenious medieval solution to the problem faced by all libraries – how to make their books accessible to readers, but at the same time ensure that they are not removed or stolen. Manuscripts surviving with their chains intact are quite rare, but manuscripts that still bear traces of the chain or hasp, such as holes or rust marks, are more common (no. 28). The elegant gold-tooled binding on the Book of Hours from Milan just mentioned would be evidence that this book was owned by an individual, even without the initials, “C. M.” stamped on its cover (no. 30).

**BINDING FRAGMENTS, WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED IN OTHER CONTEXTS,** can also be evidence of ownership (Hellinga, 2002). A modern note laid in a mendicant sermon collection from the thirteenth century saying that it once belonged to the famous Bavarian monastery Benediktbeuern would by itself mean very little. But a charter used for the pastedown in this manuscript is evidence that this manuscript was in Bavaria in the fourteenth century – not absolute proof, of course, but suggestive that this unsigned slip of paper might be recording accurate information, perhaps based on evidence no longer in the manuscript (no. 28; see also no. 32).

**LESS DIRECT EVIDENCE OF OWNERSHIP CAN ALSO BE INFORMATIVE.** LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS, for example, include calendars and prayers that reflect the needs of their original owner. We can deduce that a handsome Franciscan Missal was probably made for use in Gubbio, the town where Francis tamed the marauding wolf, because of the saints included in its calendar (no. 8). A cluster of clues found in an illuminated Italian translation of Gregory the Great's commentary on Job – especially its distinctive type of cursive script, but also the use of paper instead of parchment (unusual for an illuminated manuscript), and perhaps the original folio numbers – suggest that its original owner may have been a wealthy merchant, literate in Italian rather than in Latin (no. 32).

**IN ADDITION TO ADDING TRACES OF THEIR OWNERSHIP, OWNERS EXERCISED THEIR RIGHTS** over a book in other ways. The Gregory manuscript just mentioned includes offsets of illuminated pages, now missing (no. 32). These pages could have been removed by a dealer looking to sell them, or cut out by an owner who wanted to give them away, or put them on the wall for display. Owners have also been known to divide up their books into multiple volumes (no. 33), sometimes for profit, but at other times, as Joseph Pope put it, simply because “there is more honor in owning two manuscripts than having just one” (no. 35).

## 28.

Sermons, including THOMAS AQUINAS, *Quadragesimale* (third series); Marian Exempla; the confessional treatise *Ad habendum salutifere confessionis ordinem* (An Order for a Healing Confession); and other texts on confession

In Latin, manuscript on parchment  
Central Europe (Southern Germany or Austria?), c. 1250-1275

The person who rebound this thirteenth-century manuscript in the fifteenth century used material from two sources as pastedowns (now lifted). In the front is a page from a manuscript of Donatus's grammar copied in a large gothic bookhand (a). The back pastedown was made from a later fourteenth-century charter (b). This charter, issued by Leonhard von Kärnten (d. 1396), provincial minister of the province of Bavaria and Bohemia, is important, since its presence suggests that a later note now in the manuscript stating that it was owned by the Abbey of Benediktbeuern may be correct. Benediktbeuern, founded in 739, was one of the oldest and most beautiful monasteries in Upper Bavaria. It is satisfying to think of Benedictine monks in the fifteenth century still reading this earlier collection of mendicant texts. Is the hole in the lower cover of the binding (c) evidence that this could even have part of the Abbey's chained collection at some point in its history (see no. 29)?

The manuscript contains sermons, sermon exempla, and texts related to confession. The ninety-three sermons probably by Thomas Aquinas, and ninety-six other sermons, all but a small handful by unknown authors and identified only in this manuscript, make this a manuscript of considerable scholarly importance. The number of hands (there are as many as twelve), the small format of the book, and the nature of the texts, suggests that this may well have been at a mendicant friary. Was this copied by Dominican friars for their own use? The question of how Dominicans (and Franciscans) acquired their books is a matter of scholarly debate. [TM 762]

**DESCRIPTION:** 144 folios on parchment, complete, copied by numerous in early gothic bookhands on 26-34 long lines, spaces for initials left throughout, f. 1, abraded and illegible, 15<sup>th</sup>-century leather binding over wooden boards. Dimensions 130 x 90 mm.

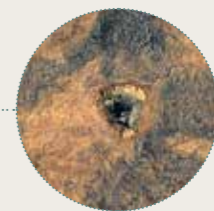
**LITERATURE:** D. L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print*, Oxford and New York, 2001; Josef Hemmerle, *Die Benediktinerabtei Benediktbeuern*, Germania Sacra N. F. 28, Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Mainz. Das Bistum Augsburg 1, Berlin and New York, 1991.



a



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c



## 29.

CONRADUS DE SAXONIA [CONRAD HOLTNICKER OF SAXONY], *Sermones de sanctis et de communi sanctorum* and *Speculum Beatae Virginis Mariae* (Mirror of the Blessed Virgin Mary); with Sermons by ALDOBRANDINUS DE CAVALCANTIBUS, ANTONIUS AZARO OF PARMA, MARTINUS POLONUS and unidentified authors

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment  
Austria (Vienna?) or Southern Germany, c. 1275-1300

Some books in the Middle Ages were owned by individuals or families (nos. 10, 11, 17), but many belonged to institutions. We know this book, a copy of the most important works by the Franciscan author Conrad of Saxony (d. 1279) and other texts, was owned by an institution because of the chain attached to the binding. Just like librarians today, medieval librarians faced the continual challenge of both protecting their books and making them accessible. The medieval solution to this problem was the chained library. Books were attached by chains to an immovable object above the reading desk, allowing users to consult them, but making sure they stayed in the library. We can assume that many late medieval volumes from institutions were once chained. Most, however, have been rebound, or survive without the chain and other metalwork. Intact chained bindings such as this one are very uncommon.

