

Fragmentology

A Journal for the Study of Medieval Manuscript Fragments

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Volume III, 2020

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Reconstructing a Ninth-Century Sacramentary-Lectionary from Saint-Victor

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Abstract: This article presents a partial reconstruction of a ninth-century sacramentary-lectionary whose leaves were used as binding material for manuscripts of the library of Saint-Victor of Paris. While most of these fragments remain in situ, some have been detached; in all twelve Saint-Victor codices that served as host volumes are identified. A presentation of the fragments, including three not reported in Bischoff's catalogue, presents the current condition of the fragments. An investigation on their content leads to a conjecture about their original order and to a hypothesis linking their origin to the monastery of Saint-Denis, according to the liturgical use and to the comparison with other sacramentaries.

Keywords: virtual reconstruction, sacramentary-lectionary, Saint-Victor, fragments

The third volume of Bischoff's catalogue of ninth-century manuscripts reports, under number 3926, a group of fragments from the same liturgical book; the fragments are kept in three different Parisian libraries, all from the former library of Saint-Victor de Paris. The original manuscript dates from the third quarter of the ninth century and it is basically a sacramentary associated with a lectionary of the mass, the two parts having been copied by the very same hand:

- Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (=Arsenal) 854, upper pastedown and flyleaf (f. A) [[F-qdfg](#)]
- Bibliothèque Mazarine (=Mazarine) 742 (1115), upper and lower pastedowns and flyleaves [[F-5mr7](#)]

* This paper is a product of the *Fragmentarium* project *Retracing the Past. Writing and History in the Fragments of the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, supported by the Stavros Niarchos Foundation (SNF).

- Mazarine 1030 (1072), upper pastedown and flyleaf [F-55xk]
- Bibliothèque nationale de France (=BnF) Latin 9488, ff. 9–14 [F-pjhx]
- BnF Latin 14801, upper and lower pastedowns and flyleaves [F-ro20]
- BnF Latin 14925, lower pastedown and flyleaf [F-kn8h]
- BnF Latin 14955, upper and lower pastedowns and flyleaves [F-qicf]
- BnF Latin 14956, upper and lower flyleaves [F-iqb7]
- BnF Latin 15039, upper flyleaf [F-wced]¹

A full exploration of the Saint-Victor collection at the BnF led to the discovery of three more codices with fragments belonging to the same original manuscript:

- Latin 14232, offset on the upper and lower flyleaves, from a lost leaf [F-y2gt]
- Latin 14431, two lower flyleaves [F-100y]
- Latin 14963, upper pastedown [F-qcba]

The fragments reflect a complex history of libraries, manuscripts, and ideas, one that can only be understood by working backwards, and, like an archaeologist, carefully recording the stratigraphy, where each layer bears evidence on the one below it. In their current state, the fragments reflect the changing practices of manuscript conservation since the French Revolution. This information, in turn, leads to the understanding of the situation of the host volumes in the library of Saint-Victor, and of the original manuscript's fragmentation in the fifteenth century. Finally, we arrive at the original circumstances under which the manuscript was produced, for the use of St.-Denis in the ninth century.

¹ B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, III. Padua-Zwickau, aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Birgit Ebersperger, Wiesbaden 2014, p. 11.

The Fragments

The fragments are currently dispersed in 12 different codices, for a total amount of 20 pieces (plus two offsets), or 29 original leaves. In some cases, the fragments consist of an entire leaf or an almost entire bifolium; more often, they are severely trimmed leaves. All fragments were used as bindings, pastedowns and flyleaves of other manuscripts, and were trimmed horizontally or vertically according to the size of the binding. When these host volumes were subsequently rebound, the fragments were in some cases preserved in their former function,² in others attached as additional material,³ or, finally, completely detached and stored separately.⁴

In the descriptions of current state of the fragments given below, the figures use dashed lines to represent the limits of the original bifolium, plain lines for the limits of the current fragments, and alternating dotted and dashed lines to indicate the actual folding line. Grey rectangles represent the part of the fragment that is not currently visible, e.g. the verso of pastedowns.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 854

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue SS 9

de Blémur Cg 2

Vyon d'Hérouval 1007

1118⁵

Volume of four codicological units:

I (ff. 1–146) Sermones, 12th c.

II (ff. 147–164) Defensor Locogiacensis monachus, *Liber scintillarum*, 13th c.

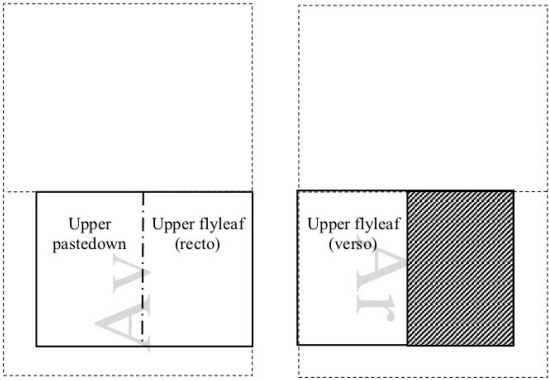
III (ff. 165–216) Guido Faba, *Summa dictaminis*, 1289.

² See mss. Mazarine 1030 and BnF Latin 14801.

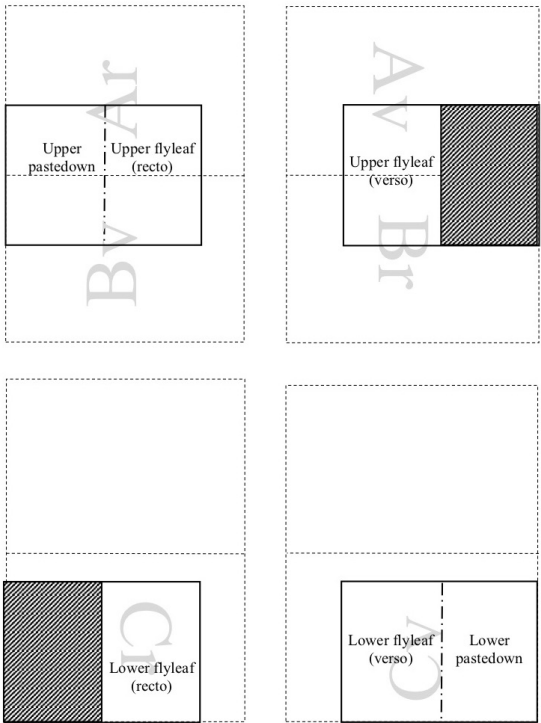
³ See mss. BnF Latin 14956 and 15039.

⁴ See the offsets in mss. BnF Latin 14544 (fragments now in Latin 9488, ff. 9–10), 14442 (fragments now in Latin 9488, ff. 11–14), and Latin 14232 (two lost bifolia).

⁵ G. Ouy, *Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor. Catalogue établi sur la base du répertoire de Claude de Grandrue (1514)* (Bibliotheca Victorina 10), Turnhout 1999, v. 2, p. 394.



Arsenal 854



Mazarine 742

IV (ff. 217–246) *Summa dictaminis*, 13th c.

Parchment, 244 leaves, 170 × 115 mm.

Binding (late 15th c.): white skin binding over wooden boards, four-cord spine; traces of two fastenings and of a chain.

Fragments: Upper pastedown and flyleaf (f. A) from a single trimmed leaf.

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 742

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue SS 3

de Blémur Ce 4

Vyon d'Hérouval 319

778⁶

Volume of three codicological units, assembled in the late fifteenth century:

I (ff. 1–119) Bernardus Clarevallensis, *De diligendo deum*; sermons, 13th c.

II (ff. 120–171) *Exempla*, 13th c.

III (ff. 172–255) Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Bestiarium*, 13th c.

Parchment, 255 leaves, 145 × 105 mm.

Binding (late 15th c.): white skin binding over wooden boards, three-cord spine; traces of a fastening and of a chain.

Fragments: Upper pastedown and flyleaf, from a trimmed bifolium (202 × 138 mm); lower flyleaf and pastedown, from a trimmed leaf (206 × 140 mm).

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 1030

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue QQ 11

de Blémur Cg 26

Vyon d'Hérouval 1114

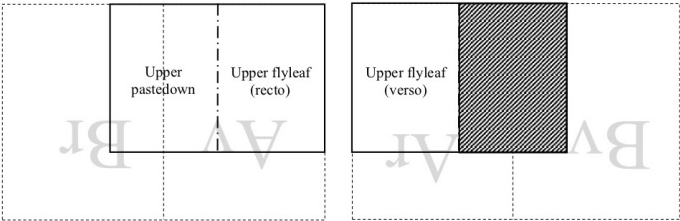
1252⁷

Nicolas de Byard, *Distinctiones; Excerpta patrum*, 13th c.

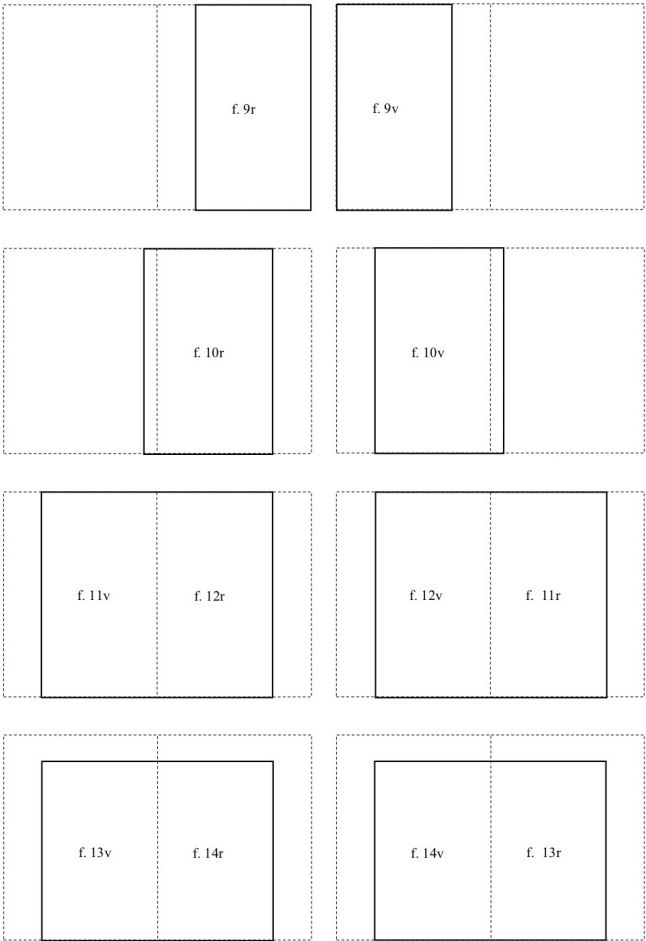
Parchment, 167 leaves, 190 × 140 mm.

6 Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, pp. 390–391.

7 Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, pp. 366–367.



Mazarine 1030



Latin 9488

Binding (modern): brown skin binding over wooden boards, five-cord spine.

Fragments: Upper pastedown and flyleaf, from a trimmed bifolium (190 × 288 mm).

Paris, BnF Latin 9488

Volume of 79 fragments from bindings of manuscripts rebound between 17 December 1817 and 6 May 1818.

ff. 9–10: two leaves (273 × 205 mm and 285 × 192 mm), formerly used as pastedowns of ms. Latin 14544.

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue J 3

de Blémur Ad 17

Vyon d'Hérouval 631

339

Saint-Victor 229.⁸

Traces of a chain on f. 9.

ff. 11–14: two trimmed bifolia (278 × 355 mm and 280 × 353 mm), formerly used as upper and lower pastedowns and flyleaves of ms. Latin 14442.

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue F 13

de Blémur Ac 15

Vyon d'Hérouval 1017 (?)

1123

Saint-Victor 847⁹

Traces of a chain on f. 14.

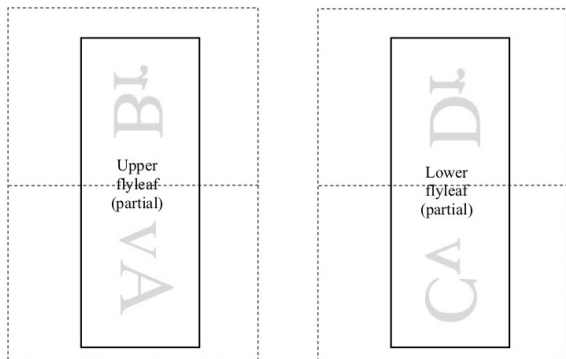
Paris, BnF Latin 14232

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

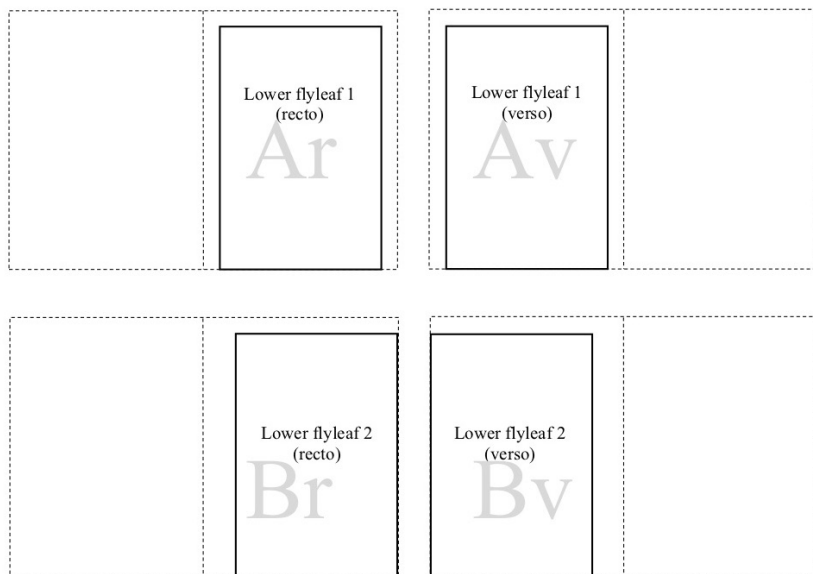
de Grandrue B 21

8 Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, pp. 70–71. According to Ouy, only f. 9 comes from ms. Latin 14544; the fact, however, that f. 10 has similar dimensions and that the leaves are consecutive suggest that they were both used in the same binding.

9 Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, p. 50. According to Ouy, only ff. 13–14 come from ms. Latin 14442; ff. 11–12, however, have similar dimensions and are consecutive bifolia, suggesting that they were both used in the same binding.



Lat. 14232



Latin 14431

de Blémur Aa 5
Vyon d'Hérouval 362

197

Saint-Victor 138¹⁰

Bible, Northern Italy, 13th c.

Parchment, 336 leaves, 420 × 305 mm.

Binding (19th c.): morocco red leather over pasteboards.

Fragments: offsets on the upper and lower flyleaves, from two lost trimmed bifolia.

Paris, BnF Latin 14431

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue E 11

de Blémur Ab 33

Vyon d'Hérouval 1141

574 Saint-Victor 392¹¹

Volume of two codicological units

I (ff. 1–152) Nicholas de Gorran, *Postilla*, 13th c.

II (ff. 153–222) Alexander de Alexandria, *Postilla*, 14th c.

Parchment, 222 leaves, 310 × 210 mm.

Binding (late 15th c.): white skin binding over wooden boards; traces of fastenings and chain.

Fragments: two lower flyleaves, probably former pastedowns, from two consecutive leaves; traces of a chain on the second leaf.

Paris, BnF Latin 14801

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue EE 14

de Blémur Eg 10

Vyon d'Hérouval 527

897

Saint-Victor 636¹²

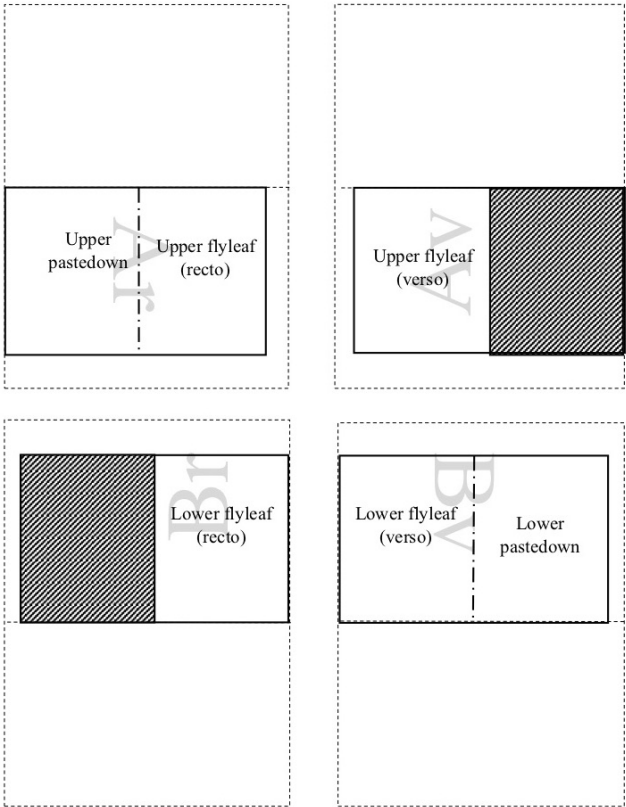
Volume of three codicological units:

I (ff. 1–41) Anonymus, *Super Cantica Cantorum*, 12th c.

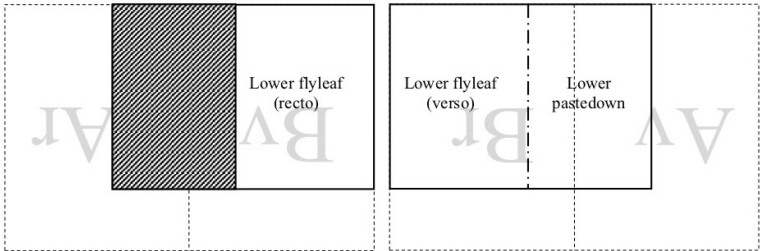
¹⁰ Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, p. 22.

¹¹ Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, p. 42.

¹² Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, pp. 231–232.



Lat. 14801



Lat. 14925

II (ff. 42–130) Epistolae Pauli, 11th c.

III (ff. 131–139) Tractatus de missa, 14th c.

Parchment, 139 leaves, 195 × 130 mm.

Binding (18th c.): parchment over pasteboards, coat of arms of Saint-Victor.

Fragments: upper pastedown and flyleaf, from a trimmed leaf (258 × 193 mm); lower pastedown and flyleaf, from a trimmed leaf (260 × 192 mm).

Paris, BnF Latin 14925

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue QQ 12

de Blémur Cg 25

Vyon d'Hérouval 542

912

Saint-Victor 644¹³

Volume of three codicological units, assembled in the late 15th century:

I (ff. 1–56) Alanus de Insulis, *De arte praedicandi*, 13th c.

II (ff. 57–152) Sermones, 13th c.

III (ff. 153–224) Sermones, 13th c.

Parchment, 224 leaves, 205 × 150 mm.

Binding (late 15th c.): white skin binding over wooden boards; traces of a chain.

Fragments: lower flyleaf (f. 225) and pastedown, from a trimmed bifolium (200 × 297 mm).

Paris, BnF Latin 14955

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue SS 5

de Blémur Ce 6

Vyon d'Hérouval 1095

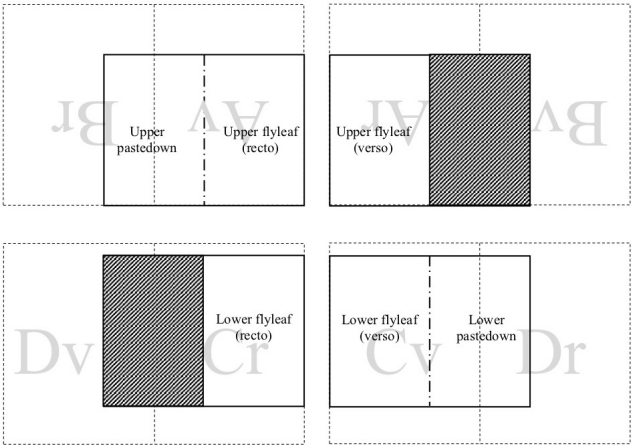
1233

Saint-Victor 940¹⁴

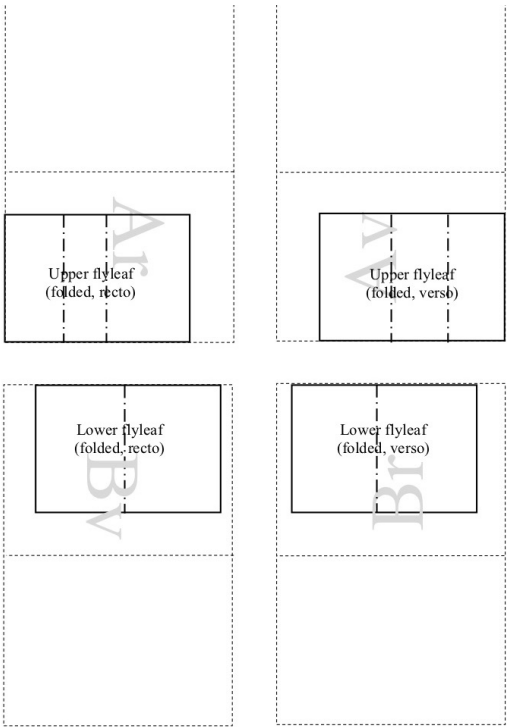
Sermones, 14th c.

¹³ Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, p. 367.

¹⁴ Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, p. 392.



Lat. 14955



Lat. 14956

Parchment, 166 leaves, 215 × 150 mm.

Binding (late 15th c.): white skin binding over wooden boards; traces of a chain.

Fragments: upper pastedown and flyleaf (215 × 308 mm), from a trimmed bifolium; lower flyleaf and pastedown (215 × 308 mm), from a trimmed bifolium.

Paris, BnF Latin 14956

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue SS 2

de Blémur Ce 3

Vyon d'Hérouval 766

1082

Saint-Victor 793¹⁵

Volume of two codicological units:

I (ff. 1–136) *Liber de Doctrina cordis*, 14th c.

II (ff. 137–234) *Sermones*, 13th c.

Parchment, 234 leaves, 165 × 110 mm.

Binding (late 15th c.): white skin binding over wooden boards; traces of a chain; restored in 1970.

Fragments: upper and lower flyleaves, folded thrice and twice respectively (215 × 308 mm), from partial leaves, formerly used as upper and lower pastedowns and flyleaves.

Paris, BnF Latin 14963

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue RR 8

de Blémur Cd 17

Vyon d'Hérouval 1087

1216

Saint-Victor 929¹⁶

Sermones, 14th c.

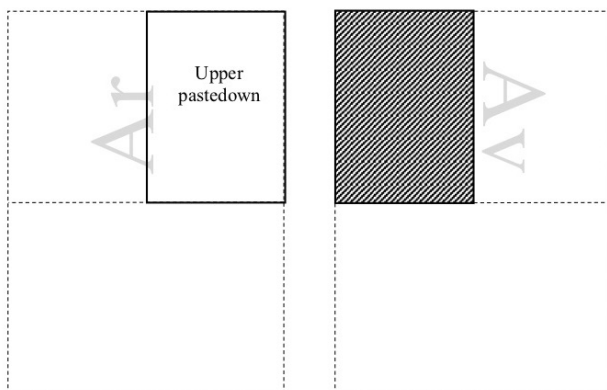
Parchment, 113 leaves, 235 × 145 mm.

Binding (late 15th c.): white skin binding over wooden boards.

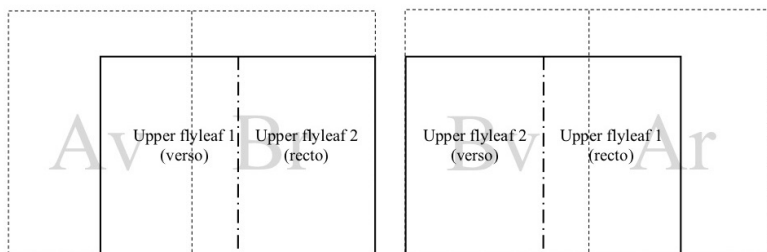
Fragments: upper pastedown, from a trimmed leaf (130 × 225 mm).

¹⁵ Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, p. 390.

¹⁶ Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, p. 381.



Lat. 14963



Lat. 15039

Paris, BnF Latin 15039

Former inventory numbers and shelfmarks:

de Grandrue SS 4

de Blémur Ce 5

Vyon d'Hérouval 776

1092

Saint-Victor 801¹⁷

Volume of three codicological units:

I (ff. 1–98) *Regula Augustini, Expositio* and *Vita Malachiae*, 12th c.

II (ff. 99–135) *Sermones*, 13th c.

III (ff. 136–263) *Sermones*, 13th c.

Parchment, 263 leaves, 190 × 140 mm.

Binding (late 15th c.): white skin binding over wooden boards.

Fragments: two upper flyleaves, formerly upper pastedown and flyleaf, from a trimmed bifolium (190 × 270 mm).

All the host volumes were part of the library of Saint-Victor de Paris, an abbey of canons regular founded in 1113.¹⁸ During the French Revolution, in February 1791, the library was closed and the manuscripts were moved to a designated storage unit (dépôt littéraire de la Pitié). Some manuscripts were acquired by the Bibliothèque Mazarine, others by the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, but the Bibliothèque Nationale received in 1796 the main part of Saint-Victor's library, and distributed the manuscripts among the French, Italian, Spanish and Latin collections.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 2, p. 391.

¹⁸ For an overview of the history of Saint-Victor's library, see F. Gasparri, "Bibliothèque et archives de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris au xiii^e siècle", *Scriptorium* 55 (2001), pp. 275–284; J.-P. Willems, "La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris", *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 17 (2009), pp. 241–255; R. Berndt, "Die Bibliothek der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris: Ihr Werden, ihre Werke, ihr Wert", *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie* 97 (2009), pp. 47–60.

¹⁹ L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les nos 14232–15175 du fonds latin*, Paris 1869.

The Bindings at Saint-Victor Abbey

Most of the fragments come from fifteenth-century bindings produced in Saint-Victor abbey. In most cases, the fragments were used in the bindings of composite codices, and Gilbert Ouy has shown that, at Saint-Victor, the practice of binding two or more codicological units into a single volume dates to the late fifteenth century. This ‘binding campaign’ was likely part of a renewal of the library that took place at the turn of the sixteenth century, under abbot Nicaise Delorme, also who ordered the construction of a new library. Jean of Thoulouse, prior of Saint-Victor, reported these details in his brief chronicle of the abbey, mentioning that Guillaume Tupin, cantor of Saint-Victor, supervised the construction of the new library.²⁰ The manuscripts were chained to the lecterns of the new library and it was at that point that Claude de Grandrue, cantor and librarian of Saint-Victor, undertook his catalogue, which was completed by 1514.²¹

We can then assume that white skin bindings on wooden boards,²² which are the most frequent type of binding that uses the sacramentary fragments, date from this period, and that the sacramentary leaves used in those bindings were then present at Saint-Victor.

Among the manuscripts here considered, Latin 14801 is the only one that has an eighteenth-century parchment binding over pasteboards, a very common type of binding in the library of Saint-Victor. This kind of binding was probably connected to the eighteenth-century project of enlarging the library.²³ For this manuscript, the binding was restored, keeping the previous pastedowns and flyleaves; it is less plausible that the sacramentary fragments were still available at the library as waste material, and first used for the eighteenth-century binding. The other modern binding holds Mazarine 1030 and dates to 1958; since it has wooden boards, which

20 Willesme, “La bibliothèque”, p. 242, from ms. BnF Latin 14677, f. 112r.

21 Ouy, *Les manuscrits*, v. 1, pp. 1–LXI.

22 Arsenal 854, Mazarine 742, BnF Latin 14431, 14925, 14955, 14956, 14963, 15039.

23 The events concerning the library during the eighteenth century are known thanks to a chapter register (Paris, Archives nationales, LL 1451); Willesme, “La bibliothèque”, p. 246.

are quite uncommon in the mid-twentieth century, it is possible that only the external cover was replaced, using boards, pastedowns and flyleaves from the previous binding.

These are indeed lucky cases. We are all aware of the common practice, still in use in the twentieth century, of discarding material from previous bindings in the course of rebinding a codex. We have a striking example of this practice in ms. Latin 14232, which has a binding dating from the Second Republic (1848–1852). In the previous binding, two sacramentary fragments were used as upper and lower pastedowns, and parts of these two bifolia were probably flyleaves. All that remains, however, are two offsets left by the pastedowns. These offsets are the only surviving sanctorale fragments for this sacramentary.

