



# MANUSCRIPTS ON MY MIND

News from the



No. 30 May 2020 **PANDEMIC ISSUE:** Reflections from the Manuscript Community

## 📖 Editor's Remarks:

**DEAR COLLEAGUES AND MANUSCRIPT LOVERS**, I am so grateful for the immediate and plentiful response to my call for contributions to this **Pandemic Issue** of the newsletter, which each of you has interpreted in a personal way. Some of you describe activities that have helped you cope while on lockdown; others reminisce about unforgettable manuscript moments. In this bewildering and isolated time, it is heartwarming to see the impulse to participate and share your thoughts and experiences in, let's call it, a Festschrift in honor of the manuscript community—and it is my great pleasure and honor to arrange and present them to you all.

Before I get to your stories, let me give you an update. Along with so many other events, the 47th Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies has been cancelled for 2020 and relocated to 2021, when it will be held June 21–23, in conjunction with the Annual Symposium on Medieval and Renaissance Studies. I have contacted all accepted speakers and am very happy that many have agreed to transfer their papers to next year. As a result, since the conference in 2021 will comprise a blend of sessions organized by me and Frank Coulson, we will co-chair this event for the first and last time; in 2022 Frank will host it alone.

**And a short word about the format of the essays: footnotes are set off by brackets, in blue, within the text. In addition, I have had to set some of the longer essays in a smaller font to accommodate them, and you will need to use the zoom tool to read them.**

**I INTRODUCE YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS** with a visual essay by **Christine Jakobi-Mirwald**—along with links to other examples of the same genre. The recreation of famous works of art has proved a soothing panacea for the rigors of lockdown, and has taken place using various artistic mediums. Christine has gifted us with faithful interpretations of well-known manuscript images, with humor and ingenuity.

<https://www.instagram.com/tussenkunstenquarantaine/?hl=de>  
<https://www.facebook.com/hashtag/arteallunicas?epa=HASHTAG>  
<https://www.muellerundschindler.com/facsimile-challenge/>  
She advises that this last site may be difficult to access.



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<https://www.slu.edu/arts-and-sciences/medieval-renaissance-studies/publications.php>  
First 21 issues at <http://lib.slu.edu/special-collections/publications/manuscripts-on-my-mind.php>

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**An Unilluminated Pandemic****Monica Green, Independent Scholar**

JAMES LE PALMER'S NOW-FAMOUS *OMNE BONUM* is a massive illuminated encyclopedia compiled in London in the 1360s and 1370s. Le Palmer's work—now divided in its unique extant copy as London, British Library, MSS Royal 6 E VI and VII, each in two volumes—was an extraordinary achievement in its ambition, even though left unfinished. In 1996, it garnered the attention of one of Medieval Studies' best art historians, Lucy Freeman Sandler [Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Omne bonum: A Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge*, 2 vols (London, 1996)], and has served for years as a goldmine of evocative images of medieval life.

But one of the illuminations from the *Omne bonum*—one that for a time was likely the most widely seen image from the work—is in fact a fake. “Fake” not in the sense of being a forgery, but rather in being used to tell a story about medieval life that bears no relation to its original intent. This is the letter ‘C’ that opens the chapter *De clerico debilitato ministrante* (On Ministration by a Disabled Cleric) [Fig. 1].

The story of the image's “misdiagnosis” has been told before [Monica H. Green, Kathleen Walker-Meikle and Wolfgang Müller, “Diagnosis of a ‘Plague’ Image: A Digital Cautionary Tale,” in *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death*, inaugural issue of *The Medieval Globe* 1, no. 1-2 (Fall 2014): 309–26; Richard Nevell, “The Truth Gets Its Shoes On: The Black Death on Wikipedia,” *Wikimedia UK Blog*, <https://blog.wikimedia.org.uk/2015/01/the-truth-gets-its-shoes-on-the-black-death-on-wikipedia>, 01/18/2015; Lori Jones, “Getting the Words Out (and Back In): What to do When a Plague Image is Not an Image of Plague,” *Global Medieval Studies: The Arc-Medieval Blog*, <http://arc-medieval.blogspot.com/2015/03/getting-words-out-and-back-in-what-to.html>, 03/01/2015; and Lori Jones and Richard Nevell, “Plagued by Doubt and Viral Misinformation: The Need for Evidence-based Use of Historical Disease Images,” *The Lancet Infectious Diseases* 16, no. 10 (October 2016), e235–e240], but it bears recounting once again in our present pandemic times.

The essence of the story is simple, and it hinges on the ways knowledge can be lost in moving from one medium to another. Although long known to art historians such as Sandler, the *Omne bonum* had its first “star turn” when selected images were included in the British Library's online *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*. The image of the cleric was assigned an approximately accurate if unspecific label: “Detail of a historiated initial ‘C’(lericus) of a bishop blessing four clerics with faces covered with spots.” But the image was also selected in 2006 for the British Library's commercial *Images Online* site, which displayed high-resolution images available for purchase. There, it acquired the label “Plague victims blessed by priest.” That label was used when the image gravitated over to the *Wikipedia* page on the Black Death and many other sites. Given the popularity of the *Wikipedia* page in particular (which gets millions of “hits” every year), this may well have been the most viewed “plague” image in the world for some time. Besides the error in identifying a bishop (note the mitre) as a priest, the *Images Online* label ignored two other aspects of the *Omne bonum* image: the fact that the victims (all standing, not prostrate) were shown with “spots,” a traditional iconographic signal of leprosy, and the fact that the accompanying text of the chapter said nothing about plague. Having been alerted to the puzzling use of the image in 2012, two years later I and two collaborators uncovered the origin of the misleading label, and edited and translated the accompanying text, which makes clear that the chief concern of the chapter is indeed leprosy. In subsequent work, plague historian Lori Jones, and Wikipedian Richard Nevell tracked down all misuses of the image online and attempted to persuade webmasters to take the image down or at least relabel it. They were astoundingly successful in their efforts (even if, as late as March 2020, a major news magazine was still using the image with the inaccurate 2006 label).

How does this incident take on new meaning now, in the context of our own pandemic? First and foremost, it reminds us that, just in the fourteenth century, there were other, very serious endemic diseases that demanded care, none of which simply disappeared under the novel threat of a pandemic. The higher mortality of persons with pre-existing conditions, and the compromised care of persons needing treatment for non-pandemic complaints are not new dilemmas.

Second, surprisingly, the leprosy image flags the fact that James le Palmer's *Omne bonum*, despite its massive size (nearly 1100 leaves) has nothing that can be called a “plague” image. Le Palmer was born before 1327, and therefore would have been a young adult during the Black Death (1348–51). He would have also experienced the *pestis secunda*, the second wave of plague that struck England in 1360 [Currently, the best overview of plague's early effects in England is Sharon DeWitte and Maryanne Kowaleski, “Black Death Bodies,” *Fragments* 6 (2017), <http://www.pcconservationlab.org/?p=794>]. Yet the only iconographic reflection of this trauma is (perhaps) his depiction of a cemetery (*Cimiteria*, Fig. 2), which seems to harken to the stressed mortuary conditions that characterized plague outbreaks at their height. Does the absence of an unambiguous Black Death image in the *Omne bonum* suggest repression of a too catastrophic memory?



fig. 1.

London, British Library, MS Royal 6 E VI, vol. 2, f. 301rb, detail.



fig. 2.

London, British Library, MS Royal 6 E VI, vol. 1, f. 267vb, *Cimiteria*, detail.

(Cont.)

**Monica Green, continued**

Or is it due to the more mundane fact that this is an encyclopedia focused on the immediate needs of the clerical life, and not (like the *Chronicle* of Gilles li Muisis, abbot of Tournai, which has the first and apparently only contemporary images of the Black Death) a deliberate record of the author's own place in history? One wonders. Even li Muisis's artist, Pierart dou Tielt, did not show any "clinical" scenes of death [Albert d'Haenens, "Pierart dou Tielt, enlumineur des oeuvres de Gilles Li Muisis: Note sur son activité à Tournai vers 1350," *Scriptorium* 23, no. 1 (1969): 88–93; Steven Vanderputten, "Une iconographie de l'historiographie monastique: Réalité ou fiction?," in *Medieval Narrative Sources: A Gateway into the Medieval Mind*, ed. Jean Goossens, Ludo Milis, Werner Verbeke (Leuven, 2005), 251–70. Pierart dou Tielt includes three plague-related scenes: a procession of Flagellants; a conflagration showing the murder of a community of Jews; and (like the *Omne bonum* illustrator), a busy graveyard scene.] In fact, depiction of the characteristic buboes in bubonic plague cannot be found in European sources until the early 1400s, more than half a century after the arrival of the new disease. [Lori Jones, "'Apostumes, Carbuncles, and Botches': Visualizing the Plague in Late Medieval and Early Modern Medical Treatises," in *Asclepius, the Paintbrush, and the Pen: Representations of Disease in Medieval and Early Modern Art and Literature*, ed. Massimo Ciavolella and Rinaldo F. Canalis (Turnhout, 2020 forthcoming).]

**PERHAPS SOME TRAUMA DEFIES DEPICTION.**

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**The Saint Jerome at "Home Office:" An Unpublished Illumination in a Venice Incunabulum in the State and City Library Augsburg**

Karl Georg Pfändtner, State and City Library Augsburg

TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE CORONA-CRISIS STARTED IN GERMANY I finally found time for a long planned revision of all manuscripts and *incunabula* in the State and City Library Augsburg. In the fourth year of my position as director of that important library I wanted to check if everything was stored in the right place; if all the books on the shelves were in good condition, and which ones needed to be boxed. As an art historian, of course I was looking forward to finding out which manuscripts and incunabula were illuminated or decorated, for up to now there is neither any art historical catalogue of the historical books of our Library nor any list of illumination or decoration. It took a while to go through ca. 3600 manuscripts and ca. 2830 incunabula, but at the end I have looked at all of them, some bearing interesting and lovely illumination. We have not had time for photographic documentation yet—which is planned soon—but now in Corona-time when our Library is closed for a couple of weeks, I had a chance to check the illumination of the most interesting items. I started with Italian illumination, of which we own a small number of examples. The manuscripts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century—among them quite a few manuscripts and incunabula from the Lombard area, which at the moment suffers so much from the virus—I have described in an article that will soon be printed in *Codices Manuscripti & Impressi* ["Italienische Miniaturen in Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg," *Codices Manuscripti & Impressi* 119/120, 23–48, which will be out this month].



Fig. 1.

I wanted to present one miniature here (Figure 1), in which every single one of us might see parallels to our "home office time" during the Corona-Crisis, and perhaps find some consolation in this time of isolation. The *incunabulum* with the shelf mark 2° Ink 377 is an edition of the *Epistolae* of Saint Jerome edited by Theodorus Lelius, and printed in Venice by Antonio Miscomini on the 22th of January 1476 (ISTC ih00166000). The volume's first known owner was, as the coat of arms at the bottom of the page indicate, Caspar von Hürnheim, an Augsburg and Eichstätt cathedral Canon who died in 1550. The illumination of the volume must have been done shortly after the book was printed, in northern Italy, maybe in Verona or Modena.

The miniature shows Saint Jerome (347–420) sitting alone in his *studiolo*, a typical iconographic composition, translating the Bible from Greek into Latin (the vulgate). He is isolated by his own will in his study, not forced as we are by the Corona-Virus, to find time and leisure to work on a greater project—his greatest—and which lasted for centuries. This should encourage us all to start investigation on larger projects we usually find no time to look at during the busy weeks in our offices. His pampered pet would also have loved that situation, the Lion who assisted him according to the legend, after Jerome had tamed him in the wilderness by healing his paw. Imagine the poor animal in the cosmopolitan times of St. Jerome, travelling from Rome to Trier, to Antioch, etc. Even our own pets enjoy the present situation, as my dog does, as we are healthy and well. **THEY AND SCHOLARSHIP ARE THE REAL WINNERS OF THIS CRISIS.**

**Encounters with ... the University of Houston Prayerbook**

Cynthia J. Cyrus, Vanderbilt University

IF MY DAUGHTER HADN'T GOTTEN THAT JOB IN TEXAS, I might never have seen the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century German prayerbook—Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries, BX1973 .P73 1500z, listed in the catalogue as “Prayers and Suffrages to the Saints, Germany, 15<sup>th</sup> c.” But as it happens, I was on a hunt for prayer concordances in the German prayerbook literature, and thought I might as well have a look. [My thanks to University of Houston Special Collections Librarian Julie Grob who facilitated my consultation with the manuscript and answered questions about its provenance.] This almost unknown manuscript—mentioned in the University of Houston catalog but not discussed in the scholarly literature—proved to be an unusual find, for it has sumptuous borders and lovely illuminated initials. The prayer for St Afra (fol. 30r) is typical. (Figure 1).



A four-line initial on a field of blue introduces the prayer, which starts at the top of the recto (as do all prayers and prayer-sets in this manuscript). The initial, composed of acanthus leaves, boasts gilt tracery as in-fill and to enliven the corners of the field. The prayer is introduced by a rubric (glimpsed here on the facing verso), “Von Sandt Affra der heiligen martrerin.” In the prayer itself, the saint is not named until the overleaf, where the petitioner invokes the “pain and death” of her fiery martyrdom, and bids her on that account to pray to Jesus to ask him to intercede on the petitioner’s behalf, an indirect request common to vernacular prayers of the day.

At the bottom and along the right-hand margin, a decorative border, here on a field of gold, attracts the eye. The flowers, berries and vegetal foliage in green, red, blue, and silver-white—all of which have gilt tinting at the edges of shapes—are here accompanied by acanthus-leaf crowned dolphins. At the right-hand edge, three different flower-shapes adorn the vertical surface. The lively color scheme and *trompe l’oeil* figuration provides a vivid navigational cue, for similar borders, variously on backgrounds of gold, red, blue, and silver, appear at the start of each of the forty-four prayers and prayer-sets in the volume.

As I looked at the volume more closely, it was evident that the border types were frequently reused. The dolphins of fol. 30r make an appearance again for the feasts of the other two regional saints in the volume, used for St Ulrich (23r), the other patron saint of Augsburg, and for St Conrad, Bishop-saint of Constance (71r), as well as for St George (3r) and Apostles Simon and Jude (48r). In some of these—George and Ulrich—the dolphin’s beak is stretched out and up, transforming into a sort of acanthus-leaf umbrella for the dolphin, ringed with its partner to form a visual “center” for the bottom margin (Figure 2). For Conrad, as well as for Simon and Jude, the white flower of Afra’s border is replaced with multi-petal red flowers. Theme and variation seem to have been the order of the day.



Although the cataloguing of the manuscript is accurate, so far as it goes, the back of the manuscript holds a long rubric that proves to be the introduction to the fifteen prayers on the Passion in German translation attributed (wrongly) to Bridget of Sweden. The final item in the collection is a set of translations of psalms and antiphons, five for Sundays at Prime and another five for Mondays at Matins *per annum*. Both the pseudo-Bridget cycle and the psalm collection seem to have been judged of lesser importance visually, for only the first prayer for St Bridget herself gets a “standard” border on its introductory page, and large capitals are reserved for the first item in each of these two collections, giving way thereafter to inked initials in alternating red and blue for the sectional divisions.

Having engaged with the visually “fun” review of the manuscript, I turned back to the beginning, and soon noted that the manuscript was missing leaves—a lot of them. Nineteen of the forty-four prayers and prayer cycles were truncated, including Afra’s, breaking off mid-sentence or, a few times, mid-word. In other words, the manuscript has been stripped of its much of its textual content, and as a prayerbook, its remnants would be—shall we say problematic?—for a devout reader. Nevertheless, the University of Houston Prayerbook has interesting and significant parallels in other prayer collections from the same Alemannic orbit, and tracing those has been a productive if wistful replacement for the archival trip **CANCELLED BY THE NEED TO STAY HOME AND “BEND THE CURVE.”**

Figure 1: Prayer for St Afra, University of Houston Prayerbook, fol. 30r.

Figure 2: Prayer for St Ulrich, University of Houston Prayerbook, fol. 23r, detail

**The Most Instructive Piece**

Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch (University of Heidelberg)

It might not seem like the most impressive object I would like to introduce, dear Susan L’Engle, but it certainly is the one that taught me the most. Even as a young student I was already interested in early drawings. The Braunschweig Model Book [Braunschweig Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum: <https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj00051370> (2020.04.17)] fascinated me. The heavy, thoughtful figures with their dignified habitus, the graceful, elegant courtly shapes and the various couples arguing and communicating with each other seemed to tell a variety of different stories. The wonderful vibrating shadows, the elegant curves of the folds, the cascades of the cloak hems reminded me of music. Although it was obvious that the manuscript was a pattern book, in my early days as an art historian I believed that everything we saw in medieval art had to have an intentional meaning. If there was none to be found, we simply did not put enough thought or research into it.

(cont.)

(Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch , continued) I knew the Model Book from the facsimile edition by Josef Neuwirth published in 1897 and a few more recent publications. In Neuwirth's edition I discovered a meaningful combination of secular and religious themes, an elegant rhythm of variation, which increasingly appeared to me as a deliberate arrangement. Could a pattern book take on such an intentional arrangement? Regarding the so-called 'Wiener Täfelchen,' this seemed possible. An essay had been written and I went to Braunschweig to finally see the original. The drawings were even more gorgeous than in the old edition. But the sketches followed a completely different order. Neuwirth had rearranged his facsimile for whatever reason, so that double pages were created which seemed to develop an inner coherence. The original turned out to be a work that had not been organised in any way according to content considerations. It remained a model book, which varies forms, passes on iconographic possibilities and traditions, and has in part been modernised and revised by other artists.