A fifteenth-century librarian added three ownership notes. On ff. 2 (a) and 88 (b) there are statements that this book belonged to the convent of the Friar Preachers in Vienna. A longer note on f. 188, now unfortunately only partially visible, records how they acquired it: "Iste liber est conuentus < ? > ordinis predicatorum et est emptus pro < ? >" (This book belongs to the convent < ? > of the Order of Preachers and was purchased for < ? >). We also know that the volume probably did not stay in their library. In the inscription on f. 188 "Cass..." has been written in a sixteenth-century(?) hand following "conuentus," perhaps an abbreviation for "Cassoviensis." Did this volume subsequently belong to the Dominican house attached to the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Košice in Slovakia? Was it a gift from the Vienna Dominicans? Or perhaps a loan that was never returned? [TM 767]

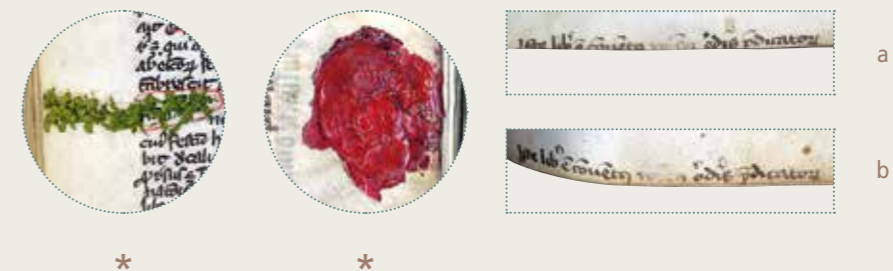
**DESCRIPTION:** 190 folios on parchment, complete, written in a rapid gothic bookhand in 2 columns of 32-37 lines, 2- to 3-line initials, bound in 15<sup>th</sup>-century blind-tooled calf over wooden boards, hasp and chain intact. Dimensions 182 x 127 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Pedro de Alcántara Martínez, ed. *Conradus de Saxonia O.F.M. Speculum seu salutatio Beatae Mariae Virginis ac sermones mariani*, Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi 11, Grottaferrata, 1975; Konstanze Mittendorfer, "Bibliothek des Dominikaner-Konvents," *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Österreich*, vol. 2, Wien 2, ed. Wilma Buchinger and Konstanze Mittendorfer, Hildesheim, 1995, pp. 50-54.

Explicit sermones fratris  
Chamradini. Ordine  
minorum fratrum. de sanctis  
per eum. Amen.



reduced



## 30.

## Book of Hours (Use of Rome)

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment

Northern Italy, Lombardy, Milan, c. 1430-1440

13 historiated initials by the workshop of the Master of the Vitae Imperatorum

Three owners left behind traces of their association with this manuscript. We can deduce a number of things about the original owner and commissioner of the manuscript based on the text and style of the illumination. He (or she) requested texts and illustrations honoring St. Augustine. St. Augustine is depicted at the beginning of the litany, the first suffrage is of St. Augustine, and the Office of the Virgin follows Augustinian use. The style of the illumination is closely related to the work of the Milanese artist, the Master of the Vitae Imperatorum. We can therefore conclude that this book was made in Milan around 1430-1440 for someone with a special connection to St. Augustine – an Augustinian canon (or a canoness), or a secular cleric or lay person associated with a parish dedicated to St. Augustine, or belonging to a Confraternity of St. Augustine.

Another early owner, possibly the second owner, added a prominent note on the back flyleaf, with an attached paper seal, labelled: "Ex Mediolanii mccccxxvi" (From Milan 1476) (a). The inscription on the seal is unfortunately illegible, but the seal itself features a coat of arms crowned by a bishop's miter (b). Shortly after that, in the sixteenth century, another owner of the book had it rebound in a very attractive binding that is gold-tooled with a central medallion and stamped with his or her initials: "C. M. (c)" Although we do not know the identity of either of these owners, their concern to mark this book as their own tells us something important about their attitude towards it; it was a prized personal possession. [BOH 101]

**DESCRIPTION:** 163 folios, three leaves missing in first quire, written in a round gothic bookhand by two scribes, 1- and 2-line penwork initials, thirteen (of probably fourteen) 4- to 5-line historiated initials, in excellent condition, 16<sup>th</sup>-century gilt-tooled leather Italian binding, with some wear. Dimensions 115 x 88 mm.

**LITERATURE:** A. Melograni, "Appunti di miniatura lombarda. Ricerche sul Maestro delle Vitae Imperatorum," *Storia dell'Arte* 70 (1990), pp. 273-314; A. Melograni, "Due nuovi codici del Magister Vitae Imperatorum. II (Illuminatore dei due manoscritti vaticani)," *Aevum* 70 (1996), pp. 295-30.



a

b

c

## 31.

NICHOLAS OF OSIMO, *Supplementum Summae Pisanellae*; with tables listing the contents of the *Supplementum* as well as the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and *Corpus Iuris Canonici*

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment  
Northern Italy, after 1444, c. 1445-1475(?)