In some cases, fragments from the previous binding were kept apart and then bound together in a fragment collection. Latin 9488 is such a volume, being formed by binding waste from codices that were sent to be rebound in late 1817; the collection itself, however, seems to have been created some years later, for the library stamps date from the period 1852–1870.²⁴ Sacramentary fragments of this collection come from two different manuscripts, Latin 14544 and 14442. The latter still has its original fifteenth-century binding on wooden boards, and the fragments were presumably detached during restoration. Latin 14544 has a modern binding in red morocco over pasteboards, realized in 1851. It is not clear why and how some of the binding fragments were preserved while others are missing, nor is it clear where the fragments were kept and for how long before being rebound in a new manuscript. Indeed, preservation did not seem to be the primary concern of book restorers in the past centuries, where fragments were not yet seen as valuable documents of our past.

Although the fragments come from a sacramentary that was in Saint-Victor, the original manuscript was never used as a liturgical

²⁴ P. Josserand and J. Bruno, “Les estampilles du Département des imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale”, in *Mélanges d’histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offerts à Monsieur Frantz Calot*, Paris 1960, pp. 261–298. The stamp is very similar to no. 31, with the mention “MAN.” (for manuscript department), but the pieces could have been stamped some decades later.

book in that abbey. Textual evidence suggests a monastic sacramentary, and a partial reconstruction suggests its origin in a Benedictine abbey. On the other hand, Saint Victor was a house of canons regular (and therefore did not follow the monastic liturgy) and, at the time of its foundation at the beginning of the twelfth century, the liturgy had evolved in such a way that a ninth-century sacramentary would have been of no value for the celebration of the mass.

Reconstruction of the Manuscript

Despite the fact that liturgical books strictly follow the order of the liturgical year, it is not easy to reconstruct the original order of the leaves. The section containing the lectionary must be placed in the first part of the liturgical year, at Christmas and Epiphany, but we are not sure whether this part preceded or followed the sacramentary. Latin 14232 has some masses for the winter Sanctoral, which usually follows the Sacramentary's Temporal. But all the other leaves contain votive masses, whose order could drastically change from one sacramentary to another. For this reason, the proposed reconstruction is highly hypothetical, with the exception of cases where the text continues from one leaf to another.

The Lectionary

The mass lectionary is represented by fragments Latin 14431 (A–B) and Latin 9488 (ff. 9–10).

Latin 14431 has two consecutive leaves containing lessons for the three Christmas masses (*in nocte*, *in aurora* and *in die*), while Latin 9488 ff. 9–10 are two consecutive leaves that have lections for the octave of Christmas and Epiphany. A small lacuna intervenes between the two sets of leaves.

It is not clear if the lectionary was part of the same manuscript or if these four leaves are the remains of an original mass lectionary. We are inclined to believe that they were part of the same book, judging from the size of the leaves and the dimensions of the script; the scribe is the same of the sacramentary and the size of the written space is perfectly compatible with the hypothesis of an original

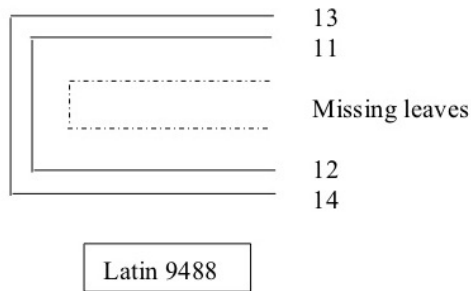


Figure 1

single volume. However, a sacramentary-lectionary for the whole liturgical year would have been a very thick and unwieldy volume. Therefore, we assume that the original manuscript contained only the main feasts of the liturgical year.

The Sanctoral

The offsets of the fragments in Latin 14232 are the only witness – and a partial one at that – to masses from the sanctoral, namely the *secreta* and *post communio* for Fabian (January 20), the collect and *secreta* for the second feast of Agnes (January 28), the prayers for Agatha (February 5), and the collect and *secreta* for Gregory (12 March). Unfortunately, the offsets from the two bifolia do not contain any local saint, a feature that could have pointed to a precise origin of the sacramentary.

Votive Masses

In the reconstruction of the section of votive masses, we tried to group fragments according to the textual sequence, although several votive masses for the same occurrence are scattered throughout the sacramentary. Codicology can help, situating a given bifolium in its original quire.

Latin 9488, ff. 11–14, for example, are two consecutive but not central bifolia: bifolium 13/14 is external and 11/12 is internal, so that we can read the text in the following order: 13 – 11 – (at least two leaves missing) – 12 – 14 [Figure 1]. They contain masses for the dead,

for the kings, for wartime, for irreligious, for travellers, and for the abbot.

Latin 14925 A-B is a partial bifolium that includes masses for living people, for the Cross, for seeking humility, and for the Holy Spirit. Of the last one, we can only read the title in red capitals, so we might infer that the following leaf started with the collect for the votive mass of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, this occurs in another partial bifolium, formed of fragments now in Latin 14956 (A and B) and Mazarine 742 [Figure 2].

The bifolium Latin 14956 + Mazarine 742 contains text that continues in the following bifolium, formed of Latin 14963 and 15039 [Figure 3].

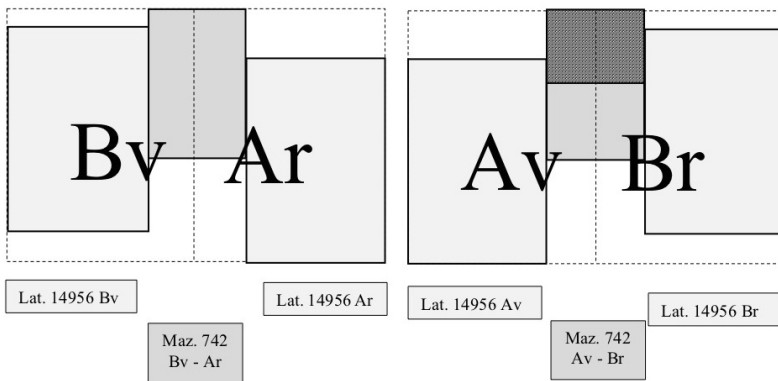


Figure 2

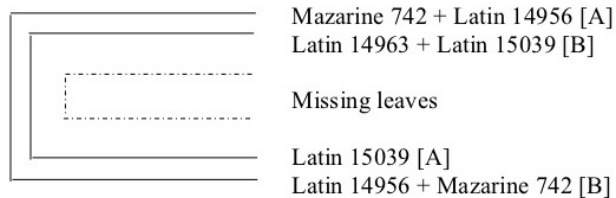


Figure 3

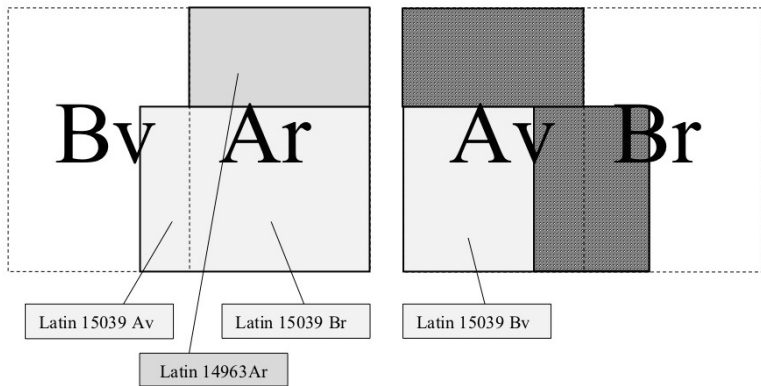


Figure 4

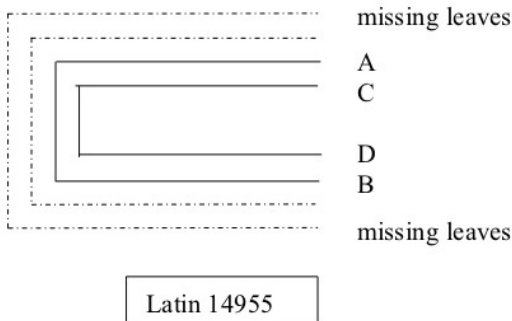


Figure 5

Since Latin 14963 is a pastedown, only the first side is readable [Figure 4].

Latin 14801 has two trimmed leaves that are not consecutive. For the moment, it is not possible to link the text of these fragments to other leaves. Fragments from Latin 14955 are two trimmed bifolia which were originally part of the same quire. They are two consecutive and central bifolia [Figure 5].

Finally, Mazarine 1030 is a trimmed bifolium whose second leaf is completed by Arsenal 854 [Figure 6].

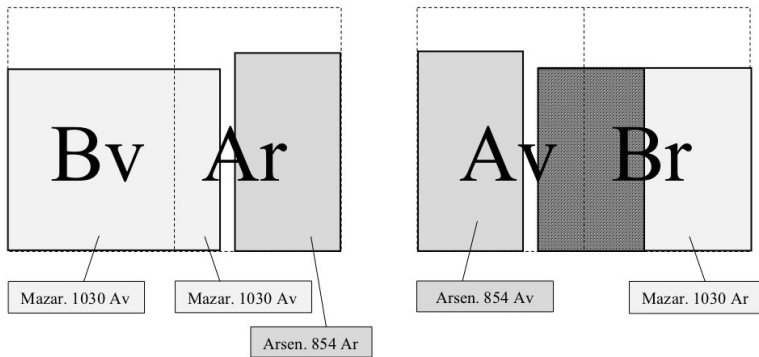


Figure 6

The Texts

The Mass lectionary, represented by BnF Latin 14431 and Latin 9488, ff. 9–10, is limited to Christmastime and is not very specific. In fact, all the Gospel readings correspond to the usual lections for Christmas and Epiphany signaled by Klauser,²⁵ except for the reading for the octave of Christmas, which does not correspond to any of the lections for that day.

Gospel readings:

Christmas 1st mass: Lc 2,5–14 (the beginning is missing, usually Lc 2,1–14)

Christmas 2nd mass: Lc 2,15–20

Octave of Christmas: Mt 2,13–18 (usually Lc 2,21–32)

Epiphany: Mt 2,2–12

The sacramentary is more interesting for the localisation of the original manuscript. The fragments that have a small portion of the Sanctoral (BnF Latin 14232), do not have any region-specific features: saints Fabian, Agnes, Agatha, and Gregory are part of the Roman martyrology.

Most of the fragments belong to that part of the sacramentary that contains votive masses for different occasions. This particular literature was very vivid during the Middle Ages; specific masses

²⁵ T. Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 28), Munster 1935.

were celebrated for the sake of rain, good weather, recovery from illness of people and animals, safety in travel, and for dying and dead people.

Latin 9488 ff. 13, 11: Missa pro vivis et defunctis, Missa pro regibus, Missa specialis pro rege, Oratio in tempore belli, alia oratio ad missam.

Latin 9488, ff. 12, 14: Oratio, Missa pro inreligiosis, Oratio pro fratribus in via dirigentibus, Oratio pro redeuntibus de itinere, In adventu fratrum supervenientium, Missa pro iter agentibus, Missa pro abate vel congregatione.

Latin 14956 + Mazarine 742 [A]: missa pro gratia sancti spiritus, missa in veneratione omnium sanctorum, missa pro quacumque tribulatione.

Latin 14963 + 15039 [B]: Missa sacerdotis pro temptatione carnis.

Latin 15039 [A]: Pro familiaribus, De caritate.

Mazarine 742 + Latin 14956 [B]: Missa specialium sanctorum.

Mazarine 742 [C]: Missa pro peccatis, pro temptatione carnis, Missa sacerdotis.

Latin 14801 [A]: Missa sancti spiritus postulanda, Missa pro monachis nostris

Latin 14801 [B]: Missa monachorum, Missa sacerdotis.

Latin 14955: Missa in honore sanctorum quorum reliquiae in ecclesia sunt, Missa viventis, Missa familiarium sive omnium fidelium, Missa ad postulandam angelorum suffragia, Missa communis sanctorum, Missa sacerdotis propria, Missa pro amico in angustiis, Missa communis viventium.

Mazarine 1030 [A]: Missa sacerdotis, Missa pro amico.

Mazarine 1030 [B] + Arsenal 854 [A]: Missa pro tribulationibus inimicorum invisibilium vel familiarium, Missa pro confitentibus.

Contrary to the sanctoral, which does not provide indications of its usage, the sacramentary contains some masses that allow us to attribute it to a Benedictine abbey. The number of votive masses implying a Benedictine context is in fact relatively high: a mass for the abbot and the congregation (Latin 9488, f. 14v) and two masses for the monks (Latin 14801, A and B) are sufficient to assign the original manuscript to a Benedictine monastery.

The prayers, 100 in all, are almost all edited in the Gregorian Sacramentary published by Deshusses;²⁶ the majority of them come from the *supplementum* to Hadrian's sacramentary, a group of texts that have been added to the *Hadrianum* by various scribes and in a number of variants.²⁷ Some prayers attested in the fragments appear

26 J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien: ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits, édition comparative*. I. *Le Sacramentaire, le supplément d'Aniane*, II. *Textes complémentaires pour la messe*, III. *Textes complémentaires divers* (Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28), Fribourg 1971, 1979, 1982.

27 See Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, v. 2, pp. 20–21.

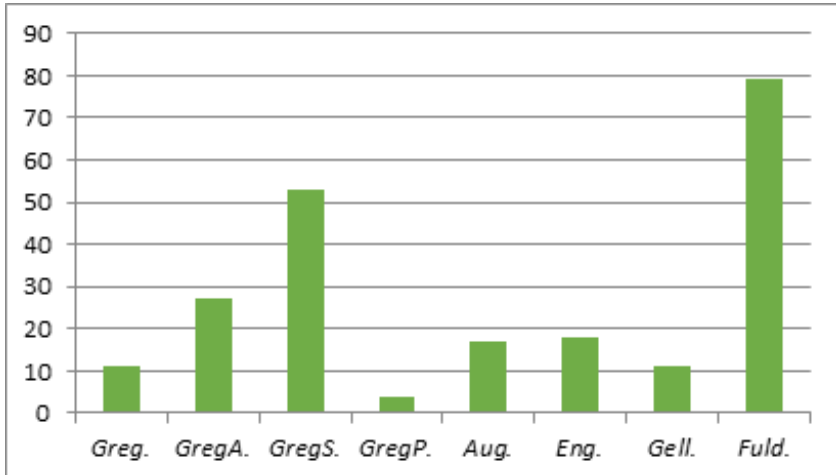


Figure 7: occurrences of the prayers in published sacramentaries (*Greg.* = Gregorian sacramentary; *GregA.* = Aniane's addition; *GregS.* = Supplements; *GregP.* = Gregorian sacramentary of Padua; *Aug.* = Autun sacramentary; *Eng.* = Angoulême sacramentary; *Gell.* = Gellone sacramentary; *Fuld.* = Fulda sacramentary)

also in the sacramentary of Angoulême²⁸ and that of Autun,²⁹ but what is more surprising is the quite impressive number of prayers that match those in the sacramentary of Fulda.³⁰ The occurrences show that the Fulda sacramentary is the closest one to the text of the Saint-Victor fragments.³¹

The primacy of the Fulda sacramentary is evident also in the uniqueness of five prayers that occur only in fragments and the *Fuldense*.³²

28 P. Saint-Roch, *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis. B. N. Lat. 816. Le sacramentaire gélasien d'Angoulême* (CCSL 159C), Turnhout 1987.

29 Manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 1667, edited in O. Heiming, *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis* (CCSL 159B), Turnhout 1984.

30 For the edition of the texts, see G. Richter and A. Schönfelder, *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X. Cod. Theol. 231 der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Göttingen*, Fulda 1912.

31 For the Gellone sacramentary, based on manuscript Paris, BnF, Latin 12048, see A. Dumas and J. Deshusses, *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 1–11 (CCSL 159–159A), Turnhout 1981, 2001.

32 Unique occurrences in Fulda sacramentary are: the *post communio* of the mass *pro iter agentibus* (BnF, Latin 9488, f. 14v), *Fuld.* 2318; the *post communio* for the mass *in honore sanctorum quorum reliquiae in ecclesia sunt* (BnF, Latin 14955), *Fuld.* 1886; the *secreta* and the *post communio* of the mass *pro amico*

In the prayers that are not unique, the fragments share accidents with the *Fuldense* against the other sacramentaries.

Table 1: Shared accidents between the fragments and the *Fuldense*

Locus	Fragment	shared accident	other reading
<i>post communio</i> for the mass <i>ad poscendam humilitatem</i> [Fuld. 1819, GregS. 2347]	BnF, Latin 14925	<i>per humilitatis exhibitionem</i>	om. GregS.
collect for the mass <i>pro quacumque tribulatione</i> [Fuld. 915, GregS. 2507, Aug. 1701, Eng. 2233]	BnF, Latin 14963	<i>salventur</i>	<i>serventur</i> GregS. Aug. Eng.
<i>post communio</i> for the mass <i>pro familiaribus</i> [Fuld. 2272, Greg. 901]	BnF, Latin 15039	<i>famulis et famulabus tuis</i>	<i>populo tuo</i> Greg.
collect of the missa <i>monachorum</i> [Fuld. 2287, GregS. 2239, Eng. 2201]	BnF, Latin 14801	<i>amorem</i>	om. GregS. Eng.
<i>post communio</i> of the missa <i>monachorum</i> [Fuld. 2291, GregS. 4437, Aug. 1595]	BnF, Latin 14801	<i>sub titulo et iugo Christi</i>	<i>sub titulo Christi</i> GregS. Aug.

Moreover, the liturgical destination of the prayers can change from one sacramentary to another, but the occasions displayed in the rubric of the fragments are more frequently a match to the *Fuldense* compared to others.³³

These extensive parallels with the *Fuldense* encourage us to consider Fulda as a possible origin of the sacramentary. However, the fragments display a small detail that reveals another scenario.

The bifolium now in fragments Mazarine 742 and BnF Latin 14956 contains part of a mass for special saints (*missa specialium sanctorum*), that is, a mass to call upon the protection of saints who are the object of special veneration. It mentions saints Stephen,

in angustiiis (BnF, Latin 14955), *Fuld.* 2254 and *Fuld.* 2255; the *post communio* for the mass *pro temptatione carnis* (Mazarine 742), *Fuld.* 1829.

33 The *post communio* *Fuld.* 1905 for the mass *in veneratione sanctorum* (BnF, Latin 14956 + Mazarine 742), is used for the saints Alexander, Eventhus and Theodolus in *GregP.* 420; the *secreta* of the mass *pro familiaribus*, *Fuld.* 2270 (BnF, Latin 15039), is a *post communio* in *GregS.* 2380 and *Eng.* 2190.

Denis, Rusticus and Eleutherius, Sebastian, Lawrence, Hippolytus and Cucuphas, the Innocents, Martin, Hilarius, Ambrose, Hieronymus, Augustine, Benedict, Gregory and a second Hilarius. These prayers are attested in the *Fuldense* and in the supplement of the Gregorian sacramentary, but none of them has this particular list of saints. The presence of saint Denis with his companions Rusticus and Eleutherius points to the Parisian region; and in fact, the critical apparatus of the Deshusses's edition³⁴ mention this list of saints in one of the collated sources, manuscript Paris, BnF, Latin 2290,³⁵ a ninth-century sacramentary copied at the abbey of Saint-Amand for the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Denis. Victor Leroquais, in his catalogue of missals and sacramentaries,³⁶ notes this particular prayer in another manuscript: Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale 118, a tenth-century sacramentary also copied for the liturgical use of Saint Denis.³⁷

This evidence (presented in Table 2) points to a precise liturgical use, that of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Denis, and the presence of the masses for the abbot and the monks corroborates this attribution. How can we explain though the remarkably high number of prayers attested in the Fulda sacramentary? Eric Palazzo had already noticed the deep similarity between the Saint-Denis sacramentary (BnF Latin 2290) and that of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (BnF Latin 2291, also copied at Saint-Amand)³⁸ with the *Fuldense*, based on the comparison of votive masses.³⁹ It is interesting to note then that votive texts migrate from one manuscript to another following a

³⁴ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, v. 2, p. 52.

³⁵ See f. 130. Another hand added in red ink the names of Vincentius and Germanus to all the three prayers. The manuscript is accessible online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423836x/f1.item>.

³⁶ V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et Missels des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, I, Paris 1924, pp. 64–68.

³⁷ The manuscript has been digitized and is available online (see f. 35r–v): <http://manuscrit.ville-laon.fr/app/visualisation.php?cote=Ms118&vue=1>.

³⁸ Latin 2291 was originally intended for Saint-Amand, and later adapted to the Parisian use of Saint-Germain. It is interesting to note that, for the *missa sanctorum*, Latin 2291 (fol. 135v) follows the version of the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*.

³⁹ E. Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda. Étude sur l'iconographie et la liturgie à l'époque ottonienne*, Münster 1994, pp. 150–151.

Table 2: Comparison of *Missa specialium sanctorum*

Fragments	Latin 2290	Laon 118	Fuld.	GregS + Lat. 2291
	use of St.-Denis		use of Fulda	use of St.-Amand
<i>Collecta</i> Propitiare quaesumus domine nobis famulis tuis				
per beatorum martyrum tuorum				per huius sancti confessoris tui sive martyris
Stephani, Dyonisii Rustici et Eleutherii, Sebastiani Laurentii Ypoliti Cucuphatis Innocentii necnon et sanctorum confessorum Martini, Hilarii, Ambrosii, Hieronimi, Augustini, Benedicti, Gregorii, Hilari		Stephani, Dyonisii Rustici et Eleutherii, Sebastiani Laurentii Ypoliti Cucuphatis Innocentii necnon et sanctorum confessorum Martini, Benedicti, Gregorii, Hilari	Stephani, Laurentii Dyonisii Bonifatii	<i>ill.</i> , qui in praesenti requiescit ecclesia
merita gloriosa, ut eorum pia			merita gloriosa, ut eorum	merita gloriosa, ut eius pia
intercessione ab omnibus protegamur adversis.				
<i>Super oblata</i> Suscipiat clementia tua domine quaesumus de manibus nostris munus oblatum				
et per beatorum martyrum tuorum Stephani, Dyonisii, Rustici et Eleutherii, Sebastiani, Laurentii Ypoliti Cucuphatis Innocentii necnon et sanctorum confessorum Martini Hilarii Ambrosii Hieronimi Augustini Benedicti Gregorii, Hilarii			et per beatorum martyrum tuorum Stephani, Laurentii, Dyonisii, Bonifatii	et per huius sancti tui <i>ill.</i>
orationes, ab omnibus nos emundet peccati.				
<i>Post communio</i> Divina libantes mysteria quae pro				
beatorum martyrum tuorum Stephani, Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, Sebastiani, Laurentii, Ypoliti, Cucuphatis, Innocentii necnon et sanctorum confessorum Martini, Hilarii, Ambrosii, Hieronimi, Augustini, Benedicti, Gregorii, Hilarii			beatorum martyrum tuorum Stephani, Laurentii, Dyonisii, Bonifatii	huius sancti tui <i>ill.</i>
//	veneratione tuae obtulimus maiestati, praesta domine quaesumus, ut per ea veniam mereamur peccatorum, ut per ea veniam mereamur peccatorum, et caelestis gratiae donis reficiamur.			

‘Benedictine network’, which must have been particularly strong and important. Votive masses are particularly significant and interesting in this respect, because, unlike, for example, the sanctoral, they are not linked to a specific and local liturgical use. By means of these texts, we can observe critical relations between monasteries, even if each one of them kept its proper uses.

The connection between Saint-Amand and Fulda explains the textual proximity between the two sacramentaries and, consequently, between the texts of Saint-Denis and Fulda sacramentaries. The comparison between the texts of the *missa sanctorum* shows that, even if there is a clear common origin for these prayers,⁴⁰ the Saint-Denis sources (Latin 2290 and Laon 118) display a specific list of saints that matches the list in the fragments, and that diverges from both the *Fuldense* and the Saint-Amand texts. Consequently, as this list of saints is typical of the Saint-Denis sources, we can ascribe the fragments to the liturgical use of Saint-Denis.

The sacramentaries Latin 2290 and Laon 118, and the fragments share then the same origin;⁴¹ however, there is a codicological detail that makes us assume a different configuration with respect to the content. The reconstructed dimensions of the fragments (285 × 205 mm) are similar to that of Latin 2290 (290 × 210 mm) and of Laon 118 (257 × 227 mm), but the density of the text is quite different: the fragments have 17 written lines per page, while Latin 2290 has 28 lines and Laon 118 has 24 lines. It is quite unlikely that the fragments come from a complete sacramentary, since the condensation of the amount of text for the whole Temporal and Sanctoral in one book requires a much more intense exploitation of the page, in order to keep the manuscript to a manageable size. We presume that the original manuscript was a festive sacramentary-lectionary, which contains only the main feasts for the Temporal and the Sanctoral, plus the votive masses. Furthermore, this is exactly the original

40 The origin of these prayers is definitely not clear. It seems that Saint-Amand had a very active scriptorium, where liturgical manuscripts were copied even for other liturgical uses. It is possible that the texts originated in Saint-Amand and that the list of saints was later adapted for a specific use.

41 By ‘origin’ we mean the liturgical use, which can diverge from the place of production, as we have seen.

composition of Laon 118, a votive sacramentary-lectionary that a later hand completed with other masses and a gradual.

The fragments are then what remains of an original festive sacramentary-lectionary of the ninth century, written for the liturgical use of Saint-Denis.⁴² But how did it arrive in Saint-Victor? The chronological extremes of their presence at Saint-Victor are quite large: the upper limit is the foundation of Saint-Victor abbey (1113) and the lower one is the date of the binding (late fifteen century). Within this time span, it is not yet possible to determine the exact circumstances of this transfer. Saint-Denis manuscripts were dispersed in different places over the centuries, and there is not any evidence of a particular connection between Saint-Denis and Saint-Victor.⁴³ Despite the difficulty in retracing the history of the fragments, we can observe that, during the first half of the twelfth century, the foundation of Saint-Victor occurred at the same time of the renewal of Saint-Denis: abbot Suger began the reconstruction of the Saint-Denis church, which was consecrated in 1140. The architectural remodelling usually coincides with the renewal of the liturgical library, and it is likely at this moment that the old sacramentary-lectionary, already textually obsolete, left Saint-Denis to be thrown away.

The history of Saint-Denis' library nevertheless suggests another scenario. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the abbey of Saint-Denis was in a period of decline, attested by the looting of its books; in this case, the sacramentary-lectionary could have been expropriated at that time in order to be sold (and reused) as waste material.⁴⁴

In either case, the sacramentary-lectionary would have remained in some unknown depository for a while, until a librarian of Saint-Victor found in them the perfect material for making new

⁴² We cannot really know if the original manuscript was actually copied in Saint-Denis itself, or in another *scriptorium* for Saint-Denis, as the fragments do not contain any decoration that might point to a particular house.

⁴³ Donatella Nebbiai, who studied Saint-Denis' library in the Middle Ages, confirms the lack of information about the relations between the two abbeys (personal communication, 17 October 2020).

⁴⁴ See D. Nebbiai Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye Saint-Denis en France du ix^e au xviii^e siècle*, Paris 1985, pp. 125–182.

bindings. Another renewal, that of the library of Saint-Victor, gave the fragments a chance to survive. Thanks to their new function, the fragments were preserved in 13 manuscripts⁴⁵ of the library of Saint-Victor, and they subsequently arrived at their current conservation site.

The case of the library of Saint-Victor not unique: books that belonged to the same *libraria* and that were rebound at the same time often display binding material coming from the same original manuscript. The interest of this sacramentary-lectionary resides in its textual, liturgical and historical aspects, in its early dating as well as in its long and troubled history. Their reconstruction leads to some observations on fragmentary sources.

First, the fragments provide a source for the liturgy at Saint-Denis in the ninth century; despite the fact Saint-Denis was one of the most important royal abbeys throughout the Middle Ages, very few liturgical manuscripts survive from the Carolingian period, and the fragments enhance our knowledge about liturgical practices of that time.

Second, the fragments represent a type of liturgical book that is not very common. A sacramentary-lectionary for the main feasts is quite infrequent in the panorama of a liturgical library, especially in a Benedictine abbey. These fragments are then a witness to an unusual codicological reality, and they draw our attention to a wider range of possibilities in the book production.

More generally, the fact that fragments from the same manuscript were used for several different bindings shows that the original manuscript, or a significant part of it, was at the disposal of the librarian at the time he renewed the bindings. This detail sheds light upon the binding practices at the end of the Middle Ages and possibly upon the trade of waste material, in which parchment codices played a huge role.

The current situation of the fragments reveals a series of different practices in conservation: once the binding was restored or remade, the fate of the fragments could be very different and the

⁴⁵ The fragments are actually part of twelve manuscripts, but BnF Latin 9488 contains fragments that were previously used in two bindings from Saint-Victor.

librarian's choices can be critical in their survival. The binding material can be replaced in the binding, with the exact same function (Mazarine 1030); fragments can be detached and kept apart (Latin 14544 and Latin 14442, now Latin 9488); or, in the worst scenario, fragments can be lost (Latin 14232).