It goes without saying that the essay was never completed. However, the experience became an important lesson for me and for my students as well: the insight into the original is and remains crucial. This is especially true at the present time. Many manuscripts are wonderfully digitized and can be studied from home in a way that no library would ever allow. The quality of the digitized material is so excellent, that it reveals details that would not even be visible on the original, depending on the general lighting. Many questions can be answered based on the digitised material and the collections are rightly making access to the originals increasingly difficult. Nevertheless, for some questions it is essential to have a look at the originals. Depending on the digitised material and screen resolution, colour statements can be inaccurate. The experience of the manuscript and its decoration we gather by leafing through the codex allows us to see contexts which—for the time being—cannot yet be convincingly simulated on screen. Above all, however, the sensual experience, which is one of the greatest joys of manuscript research, cannot be reproduced. **LET US HOPE THAT WE WILL BE ALLOWED TO MAKE THESE EXPERIENCES AGAIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. UNTIL THEN WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR ALL THE MANUSCRIPTS AND INFORMATION WE FIND ONLINE.**

### **Morgan M.126: A Brief Reminiscence**

**Martha Driver, Pace University**

SOMETIME IN THE 1990S, Bob Yeager, perhaps the most influential promoter of the works of John Gower in our time, asked me to contribute an essay on William Caxton's edition of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* to one of his many volumes on the esteemed poet. [R.F. Yeager has published many books on Gower, as well as translations, a concordance, teaching volumes, a CD, and bibliographies, and may be regarded as the single most important resuscitator of the fourteenth-century poet's reputation in the modern era.] So I toddled off to look at the Caxton copy in the reading room at what was then known as The Pierpont Morgan Library. I was particularly interested in the blanks Caxton left, presumably for illustration to be filled in later. This research later became "Printing the *Confessio Amantis*: Caxton's Edition in Context" and appeared in *Revisioning Gower: New Essays* in 1998. [Due to COVID, we are out of Manhattan in New Jersey (which is not much better in terms of cases of illness though there are fewer people about). All of my scholarly books and files are in the city in my office and in my home office, so I write entirely from memory now.] A reader of that essay will immediately notice the footnotes are longer than the main text, which typifies much of my research; explanatory footnotes are, for me, often the most delicious morsels of the intellectual repast. Because I thought it would be useful to look at the illustrated manuscript copies of Gower in the Morgan against Caxton, the notes in the Caxton essay are full of references to Morgan M.126, the deluxe illuminated folio manuscript of Gower's poem, on which I later wrote several further articles. [These are "John Gower and the Artists of M. 126" in *Studies in the Age of Gower: A Festschrift for Robert F. Yeager*, ed. Susannah Chawning (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 2020), 99–116; "More Light on Ricardus Franciscus: Looking Again at Morgan M. 126," *South Atlantic Review* 79, No. 3-4, ([2014]): 20–35; "'Me fault faire': French Makers of Manuscripts for English Patrons," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 2009), 420–443; and "Women Readers and Pierpont Morgan MS M.126" in *John Gower: Manuscripts, Readers and Contexts*, ed. Malte Urban and Georgiana Donavin (Turnhout, 2009), 71–107. Under Bob's persuasive influence, I have also spoken and written about other aspects of Gower, particularly as he appears in William Shakespeare's *Pericles* ("Conjuring Gower in *Pericles*," in *John Gower, Trilingual Poet, Language, Translation, and Tradition*, ed. Elisabeth Dutton with John Hines and R.F. Yeager (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 2010), and in *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages*, edited with Sid Ray (Jefferson, NC, 2009).]

When I first saw Morgan M.126, it was due for re-binding. I remember feeling quite woeful when "my" book was taken away to the bindery. The reading room librarian at the time was Inge Dupont, who worked with my good friend Sylvie Merian, also a librarian (and, in my opinion, both represent the glory days of the Morgan just as surely as does another hero, Belle da Costa Green). As I recall, as the book went off to the bindery, Inge asked me what color binding I would prefer, I thought in jest. "Just so long as it is pink," I replied. And, lo, when the book emerged after being so beautifully rebound by Deborah Evetts, its binding was indeed a lovely shade of pink. Perhaps the pink binding was a total coincidence (but maybe not).

While Morgan M.126 did not tell me a great deal about the blanks in Caxton's edition (though some of its images had been cut out and then restored, a whole other question), I became fascinated by this manuscript partly because of its plentiful and often bizarre illumination, so many of its pictures seeming to feature large women looming over the male figures, partly because of the bold and distinctive hand that wrote it, and partly because of the mottos or insignia I noticed in the script's ascenders and descenders. This hand turned out to be that of Ricardus Franciscus, or Richard Francis, a scribe I have been tracking now for some twenty years or longer. I was also interested in the manuscript because it was initially unknown to G.C. Macaulay, the editor of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* at the turn of the last century, whose edition remains the best in the field. After I had finished the Caxton essay, I purchased the EETS reprint of Macaulay and returned to the Morgan where I carefully read M.126 against my copy of Macaulay, annotating it in pencil.

**I REMEMBER THESE AS SOME OF THE HAPPIEST DAYS OF MY LIFE, SPENDING A FEW DAYS A WEEK THAT SUMMER READING THIS BEAUTIFUL MANUSCRIPT, MARVELING AT ITS PICTURES AND ITS ARTISTS' INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT WHICH ARE IDIOSYNCRATIC IN MANY CASES, AND ANNOTATING MY PERSONAL COPY OF MACAULAY IN PENCIL AGAINST THE MORGAN COPY.**

## The Claude Acquisition

Roger S. Wieck, The Morgan Library & Museum

ON A JANUARY MORNING IN 2008, my office phone rang. It had caller-ID, so I knew it was Elaine Rosenberg on the line. When I picked up the receiver, Elaine, before I could even say good morning, announced, “My accountant says I can give it to you now.” We both knew what “it” was. “He said it didn’t matter if it were now or when I’m dead,” she continued in her characteristically direct manner. I got off the phone and hopped in a cab; I didn’t want Elaine to change her mind.

“It” was the Prayer Book of Claude de France, a manuscript that I had long coveted for the Morgan. Along with a sister Book of Hours, Claude’s Prayer Book was the eponymous codex after which the anonymous artist received his name. Charles Sterling baptized him the Master of Claude de France in a 1975 monograph. Elaine’s husband Alexandre Rosenberg, the famed dealer in modern masters, had, toward the end of his life, begun to collect French illuminated manuscripts and incunables. Mr. Rosenberg bought the Prayer Book from H.P. Kraus in the late ‘70s. Among the dozen manuscripts he owned, this was his most treasured; he often kept it in his pocket.

In 1982, John Plummer had borrowed the codex for his Morgan exhibition, “The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420–1530,” which is when I first saw the book. It was love at first sight. When I joined the Morgan in 1989, one of my acquisition priorities was to obtain an example by the Master of Claude de France, a *lacuna* in our French Renaissance holdings. Dare I hope for the Prayer Book itself? In 2001, I borrowed it for my show, “Jean Poyet: Artist to the Court of Renaissance France” [Later, Mara Hofmann in her 2004 monograph, *Jean Poyer: Das Gesamtwerk*, established the correct spelling of the artist’s name.]. Elaine had gotten the hint. When I arrived at her apartment, she told me that a friend had recently asked to see the manuscript. But the friend, instead of actually looking at the book, clawed through it with her long painted fingernails, all the time chatting with Elaine. Appalled at the rough handling (which fortunately did not damage the book), she decided it was time for it to come to the Morgan.

The Prayer Book of Claude de France is a tiny manuscript, about the size of a credit card (MS M.1166). Its 53 folios are filled with over 132 images. Queen Claude, first wife of King François I, commissioned the manuscript (and its companion Book of Hours) around the time of her coronation in 1517. When I returned to the Morgan with the Prayer Book, I placed it on my desk and stared at it, not quite believing that the manuscript love of my life was actually there, in front of me.

As soon as Elaine gave us the manuscript, which she let so few people see, she now insisted that we share it with the world. To that end we presented that summer a small exhibition of it alongside a manuscript Queen Claude would have inherited from her mother, the Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne (illuminated by Jean Poyer; MS M.50). Prior to the show we had the Prayer Book completely scanned in high-resolution photography that we uploaded as an accompanying online exhibition (it has remained on our website). The tiny jewel of a book caught the attention of Rebecca Mead, who wrote about it in *The New Yorker*, “The Cross-Eyed Queen” (4 August 2008). Meanwhile, I started research on my beloved in earnest.

In 2010 I published an article about the manuscript in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends & Colleagues of Christopher De Hamel*. The same year, Quaternio’s facsimile of the Prayer Book was published with a commentary by me (with a chapter by Cynthia Brown). The Prayer Book’s only full-page miniature, I discovered, revealed Claude’s fear that she might have inherited the curse from her mother: an inability to produce healthy sons.

I couldn’t stop. Building on strength, I assembled an additional sixteen illuminations by the artist for the Morgan. These illuminations, the Prayer Book, Claude’s Book of Hours, and a third *Horae* by the artist that may have been made for Claude’s sister, Renée, were all part of the 2014 Morgan exhibition, “Miracles in Miniature: The Art of the Master of Claude de France.” That show was accompanied by a monograph of the same title (with a chapter by Francisco H. Trujillo).

UNLIKE MR. ROSENBERG, I CAN’T CARRY THE PRAYER BOOK IN MY POCKET.

BUT IT SITS PERMANENTLY ON MY DESK, MERE INCHES FROM MY RIGHT HAND, VIRTUALLY, VIA A COPY OF THE FACSIMILE.



The Morgan Library & Museum. MS M.1166,  
*Prayer book of Claude de France*, fols. 24v-25r.  
Tours, France, ca. 1517.

Gift of Mrs. Alexandre P. Rosenberg in memory of her husband  
Alexandre Paul Rosenberg, 2008.

With permission of the Morgan Library & Museum. Photographic  
credit: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

**Giovanni Scorcioni** of [FacimileFinder](http://FacimileFinder.com), based in the Republic of San Marino, is offering resources for online teaching, using images from his manuscript facsimiles. To heighten the manuscript experience he has been shooting videos of himself thumbing through the manuscript facsimiles. When his hands touch the folios, viewers can appreciate the book’s original size, form, and thickness—something a digital gallery cannot provide. While not a substitute for the unique experience of leafing through the actual facsimiles, the videos aim to add a new layer of understanding of the often inaccessible original manuscript. Since the beginning of the global crisis and the lockdown of universities, many professors have been using the videos to teach special collections and rare books in online classes. You can find information about these videos at <https://www.facimilefinder.com/manuscript-facsimile-edition-videos> and other details about the manuscript facsimiles at [FacimileFinder.com](http://FacimileFinder.com)

### Medieval Food: The History of Honey in the Kingdom of Majorca (Crown of Aragon, XV century)

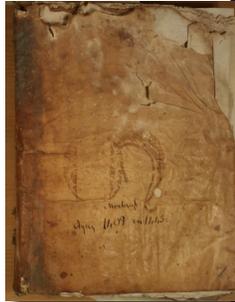
Pablo José Alcover Cateura, Universitat de Barcelona

I AM A MEDIEVALIST BECAUSE OF MY GRANDMOTHER. She taught me who were the Cid, King Arthur, Charlemagne, Joan of Arc “The Maid of Orléans” and other great characters of the past. My grandmother read me medieval tales and her beloved *One Thousand and One Nights*. I loved those stories. That little seed, that intense passion she planted in my soul has grown and grown. We arrive from my past, and my memories, to the present. Some months ago, I finished my dissertation on medieval food, with the title “Urban Food Markets in the Crown of Aragon (XIV-XV centuries).”

My main sources in my doctoral research were **Mostassà's books**. *Mostassà* was a local market inspector. Over the last 5 years, I have been working in 86 archives on national, regional and town council sources from Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands (Spain). Prior to my research, 23 *Mostassà's* books were known by scholars. My work at 86 archives had positive results: I discovered an additional 68 *Mostassà's* books, all untapped. The study of this corpus of 91 manuscripts forms the principal sources of my dissertation. A comparative study of the ordinances contained in this market inspector's books, has enabled me to establish the general characteristics and the global dynamics of local urban markets in the Crown of Aragon during the Late Middle Ages. A pending research in my dissertation was to go more deeply into the knowledge about honey, from hives to the tables at medieval villages and cities, from nature to civilization. In summary: a complete history of honey.

If this pandemic permits, I will be Associated Visiting Professor at New York University (NYU) from November 2020 to November 2021. My research project would be the first study in European historiography to analyse the complete economic and social cycle of honey from production to consumption in the context of the late Middle Ages. Using the Crown of Aragon as a case study and untapped manuscript materials, I also involve other disciplines such as Anthropology, Sociology, Archaeology, Apiculture, Palaeontology, and Art History. This approach provides a considerably greater explanatory power of the whole process than the more traditional ones generally used. I argue that honey was the staple sweetener of common people, the working class; rich people could afford to pay for sugar.

Rich people could afford to pay for sugar. This situation was common in the Middle Ages, but a very similar circumstance happened during the Spanish Civil War. My grandmother and my grandfather lost all their money because the company owned by my family was nationalised during the war. We sold bottled olive oil from Majorca. My family knew the true meaning of famine. Rich people bought sacks of sugar but we could only afford some honey for special occasions. **THE RESEARCH I HOPE TO DO AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY IS A SMALL TRIBUTE TO MY GRANDPARENTS, ESPECIALLY MY GRANDMOTHER, WHO GAVE ME THE STRENGTH, THE WILL AND ALL HER SUPPORT DURING HER LIFE TO ACCOMPLISH MY DREAM: BEING A MEDIEVALIST.**



### Reminiscences of the Auction Room

Scott Gwara, University of South Carolina

IN 1986 MY BROTHER AND I PLANNED TO SPLURGE on an early manuscript, and we scraped up a sum that, for students, seemed intimidating: \$4500. We ventured to Sotheby's (London) on 24 June, hoping to secure a mid-thirteenth-century Paris manuscript of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* bristling with annotations (lot 73). It was fat—360 folios—slightly incomplete, with generous margins and buttery vellum. I was entranced. Naturally, we selected alternates, one of them an incomplete English Office of the Dead in a medieval binding (lot 90). This Office was our third alternate, the second being a Book of Hours towards the end of the sale.

What an initiation that auction was! Sir Paul Getty gained the Becket Leaves (later loaned to the British Library) for £1.375m (lot 40), a luminous Book of Hours by the Boucicaut Master fetched £572k (lot 100), the “Spinola Hours” (not the Getty manuscript) topped £66k (lot 104), and a Wycliffite Bible in Middle English was snapped up for £38,500 (lot 69). It's been 34 years, but some impressions have remained indelible: the confident exuberance of the crowd (we were *all* going to obtain our treasures), the fierce if polite competition, the self-conscious theatricality, and my own sense of ironic detachment. Here I was, an undergraduate, bidding in such an elite crowd. I can recall Christopher de Hamel identifying me to the auctioneer as a legitimate bidder. I can recollect the surging panic that I might signal an errant bid for the Becket Leaves, rather like Dr. Strangelove being unable to restrain his arm. I can remember Stephen Parks purchasing a very desirable collection of Cheshire documents for the Beinecke.

The *Sentences* came and went. I bid up to £3k, but the manuscript hammered for £4500. Humph. Not to worry: we'd get the next one. The little Office of the Dead was up, our third choice, and ready to fall to Alan Thomas for £500. He sat in the front directly below the auctioneer, and behind his catalogue he held a pencil which he would pivot towards his chest when bidding. I was fractionally too late, since I had been conferring with my brother on bidding—it was cheap! The hammer came down just as I raised my hand. Our final consolation prize failed as well, but the overall experience had been exhilarating. I learned a lot about auctions, too. While I sometimes regret not landing that fine copy of the *Sentences*, it now gets good use at Toronto's Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, where it is MS Bergendal MS 81.

**The one that got away:  
Toronto, Pontifical Institute of  
Mediaeval Studies,  
MS Bergendal MS 81.**



**Two Manuscript Experiences**

Barbara Crostini, Newman Institute, Uppsala

UNLIKE A FRIEND WHO TALKED AT A CONFERENCE about his sleeping with a manuscript in a cell on Mount Athos, I have had to be content with sitting with one at a library desk. But, whatever the circumstances, being with a manuscript is—as you all know—a wonderful privilege and a great joy! My first job was to produce a short catalogue of uncatalogued manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and my boss spotted my weakness for such objects even as I fretted against occupying my brain with lists rather than arguments. That tension resolves itself only in the encounter with the thing itself, and taking up Susan's invitation draws a neat circle around my manifold manuscript experiences, in which St Louis has played the most recent part. I just want to pick two examples to share with you.

The first is my encounter with the Morgan Lectionary (New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS. M.639). I took in the visit to New York on my way back to Europe after a fellowship at St Louis, and parked my daughters in the museum while I was transported into the library's enclosed and enchanted world. A couple of hours was hardly enough to do justice to its 378 folios, and despite reading the recent description by Nadia Kavirus-Hoffmann, nothing prepares one for the encounter with such a massive and majestic object. The aim of my perusal was to ascertain the date. This aspect of a manuscript's description is so hard to trust and verify simply through a few examples. I was troubled by a number of peculiar features in this manuscript that made me worry about its dating, yet strongly wished for it to belong to the eleventh century as commonly believed. This fitted marvelously with the evolution of passion piety in Byzantium as exemplified in its moving Deposition scene (ἡ ἀποκαθήλωσις), though it might yet reveal some of the earliest exchanges between East and West in such matters. This may sound absurd, but I realized in the course of inspecting many Greek manuscripts that the peculiar odor of parchment tells me something important about the age of the codex. So I went to the Morgan to smell the Lectionary. There, I could see more clearly that some of the awkwardness I had perceived was really due to later overpainting. And I felt that the enormous manuscript, though clearly put together in three different units (something that does not come across so clearly in the catalogue description, despite the change reported in the texts), spoke coherently and uniquely of medieval Byzantium's liturgical practices and passion piety. I was overjoyed.