Nicholas of Osimo's *Supplementum* was an expansion of, and update to, the earlier *Summa de casibus conscientiae* (also known as the *Pisanella*) of Bartholomaeus de San Concordio (c. 1260-1347). Bartholomaeus's work was a popular and practical confessional manual, which itself was based on an earlier work by John of Freiburg (d. 1314). In the *Supplementum*, Nicholas maintained the alphabetical organization of Bartholomaeus's work, but updated its contents to reflect subsequent developments in canon law. This is a handsome copy, with scattered marginal notation and pointing hands showing its active use by readers (ff. 19, 203v, 223v) (d, e). One owner or reader added his name (f. 238v) (f).

Its most vocal owner, however, lived two centuries later in the seventeenth century. Dominico Pierangelo of Montemilone (province of Potenza, Southern Italy) recorded his ownership three times. He wrote his name and stated that the book was for his use: "Ad Vsum Dominici Pierangeli" (g) (inside front cover); and wrote a short description of the manuscript and signed and dated it on June 12, 1687: "Ego Dominicus Pierangelus de Monte Milonis scripsi dio 12 Junij 1687" (inside back cover (b)). Another note dated by Pierangelo on f. 249v dated April 13, 1687, appears to have been partially erased, and then re-written in a clear script that is quite different than Pierangelo's cursive ("Hic Liber est meus qui uocor Dominicus Pierangelus de Monte Milonis Die 13 Aprilis 1687" (a)); the contemporary coat of arms sketched in color on the facing page have not been identified (c). Ownership is not necessarily evidence of use or reading, but in the case of this owner, it probably is. Why he signed it so often is hard to explain, but perhaps he added his name every time he read it? In any case, such active use of this manuscript two centuries after it was copied is notable. [TM 684]



reduced

**DESCRIPTION:** 250 folios on parchment, complete, written in a round gothic bookhand in 2 columns of 43-46 lines, 1- to 6-line initials, one 7-line blue penwork initial touched with gold, original blind-tooled leather binding. Dimensions 238 x 164 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XII-XVI siècles)*, *Analecta mediaevalia namurcensia* 13, Louvain, 1962, pp. 60-66.



d



e



f



g

# 32.

GREGORY THE GREAT, *Moralia in Job*, books I-X, translated from the Latin into Italian by ZANOBI DA STRADA

In Italian, illuminated manuscript on paper  
Northeastern Italy, Veneto (Venice?), dated 1474

This is a rather grand copy of Gregory the Great's commentary on the book of Job in the Italian translation by Zanobi da Strada (1312-1361). Zanobi was a Florentine humanist and friend of Giovanni Boccaccio and Petrarch (his work was unfinished when he died, and was completed over fifty years later, by Giovanni da San Miniato in 1415). We know the identity of the scribe and when it was written from the colophon: "Scripto per mi zuane de zane zoelier condam pro simon et chi li lezeranno priegi dio per lo scriptore. MCCCCLXXIIII" (b) (Written by me, Zuane de Zane, formerly a jeweler, for Simon, and may whoever will read it pray to God for the writer. 1474). The scribe's name is Venetian, and evidence of watermark (a) (no. 4), decoration, and details of orthography suggests an origin in the region of Veneto and possibly in Venice specifically. Simon, the original owner, was almost certainly wealthy (this is an expensive illuminated copy). Tiny signs – the use of paper rather than parchment (unusual in an illuminated manuscript), the distinctive cursive script of this scribe, and maybe the original folio numbers – suggest he may have been a merchant, literate in Italian rather than in Latin, who was serious about his faith. Manuscripts such as this one were made on commission, and reflect the choices of the original owner.

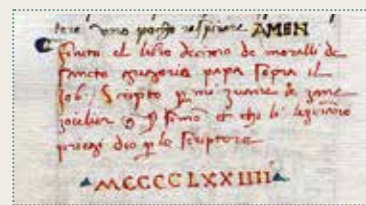
At some stage in its history, the manuscript was mis-used by an owner, who removed two illuminated leaves, ff. 1 and 9 (offsets on facing leaves suggest both these leaves had substantial illuminated borders); there is also an illuminated initial cut out (c). Perhaps this owner wanted to display the leaves, give them as gifts, or sell them – all have been known to happen. [TM 796]

**DESCRIPTION:** 188 folios on paper, watermarks dated 1471-1475, contemporary foliation, missing three folios, written above top line in brown ink in a cursive bookhand in 2 columns of 44-47 lines, 2- to 4-line initials, eight 7-line illuminated initials, initial excised on f. 70v, a few tears and stains, re-cased in its original half leather and wooden boards. Dimensions 328-332 x 230 mm.

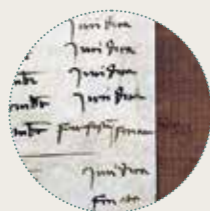
**LITERATURE:** Georg Dufner, *Die "Moralia" Gregors des Grossen in ihren italienischen Volgarizzamenti*, Padua, 1958; Zanobi da Strada and Giovanni da San Miniato, *Morali di santo Gregorio papa sopra il libro di Job*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, Archivum Gregorium 5, Florence, 2005.