These considerations highlight the importance of fragments for the history of the book, especially in the case of liturgical books, and their value in the study of scribal practices, liturgical uses, libraries, binding procedures, and in the reconstruction of the medieval network between Benedictine abbeys. Finally, even if they represent a small part of our book heritage, fragments are still capable of providing new evidence to reconstruct our past, to let us see a larger picture, to expand our knowledge and understanding of our treasures and to retrace our history far more deeply than we could previously imagine.

Appendix

Latin 14431

[Ar] <IN DIE NATIVITATIS DOMINI AD PRIMAM MISSAM... *Secundum Lucam*...> uxore praegnate. Factum est autem cum essent ibi, impleti sunt dies ut pareret, et peperit filium suum primogenitum. Et pannis eum involuit et reclinavit eum in praesepio, quia non erat eis locus in diversorio. Et pastores erant in regione eadem, vigilantes et custodientes vigilias noctis supra gregem suum. Et ecce angelus domini stetit iuxta illos, et claritas dei circumfulsit illos, et timuerunt timore magno. Et dixit illis angelus: Nolite timere; ecce enim evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum, quod erit omni populo, quia natus est vobis hodie salvator, qui est Christus dominus in civitate David. Et hoc vobis signum: Invenie[Ar]tis infantem pannis involutum, et positum in praesepio. Et subito facta est cum angelo multitudo militiae caelestis laudantium deum, et dicentium: Gloria in altissimis deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. (Lc 2,5-14)

Ad Titum Carissime: Apparuit gratia dei salvatoris nostri omnibus hominibus. Erudiens nos, ut abnegantes impietatem et

saecularia desideria sobrie et iuste et pie vivamus in hoc saeculo, expectantes beatam spem et adventum gloriae magni dei et salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi, qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut nos redimeret ab omni iniquitate. Et mundaret sibi populum acceptabilem, sectatorem bonorum operum. Haec loquere in Christo Iesu [Br] domino nostro. (Tit 2,11-15)

Secundum Lucam In illo tempore, pastores loquebantur ad invicem: Transeamus usque Bethleem et videamus hoc verbum quod factum est, quod dominus ostendit nobis. Et venerunt festinantes et invenerunt Mariam et Ioseph et infantem positum in praesepio. Videntes autem cognoverunt de verbo quod dictum erat illis de puero hoc. Et omnes qui audierunt mirati sunt et de his, quae dicta erant a pastoribus ad ipsos. Maria autem conservabat omnia verba haec conferens in corde suo. Et reversi sunt pastores glorificantes et laudantes deum in omnibus, quae audierant et viderant, sicut dictum est ad illos. (Lc 2,15-20)

In die ad Hebreos Fratres: Multifarie multisque modis [Bv] olim deus loquens patribus in prophetis, novissime, diebus istis locutus est nobis in filio, quem constituit haeredem universorum, per quem fecit et saecula. Qui cum sit splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius, portansque omnia verbo virtutis suae, purgationem peccatorum faciens, sedet ad dexteram maiestatis in excelsis. Tanto melior angelis effectus, quanto differentius prae illis nomen haereditavit. Cui enim dixit aliquando angelorum: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te? Et rursum: Ego ero illi in patrem, et ipse erit mihi in filium? Et cum iterum introducit primogenitum in orbem terrae, dicit: Et adorent eum omnes angeli dei. Et ad angelos quidem dicit: Qui facit angelos suos spiritus, et ministros suos flammam {...} (Hebr 1,1-7)

Latin 9488, ff. 9-10

[9r] <DOMINICA INFRA OCTAVAM NATALIS DOMINI... *Lectio libri Apocalipsis*...> deo et agno, et in ore eorum non est inventum mendacium; sine macula enim sunt ante thronum dei. (Apc 14,4-5)
Secundum Matheum In illo tempore: Angelus domini apparet in somnis Ioseph dicens: Surge et accipe puerum et matrem eius et fuge in Aegyptum et esto ibi, usque dum dicam tibi. Futurum est enim ut Herodes quaerat puerum ad perdendum eum. Qui consurgens

accepit puerum et matrem eius nocte et recessit in Aegyptum; et erat ibi usque ad obitum Herodis, ut adimpleretur, quod dictum est a domino per prophetam dicentem: Ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum. Tunc Herodes videns quoniam illusus esset a magis, iratus est valde et mittens occidit omnes pueros qui erant in Bethlehem et in omnibus [9v] finibus eius <a bim>atu et infra, se<cundum> tempus, quod exquisierat a magis. <Tunc> adimpletum est, <qu>od dictum est per <Iere>miam prophetam dicentem: Vox in <Rama> audita est, ploratus et ululatus mul<tus,> Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit <con>solari, quia non sunt. (Mt 2,13–18)

DOMINICA POST NATALEM DOMINI. *Ad Galathas* Fratres: Quanto tempore heres parv<ulus est,> nihil differt a servo, cum sit domin<us> omnium; sed sub tutoribus et actor<ibus> est usque ad praefinitum tempus a <pa>tre. Ita et nos cum essemus parvuli, <sub> elementis mundi eramus servientes. At ubi venit plenitudo temporis, <misit> deus filium suum natum ex muliere, factum <sub> lege, ut eos, qui sub lege erant, redim<ere...> (Gal 4,1–5)

[10r] <IN EPIPHANIA DOMINI... *Secundum Mattheum*...> eius in oriente et venimus adorar<e eum.> Audiens autem Herodes rex turba<tus est> et omnis Hierosolima cum ill<o, et congre>gans omnes principes sacer<dotum et scri>bas populi, sciscitabatur ab eis <ubi Christus> nasceretur. At illi dixerunt ei: <In Beth>leem Iudae. Sic enim scriptum est <per> prophetam: Et tu, Bethleem te<rra Iudae,> nequaquam minima es in princ<ipi>bus Iudae; ex te enim exiet dux, q<ui re>get populum meum Israel. Tu<nc He>rodes, clam vocatis magis, dilig<enter> didicit ab eis tempus stellae, quae <appa>ruit eis. Et mittens illos in Beth<leem> dixit: Ite et interrogate diligen<ter de> puero, et cum inveneritis, <renun>tiate mihi, ut et ego veniens ad<orem eum.>

[10v] Qui cum audissent regem, abierunt. <Et ec>ce stella, quam viderant in oriente, <antecedeba>t eos, usque dum veniens sta<ret supra,> ubi erat puer. Videntes autem <stella>m gavisii sunt gaudio magno valde. <Et in>trantes domum viderunt pue<rum> cum Maria matre eius, et prociden<tes> adoraverunt eum. Et apertis the<sau>ris suis, obtulerunt ei munera, <aurum et tus> et myrrham. Et responso <accepto in somnis, ne redirent> ad Herodem, per <aliam viam> reversi sunt in regionem suam. (Mt 2,2–12)

IN OCTAVAS EPIPHANIAE *epistola <leg>atur quae in vigiliis Epiphaniae <...>*

Secundum Matheum In illo tempore: venit Iesus a Galilea <...>
(Mt 3,13)

Latin 14232

[Av] <In natale sancti Fabiani... *Super oblata*> Hostias tibi domine beati Fabiani ma<rturis> tui, dicatas meritis benignus assu<me> et ad perpetuum nobis tribue p<rovenire subsidium.> Per. (Greg. 109)

Post communio R<efecti> participatione mu<neris sacri> quaesumus domine deus noster, ut cuius ex<equimur cultum sentiamus effectum. Per.> (Greg. 110, Fuld. 158, Aug. 165)

[Lacuna]

[Br] <IN NATALE BEATAE AGNETIS> Deus, qui nos annua beatae Agnae martyris tuae sollemnitate laetificas, da ut quam veneramur officio, etiam pia<e conversationis sequa>mur exemplo. Per. (Greg. 120, Aug. 199, Eng. 190)

<*Super oblata* Super has quaesumus domine hostias> benedictio copiosa <descendat, quae et sanctifi>cationem <nobis clementer operetur, et de martyrum sollemnitate laetificet. Per.> (Greg. 122)

[Lacuna]

[Cv] <IN NATALE BEATAE AGATHAE Indulgentiam nobis domine beata Agathe martyr inploret, quae tibi grata semper existit et merito castitatis et tuae> professione virtutis. (Greg. 131, Aug. 216, Eng. 209)

Super oblata Suscipe munera domine quesumus quae in beatae Agathae martyris tuae sollemnitate deferimus, cuius nos confidimus patrocini<no> liberari. Per. (cf. Greg. 129)

Post communio Auxilientur nobis <domine sumpta mysteria...> (Greg. 130)

[Lacuna]

[Dr] <IN NATALE SANCTI GREGORII> D<eus, qui animae famuli tui Gregorii aeternae beatitu>din(is praemia contulisti, concede> pro<pitius ut qui peccatorum nostrorum pondere> praemim<ur, eius apud te> praecibus sublevemur. Per. (Greg. 137)

<*Super oblata*> Annue nobis domine, ut animae famuli tui <Gregorii> prosit oblatio quem i<mmolando totius mundi tribuisti relaxari delicta. Per.> (Greg. 138)

Latin 9488

[13r] <MISSA PRO VIVIS SIVE DEFUNCTIS... *Secreta*> Deus, qui singulari corporis tui host(ia) totius mundi solvisti delicta, hac obla(tione) placatus maculas scelerum nostrorum <abs>terge et omnium christianorum vivorum <atque> defunctorum peccata dimitte, eis(que) premia eterna concede. Per. (*GregS.* 3131, *Fuld.* 2153)

Post communio Sumpta sacramenta quaesumus domine crimina <nostra> detergant, omnemque pravitatem et <hos>ticam impugnationem visibilibus et i(nvi)sibilibus meritis sanctorum omnium pro(cul re)pellant, et omnibus fidelibus viv(is) et defunctis prosint ad veniam, <pro> quorum quarumque tibi sunt oblata salute. Per. (*GregS.* 3132)

[13v] <ITE>M MISSA PRO REGIBUS <Deu>s, servientium tibi fortitudo regnorum, propitius christianorum, adesto semper principibus, ut quorum <tibi> subiecta est humilitas eorum <ubi>que excellentior sit potestas. Per. (*GregA.* 1340)

Super oblata <P>ropitiare, domine, precibus et hostiis <fa>mulo- rum tuorum et propter <no>men tuum christiani nominis de(fen)de rectores, ut salus servientium <tib>i principium pax tuorum possit <es>se populorum. Per. (*GregA.* 1341, *Eng.* 2344)

Post communio <P>rotege, domine, famulos tuos subsidiis <p>acis, et corporis et spiritalibus <en>utriens alimentis, a cunctis <h>ostibus redde securos. Per. (*GregA.* 1342, *Eng.* 2345)

ITEM MISSA <S>PECIALIS PRO REGE

[11r] Omnipotens sempiternus deus, caelestium te(rres)triumque moderator, qui fam(ulum) tuum *ill.* ad regni fastigium di(gna)tus es provehere, concede ei <quesumus, ut> a cunctis adversitatibus liber(atus,) et ecclesiastice pacis dono mun(iatur,) et ad eterne pacis gaudia te(don)te pervenire mereatur. Per. (*GregA.* 1275)

Super oblata Concede omnipotens deus his salutari(bus) sacrificiis placatus, ut famul(us) tuus *ill.* ad peragendum regalis <dig>nitatis officium inveniatur se(mper) idoneus, et cele(stis) patriae gaudiis reddatur accep(tus.) (*GregA.* 1278, *Fuld.* 1932)

<Post communio> Haec domine salutaris sacrificii ob(la)tio famuli tui *ill.* peccatorum [11v] <m>aculas diluat, et ad regendum secun(du)m tuam voluntatem populum ido(ne)um reddat, ut

hoc saluari mys⟨ter⟩io contra visibiles hostes redda⟨tu⟩r invictus, per quod mundus est ⟨di⟩vina dispensatione redemptus. Per. (GregA. 1279, Fuld. 1933)

ORATIO IN TEMPORE BELLI Omnipotens et misericors deus, a bellorum nos quaesumus turbine fac quietos, quia ⟨n⟩obis bona cuncta praestabis, si pa⟨ce⟩m dederis et mentis et corporis. Per. (Greg. 997, Fuld. 1943)

ALIA ORATIO AD MISSAM Hostium nostrorum quaesumus domine elide superbiam, et dexteræ tuæ virtute ⟨pr⟩osternæ [sic]. Per. (GregA. 1335, Fuld. 1952)

Super oblata Huius, domine, quaesumus, virtute mysterii, et a nostris mundemur occultis, et ab inimi⟨corum liberemur insidiis. Per.⟩ (GregA. 1337, Fuld. 1953, Aug. 1782, Eng. 2334)

[Lacuna]

[12r] ⟨Oratio Plebem nomini tuo subditam domine propitius intueri, eique consolationes tuas iugiter per celestem gra⟩tiam dignanter operare. Per. (GregP. 900, Aug. 1313, Eng. 1797, Gell. 1972)

MISSA PRO INRELIGIOSI Deus, qui infideles deseris et iust⟨e in⟩ devotis irasceris, populum tuum quesumus converte propitius, ut qui te per ⟨du⟩ritiam inreligiosae mentis semper ⟨of⟩fendunt, ad sanctorum beneficia p⟨ro⟩merenda tuæ miserationis, grat⟨ia⟩ inspirante, convertas. Per. (Fuld. 1973, Aug. 1749)

Super oblata Cor populi tui quaesumus domine converte pr⟨opi⟩tius, ut ab his muneribus non r⟨e⟩cedant, quibus maiestatem tuam m⟨ag⟩nificari deprecamur. Per. (GregS. 2667, Fuld. 1974, Aug. 1750, Gell. 2719)

Post communio Da nobis quaesumus domine ambire quae re⟨c⟩ta sunt et vitare quae noxia, u⟨t⟩ sancta quae capimus, non ad iudiciu⟨m⟩ nobis, sed potius proficiant potius proficiant ad m⟨ede⟩lam. Per.⟩ (GregS. 2668, Fuld. 1976)

[12v] ORATIO PRO FRATRIBUS IN ⟨VIA⟩ DIRI⟨GENTIBUS Exaudi domine preces nostras,⟩ et iter famu⟨li⟩ tui *ill.* propitius ⟨comitare at⟩que ⟨misericordiam tuam sicut⟩ ubique es ⟨ita ubique largire, quatenus ab⟩ om⟨nibus adversitatibus tua opitulatione defensu, iustorum desideriorum potiatur effectibus.⟩ Per. (GregA. 1314)

⟨ORATIO PR⟩O RE⟨DE⟩UNTIBUS DE ITINERE ⟨Omnipotens sempiternus deus, nostroru⟩m temporu⟨m viteque dispositore famulo tuo

ill. continuae tranquillitatis largire subsidium, ut quem incolomem) pro<priis laboribus reddidisti, tua faci>as <protectione securum.> Per. (GregA. 1315)

<I>N ADVENTU FRATRUM SUPERVENIENTIUM

[14r] Deus, humilium visitator, qui nos <fra>terna dilectione consolans, p<retende> societati nostrae gratiam tuam, ut per e<os in> quibus habitas, tuum in nobis se<ntia>mus adventum. Per. (GregA. 1316, Fuld. 2327, Aug. 1826)

MISSA PR<O ITER> AGENTI<BUS> Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris, et viam famuli tui <ill.> in salutis tuae prosperitate dispo<ne,> ut inter omnes viae et vitae hu<ius> varietates tuo semper protegatu<r> auxilio. Per. (GregA. 1317, Fuld. 2314)

Super oblata Propitiare domine supplicationib<us> nostris et has oblationes quas tibi offer<imus> pro famulo tuo *ill.* benignus assu<me,> ut viam illius et precedente gratia <tua> dirigas et subsequente comitari <dig>neris, ut de actu atque incolumita<te> [14v] <eiu>s secundum misericordiae tuae <praesi>dia gaudeamus. Per. (GregA. 1318, Fuld. 2315)

Ad complendum <Deu>s, qui in te sperantibus misericordiam tuam semper impendis et nus<qu>am es servientibus tibi longinquus, <con>cede famulo tuo et suis omnibus <pr>osperum iter, ut te protectore <et> duce per iustitiae callem sine offen<si>one gradientur. Per. (Fuld. 2318)

MISSA PRO ABATE VEL CONGREGATIONE <O>mnipotens sempiternus deus, qui facis mirabilia <m>agna solus, pretende super famulum <tu>um *ill.* abbatem et super cunctam congregationem illi commissam <spiritu>m gratiae salutaris, et ut in ve<ri>tate tibi complacent, perpetuum <ei>s rorem tuae benedictionis infunde. Per. (GregA. 1308, Fuld. 2148)

Latin 14925

[Av] <MISSA PRO VIVIS> Deus fons bonitatis et pietati>s origo, <qui peccantem non statim> iudi<cas, sed ad paenitentiam mi>seratus <expectas, te quaeso ut faci>norum <meorum squalores absterga>s, et me <ad peragendum iniunctum of>ficium <dignum efficias. Et qui alta>ris tui mi<nisterium suscepi indignus, per>ago tre<pidus, ad id

peragendum redda)r strenuus, <et inter eos qui tibi placueru>nt inveniar <iustificatus. Per.> (GregA. 1285, Fuld. 2189)

[Br] <MISSA DE SANCTA CRUCE Deus qui unigeniti filii tui pretioso sanguine vivificae crucis vexillum sanctificari voluisti, concede quaesumus eos qui e>iusdem sancte crucis gaudent honore, tua quoque ubique protectione gaudere. Per eundem. (GregS. 1835, Fuld. 1837)

Super oblata Haec oblatio domine ab omnibus nos purget offensis, quae in ara crucis etiam totius mundi tulit offensa. Per. (GregS. 1836, Fuld. 1838)

Post communio Adesto nobis domine deus noster, et quos sanctae crucis laetari fecisti honore, eius quoque perpetuis defende subsidiis. Per. (GregS. 1838, Fuld. 1840)

MISSA AD POSCENDAM HUMILITATEM Deus qui superbis resistis et gratiam praestas humilibus, auge in nobis vere humi[Bv]<ilitatis virtutem...> (GregS. 2345, Fuld. 1817)

Super oblata Haec oblatio domine quaesumus nob<is remissionem> omnium peccatorum et <verae humilita>tis obtineat gratiam, simul<que a cor>dibus nostris concupiscentiam <carnis et ocu>lorum atque ambitionem <saeculi auferas,> quatinus coram te sobrie iu<ste pieque> viventes, praemia conseq<uamur aeterna.> (GregS. 2346, Fuld. 1818)

Post communio Huius domine sacramenti per<ceptio, pecca>torum nostrorum maculas <tergat, et nos> per humilitatis exhibitionem <ad caelestia> regna perducatur. (cf. GregS. 2347, Fuld. 1819)

MISSA <PRO GRA>TIA SANCTI SPIRITUS

Mazarine 742 + Latin 14956

Mazarine 742 [Ar]	Lat. 14956 [Ar]
P<raesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut spiritus> sanctus adv<eni> <suae digna> Per dominum.	ens templum nos gloriae nter habitando perficiat. Per. (GregS. 1825, Fuld. 988, Gell. 1045)

Accipe quaesumus domi ter op(erare ut qu) agimus (piis)	<i>Super oblata</i> ne munus oblatum et dignan- od sancti spiritus mysteriis effectibus celebremus. Per. (cf. <i>GregS.</i> 1826, cf. <i>Fuld.</i> 989)
Adesto d(omine) menti (sancti) rore de(fen) sancti spiritus.	<i>Post communio</i> quaesumus populo tuo et quem sacra- spiritus imbuisti, ab hostium fu- de. Per dominum in unitate eiusdem (<i>GregS.</i> 1827, <i>Fuld.</i> 982)
NE OM Maiest(ate) cam(ur) sanctorum (tuorum) (tificas, ita sem)	MISSA IN VENERATIO- NIUM SANCTORUM m tuam domine supplices depre- ut sicut nos iugiter omnium commemoratione lae- per (su)pplificatione defendas. Per. (<i>GregS.</i> 1903, <i>Fuld.</i> 1903, <i>Aug.</i> 796, <i>Gell.</i> 1416)
Latin 14956 [Av]	Mazarine 742 [Av]
<i>Super oblata</i> Hostias domine tuae plebis intende, in honore omnium sanctorum ta mente caelebrat, profice ad salutem.	(ut quas) (tuorum devo-) (re sibi sentiat) (<i>GregS.</i> 1904, <i>Fuld.</i> 1904, <i>Aug.</i> 797, <i>Eng.</i> 1287, <i>Gell.</i> 1417)
<i>Post communio</i> Pasce nos domine tuorum sanctorum, quia et n sunt, quoties illis in quibus tu mirabilis prae	(gaudiis ubique) (ostrae salutis augmenta) (honor impenditur,) (dicaris. Per.) (<i>GregP.</i> 420, <i>Fuld.</i> 1905)

me in manibus quaerentium animam meam, sed libera eam de omni angustia, piissime pater. Per. (*GregS.* 2163, *Fuld.* 2196)

Super oblata Haec oblatio quaesumus domine omnium sanctorum tuorum precibus <et> meritis, in conspectu divinae m<ai>estatis tuae assumpta, me famul<um> tuum ab omnibus vitiis et fraudib<us> inimici <defensum...> (*GregS.* 2175, *Fuld.* 2198)

Latin 15039

[Ar] <fa>mulo <...>

<PRO FA>MILI<ARIBUS> Prec<amur te domine ut intercedentibus sanctis tuis famulo tuo indulgentiam tribuas> pecca<torum et opus eius in bonum perfi>cias m<isericordiam tuam et gratiam tuam ei> conce<das, fide spe caritate eum re>pleas <mentem eius ad desideria> caele<stia erigas, ab omni adversitate eum> defen<das et ad bonam perseverantiam> perduc<as.> (*GregS.* 2380, *Fuld.* 2270, *Eng.* 2190)

[Av] <Post communio> Da salutem domine quesumus famulis et famulabus tuis *ill.*, quorum quarumque commemorationem agimus, mentis et> corpo<ris, et perpetuis consolationibus> tuorum <reple corda fidelium, ut tua pro>tectione <relevati et pia tibi devotione co>mpla<ceant et tuam semper benedictionem con>sequantur. (cf. *Greg.* 901, *Fuld.* 2272)

<DE CA>RITATE Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui iustitiam tu>ae legis <in cordibus credentium dig>ito tuo <scribis, da nobis fidei spei et c>aritatis <augmentum, et ut mereamu>r asse<qui quod promittis, fac nos a>mare quod praecipis. (*GregS.* 2302, *Fuld.* 1799)

Mazarine 742 [Br]	Latin 14956 [Br]
	< <i>Super oblata</i> Mitte quaesumus> domine spiritum sanctum qui et haec mu<nera> praesentia nostra tuum nobis effi<ciat sacra>mentum, et ad hoc percipiendum <nostra corda> purificet. Per. (<i>GregS.</i> 2303, <i>Fuld.</i> 1800)

	<i>Post communio</i> <Sancti spiritus gra>tia quaesumus domine corda nostra illu- minet <et perfect>ae caritatis dulcedine habun<danter r>eficiat. Per in unitate eiusdem. (<i>GregS.</i> 2313, <i>Fuld.</i> 1801)
MISSA Propi<ti> per beat<orum> phani <Dy> Sebasti<a> phatis confess<o> Hieron<imi> <Gregorii, Hilarii>	SPECIALIUM SANCTORUM are quaesumus domine nobis famulis tuis, martyrum tuorum Ste- onisii Rustici et Eleutherii, ni Laurentii Ypoliti Cucu- Innocentii necnon et sancto<rum> rum Martini, Hilarii, Ambrosii, Augustini, Benedicti, merita gloriosa,

Latin 14956 [Bv]	Mazarine 742 [Bv]
<ut eorum pia intercessione a> protegamur adversis. Per. (cf. <i>GregS.</i> 1877, cf. <i>Fuld.</i> 1906)	b omnibus
Suscipiat clementia tua domine bus nostris munus oblatum, <et> martyrum tuorum Stepha<ni> Rustici et Eleutherii, Sebast<a> tii Ypoliti Cucuphatis In<no> necnon et sanctorum confesso<rum> tini Hilarii Ambrosii Hier<o> Augustini Benedicti Grego orationes, ab omnibus nos <e> peccatis. Per. (cf. <i>GregS.</i> 1878, cf. <i>Fuld.</i> 1907)	<Super> oblata quaesumus de mani- per beatorum Dyonisii ni Lauren- centii Mar- nimi rii Hilari mundet

<i>Post communio</i> Divina libantes mysteria <q> beatorum martyrum tu<o> phani Dionysii Rustici et <E> Sebastiani, Laurentii Ypo tis Innocentii necnon et	uae pro rum Ste- leutherii ti Cucupha- <...> (cf. <i>GregS.</i> 1880, <i>Fuld.</i> 1909)
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Latin 14801

[Ar] <MISSA> SANCTI SPIRITUS POSTULANDA Adsit nobis domine quaesumus virtus spiritus sancti, q<ui> et corda nostra clementer expurget, et ab omnibus tueatur ad<ver>sis. Per unitatem eiusdem. (*GregS.* 1819, *Fuld.* 983, *Gell.* 1041)

<Post Communio> Mentis nostras quesumus domine spiritus sanctus divinis reparet sacramentis, quia ipse es<t> remissio omnium peccatorum. Per. (*GregS.* 1821, *Fuld.* 986, *Gell.* 1043)

<Super oblata> Propitius domine quaesumus haec dona per virtutem sancti spiritus sanctifica, et hostiae spiritalis oblatione suscepta, nosmetipsos tibi perface munus aeternum. Per unitatem eiusdem. (*GregS.* 1820, cf. *Fuld.* 980, cf. *Gell.* 1039)

<MISSA> PRO MONACHIS NOSTRIS <Fa>miliam huius sacri coenobii <quaesumu>s domine intercedente beato Benedicto confessore tuo perpetuo [Av] gubernamoderamine, ut adsit nobis et in securitate cautela, et inter aspera fortitudo. Per dominum. (*GregS.* 2260, *Fuld.* 2293)

Super oblata Respice quaesumus domine propitius ad hostiam nostrae servitutis tuo conspectui immolandam, ut professionis sanctae propositum quod te inspirante suscepimus, te gubernante custodiamus. Per. (*GregS.* 2261, *Fuld.* 2294)

Post communio Suscipe domine preces nostras et muro <...> (*GregS.* 2264, *Fuld.* 2297, *Eng.* 2212)

[Lacuna]

[Br] <MISSA MONACHORUM> Deus, qui nos a saeculi vanitate conversos ad supernae vocationis accendis amo>rem, pectoribus nostris purificandis inlabere, et gratiam nobis qua in te perseveremus infunde, ut protectionis tuae muniti praesidio, quod te donante promissimus impleamus, ut nostrae professionis exsequutores effecti, ad ea

quae perseverantibus [Bv] in te dignatus es promittere pertingamus. Per. (cf. *GregS.* 2239, *Fuld.* 2287, cf. *Eng.* 2201)

Super oblata Tibi domine deus noster nostrae devotionis hostias immolamus hoc orantes pariter ac precantes, ut nos sacrificium tuum mortificatione vitae carnalis effectos in odorem suavitatis accipias, ac moribus quibus professioni nostrae congruamus instituas, ut quos sanctae compunctionis ardore ab hominum ceterorum praeposito segregasti, etiam a conversatione carnali et ab inmunditia actuum terrenorum infusa nobis caelitus sanctitate discernas. Per. (cf. *GregS.* 2240, *Fuld.* 2289, *Aug.* 1599, *Eng.* 2202)

Post communio Presta domine quaesumus famulis tuis renunciantibus saecularibus pompis gratiae tuae ianuas aperire, qui despecto diabolo confugiunt sub titulo et iugo Christi; iube venientes ad te sereno vultu suscipere, ne de eis inimicus valeat triumphare. Tribue eis brachium infatigabile auxilii tui, mentes eorum fidei lorica circumda, ut felici muro vallati mundum se gaudeant evasisse. (*Fuld.* 2291, cf. *GregS.* 4437, cf. *Aug.* 1595)

MISSA SACERDOTIS

Latin 14955

[Ar] (IN HONOREM SANCTORUM QUORUM RELIQUIAE IN ECCLESIA SUNT... *Post communio* Divina libantes mysteria... quorum hic sacra gaudemus prae(sentia. Per.) (*Fuld.* 1886)

MISSA VIVENTIS (Omnipotens sempiterne) deus miserere famulo tuo *ill.* (et dirige eum) secundum tuam clementiam in (viam salutis) aeternae, ut te donante (tibi placita) cupiat, et tota virtute per(ficiat. Per.) (*GregA.* 1293, *Fuld.* 2239)