My second example comes from cataloguing work in Trinity College Dublin, started in 2010 and still in the process of being uploaded online on TCD's official digital catalogue. Among the many theological manuscripts, one codex stood out for its classical content: MS 922. It was a fun codex of Homer's *Iliad* in an absurdly distinctive script, with a portrait of Zeus like God the Father that, by itself, spoke volumes about the encounter of cultures that its making witnessed. Years after first wondering at the sight of this remarkable manuscript, I managed to publish



MS TCD 922, fol. 63v, Zeus

a long description of it, securing its provenance from a specific region of Southern Italy, the Terra d'Otranto, where a number of similar *Iliads* were produced towards the end of the thirteenth century. Should you be interested in finding out more, you can read my article: "A New Manuscript of the *Iliad* with Scholia from the Terra d'Otranto: TCD MS 922," *Néa*

*Ῥώμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 15 (2018) [2019] [= *Κῆπος ἀειθαλής. Studi in ricordo di Augusta Acconcia Longo, III, ed. Francesco D'Aiuto, Santo Lucà, and Andrea Luzzi*], 137–165 and 49 figs. It's nice sometimes to be able to write a long article about a manuscript, rather than need to straightjacket it into a catalogue description! **AND NICE TOO TO SHARE THIS EXCITEMENT WITH LIKELY-MINDED FRIENDS.**

LUCY SANDLER DIDN'T HAVE AN ESSAY for us, but she did send this illustration from a *Decretum* (London, British Library, Add. MS 15275, fol. 141r), probably for Causa 36, in which a young man plies a woman with wine and then seduces her. More interesting is the hapless figure in the initial, hauling a stack of manuscripts on his back, probably a servant, who carries the heavy law textbooks to and from classes for rich students. I can sympathize with him, as I remember studying countless large and weighty canon and Roman law manuscripts in countless libraries, and being the scourge of reading room attendants who had to carry them to my table.



**Nancy Pope****Independent Scholar**

THE FIRST TIME THAT I EXAMINED A MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT came late in my life, but I was well prepared for it. In graduate school, I had taken Carter Revard's seminar on Middle English miscellanies and had edited a poem from microfilm under his supervision ["An Unlisted Variant of Index to Middle English Verse No. 2787," *Notes and Queries*, N.S., 28 (1981): 197–99]. In addition, Carter had taken me with him to the *St. Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies* when he first presented on his finding the Harley 2253 scribe's handwriting in legal documents, and I had continued attending the conference annually for decades. When I began reading manuscript studies articles and books with a view to returning to the field myself, I found my preparation for understanding what I read was fully adequate. Terms I had not even been conscious of learning turned out to be familiar from conference papers I had heard, and the standard set by the best of those papers enabled me to recognize similar quality when I encountered it in my reading.

In October 2002, my husband and I took our first trip abroad; we went only to Great Britain, but we tried to see what most interested us in each of England, Scotland, and Wales. During our travels, I spent two days in the National Library of Wales, looking at every folio in MS Brogyntyn ii.1 (formerly known as [Porkington 10](#)). [My thanks for the kindness and access given to me at the National Library of Wales go particularly to Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, then Head of Manuscripts and Visual Images at the Library.] This was a transformative experience for me. I knew I was knowledgeable about medieval manuscripts in theory, but in practice I didn't know whether I would be able to notice and interpret the features of a particular manuscript—or whether I would enjoy doing so. To my relief, I loved every minute of those two days and took many pages of penciled notes in my new blank book.

Unaccustomed to drawing, I asked my architect husband to look over my shoulder the first day, and he copied scrollwork around catchwords and signatures, as well as one bird doodled in the margin; this manuscript is not known for its visual interest. I enjoyed realizing that a long text with many decorated initials marking its subdivisions must have been important to the scribe who wrote it, because he did not comparably decorate the other items he wrote. It was also interesting to see that the first quire of the manuscript, which had begun its existence separately, was re-rubricated by whichever scribe rubricated undecorated initials throughout the other quires. Later, I discovered that this layering of ink cannot be discerned either in the microfilm I bought the next year or in the digital facsimile now available on line.

I was completely hooked. Despite having subsequently examined multiple manuscripts at the Bodleian, the British Library, and the National Library of Scotland, my heart has stayed with the Middle English miscellany I first handled. Brogyntyn ii.1 led directly to my first article since graduate school ["A Middle English Satirical Letter in Brogyntyn MS II.1," *ANQ*, 18 (2005): 35–39.] and indirectly to the next article after that one ["*Erthe upon Erthe Revisited*," *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 21 (2018): 53–95]. In my retirement, I have researched and partly written three more articles based on the same manuscript. I hope to continue studying it, looking for the hands of its sixteen scribes, editing its previously inedited texts, and trying to understand it as a whole book, for as many years as I turn out to be capable of doing such scholarship. And perhaps I should close with my answer to the question I am most frequently asked: **NO, I DON'T CONSIDER IT "WORK."**

**London, British Library, Egerton MS 2433: A Portal to the 1840s****Carrie Griffin, University of Limerick**

MY FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THIS MANUSCRIPT WAS REMOTE: I ordered a set of digital scans from the British Library in 2008, and set about transcribing the text that I was then editing for *The Middle English Wise Book of Philosophy and Astronomy: A Parallel-Text Edition* (Heidelberg, 2013). Egerton 2433 is a messy, badly-trimmed volume with a difficult cursive secretary hand from the 1600s; evidently, it had been owned by a busy medical man. As I scrolled through the images I noticed that the inside cover-board had been photographed, and pasted onto it was a curious bookplate, imprinted with a poem entitled "A Pleader to the Reader when a Needer," dated by hand at the bottom to 1859. The name "Charles Clark" was embedded into the poem, as well as part of his address: Essex. Compellingly, Clark's poem describes himself as "a wight ... more learned than some in the art of old black-letter." The verse, combined with the materiality of the poem and its position in the inside cover-board of this humble manuscript, was enough to draw me in. I consulted with my friend and colleague Mary O'Connell, a specialist in nineteenth-century book history, and in that way the *Finding Charles Clark* project was born [*Finding Charles Clark*: <https://charlesclark.wordpress.com/>].

I didn't expect to be dragged off the path to my edition by a bookplate. Had I decided to flip forwards through the scans, locating my text and leaving my descriptions until a later stage, I likely would not have tumbled down the rabbit hole that is Clark's world. His bookplate poem—a plea to return books

that have been loaned—though a little rough, is full of topical references to Clark's life, locale, and passions, and it screams "Read Me!" And we began to read. We discovered that Clark (1806–1880) lived principally in Great Totham Hall, in Essex, and was a proud Essex "clodpole." He was a bachelor farmer, sharing the work of the land with his parents until they died, and often running up huge debts due to his side activities, which centred on books. For Clark was a "bibliomaniac." He had a huge, insatiable interest in books, book-collecting, and all sorts of arcane knowledge and antiquities that could be found in them. He collected newspapers, catalogues, pamphlets; he common-placed, amassing hundreds of cuttings, articles, poems and stories. We discovered that a large archive relating to Clark is held at Essex Public Records Office in Chelmsford but that his archive is also very dispersed, due to various book sales during his later life and after his death; we are able to confirm for instance, that the Clark at the Huntington Library holds a letter from Clark to Thomas Frognall Dibdin. [10 June 1837; [DI 105](#).] Princeton University Library has a volume of Clark's on ballooning;

[<https://charlesclark.wordpress.com/2013/12/03/princeton-and-balloons-there-is-a-connection/>] and a volume owned by Clark is at McGill University Library: a 1697 edition of *The Character of a Good Woman* by Timothy Rogers. Jesus College Cambridge also hold a volume of Clark's (cont.)

**Carrie Griffin, continued**

[<https://jesuslibraries.wordpress.com/2019/05/30/smal-books-for-the-setting-forth-of-gods-glory/>].

The archive in the main consists of two parts. There's a collection of prints that Clark produced on his self-invented portable printing press, published by his "Totham Private" press. These are mainly Clark's own compositions, but he also printed older tracts found in medieval manuscripts and early printed books. But Essex PRO also holds a large correspondence with the London bookseller and publisher John Russell Smith. Spanning the years 1838–ca.1851, the letters from Clark to Smith show that Clark sourced these older texts and manuscripts using Smith as an agent. Based on what we can glean from the letters, Smith would order for and post books to Clark, or at times he would sell him books on a kind or hire-purchase scheme, buying them back at reduced rate. Smith would also sell the pamphlets Clark produced including imprints of texts from older volumes and manuscripts. The men apparently had a financial arrangement that was mutually beneficial, and developed a friendship that centred on and flourished around a common love of older books.

This intense relationship cooled, however, as time passed, perhaps due to a falling out between the men; after 1850 the letters to Smith, which were always effusive and very, very long, become short and more curt in tone. Though we have focused on this in publications to date, we've discovered that there is a lot more to Clark than his relation to the London bookseller. [See further Carrie Griffin and Mary O'Connell, "The Dynamics of Collecting: The Literary Relationship of Charles Clark and John Russell Smith," *The Essex Journal* (Spring 2016): 27–36; and "Writing Textual Materiality: Charles Clark, his Bookplate, and his Bookplate Poem," in Allen, Griffin, & O'Connell, eds, *Readings on Audience and Textual Materiality* (London, 2011), 75–88.] We hope to be able to reconstruct Clark's library, and decode the many references to medieval and early modern texts in his correspondence. In recent months we've begun to post transcriptions on our site of some of large correspondence from Clark to Smith. We can now link Clark to several medieval manuscripts: as well as London, British Library, Egerton MS 2433, we know that he owned Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 109, and that he printed sermons from that book. [<https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/51278bcb-9ef6-3b4b-8520-07ccb6a06087>] We know that he printed from Middle English culinary manuscripts, and intended to produce an edition of *The Harrowing of Hell*.

My encounter with Egerton 2433 was absolutely transformative, bringing the research I was undertaking right up against that of my colleague and friend, and into contact with a whole other community of scholars. And it has endured for these last ten years or so. And we're still finding out more about Charles Clark. [Please visit our blog, find us on Twitter (@charlesclarkjrs), or email us: [charlesclarkjrs@gmail.com](mailto:charlesclarkjrs@gmail.com)].

**Valerie Schutte, Independent Scholar**

ONE OF MY MOST SIGNIFICANT ENCOUNTERS WITH A MANUSCRIPT happened recently on a visit to the British Library. In November 2019, I was there to look at documents related to Anne of Cleves. In the Manuscript Room, I was able to look at Cotton MS Augustus I ii 64, a map that was created in October 1539 for Anne's potential journey by sea from Dusseldorf to London. The map is very striking. It was executed in ink and watercolor on paper and is approximately 18.5 by 25 inches.

In fall 1539, as Henry VIII solidified his marriage treaty with Anne, there was much debate over whether or not Anne should travel by land or sea on her voyage to England. Henry VIII had confidence in his navy to safely deliver Anne to Greenwich, so he sent shipmasters John a Borough and Richard Couche to map out a potential route. [Cotton MS Augustus I ii 29. See A. Rud-dock, "The Earliest Original English Seaman's Rutter and Pilot's Chart," *Journal of Navigation* 14 (4) (1961): 409–431.] Yet Anne's brother, William, Duke of Cleves, was not an experienced seaman and feared for Anne's safety at sea. William preferred a land route, even if that meant jeopardizing Anne's safety while traveling through the lands of Charles V. William and Charles V were currently disputing who had ownership of Guelders. Eventually, Henry agreed to Anne taking a land route, meaning that this map was never even used to guide Anne's progress to England.

This particular map was drawn by Anthony Anthony (d. 1563), an official of the ordnance for Henry VIII and all of his children, and is based largely on the map of Borough and Crouche.

[For further reading on Anthony, see C.S. Knighton and D.M. Loades, eds., *The Anthony Roll of Henry VIII's Navy: Pepys Library 2991 and British Library Additional MS 22047 with Related Documents* (Aldershot, Hants, England, 2000).] Anthony's map, however, is a more decorative, presentation map, likely meant to sway the Cleves attaché as to the safety of a sea route. Anthony's drawing exaggerates the Zuiderzee at the top of the map, both because it was the subject of the sketch by Borough and Crouche and because it was expected to be difficult to navigate. [Susan Doran, *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch* (London, 2009), no. 218.] Additionally, it was the first map that was created for use by the monarch rather than a decoration or prop. [Peter Barber, "Henry VIII and Map-making," in *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, ed. David Starkey (London, 1991), 145–151 at 145.]

Seeing this manuscript was transformative for me because I typically study early printed books. Those manuscripts that I have worked with tend to be letters or state paper accounts that are relevant to the printed book that I am currently studying. I was amazed at the amount of time and work that went into making this map and travel preparations, to simply be disregarded. All of the preparations for Anne's arrival, including this map, show that Anne's marriage to Henry was seen as internationally important, making Anne an internationally relevant queen, more so than is typically portrayed in historical and fictional accounts.

(cont.)

**Valerie Schutte, continued.**

This map is the first manuscript I have specifically looked at as its own artefact that will form the basis for an entire chapter of one of my current research projects. To that end, I was struck by the early modern English conception of geography and the world around them. The map did not have England in the center, as I imagined it would. Rather, England is at the bottom of the map, and instead, directly at the center of the map is an image of England's navy, ready to both escort Anne to her new home and defend against the navies of other nations, especially the Holy Roman Empire. This is all the more striking because the only red ink on the map appears in the English flags on its naval ships, meaning that the brightest coloring on the map is concentrated at its center, reinforcing England's naval dominance.

I was supposed to see this manuscript again in March 2020, during another research trip. I intended to revisit this map because it is essentially important to understand the origins of Anne's queenship. It bridges the gap between her life in Cleves and her life in England.

OF COURSE, MY TRIP TO LONDON WAS CANCELLED, SO NOW I AM STUDYING THE PICTURES I TOOK OF THE MANUSCRIPT, EAGERLY AWAITING MY NEXT RESEARCH TRIP WHEN IT IS SAFE TO TRAVEL AGAIN.

**Tales of Royal Submersion and Scholarly Immersion**

**Joshua Michael, student, Ohio State University**

THINKING OF PERSONAL ENCOUNTERS WITH MANUSCRIPT STUDY, my most memorable is the one that first drew me into the subject. In 2017 I had the opportunity to participate in a seminar at the Ohio State University on medieval manuscript illumination, led by art historian Karl Whittington. Our key assignment required direct engagement with an artifact, calling for my earliest visits to the university library's rare books and manuscripts collection. As someone with a background in history and more specifically in early modern Europe and the French Revolution, I would have expected this excursion across temporal and disciplinary lines to be very educational, yet ultimately short-lived. Instead I came across a fascinating manuscript that has retained great interest—and occasioned substantial further investigation—ever since. Even as I have explored an entire realm of manuscript materials and associated literature, my ongoing engagement with this specific piece has remained at the heart of the project.

The document in question is *La Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei*, an illustrated saint's life of Edward the Confessor that survives from the thirteenth century in a unique copy (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.3.59). I first encountered it via OSU's facsimile copy—itself a somewhat rare volume dating from the 1920s. As I turned the folios of this work, I quickly began to sense that it could be my choice for the seminar project. There was just something about the manuscript—the style of the pen-and-wash drawings that graced half of each page, perhaps also the elegant script of the accompanying Anglo-French verse text and rubrics—that was worthy of attention. I soon found that Cambridge had made the original manuscript available in its digital collection, and that I could therefore have access to high-resolution images of it without a cost-prohibitive trip to England! While no doubt falling a little short of perfect interaction, given the lack of physical contact with the actual object from the medieval human past, the combination of century-old facsimile and state-of-the-art digital browsing would permit an examination of the work that was fairly rich under the circumstances.

This examination would come to involve much more than expected. It filled most of my available time the rest of that semester, even with formidable competition from a separate seminar more in line with my primary historical interests; and only days after submitting my term paper I was already undertaking

additional work toward a more extensive future treatment. By that point the project had gained focus

on a specific pair of drawings, featuring King Edward's curious vision of the drowning of his Danish counterpart. Among the strange details of this episode was the saint's resulting laughter during the middle of the Eucharist—a



Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.3.59, page 12r.

laughter seemingly out of place in a hagiographical work, but wonderfully depicted in this specific manuscript's rendering. The scenes thus led me to ponder their role and meaning, and to seek comparisons with other manuscript portrayals both visual and textual. Eventually I would scrutinize illustrations from the fifteenth century, venture through untranslated Latin accounts from the twelfth century, and follow various other twists and turns. Thus did a strange tale of royal submersion bring about my own immersion into the world of manuscript studies.

This immersion has come, moreover, to be both intellectual and social in nature. I have continued my project through many hours of independent labor, as is typically the case in scholarly endeavors. Yet during the same time I have also met a number of faculty and graduate students right at OSU—often connected in some way with the University's Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies—who are involved in their own kinds of manuscript research. Whether focused on saints' lives, Augustinian texts, sumptuary laws, programs of dance, or any other topic, they have proven to be not only interesting scholars but often new friends as well.

AMONG THE VARIOUS ADDITIONS TO MY ACADEMIC LIFE FOLLOWING FROM THAT INITIAL ENCOUNTER IN THE RARE BOOKS COLLECTION, MY INFORMAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE LOCAL (AND WIDER) COMMUNITY OF MANUSCRIPT SCHOLARS HAS BEEN BY FAR THE MOST VALUABLE.

**The Illustrated *Estoire de Aedward le Rei***

Maria R. Grasso, Independent Scholar

THE *ESTOIRE DE AEDWARD LE REI*, A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY *VITA* OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, is considered to be a copy of a manuscript by Matthew Paris. As king of England Edward's death in 1066 precipitated the Norman invasion with profound consequences for the native Anglo-Saxons (Fig. 1). [*La Estoire de Aedward le Rei*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.3.59.] Almost immediately after his death the first of a series of *vitae* were made in an effort to achieve his canonization, which eventually took place in 1161. The date of the manuscript is uncertain but generally considered to be ca. 1250, coinciding with the building of Henry III's Westminster Abbey. [Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200–1400* (New Haven, 1995), 54–63.]

There are several fascinating aspects to the manuscript, including who the intended recipient might have been, with historians focusing on its dedication to Queen Eleanor, consort to Henry III, although there is no evidence that she received it. The recipient or patron might have been female given the extensive use of artistic models of Christ and the Virgin, reinterpreted for the Confessor throughout the *vita*. [Jill Hamilton Clements, "The Construction of Queenship in the Illustrated *Estoire de Saint Aedward le Rei*," *Gesta* 52.1 (2013): 21–42.] The possibility that it was intended to raise funds for the increasingly expensive building works at the abbey must also be considered. Around this time the roof of the Lady Chapel was being raised and so female patrons would perhaps have been of particular interest.

Whoever the patron or intended recipient, one particular depiction was of such great interest that it provided a focus for both my Master's and Doctoral theses and a recent monograph. [Maria R. Grasso, "Imaging the souls of the blessed: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 500, Saint Amand, and the Parable of Dives and Lazarus, ca. 835–1275" (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2014), Maria R. Grasso, *Illuminating Sanctity: The Body, Soul and Glorification of Saint Amand in the Miniature Cycle in Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 500* (Leiden, 2019).]