a



b



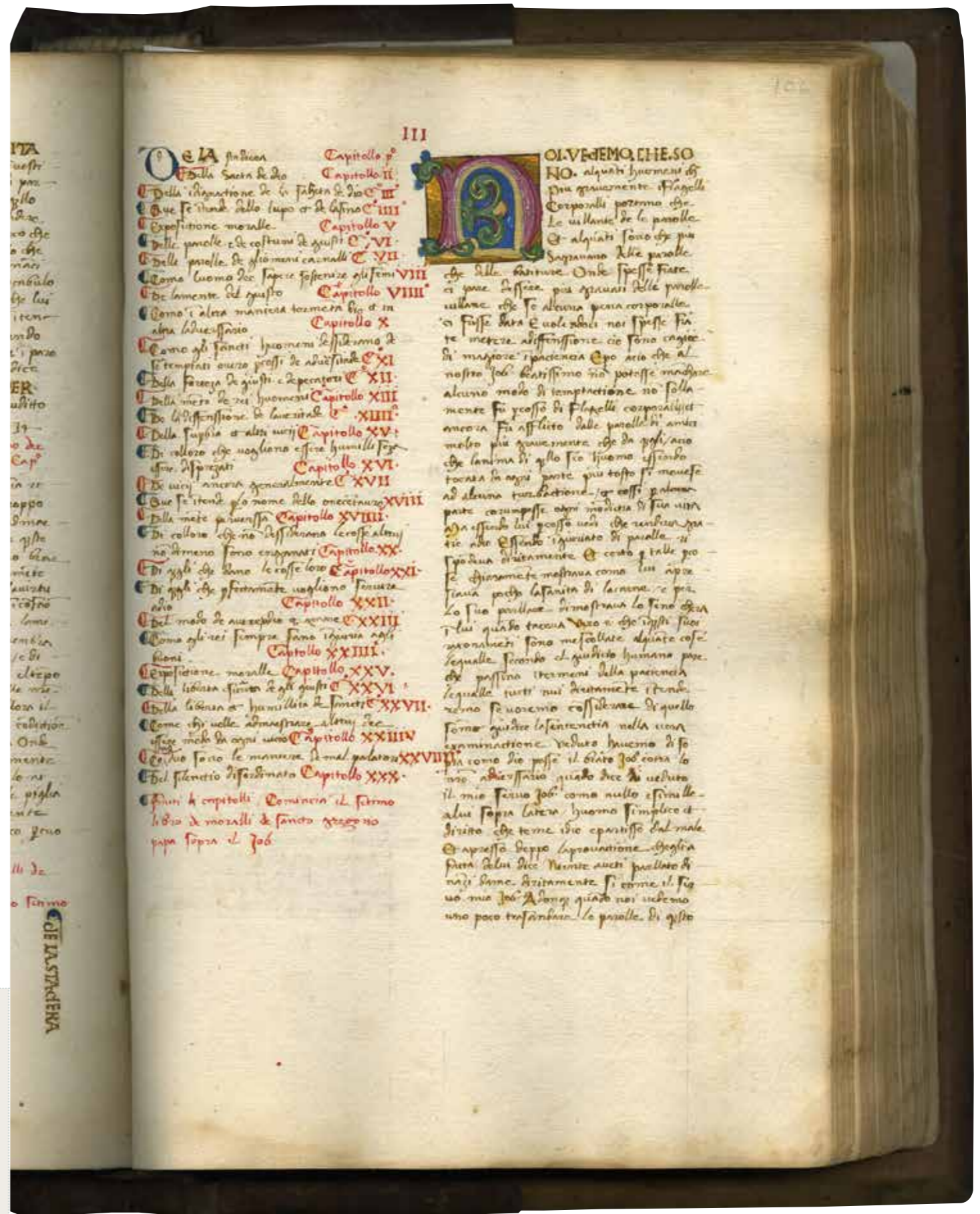
\*



c



\*



reduced

## 33.

[ANONYMOUS], *Disputatio de anima* (Disputation on the Soul); extract from HUGH OF SAINT-VICTOR, *De sacramentis christianae fidei* (On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith); ARNOLD OF VILLANOVA, *Tractatus de mysterio cymbalorum ecclesiae* (Treatise on the Mystery of the Church Bells); [ANONYMOUS], Two short treatises on the Apocalypse