Super oblata (Proficiat quaesumus domi)ne haec oblatio quam (tuaes suppli)ces offerimus maiestati (ad salutem fa)muli tui *ill.*, ut tua pro(videntia eiu)s vita inter adversa et (prospera ubi)que dirigatur. Per. (*GregA.* 1294, *Fuld.* 2240)

Post communio (Sumentes domin)e perpetuae sacramenta (salutis, tuam d)eprecamur clementiam (ut per ea famu)lum tuum ab omni adver(sitate prote)gas. Per. (*GregA.* 1295, *Fuld.* 2242)

Alia (Famulum tuum quaesumus domine tua semper) [Av] protectione custodi, ut libera tibi mente deserviat, et te protegente a malis omnibus sit securus. Per. (*GregA.* 1296, *Fuld.* 2243)

MISSA FAMILIARIUM SIVE OMNIUM FIDELIUM Praetende domine famulis et famulabus tuis illis dexteram caelestis auxilii, ut te toto corde perquirant et quae digne postulant assequantur. Per. (GregA. 1300, Fuld. 2273)

Super oblata Propitiare domine supplicationibus nostris, et has oblationes famulorum famularumque tuarum quas tibi pro incolomitate eorum offerimus benignus assume, et ut nullius sit irritum votum, nullius vacua postulatio, praesta quaesumus ut quod fideliter petimus efficaciter consequamur. Per. (GregA. 1301, Fuld. 2274, Gell. 1856)

Post communio

[Cr] <Da famulis et famulabus tuis quaesumus domine in tua fide> et sinceritate constantiam, <ut in carit>ate divina firmati, nullis <temptat>ionibus ab eius integritate <vellantu>r. Per. (GregA. 1303, Fuld. 2276, Aug. 1909)

FERIA III MISSA <AD POST>ULANDA ANGELORUM <SUF>FRAGIA <Perpetu>um nobis domine tuae miseratio<nis praest>a subsidium, quibus et ange<lica praest>itisti suffragia non deesse. Per. (GregS. 1856, Fuld. 1855, Eng. 1389)

Super oblata <Hostias ti>bi domine laudis offerimus sup<pliciter> deprecantes, ut easdem ange<lico pro n>obis interveniente suffra<gio et pla>catus accipias et ad salutem nostram <provenir>e concedas. Per. (GregS. 1857, Fuld. 1856, Aug. 912, Eng. 1390, Gell. 1520)

Post communio <Repleti domi>ne benedictione caelesti <supplic>iter imploramus, ut quod <fragili caelebramus officio, sanctorum> [Cv] archangelorum nobis prodesse sentiamus auxilio. Per. (GregS. 1859, Fuld. 1858)

MISSA COMMUNIS SANCTORUM Deus qui nos concedis omnium sanctorum tuorum commemorationem agere, da nobis famulis tuis in aeternam laetitiam de eorum societate gaudere. Per. (GregS. 1894, Fuld. 1895)

Super oblata Haec hostia quaesumus domine quam in omnium sanctorum tuorum veneratione tuae offerimus maiestati, et vincula nostrae pravitatis absolvat, et tuae nobis misericordiae dona conciliet. Per. (GregS. 1895, Fuld. 1896)

Post communio Refecti cibo potuque caelesti deus noster te supplices exoramus, ut quia haec in omnium commemoratione

sanctorum percepimus, eorum semper munia⟨mur et precibus. Per.⟩
(*GregS.* 1896, *Fuld.* 1898)

[Dr] ⟨MISSA SACERDOTIS PROPRIA⟩ Deus sub cuiu⟨s oculis omne cor trepidat,⟩ et omnes con⟨scientiae pavescent, res⟩pice propit⟨ius ad preces gemitus mei, et⟩ qui me null⟨is dignum meritis in loco hu⟩ius servitu⟨tis tuae sacris fecisti assistere⟩ altaribus, ⟨ita secun- dum multitudinem⟩ miseratio⟨num tuarum da mihi indul⟩gentiam pe⟨ccatorum meorum, ut mea⟩ fragilitas ⟨quae per se procliuis est ad la⟩bendum, ⟨per te semper muniatur ad stan⟩dum, et q⟨uae per se prona est ad offensam,⟩ per te semper ⟨reparetur ad veniam. Per.⟩
(*GregS.* 2181, *Fuld.* 2178)

⟨*Super oblata*⟩ Sanctifica domine ⟨haec tibi sacrificia inlibata,⟩ et sumen⟨tium corda pietate solita⟩ a malis om⟨nibus placatus emun- da,⟩ ut mere⟨ar tibi domino incessabiliter sine⟩ offensio⟨ne servire, et aeternae vitae hereditatem percipere sine fine. Per.⟩ (*GregS.* 2182, *Fuld.* 2179)

[Lacuna]

[Br] ⟨MISSA PRO AMICO IN ANGUSTIIS SIVE OPPRESSIONE ADVERSAN- TIUM POSITO *Secreta*⟩ Tua, domin⟨e, quaesumus, sacramenta, quae sumpsimus, famulum tuum *illum*⟩ custodi⟨ant et contra diabolicos atque⟩ human⟨os tueantur semper incursus, ut per⟩ haec pi⟨ae devo- tionis officia, terrenis⟩ desider⟨iis et carnalis concupiscentiae ex⟩ cessibus ⟨mitigatis, ad caelestem gloriam⟩ pervenire ⟨et aeternis suppliciis valeat⟩ carere. (*Fuld.* 2254)

⟨*Post communio*⟩ Famu⟨lum tuum *illum*, quaesumus, domine, caelesti semper⟩ protec⟨tione circumda, ut, te prote⟩gente, ⟨a cun- ctis adversitatibus⟩ liberi ⟨et, te custodiente, a malis omni⟩bus sint ⟨securi.⟩ (*Fuld.* 2255)

⟨MISSA VOTIVA⟩ ET COM⟨MUNIS VIVENTIUM⟩ Deus qui ⟨iustifi- cas impium et non vis⟩ mo⟨rtem peccatorum, maiestatem⟩ tuam su⟨ppliciter deprecamur...⟩ (*GregA.* 1289, *Fuld.* 2280, *Aug.* 1250, *Gell.* 1860)

Mazarine 1030

[Ar] ⟨MISSA SACERDOTIS... *Post communio* Huius domine perceptio sacramenti peccatorum meorum⟩ maculas tergat, et ad ⟨peragendum

in) iunctum officium, me ido⟨neum reddat.⟩ Per. (GregA. 1288, Fuld. 2193)

MISSA VOTIVA ⟨PRO AM⟩ICO ⟨Domine cui acceptiora⟩ sunt vota cui munera, ⟨exoramus⟩ ut vota servi tui *ill.* dig⟨nanter accipi⟩as, tribue ei divitias ⟨gratiae tuae⟩ et ab omnibus pericu⟨lis eum libera⟩ri iubeas, tuearis ac de⟨fendas, proteg⟩as et confortes, diebus ⟨ac noctibus, horis atque momentis, des ei auxilium atque praesidium iuxta evangelicam vocem, ut quod precatur obtineat, et quod impetrat agnoscat. Per.⟩ (GregS. 2375)

[Av] ⟨*Super oblata* Deus qui per os David locutus es, vovete et redde domino deo vestro, te suppliciter exoramus, ut famulum tuum *ill.* vigilan)tem custodias, dormientem conserves oblationem quam tibi pro eo offerimus, clementer accipias. Per. (cf. GregS. 2376 Pa)

Post communio Deus qui es initium et finis, concede misericordiam tuam famulo tui *ill.* ut sub ope dexteræ tuæ eum ubique protegas. Mitte ei auxilium de sancto et de Sion tuere eum, et auge illi felicitatis tempora. Da ei vitam longevam quinoe annos auxisti, tribue ei domine ⟨...⟩ (cf. GregS. 2377 Pa)

Mazarine 1030 + Arsenal 854

Mazarine 1030 [Br]	Arsenal 854 [Ar]
⟨MISSA PRO TRIBUL⟩ ⟨INVISI⟩ ⟨ET GR⟩ ⟨Omnipotens⟩ ⟨preces⟩ de ⟨mala⟩ ut ⟨sancti spiritu⟩ ve⟨nia⟩	ATIONIBUS INIMICORUM BILIUM VEL FAMILIARIUM ATIA SANCTI SPIRITUS mitissime deus respice propitius nostras, et libera cor famuli tui rum temptatione cogitationum, s dignum fieri habitaculum in- tur. Per eiusdem. (GregS. 2330, Fuld. 2256)
H⟨as tibi⟩ pro ⟨salut⟩ illi⟨us sancti⟩	<i>Super oblata</i> domine deus offerimus oblationes e famuli tui <i>ill.</i> , quatenus animam spiritus gratia inluminare digneris. Per eiusdem. (cf. GregS. 2331, Fuld. 2257)

<i>Post communio</i> P(er hoc) ob(tuli) fam(uli) bus. (Per.)	quaesumus domine sacrificium, quod tuae mus pietati, ab omnibus cor tui <i>ill.</i> emunda temptationi- (<i>GregS.</i> 2333, <i>Fuld.</i> 2259) MISSA PRO CONFITENTIBUS
	Arsenal 854 [Av]
	<... <i>Post communio</i> Omnipotens et miseri- cors deus, qui omnem animam peniten- tem et confitentem magis> vis emendare quam perdere, res(pice propi)tius super famulos tuos <i>ill.</i> , et per (haec sacra)menta quae sumpsimus, ave(rte ab eo) iram indignationis tuae, et di(mitte ei) omnia peccata sua. Per dominum. (<i>GregS.</i> 2721, <i>Fuld.</i> 2335)

Mazarine 742

[Cr] (MISSA PRO PECCATIS... *Post communio* Praesta nobis aeternae salvator, ut percipientes hoc munere veniam peccatorum, dei)nceps peccata vitemus. Per. (*GregA.* 1326, *Fuld.* 2073)

Super populum (Deus cui propri)um est semper misereri et (parcere, susci)pe deprecationem nostram, (et quos delic)torum catena constringit, (miseratio tua)e pietatis absolvat. Per. (*GregA.* 1327, *Fuld.* 2075, *Eng.* 1945)

[add.] *Require in a*(...) Concede quaesumus...

(MISSA PRO) TEMPTATIONE CARNIS (ET GRATI)A SANCTI SPIRITUS (Ure igne sancti spiritus r)enes nostros et cor nostrum domine, (ut tibi casto corde serviamus et corpore placeamus. Per.) (*GregS.* 2320, *Fuld.* 1826, *Eng.* 2294)

[Cv] (*Post communio*) D(omine, adiutor meus et protector in tribula)tionibus, obsecramus im(mensam po)tentiam et pietatem tu(am, ut per auxilium) gratiae tuae refloreat (caro mea vigore) pudicitiae et sanctimoniae (novitate, ut) zona castitatis succinct(a, lorica fidei) circumdata, in resurrec(tione iustorum) aeterna gaudia te largi(ente comprehendat. Per.) (*Fuld.* 1829)

MISSA SACERDO⟨TIS⟩ Omnipotens aeternae deus tuae g⟨ratiae pietatem⟩ supplici devotione dep⟨osco, ut omnium⟩ malorum meorum vi⟨ncula solvas,⟩ cunctisque meis crimin⟨ibus et peccatis⟩ clementer ignoscas. ⟨Et quia me indig⟩num et peccatorem ad ⟨ministerium tuum⟩ vocare dignatus es, sic ⟨me idoneum tibi⟩ ministrum efficias, ut ⟨sacrificium de manibus meis placide ac benigne suscipias, electorumque sacerdotum me participem facias, et de praeceptis tuis in nullo me oberrare permittas. Per.⟩ (*GregA.* 1280, *Fuld.* 2171)

A Tenth-Century Fragment of the Metrical Calendar of Gambera from the Lake Constance Region

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Abstract: The Gambera Missal is an illustrated missal written around 1500, now in the Archivio Capitolare at Casale Monferrato. The manuscript includes the text of a Latin metrical calendar (the “Metrical Calendar of Gambera” or MCG) which, based on the feasts included, was suggested to have been composed some 450 years earlier and had a connection to the Abbey of St. Gall. This article discusses a second witness to the MCG, a single leaf that was used as a binding for a seventeenth-century book. The fragment has metrical text and computistical data virtually identical to that in the Gambera manuscript, and a large Ottonian painted KL (for “Kalends”). Based on the handwriting and style of the initials, the fragment dates to the second-half of the tenth century, likely from the Lake Constance area.

Keywords: *metrical calendar, missals, Lake Constance, tenth century.*

In 2005, Elena Rampi drew attention to a verse calendar in a late-fifteenth-century missal currently held in the Archivio Capitolare at Casale Monferrato.¹ The missal is known as the Gambera Missal after its former owner, Casale Monferrato native Bernardino Gambera (1456–1506), who became bishop of Cavaillon (near

* I owe thanks to Elena Rampi, Immo Warntjes, Michael Lapidge, David Ganz, Fabrizio Crivello, P. Justinus Pagnamenta OSB, librarian of Einsiedeln Abbey, Manuela Meni, archivist of the Archivio Capitolare, Casale Monferrato, Vanessa Ramos, UTSA Library, and others unknown. Thanks also to my son, Farley T. Katz, for help on images. All translations here are the author's.

1 E. Rampi, “Il martirologio in versi del messale gambera: un testo di provenienza sangallese nell'Archivio Capitolare di Casale Monferrato”, *Monferrato Arte e Storia* 17 (2005), 53–90, <http://www.artestoria.net/monfaesto/2005-001-120.pdf> (accessed June 2020).

Avignon). Gambera's nephew donated the manuscript to the cathedral in 1542.² The missal begins with a medieval verse calendar containing about 370 hexameters praising some 195 saints, giving their status (martyr, bishop, virgin, etc.), their place of veneration and method of martyrdom. The corresponding feast dates are indicated by an adjacent column of dates in Roman format. Additional lines (not included in the above count) provide introductions to each month (e.g., "Maius habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx"), *leitspruchen* or "mottoes" ("Maius maiorum pandat nunc festa suorum"), seasonal information ("Initium veris"), paschal dates and lunar calendar correlations ("Embolismus ogdoadis/Prima incensio lune paschalis"), hours of light and dark ("Nox horarum xvi, dies horarum viii"), and zodiac events ("Sol in Leonem") [Figure 1]. The leaves are foliated in a later hand, the calendar comprising ff. Ir–XI^r, XI^v being blank. The missal begins on f. 1^r, the leaf following the calendar, with a half page miniature of the Last Supper, surrounded by a gilt border with decorations and figures in roundels and, at bottom, the arms of Bernardino Gambera (likely a later addition) [Figure 2]. The text of the missal is in the same hand as the calendar. Rampi found the calendar remarkable because, although it was written around 1500, it belonged to a genre of versified martyrologies attested in the ninth to eleventh centuries.³

The "Latin metrical calendar" has been described as "one of the most curious genres of medieval Latin poetry":

As its name perhaps implies, it was a composition consisting of a number of hexameter lines, each of which characteristically recorded the name of a saint and the day of the year (in Roman reckoning) on which the saint was commemorated. As such the metrical calendar was non-liturgical in function; rather, it appears to have been intended as a sort of poetic martyrology whose function may have been purely mnemonic: to commit such a poem to memory would provide a concise and ready record of the various feast days commemorated in the church where

- 2 E. Rampi, "Il Messale 'optime miniatum' dell'Archivio Capitolare di Casale Monferrato: notizie storiche ed artistiche", *Monferrato Arte e Storia* 10 (1998), 61–84, <http://www.artestoria.net/monfaesto/1998-001-136.pdf> (accessed June 2020). Rampi's article also summarizes the previous bibliography on the Gambera Missal.
- 3 Rampi, "Il martirologio", 55.

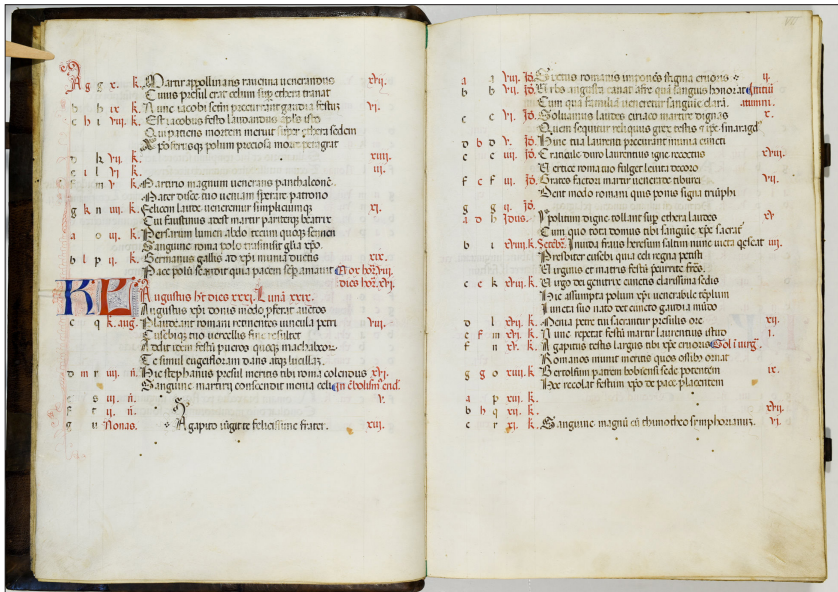


Figure 1: Metric Calendar, The Gambera Missal, ff. VIv-VIIr (Casale Monferrato, Archivio Capitolare)

the poem was composed. It is also conceivable that the metrical calendar was regarded by its practitioners primarily as a sort of scholastic exercise whereby the would-be poet was taxed with the problems of fitting intractable expressions of date reckoning into the framework of the hexameter.⁴

The earliest known example is the Metrical Calendar of York, consisting of 82 lines, composed in the second half of the eighth century. In the following centuries, these calendars spread to the Continent (and back to England) and were revised, expanded and adapted to fit local veneration, and new ones were composed. As they increased in length, their mnemonic function became less apparent. While these calendars originally included the dates as part of the verse, in a second phase, portions were interpolated into liturgical calendars, with the dates in a column next to the text. Finally, liturgical calendars were composed entirely in verse,

4 M. Lapidge, "A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey", in *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066*, London, 1993 (reprinted from *Revue Bénédictine* 94 (1984), 326-369), at 343.



**Figure 2: Incipit,
The Gambera
Missal, f. 1r
(Casale Monfer-
rato, Archivio
Capitolare)**

as attested by the most recent witness, the metrical calendar of the Pembroke Psalter-Hours, produced, apparently in England, in the mid-fourteenth century.⁵ Although Lapidge cites redactions of

⁵ See M. Lapidge, “The Metrical Calendar in the ‘Pembroke Psalter Hours’”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 129 (2011), 325–387, especially 326, n. 10 and 343–347; P. Meyvaert, “A Metrical Calendar by Eugenius Vulgarius”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 84 (1966), 349–377. See also K. Karasawa, *The Old English Metrical Calendar (Menologium)*, Cambridge 2015, 18–21; P. McGurk, “The Metrical Calendar of Hampson, a New Edition”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986), 79–125; J. Hennig, “Studies in the Literary Tradition of the ‘Martyrologium Poeticum’”, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* 56 (1953/54), 197–226. Although several calendars have been published and

English metrical Latin calendars in France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Ireland, he states that the “genre of poem ... had been practiced above all (if not quite exclusively) by English authors”.⁶

The Metrical Calendar of Gambera text (henceforth MCG) belongs to the last category, a liturgical calendar composed in metrical form. Rampi concluded it had been composed not before the mid-eleventh century, based on the most recent dates of canonization of saints included. Specifically, since the most recent canonization was of Saint Wiborada in 1047, she reasoned that year was the *terminus post quem* for the calendar text. The scribe who wrote the Gambera Missal around 1500 would have thus copied a calendar originally written some 450 years before and, as a tool for liturgical practice, hopelessly out of date.⁷

Rampi noted that the calendar had “strong affinities” to and may have been based on the Martyrologium of Usuard, with which it shared 163 feasts out of its total of 195. She also concluded the calendar had a “very strong connection” to the abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland. Many of the feasts in the MCG are typical of St. Gall and others reflect local “cults, widespread in the Swiss area”, which suggested that it may have been written in the abbey of St. Gall. Indeed, the most recent saint included, Wiborada, the patron saint of librarians, was martyred in St. Gall in 926. The presence, however, of saints revered in French locales such as Remiremont and even German saints from the Rhineland and Bavaria made Rampi feel the “hypothesis that the martyrology was produced in the mother house in St. Gall on Lake Constance [was] doubtful”. Peter Ochsenbein, librarian of St. Gall, agreed that the calendar had “undoubted” relevance to St. Gall, but ruled out the possibility that it was produced “within the walls of the Swiss monastery”.⁸

Rampi was unable to resolve the location of the calendar’s origin, but felt that the significant presence of German saints from the

analyzed, Lapidge describes them (“The Metrical Calendar in the ‘Pembroke Psalter Hours’”, 325, n. 2.) as “a seldom-studied medieval literary genre” and notes that “The history of the metrical calendar remains to be written”.

6 Lapidge, “The Metrical Calendar in the ‘Pembroke Psalter Hours’”, 344, n. 76.

7 Rampi, “Il martirologio in versi”, 59.

8 Ibid., 61.

Rhineland and Bavaria and especially French saints venerated “towards the present western border” of Switzerland, could be a “useful clue to direct the search” to the areas of Soissons and Remiremont in Northeastern France.⁹

Also unresolved is why the missal, written around 1500, included the text of a calendar nearly half a millenium old at that time. Rampi speculated that the antiquated calendar might have had a quaint charm or sophisticated appeal: “Its presence at the beginning of a missal produced at least four centuries later without fulfilling a precise liturgical function, is explained as a choice of cultural distinction and has the flavor of a cultivated and refined rediscovery, suitable for an intellectually elite environment”.¹⁰ Rampi did not find any other manuscript with the same text, although she did not conduct an exhaustive search.¹¹

The Fragment

In 2016, the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo in Philadelphia underwent a restructuring and downsizing following years of declining enrollment. To raise funds, the Seminary sold paintings by Thomas Eakins and some rare books from its library in auctions.¹² Better World Books, a company that disposes of libraries on eBay, sold a number of old books bearing the stamp of the Seminary’s library: BIBLIOTH. SEMIN. PHILAD. S. CAROLI BORR. From that sale, I acquired a book in its original binding of parchment over boards. The book is *Rosa de S. Maria Virgo Limensis, etc., Augustae* [Augsburg], Simonis Utzichneider 1668, a seventeenth-century German devotional work about Saint Rosa of Lima (1586–1617), the

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., at 62. Another example of the late copying of an outdated calendar, although less extreme, is the Latin metrical calendar that was copied into a late fifteenth century Pembroke Psalter-Hours, more than a hundred years after it was composed. See Lapidge, “The Metrical Calendar in the ‘Pembroke Psalter Hours’”, 325 n. 1.

¹¹ Elena Rampi, personal communication (Mar. 1, 2017).

¹² See S. Howard, “Rare Liturgical Books from Seminary Collection on Sale”, *Catholic News Live* (Oct. 20, 2016), online at <https://catholicnewslive.com/story/550799> (accessed May 28, 2019).

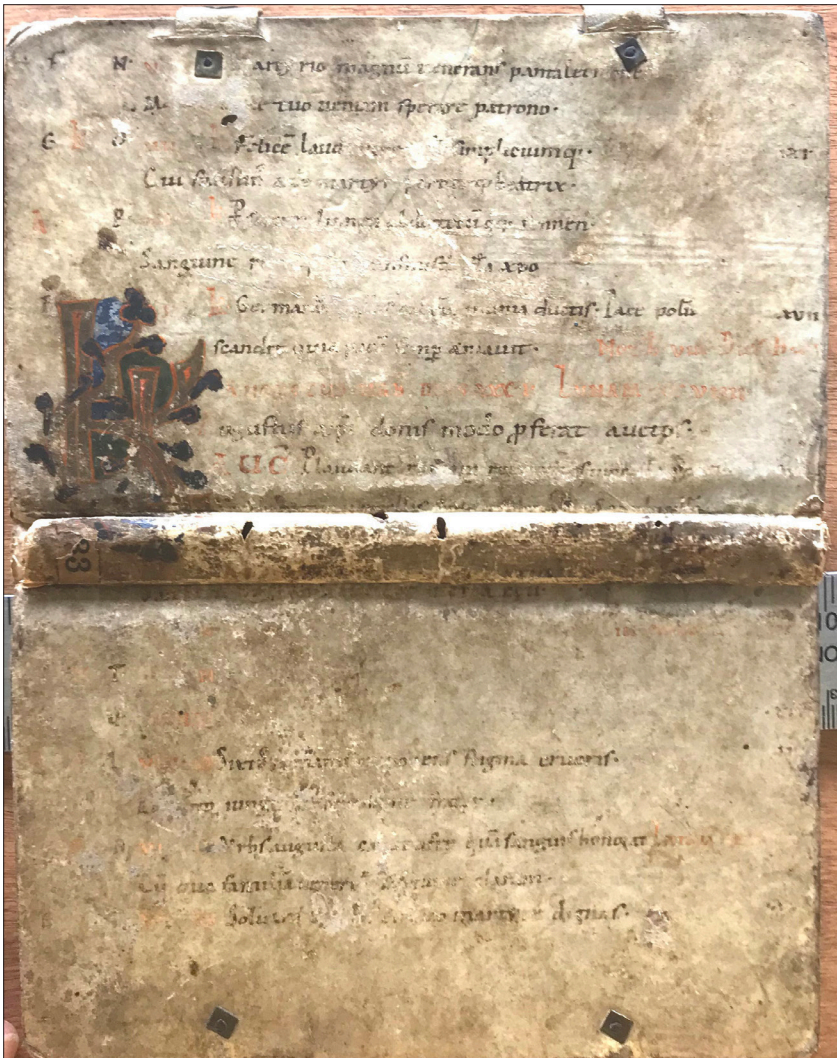


Figure 3: The KL Fragment

first person born in the New World to be canonized and the patron saint of the indigenous people of Latin America.¹³ The book is a

¹³ There are at least 12 copies of this work in OCLC, all in Germany except for singletons in Switzerland, Italy, New York, Mexico and Chile, the last two remote holdings for an obscure Augsburg imprint no doubt due to Saint Rosa's significance for Latin America.



Figure 4 (left): KL Detail

Figure 5 (above): KL Detail
(enhanced colors)

small octavo, with the covers measuring about 96 × 155 mm and held closed by parchment straps with metal snaps. It has an engraved portrait preceding the title, followed by 146 numbered and two unnumbered leaves.¹⁴ The Borromeo Library collections date to 1832, the year in which the Seminary was founded,¹⁵ but there appears to be no record of the acquisition of this book.¹⁶ The only indications of provenance are the seminary's library stamp and a paper label with "33" on the spine.

The parchment binding was a reused manuscript leaf from a medieval calendar [Figure 3], with an original size of least 179 × 235 mm. Parts of the text are worn and soiled and writing on the spine and part of the rear cover has been effaced. On the middle left of the original manuscript page, there is a large KL, painted in gold and

14 A copy of the book is digitized at <https://books.google.com/books?id=jV-VRAAAAcAAJ> (accessed June 5, 2019).

15 See "About the Library", St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, <https://www.scs.edu/library/about-library> (accessed May 28, 2019).

16 James Humble, librarian of the St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, personal communication (May 24, 2019).

outlined in red orange which also forms a central line, with fields of blue and green behind [Figures 4 and 5].

The KL marks the Kalends or first day of the month, in this case August. There are about 17 lines of text, mostly now brown, with some parts in red. The text is in verse, each line beginning with a capital letter. To the left of the text are columns of letters and numbers representing the Dominical Letters (A–G), the Litterae Signorum (A–O) in red, the Lunar Letters (two series of A–U and one of A–T), and dates in Roman format (e.g., IIII kal.). At the far right is a column with a few Golden Numbers, most of which have entirely or partially worn off.