*Estoire* depicts Edward's last dying breath; in Homeric fashion his soul is portrayed leaving his mouth. It is represented as a small, naked homunculus complete with identifying crown. The questions that propelled me through my subsequent research included: When was this form of depiction of the soul established? Were there other artistic interpretations? Was the representation a baby or child (as some historians have described it)? Was it the product of artistic whimsy or were there theological arguments underpinning its use? Research into the depiction of the souls was necessarily limited to Christian saints and martyrs between 850–1285 in order to keep both depictions and putative theological associations within manageable limits.

Early representations attempted to show the soul as a saint's adult self, not as a child or baby. Their artists depicted the soul as only the head but generally identical to that of the deceased saint. This was possibly due to space considerations, since little reference by Christian theologians to the Aristotelian view of the soul residing in the head was found.

The earliest extant representation is on the altar tomb of San Ambrogio in Milan, ca. 835. Some ninth and tenth century manuscript representations also show only the head of the saint (Fig. 2). During the twelfth century the soul was more often depicted as a head and torso, as portrayed in the soul of Saint Lambert (Fig. 3). In some instances the whole body was depicted and in miniature form, as in the death of Edward, an earlier example of which is the portrayal of the martyrdom of Buddho (Fig. 4). What is clear is that in all the examples studied, the soul was depicted neither as a baby nor child but rather as the saint would have been as a youthful adult, also shown healed of any infirmities caused by age, illness or martyrdom. In the example of Saint-Amand in the *Life of Amand*, Abbey of Saint-Amand, ca.1175, despite dying at the venerable age of nearly 90 his soul is youthful with musculature, rosy cheeks and a full head of brown hair, in contrast to the aged body depicted at his interment in the same miniature (Fig. 5).

This mode of depiction is entirely in line with the writings of Christian theologians, including Irenaeus (d. 202), Augustine (d. 430), John of Thessalonica (seventh century) and, later, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). [Grasso, *Illuminating Sanctity*, 76–79.] But it is Augustine's understanding that is the most pertinent, in which he states that all souls will be healed and youthful in the "fullness of Christ." [Augustine, *De Civitate Dei, Libri XI–XII, CCL 48, book 22, chapter 15, 834.*]

These thoughts enlarge Paul's views: "Until we all meet into the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ." [Ephesians 4:13.] Within the period under review, depictions of the soul generally comprehended the adult form of the saint, often youthful but always healed and healthy.

THE SINGLE DEPICTION OF EDWARD'S SOUL IN *ESTOIRE* PROVIDED THE STARTING POINT FOR MY RESEARCH. Conclusions regarding the way the soul was portrayed from the earliest manifestations, coupled with connections with the writings of the Patristic Fathers and other theologians, were exciting and rewarding. The *Estoire* has its place in history as the *vita* of a king and saint. It has also been the focus of research in various areas in the past and will, no doubt, continue to provide fruitful basis for investigation in the future.

**Figure captions:**

**Fig. 1.** *La Estoire de Aedward le Rei*, possibly Westminster, c.1250, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.3.59, fol. 29r.

**Fig. 2.** Soul of Romanus of Antioch, Reichenau, early tenth century. Berne, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 264, fol. 75r.

**Fig. 3.** Soul of Lambert, Abbey of Saint-Bertin, ca. 1125. Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 46, fol. 1r.

**Fig. 4.** Martyrdom of Buddho, *Vita Sancti Liudgeri*, Werden, St. Liudger, ca. 1000. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. lat. fol. 323, fol. 20r.

**Fig. 5.** *Life of Amand*, Abbey of Saint-Amand, ca.1175. Bibliothèque municipale Valenciennes, MS 500, fol. 62v.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

**Looking for Plague and Finding Other Very Interesting Things**

Lori Jones, Carleton University and University of Ottawa, Canada

THE TITLE SOUNDS LIKE A WINNIE THE POOH ADVENTURE, and in some ways meeting London, Wellcome Library, Western MS 674 was one. In fact, everything changed the day this manuscript entered my life in 2015. I encountered it with one research path in mind, and the series of unexpected finds that it offered has sent me meandering down a totally new trail. I'm quite sure that there was a blustery day and maybe even a small pot of honey involved as well.

I was completing my dissertation research on how opinions had changed from the mid-fourteenth to mid-eighteenth centuries in England and France about where the plague had originated or was tied to geographically, and how its emergence and recurrences informed the longer framework of human history. I focused on plague treatises because I was most interested in medical and medicalized social responses to disease. But more importantly, buried deep beneath the apparent sameness of this textual genre's medical contents was traceable conceptual variance.

I found, more or less, what I had expected to find at each library that I visited during that fateful research trip. The rather nondescript catalogue entry for Wellcome Western MS 674 listed a plague treatise and some recipes for plague medicines. As I waited for the manuscript to arrive at my desk, I read the listing more carefully: "Though the title of this manuscript and those of the several parts—as also of the contents—have a strong resemblance to those of several English printed medical texts of the 16th century, it has not been possible to identify this manuscript with any specific work in spite of the parallels in books by Thomas Gale, Moulton and Gouerot. This manuscript seems to be a compilation and adaptation."

How interesting, was my initial thought: a manuscript plague tract similar to but not the same as the printed Thomas Multon version (ca.1530) of John of Burgundy's popular fourteenth-century treatise. [The majority of manuscript and early printed plague tracts in England were copies, translations, or adaptations of a single work attributed to the mid-fourteenth-century Liège physician John of Burgundy, including a heavily adapted and repeatedly republished sixteenth-century print version attributed to Thomas Multon. See Alpo Honkapohja and Lori Jones, "From *Practica Phisicalia* to *Mandeville's Travels*: Untangling the Misattributed Identities and Writings of John of Burgundy," *Notes and Queries* (December 2019), <https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjz161>; and Lister M. Matheson, 'Médecin sans Frontières? The European Dissemination of John of Burgundy's Plague Treatise', *ANQ* 18 (2005): 19–31.] As far as I am aware, the original Multon treatise survives in a single manuscript copy, London, British Library, Sloane MS 3489. I became increasingly curious.

My first reaction when I opened the box was ... wow, a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century manuscript still bound in its original vellum cover. I have to admit that I sat there for some time just looking at it, touching the cover, fingering the binding. Most of the manuscripts I encountered until then were rebound in hard cover volumes. Certainly none had the impact on me that this one did. I cannot explain why, but there seemed to be an immediate cosmic connection between this manuscript and me. That sense of mutual attraction has had a tremendous influence on the evolution of my academic research.

The dissertation is now a thing of the past, but both my recent and current postdoctoral projects focus entirely on this thing, not of beauty—it really is not a pretty manuscript—but of mystery and discovery. For example, the catalogue entry mentions one plague treatise, but I uncovered another: a previously unnoticed version of John of Burgundy's tract. [Lori Jones, "Unrecorded Versions of John of Burgundy's Plague Tract and Identifying 'Lost' Copies of the Same," *Notes and Queries* 65, no. 1 (2018): 14–17.] What piqued my interest at the time, and even more so now as I continue to study the manuscript in detail, is this: why did this scribe take a collection of old printed medical texts (borrowed? inherited? purchased second hand?)—plague tracts, a zodiac, a regimen, an antidotary of surgery, and a book of medicines and wound treatment—and rewrite them, rather than compose something new like his contemporaries were doing? Furthermore, the scribe did not simply copy already-dated texts out by hand, but actually rewrote some parts, rearranged or omitted others, and mixed and matched sections from multiple texts into entirely new compositions. He, or she, also purposefully adapted these older works to reflect contemporary socio-cultural concerns, personal religious beliefs, modern weaponry, and, at one point, to criticize London physicians and surgeons. Who was this person?

**THIS UNEXPECTED MANUSCRIPT ENCOUNTER THAT STARTED WITH LOOKING FOR PLAGUE** has inspired me to initiate an entirely new research project, to develop an appreciation for early modern manuscripts (despite their often atrocious scripts), to search out other similar compilations, and most of all, to never underestimate the very interesting things that you can uncover by digging past an otherwise understated manuscript catalogue entry! [Work on this manuscript has been funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (grant numbers 767-2012-1960, 771-2014-0009, and 756-2019-0108), the Wellcome Trust (grant number 212182/Z/18/Z), and the Associated Medical Services/Nova Scotia Health Research Foundation (grant number PSO-AMS-2018-1698).]

**How I Gained Access to Special Manuscripts**  
Maidie Hilmo, University of Victoria, BC, Canada

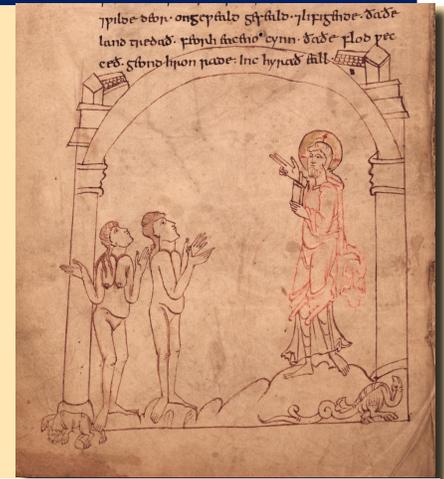
THERE IS NOTHING QUITE LIKE VIEWING AND TOUCHING an actual manuscript "in the flesh." It's like seeing the first red tulip of the season in full bloom. While facsimiles of manuscripts are tremendous resources, there is nothing like the real thing. But how do you get to see an especially precious manuscript held by a major institution that now jealously guards its treasures?

I have the late Jeremy Griffiths to thank for an answer that worked for me a number of times. When I was a naïve doctoral student visiting the Bodleian Library for the first time, hoping to extend my research on the Cædmon Manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11), I was summarily denied access and told to examine the print facsimile. I had already done that. In desperation that evening, I telephoned Jeremy Griffiths, whose number I had been given by my supervisor Kathryn Kerby-Fulton. When I told him of my plight, he kindly and generously explained what I needed to do, i.e., to ask to examine specific aspects of the manuscript that were not visible in the facsimile.

(cont.)

**Maidie Hilmo, continued.** Next day, I returned to the Bodleian. After a short period of time, the manuscript was brought and I was ushered into an office. When I asked to see page 10 (I wasn't allowed to touch the manuscript myself), it happened that the sun shone so brightly through the window that when that page was lifted up for my inspection, I saw flames issuing from the mouth of the lion under Eve's right foot. No, I don't mean that I was having a spiritual revelation or that the sun was burning into the parchment. In actual fact, the sunlight shone through the parchment just enough to make the lines of the flames visible. Also more clear was the original underdrawing in which Adam stood in the middle under a pointed arch, close to the cross-nimbed deity. In a paper I subsequently presented at Kalamazoo (1999), I pointed out that the revised drawing, with Adam and Eve under a more spacious rounded arch, allows for what I call a "speaking space." This helps to emphasize the blessing gesture of the deity who, in the two lines of text above, gives all creatures who "tredað" ("tread") on land and inhabit the sea into the power of Adam and Eve. The lion under Eve's foot and the dragon below the deity's feet appear to have been the artist's way of fast forwarding this event to the Incarnation when Mary, the new Eve, was to crush the serpent underfoot and Christ was to attain victory over death to redeem mankind from original sin (cf. [exegetical commentaries on Genesis 3:15. and Psalm 90:13 respectively](#)).

And Jeremy Griffiths? Well, I phoned that night to thank him and to invite him to the Commonwealth Games to be held in Victoria BC, Canada. He didn't come, but I did send him a t-shirt of the event, for which he graciously thanked me. I didn't know then of his stature in the world of medieval manuscripts nor of his usual sartorial elegance, so I imagine my t-shirt was a rare sort of gift. As for his invaluable advice, it did lead to the special privilege of examining the Ellesmere manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales*, after I wrote ahead with questions about the colors on some of the folios. Mary Robertson, the Curator of Medieval Manuscripts at the Huntington Library in Los Angeles, carried that extremely heavy book to a special temperature-controlled room where she sat beside as I paged through selected folios of the gold-edged and gold-adorned manuscript myself. We kept in contact ever since. Now, a technological investigation of the material manuscript itself can add to the toolbox available to researchers. See, for example, the Appendix to my article in the Fall 2018 issue of *Manuscript Studies*: "Re-Conceptualizing the Poems of the Pearl-Gawain Manuscript in Line and Color" (383–420). This details my request for a scientific analysis of specific pigments and queries about the underdrawings that opened up a new line of enquiry for this manuscript. [IF HE COULD HAVE LIVED TO SEE THEM, I AM SURE JEREMY GRIFFITHS WOULD HAVE BEEN FULLY ENGAGED WITH SUCH NEW METHODS.](#)



**God blesses Adam and Eve and gives all animals into their power, detail**  
The Cædmon Manuscript. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, page 10, 11th century. © Bodleian Library.

### The Heritage of the Musical Manuscripts from the Rila Monastery in Bulgaria

Svetlana Kujumdzieva, D.Sc., Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

THE NOTATED MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTS from the library of the biggest Bulgarian monastery and one of the biggest in the Balkans, the Rila monastery "St. John of Rila" (built in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century), are over 100 in number. They are from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and are written in Church-Slavonic, Greek and bilingual, Church-Slavonic. In terms of its Slavonic manuscripts, the Rila library is not only one of the largest and richest in Bulgaria, but also one of the largest and richest libraries in Europe (I do not count the libraries of the Athonite monasteries). The Rila musical manuscripts represent a homogeneous picture of the development of Balkan Orthodox music during one of the most dynamic periods in the history of Eastern Europe and in the Balkan region in particular. This is the period of the early Balkan National Revival when the nations were in a process of formation and Orthodox music played an extremely important role in the ongoing processes of national cultural identification. During the second half of the eighteenth century, the significance of Rila monastery became equal to that of the Athonite monasteries in the development of Orthodox music in the Balkans. In fact, this was one of the significant turning points in the cultural development – the shift of the

cultural centers including musical ones from Mount Athos to the separate countries: already in the beginning of the nineteenth century the national centers were raised and had an impact on the cultural development inside the countries. The Rila musical manuscripts display the relationships between the Rila monastery and various monasteries on Mount Athos such as Zographos, Hilandar, Dionysios, and Xenophontos. The manuscripts also reveal both the reception of modern Balkan Orthodox church music in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian contribution to its development. They are representative for the last stage of what we call *Byzance après Byzance* and evidence for the ten-century-long living tradition of Orthodox music. According to them, actually, we could reconstruct many musical pieces from the Middle Ages that were transmitted orally—they got their notated format in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this sense, the musical manuscripts at the Rila library are an extremely valuable heritage in music history. Their study builds a bridge between Eastern and Western traditions in terms of Christian music and liturgy and offers an excellent opportunity for looking for parallels with the West-European periods of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, Baroque and Enlightenment.

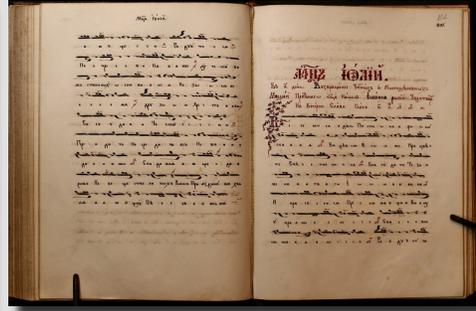
(cont.)

**Svetlana Kujumdzieva, continued.**

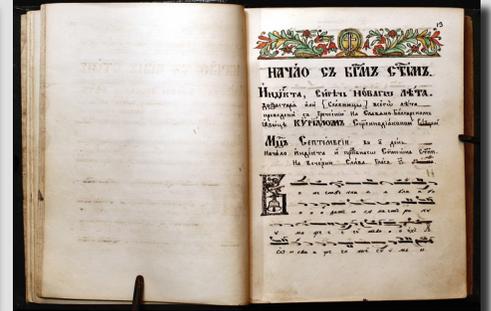
An interdisciplinary team of scholars—musicologists, theologians, art historians and philologists—published two volumes on the Rila musical manuscripts [A. Atanasov, S. Kujumdzieva, V. Velinova, E. Uzunova, E. Moussakova, *Slavonic Musical Manuscripts in Rila Monastery* (Sofia, 2012), ISBN 978-619-152-071-8; A. Atanasov, V. Velinova, E. Uzunova, I. Zhelev, S. Kujumdzieva, *Bilingual Musical Manuscripts in Rila Monastery* (Plovdiv, 2018), ISBN 978-619-91218-0-1]. They contain descriptive catalogues of the Slavic and bilingual musical manuscripts housed at the Rila library. The manuscripts are presented in full details of their chant repertory, writers, authors, inscriptions, etc. along with various Indexes. This analytical description of Slavic manuscripts stemming from the Balkans has been prepared for the first time. An Album of all the manuscripts described accompanies the catalogues. The publications are an example of a profound interdisciplinary cooperation, whose members are united by a common interest of preservation of the sources, representing both the Bulgarian spirit of creativity and the treasure of Balkan Orthodox church music.



**Rila Monastery:**  
the main Church with the  
Tower of Protosebastos Chreljo.



**MS Rila 5/23, 19<sup>th</sup> century Anthology, fols. 181v-182r; fol. 182r: Glory for the service of St. John of Rila, mode 8,**

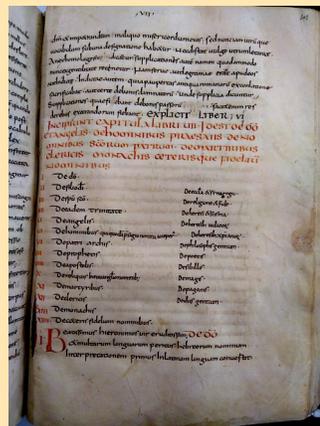


**MS Rila 5/65, 19<sup>th</sup> century Doxastarion, written by Cyril of Rila, fol. 13r: chant for September 1.**

**Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Min. 42**  
**Evina Steinova, Dutch Royal Academy**  
**of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam**

TO SEE THIS MANUSCRIPT, YOU MUST STILL TRAVEL to the small Swiss city of Schaffhausen (ca. 36,000 inhabitants) since it has not been digitized. If you want to study it, you will be seated in the main reading room of the local public library next to teenagers studying for the Abitur, and their cans of pop, chocolate bars and pens. Opening the pages of this ninth-century codex, you will perhaps see it as one of the many mundane copies of the great encyclopaedia produced by Isidore of Seville, his *Etymologies*. This is what I considered it to be, too, when I saw it for the first time in 2014. It was by sheer luck that I noticed tiny dots and lines squeezed in the spaces between the words that made my heart leap. How was this possible? Such signs have been known to appear in Bibles—Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic—and they are known for a long time now as vestiges of the work of notable philologists of Antiquity, Origen, Jerome, and their less famous successors. That the textual criticism of the Bible continued into the early Middle Ages can be expected, in fact, it has been established as a fact. But how could it be expected to extend to a text as mundane and pragmatic as the *Etymologies*?