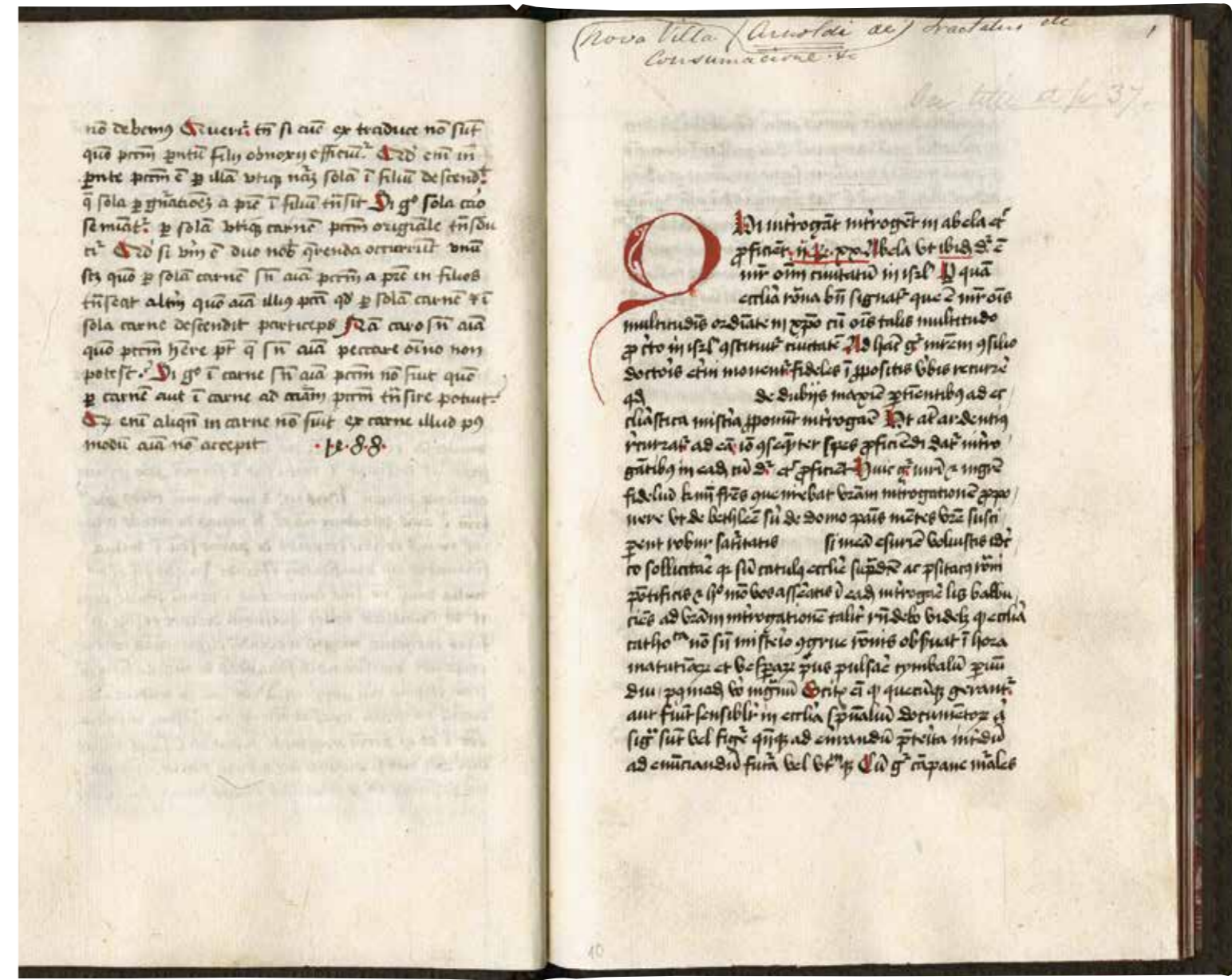
In Latin, decorated manuscript on paper  
Low Countries (near Brussels?), dated 1487, 1488; c. 1475-1500

This manuscript is remarkably free from signs of any use; so much so we could almost put it in the next section with books that show no sign of use by readers. There are only a very few marginal annotations by the two scribes and at least one additional contemporary hand. One nineteenth-century owner, did, however, introduce a major change. This manuscript was once part of a longer collection (traces, now mostly cropped away, of contemporary foliation show the current f. 1 was once f. 97 of the longer manuscript (a) that was broken up and rebound in many volumes. Another manuscript created from the longer codex, Southern Methodist University, Bridwell Library, MS 94, includes an ex-libris from the Rouge-Cloître (Rooklooster) near Brussels (see also no. 11), and it was likely copied there as well. This Augustinian abbey was founded in 1374, and it joined the Windesheim congregation in 1412. The house was very prominent, in part on account of its proximity to Brussels, and it housed an exceptional library and illumination workshop.

It would be interesting to see if other volumes from their library are in similarly pristine condition. Perhaps the canons were encouraged to write in their *rapiaria* (collections of inspirational passage copied down in separate notebooks to be used for private devotion, as well as for reading at the noon-time and evening collations) (see also no. 20), rather than in the monastery's books? [TM 856]

**DESCRIPTION:** 33 folios on paper, watermarks dated 1477-1491, complete, written by two scribes in a hybrida script on 28 long lines and in a cursive gothic script on 27 long lines, red initials and blank spaces for initials, 20<sup>th</sup>-century blind-stamped leather binding. Dimensions 199 x 132 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Michael Girolimon, "Hugh of St Victor's *De sacramentis Christianae fidei*: The Sacraments of Salvation," *Journal of Religious History* 18 (1994), pp. 127-138; Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "El text primitiu del *De mysterio cymbalorum Ecclesiae* d'Arnau de Vilanova," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 7/8 (1988-1989), pp. 7-169; "The Rooklooster Register Unveiled," <http://rrkl.cartusiana.org/?q=node/2>.



reduced

Disputatio de anima sub modo dialogi extracta ex dno sanctoy hieronimi et augustini  
**Q**um apud vos celestis eloquentie purissimi fontes et leay omni fluenta redundat ac solida sedm vtriusq; sanctas vna nicta firmo statu mebra stincat nuro stupore nictas su