The fragment includes the dates corresponding to July 28–August 8 and, for the part visible, has text identical to that in the Gambera manuscript, with minimal orthographical variants.¹⁷

Transcription

() = expansion of abbreviation (*nomina sacra* are expanded silently)

[] = non-visible text interpolated (from the Gambera manuscript)

<> = editorial addition

* = obscured by initial

= unknown

DL = Dominical Letters

LS = Litterae Signorum

LL = Lunar Letters

The Gambera Manuscript

DL	LS	LL	Roman Date	Verse	Lunar Numbers, etc.
<Iulius> [f. VIv]					
f		m	v k(alendas)	Martirio magnum venerans panthaleone(m)	
				Mater disce tuo veniam sperare patrono	

¹⁷ Indeed, an internet search for the text of the fragment led me to the edition of the MCG in Rampi's article.

g	k	n	IIII k(alendas)	Felicem laude veneremur simpliciumq(ue)	XI
				Cui faustinus adest martir pariterq(ue) beatrix	
a		o	III k(alendas)	Persarum lumen abdo tecum quoq(ue) sennen	
				Sanguine roma polo tra(n)smisit gl(or)ia christo	
b	l	p	II k(alendas)	Germanus gallis ad christi munia ductis	XIX
				Pace polu(m) scandit quia pacem se(m)p(er) amavit	Nox hor(arum) VIII dies hor(arum) XVI
			K(a)L(endis)	Augustus h(abe)t dies XXXI Luna XXIX	
				Augustus christi donis modo p(ro)ferat auctos	
c		q	k(alendis) aug(usti)	Plaudant ¹⁸ romani retinentes vincula petri	VIII
				Eusebiq(ue) tuo vercellis fine resultet	
				Addit idem festu(m) pueros quoq(ue) mach- abeo(rum)	
				Te simul eugeifloram ¹⁹ dans atq(ue) lucilla(m)	
d	m	r	IIII n(onas)	Hic stephanus presul meritis tibi roma colendus	XVI
				Sanguine martirii conscendit menia celi	In ²⁰ e(m) bolism(us) end(ecadis)
e		s	III n(onas)		V

¹⁸ plaudant] plaudeant *cod. et Rampi sed corr. cod.*

¹⁹ Rampi states ("Il martirologio in versi", 76, n. 109), "L'estensore del martirologio compie una fusione tra i due nomi di Eugenio e Flora scrivendo 'Eugeifloram.'" ("The martyrology writer merges the two names of Eugene and Flora, writing 'Eugeifloram'").

²⁰ in] lege iii

f		t	II n(onas)		
g		u	Nonas	+	XIII
[f. VIIr]					
a		a	VIII id(us)	Sixtus romanis im- pone(n)s stigma cruoris	II
				Agapito iu(n)git te felicissime frater ²¹	XIII
b		b	VII id(us)	Urbs angusta canat afre qua(m) sanguis honorat	Initiu(m)
				Cum qua familia(m) veneretur sangui(n)e clara(m)	autumni
c		c	VI id(us)	Solvamus laudes ciriaco martire dignas	X

The Fragment

DL	LS	LL	Roman Date	Verse	Lunar Numbers, etc.
F		N•	v k(alendas)	[M]artyrio magnu(m) venerans pan- taleemone(m)	
				Ma[ter dis]ce tuo veniam sperare patrono	
G	k	O•	IIII k(alendas)	Felice(m) laud[e] vene[remur] simplici- umq(ue)	xi
				Cui faustin(us) ade(st) martyr par(i)terque beatrix	
A		P•	III k(alendas)	Persarum lumen abdo tecu(m) q(uo)q(ue) sennen	
				Sanguine r[oma] p[olo tr] ansmisit [gl](ori)a christo	
B	[L]*	#*	II k(alendas)	Germanus gallis ad christi munia ductis. Pace polu(m)	XVII[II]

²¹ sixtus...cruoris, agapito...frater] *inv. cod. et Rampi, sed corr. signis quattuor punctorum (+) cod.*

				scandit quia pace(m) semp(er) amavit	Nox h(orarum) VIII Dies h(ora- rum) XVI
			K(a)L(endis)	AUGUSTUS H(ABE) T DIES xxxi LUNAM xxviii	
				Augustus christi donis modo p(ro)ferat auctos	
[C]*		#		AUG(USTI) Plaudant r[oma]ni ret[inente]s vinc[u]l[a petri]	[VIII]
				[Eusebique tuo] vercellis [fine resultet]	
				[Addit idem festum pueros quoque mach- abeorum]	
				[Te simul eugeifloram dans atque lucillam]	
[D]	[M]	#	[IIII n(onas)]	[Hic stephanus presul meritis tibi roma colendus]	[xvi]
				San[guine martirii conscendit] menia celi	III embol(ismus) end(ecadis)
[E]		#	[III n(onas)]		
[F]	N	T•	II n(onas)		
[G]		U•	NONAS		XIII
A	O	•A	VIII id(us)	Sixtus romanis impone(n) s stigma cruoris	II
				Ag[ap]ito iungi[t te felici] ssime frater	
[B]	P	•B	VII id(us)	Urbs angusta canat afre qua(m) sanguis honorat	Initiu(m) autum[ni]
				Cu(m) qua familia(m) venere(tur) sanguine claram	
[C]		•C	VI id(us)	Solvam(us) I[au]des ciriaco martyre dignas	

Not only are the texts nearly identical, the computistical numbers and letters are in the same layout and color, except that the letters are in (rustic) capitals in the fragment, and the Lunar Numbers are in rubrics in the Gambera manuscript but black in the fragment.

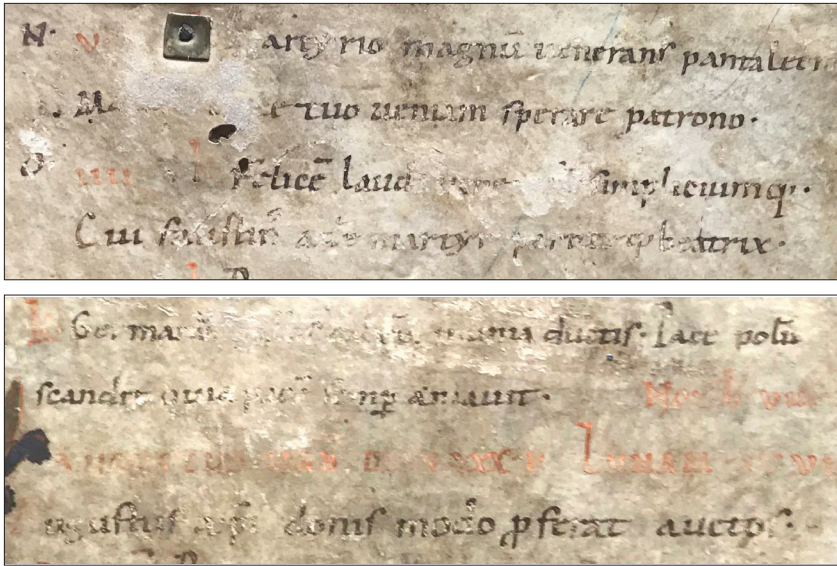


Figure 6, Figure 7: Fragment script (details).

In addition, the fragment gives the incorrect Lunar Letters for July (N, O, P, and [Q]*, instead of M, N, O, P, as in the Gambera manuscript).²²

Dating and localizing the fragment

The writing on the fragment is Carolingian Minuscule. The letters are small, their cue-height (the height of letters ignoring ascenders and descenders) averaging about 1.5 mm. Letters with ascenders or descenders, such as *l*, *q* or *p*, are up to 3.5 mm. tall. The lower-case letters lean to the right, although *l* and *d* are usually upright, and there is little distinction between thick and thin parts. Long *s* ends on the baseline and *r* just below it. There is little clubbing of ascenders and the shaft of *a* is sloped. The writing is neat and level, but not entirely uniform in shape or size. Letters are spaced in the words and the words form discrete units, clearly separated from each other.

²² I thank Immo Warntjes for this observation.

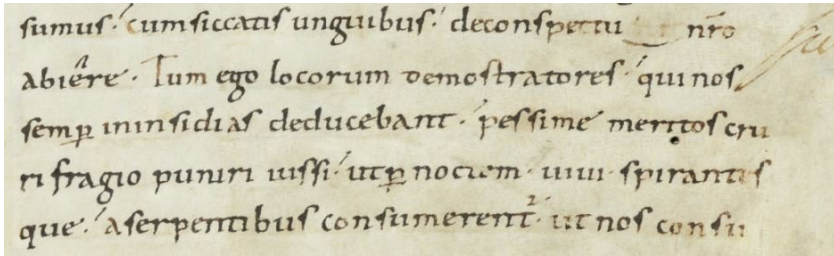


Figure 8: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 323(1065), p. 17, detail

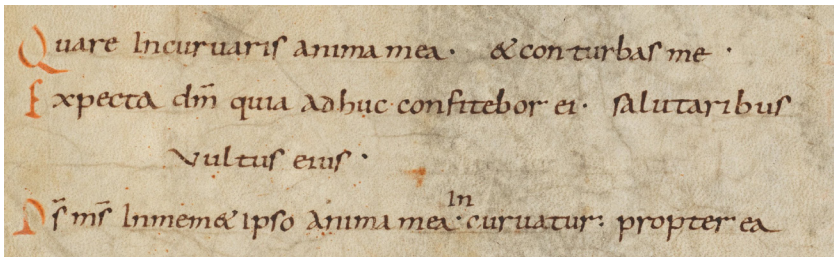


Figure 9: Urnäsch, Gemeindearchiv Urnäsch, Fragment, detail

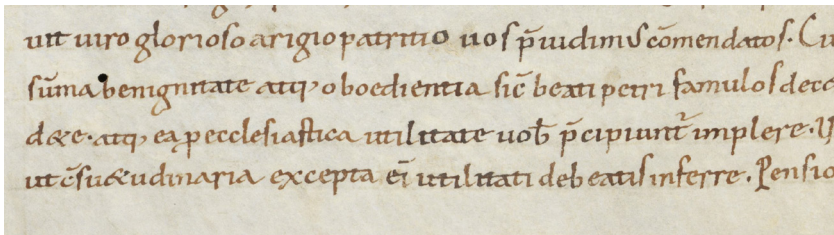


Figure 10: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 179(482), p. 9, detail



The script appears to be from the second half of the tenth century [Figures 6 and 7], and “around 1000” has been suggested.²³ Similar scripts have been attributed to Switzerland and Southern Germany. Compare, for example Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 323(1065), p. 17 (St. Gall or Southern Germany, first third tenth century) [Figure 8]; Urnäsch, Gemeindearchiv Urnäsch, Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos (St. Gall, tenth century) [F-monc] [Figure 9]; and Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 179(482) (Einsiedeln, second half tenth century) [Figure 10].

The large KL initial provides information for dating and localizing the fragment [Figures 4, 5 and 11]. The letters K and L are

²³ David Ganz, personal communication (May 4, 2020).

interlinked, although the bottom arm of the *L* is largely worn away. The shafts and arms of the letters are painted gold, not gilded. They are outlined in a thin red-orange line and have a central line of the same color. A jagged branch of the same dull gold color twists around and behind the *KL*. The branch has a number of blue-grey buds or leaves and ends in a trefoil of the same color. Similar blue-grey buds/leaves emerge from part of the *KL* itself. The branch, buds and leaves are all outlined in a thin red-orange line. Behind the *KL* are two amorphous fields of color, blue above and green below.

The *KL* is in Ottonian style. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, several large abbeys in Northeastern Switzerland and Southern Germany had scriptoria producing sumptuous missals and other liturgical manuscripts with miniatures and initial letters in the Ottonian style. These included St. Gall and Einsiedeln in Switzerland and Reichenau in Germany.²⁴ Ottonian decorative initial letters in liturgical manuscripts are commonly filled with curving or intertwining strapwork, often stylized vines bearing leaves, sprouts and ending in trefoils or finials. The letters may be uncolored or they may be gold, outlined and filled with colors such as blue and green.

There are some tenth-century manuscripts from St. Gall that contain initial letters similar to the *KL* with curved bands painted dark green or blue from which sprout leaves and trefoils, more overtly representing vines. But those letters are more ornate and intricate than the *KL*. See, e.g., St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 562 (890–900), [p.3](#). Closer to the *KL*, however, are some tenth-century letters appearing in manuscripts from Reichenau and Einsiedeln. A group from Reichenau is similar, the letters smaller and simpler than the St. Gall initials, with dark vines sprouting leaves and trefoils curving organically within and beyond the letter outlines. See Solothurn, Domschatz der St.-Ursen-Kathedrale, Cod. U 1 (Reichenau, before 983), [f.39v](#). The bodies of those letters, however, include decorative partitions unlike the *KL*.

The closest initials to the *KL* I have found, however, are in the tenth-century “Einsiedeln Graduale”, Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 121(1151), pp. 1–428 (=EG). The EG forms a volume with the

²⁴ See E. T. DeWald, “The Art of the Scriptorium of Einsiedeln”, *The Art Bulletin* 7 (Mar. 1925), at 79–90.



Figure 11: KL Outline



Figure 12: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 121(1151) (=EG), p. 14, detail



Figure 13: EG, p. 195, detail



Figure 14: EG, p. 177, detail

well-known Sequences of Notker of St. Gall (pp. 429–599), the oldest complete surviving neumed mass antiphonary, dated to around 960–970.²⁵

The EG abounds in Ottonian initial letters that are close to the *KL* in design, colors, materials and overall feel. Although most initials in the EG are elaborate with the letter bodies made of two

²⁵ Although it was thought that Codex 121(1151) originated from St. Gall, Anton von Euw concluded, based on a comparison of the decorative initials and handwriting in other manuscripts, that it was in fact produced in the Einsiedeln Abbey between 960 and 980, see A. von Euw, “Beschaffenheit und künstlerische Ausstattung der Handschrift”, in *Die Handschrift 121 der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln. Kommentarband*, ed. O. Lang, Berlin 2015, 1–68, at 9–13, 16–17. See also O. Lang, *Der Mönch und das Buch, Die Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln. Deutung und Geschichte* (Einsiedeln: Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln 2010), 84. In 2009, Odo Lang published on e-codices a description of the manuscript in which he provided the date of the manuscript as “10. Jh. (um 960–970)” (<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/sbe/0121/>).

bands, one of which extends to form knots at top, bottom or middle, “there are also simple letter bodies without side offshoots” [Figures 12–14].²⁶ The bodies of the *KL* and the letters in the *EG* both are colored with “shell gold” or paint made of gold powder and gum.²⁷ Both are outlined in orange-red and have central lines in the same color and backgrounds of blue and green. Curving around the *EG*’s simple letters and extending beyond them are a few vines with buds and ending in trefoils or pointed leaves. The vines, in oxidized silver ink, are wide and wind irregularly around the letters.²⁸ The *KL* fragment buds might also be silver ink (they are now very dark); in any event, both inks show a similar pattern of feathering. In both the *EG* and the fragment, the letters themselves are distinct and stand out clearly from the vines as compared to some Ottonian letters, which can be lost in intertwining bands. In contrast to the elegant and precise St. Gall letters, the *EG*’s simple initials are more rustic and vigorous and more like the *KL*.

The *EG* initials are not identical to the fragment’s *KL*. Their vines are entirely grey, whereas the *KL* branch (perhaps not really a “vine”) is painted gold and only the buds and leaves are blue-grey. The *KL* branch is also angular, unlike the organically curved *EG* vines. The background blue and green colors differ somewhat from those in the *KL* and are more opaque. The *KL* also is somewhat more carefully painted as can be seen by comparing the orange red outlines. The decoration can also be dated to the last third of the 10th century and shows forms that developed in the area of Lake Constance in the early Ottonian age.²⁹

A mid-tenth century date is also suggested by comparison of the computistical data and layout in the fragment to that in the calendar in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, [Cod. Sang. 459](#), pp. 32–56, which has

26 Von Euw, “Beschaffenheit und künstlerische Ausstattung der Handschrift”, 10.

27 See R. Clemens and T. Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, Ithaca NY 2007, 33, painted gold “was applied to the page only after the other colors”. As seen in the *EG* initial *M*, for example [Figure 14], there is an unpainted space between the red center lines and the gold, showing the gold was painted last. In the *KL* fragment the red lines are painted over the gold, but the gold is not gold leaf.

28 Von Euw, “Beschaffenheit und künstlerische Ausstattung der Handschrift”, 10.

29 Fabrizio Crivello, personal communication (May 4 and August 30, 2020).

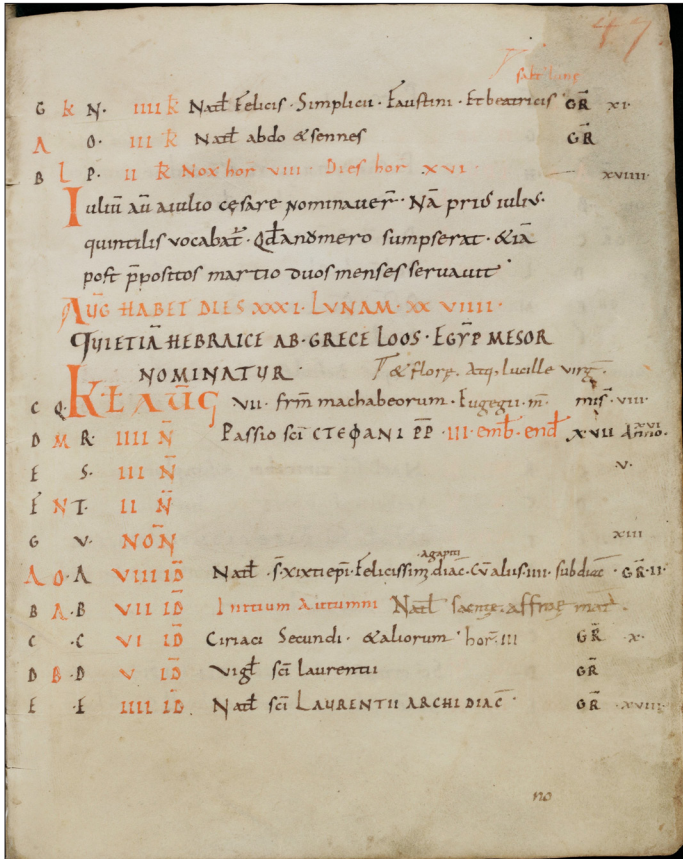


Figure 15:
St. Gallen,
Stiftsbibliothek,
Cod. Sang.
459, p. 47



the layout of chronological data closest to that of our fragment that I could find [Figure 15]. Both calendars display from left to right: Dominical Letters (black, except for *a*, which is red as standard), *Litterae Signorum* (rubric), Lunar Letters (black), Roman date (rubric), and, at the far right, the Lunar Numbers (black).³⁰ Scarpatetti ascribes the calendar in Cod. Sang. 459 to a ninth-century hand, with several tenth- and eleventh-century additions.³¹

³⁰ The Lunar Numbers on versos in Cod. Sang. 459 appear at the far left.

³¹ B. M. von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, Bd. 2: Abt. III/2: Codices 450–546: *Liturgica, Libri precum, deutsche Gebetbücher, Spiritualia, Musikhandschriften* 9.–16. Jahrhundert, Wiesbaden, 30–36; cf. A. Borst, *Der Karolingische Reichskalender und seine Überlieferung bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*, Hannover 2001, xxi, k 13b, and E. Munding, *Die Kalendarien*

All this evidence places the KL manuscript in the second half of the tenth century, between 960 and the turn of the eleventh century. But what do we make of the fact that Rampi dated the text copied in the Gambera manuscript to 1047 or later? Although we have only one page of the KL calendar, and that has lost text, what remains is very close to the Gambera manuscript, with minor textual variants, differently colored Lunar Numbers, and a minor error in the Lunar Letters on the fragment.

Rampi's dating of the composition of the MCG to 1047 or later is problematic in that she assumed that Wiborada would not have been included before her formal papal canonization in 1047. In fact, papal canonization only dates to the end of the tenth century and did not become the rule until the twelfth century.³² Prior to that, martyrs were commonly recognized by bishops and venerated locally. Thus, Munding's study of twenty-one St. Gall calendars cites Wiborada as appearing in thirteen calendars produced before 1040.³³ The earliest of these is "Turic. 176" (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. Car. C 176, ff. 153r-172r), which he dates to ca. 926-950. The next oldest is St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, [Cod. Sang. 339](#), which Munding dates to between 997 and 1011, and in which (p. 14) Wiborada is denoted as "virgin" and "martyr."³⁴ On Munding's account, the remaining calendars range in date from 1022 to 1039.

Wiborada's presence in the MCG thus indicates a *terminus post quem* of 926 for a text that includes her entry. Most calendars including her, however, are dated to the end of the tenth century or early eleventh century. But there is another saint we must consider, St. Ulrich, who appears on July 4. Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg died in 973 and was canonized by Pope John XV in 993, the first saint

von St. Gallen. Aus XXI Handschriften neuntes bis elftes Jahrhundert, Beuron 1948, 4 and 10, who dates it to ca. 960/961. Thanks to Immo Warntjes for his help in researching this parallel.

32 See E. W. Kemp, "Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints: The Alexander Prize Essay", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (1945), 13-28, at 14 ("the first event which can properly be called a papal canonization does not occur until 993 when John XV canonized St. Ulric of Augsburg at a council held in the Lateran palace.").

33 Munding, *Die Kalendarien von St. Gallen*, 2, 9.

34 Ibid.

proclaimed by a pope. Like Wiborada, however, he was venerated in St. Gall before papal canonization.³⁵ The *terminus post quem* for a text including Ulrich's entry thus is 973.

Unfortunately, since we have only a single leaf, we do not know whether Wiborada or Ulrich were included in the complete manuscript of the fragment. Given that the KL text is virtually identical to the Gambera manuscript text, it is likely that much of the MCG dates to the second half of the tenth century.

To summarize the assessment of the fragment's origins, the decoration of the KL initials is closest to the initials in the Einsiedeln Graduale, dating to ca. 960–970; the presentation and coloring of the computistical data are identical to a St. Gall calendar from ca. 960. The text it carries is identical to part of the Gambera manuscript. Unfortunately, we have only a tiny fragment of what once was a complete book – perhaps a sacramentary or a psalter – a single leaf, the back of which is not visible, and a single painted KL, and further precision on its origin is not yet available. Yet the available art-historical, paleographical, and textual evidence all point to the fragment's origins in the Lake Constance area in Switzerland or Southern Germany.³⁶

As noted above, a number of early metrical calendars have received scholarly attention. The MCG, however, along with Rampi's article, deserve attention in this context. The calendar appears to be unique in a number of respects. Unlike other Latin metrical calendars, it seems to lack any obvious connection with the English calendars or their Continental redactions, and may be an independent product of the Lake Constance area. In addition, since the MCG dates to the later tenth century, it may be the earliest known

35 Munding, *Die Kalendarien von St. Gallen*, p. 75

36 As noted above, based on the presence of certain French saints from Remiremont and German saints from the Rhineland and Bavaria, Rampi suggested a possible origin in Northeastern France. Without going into that analysis, which is beyond my limited expertise, I note only that DeWald ("The Art of the Scriptorium of Einsiedeln", 81, n. 1) attributed a late-eleventh century misal to Einsiedeln "beyond the pale of doubt", based primarily on comparison of the decorative initials and the presence of numerous saints venerated at Einsiedeln, notwithstanding the inclusion of "many saints ... from places in Bavaria, along the Rhine, and elsewhere in Alsace".

metrical calendar created in liturgical form. The *leitspruchen* or mottoes at the head of each month appear to be unique; none is recorded by Borst.³⁷ Finally, the text, focusing on martyrs' method of martyrdom and location of veneration, may be a unique approach to constructing the verse. Although the fragment is only a single leaf, it is strong evidence that the Gambera copy of about 1500 is an accurate, although not perfect, record of the lost original.

Conclusion

The fragment corroborates Rampi's conclusion that the Gambera Missal copied the text of a metrical calendar half a millennium old, based on her analysis of the saints included. However, her conclusion, based on the inclusion of St. Wiborada, that the MCG was composed after 1047 was faulty; Wiborada could have been included as early as 926 and the mention of St. Ulrich gives a *terminus post quem* of 973. The text of the fragment is nearly identical to that of the Gambera manuscript, although we do not know if the full manuscript included Wiborada and Ulrich. The writing is consistent with being produced in the second half of the tenth century in the Lake Constance area. Although the leaf is worn and darkened, it demonstrates the valuable information a single fragment can provide.³⁸

³⁷ Borst, *Der Karolingische Reichskalender*.

³⁸ I am donating the copy of *Rosa de S. Maria Virgo Limensis* with the binding fragment to the St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, where it may be examined.

Collections, Compilations, and Convolutes of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Fragments in North America before ca. 1900

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Abstract: Using evidence drawn from S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, American auction records, private library catalogues, public exhibition catalogues, and manuscript fragments surviving in American institutional libraries, this article documents nineteenth-century collections of medieval and Renaissance manuscript fragments in North America before ca. 1900. Surprisingly few fragments can be identified, and most of the private collections of them have disappeared. The manuscript constituents are found in multiple private libraries, two universities (New York University and Cornell University), and one Learned Society (Massachusetts Historical Society). The fragment collections reflect the collecting genres documented in England in the same period, including albums of discrete fragments, grangerized books, and individual miniatures or "cuttings" (sometimes framed). A distinction is drawn between undecorated text fragments and illuminated ones, explained by aesthetic and scholarly collecting motivations. An interest in text fragments, often from binding waste, can be documented from the 1880s.

Keywords: manuscript fragments, manuscript albums, American auction catalogues

I. Sources of Evidence for American Collections of Manuscript Fragments

Collections of manuscript fragments assembled in North America before 1900 have remained invisible, simply because traces of

* The research for this article was supported by the 2013 Folter Fellowship in

them are either confounding and difficult to analyze, or the fragments themselves challenging to identify.¹ Especially before about 1880, America's cultural institutions—learned societies, public and private libraries, colleges and universities, and museums—expressed little interest in complete manuscripts, and even less in components of them. The last two decades of the century saw an increasing yet modest interest in manuscript books, but seldom in fragments. Fortunately, the holdings of fragments by American institutions between 1800 and 1900 can be found in the *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* and the 1962 *Supplement* volume.² Scouring these resources for evidence of pre-1900 manuscript constituents yields a handful of important fragment collections as well as scattershot leaves, cuttings, and partial books. The numbers are surprisingly small. While this apparent dearth of fragments may be due in part to under-reporting in the *Census* and *Supplement*, the research presented here suggests that it stems from a genuine scarcity of them in institutional libraries before ca. 1900. However, unrepresented in the *Census* and *Supplement* volumes and in this article is manuscript binding waste in printed books belonging to these same institutions. The data

Historical Bibliography from the Bibliographical Society of America, and by the 2013 William H. Helfand Fellowship from the Grolier Club. I am grateful to Dr. Roland Folter for sharing his expertise on the American book trade and for enabling me to consult his personal collection of auction catalogues. An earlier version of this paper was delivered at Cornell University in 2014, and I am particularly grateful to Dr. Laurent Ferri, Curator of Pre-1800 Collections, for his critique of both versions. Eric J. Johnson at The Ohio State University generously shared images from de Ricci and Wilson's *Census* while my own university library was closed. Finally, I gratefully acknowledge suggestions for improvement made by the anonymous readers for *Fragmentology*, by Peter J. Kidd, and by the editor, William Duba.

- 1 For present purposes, "fragmentary" denotes individual manuscript constituents, although I make reference on occasion to more substantial components of pre-modern books. Unless I am discussing codices missing leaves or initials, these larger "fragments" represent less than 50% of the same parent manuscript.
- 2 S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 3 vols., New York 1935, 1937, 1940; C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York 1962.

would be onerous to compile and assess, as any potential fragments would have to be identified and evaluated in light of accession dates, potential re-binding, and past provenance.

Since the *Census* and *Supplement* were published in 1935–1940 and 1962 respectively, they do not necessarily cover nineteenth-century fragment congeries at all unless the collections remained intact through donation or inheritance. These circumstances make identifying fragment collections at institutions before ca. 1900 relatively straightforward, as these repositories have persisted. Yet the same situation makes it nearly hopeless to locate private collections of fragments in the *Census* and *Supplement* if they were dispersed in the nineteenth century (and anytime before 1935). In fact, important evidence for the private ownership of fragments before ca. 1900 must be sought in auction, exhibition, and private library catalogues. In presenting my findings here, I have consulted scores of such catalogues, few of which list medieval or Renaissance manuscripts at all. Of those that do record fragments—nearly all comprise illuminations—many of the entries remain baffling, since woolly descriptions render the scenes depicted in the miniatures untraceable, and even the book genres indeterminable. In the aggregate, however, auction, exhibition, and private library catalogues preserve indispensable and untapped information on fragment holdings in North American private ownership.

There is a limitation, however. By 1900 many American collectors had *theoretically* acquired fragments which would not be sold for decades. An object lesson is Coella Lindsay Ricketts, the owner of a Chicago business called “The Scriptorium” that produced hand-lettered certificates.³ Ricketts was born in 1859 and founded The Scriptorium in 1885. By the time of his death in 1941 he had collected hundreds of fragments, many now at the Lilly Library (Indiana University). Not a single one of them can yet be traced to the nineteenth century, although many remain unprovenanced.⁴

3 C. de Hamel, *Gilding the Lilly: A Hundred Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts in the Lilly Library*, Bloomington, IN, 2010, 3.