On that day in the winter of 2014, I resolved to return once my dissertation was completed to study this surprising manuscript in greater depth and uncover the mystery. I was able to come back in 2016 and again in 2019 and one by one, the parchment codex gave away its secrets.



**Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Min. 42, 101r**

By 2016, I knew that it not only preserved vestiges of an unknown ninth-century philologist or, more likely, a circle of philologists, but that it was one of several ninth-century manuscripts of Isidore's encyclopaedia that were used to collate the text of the *Etymologies* and produce a new redaction in the spirit of the great masters of the Patristic Era. By 2019, I was able to piece together the story of this fascinating scholarly enterprise and assess the place of the Schaffhausen codex in it. It turned out not to be the centrepiece that I imagined it to be because it sparked my passionate curiosity a few years earlier. There were more interesting and more important ninth-century copies of the *Etymologies* that I have seen since. But it remained etched into my heart because it was at the beginning of my scholarly quest, it was, in fact, the beginning of that quest.

This codex will forever stay in my memories: its obnoxious bulk when carried from the front desk to my table, its faint dusty smell, the sharp shape of the minuscule in blind-ruled writing blocks, the rays of light that fell on its parchment pages on a wintery afternoon, the pain in my back when I was bending over the codex to photograph it, but also the snow that was falling on that day in Schaffhausen, the place where I ate my lunch when the library closed for a lunch break, the sixteenth-century town square with a fountain I had to cross to get to the train station, and the famous waterfall on the river Rhein that I saw from the window of a train when I was leaving Schaffhausen for the first time. And there is something even beyond memory—a faint connection with those philologists that were turning the same parchment leaves as I some twelve hundred years earlier, **FELLOW SCHOLARS I WILL NEVER MEET, BUT WHOM I CAN UNDERSTAND AND WHOSE SKILLFUL HANDIWORK I CAN ADMIRE EVEN ACROSS THE CHASM OF TIME.**

### A Birthday to Remember

Marianna Shreve Simpson, Research Associate, Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies, University of Pennsylvania

WHEN I FIRST TOLD OLEG GRABAR, MY GRADUATE SCHOOL ADVISOR, that I wanted to focus on Persian illustrated manuscripts, he looked at me sternly and said: “You know, they’re not just about pretty pictures.” Taking this as a challenge, I chose as my dissertation topic a group of little-studied copies of Firdausi’s *Shahnama* (Book of Kings), dating to circa 1300 and containing illustrations that, as a senior (and thus superior) fellow student once disparaged, “only a mother could love.” This dissertation research soon required a stay in London to delve into the rich collections of the British Library. At that time—and we are talking here about the mid 1970s—the British Library was still housed in the British Museum and the Oriental reading room was a light-filled space off the King’s Gallery. So there I was one sunny (rather than foggy!) fall day in Londontown seated at a large and wide table at the front of the hall and dutifully studying thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts with chronological, artistic and codicological connections to “my” early *Shahnamas*.

By chance it happened to be my twenty-fifth birthday, and I thought to treat myself to something both quite different and quite special for the afternoon. So I put in a call slip for Add. MS 18113, a codex of the *Divan* (poetical works) of Khwaju Kirmani dated 1396 and illustrated with nine paintings in classical Persian style, just the sort of “pretty pictures” that Grabar had warned me against. Nowadays this celebrated manuscript is catalogued as Restricted and doubtless no longer accessible to random research students. Even then, knowing of its significance, I wondered if it would be possible for me to see it.



London, British Library, Add. MS 18133, fol. 18v

To my great surprise and pleasure, it was handed over, evidently due to good birthday karma, and I whiled away the time reveling in the originality of its compositions, the brilliance and sheen of the colors, the elegance of the figures, the expanse of the flowering landscapes, the complexity of the architectural settings, and all the other features that made up these dazzling works of art.

Meanwhile, further down and diagonally across the table, an older gentleman was pouring over a volume that looked, from my distant perspective, to be written in Hebrew. At a certain point, he got up, walked around to my side of the room, leaned over, and asked with twinkling eyes about the manuscript I was examining with such obvious enchantment. Well, I went on and on about the beauty of the Khwaju Kirmani volume and about its place in the history of Persian art and culture, my voice rising in excitement, to the annoyed shushes of the reading room monitor. When I finally paused for breath, my interlocutor, clearly recognizing my status as a student, gently asked where and with whom I was studying. He grinned broadly when I replied “at Harvard with Grabar,” and then kindly introduced himself as Professor Bezalel Narkiss of Hebrew University. I almost fell off my chair at realizing that I had been rattling on to the great scholar of Jewish manuscripts, whose publications were so pioneering and who himself probably was very familiar with this famous and beautiful work of Islamic art.

So it was that I marked a milestone birthday. Decades later, when I (re)met Solly Narkiss during his time as Kress Professor at the National Gallery’s Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts in Washington, and reminded him of our initial encounter, he acted as if it too was fresh in his memory.

**BE THAT AS IT MAY, TO THIS DAY IT REMAINS FOR ME AN UNFORGETTABLE ENCOUNTER WITH BOTH A REMARKABLE MANUSCRIPT MASTERPIECE AND A RENOWNED MANUSCRIPT MAVEN.**

### The Gothic Splendor of the Parisian Psalter in the Episcopal Seminary Library in Padua (MS 353)

Sabina Zonno, Kress Interpretive Fellow, Huntington Library, Art Museum, Botanical Gardens

IT WAS IN 2008, WHEN I WAS A PHD STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PADUA, ITALY that I came across an extraordinary gem of Gothic Parisian art that is still at the core of my thinking today. At the time, I was searching for a meaningful subject for my doctoral dissertation and my advisor, Professor Giordana Mariani Canova, suggested I visit the Episcopal Seminary Library in Padua and examine a thirteenth-century Parisian psalter, MS 353, of stunning beauty, which had not yet been studied exhaustively. Once I opened it and admired the unique splendor and sophistication of its illuminations, I felt strongly compelled to study it in depth to unearth the hidden stories of the women who read and used this book from the thirteenth century to the present.

This lavishly illuminated manuscript enabled me to explore the social and cultural values of France at the time of King Louis IX (1241–71), reflected on the pages of the Padua Psalter and of the famous manuscripts commissioned by the King and his entourage, such as the Psalter of Saint Louis and the Evangeliaries of the Sainte Chapelle, which I analyzed and admired at the Bibliothèque nationale de France years ago. MS 353 allowed me to ponder the convergence at the Capetian court of the splendor and sophistication of Gothic Parisian art and the modesty and humility actively encouraged by the King and his entourage. It is thanks to this psalter that my interest developed in medieval manuscripts commissioned by, made for, and used by women.

(cont.)



Padua, Seminary Library, MS 353, fols. 133v–134r

**Sabina Zonno, continued.** The psalter in Padua was indeed made in Paris for the private devotions of a lay noblewoman, portrayed in a full-page miniature at the beginning of the Sunday Vespers, and was used for six centuries by the religious women of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Peter in Padua. It invited me to reflect once again on the role of women as patrons, owners, readers, writers, and inheritors of medieval books but also as agents within political and religious institutions. Since the Padua Psalter traveled across medieval Europe, emerging in fourteenth-century Italy, I was also induced to dig further into the European circulation of books facilitated by the international network of connections between France and Italy in particular. I am particularly interested in the use of deluxe manuscripts as gifts between aristocratic courts in medieval and early modern Europe. I also began to focus on the changing meanings that traveling artifacts accrue over time, especially the practice of amplifying manuscripts, as is the case of the Padua Psalter

My doctoral research was supported and encouraged especially by Professors Federica Toniolo and François Avril, to whom I am particularly indebted. My article in the *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* (2011) began to raise some awareness in Italy of the importance and value of this medieval treasure and when the study was partly published in *Art de l'enluminure* (2013), it also found favor in France, probably contributing to the temporary return of the psalter to Paris for the exhibition organized by Pierre-Yves Le Pogam at La Conciergerie (October 8th, 2014–January 11th, 2015) to celebrate the 800th-anniversary of Louis IX's birth. However, as Professor Alison Stones has recently remarked in one of her volumes of *Illuminated Manuscripts Made in France, Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320* (II.1, p. 3), this extraordinary manuscript “deserves a prominent place in any study of French illumination” and deserves to be known worldwide through an extensive analysis of its significance and originality in the context of medieval European art. My monograph on the Psalter in Padua is in preparation and will be published by Brepols in the series *Manuscripta Illuminata*, edited by Adelaide Bennett and Alison Stones, who also first supported this project, envisioned years ago in a conference in Brussels. It received three publication and research grants from the Kress Foundation–International Center of Medieval Art, American Philosophical Society, and Textbook and Academic Authors Association in 2018-19. [THE DISCOVERY OF THIS LITTLE-KNOWN MANUSCRIPT IN PADUA SHAPED MY CAREER IN WAYS I COULD HAVE NEVER IMAGINED, FILLING MY LIFE WITH NEW INTRIGUING EXPLORATIONS, INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIONS, AND MEANINGFUL CONNECTIONS, FOR WHICH I FEEL EXTREMELY GRATEFUL.](#)

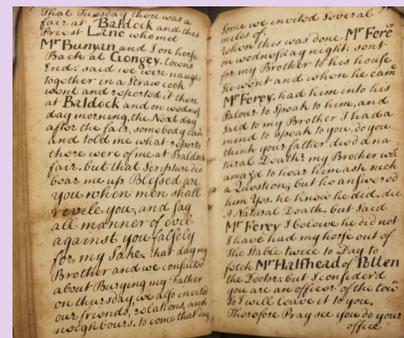
### Agnes Beaumont's Dealings on My Mind Stacy Vos, University of California San Diego

I FIRST ENCOUNTERED OSBORN C682 when I was working as a curatorial assistant at the Beinecke Library. Tasked with browsing the stacks to find early modern Bibles I could discuss on a new blog for the library, [Blog still available here: <https://bibleatbeineckedotcom.wordpress.com/>] I came across a small box one day. As I carefully opened it in the stacks, what first stood out, in bold cursive lettering, were the humorous names of the characters described in what I would later find was a unique edition of a text now known as *The Persecutions of Agnes Beaumont*. The names—“Mr. Halfhead” and “Mr. Feery”—recalled their respective roles in the plot of this spiritual autobiography: one is incapable of helping Beaumont prove she had no hand in her father's natural death, while the other rages against her, accusing her of murder.

I have studied this manuscript and Beaumont's tale on and off over the past five years now, finding that the narrative gained popularity when it was printed by Samuel James as *An abstract of the gracious dealings of God*. The manuscript penned by Amey Cullins begins instead with this title: “An Account of the Dealings of god with Mrs Agnes Beaumont written by her self.” Cullins emphasizes certain aspects of Beaumont's narrative by writing with larger strokes, or, consistently, making bold the names throughout the text. Within Cullin's small hand-bound book, our eyes are drawn to the role of other people in the life of Agnes. At her most alienated moments, we even see the name “Agnes Beaumont” penned in full, calling attention to what others have said of her. Beaumont's account is now appended to the Oxford World Classics edition of John Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* (edited by John Stachniewski with Anita Pacheco), which refers to the scandal for which both Bunyan and Beaumont were publicly scorned. Beaumont's narrative should be intriguing enough: she is accused of murdering the father for whom she is sole care-giver. But this is one of the least interesting aspects of the narrative. What causes the rift between Agnes and her father is Agnes's newfound devotion to Bunyan and his church.

One day, Agnes stands out in her yard, waiting for her ride to church. The neighbor, Mr. Wilson, never arrives. Her brother refuses to take her. She is left with no other option but to ride with Bunyan himself to the church service. Here is where Agnes really falls in the eyes of others just as she thinks she will obtain small-town fame. When Agnes returns home, her father has locked the door, and asks where she has been all day. What could easily have been a simple tale of a lesson learned by a young woman attempting to express her new faith becomes a deeply moving psychological account of a daughter left to pray all night in a barn. Without access to her Bible, Agnes recalls lines of scripture and records them from memory. One of Beaumont's many reflections on these lines of scripture is that they “had bitter and sweet in them.” Just as Beaumont's striking prose appeals to readers today, her story remained popular throughout the eighteenth century. It is recorded originally in London, British Library, Egerton MS 2414, and later copied into Egerton 2128. Osborn c682 is thus the third extant manuscript edition. Amey Cullins signs her name in 1756. At the end of the narrative she has also transcribed the hymn “Nunc Dimittis” and “Some Lines of the Reverend Mr Cennicks which he wrote some time ago, and carried with him in his Pocket Book.”

The manuscript appears to have been given as a gift at some point, as it preserves a letter from February of 1841, signed by Anna Maria Seaver to A.J. Dove. If this manuscript could think, it might repeat one of Beaumont's poignant and under-punctuated lines, one too resonant for all of us during the 2020 pandemic: “...THOUGHT I TO MY SELF WHAT WILL BECOME OF ME?”





### Journeying Through Life with the Getty Boccaccio

Elizabeth Morrison, Senior Curator of Manuscripts, J. Paul Getty Museum

MY FIRST “REAL” JOB WAS AS A LIMITED-TERM CURATORIAL ASSISTANT in the Department of Manuscripts at the Getty Museum in 1996—I was 27 years old and still working on my PhD. The week I started also heralded the arrival of one of the most important manuscripts to ever enter the Getty’s collection, a magnificent copy of Boccaccio’s *Concerning the Fates of Illustrious Men and Women* (<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/102096/boucicaut-master-and-workshop-giovanni-boccaccio-laurent-de-premierfait-des-cas-des-nobles-hommes-et-femmes-french-about-1413-1415/>). With dozens of dazzling miniatures by the Boucicaut Master and his workshop, it tells the tales of those throughout history who have turned to greed and pride in their successes, only to be struck down by a pitiless Fate to end in ruin, disgrace, and death. I still clearly remember witnessing the head of the department at that time, Thomas Kren, open the manuscript in our study room for the first time. I had definitely come to the right place! Little did I know that my career—and even my personal life—would be inextricably entwined not only with the Getty, but with this particular manuscript.

After my first two-year stint at the Getty, I was thankfully hired as a permanent member of staff. I was soon proposing my first exhibition from the collection. I wanted to do something that would have resonance with

the concerns of everyday visitors—my choice turned out to be more prophetic than I could have ever imagined. September 11, 2001 was the scheduled date for a preliminary meeting to discuss my idea, *Violence in the Medieval World*, which was intended to feature the Boccaccio as its centerpiece: <https://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/violence/>. Years later, I was hiking in Patagonia, Chile, when I encountered a couple from Denmark. They said that they had once visited the Getty and that their favorite exhibition was about “torture in old books.” They said that the show helped them realize that religious violence was an age-old problem inherited by modern society. I still remember their faces over the campfire.

Soon after the violence exhibition, Anne D. Hedeman began work on a monograph on the Boccaccio manuscript, a project I had the honor to shepherd through Getty publications: [https://www.google.com/books/edition/Translating\\_the\\_Past/ro3EXHM82mkC?hl=en&gbpv=0](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Translating_the_Past/ro3EXHM82mkC?hl=en&gbpv=0) Anne D (as she is known) and I had met at the Getty years previously and

discovered a shared interest in the role of history manuscripts in France. Before long, the two of us hatched a plan for a major international loan exhibition, which became 2010’s *Imagining the Past in France* ([https://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/imagining\\_past\\_france/](https://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/imagining_past_france/)). The Boccaccio frontispiece was a star in that exhibition. Ever since, I have spent summer vacations at the Hedeman cabin in the Colorado woods, thankful to be an adopted member of the Hedeman clan.

Fast forward again to 2020, and now I am the Senior Curator of the department, and like everyone else, I am working at home. At this moment, the Getty Boccaccio with its tales of human hubris suffering the inevitable catastrophes of Fate seems especially significant. So too must the theme have seemed appropriate to Boccaccio, who wrote this work within years of the devastation of the Black Plague. The Getty’s copy was then illuminated at a time when the plague broke out again in Paris. Now here I am, 600 years later, sitting at home during the greatest plague of my lifetime, able to look through all its texts and images digitally. Although we have capabilities that the original author and illuminators of this manuscript could never have imagined, I am still putting my best hopes in isolation, while fearing the creep of pestilence as it nears my home, exactly the experience of those who created this manuscript so long ago. Even in 2020, we are brought low by the very same combination of human arrogance and cruel Fate. At every stage of my life, this manuscript has had something meaningful to say to me, both professionally and personally. **I VIEW IT AS A TOUCHSTONE, MY OWN PATRON SAINT. I CAN CALL ON IT WHENEVER I AM IN NEED OF INSPIRATION, CONSOLATION, OR JUST A REMINDER OF WHAT IT MEANS TO BE HUMAN.**



**The Story of Adam and Eve,**  
Boucicaut Master or workshop,  
Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*,  
Paris, about 1413–1415. Ms. 63 (96.MR.17), fol. 3r



**The Death of the Roman Consul Marcus Atilius Regulus,**  
Boucicaut Master or workshop,  
Boccaccio, *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*,  
Paris, about 1413–1415. Ms. 63 (96.MR.17), fol. 140v



**Anne D. Hedeman and Elizabeth Morrison**  
at the Continental Divide, Colorado, 2013

### Unprecedented Coincidences between a Fifteenth-Century Book of Hours and a Painting by Angelico at the Time of the Coronavirus

Francesca Corsi Masi, Independent Scholar

IN THESE DAYS OF SILENCE WHERE TIME SEEMS LONGER, I think it must happen to everyone to reflect on some manuscripts or illustrations that we have met along our way over the years, maybe while we are watching the dough rise (making bread in this “prison season” seems to be one of the most recurring and relaxing activities).