\*

a



in hoc mundo tm et concedit. et auster coronam cu certamine. Abs-  
 leuit. ¶ Non sum tam veoz. ut querat. cur dyabolus sit. cui inuidi-  
 mors mzonuer morte m. ¶ Et hoc doleo. cur var eccliastra.  
 et qui magroy sibi usurpant vocabula tollant libey arbitum. Quo  
 sublato ozanuchoz sedet constructur. ¶ Ego ne libey. tollo arbitu  
 qui maora diphucatione. meo. nihil egi. aliud. nisi ut omnipotentia  
 dei. cum libey arbitio conferuam. ¶ quoni libey. fual arbitum. q  
 dual homiez nihil posse frce. nisi deus semp adiuuaret. ¶ et si i cul-  
 pa est. qui libey arbitrio uingit. adiuuaret. ¶ Ego ille laudet. qui col-  
 lit. auxilium dei. ¶ Non tollo auxilium dei. quippe. p. au. gratia. uoluntat  
 omne qd. in. h. si. ut. unq. sui. fructu. emanat. ut. et. di. sit. oratio.  
 q. sedet. libey. arbitry. potestate. et. uoluntat. fiter. e. qd.  
 uel. no. fr. qd. et. fructu. uel. fructu. ¶ et. uideris. mihi. obliuio.  
 sul. ee. et. qd. nihil. sup. didic. se. p. caldem. diphucationis. reueret. line.  
 al. Hoc. u. longa. diphucatione. conclusus. est. ut. gra. sua. dnt. qua. nob.  
 quiescit. libey. arbitum. in. h. opozib. unuq. atq. sub. p. e.  
 qd. quid. igitur. oronati. in. nob. atq. laudat. qd. ipse. orat. et.  
 ¶ uoluntate. unq. que. orat. qd. potuit. et. labore. quo. coeca.  
 dar. que. fr. et. in. h. or. que. semp. respicit. ad. auxilium. dei.  
 ¶ Ego. si. no. fecimus. qd. papit. aut. uoluit. nos. adiuuare. aut.  
 noluit. si. uoluit. et. adiuuit. et. in. fecimus. qd. uolumus. no. nos. h.  
 ille. opozib. ¶ Si. aut. noluit. adiuuare. non. est. culpa. eul. qui. uo-  
 luit. facere. h. illius. qui. potuit. et. noluit. ¶ si. uel. h. is. dnt. illu-  
 rop. tum. mox. blasphe. de. de. bar. ut. ex. ut. q.  
 p. et. aut. in. uel. dy. aut. mundus. et. no. tm. ei. laudat. sit. qd. bono.  
 ador. est. et. adiuuit. qm. uoluntat. q. m. h. no. coherant.

## VI. UNUSED? UNREAD?

### MOST MANUSCRIPTS BEAR SOME TRACE OF THEIR MAKERS, USERS, READERS, AND OWNERS

– that is, of course, the whole point of this catalogue. But there are manuscripts that have come down to us in almost pristine condition. They can make you wonder, in fact, if anyone ever read them at all, let alone touched and kissed them while praying. A copy of the New Testament Epistles from fifteenth-century Italy is a good example (no. 34). It is not untouched by time; the binding is worn so the front cover now hangs loosely and there a few spots on its pages. But most openings are quite pristine, and there are no notes or other signs left by readers. Similarly, a manuscript of three texts by St. Jerome, also from fifteenth-century Italy, survives in very, very good condition with no signs that it was ever read (no. 35).

### MANUSCRIPTS WITH NO SIGNS OF USE HAVE BEEN THE SUBJECT OF LESS DISCUSSION IN THE

scholarly literature than their opposites. Here they are included mostly as a counterpoint to all the well-used manuscripts we have been discussing. But they do raise questions that would be well worth exploring. Are there certain types of manuscripts that tend to survive with fewer signs of use? Do they survive with greater frequency from certain time periods or places? Does the existence of unused (or little-used) manuscripts point to a change in attitude toward manuscript books? When did manuscripts, illuminated or otherwise, become collector's objects, things to admire, or perhaps simply to possess, rather than to use?

### SOME PRISTINE MANUSCRIPTS ARE IN FACT JUST THAT – BOOKS THAT HAVE SURVIVED

hundreds of years with almost no signs of use. But things are not always what they seem. Marginal notes, tattered corners, dirt – all could be trimmed away by a binder; added texts on endleaves and pastedowns were tossed aside and replaced by blank paper or parchment. The pages themselves were sometimes cleaned or bleached to remove notes and dirt. Paradoxically, one of the traces left behind by binders, collectors, booksellers, and librarians can be an artificial state of cleanliness.

## 34.

## Latin Vulgate (New Testament Epistles, with Prologues)

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Northeastern Italy (Ferrara or Venice), c. 1465-1480

Page after page of this copy of the New Testament Epistles are as white and unblemished as the day they were made. Readers have added absolutely nothing to the pages of this manuscript – no notes, no nota marks, no annotations at all. The pristine state of its pages is particularly interesting, since there is evidence that this was handled, if not actively read. There is some dirt in the margins of the illuminated frontispiece. The binding (b) is broken along the front thongs, so that the front cover hangs loosely, and in the seventeenth century someone used the blank endleaf to copy several phrases of different prayers (perhaps trying out a new pen).

Is this an example of a manuscript made as collector's object to treasure rather than as a working copy to read? All the hallmarks of luxury are here – beautiful, unblemished parchment, elegant script, and restrained and lovely pen and painted initials, including an historiated initial of Saint Paul seated at a desk copying a manuscript. Below the initial is a coat of arms with the motto, "LEGITIME CERTANTI" (striving justly) (a). This family emblem was also proudly displayed on the binding, which is a very early example of an Italian Renaissance non-royal and non-Papal armorial binding. In all likelihood it was made for the Bolognese humanist Guido Antonio Lambertini, although the use of these same arms by the Mazzaruol of Venice, and the de Foix of Southern France (also used occasionally by Alfonso V of Aragon, king of Naples), makes it impossible to be absolutely certain. Regardless, we can be certain that the person who commissioned this manuscript was not only wealthy, but blessed with the imagination and audacity to want a copy of these holy texts from the New Testament decked out in the garb of a humanist copy of classical epistles. [TM 862]

**DESCRIPTION:** 148 folios on parchment, lacking a single bifolium, written in humanistic cursive minuscule on 22 lines, 2- to 3-line initials, 4-line historiated initial, overall in very fine condition, original blind-stamped leather binding, front thongs broken. Dimensions 188 x 120 mm.

**LITERATURE:** Lilian Armstrong, "The Pico Master: A Venetian Miniaturist of the Late Quattrocento," reprinted in her *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice*, I, London, 2003, pp. 233-338; A. C. de la Mare and L. Nuvoloni, *Bartolomeo Sanvito. The Life and Work of a Renaissance Scribe*, Paris, 2009.