4 *Census* I.660–63. In arriving at this conclusion, I have consulted Christopher de Hamel (personal communication) and analyzed the provenance information

Since Ricketts acquired a Dutch Book of Hours in 1891⁵—his first documented manuscript purchase—a sensible view of his fragment collecting suggests that he began to collect fragments after 1900 and *perhaps* earlier. The same caution applies to post-1900 catalogues featuring manuscript fragments and fragment collections. They may well record fragments gathered in the nineteenth century, but a difficulty lies in recovering the acquisition dates. For example, components of Edward Everett's library (d. 1865), including manuscripts, were inherited by his maternal nephew, Edward Everett Hale, and auctioned in 1910.⁶ Unless the fragments can be traced to a dealer's inventory, or the auction catalogue states where and when they were acquired, or the owner records (in correspondence, say) that they were purchased on a specific date, the appearance of such fragments on these shores will remain contingent. Given this limitation, the evidence I present here derives from auction catalogues antedating 1901, chiefly from the major auction houses in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. This emphasis, incidentally, is not restrictive, but results from the book trade being centered in these cities. While my evidence cannot be conclusive, it is comprehensive enough to substantiate the observations made herein, especially for the years antecedent to ca. 1880. For the period afterwards, when the market for early manuscripts was expanding, more fragments may have been available than can be documented. Even if this assertion were true, as I have conceded, many of those alleged fragments may never be identified.

In addition to introducing the relevance of auction, exhibition, and private library catalogues for reconstructing manuscript ownership in America, my objectives in this article are:

1. To identify and analyze the evidence of fragment collections in North America before ca. 1900;

on all the Ricketts fragments in *Gilding the Lilly*. Twenty-three of them have post-1900 provenance, while seven are unprovenanced.

5 Census I.636.

6 *Catalogue of the Private Libraries of the Late Dr. William Everett, of Quincy, Mass. and of his Father, the Hon. Edward Everett, etc.*, Boston, 15–17 November 1910; see G. S. McKay, *American Book Auction Catalogues, 1713–1934: A Union List*, New York 1937, no. 6888. Subsequent references to American auctions will identify them by McKay numbers in the form [McKay 0000].

2. To show that Americans were compiling fragments in presentation formats identical to common English configurations—albums or grangerized books of pedagogical, historical, or aesthetic focus;
3. To pose specific case studies that highlight what can be ascertained from these early collections of fragments;
4. To speculate on some motivations that might underlie the formation of these rare collections.

In advance of presenting these specific findings, however, I should highlight three general observations that can be made about the fragment trade. First, the evidence of fragment ownership for the period, however slight, suggests a widespread disregard for fragments in the nineteenth century. Compared to the vigorous English trade in leaves and cuttings, North American buyers lagged behind the trend by generations. The divergence is due to the embryonic market for manuscripts, which did not begin in America until the 1830s, and which cohered only in the late 1860s, by which time enough manuscripts had become available for auctioneers and retailers to flourish.⁷ The American commerce in book constituents corresponding to the English practice emerged only in the second quarter of the twentieth century.⁸ Second, the present-day manuscript scholar who appreciates the remarkable information that fragments often convey will be struck by how little their nineteenth-century owners inferred from them. In most cases, the texts could not even be identified, let alone read. But even if owners of these fragments had been able to construe them, the inadequate scholarship of the day would have impeded any interpretation of their historical context. As Philippe de Montebello wrote about an illuminated cutting acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1888 [Figure 1], “only recently has that letter V [...] been recognized as

7 S. J. Gwara, “Peddling Wonderment, Selling Privilege: Launching the Market for Medieval Books in Antebellum New York,” *Perspectives Médiévales* 41 (2020), 1–35, at 13–16.

8 On this phenomenon, see S. Gwara, *Otto Ege’s Manuscripts: A Study of Ege’s Manuscript Collections, Portfolios, and Retail Trade with a Comprehensive Handlist of Manuscripts Collected or Sold*, Cayce, SC, 2013.



Figure 1:
“Joseph Sold by
his Brothers”
in an initial V
by Giovanni
Pietro da
Cemmo,
ca. 1490.
New York,
Metropolitan
Museum of Art,
acc. 88.3.50

the work of Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo.”⁹ Finally, middle-class fragment connoisseurs in nineteenth-century America (often businessmen) differed from the bibliophile collectors of manuscript books in an important way. Fragment collecting entailed the conservation of cultural salvage, an antiquarian pretense. These early American “fragmentologists” treasured ancient specimens of artwork, script, or textual archetypes, while their bibliophile confrères typically sought handwritten volumes to represent the book antecedent to print. Fragment collectors therefore specialized in ways that bibliophile collectors did not, although the buyers of fragments usually acquired complete manuscripts, too. With respect to unilluminated text fragments (henceforth ‘text fragments’), however, the taste of the aesthete and the antiquarian rarely, if ever, coincided.

9 B. D. Boehm, *Choirs of Angels: Painting in Italian Choir Books, 1300–1500*, New York, NY 2009, 4–5.

II. The Rationale for Fragmentary Books and their Status among Collectors

While medieval and Renaissance manuscript books have been trafficked for centuries, the trade in fragments arose relatively recently. Sales of them are known from the eighteenth century.¹⁰ At that time, even complete, handsome, and desirable manuscripts were an exotic commercial specialty. The book trade, which was centered in London and Paris, took widespread interest in manuscripts and fragments only after the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, when institutional and aristocratic forfeitures, not to mention monastic secularizations, released tens of thousands of early manuscripts. While this surfeit led to opportunities for enterprising booksellers, the small antiquarian market could not absorb even complete, desirable codices, let alone imperfect ones.¹¹ The business of selling miniatures therefore emerged, exploiting the desirable components of underappreciated, overscaled, sparsely illustrated, or damaged books. Valued largely as art objects rather than as book constituents, the saleable pictures and initials were simply cut out of them. Since a dismembered manuscript could yield dozens of luminous miniatures, sometimes even high-quality volumes were mutilated.¹² A premium may well have been charged to gather, compile, and arrange illuminations in an attractive portfolio, but selling manuscript components juiced profits by enabling bourgeois art connoisseurs, bibliophiles, and antiquarians to acquire affordable specimens of property once valued by elite connoisseurs or defunct cultural institutions. In other words, booksellers aimed to invent a

10 For a discussion of fragment collecting before this date, see R. S. Wieck, "Folia Fugitiva: The Pursuit of the Illuminated Manuscript Leaf", *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996), 233–54, at 233–34; S. Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age: Recovery and Reconstruction*, Evanston, IL 2001, 5–45.

11 In antebellum New York the firm of Daniel Appleton & Co. rationed manuscript books to support higher prices; see J. H. Brown, *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States*, Boston 1900, vol. 1, 108 (s.v. Appleton, Daniel).

12 A. N. L. Munby explains how British import duties on bound books may have impacted the mutilation of manuscripts (*Connoisseurs and Mediaeval Miniatures 1750–1850*, Oxford 1972, 65).

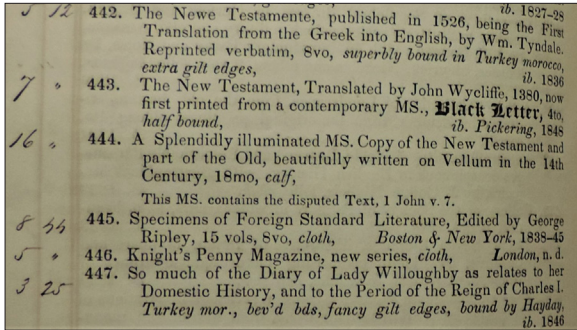


Figure 2: The first manuscript identified as incomplete (“part of the Old [Testament]”) in an American auction catalogue. *Catalogue of a Private Library*, Cooley, Keese & Hill, New York, 20 October 1848, lot 444

market for fragments by opening the market for manuscript books to middle class buyers.

A robust trade in fragments, particularly miniatures and cuttings, took off in England in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, but not until the twentieth century did it emerge in America. New World bibliophily explains this indifference to fragments. American collectors sought manuscript specimens on the same terms as printed books: condition, especially completeness, was paramount. Even the (few) early collectors of manuscripts with art-historical interests—Robert Gilmore, Jr. and James Jackson Jarves, in particular—favored codices.¹³ While many early manuscripts in America were unrecognizably imperfect before the Civil War, buyers

13 On Gilmore's art collection see E. B. Smith, *Medieval Art in America: Patterns of Collecting, 1800–1940*, College Park, PA 1996, 24–26; L. L. Humphries, *Robert Gilmore, Jr. (1774–1848): Baltimore Collector and American Art Patron*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1998, vol. 1, 130. Gilmore owned one fine Book of Hours (Library of Congress MS 56), five printed Hours (probably illuminated, currently unidentified), a lavish folio bible (Princeton University, MS Garrett 28), and other manuscripts that may have been illuminated; on the Hours see S. Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress*, Washington, DC, 1989, vol. 1, 339–44; on the collection as a whole, see S. J. Gwara, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the American South, 1798–1868*, Cayce, SC, 2016, 11–13. Jarves, America's first collector of medieval Italian panel paintings, owned one illuminated bible (arguably French), currently untraced (*Census* I.1087). Neither Gilmore nor Jarves is known to have collected fragments.

became more discriminating afterwards, especially by 1880.¹⁴ The first manuscript recognized as “fragmentary” in a North American auction was a bible sold in 1848 by James T. Annan of Cincinnati [Figure 2].¹⁵ By the 1870s, however, America’s premier manuscript collectors demanded complete manuscripts, and they began noting every imperfection. Among Henry Probasco’s forty-eight Western manuscripts of pre-1600 date, one was described in 1873 as missing ten leaves, a second as having “several leaves missing,” a third as wanting “one or more leaves [...] at beginning and end,” a fourth as “very imperfect,” a fifth as missing a single leaf, and a sixth as “first leaf wanting and many others robbed of illuminated capitals.”¹⁶ Probasco bought his manuscripts on a European tour in 1866–1867, and his regard for their condition in 1873 affirms the prevailing expectation for completeness. Of seven supreme illuminated manuscripts acquired by John Nicholas Brown between 1876 and 1887, only a Tours Book of Hours had considerable defects.¹⁷ Catalogued in 1878, William Medlicott’s impressive library of early manuscripts held only three fragments, one of them an incomplete text volume.¹⁸ A single illuminated page from a German copy of the *Brevissima sententia psalterii*—called “a leaf of a Speculum Humanae Salvationis”—had

14 Many manuscripts owned before 1900 were imperfect, and neither owners nor (necessarily) sellers had enough expertise to determine their state of completeness. The defective manuscripts identified in the nineteenth-century catalogues mentioned hereafter probably represented only a small proportion of incomplete manuscripts.

15 *Catalogue of a Private Library*, Cooley, Keese & Hill, New York, 20 October 1848, lot 444 [McKay 477].

16 [Henry Probasco,] *Catalogue of the Collection of Books, Manuscripts, and Works of Art, Belonging to Mr. Henry Probasco, Cincinnati, Ohio, (Oakwood, Clifton)*, Cambridge, MA, 1873, pp. 373, 375, 378, 382, 383(bis). All of the manuscripts were acquired during European travel in 1866–1867 (p. III).

17 *Census* II.2143; deaccessioned at Sotheby’s, 18 May 1981, lot 17.

18 [William G. Medlicott,] *Catalogue of a Collection of Books Formed by William G. Medlicott of Longmeadow, Mass.*, Boston 1878, no. 2672 (p. 275), Albertus Magnus (“twelve leaves [...] apparently imperfect”); no. 2706 (p. 279) illuminated kalendar said to date from ca. 1100. Lot 2706 was purchased by the New York bookseller, J. W. Bouton; see J. R. Hall, “William G. Medlicott (1816–1883): An American Book Collector and His Collection”, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, n.s. 1 (1990), 13–46, at 31.

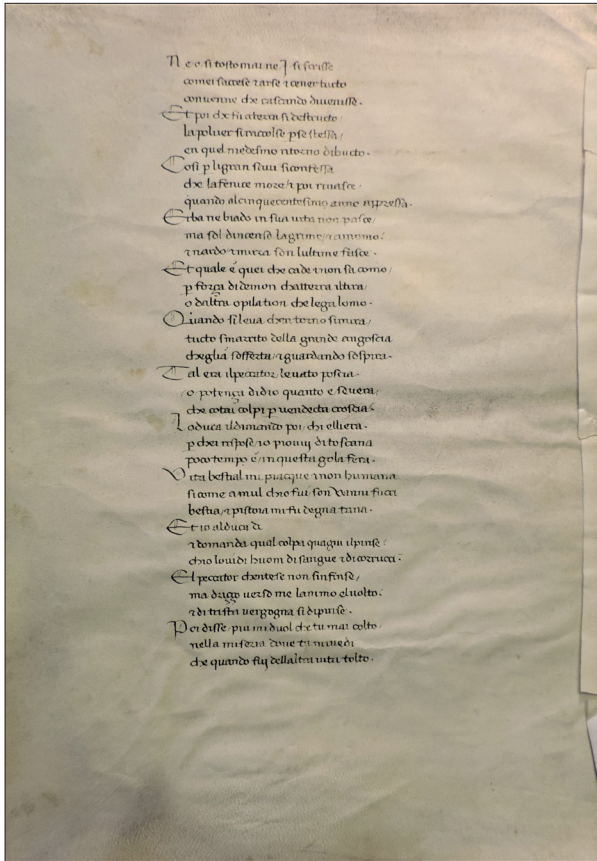


Figure 3: Single folio of Dante's *Inferno* acquired by Harvard professor Charles Eliot Norton in 1871. Harvard, Houghton Library MS Ital 55

been slipped into Jean Philibert Berjeau's 1861 edition of the text.¹⁹ Harvard art historian Charles Eliot Norton added the folio to his small fragment collection that included a leaf of Dante's *Inferno* acquired in 1871 [Figure 3] and three leaves of the St. Louis Psalter obtained by gift from John Ruskin in 1863.²⁰ Alexander Farnum was

19 *Census* I.932. The book and fragment were purchased together by Charles Eliot Norton, the Harvard art historian, and now reside at the Isabella Stuart Gardner Museum (acc. 7.2.22); on the identification see A.-M. Eze, "Italian Illuminated Manuscripts at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum", *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 16 (2012), 81–94, at 91.

20 The *Inferno* fragment is Harvard, Houghton Library MS Ital 55, from the estate of Baron Seymour Kirkup; see C. Y. Dupont, "Reading and Collecting Dante in America: Harvard College Library and the Dante Society", *Harvard Library*

proud to own “a fragment of an illuminated missal” from the collection of John Allan (see below): “54 pages of exquisite illuminations in gold and colors on vellum.”²¹ It was his sole early manuscript, however, and clearly an affordable specimen. According to the 1878 auction catalogue of George Strong’s library, the Civil War diarist typically bought “perfect” manuscripts. One of his many Books of Hours was confected from two different sources, while a single Psalter had cut-out miniatures and borders.²² Among nine manuscripts sold by Joseph J. Cooke in 1883 was a single Hours missing “some leaves.”²³ Leavitt’s auction house carefully noted defective manuscripts in its 1887 sale of General Rush Hawkins’ many manuscripts, only two of which had significant losses.²⁴ Finally, Leavitt’s 1886 and 1888 sales catalogues of property belonging to the Trevulzio dukes of Milan fastidiously noted holes, stains, alterations, missing leaves, and extracted initials.²⁵ In the 1888 catalogue, for example, “three leaves, on which were miniatures” were said to have been “extracted” from a breviary comprising lot 136, while “three or four pages” were “cut out” of a Psalter (lot 138). The 1886 Trevulzio sale was nota-

Bulletin 22 (2011), 1–92, at 23–24. On the Psalter leaves, which were reunited with the parent manuscript, see Wieck, “*Folia Fugitiva*” 241 and S. Panayotova, “A Ruskinian Project with a Cockerellian Flavour”, *The Book Collector* 54 (2005), 357–74.

- 21 *Catalogue of the Library of the Late Alexander Farnum, Esq., of Providence, Rhode Island*, Leavitt’s, New York, 18 November 1884, lot 532 [McKay 3125]. William R. Williams, Pastor of the Amity Baptist Church in New York, also owned a fragmentary specimen of the Gospels in a library of theology and church history (*Library of the Late William R. Williams, S.T.D., LL.D.*, Bang’s, New York, 12 October 1896, lot 717 [McKay 4559]).
- 22 *Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts, Etc., of the Late George Strong, Esq., Bang’s*, New York, 4 November 1878, lots 815, 1308 respectively [McKay 2429].
- 23 Currently untraced; see *Catalogue of the Library of the Late Joseph J. Cooke, of Providence, Rhode Island, Part II*, New York, 1 October 1883, lot 1573 [McKay 2985]. The *Census* incorrectly states that Brown University bought two manuscripts, lots 1569 and possibly 1570, but 1570 is printed.
- 24 *The Hawkins Library*, New York, 21 March 1887, lots 1531–1584 [McKay 3437].
- 25 *Incunabulic Treasures and Medieval Nuggets from the Trivulzio Library of Milan, Italy, including Vellum Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries*, New York, 6 February 1888 [McKay 3551]. A sale on 27 November 1886 devoted exclusively to manuscripts [McKay 3393] was similarly punctilious.

bly lackluster, possibly because of such candid descriptions. This abundant evidence and more like it conveys the misgivings about incomplete manuscript books that a Cornell librarian, George Lincoln Burr, expressed in 1885: “the collection of MSS. is indeed a rare one, though it is, to be sure, a sort of manuscript-hospital, so few of them are complete and in perfect condition.”²⁶ It should come as no surprise, then, that American bibliophiles shunned single leaves and cuttings.

Buyers with money and taste did not need to settle for fragments, but a second bibliological rationale reinforced their partiality for intact manuscripts. The authors, origins, dates, and provenance of codices could at least be asserted, but for fragments this key information was often lost. By this logic, complete (or nearly complete) Books of Hours were more desirable than single miniatures or compilations of miniatures. Naturally, a few collectors were willing to overlook completeness in favor of affordability, eye appeal, or representativeness. They acquired illuminations, almost exclusively from Books of Hours, as will be seen below. Text fragments, especially those deriving from binding waste (as most were, apparently), remained an antiquarian sideline. With ragged edges, scuffed and lacerated textblocks, unsightly scribbles in pen, and discolored residues from binding turn-ins, text fragments contravened the aesthetic for handsome, complete books. This prejudice implies that text fragments in North America before 1900 would have been exceptionally rare outside of bindings.²⁷

In America the nineteenth-century trade in fragments focused on miniatures extracted chiefly from Books of Hours, but by the end of the century small collections of Italian choir book leaves and cuttings materialize in New York. The esteem for such manuscript art was considerable, but expertise was slight. In Europe manuscript

26 George Lincoln Burr to Andrew Dickson White (Lucerne, 27 June 1885); George Lincoln Burr papers, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University, Kroch Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections #14-17-22. Burr was reporting on a collection of about forty manuscripts for sale in Bergamo.

27 In fact, the first American auction to include individual text leaves from early manuscripts seems to have taken place in 1902; see *Catalogue of a Small Collection of Valuable Books*, Bang's, New York, 7 February 1902 [McKay 541], lots 87 (miniature and text folio) and 88 (text folio).

Figure 4: Auctioneers attributed spiritual authenticity to crude miniatures like this from a Book of Hours owned in America before 1834. New York Public Library MS MA 24, f. 86



miniatures were treated as diminutive medieval “primitives” (panel paintings), for which there were negligible comparanda in North America.²⁸ Having been exposed to manuscripts in bookshops, libraries, and museums, European collectors could appreciate them for their artistry, contents, and historical provenance. But because American and Canadian buyers rarely encountered early manuscripts, they were simply construed as book analogues antecedent to print, or just conceivably as portrait miniatures, which were often painted on vellum. New World owners had no way to evaluate manuscript acquisitions, especially if purchased from a catalogue. The best reference books concentrated on illustrious manuscripts, not the kind generally available to Americans. This unfamiliarity was advantageous to booksellers, who exaggerated the quality of

²⁸ The American James J. Jarves (above, note 13) collected 119 primitives in Italy during the 1850s but could not find a buyer for the collection in America; see D. Arnheim et al., *Italian Primitives: The Case History of a Collection and its Conservation*, New Haven, CT 1972 and C. Snay, “Medieval Art in American Popular Culture: Mid-Nineteenth Century American Travelers in Europe”, in *Medieval Art in America*, 28–33.

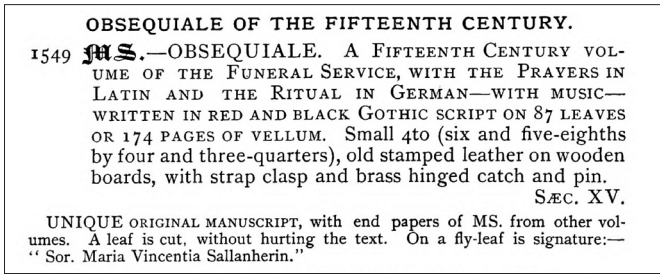


Figure 5: The description of an “Obsequiale” in the 1887 catalogue of Rush Hawkins’ library identifies its imperfections, annotations on its flyleaves, and “end papers of MS. from other volumes.” *The Hawkins Library*, Leavitt’s, New York, 21 March 1887, lot 1549

manuscript art to mislead American bibliophiles. However crude the execution of manuscript miniatures might be, an abundance of them in bright colors and luminous gold would boost prices. The crude miniatures, moreover, allegedly conveyed the spiritual authenticity of their “monkish” creators [Figure 4].²⁹

Because medieval and Renaissance fragments in North America are scarce before ca. 1900, they are difficult to document. In the following pages I have recorded as many as possible after searching scores of auction, bookseller, and library catalogues, and visiting modern libraries. Stand-alone illuminations are rarely met with in the sources. Collections of them are more common. A few were framed like paintings and in one or two cases deemed art-historical masterpieces. Since the taste for single miniatures in North America was practically non-existent before the late nineteenth century, the term “masterpiece” could not be said to represent any aesthetic standard. Albums of cuttings were more common, and at least fifteen American collections of illuminations can be identified for this period. While two groups of illuminated choir book leaves were donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1890 and 1896, only one album of miniatures known to me has survived (below, p. 108).³⁰ It seems that, in later years, portfolios of miniatures were

29 Gwara, “Peddling Wonderment”, 14, 23.

30 Eighteen Italian Antiphonal fragments at Brown University (Hay Library, MS Latin Codex 20A portfolio) that came from such an album may have been in North America before 1900, but the provenance remains undemonstrable; see F. Manzari, “Bibliofili, mercato antiquario e frammenti miniati: le peripezie dei

more profitably broken up and the constituents sold piecemeal. The opposite is true for text fragments, however: three collections reside in institutional libraries. Their survival is striking because text codices were far less desirable than illuminated ones—and text fragments practically not at all. The evidence I shall present suggests that the public took notice of text fragments in the 1880s. In fact, the Rush Hawkins catalogue prepared by Leavitt's in 1887 (see above) prominently and consistently identified pastedowns and flyleaves [Figure 5]. It was the first American auction catalogue to publicize text fragments. Importantly, the three extant fragment compilations that I analyze here were perceived as “collections” and esteemed for academic reasons, mostly as illustrative of ancient texts, historical languages, or archaic scripts.

III. Background: The History and Variety of Fragment Compilations in Europe

The cultural and bibliographical environment of fragment collecting in Britain had the greatest influence on the American trade in manuscript constituents. Especially relevant are the ways by which fragments circulated, either individually or grouped together. In Britain, the early-nineteenth century trade in fragments focused from the start on miniatures. Prized as artworks, these illuminations were often cut from manuscripts and gathered together in albums or pasted into other books as (extra-)illustration. The traffic in text fragments constituted at best a secondary market, which, over the course of the century, gradually grew in importance as dealers, having despoiled manuscripts of their high-quality miniatures, sold off the remaining pieces.

It is widely appreciated that the modern commerce in illuminations took off in London on 26 May 1825, when Christie's held the first known auction devoted exclusively to manuscript miniatures, all imported by the “Abate” Luigi Celotti (d. ca. 1846). Celotti

fogli di Vittorio Giovardi tra XVIII e XX secolo”, in *Frammenti di un discorso storico per una grammatica dell'aldilà del frammento*, ed. C. Tristano, Spoleto 2019, 205–25 and figs. I–VIII at pp. 222–25.



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Figure 6: A montage assembled from miniatures cut from a Sistine Chapel choir book. *New York, The Morgan Library, MS M.270*

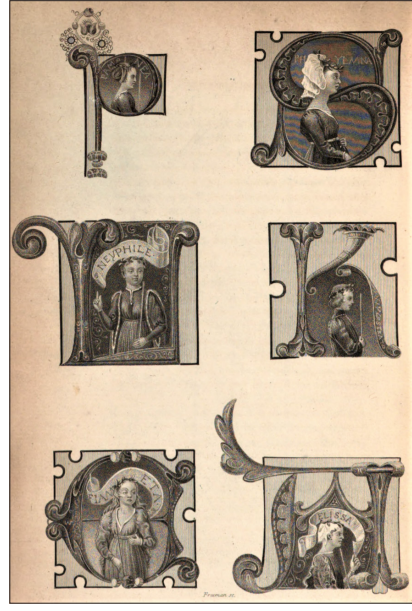


Figure 7: Miniatures reproduced in Thomas Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron* (vol. 1, London, 1817, between pages xii-xiii) make it seem as if they had been removed from a manuscript and mounted on the page of an album.

acquired “cheap” manuscripts and printed books on the continent, many of them stolen or extorted by French troops stationed in Italy.³¹ He shipped them to London, where they fetched higher prices. While these amounted to 276 items in Christie’s 1825 sale, other auctions of Celotti cuttings were organized. All told, the cuttings numbered well over 500. The lots included “montages” confected from fragments of Sistine Chapel choir books that had been looted in 1798 [Figure 6].³²

31 Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination*, 52–59. Much of the following discussion derives from this important book and from the equally influential article “*Folia Fugitiva*” by Roger Wieck.

32 Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination*, 55; A.-M. Eze, “Abbé Luigi Celotti and the Sistine Chapel Manuscripts”, *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 20 (2016), 137–52.

Celotti's collages were a neoteric and idiosyncratic art "genre." The traffic in cut-up manuscripts more commonly encouraged the compilation of albums containing manuscript constituents.³³ Dealers sometimes rucked up these convolutes. In 1790s Basel, the art dealer Peter Birman assembled an album of 475 illuminations, sold to a Swiss ribbon merchant named Daniel Burckhardt-Wildt.³⁴ Collectors (mostly English) also assembled personal scrapbooks. One buyer at the Celotti sale was the English art historian William Young Ottley, who was himself an art importer. He authored the 1825 Christie's catalogue, validating Celotti's vandalism as well as his own—for Ottley had the largest gathering then known of manuscript "cuttings", the term used to describe miniatures and historiated initials razored from manuscript pages. His collection was sold in 1838.³⁵ It comprised 1,000 illuminations, all "Italian Primitives" mostly acquired during a decade-long residency in Italy before 1801. Ottley's cuttings were justly famous. Dibdin reproduced two in his *Bibliographical Decameron*,³⁶ which shamelessly presented manuscript miniatures in a way suggesting that they could be cut out and mounted in miscellanies [Figure 7].³⁷

33 In many cases, these constituents came from the same source. For example, twenty-four miniatures from a *Legendary* now in the Morgan Library (MS M.360.1-24) and the Vatican (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 8541) were pasted into an album in the seventeenth century by the owner, Giovanni Battista Saluzzo (d. 1642); see Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination*, 82. An album now in Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum had been assembled at least by 1894 with miniatures cut from the same *Gradual* (MS 997.158.157); see P. Binski and S. Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, Turnhout, 2005, 156.

34 The album was sold by Sotheby's, 25 April 1983; see Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination*, 85. Birman also dispersed, but probably did not dismantle, the Hours of Étienne Chevalier, which survives as 47 1/2 miniatures, 40 of them separately mounted on panels (ibid., 70).

35 *Catalogue of the Very Beautiful Collection of Highly Finished and Illumined Miniature Paintings, the Property of the Late William Young Ottley, Esq.*, Sotheby's, 11 May 1838.

36 T. F. Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron; or Ten Days Pleasant Discourse upon Illuminated Manuscripts and Subjects Connected with Early Engraving, Typography and Bibliography*, vol. I, London, 1817, between pp. cxii–cxiii.