I thought about an interesting Book of Hours kept at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice that I studied recently (inv. 2516/6), perhaps also influenced by the Easter period in which we met each other [[Francesca Corsi Masi, in \*Le miniature della Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Pagine, ritagli, manoscritti\*, ed. Massimo Medica and Federica Toniolo \(Cinisello Balsamo, Milan, 2016\), 202–205](#)]. The ‘offiziolo,’ attributable to the workshop of Francesco d’Antonio del Chierico and datable to 1481 by indications of the liturgical calendar, gives a particular emphasis to the sacramental value of penance, reminding us that the little manuscript was particularly suited to the penitential period of Lent just passed during the spread of coronavirus. As I proposed, the chosen iconography can be connected (**cont.**)

**Francesca Corsi Maci, continued.** with Maria di Giovanni di Noferi degli Alfani, daughter of the Niccolosa to whom Sixtus IV in 1470 granted the power to found the Monastery of the Santucce, where Maria herself is remembered as an abbess in 1482 [Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine Divise ne' suoi Quartieri. 1. Santa Croce* (Florence, 1754), 139–140].

The *Face of Christ crowned with thorns* (fig. 1), among the manuscript's numerous illustrations of established iconography, in the *bas de page* of the beginning of the *Office of the Passion* (fol. 187r), evokes the well-known painting by Fra Angelico held in Livorno (fig. 2). The miniaturist, with rapid and cursive strokes, transposed the iconographic evidence from the famous painting to the manuscript page: the cross-shaped nimbus, the naturalistic crown of thorns, the tapered eyebrows, sunken eyes, rivulets of blood along the face, the edged neckline of the robe, hair loose on the shoulders, the forked beard. The innovative subject chosen by Angelico had replaced the more traditional image of the *Veil of Veronica*, having itself become an object for private meditation on the Passion of Christ [Pia Palladino, in *Fra Angelico* (New York 2005), 172–175 with bibliography on the painting.], as Miklós Boskovits had well understood by precise relationships between the painting by Angelico and a text by Saint Antoninus, archbishop of Florence and friend of Angelico, in which the faithful were invited to kneel in front of the Crucifix “and with the eyes of the mind, rather than those of the body, consider his face” [Miklós Boskovits, *Immagini da meditare* (Milan, 1994), 386–387]. Thereafter this substitution also occurred in private devotional books [E.g. the *Book of Hours* by Ser Ricciardo di Nanni, (Sotheby's, 16 June 1997, lot. 29)].

Today, at the time of the coronavirus, discussions about the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* by Beato Angelico seem incredibly current, especially for me, who lives in Livorno, because the recent history of the painting, whose origins are unknown, begins on the occasion of an epidemic. The inscription on the back of the panel in fact recalls that on 15 December 1837 a certain Silvestro Silvestri donated the painting to the church of Santa Maria del Soccorso, then under construction—where the work was discovered by Roberto Longhi who first attributed it to Angelico [Roberto Longhi, “Un dipinto dell'Angelico a Livorno,” *Pinacotheca* 3 (1928–1929): 152–59]—after the cholera epidemic that hit Livorno in 1835 [The painting, after a long period spent in storage at the Civic Museum ‘Fattori’ was restored; since 2006 it is kept in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament of the Cathedral of Livorno. The work has become an icon of the local diocese]. It can also be no coincidence that I watched Pope Francis on television on April 19 to celebrate the second Sunday of Easter from the Church of Santo Spirito di Sassia, the complex to which Sixtus IV had tied the Monastery of Santucce—of which the owner of the Cini Book of Hours was abbess, as already mentioned. **THIS MAY BE THE REASON WHY I DECIDED TO SHARE WITH YOU, MANUSCRIPT LOVERS, THESE PECULIAR CORRESPONDENCES ABOUT THE ‘OFFIZIOLO CINI’, SO DEAR TO ME.**



fig. 1

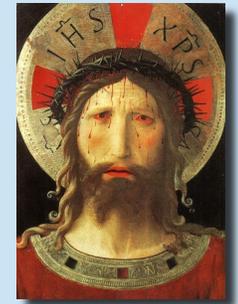


fig. 2

### First Encounter with Numerous Sources

Kathleen L. Scott, Independent Scholar

MY FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH A MEDIEVAL ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT was stunning: it came about in the Bodleian Library with MS Bodley 283, a copy of the *Mirrore of the Worlde*. As I became more involved with the book I realized that its production actually did contain contributions from and reflections of the Western manuscript world. To begin with one of these foreign aspects, the folio paper used in its construction has certainly been identified as having an Italian origin and further identified as ‘nearly identical’ to a watermark localized in Friuli in 1463 [Dr Paul Needham, n. 2, to Kathleen L. Scott, personal communication, 31 October 1989; in *the Mirrore of the Worlde: A Middle English Translation of Le Miroir du Monde*, ed. Robert R. Raymo and Elaine E. Whitaker (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 2003), 3]. Whereas the outer and middle leaves of the quires are of equally large parchment, their source is unknown. To return to England and an important facet of the volume, it is obvious that the scribe was undoubtedly English, perhaps from Devon, working in the period after 1463 to before the end of the fifteenth century, most likely in the 1470s but perhaps into the



1480s [Raymo and Whitaker state more firmly on the basis of fashion of clothing that the book was made between 1470 and 1475; *The Mirrore of the Worlde*, p. 5.]; my longer period for the production of the book derives from knowledge of the owner, Thomas Kipping, a London draper, who had died by 12 May 1485.

The border of the introductory page was illuminated by an accomplished but conventionally trained English border artist; his work here and in the second border page used the standard English motifs of aroids, trumpet flowers, curling leaves and sprays, all set within the customary bar frame. The second border page, which contains the first text page, shows the reader both the usual English leaves and flowers but takes the reader away from England by insertions of the work of a continental artist. This foreign artist embellished the English border with three distinctly non-English motifs: an owl with fully detailed coat of feathers, staring straight at the reader; a circle of strawberries rolled around and within their leaves; a vine supporting and equally enclosing four red roses; and pinks scattered along the right border with other motifs, some unusual (i.e. three gold balls on a pointed blue base), probably by this artist. None of these were used in England until transported to a local shop by a foreign artist.

The greatness of MS Bodley 283 lies, however, in the pen and ink drawings of animals and human figures by a second artist from the Continent. The second (cont.)

**Kathleen L. Scott, continued**

border page has not only a foreign artist adding to the border but a fine picture of Moses receiving the Ten Commandments, by yet another continental artist, here of exceptional skill. The style of this artist, who has been named the Caxton Master, places him in Netherlands and the Last Judgement by this artist was further said to be ‘derived from the Dutch tradition.’ Close in style to the artist is the so-named Evert van Soudenbalch of Utrecht. [L.M.J. Delaisse, *A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination* (Berkeley, 1968), 78–80.] The drawings of his figures are particularly adept in rendering faces turned in profile, facing above, and to the right and left, with appropriately gesturing hands; the figures are shown in elaborately drawn gowns with complicated folding of all kinds: doubled over, turned over and up, creased, and lying on the ground. One figure is, in minute authenticity, holding a pen between his first and second fingers. [*The Mirroure of the Worlde; MS Bodley 283 (England ca. 1470–1480): The Physical Composition, Decoration and Illustration, with an introduction by Kathleen L. Scott* (Oxford, 1980)]. Dogs, a goat, a pig, and horses were drawn from the flesh.

Indeed, the manuscript can be seen as a mirror of its world, assembled from paper of Italian origin, written by an English scribe, decorated by an English border artist in one instance and in another a border page together with a Netherlandish artist, illustrated throughout with the scenes drawn by an illustrator from yet a different part of the Netherlands. [AN ENCOUNTER WITH MS BODLEY 283 PROVIDES, THEN, A MOST UNUSUAL AND RARE ASSEMBLY OF WORKMEN IN ONE MANUSCRIPT.](#)

**Question: Who is this?**

She was the eldest child, the only daughter

She had two younger brothers

She had a father who was a famous scientist

She was Italian

She loved to read and write

She was independent

She was an entrepreneur

She championed women’s rights in a man’s world

**Answer:**

Christine de Pizan (1364–1430)  
and Sandra Hindman (1944--)

**Christine****Sandra Hindman, *Les Enluminures***

THAT’S RIGHT: ONE OF MY TRANSFORMATIVE EXPERIENCES (perhaps the most important) working with medieval manuscripts was my research on Christine de Pizan. I began this project (what Christine might call *Le chemin de longue estude*, or the “path to long study”—the title of one of her works) when I started teaching at a mostly male-dominated school (The Johns Hopkins University) in 1973, after spending eight years devoted to research on illuminated Dutch manuscripts. I have always told my graduate students that the most important research they will undertake, what will ultimately define them, is not their dissertation, which they engage in under a “Doktor-Vater,” but their second project, which is wholly independent. This was Christine for me.

I began from the literary angle, not the art historical one. As a French literature major for a time at university, reading what Christine wrote seemed a natural entry into my immersion with her illuminated manuscripts. I was captivated. I buried myself in her early poetry, sometimes joyful (“Now has come the gracious month of May), sometimes introspective (“Alone I am and this pleases me the best”), and sometimes mournful (“I am a widow lone, in black arrayed”). I read through her autobiography *L’Avision Christine*, her work on the vicissitudes of fortune, the *Mutacion de Fortune*, her creation of a female utopia, the *Cité des dames*, and much else. Christine grew up at the French court in the company of the royal family, so it was perhaps natural to her to write about them and to seek their patronage. I settled on one of these works, the *Epitre d’Othéa*, the Epistle of Othéa to Hector, in which—as it turned out—themes that resonate throughout her work, such as politics and the equality of women, came to the foreground.

I was in for so many surprises. Through a close study of Harley MS 4431 in the British Library, I determined the underlying motivation for the manuscript directed to one of the dukes of France, an uncle of the ruling, but seriously ailing and outright mad king, Charles VI. Christine fashioned herself into a wise woman of antiquity, Othéa, whose voice she spoke through to advise Louis of Orleans, thinly disguised as the Trojan prince Hector, on good government in France. Nuances in the pictures often carried the weight of the message, as Christine, skating on thin ice, must have hoped her guidance would not be mistaken for “fake news.”

It then emerged that the copy of the *Epitre* that most interested me (part of a “Collected Works”

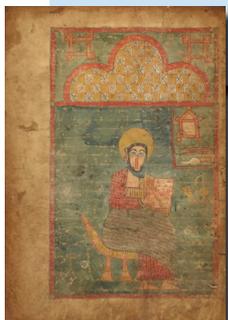
for the Queen of France) could not have been made for that volume. Barely discernable, highly professional mends extended the pages of its parchment to transform a presentation copy that had been made for someone who was deceased (Louis of Orleans) into a copy for a new patron—the Queen. A sumptuous, highly personal, frontispiece picturing Christine in the company of the Queen in her bedroom, in addition to other emendations, enabled Christine to speak to another audience, a woman like herself. Following in the footsteps of my much-admired and sadly missed advisor L.M.J. Delaissé (d. 1972), I was able to turn codicology I had learned from him into a tool that helped clarify voice and function in Harley 4431. [What fun I had.](#)

Life is long. We all go through many ups and downs, in our personal and professional lives. Christine’s fortitude expressed through her beautiful illuminated manuscripts, and the visual delights the manuscripts offered, stays with me today, even though my own research on her dates back now almost five decades. Here’s a quote from her I especially like: “If you would reflect well and wisely, you would realize that those events you regard as personal misfortunes have served a useful purpose even in this worldly life, and indeed have worked for your betterment.”



London, British Library, Harley MS 4431, fol. 3r  
Christine Presenting Her Manuscript  
to Queen Isabeau de Bavière, “Collected Works”

**THANK YOU, CHRISTINE.**



**Saint John (detail), Ethiopian, late 14th-early 15th century, leaf from a Gospel Book (text in Ge'ez). Getty Museum, Ms. 89, verso; Students from Bayan Claremont study the pages of a 9<sup>th</sup>-century Qur'an, probably made in Tunisia. Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig X I**



**Connections from a Global Middle Ages to Today's Globalized Museum**  
 Bryan C. Keene, Associate Curator of Manuscripts, J. Paul Getty Museum

GATHERED AROUND A LEAF FROM AN ETHIOPIAN GOSPEL BOOK, visitors to Getty Museum discussed an image of Saint John the Evangelist shown seated with the implements of a scribe. One participant remarked on the patterns in the painted textiles and architectural *harag* above the figure, while another noticed the ruling lines that appear as striations across the page. A single sewing thread, visible at lower right, added to an overview about how manuscripts were made. After the conversation, a family took a closer look and I overheard them reading aloud the text in Ge'ez. The patriarch of the group was in tears, and he exclaimed that it was wondrous to see an object that embodied his cultural, linguistic, and religious heritage in a museum. This experience was the first time I witnessed the transformative power that encounters with manuscripts can have for an individual and a group.

As a curator, I enjoy interactions with manuscripts that involve our many audiences onsite in the study room and galleries or online through digital and social media initiatives. These moments provide daily opportunities for learning, largely my own. As with the memory above, I find the greatest joy when people can access the stunning illuminations **and** find a connection to the text (whether from their faith, through written language, because of something they learned in school or saw in a film, or from a deeply personal aspect of their identity). I will share a few examples. A group of graduate students of Islamic theology came to the museum to study a Qur'an, and local Imam Dr. Ovamir Anjum recited portions of Surah 3 from the pages as some prayed. Morgan Conger at the Getty so loved this fragmentary manuscript that she began studying Arabic and sought to reassemble the missing pages. Conversations with our security officers have also taught me a lot about the many contexts of manuscripts for individuals today. Wazir Taniwal shared memories of the Bamyān Buddhas from his native Afghanistan while we looked at a page from the *Majma' al-Tawarikh* showing the reclining figure of Shakyamuni (from about 1425 in Herat). Anahit Danielyan had mentioned that she always asks for rotation shifts in the manuscripts gallery whenever Armenian books are on display so that she could invite her family and friends to commemorate their heritage. Before we entered quarantine, I was glad to share with her that we had recently acquired a manuscript with illuminations by an Armenian woman named Eghisabet. And the project [#GettyOfThrones](#)—developed together with manuscripts curator Larisa Grollemond and social media specialist Sarah Waldorf—**informed us of the deep love, knowledge, and at times misconceptions that people have about the Middle Ages.**



**The Appearance of Shakyamuni (the Buddha) after His Death, page from a manuscript of the *Majma' al-Tawarikh* (Collection of Chronicles) of Hafiz-Abri, Herat, about 1425. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection, gift of Joan Palevsky, M.73.5.412; *The Way to Eternal Life and The Arrest of Christ*, by Eghisabet, from a Gospel book; Karbi, Armenia, 1583. Getty Museum, Ms. 119 (2020.3), fols. 6v–7r**

Each of the examples mentioned can help us appreciate the globality of the Middle Ages, when people moved across vast distances or imagined worlds beyond their doorsteps. But we need not always look to lived connections of overland or nautical trade, travel, diplomacy, or artistic motifs, materials, or ideas to glimpse early globalisms. Larisa and I recently spoke with Getty Research Institute director Mary Miller about the comparative potential of studying the astronomical images in the twelfth-century Maya Codex of Mexico (formerly Grolier Codex) with contemporaneous miscellanies produced in the Mediterranean or Middle East (such as a French computus manuscript in the British Library, Royal MS 13 A XI, or a copy of 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi's *Book of Fixed Stars* in the Bodleian Library, MS Huntington 212).

Writing from different places on the Earth around the same moment in time, those creators surveyed the position of the same cosmic luminaries. Working in North America and specifically in Los Angeles, I acknowledge the deep history of the Chumash, Tatiaviam, and the Tongva peoples, whose Ancestors also looked to the stars and planets and commemorated them through oral tradition and petroglyphs. Stories bring people together and connect us to the past.

Lastly, manuscript scholars have been at the vanguard of queer medieval studies for several decades. As a queer person, I enjoy sharing objects that resist binaries or heterosexism through exhibitions, videos, and posts. In the words of the director of the National Museum in Sweden, "If you don't know you have a history, it can be hard to believe you have a future." There is much work still to be done, and I am grateful for the community of LGBTQIA2+ individuals and artists whose work I know and those who I am beginning to meet. **WE ARE ALL IN THIS TOGETHER, AND I AM EXCITED FOR FUTURE PROJECTS THAT BRING FORTH DIVERSE, GLOBAL, AND INCLUSIVE VIEWS OF THE PAST.**

**An Update on the Analysis and Conservation Treatment of the St. Francis Missal (W.75)  
at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, MD.**

**Abigail B. Quandt, Head of Book and Paper Conservation, The Walters Art Museum**

In the May 2017 issue of this newsletter I reported on a new project at the Walters Art Museum to conduct extensive conservation treatment of the St. Francis Missal (MS W.75), a manuscript thought to be the same text consulted by St. Francis of Assisi in 1208 and considered a relic of touch by religious communities around the world (<http://lib.slu.edu/files/special-collections/publications/vfl-newsletter-no-21.pdf>). The conservation and rebinding of the codex was recently completed by Cathie Magee during a two-year fellowship in book conservation, funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. After treatment, the Missal was digitized and then put on display at the Walters, where it has been the focus of a small exhibition called "The St. Francis Missal" (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TvMXpntQQ4Q>). The museum was forced to close in early March due to COVID19, yet we are hopeful that the exhibition will continue after the Walters reopens to the public.

The project to stabilize the condition of the Missal afforded an opportunity to explore several interesting aspects of the book's medieval construction, as well as its fifteenth-century rebinding and nineteenth-century restoration. The calendar has been assigned to the period 1175–1228 and appears as a separate quire of seven folios at the end of the manuscript. The goatskin parchment differs in quality from that found in the rest of the book and the script is also different. It has been suggested that the calendar may have originally been made for another church and added slightly later to the Missal. [E.B. Garrison, "The late twelfth or early thirteenth century," *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, 4 vols. (Florence, 1953–1962) 4: 320–335.] Dark staining around the edges of the final folio of Missal text suggests that it initially faced leather turn-ins, thus reinforcing the theory that the calendar was a later addition. During multi-spectral imaging of the calendar pages it was revealed that the name of St. Francis was added to his feast day of October 4<sup>th</sup> and then later erased (Fig. 1). There are numerous other curious alterations to the calendar and to the Missal text itself that warrant further study.