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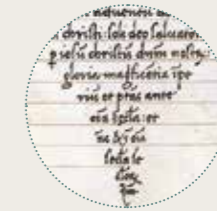
a



b



\*



\*

## 35.

SAINT JEROME, *Vita Sancti Pauli primae eremitaie* (The Life of St. Paul the First Hermit), *Dialogi contra Pelagianos* (Dialogues against the Pelagians), and *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* (Debate between a Luciferian and an Orthodox)

In Latin, with phrases in Greek, decorated manuscript on parchment  
Northern Italy, c. 1450-1475

The condition of this manuscript is remarkable. It is almost pristine, and looks as if it has never been read. It is always a puzzle to explain how a book copied almost six hundred years ago can appear so untouched. It is especially hard to explain in the case of this manuscript; it is copied in a lovely script, on beautiful parchment, but the initials are simple, and in contrast with the previous manuscript (no. 34), we cannot suggest that this was a book intended for display rather than use. The content should have had a wide appeal to readers. Fifteenth-century humanists saw St. Jerome as the ideal Christian scholar, admired for his asceticism and his learning, and the central text in particular, the life of St. Paul the hermit, circulated widely and had popular appeal. The two dialogues on theological controversies that follow were perhaps less accessible to a wide audience. Still, it is hard to say that this manuscript's content explains its mysteriously pristine condition.

Joseph Pope of Toronto (1921-2010), an investor banker and prominent collector of medieval manuscripts, once owned this manuscript. He also owned another volume of texts by Jerome (now Les Enluminures, TM 559). These two manuscripts were once bound together. Pope had a number of his manuscripts divided up and rebound, as must be the case here. In the catalogue of his library, the Bergendal collection, where he always writes in the third person as if he is not describing his own actions, he coyly states, "A previous owner must have decided that there is more honor in owning two manuscripts than having just one. This is a sentiment with which few will disagree." [TM 841]

**DESCRIPTION:** 44 folios on parchment, lacking folios at the end, written by at least three scribes in a humanistic minuscule on 39 long lines, 1- to 4-line red initials, two large 12-line initials (possibly added?), modern quarter vellum binding. Dimensions 241 x 165 mm.

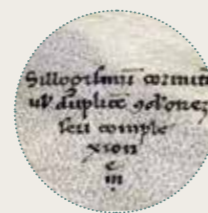
**LITERATURE:** J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies*, New York, 1975; Joseph Pope, *One Hundred and Twenty-Five Manuscripts. Bergendal Collection Catalogue*, Toronto, 1999; Eugene Rice, *St. Jerome in the Renaissance*, Baltimore, 1985.



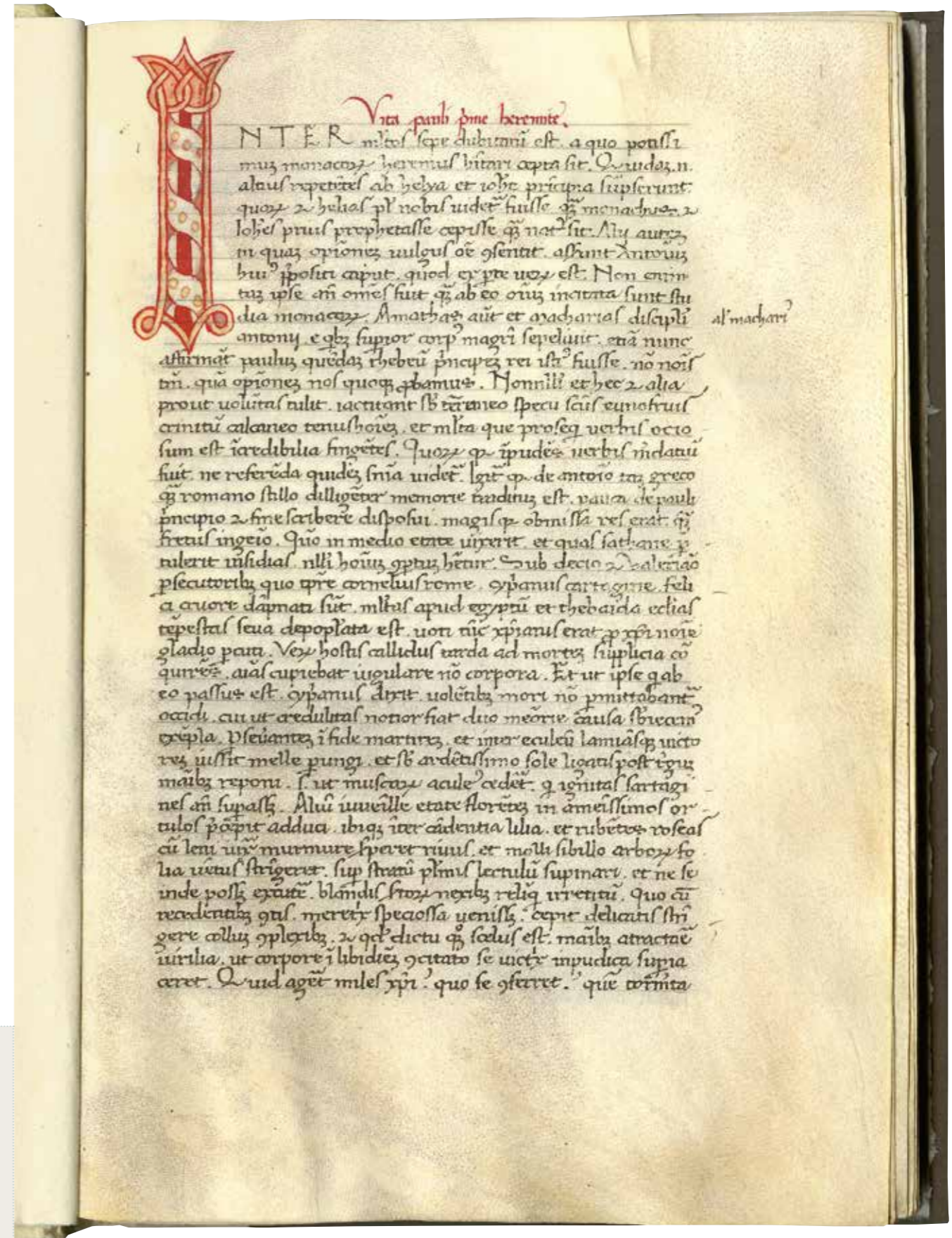
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reduced