37 Dibdin, *Bibliographical Decameron*, between pp. xii–xiii.

Ottley assembled albums of miniatures, as did many others, including James Dennistoun (d. 1855). He mounted approximately sixty miniatures bought on Grand Tours in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.³⁸ While this album had been concocted as part of an unexecuted academic project to illustrate the history of medieval art, most other compilations of cuttings and leaves known from this period were merely specimens, “regarded as a requisite component of a nineteenth-century book collection.”³⁹ Christopher de Hamel identified some of the most celebrated owners: “Great albums of medieval miniatures were formed, with miniatures trimmed and pasted down, including—among many—the Rogers and Rothschild albums now in the British Library [Samuel Rogers Album = British Library MS Add. 21412, now dismantled;⁴⁰ Rothschild Album (also known as the Ascott Album) = BL MS Add. 60630, now dismantled];⁴¹ the Boone, Goldschmidt and Weale albums in the Victoria and Albert;⁴² and those of Northwick, Crawford of Lakelands, and Lomax, all eventually dispersed in the twentieth century.”⁴³ To this

38 Wieck, “*Folia Fugitiva*”, 240; Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination*, 88–89.

39 Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination*, 91.

40 Ibid. The case is made here that the Rogers album was in fact created after the cuttings had been sold.

41 On the Rothschild album, see C. de Hamel, *The Rothschilds and their Collections of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London 2005, 13–14.

42 The “Boone” album was purchased from the London firm J. & W. Boone in 1866, the “Goldschmidt” album from J. & S. Goldschmidt in 1872. A Weale album is Victoria and Albert Museum, MSL/1883/2196; see Rowan Watson, *Victoria and Albert Museum: Western Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 2011, vol. 2, 366–67 (cat. 64); other items from a Weale album now comprise British Library MS Add. 32058.

43 C. de Hamel, *Cutting Up Manuscripts for Pleasure and Profit* (The 1995 Sol M. and Mary Anne O’Brian Lecture in Bibliography), sixth printing, Charlottesville, VA, 1995, 12. On these collections, see Sotheby’s, 16 November 1925, lots 104–162; 29 March 1926, lots 368–379; and 21 May 1928, lots 1–14 (John Rushout, Lord Northwick, all from Celotti, according to S. de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930)*, repr. New York, 1969, 116, n. 2); *The Lakelands Library: Catalogue of the Rare & Valuable Books, Manuscripts & Engravings of the late W. H. Crawford*, Sotheby’s, 12 March 1891, lot 2114 (William Horatio Crawford album); Sotheby’s, *The Dyson Perrins Collection, Part III: Fifty-Nine Illuminated Manuscripts*, 29 November 1960, lot 151 (John Lomax-W. O. Wade “album”).

group of connoisseurs belong Robert Curzon (14th baron Zouche), who compiled an album that has been widely dispersed; Robert Holford, who obtained an album of sixty-five miniatures that had been prepared by a dealer; and Charles Brinsley Marlay, who bequeathed 245 extraordinary cuttings to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge in 1912.⁴⁴ Dozens of other collectors owned minor albums, now mostly disassembled,⁴⁵ though some do crop up for sale on occasion.⁴⁶

The fragments and cuttings in these albums and others like them were considered artworks and coveted by moneyed connoisseurs. The text leaves left over from this vandalism were possibly discarded but more likely entered an antiquarian market as affordable specimens of pre-modern book arts.⁴⁷ In England, albums of text leaves can be documented from about 1700, but these were generally specialist compilations of historical or paleographical interest. John Bagford (d. 1716), for example, assembled leaves both to sell and to raise funds for a history of print which also included script as an antecedent. Thirty-six volumes of manuscript pieces survive in the British Library.⁴⁸ Records survive of leaves or albums sold to

44 Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination*, 63, 91.

45 In fact, two volumes of cuttings assembled by the art historian J. W. Bradley have lately been identified; see P. J. Kidd, "A Dispersed Album of Illuminated Cuttings [II]: The Collector(s) Identified", <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2020/06/a-dispersed-album-of-illuminated.html>.

46 E.g., the Toronto album, mentioned above, and Collegeville, MN, St. John's University, Hill Museum & Monastic Library, Beane MS 3, the property of Christopher Lennox-Boyd (Christie's, 9 December 1981, lot 229); see E. C. Teviotdale, "A Pair of Franco-Flemish Cistercian Antiphonals of the Thirteenth Century and their Programs of Illumination", in L. L. Brownrigg and M. M. Smith, *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, Los Altos Hills, CA, 2000, 230–58. For a more comprehensive list of such albums, see Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination*, 90–91.

47 A bifolium from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier surfaced in 1981, suggesting that the entire book, not just its miniatures, had been dispersed (Sotheby's, 14 July 1981, lot 37).

48 W. Y. Fletcher, "John Bagford and His Collections", *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 4 (1898), 185–201, at 197, though many of these contain late manuscripts, some by Bagford. Fletcher remarks (*ibid.*), "the collections also contain a large number of fragments of early Bibles, service books, decretals, lives of saints, etc. These consist almost entirely of vellum, and some

Samuel Pepys and Humfrey Wanley, and of an album given to one “John Sturt.”⁴⁹ Other Bagford albums have been alleged, all chiefly comprised of binding waste.⁵⁰ Similarly, Thomas Astle compiled an album of 152 specimen folios, including facsimiles, for a history of script.⁵¹ Comparable antiquarian collections gathered from bookbinders can also be found in the nineteenth century. In England, for example, the Oxford antiquary Philip Bliss bought leaves from the bindings of Oxford books that he found in local binderies. Eventually sold to Sir Thomas Phillipps, these are now dispersed internationally.⁵² The albums in all of the foregoing instances are unified by an academic enterprise (history of script, historical artworks) or common origin (Oxford bindings, single volumes).

Similar to the convolute was the “extra-illustrated” or grangerized book, a largely English practice in which books were cut apart and expanded with content-related pictorial materials. Most grangerized books had inserted prints: engravings, etchings, aquatints, and so on. As Lucy Peltz observes, nearly all grangerized books at the height of their popularity (ca. 1790–1870) constituted antiquarian cultural histories. She notes,

[...] the principles governing extra-illustration were less those of connoisseurial print collecting than of an individual reading the text. As a result, the end product of extra-illustration was a customized version of a mass-disseminated book that

of them are as early as the eighth century”. One Bagford album in America is Columbia, MO, University of Missouri, Ellis Library, *Fragmenta Manuscripta*; its companion volume is Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, SSS.3.14; see M. McC. Gatch, “*Fragmenta Manuscripta* and *Varia* at Missouri and Cambridge”, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9 (1990), 434–75.

49 M. McC. Gatch, “John Bagford as a Collector and Disseminator of Manuscript Fragments”, *The Library*, Sixth Series, 7 (1985), 95–114, at 96–97.

50 Gatch, “John Bagford”, 107. Bagford’s friend and bookseller colleague, Christopher Bateman, gave him access to “waste manuscripts”, which Bagford plundered of “old pieces of MSS” (*ibid.*, citing R. Steele, “John Bagford’s Own Account of His Collection of Title-Pages, etc.”, *The Library*, Second Series, 8 (1907), 223–24).

51 Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination*, 90.

52 C. de Hamel, “Phillipps Fragments in Tokyo”, in T. Matsuda et al., *The Medieval Book and a Modern Collector*, Cambridge, UK, 2004, 19–44, at 19–20.

represented the owner's engagement and intimacy with the contents of that volume.⁵³

Peltz proposes that extra-illustrated books competed with antiquarian expeditions as an armchair enterprise. A few examples with manuscript specimens have been documented, including the Lomax-Wade "album" mentioned above and a twelve-volume copy of Dibdin's 1817 *Bibliographical Decameron* with 547 miniatures, now dismantled.⁵⁴ While this volume was bound in the early twentieth century, it probably dates to the Victorian period.

As a commercial practice, dismembering manuscripts would have been rare before the Celotti sale, even in London and Paris where the book trade was centered. The story changes by mid-century. In 1880 William Blades, author of *The Enemies of Books* and popularizer of the word "biblioclast", wrote:

[...] I purchased at [...] Sotheby's a large lot of MS. leaves on vellum, some being whole sections of a book, but mostly single leaves. Many were so mutilated by the excision of initials as to be worthless, but those with poor initials or with none were quite good, and when sorted out I found I had got large portions of nearly twenty different MSS, mostly [Books of Hours], showing twelve varieties of fifteenth-century handwriting in Latin, French, Dutch, and German. I had each sort bound separately, and they now form an interesting collection.⁵⁵

This group must have amounted to hundreds of text leaves. The important consideration here is that these random fragments do not comprise a collection, nor were they ever mounted in an album. They were the discarded text leaves of manuscripts from which the saleable miniatures and initials had already been stripped. These leftovers were then peddled to uncritical buyers, including American

53 L. Peltz, "The Extra-Illustration of London: The Gendered Spaces and Practices of Antiquarianism in the Late Eighteenth Century", in *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice, 1700–1850*, ed. M. Myrone and L. Peltz, Aldershot 1999, 115–34, at 116; see also L. Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain, 1769–1840*, San Marino, CA, 2017.

54 Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination*, 92. Dibdin's works were commonly extended, and while dozens of examples could be found, few had manuscript specimens. The Morgan Library acquired this copy, and its constituents have been separately conserved.

55 W. Blades, *The Enemies of Books*, London, 1880, 102–103.



Figure 8: Miniature stitched to a stub in a mutilated Book of Hours donated to Yale by Caroline Street. *Yale University, Beinecke Library MS 17, f. 84*



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Figure 9: Seventy-six of 114 miniatures from the Garin Hours remain, only eight of which are as large as the Pentecost depicted here. All of the full-page miniatures have been cut out. *New York, Morgan Library MS 27, f. 39v*

tourists who are known to have acquired innumerable manuscripts stripped of miniatures. For example, in 1869 the heiress Caroline Street donated a fragmentary Hours to Yale, a modest manuscript obtained abroad in 1845 [Figure 8].⁵⁶ Both of its surviving miniatures had been excised but subsequently stitched onto vellum stubs, probably through her intervention. Around the same time Obadiah Rich gave a mutilated Book of Hours, use of Limoges, to the Boston Athenaeum (MS 529). Even Theodore Irwin, the banker and businessman whose elite library was sold to J. P. Morgan, owned manuscripts with missing pages, such as Morgan Library MS M.27,

⁵⁶ New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library MS 17; see *Census* 1.165 and B. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Vol. 1: MSS 1–250*, Binghamton, NY, 1984, 32–34.

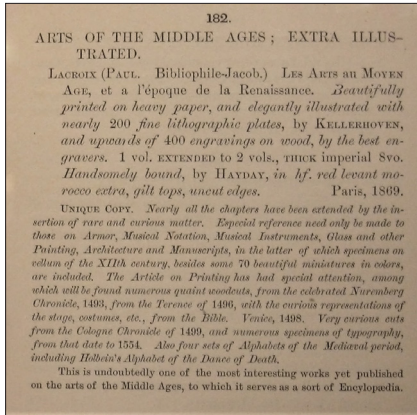


Figure 10: This copy of Lacroix's *Les Arts au Moyen Âge et à l'Époque de la Renaissance* was extended by the addition of original manuscript material. A *Superb Collection of Fine Art and Illustrated Works*, Leavitt's, New York, 26 March 1873, lot 182

the “Guerin/Garin Hours” of Rouen use acquired in 1860 [Figure 9].⁵⁷ Irwin was just getting started at this time and had not developed his taste. Scores of manuscripts in North America before ca. 1880 were similarly imperfect but still desirable to inexperienced aesthetes like him.

IV. Evidence of Fragment Connoisseurship from Auction and Exhibition Catalogues

Like their British counterparts, bourgeois American connoisseurs treasured extra-illustrated books or albums of fine miniatures, and often acquired single illuminations, sometimes mounting them in albums. Analogous compilations can be documented for the New World, although grangerized books can be found in only one instance. An 1873 auction catalogue entitled *A Superb Collection of Fine Art and Illustrated Works* describes an extra-illustrated copy of *Les Arts au Moyen Âge et à l'Époque de la Renaissance* by Paul Lacroix (second edition, Paris, 1869) [Figure 10].⁵⁸ The book was

⁵⁷ According to the curatorial file at the Morgan Library, this Hours was acquired ca. 1860 from D. Appleton & Co., a New York bookseller with a sideline in early manuscripts; see [Theodore Irwin,] *Catalogue of the Library and a Brief List of the Engravings and Etchings Belonging to Theodore Irwin, Oswego, N.Y.*, New York, 1887, 216, no. 1367.

⁵⁸ Leavitt's, New York, 26 March 1873, lot 182 [McKay 1756].

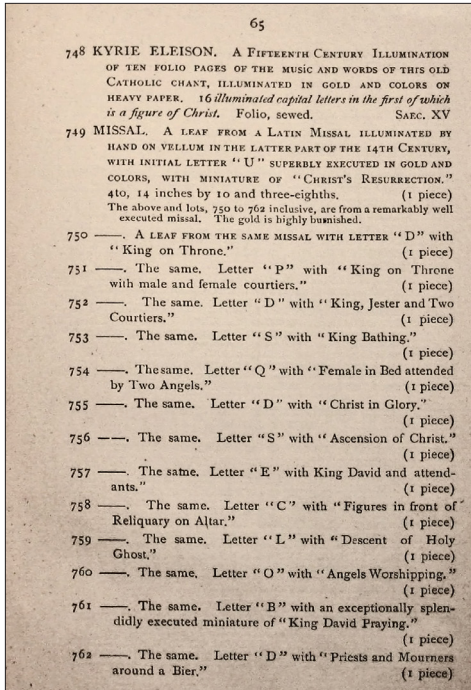


Figure 11: The Corey Library included these and other cut-out initials. *Catalogue of the Corey Library*, Leavitt's, New York, 28-29 November 1882, lot 749

published in two volumes, but the first volume of this unique copy had been "extended to 2 vols." with "specimens on vellum of the XIIth century, besides some 70 beautiful miniatures in colors." The fascicule may have been augmented between 1869 and 1873, if four years might be deemed long enough for more than seventy miniatures and leaves to have been found in New York bookshops.⁵⁹ Or perhaps the (unidentified) owner possessed the leaves in advance. A mere handful of manuscripts would have sufficed. For example, the Corey Library, auctioned in 1882, included fourteen lots of decorative initials from a book measuring 14" × 10 3/8" [Figure 11].⁶⁰ Given its size, the volume must have been liturgical. A fifteenth item in this series (lot 763) comprised a historiated initial of the Nativity

59 Since auction houses commonly imported manuscripts at this time to be auctioned, it remains possible that this volume had recently been consigned from abroad.

60 *Catalogue of the Corey Library*, Leavitt's, New York, 28 November 1882, lots 749-62 [McKay 2878].

mounted on card, while a sixteenth depicted a “King Surrounded by Courtiers” from a “very early missal” (lot 764). Lot 748 held ten folios from a choir book, presumably all the illuminated ones, since it was described as having “sixteen illuminated capital letters.” Had the initials all been excised, a motivated buyer at this auction could have amassed thirty-two specimens at once.

The extra-illustrated copy of Lacroix’s book reflected its anonymous owner’s connoisseurship. In addition to two early manuscripts (lots 124 [Book of Hours] and 292 [breviary]), his library also held facsimile volumes of *Lives of the Saints* (London, 1862), “with 51 exquisite full page miniatures in gold and colors” [lot 136]; *Golden Verses from the New Testament with Illuminations and Miniatures from Celebrated Missals and Books of Hours of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (London, 1870) [lot 153]; Henri Delaunay, *Oeuvre de Jehan Foucquet: Heures de Maistre Estienne Chevalier* (Paris, 1869) [lot 221] and *Les Évangiles des Dimanches et Fêtes de l’Année* (Paris, 1864) [lot 279]. Emphasizing miniatures over text, the layout of these books may have suggested an extra-illustrated anthology of authentic cuttings. Roger Wieck made the same point in 1996: “[...] instructed by how-to manuals that presented manuscript painting as a series of dissected borders, cut initials and separate alphabets, it was only natural that people in the nineteenth century when confronted with the real thing [...] felt compelled to cut it up.”⁶¹ Both in Europe and America, “academic” studies of medieval graphic arts were convincing models for albums of miniatures.

As a work of reference, *Les Arts au Moyen Âge* was ideal for extra-illustration in terms of the antiquarian cultural history mentioned above. Its chapters on furnishings, decorative arts, militaria, transport, musical instruments, painting and portraiture, architecture, parchment and paper, manuscripts, scripts, miniatures, and bindings provide countless opportunities to insert medieval specimen leaves. Perhaps the “specimens on vellum” accompanied the chapter on parchment, but the seventy miniatures could, in theory, have illustrated any subject-matter. Not all specimen-books had an aesthetic or pictorial focus, however. A copy of David and

61 Wieck, “*Folia Fugitiva*”, 245.

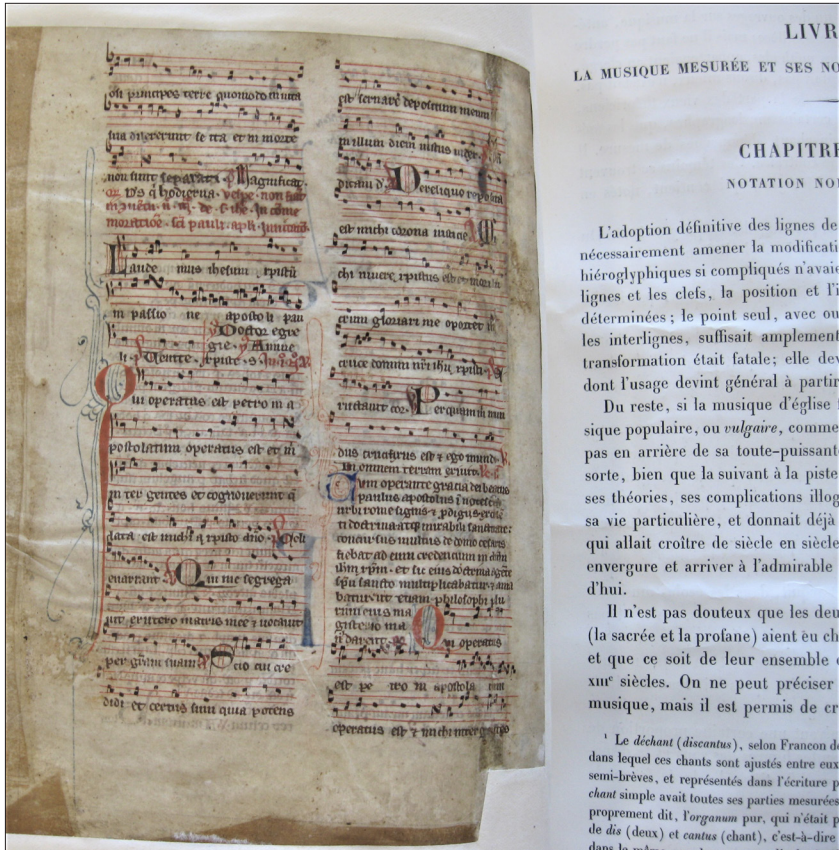


Figure 12: A rare grangerized book with manuscript fragments at Case Western Reserve University (ML 431 .D24).

Lussy's *Histoire de la Notation Musicale*⁶² at Case Western University (Cleveland, OH) was augmented with about twenty text fragments of medieval and early modern music, including English sacred polyphony and unique ballads familiar to Shakespeare [Figure 12].⁶³

62 E. David and M. Lussy, *Histoire de la Notation Musicale depuis ses Origines*, Paris, 1882.

63 On the choir book, see (most recently) G. R. K. Curtis and A. B. Wathey, "Fifteenth-Century English Liturgical Music: A List of the Surviving Repertory", *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 27 (1994), 1–69, at 23, 51. On the ballads, see R. W. Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, New York, 2004. About a dozen other medieval items remain unstudied. The fragments are thought

Although the volume was plausibly assembled around 1882, it may not have resided in North America before its donation in 1940.

Books augmented with manuscripts were rare in the New World. Specimen albums were more abundant, and two can be documented before the Civil War. In 1856 the Englishman Joseph Sabin catalogued the “*Bibliotheca Splendidissima*” of Andrew Ellicott Douglass (d. 1901).⁶⁴ This was the largest and most important auction of medieval manuscripts conducted in the antebellum period. Douglass prized a “scrapbook” (lot 1128*), described as follows:

A large Atlas folio book, containing a large number of vellum leaves and cuttings from folio Missals, or Mass-books, presenting gorgeous specimens of illuminated borders, with fruits, flowers, and miniatures. Large capital letters, in many instances six inches in height, inclosing miniatures of sacred subjects, all richly heightened with gold and colors; also, two exquisite miniatures, from 12mo. missals, in the finest style of art.

Douglass’s album contained diverse cuttings on which we can only speculate. The phrase “folio Missals, or Mass-books, presenting gorgeous specimens of illuminated borders, with fruits, flowers, and miniatures” suggests grand illuminated missals or Books of Hours. “Large capital letters [...] inclosing miniatures of sacred subjects” sound like cuttings from illuminated choir books. “Two exquisite miniatures, from 12mo. missals, in the finest style of art” seems to describe small Books of Hours, Psalter-Hours or breviaries. (These two items may have been independent of the album.) Curiously, the asterisked lot number implies that this volume was not found

to have come from the collection of the musicologist Edward Francis Rimbauld; see Sotheby’s, 31 July 1877, lots 1400–1403, 1381, 1916 and others mostly purchased by “J. Marshall”, probably Julian Marshall, a collector of “ancient music”; cf. B. Quaritch, ed., *Contributions towards a Dictionary of English Book-Collectors*, Part XII, “An Alphabetical Roll of Book Collectors from 1319 to 1898 by W. C. Hazlitt”, London, 1898, 21; A. Searle, “Julian Marshall and the British Museum: Music Collecting in the Later Nineteenth Century”, *The British Library Journal* 11 (1985), 67–87. Relevant in this context are three grangerized copies of Blades’ *The Enemies of Books* at the Free Library, Philadelphia, but at least one of them seems to have been assembled in England (Wieck, “*Folia Fugitiva*”, 236 and 251, n. 21). It is uncertain whether the others were grangerized in America.

64 J. Sabin, *Bibliotheca Splendidissima: Catalogue of a Sumptuous Collection of Books, etc.*, Bangs Brothers & Co., New York, 15 December 1856 [McKay 719].

among Douglass' manuscripts but was added to them at the sale. They might have belonged among his albums of etchings, engravings, or drawings, with (say) lot 2486, vellum miniatures of a nun and St. Francis, and lot 2604, a collection of drawings of saints, ex-Countess von Plettenberg. To Douglass or Sabin, these separately shelved albums of cuttings ostensibly belonged to a different book-genre, and compilations of prints were logical analogues. Especially before the Civil War, the professional vocabulary used to describe manuscripts imitated that of printed books.

The New York collector John Allan, who came to own thirty pre-1600 manuscripts by the time of his death in 1864, also gathered an album of manuscript specimens. In Sabin's 1864 auction catalogue,⁶⁵ this scrapbook was described as holding "Gothic Or-nated Letters and Fragments selected from Ancient MSS. Some of them exquisitely finished. Folio, *half morocco*" (lot 42). Allan had a "leading passion for 'illustration',"⁶⁶ and perhaps his impulse to acquire rarities in any condition explains the compilation of such a miscellany.⁶⁷ It must have been sizeable. The album sold to "Brooks" for \$9.50,⁶⁸ a price suggesting an impressive scope. Allan probably compiled this assortment himself, as he was an inveterate grangerizer and derided for spoiling hundreds of prints in supplementing his anthologies.⁶⁹ The miscellaneous character of the collection suggests the same. Allan's books were sometimes re-bound, so that

65 J. Sabin, *A Catalogue of the Books, Autographs, Engravings, and Miscellaneous Articles Belonging to the Estate of the Late John Allan*, Bangs, Merwin & Co., New York, 25 April 1864 [McKay 1025].

66 [Evert A. Duyckinck,] *Memorial of John Allan*, New York, 1864, 17. Duyckinck estimates that Allan produced about a hundred extra-illustrated volumes (ibid. 25). William Loring Andrews, who knew Allan as an octogenarian, remarked, "Mr. Allan was the first New York book-collector to be bitten with this passion for 'illustration'" (*Gossip about Book-Collecting*, New York, 1900, vol. 1, 31-32).

67 Andrews, *Gossip*, 25: "If a book or print were rare, its condition appears to have been regarded as a secondary consideration."

68 "Brooks" was the *nom de vente* of "Hayett", according to W. Gowans, *A Catalogue of the Library and Antiquarian Collection of John Allan, Esq., with the Names of Purchasers and the Price Each Article Sold For*, etc., New York, 1865, 15.

69 Ibid. 17-20; see Andrews, *Gossip*, 27 ("probably the labor of his own hands").

any binding waste in his miscellany may have come from his own library, if he did not purchase it from local binderies. As a serious collector of manuscripts, however, he would not have cut “Gothic Ornated Letters”—especially those “exquisitely finished”—from his own books.⁷⁰ Although Allan’s circle of generous friends may have given him these initials, they were most likely picked up in New York bookshops, printshops, or binderies. Allan visited them routinely.⁷¹ Ultimately, his lost album represents the best evidence we have of the trade in manuscript fragments in antebellum New York.

The interest in fragments grew after the Civil War, although it remained insignificant compared to the rocketing postwar market for unspoiled illuminated and text manuscripts. Especially from the 1870s, albums of leaves and single cuttings are more frequently reported in auction, library, and exhibition catalogues. On 10 December 1878 Leavitt’s in New York auctioned Irving Browne’s library, which held “the most extensive collection of extra illustrated works ever offered by auction in this country.” Lot 557 comprised six “missal paintings” bound in an album.⁷² Three of the subjects were identified: “the ‘Kiss of Judas,’ ‘Baptism of St. John,’ ‘Raising of Lazarus’ Daughter.” The “Kiss” sounds like the betrayal in Gethsemane from an English or northern European Book of Hours. The unusual “Baptism” may have come from a choir book, although a late Book of Hours is more likely. The description “Lazarus’s Daughter” appears to reference Jairus’ daughter, an idiosyncratic subject for any manuscript. It seems possible, in fact, that the subject is the “Raising of Lazarus” from the Office of the Dead or “Dormition of the

70 The sources that document Allan’s collecting suggest his regard for rare books, and in the *Memorial of John Allan*, Duyckinck extolled Allan’s appreciation for illuminated manuscripts, which were housed in a secretary in Allan’s bedroom: “the choice collection of books of Emblems and Missals, a sacred and peaceful host, appealing to the devotional feeling of the worshipper of the antique, which graced the secretary by the window in the sunniest spot in the house” (8–9). Duyckinck also remarks, “it was not often that Mr. Allan made marginal or other written comments in his books” (ibid. 32).

71 According to William Loring Andrews, Allan *daily* “haunted” the shop of Mr. William Gowans, a pioneer seller of secondhand books (W. L. Andrews, *The Old Booksellers of New York and Other Papers*, New York, 1895, 25).

72 *A Catalogue of the Unique Library Formed by Irving Browne, Esq., of Troy, NY*, Leavitt’s, New York, 10 December 1878, lot 557 [McKay 2444].

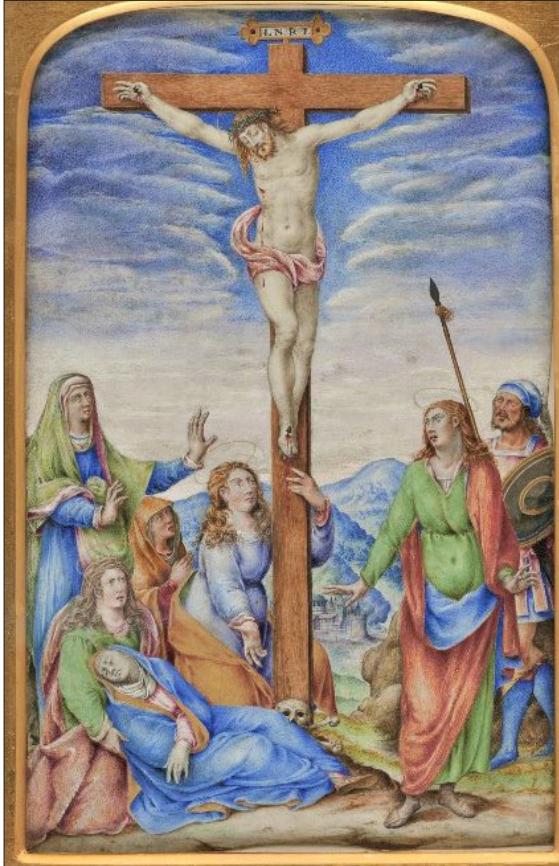


Figure 13: Crucifixion miniature loaned by Robert Hoe to the Grolier Club exhibition of 1892. Brooklyn, NY, Brooklyn Museum, acc. 11.499

Virgin” from Compline in the Hours of the Virgin. This compilation appeared with a group of three “Manuscripts on Vellum” that included two Books of Hours, one with “an exquisite initial miniature as frontispiece” (lot 556).