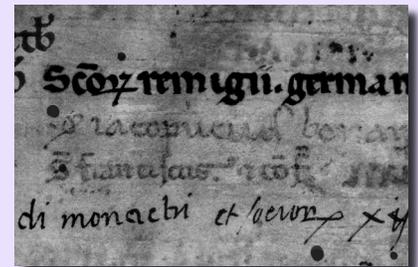


Fig. 1

Detail in ultra-violet light of the erased name of St. Francis on the October calendar page (W.75, fol. 284v). The Walters Art Museum.



Fig. 2

Vermilion and ultramarine blue were used to paint the image of God the Father (W.75, fol. 166v). The Walters Art Museum.

The Missal has two large white vine initials (*Per omnia* on fol. 162v and *Vere dignum* on fol. 163r) and a full-page Crucifixion (fol. 166v) that illuminate the Ordinary of the Mass (<https://manuscripts.thewalters.org/viewer.php?id=W.75#page/338/mode/1up>). Scattered throughout the book are nine zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and decorated initials, presumably painted by the same artist. Despite the lack of refinement in the images the work of the artist fits clearly within the tradition of painting and illumination in northern Umbria, showing "... archaic aspects that date back to the Umbrian "Bibbie Atlantiche" produced in the 12th century." [Dr. Ada Labriola, personal communication, 2018.] Non-invasive analysis with x-ray fluorescence (XRF) revealed that the pigments are typical for this early period and of high quality. In particular, the presence of vermilion and ultramarine blue is notable given their rarity and high cost, indicating that considerable expense went into the making of the Missal (Fig. 2).

During close examination of the three large illuminations it became clear that significant alterations had occurred due to extensive paint loss over time and a heavy-handed restoration that was likely undertaken during the nineteenth century. Evidence of abrasion and flaking of the paint layers was explained by the extensive handling the Missal must have received over centuries of daily use. What was not understood, however, was the obvious absence of a yellow paint and/or gold in the illumination, which would have contrasted with the jewel-like tones of the green, blue and red pigments. Under the microscope, we could see a few bright yellow particles scattered within the light brown borders, as well as in the brown cross and halos of the of the Crucifixion scene (Fig. 3). XRF analysis indicated the presence of the mineral orpiment (an arsenical sulfide), which was regularly used in early manuscripts instead of gold. We learned that orpiment is extremely susceptible to photo-oxidation and, during prolonged exposure to light, it is chemically altered to an unstable white product (arsenolite) that eventually cracks and flakes off the painting support. [K. Keune, et.al. "Analytical Imaging Studies of the Migration of Degraded Orpiment, Realgar, and Emerald Green Pigments in Historic Paintings and Related Conservation Issues," *Heritage Science* 4 (2016), article 10.] In the smaller initials that received little exposure the yellow paint is still intact (<https://manuscripts.thewalters.org/viewer.php?id=W.75#page/352/mode/1up>). However, the pages located in the most important section of the Mass were exposed frequently and, as a result, the paint lost its color and eventually crumbled away, except for a few unaltered particles that remain behind. During the later restoration of the manuscript an attempt was made to improve the appearance of these areas with the application of a yellow varnish, perhaps animal glue, but it turned dark over time, giving the three illuminations their present dingy appearance.



Fig. 3

Yellow particles of orpiment are seen underneath the discolored varnish in the head of Christ (W.75, fol. 166v). The Walters Art Museum.



Fig. 4

A thin layer of oxidized silver is all that remains of the *argento meccato* (W.75, fol. 163r). The Walters Art Museum.

We were curious about the dark circular and triangular areas of the *Vere Dignum* (fol. 163r) and the Crucifixion (fol. 166v), that appeared to be comprised of a black pigment applied over a thick white material, possibly a chalk-based gesso ground (Fig. 4). During XRF analysis we identified silver in the black layer and surmised that it must have once been silver leaf that had tarnished from oxidation [Lynley Anne Herbert, "A Curator's Note: The Tarnished Reception of Remarkable Manuscripts," in *Illuminating Metalwork: Metal, Object, and Image in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. Joseph Ackley and Shannon L. Wearing (forthcoming)]. Seeking to understand why silver would have been used instead of gold leaf, especially for the halos in the Crucifixion, we learned about a technique called *argento meccato*, where silver leaf is toned with a yellow varnish (*mecca*)

(cont.)

**Abigail B. Quandt, continued.** to simulate the appearance of gold. [The traditional recipe for this translucent yellow varnish contained various natural resins, including gum sandarac, gamboge, rosin, dragon's blood and gum elemi, often mixed with alcohol.] It seems that *argento meccato* was widespread in Tuscan and Umbrian painting before 1250 and was used instead of gold leaf in the haloes and the backgrounds of early panel paintings. [*Argento meccato* has been identified, for example, in the dossal of San Michele Arcangelo, attributed to Coppo di Marcovaldo, in the Museo di Arte Sacra at San Casciano Val di Pesa, near Florence and in two thirteenth-century paintings in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia (the Crucifixion, Inv. 15, and the Triptych, Inv. 877). Dr. Ada Labriola, personal communication, 2018. For the Florentine dossal see: Miklós Boskovits, "A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting. The Origins of Florentine Painting 1100–1270," (Florence, 1993) 538–549.] Attempts to identify the remains of a golden varnish over the blackened silver were unsuccessful, as it had probably been lost through extensive abrasion and later restoration of the paint surfaces. While medieval and Renaissance recipe books prescribe the use of various materials as a substitute for gold leaf in manuscripts, including orpiment, *porporina* and a glazed tin leaf called *stagno meccato*, the technique of *argento meccato* is not mentioned. [C.Z. Laskaris, "Un ricettario marchigiano quattrocentesco per miniatori," in Francesca Flores D'Arcais and Fabrizio Crivello, eds., *Come nasce un manoscritto miniato* (Modena 2010), 182.] For this reason, the presumed use of *argento meccato* in the St. Francis Missal can be considered quite unusual and suggests that the artist was more practiced in the Umbrian tradition of panel painting than manuscript illumination.

Medieval manuscripts are rarely disbound for treatment, given the considerable time and effort involved in the process, yet it would have been impossible to achieve adequate strengthening of the dilapidated binding and worn textblock without taking the book completely apart. The details of the treatment have been described and illustrated elsewhere (<https://www.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/bs-fe-walters-missal-20200131-7ef2ouawfnewxmd4skjcjocsp4m-story.html>), so we will only highlight here some of the more interesting aspects of the conservation ["Reviving a Relic," *The Walters Art Museum Members Magazine* (Spring 2018), 5–7, and Cathie Magee, "The Conservation of the Saint Francis Missal: Modern Materials Used to Revive a Relic," in M.J. Driscoll and R. Mósesdóttir, eds., *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 17. Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Seminar Held at the University of Copenhagen 11th–13th April 2018* (forthcoming).] The Missal had been rebound in the fifteenth century in a plain, quarter-leather binding with beech boards. The boards were attacked in the past by wood-boring insects and their condition was extremely weak, with many cracks and losses (x-rays published in the 2017 article show the extent of deterioration of the boards). As the boards were to be reused for the re-binding of the Missal they first had to be strengthened with a stable adhesive and the losses filled with cellulose powder and epoxy (Fig. 5). The split alum tawed sewing supports and threads



**Fig. 5**  
The 15<sup>th</sup> century beech boards after consolidation and filling (W.75). The Walters Art Museum.

from the earlier binding were removed and the quires were separated from each other (Fig. 6). After cleaning away old adhesives, and repairing tears and splits in the parchment folios, the quires were reformed and sewn with linen thread on to linen cords. The boards were then reattached to the textblock using the existing channels and the spine and sides of the binding were covered with new goatskin leather ([http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W75/data/W.75/sap/W75\\_000001\\_sap.jpg](http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W75/data/W.75/sap/W75_000001_sap.jpg)). The benefits of this intensive, two-year conservation of the St. Francis Missal are two-fold. First, the work has made it possible for the manuscript to be safely digitized, so the text and illumination can now be viewed and studied by scholars around the world (<https://manuscripts.thewalters.org/viewer.php?id=W.75#page/1/mode/2up>). Conservation has also preserved this treasured relic for future generations, allowing it to be enjoyed by all who come to see it at the Walters Art Museum. [While the Walters is temporarily closed to the public you can learn more about the manuscript and its recent conservation by viewing an online presentation hosted by Dr. Lynley Herbert, Curator of Manuscripts and Rare Books and Abigail Quandt, Head of Book and Paper Conservation at: <https://www.facebook.com/thewaltersartmuseum/>.]

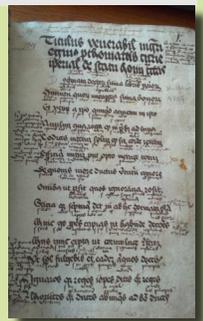


**Fig. 6**  
The parchment textblock with its 15<sup>th</sup> century sewing, before disbinding (W.75). The Walters Art Museum.

### Jagiellonian Library MS 2141

Wiktor Dziemski, Jagiellonian University

MS 2141 CURRENTLY HELD AT THE JAGIELLONIAN LIBRARY (Kraków, Poland) was described by Emil J. Polak in his *Medieval and Renaissance Letter Treatises and Form Letters* as a "humanistic miscellany." This manuscript is, however, much more than that. Naturally, it contains works of Renaissance writers, such as the letters of Piccolomini, *Epistulae perbreves* of Gasparino, and Barzizza and Agostino Dati's *Elegatniolae*, and this the reason why MS 2141 found its way into the Kristeller's *Iter Italicum*. But this manuscript, because it was at least partially used at the university or a cathedral school, consists of literary products coming from different genres and epochs. Its content can easily be divided into three groups. The first includes classical Roman authors: Vergil with his *Eclogae*, Horace and *Carmen seculare*, and finally Cicero and *Epistulae familiares*. One should also add to this group the late antique work *Dittochaeum* of Prudentius and the early medieval writing of Martinus de Braga and Maximianus. The second group would consist of medieval literature starting with anonymous treatises *De statu hominum*, *De die iudicii*, *Palestra de victoria Christi*, *Decalogus metricus*, *De lupo*, *De Priamo et Tisbe* and two works that can actually be attributed—*Poetria nova* of Goeffrey de Vinosalvo and *Liber parabolarum* of Alan of Lille. Lastly is the third group containing the above-mentioned humanistic works. Apart from this the manuscript is a source of numerous *probationes pennae* and minor notes made by its owners/users. Despite the fact that some of them had written their own names in the manuscript, it was impossible to link them to the actual students or professors of the *Universitas Cracoviensis*. Ms 2141 has been sewn together from seven different gatherings and this was most probably done while it was still used in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Sadly, it has lost its original cover, which was already gone by the time when Jerzy Samuel Bandkie (1768–1835) was head of the Jagiellonian Library. Written by many hands in gothic cursive, it contains many marginal notes and glosses that bear witness to the diligence of its possessor. Furthermore, these marginalia enable a more precise study of the *modus docendi* at a late medieval university. Ms 2141 is also interesting due to the fact that it illustrates the ongoing transformation of the educational system. **THE THEOCENTRIC SCHOLASTIC CULTURE WAS MAKING WAY FOR THE COMING ANTHROPOCENTRIC APPROACH OF THE RENAISSANCE.**



**El Libro de los Bienhechores del monasterio de San Benito de Valladolid:  
Una mirada sobre la heráldica de la reina Isabel la Católica**

Josefina Planas (Universitat de Lleida)

EL LIBRO DE LOS BIENHECHORES DEL MONASTERIO DE SAN BENITO DE VALLADOLID se erige en un testimonio clave para comprender la iluminación del libro en el reino de Castilla durante el proceso de recepción y asimilación de las nuevas fórmulas representativas elaboradas en los Países Bajos del Sur a fines del siglo XV e inicios del XVI. Por otra parte, este manuscrito pone de relieve el papel desempeñado por un foco artístico de la categoría de la ciudad de Valladolid, prácticamente desconocido en el panorama historiográfico actual.

La fundación del monasterio de San Benito de Valladolid obedece a la intencionalidad política de Juan I de Castilla, monarca que deseaba proyectar una imagen de rey pacífico y virtuoso, después de la estrepitosa derrota del ejército castellano en la batalla de Aljubarrota (1385) contra Portugal. Sin embargo, el núcleo textual más antiguo de *Libro de los Bienhechores del monasterio de San Benito de Valladolid* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS CFM 28) pertenece a los últimos años del reinado de Juan II de Castilla (mediados del s. XV).

A las primeras fases del reinado de los Reyes Católicos pertenecen tres emblemas heráldicos del reino de Castilla-León, sostenidos por dos ángeles tenantes. Estos escudos correspondientes a Juan I, Enrique III y Enrique IV, se sitúan en la zona superior de las dos columnas del texto (fols. 5va y b; 6vb) (Fig.1).

Estas representaciones son un preámbulo visual de la gran eclosión heráldica que ilustra el texto dedicado a Isabel la Católica (fol. 7r) (Fig.2). El emblema heráldico está formado por un cuartelado de Castilla y León, timbrado por una suntuosa corona.

Detrás surge la poderosa figura del águila nimbada de San Juan. El culto a San Juan Evangelista bajo el impulso de Isabel de Castilla cobró una nueva dimensión, teñida con dosis de mesianismo, debido al protagonismo adquirido por el águila del Apocalipsis. La reina Isabel profesaba una especial devoción hacia San Juan Evangelista reflejada en la heráldica regia, previa a su proclamación como reina el día de San Juan y en su propia descendencia: su hijo primogénito y su hija recibieron el mismo nombre e incluso, un edificio tan emblemático como San Juan de los Reyes (Toledo) se puso bajo esta advocación.

El escudo de los reinos de Castilla y León está rodeado por dos ramos de granado repletos de frutos, motivo o empresa utilizada por Enrique IV de Castilla que respondía al lema "Agro dulce". Los Reyes Católicos incorporaron este motivo heráldico en su blasón mediante un entado en punta, después de la anexión de Granada. Por tanto, se trata de un emblema realizado con antelación a 1492, año de la conquista del reino nazarí. Los ramos de granado fueron esculpados en el monasterio franciscano de San Juan de los Reyes y en el dominico de Santo Tomás de Ávila. Además, este motivo se usó para adornar objetos de orfebrería y un exquisito misal que perteneció a la

reina (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS Vit. 8) (ca.1500).

A ambos lados del escudo, dos ángeles con las alas desplegadas sostienen dos haces de flechas sujetos por unas extensas filacterias que se entrelazan en la zona inferior de la representación. Las flechas y el yugo de los Reyes Católicos—Isabel y Fernando—son divisas de sentido galante, basadas en las iniciales de los esposos que ambos intercambiaban. El número de flechas de la divisa regia era muy variable, incluso en las armerías de carácter oficial, pero siempre se colocaron con las puntas hacia abajo, como ocurre en el ejemplar analizado.

Esta composición heráldica se sitúa en un jardín poblado de vegetación reproducida con notorio sentido naturalista, reminiscencia de los recursos expresivos utilizados por la pintura sobre tabla realizada en los centros de creación artística septentrionales. El mismo sentimiento naturalista se proyecta sobre la espléndida decoración marginal formada por un entramado vegetal de hojas de acanto, una amplia gama de tipologías florales que conceden gran vistosidad al conjunto y aterciopelados frutos. Debido a sus connotaciones alegóricas resulta muy sugerente la representación de cinco granadas en la zona superior del folio—una de ellas situada en el eje de simetría del emblema heráldico—y seis situadas en la zona inferior. Estos frutos refuerzan el contenido semántico de los dos ramos de granadas que envuelven a las armas de Castilla y León y a una amplia fauna no exenta, ocasionalmente, de lecturas simbólicas más complejas.

El espacio liberado por las dos columnas de escritura está ocupado por una fuente en cuya base circular arraigan tallos vegetales finalizados en hojas de acanto. La amplia taza superior, cubierta de agua, es el recipiente idóneo para cuatro pájaros que se posan con delicadeza. El vástago ascendente se decora con una flor de pétalos vueltos hacia abajo de color azul, inspirada en los repertorios formales creados años atrás por el *Maestro de las cartas de juego*, introducidos en la Península Ibérica a través de grabados. Dos amorcillos de rubios cabellos actúan a modo de atlantes en la zona superior de la estilizada fuente, bajo una corona regia de cinco florones.

Esta compleja imagen alegórica se adscribe a la simbología de la Fuente de la Vida. El texto bíblico del *Cantar de los Cantares* (4,15) hace referencia a la fuente de los jardines y al pozo de aguas vivas que fluyen del Líbano. Otro versículo del mismo poema (4,12) incide en el huerto cerrado y la fuente sellada, temas que exaltan la virginidad de la Virgen María y su concepción sin mácula en el seno de Santa Ana. Esta creencia sintoniza con la defensa de la Inmaculada Concepción de María, explicitada en diversas ocasiones por los Reyes Católicos. Isabel la Católica manifestó su interés por este dogma y entre otras cosas, destinó fondos al monasterio jerónimo de Guadalupe para el sostenimiento de la fiesta y los monasterios jerónimos protegidos por la Corona de Castilla acogieron esta celebración. La soberana protegió a la Orden Concepcionista fundada por Beatriz de Silva, comunidad incorporada a la obediencia franciscana en 1494.

En definitiva, este complejo emblema heráldico sintetiza algunos de los motivos y divisas regios más significativos de Isabel de Castilla. Elementos de compleja lectura alegórica que imbrican la sensibilidad religiosa de la soberana con un sentimiento mesiánico arraigado en la Corona de Aragón, reino del que procedía su esposo Fernando el Católico.

(cont.)