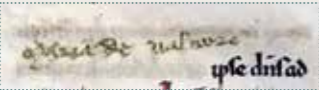





## MYSTERY TRACES


Every manuscript includes a myriad of physical traces left behind by its makers, users, readers, and owners. In the descriptions of the manuscripts in this catalogue, it was only possible to discuss a few important details from each manuscript (these details are identified with letters). But in many cases we have chosen to include additional details; these are marked with an asterisk in the body of the catalogue, and are displayed again here.

We know what some of them are, but others are a mystery even to us. We hope that they will inspire our readers to keep looking, and to enjoy the challenge of observing the physical traces found in all manuscripts that have the potential to teach us so much about their history.

As we have noted in the introduction, physical traces are not always easy to interpret with confidence. It is not uncommon to notice something in a manuscript that is baffling, at least at first glance. In many cases, however, if you keep looking at manuscripts attentively, you will end up observing the same thing again in another manuscript, in a group of manuscripts, or you will read a documentary source that sheds light on the problem. Eventually, things that seem meaningless will become meaningful.

1.  Someone corrected a mistake made by the scribe by scraping it away, and then added what appears to be a name ("Maria de ual[le] nero" or "Maria de palnero"). The significance of the name is a mystery.
2.  1. A note, "finis," added at the end of the table of chapters to show that it is the final entry.  
2. Possibly an ownership note?  
3. Scribal colophon.
5.  A gold initial found in the upper margin on f. 2; why it is here is a mystery.

7.  1. Mysterious dirt. 2. A hole in the parchment.

9.  1. An initial decorated with an animal, perhaps a dog?  
2. A hole in the parchment alongside an illuminated initial.

10.  A mystery.

12.  A mysterious mark on the binding.

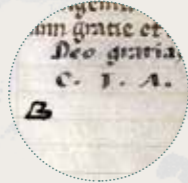
14.  1. A reader's note. 2. A rubric ("explicit," or "here it ends"). 3. A correction.

15.  A correction?

16.



1



2

1. An illuminated initial. 2. A note added at the end, "Thanks be to God," followed by mysterious initials.

17.



A binding, with straps and metal fittings.

18.



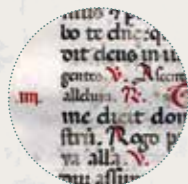
1



2

1. Marginal note and drawing of King John, about to drink from the poisoned cup. 2. Initial decorated with pen flourishes and a face.

19.



1



2

1 and 2. Marginal numbers added by the scribe to number responsories within the text?

21.



1



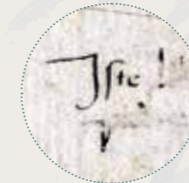
2



3

1 and 2. "Secret and Secure" and "Deceit in all Places," mottoes found in several places in the manuscripts, perhaps those of the original owner or scribe? 3. An illuminated initial.

23.



An erased ownership inscription.

24.



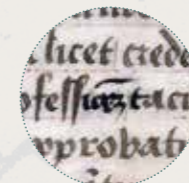
An illuminated initial.

25.



Reader's nota mark in the shape of a face?

27.



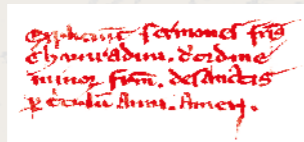
Textual correction in a contemporary hand.

28.



Detail of the front pastedown (now lifted), and the first page.

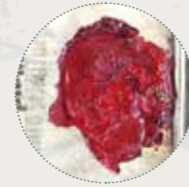
29.



1



2



3

1. Concluding rubric (Here ends the sermons of the feasts of saints through the year by brother Conrad of the minor friars [i.e. the Franciscans]. Amen. Amen.). 2. Hole sewn in green thread. 3. Wax seal from an unidentified owner?

32.



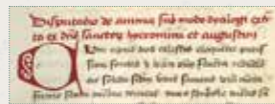
1



2

1. Leaf from notarial documents used as a pastedown in an earlier binding, now serving as a flyleaf. 2. Pastedown, also from a notarial document, beginning with the date, 1438.

33.

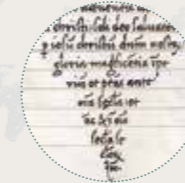


Rubric and opening initial.

34.



1



2

1. Illuminated initial. 2. The end of the manuscript (the conclusion of the Epistle of St. Jude), written in a tapering pattern.

35.



1



2



3

1. Leaf and quire signature (with a later addition). 2. Pointing hand with a long, long finger. 3. A formal note added by a reader (one of the very few in this manuscript).

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