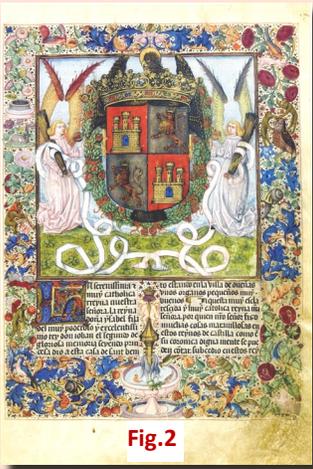


Fig.2



Fig.1

**Josefina Planas, continued.** La descripción poética emanada por los versículos del *Cantar de los Cantares* conecta de forma alegórica con el jardín superior, ámbito donde señorea el águila apocalíptica de San Juan Evangelista. El sentimiento mesiánico estaba firmemente arraigado en la dinastía Trastámara de la que era descendiente su esposo, Fernando de Aragón. Por este motivo, no sorprende que Isabel la Católica apoyara el viaje de Cristóbal Colón, adepto al franciscanismo observante y autor de un libro de profecías. El objetivo de Colón era hallar la ruta más corta para alcanzar Jerusalén, puesto que la conquista de la ciudad santa aseguraría la dominación del mundo a la corona. La recuperación de Granada se concibió como una nueva cruzada, cuyo inicio era el reino musulmán y el final era la ciudad de Jerusalén. La literatura contemporánea compara a la reina Isabel con Santa Elena mujer, reina y adalid de la cruzada. Fernando el Católico también acarició esta idea, pues se vaticinaba que él estaba destinado a ser el “monarca universal” que recuperaría la *Casa Santa* de Jerusalén. En suma, esta compleja imagen enfatiza que la realeza depositada en la persona de la reina Isabel, adquiere un sentido trascendente debido a la proyección escatológica de su reino, más allá del tiempo histórico, para imbricarse con la Jerusalén celestial.

La asociación entre la reina Isabel y la devoción mariana expresada por el *Cantar de los Cantares* emerge en el espléndido Breviario conservado en Londres (British Library, Add. MS 18851) (ca. 1484–1497) (Fig. 3). Este lujoso códice fue adquirido en Flandes por Francisco de Rojas, embajador de Castilla, con el fin de celebrar las gestiones diplomáticas que habían formalizado los esponsales de los hijos de los Reyes Católicos con los de Maximiliano de Austria y María de Borgoña. Francisco de Rojas superpuso sus armas un tanto descentradas con respecto al eje del folio y a la decoración original (fol. 437r). La Coronación de la Virgen se habilita en la zona superior, investida con una doble connotación simbólica: por una parte, ilustra el texto del *Cantar de los Cantares* (IV,7) (fol. 437r) y por otra evoca a Isabel de Castilla de forma similar a los elogios efectuados por Juan Díaz de Alcocer en el acto de sublimación de la reina en Segovia. La relación entre la reina y el culto mariológico también se manifiesta en el misal antes citado (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Biblioteca del monasterio, ms. Vitr.8). Este códice de pequeño formato, próximo a otras lecturas pías con las que el creyente participaba individualmente en el Oficio de la Misa, presenta a la reina Isabel dirigiendo sus plegarias a la Virgen de la Asunción, mientras sostiene en sus manos una filacteria con fragmentos del *Cantar de los Cantares* (fol. 379v) (Fig.4).



Fig.3



Fig.4

En definitiva, este complejo emblema heráldico sintetiza algunos de los motivos y divisas regios más significativos de Isabel de Castilla. **ELEMENTOS DE COMPLEJA LECTURA ALEGÓRICA QUE IMBRICAN LA SENSIBILIDAD RELIGIOSA DE LA SOBERANA CON UN SENTIMIENTO MESIÁNICO ARRAIGADO EN LA CORONA DE ARAGÓN, REINO DEL QUE PROCEDÍA SU ESPOSO FERNANDO EL CATÓLICO.**

**An Edgy Encounter: The Milemete Treatise, MS 92 in Christ Church College, Oxford**

Désirée Koslin, Independent Scholar

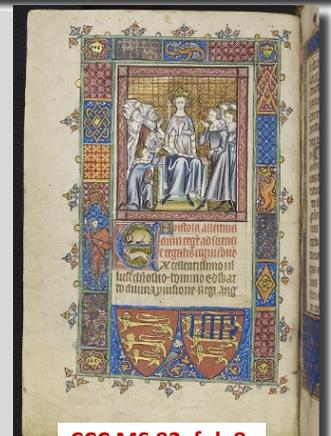
UNTIL THE LATE 1980S, WHEN I TOOK MY FIRST SEMINAR at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, my knowledge of medieval manuscripts was limited to glimpses of books on display in museums, and examples studied in medieval art survey courses, mostly of well-known books used in the liturgy or for personal devotion. To kick off this seminar, Professor Lucy Freeman Sandler presented topics on marginalia in medieval manuscripts, and insights into the rollicking world of beasts, birds and curious themes and figures in the borders of medieval books of many types, sacred and secular. My assignment in this seminar was the remarkable and lavishly illustrated *Milemete Treatise*, kept in the Oxford Christ Church College as MS 92, an introductory text to the so-called pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum* (London, British Library, Add. MS 47680).

The Treatise is unabashedly secular, intended as it was in 1326–7 for the young, recently crowned king Edward III of England, and it is filled with boisterous imagery of the hunt, scenes of war, battle of the sexes, and hybrids and animals. It has been thought that Master Walter of Milemete, called Kings Clerk, and later Fellow of King’s Hall, had hoped that this volume, and its accompanying “ancient” text of instructions for the noble, wise and prudent ruler, would result in kingly favor for himself. On fol. 8v, Master Milemete is seen kneeling in the presence of three bishops, and handing the two books to the young king; an event that apparently never

took place, as both books remain unfinished.

One can get a fine introduction to both books in the M.R. James 1913 annotated facsimile [Montague R. James, ed., *Walter de Milemete: De Nobilitatibus, Sapientis et Prudentis Regum*. Oxford, The Roxburghe Club, 1913] available online. At the time of our seminar, this was one of the few sources available to me for my assignment. Nowadays, the Bodleian Library fortunately makes available full-color images of the entire Christ Church College MS 92. Michael A. Michael has dealt with the group of artists in this and related manuscripts in in 1987 and 1994 [Michael A. Michael, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London, 1987, and “The Iconography of Kingship in the Walter of Milemete Treatise”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994): 35–47], and Lucy Freeman Sandler has discussed the manuscript in several works, including a succinct description of it in the 1987 exhibition catalog *Age of Chivalry* [Jonathan J.G. Alexander and Paul Binsky, eds. *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400* (London, 1987), 500].

At a subsequent visit to Oxford, I had an appointment to see MS 92 at the library of Christ Church College. (cont.)



CCC MS 92, fol. 8v

**Désirée Koslin, continued.** This was the first medieval manuscript I got to hold in my hands, inhale its musty smell, marvel at the intensity of the colors, mostly brilliant red, blue, and gold, and how the gilded surfaces sort of popped out from the pages, and to see every brush stroke, some quite crude... The greatest eye and mind opener was of course to take in the book's arrangement,



CCC MS 92, fol. 43r

such as the difference between the chapter beginnings with full-page illustrations of regal pomp, and the simpler text pages. About half of them had modest decoration in the margins of decorative geometric patterns, but from folio 29 onward, nearly every page has borders filled with hilarious, raucous throngs of humans, hybrids and animals. As the intended recipient was the young Edward III, it was easy to imagine the artists packing the folio borders with scenes of particular interest and appeal to a young prince's tastes. The title page, fol. 43r, for Chapter X, *Of the solaces of the King, and of minstrelcy which should be used at his court*, exhorts the king, among other pleasant duties, "to look upon delightful books, to have well-proportioned objects presented to his vision, to listen to harmonized sounds" [M.R. James, xviii.], and the borders are crowded with men and women making music with pipe and double pipe, fiddles, lutes, drums, trumpets, and a portable organ.

Women appear in great variety on nearly every page. They range from queens and ladies in the full-page images to entertainers and "wild women" in the borders. At times they engage in outrageous behavior, as in fol. 35v, where a woman in simple *burlet* and chin band obscenely pulls her lips at a human-faced, four-footed hybrid in a cowl in the upper border. More frequently, hybrid bird-like or animal creatures sport the same human female features. There also appear, as I discovered (and not noted elsewhere in the literature on this MS) hybrids with male, bearded faces cross-dressing in female headdresses on fols. 39r, 40v, 61v, 62v, 65r and 69r. Invariably, the female or female-like beings oppose a male or male-like one, as complements, as adversaries, or in outright battle, often in beleaguered fortresses. Many other aspects, not touched upon here, make this manuscript well worth giving serious attention, such as modes of warfare, hunting and exotic topics that were novel and exciting in the first decades of the fourteenth century.

The study of this book was an extraordinary first, in-depth experience I fondly and often recall. The painted page of CCC MS 92, as I liked to call it, REVEALED TO ME A MEDIEVAL WORLD OF IMAGINATION AND CREATIVITY THAT HAD IMMEDIACY AND STREAM-OF-CONSCIOUSNESS IMAGERY THAT I THOUGHT, UNTIL THEN, WAS THE PURVIEW OF MODERNITY.



CCC MS 92, fol. 35v

**The Remains of Gregorius Nicolai's Day: The Bartolus Lectures of a Fifteenth-Century Official Principal of Cambrai (Médiathèque d'agglomération de Cambrai, MSS 635–642)**  
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MY ENCOUNTER WITH GREGORIUS NICOLAI'S BARTOLUS *LECTURES* dates back to the very first years I started my PhD research. I remember this time, spent in libraries and archives, as very exciting. Every day brought its batch of discoveries, more or less important for science. But personally, I felt like an explorer discovering uncharted landscapes. Was that feeling only the expression of a young graduate student's vanity? I don't think so. Manuscripts and archives cannot be reduced to a collection of primary sources in which data are gathered. Manuscripts and archives tell us pieces of dead women and men's personal stories. Manuscripts and archives, connecting their past to our present, provide emotions to historians. This is why I would like to share a particular encounter with a series of manuscripts, which is less relevant in itself, than for itself.

MSS 635–642 of the Médiathèque d'agglomération (*olim* Bibliothèque municipale) of Cambrai preserve a full copy of Bartolus's *Lectures* on the medieval body of civil law, produced at the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century for Gregorius Nicolai, when he was a law student in Bologna [Denis Muzerelle, *Manuscrits datés des bibliothèques de France*, 2 vols. (Paris 2000), 1, *Cambrai*: xviii and 82ff]. He later became a canon of the cathedral chapter of Cambrai, and after August 11, 1439, the "official principal" [Charles Donahue and Sara McDougall, "France and Adjoining Areas," in *The History of Courts and Procedure in Medieval Canon law*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington D.C., 2016), 300–343] of the consistory court [Monique Maillard-Luybaert, s.v. "Nicole, Nicolai ou Nicolay, Grégoire," in *Nouvelle Biographie Nationale*, vol. 11 (Brussels 2012), 297–98, with bibliography cited]. At Christmas 1469, he passed away and, according to his last will, he bequeathed more than a quarter of the manuscripts of his rich library—partly inherited from his father—to the three main churches of Cambrai: "descendendo nunc ad materiam librorum, non sine magnis antefati genitoris ac meis lugubertonibus, vigiliis, laboribus pariter et expensis acquisite." [Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, 4 G 1039, fols. 1r–8v, ed. M. Maillard-Luybaert, (cont.)]



Bartolus, *Lecture on the Codex*, Cambrai, Médiathèque d'agglomération, MS 636, fol. 1r.

**Emmanuël Falzone, continued.** “Pour le salut de mon âme et l’honneur de mon église.’ Le testament de Grégoire Nicole, chanoine et official de Cambrai (1466, 1469),” in *Revue du Nord* 92 (2010): 7–51. On Gregorius Nicolai’s library, see Emmanuël Falzone, “Panormitain et la séparation de corps pour ‘incompatibilité d’humeur’: l’influence d’un décrétaliste italien dans la jurisprudence d’un official cambrésien?,” in *Bourguignons en Italie, Italiens dans les pays bourguignons (xiv<sup>e</sup>–xvi<sup>e</sup> s.)*, ed. J.-M. Cauchies (Neuchâtel, 2009), 259–85.] Among them, he left Bartolus’s *Lectures* to the cathedral chapter of Our Lady:

“lego eidem ecclesie, ad opus huiusmodi liberarie, integram excellentissimi ac famosissimi doctoris, domini Bartholi de Saxoferrato, super toto corpore juris civilis lecturam continentem octo magna volumina, in carta bonbicina de magna forma Lumbardie per columnas, ut ibi moris est, conscripta, decenter illuminata, per me dudum, tempore quo Bononie leges audivi, ab anno videlicet cccc xix usque ad annum xxvi<sup>um</sup> sequentem, paulatin et successive ex vero exemplari universitatis Bononiensis transcribi et prout sunt disponi procurata omnia, inquam corio duo super Dig. veteri albi, duo super infortiato nigri, duo super Dig. novo rubri, septimum super codice, et octavum super tribus libris codicis, in quo etiam consilia eiusdem Bartholi et subtilis ac perutilis lectura domini Baldi de Perusio super usibus feudorum, unacum commento super pace Constance, continentur, viridis coloris cooperta, signata quidem in primis eorum foliis descriptis per octo litteras alphabeti successive [...]”

In his will, Gregorius Nicolai sketched the contents of those eight manuscripts, that is, Bartolus’s complete *Lectures* on the medieval body of civil law, including his *consilia*, and his *Lectures* on the *Libri feudorum* and the Peace of Constance. He also stated that the manuscripts were completed when he was a law student in Bologna, between the years 1419 and 1426. Nevertheless, there is a little more to be told. MS 639, dedicated to the first part of Bartolus’s *Lecture* on the *Digestum vetus*, also contains two *lectures* of Floriano Sampieri (*Florianus de Sancto Petro*) on the Digest. [Médiathèque d’agglomération (olim “Bibliothèque municipale”) de Cambrai, MS 639, fol. 195r: “Hec est lectura super nono libro Digesti veteris, compilata per eximium utriusque iuris doctorem dominum Florianum de Sancto Petro, ciuem Bononiensem, et in hoc volumine est completa lectura super toto nono libro et super .xii.” Monique Maillard-Luybaert ignores it, while Auguste Molinier noted it in his *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 17: *Cambrai* (Paris, 1891), 248.]

Floriano Sampieri graduated from Bologna University where he taught canon and civil law. [A. Bartocci, s.v. “Floriano Sampieri (*Florianus de Castro Sancti Petri, Florianus de Sancto Petro de Bononia*,” in *Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani (xii–xx secolo)*, ed. I. Bircocchi et al., 2 vols. (Bologna, 2013), 1: 880.] He wrote a number of *lectures* on the *Digestum vetus* and the *Infortiatum*, among which a *lecture* on the first nine books of the Digest and a *lecture* on book twenty-two, contained in Cambrai MS 639. There is no other reference to Floriano Sampieri’s *Lectures* in medieval and early modern book lists and post-mortem inventories within the Low Countries, [None in R.C. van Caenegem and Roberto Feenstra, “Ouvrages de droit romain dans les catalogues des anciens Pays-Bas [méridionaux et septentrionaux] (xiii<sup>e</sup>–xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle),” *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis / Revue d’histoire du droit* 28 (1960): 297–530] which raises the question: why did Gregorius Nicolai hold a copy of those two lectures?

Gregorius Nicolai was educated in both civil and canon law. He first attended Bologna University, *alma mater legum*, in 1419, from which he graduated in civil law on May 7, 1426 [Albano Sorbelli, ed., *Il ‘Liber secretus juris caesarei’ dell’Università di Bologna*, 3 vols. (Bologna, 1942), 2: 55. See also Celestino Piano, “Lauree in diritto civile e canonico conferite dall’Università de Bologna secondo la relazione del *Liber sapientium* (1419–1434),” in *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, n.s., 17–19 (1965–1968), 290, nr. 79]. During the academic year 1425–1426 he was designated as a lecturer [Umberto Dallari, *I ‘rotuli’ dei legisti e artisti dello Studio bolognese da 1384 al 1799*, 4 vols. (Bologna, 1888–1924), 4: 50]. He then attended Paris University, from which he earned a bachelor of canon law on September 7, 1428 [Marcel Fournier, *La faculté de Décret de l’Université de Paris au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1895–1942), 1: 324]. In October 1428, he lectured at the Faculty of Canon Law [Fournier, *La faculté*, 347]. He graduated in canon law on March 30, 1430 (n.st.) [Fournier, *La faculté*, 354]. The same year (?), he graduated in both laws (IUL) [Cf. his subscription under an undated *consilium*: “magister G. Nicol. [Gregorius Nicolai], in utroque iure licenciatus, canonico et officiali Cameracensis.” Brussels, Royal Library, MS 1382–1391, fol. 314r. On that collection of *consilia*, see D. van den Auweele and M. Oosterbosch, “*Consilia iuridica Lovaniensia*. À propos de trois recueils d’avis juridiques du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Houd voet bij stuk. Xenia iuris historiae G. Van Dievoet oblata*, ed. F. Stevens and D. van den Auweele (Leuven, 1990), 105–148 and H. de Ridder-Symoens, “Conseils juridiques et monde universitaire au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Une étude prosopographique,” *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis / Revue d’histoire du droit* 60 (1992): 393–424]. When he was still a student in Bologna, it was Floriano Sampieri who introduced him to the company of doctors of both laws, to take his private exam [Sorbelli, *Il ‘Liber secretus*, 55]:

“Dominus Gregorius Johannis Nicolai de Camaraco, iuxta Parisius per duas dietas, die predicto [1426, May 7] presentatus fuit priuato examini dominorum legistarum per eximios juris utriusque doctores dominum Florianum de Sancto Petro a dominum Johannem de Guasconibus. Qui habuit in punctis: I. *Pluribus*, ff. *De procuratoribus* [Dig. 3.3.32], et I. *Senium*, C. *Qui testa[mentum] fa[cere] pos[sunt vel non possunt]* [C. 6.22.3]. In cuius examine, ultra presentantes, interfuerunt undecim doctores qui omnes eundem laudabiliter approbauerunt, nemine discorde.”

Over and above being remembered in Gregorius Nicolai’s will, Bartolus’s *Lectures* in MSS 635–642 of the Médiathèque d’agglomération of Cambrai is a series completed for a law student in Bologna. The unusual addition of two lectures of Floriano Sampieri on the Digest offers something more personal, closely linked to Gregorius Nicolai’s own story. When I worked on those manuscripts, I felt that I was looking for them much more than they were waiting for me. Centuries later, I was seeking for a connection between the past of one man’s story, related in his last will, and the present of my own research experience in medieval history. Centuries later, those manuscripts gave much more to me. **THEY OFFERED TO A YOUNG DOCTORAL STUDENT AN EMOTION FROM THE REMAINS OF GREGORIUS NICOLAI’S DAY.**