A modest album of fragments was exhibited at the Grolier Club in 1884, described as,

a volume—containing eleven leaves only, laid down on vellum, of a book of hours, belonging to the family of Crequy, of France. The borders in flowers, shells, birds, etc., most exquisitely done.⁷³

73 “V. Exhibition of Manuscripts: Illuminated Manuscripts”, *Transactions of the Grolier Club* 1 (1885), 24–28, at 25. This album was later sold by Henry F. Sewell

This compilation seems to have contained illuminated borders only, not miniatures. The total of eleven leaves sounds like an unillustrated Book of Hours with four-sided borders and illuminated initials. Also included in the Grolier Club exhibition were “two large ornamented initials in frame” (otherwise undescribed), “five leaves, on parchment, from [a] Spanish cantoral of the sixteenth century”, and an initial from a thirteenth-century Apocalypse.⁷⁴ The five choir book leaves may have boasted large historiated initials or miniatures.

This short list of exhibited fragments expanded substantially when, eight years later, the Grolier Club mounted a larger display of illuminated manuscripts. Five disjunct miniatures, two albums of fragments, and six single leaves from the same Flemish manuscript were loaned to the 1892 exhibition.⁷⁵ The large-scale miniatures included a “Crucifixion” by Giulio Clovio [Figure 13].⁷⁶ The other ten may have been selected from many others, but the pedestrian quality of certain Hours in the exhibition suggests that these miniatures were the sole examples. The volume of fragments with decorative borders exhibited in 1884 was not re-exhibited in 1892. One new congeries included six leaves that originated in a single Book of Hours: a “Nativity” (Prime), “Adoration of the Magi” (Sext), “God Speaking to David” (Penitential Psalms), “Resurrection” (Office of the Dead), and two “Holy Families” (Presentation? Flight

(Bang’s, New York, 9 November 1896, lot 1828 [McKay 4568]). On this historic exhibition, see G. Ong and E. Holzenberg, *For Jean Grolier & His Friends: 125 Years of Grolier Club Exhibitions and Publications, 1884–2009*, New York, 2009, ref. E2 and P4. Peter Kidd informs me that this album comprised lot 126 in the 1864 Sotheby’s sale of John Boykett Jarman.

74 “V. Exhibition of Manuscripts”, 27, 28. A “Passio Domini” with seventeen miniatures said to be sixteenth-century Italian was probably not a convolute.

75 *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Painted and Illuminated Manuscripts*, The Grolier Club, New York, 1892; see Ong and Holzenberg, *For Jean Grolier*, refs. E30 and P31. I do not count the “Passio Domini” (mentioned above), which was also exhibited at this time (*Catalogue of an Exhibition*, 25, no. 55). The miniatures included a “Crucifixion” attributed to Clovio (23, no. 52), initial O with Trinity and Apostles (36, no. 83); initial N of “Morning after the Resurrection” (38, no. 89); initials of the “Martyrdom of St. Luke and Fall of the Idols” and of the “Crucifixion of St. Francis”, both attributed to Boccardino (40, no. 95).

76 Brooklyn, NY, Brooklyn Museum of Art, acc. 11.499.

into Egypt?).⁷⁷ One portfolio of twenty illuminations held “a series of small Italian miniatures” illustrating “the Passion of Christ and pictures of Saints.”⁷⁸ These might have been taken from an illuminated ferial Psalter, but, if not Italian, they may be from the Suffrages and Office of the Virgin in a northern Book of Hours illustrated with a Passion cycle of miniatures. Impossible to interpret is, “A Volume Containing a Series of Thirty-two Early Miniatures, upon Vellum, of Initial Letters, Historiated with Figures,” said to be “cut from various manuscripts.”⁷⁹ The likely sources of “early” historiated initials would be bibles, breviaries, and Psalter-Hours.

The 1892 catalogue ran to forty pages. With one notable exception, the fragments and albums came near the end, appearing on pages 36–40. They were items of less compelling artistic or bibliographical standing than the complete books listed on pages 1–35. The “Clovio” was different, however. It was an acknowledged masterpiece with papal provenance,⁸⁰ so it was situated in the exhibition among the chief treasures, between “a remarkable and sumptuous volume of unusual historic and artistic interest” called “*Horæ Pembrochianæ*” (no. 51) and a small, “exquisite” Book of Hours “of the school of Giulio Clovio” (no. 53).⁸¹ The esteem for this “Crucifixion” miniature may be due less to its artistic pedigree than to its owner, Robert Hoe, the Grolier Club founder and patron. He acquired it from the London firm of Bernard Quaritch in 1891, perhaps with the intent of exhibiting it at the Grolier Club.⁸² Other

⁷⁷ *Catalogue of an Exhibition*, 36 (no. 85).

⁷⁸ *Catalogue of an Exhibition*, 37 (no. 87).

⁷⁹ *Catalogue of an Exhibition*, 39 (no. 94).

⁸⁰ S. Hindman and M. Heinlen, “A Connoisseur’s Montage: The ‘Four Evangelists’ Attributed to Giulio Clovio”, *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 17 (1991), 154–78, 181–82, at 176–77.

⁸¹ Respectively: Philadelphia Museum of Art, acc. 1945.65.2 (Philip S. Collins Coll.), see Faye and Bond, *Supplement* 470–71 and illustrations in J. R. Tanis, ed., with J. A. Thompson, *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, Philadelphia, 2001, no. 14; Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis E 109, see *Census* II.2040; E. Wolf II and A. S. W. Rosenbach, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the John Frederick Lewis Collection of European Manuscripts in the Free Library of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1937, 119–21 (with plates).

⁸² C. Shipman, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Forming a Portion of the Library of Robert Hoe*, New York, 1909, 129, 131; cf. *Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe*

cuttings in Hoe's collection betray his taste for Italian miniatures in the style of Clovio. As it turns out, Hoe also owned the albums of twenty illuminations and thirty-two historiated initials exhibited at the club, but none of the other large initials, apparently.⁸³ Incidentally, an album of eight miniatures from a Book of Hours with three others from a Psalter were posthumously catalogued in the Hoe collection (1909) but may not have been in his possession before 1900.⁸⁴

Hoe stands out as a collector of single miniatures, as few Americans were buying them. I have already mentioned single items in the Corey library, sold in 1882. Similarly idiosyncratic was the Chicagoan Rushton M. Dorman, who cultivated a taste for sumptuous illuminated manuscripts. Yet he also acquired two miniatures, a kalendar detached from a Book of Hours, an album of "thirteen exquisite miniatures of scenes in the Life of Christ" attributed to the school of Jean Fouquet, and a portfolio of eleven miniatures from a single Book of Hours bound in purple velvet.⁸⁵ Since Dorman had assembled a *bibliothèque de travail* for his illustrated work on *The Origin of Primitive Superstitions and their Development into the Worship of Spirits and the Doctrine of Spiritual Agency among the Aborigines of America* (Philadelphia, 1881), it is tempting to imagine his fragments as evidence of "primitive superstitions" in medieval Europe. The auction catalogue regarded his library as having "only the antique about it in order to contrast more strongly with the living issues of the present in art, religion, philosophy and science."⁸⁶ Common

of New York, Anderson, New York, 24 April 1911, lots 2152–2153 [McKay 6972].

83 Shipman, *Catalogue*, 129–31, where eight groups of miniatures are described. They do not match the descriptions in the 1892 Grolier Club exhibition. Many of Hoe's initials now reside at the Brooklyn Museum: two folios illuminated by a follower of Jean Fouquet, sold at the 1884 Firmin-Didot sale and possibly Hoe's by 1900 (acc. 11.507, framed); two Italian initials (N with "Christ and the Woman of Samaria" and L with "Prodigal Son"), both from the same manuscript (acc. 11.498, framed together); initial R with a "Resurrection" on a folio of an Italian choir book, ca. 1500 (acc. 11.500); see *Census* II.1196.

84 Shipman, *Catalogue*, 129; *Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe*, lot 2151.

85 *Catalogue of the Library, Manuscripts and Prints of Rushton M. Dorman, Esq., of Chicago, Illinois*, Leavitt's, New York, 5 April 1886, lots 2–3, 7*, 13 [McKay 3313].

86 *Library of Rushton Dorman*, ii. Charles Sotheran reviewed the sale and proposed that, "Mr. Dorman's collection admirably illustrates the evolution of



Figure 14: Miniature of St. Lawrence by Don Simone Camaldolese donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1890. New York, NY, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 90.61.2

Figure 15: Miniature of St. Andrew by the Master of the Riccardiana Lactantius, one of seven illuminated leaves from the same antiphonal donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1896. New York, NY, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 96.32.10



Figure 16: Miniature of a funeral procession by Mariano del Buono. New York, NY, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 96.32.16



Figure 17: Initial P with interlace, mid-thirteenth century. New York, NY, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 96.32.4

medieval subject-matter like St. Margaret emerging from the belly of a dragon or a mischievous devil stealing St. John's inkwell would qualify as "primitive superstitions." Most other collectors interested in fragments were satisfied with a miniature or two. Henri de Pène du Bois of Brooklyn owned a single one of "The Judgement of Solomon", which more likely depicts the Massacre of the Innocents.⁸⁷ Simeon Henry Remsen owned a "finely illuminated drawing on parchment" called "Holy Family" and perhaps a second of "St. Joseph with the Infant Christ."⁸⁸ Finally, the fabulously rich Adolph

typography from the period when the mediæval illuminator made way for the rude xylographical artist" ("Book Auction Intelligence", *The Bookmart*, March 1886, 304–5, at 304).

87 *The Library and Art Collection of Henry de Pène du Bois of New York*, Leavitt's, New York, 13 June 1887, lot 356 [McKay 3482].

88 *Catalogue of the Valuable Miscellaneous Library of William H. Post, Esq., of New York City ... The Second Part of the Collection of the Late Simeon Henry Remsen, Esq., of New York*, Leavitt's, New York, 22 May 1883, lots 1536*, 1537 [McKay 2966].



Figure 18: “Assumption of the Virgin” by Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, ca. 1340. *New York, NY, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 96.32.12*

Sutro of California acquired an “album” of three mediocre, soiled, and damaged miniatures from a fifteenth-century French Book of Hours in 1883.⁸⁹ He owned four complete manuscripts of Buxheim provenance, as well as English and Italian documents.⁹⁰

89 *Census* I.26, reporting that they came from the Munich dealers, Ludwig and Jacques Rosenthal. This album is now [San Francisco, California State Library, Sutro Collection MS 6](#).

90 See respectively: R. Dillon, “The Sutro Library,” *News Notes on California Libraries* 51 (1956), 338–52, at 342; W. E. Parker, “Items from the Halliwell-Phillipps

Back in New York, the 1884 exhibition at the Grolier Club, and its 1892 *reprise* in particular, may have sanctioned the ownership of choir book leaves and cuttings. In 1888 the Metropolitan Museum of Art received a medieval miniature among two artworks donated by Coudert Brothers, a law firm. Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo painted a historiated initial V depicting Joseph sold by his brothers, ca. 1490 [Figure 1].⁹¹ Mrs. A. M. Minturn bequeathed five more fragments in 1890,⁹² and in 1896 the museum received fourteen leaves, one bifolium, and one fragment comprising two bifolia from Louis L. Lorillard.⁹³ With the exception of a radiant cutting by Don Simone Camaldolese [Figure 14],⁹⁴ Minturn's Italian, Austrian, German, and French fragments were artistically prosaic and two considerably damaged. The Lorillard collection is more significant. More likely assembled by an Italian aficionado or Florentine bookseller than by the yachtsman Lorillard, the leaves remain important for establishing a neoteric appreciation for fine Italian miniatures at American museums. Most of the items originated in Florence, and seven come from an Antiphonal illuminated there by the Master of the Riccardiana Lactantius, ca. 1450–1475 [Figure 15].⁹⁵ Two Gradual leaves from the second half of the fifteenth century have been attributed to Mariano del Buono, another Florentine miniaturist

Library in Sutro Branch, California State Library", *News Notes of California Libraries* 41 (1946), 249–54; G. T. Dennis, "An Inventory of Italian Notarial Documents in the Sutro Library, San Francisco", *Manuscripta* 9 (1965), 89–103.

91 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 88.3.50. A late sixteenth-century gouache on vellum, "Adoration of the Shepherds" by an anonymous Cremonese artist (acc. 88.3.68), cannot be considered manuscript art.

92 Cutting of St. Lawrence attributed to Don Simone Camaldolese, ca. 1385 (acc. 90.61.2); a Venetian leaf depicting the Visitation, ca. 1400 (acc. 90.61.3); a French missal folio, ca. 1450 (acc. 90.61.4); a leaf from an Austrian choir Psalter, late fifteenth-century, with a depiction of David (acc. 90.61.5).

93 Most are discussed in Boehm, *Choirs of Angels* (above, n. 9). On the fragment of four leaves, which seems Bolognese, see K. Ilko, "An Illuminated Fragment of the *Postil on the Lenten Gospels* by Albert of Padua", *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 53 (2018), 128–35.

94 Boehm, *Choirs of Angels* 32.

95 D. E. Booton, "The Master of the Riccardiana Lactantius: Folios from a Florentine Choir Book", *Miniatura. Arte dell'illustrazione e decorazione del libro* 5/6 (1993–1996), 61–66.

CATALOGUE.	
Missals and MSS. Prior to the Invention of Printing.	
1. New Testament, in Latin, 8vo, double columns.....	circa 1250
This elaborate and beautiful specimen of calligraphy is done in colors, by a German scribe, in gothic character, on fine prepared vellum, and is undoubtedly of the period stated.	
2. MS. on vellum, Benedictiones Dominicales	13th century
Highly illuminated in gold and colors.	
3. Missal on vellum	(Copied in 1746)..... 15th century
4. Elegantiarum, Laurentii Valle,	circa 1430
A remarkably interesting and excessively rare work, entirely manuscript, Colored Initial letters. On vellum and paper.	
5. Fragments of Illuminated Kalendar, on parchment,	circa, 15th Century
6. A thin roll of Egyptian Papyrus.....	
7. Leaves of a Tamil School Book on Palmetto leaf	
8. Two Burnese MSS.	
9. An illuminated MS. of the Koran in Arabic.....	
10. A Coptic MS. of the Gospel of St. John	
11. Latin Breviary MS. on vellum,	circa 1350
An extremely rare and beautiful specimen.	
12. Book of Hours, MS. on vellum, in Latin and Dutch.....	1412
13. Page of a Breviary, on vellum,	circa 1450
14. MS. Book on Vellum, Illuminated.....	Liège 1501
Probably a breviary, an extremely curious and interesting specimen.	
15. Capitals from a Missal	16th Century
16. Fac Similes of National Manuscripts from William the Conqueror to Queen Anne. Selected under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, and Photozincographed by command of H. M. Queen Victoria, by Col. Sir Henry James, R.E., Director of the Ordnance Survey—in three volumes.....	
Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton 1865	
17. Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland. Selected under the direction of the Right Hon. Sir Wm. Gibson Craig, Bart., (Lord Clerk Register of Scotland), and Photozincographed by command of H. M. Queen Victoria by Col. Sir Henry James, R.E., Director of the Ordnance Survey	Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton 1867

Figure 19:
Fragments
loaned to the
1877 Caxton Ex-
hibition held
in Montreal.
*Condensed
Catalogue of
Manuscripts,
Books and
Engravings
on Exhibition
at the Caxton
Celebration,
etc., Montreal,
1877, p. 1*

[Figure 16].⁹⁶ Three have decorative rather than historiated initials, one of them mid-thirteenth century [Figure 17]. The prize of this group is a magnificent illumination of the Assumption by the Florentine master, Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, ca. 1340 [Figure 18].⁹⁷

This overview of fragment collecting in nineteenth-century America does not apply to Canada. While one early manuscript in

⁹⁶ Boehm, *Choirs of Angels*, 51 and illustrations 54–55 (pp. 44–45).

⁹⁷ Boehm, *Choirs of Angels*, illus. 40 (p. 35); W. M. Milliken, “An Illuminated Miniature by Niccolò di ser Sozzo Tegliacci,” *Art in America and Elsewhere* 13 (June 1925), 161–66.

the Dominion seems to have been imported specifically for sale,⁹⁸ the country had no domestic market for early manuscripts. Collectors usually bought complete specimens from European catalogues. Yet the ownership of fragments is documented in the *Condensed Catalogue* of the 1877 “Caxton Celebration”, which had been hastily organized by the Montreal collector Gerald Ephraim Hart. Hart exhibited illuminated “capitals” from a sixteenth-century missal [Figure 19].⁹⁹ These do not seem to have been mounted in an album. He also loaned an unknown “Fragment” (probably an unidentifiable text leaf) and “Four leaves from a breviary (missal).” Exhibited by others were “Fragments of an Illuminated Kalendar, on parchment” loaned by the Kuklos Club of Montreal and a “Page of a Breviary, on vellum” provided by the Montreal numismatist, Robert W. McLachlan. The fragments belonged with “Missals and MSS. Prior to the Invention of Printing”, which included a number of complete manuscripts contributed by American bibliophiles.¹⁰⁰

V. Collections of Text Leaves

A. University Ownership: An Album at New York University

While I have uncovered only one of the foregoing albums of illuminations, most of which which seem likely to have been dismantled, an album of text leaves survives intact at New York University (NYU).¹⁰¹ In 1884 the New York physician Homer L. Bartlett

98 B. Dunn-Lardeau and R. Virr, “La Redécouverte d’un Exemplaire des Heures Enluminées de 1516 Imprimées de 1516 par Gilles Hardouin”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 89 (2014), 144–70, at 159–60.

99 *Condensed Catalogue of Manuscripts, Books and Engravings on Exhibition at the Caxton Celebration*, etc., Montreal, 1877, pp. 1, 49–50.

100 See S. J. Gwara, “*Je me souviens*: The Forgotten Collection of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts Owned by Gerald E. Hart of Montreal”, in *Between the Text and the Page: Studies on the Transmission of Medieval Ideas in Honour of Frank T. Coulson*, ed. H. Anderson and D. T. Gura, Toronto, 2020, 255–88, at 263–65.

101 When the first volume of De Ricci and Wilson’s *Census* was published in 1935, the American Antiquarian Society owned twelve fragments “from Latin manuscripts (xiii–xv c.), mainly taken from bindings, including a leaf from a xiv-c. Bible (book of Habbakuk).” Since these were mentioned neither

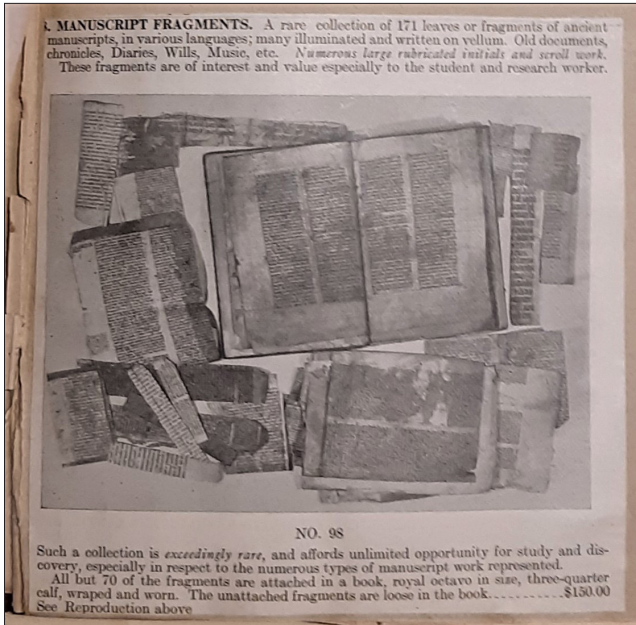


Figure 20: Book-seller advertising in the NYU album. New York, NY, New York University MSS 535

donated a volume of 171 manuscript fragments, all binding waste, to his alma mater NYU, now catalogued as MSS 535.¹⁰² Details of the original contents can be gleaned from a bookseller's catalogue entry pasted to a front flyleaf [Figure 20]. It states that 101 of the fragments were "laid in"—meaning that they were pasted onto paper sheets. An examination of bifolia reveals basting by which they had been

in Nathaniel Paine's *Remarks on the Manuscripts in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester, MA, 1903) nor in Charles Henry Lincoln, "The Manuscript Collections of the American Antiquarian Society" (*Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 4 (1909), 59–72), the leaves cannot be attested in the collection before 1935. Furthermore, they have been unlocated since before 2015 (see M. Conway and L. F. Davis, "Directory of Collections in the United States and Canada with Pre-1600 Manuscript Holdings", *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 109 (2015), 273–420, at 338).

- ¹⁰² This is not the Allan album. While the dates 1844 and 1845, which are found on some fragments, coincide with Allan's *floruit*, and the size of the Bartlett album (322 mm × 222 mm) conforms to Allan's "Folio", the binding of Allan's album was said to be half morocco, while the NYU volume is half calf. Its untidy annotations, furthermore, do not match Allan's conspicuously fine penmanship.

attached to the sheets, or else sewn right into the binding. In fact, a photograph that accompanies the description shows a bifolium apparently stitched into the gutter and trimmed to the size of the textblock.

The Bartlett album may have come from anywhere in North America, although Bartlett himself resided in Brooklyn. It remains uncertain, too, whether it had been purchased from a European source, even as late as 1884. An inscription yields ambiguous provenance information. Two vellum fragments (leaves 16–17) comprising an independent unit were pasted to a paper bifolium. Each was framed by ink rules and identified with penciled labels: 1. “fragment of a Chronicle from the death of Alfred to Athelstan”; 2. “Sermo de Spiritu Sancto.”¹⁰³ This anonymous compiler also wrote, “From Mr. Gough.” Ruling out titled owners, three candidates seem possible: 1. Henry Gough (d. 1905), an antiquarian and binder to the British Museum. The NYU album looks like the collection of a binder, and the majority of fragments are English. 2. Richard Gough (d. 1809), a wealthy antiquarian whose library contained a manuscript fragment called, “Fragment of an Old English Chronicle, beginning with Brute and ending with King Henry the Fifth.”¹⁰⁴ This description closely resembles “fragment of a Chronicle from the death of Alfred to Athelstan” cited above. Lot 4128 in Gough’s 1810 Sotheby’s sale comprised “Fragments of manuscripts, &c.” 3. The New York temperance advocate, John B. Gough, who apprenticed as a binder at the “Methodist Book Concern” in 1833.¹⁰⁵ Gough practiced the trade in New York for less than a year, however. Of these candidates, Richard Gough seems most likely to be the “Mr. Gough” whose fragments ended up in the NYU convolute.

Whoever assembled the Bartlett album drew on multiple sources over time. The two Gough fragments represent one stratum, but an annotation on a front flyleaf states: “The documents on the first

103 English, fourteenth century: 1.=William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta regum Anglorum*; 2.= unidentified sermon on the Holy Spirit.

104 Sotheby’s, 5 April 1810, lot 4309.

105 J. B. Gough, *An Autobiography of John B. Gough*, Boston, 1848, 16. Established in 1789, the Methodist Book Concern was a publisher of religious books focusing on Methodism. Gough also worked at Burlock and Wilbur, a New York bindery.

six pages were given to me about 1844 by Mr. Henry(?).¹⁰⁶ These six comprise: 1. Glossed Bible, France, ca. 1300; 2. commentary, France, 13th century, with headings, i.e. *De consuetudine*, *De postulatione*, *De baptismo*; 3. Commentary, with heading *De sortilegiis vel divinationibus*; 4. Sermons, *In Dominica quarta XL*; 5. Glossed Bible. Paris, ca. 1220, with list of the benefactors of Oxford University ending with Queen Mary; 6. Elizabethan document.¹⁰⁷ Two leaves then follow, one French, one Italian: Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, ca. 1350; Gratian, *Decretals*, ca. 1200. The decretals leaf bears an annotation dated 8 January 1845. Counting the Gough leaves, these folios comprise a third stratum. Then come seven documents from the reigns of Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and James I (9–15). They form a thematic unit with items 18–22, five documents from the reign of Henry VIII, although it cannot be known whether they were all acquired at the same time. These two groups of documents were bisected by the Gough leaves. One other stratum may be hypothesized. When the album was assessed in 1978, it was stated that the phrase “among my Uncle’s Papers” appeared “on the last attached document,” which would be item 101, a late Middle English record. Five and perhaps six strata may be securely identified, therefore.

While it is impossible to deduce precisely how the album was compiled, the archaeology of these strata imply that it belonged to an antiquarian or bibliophile, not a commercial binder. The compiler probably began his album in 1844, after coming into possession of leaves from Mr. Henry—. Two fragments followed in 1845, then a series of documents, which were divided by the Gough bifolium, an earlier, independent acquisition. Perhaps some—or all—of the remaining leaves were acquired in bundles from binderies, booksellers, or even from Gough’s estate. If so, three sources of fragments may be hypothesized: acquaintances, family (an uncle), and commercial agents.

106 When the album was disassembled, the conservators removed and sequenced the leaves in their exact sequence in the album. The individual leaves were similarly treated, but it cannot be determined whether they were sequenced as originally numbered.

107 I have identified the fragments in this and subsequent sections.

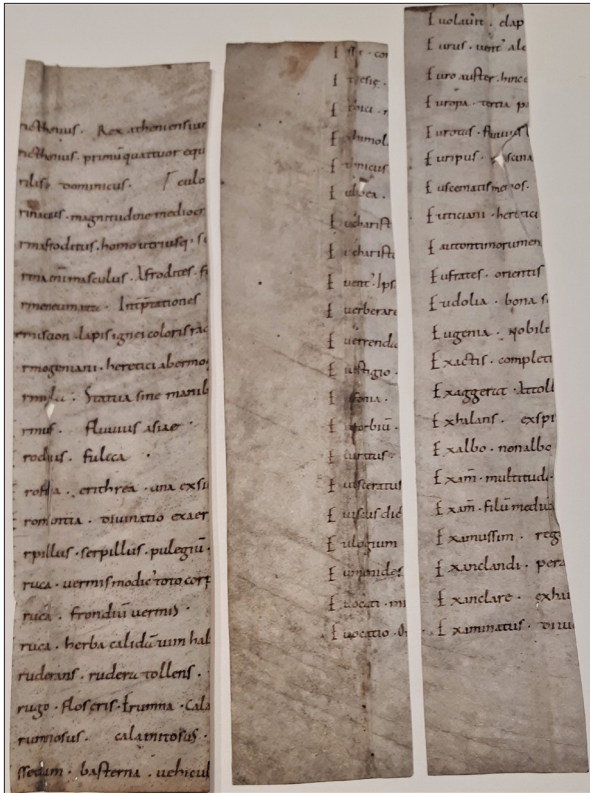


Figure 21: These strips of a late ninth-century manuscript were placed at the end of the Bartlett album, suggesting that they were thought to be written in Humanistic Minuscule. *New York, NY, New York University MSS 535*

While the fragments are slightly disordered in terms of contents and date, a general pattern can be discerned—noting, of course, that the album may have been re-organized at any point after its receipt by NYU in 1884. First, a significant majority of the fragments are English and French. Very few are Italian, German or Spanish. Naturally, the NYU fragments would have derived from antiquarian (fifteenth- and sixteenth-century) printed books. Second, the fragments get larger the further one gets in the album, except that bifolia were stitched or basted near the middle, where about fifty pages have fallen out. One can see the original format in a photograph from the bookseller's catalogue: item 35 (glossary of biblical subjects) has been bound into the album. Stitching such large and heavy leaves onto flimsy paper would explain why the middle pages disintegrated. Third, whoever organized the album

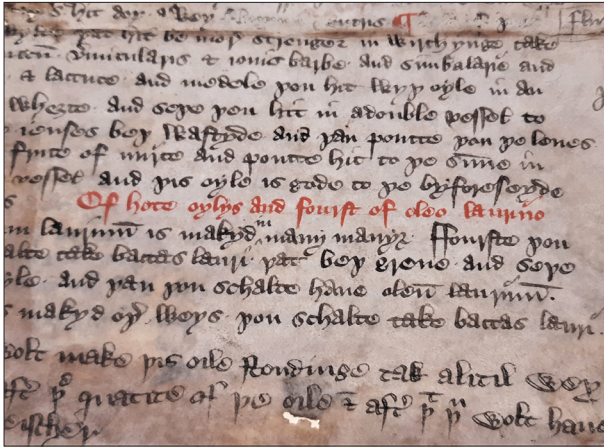


Figure 22: Fragment of Middle English at the end of the album. New York, NY, New York University MSS 535



Figure 23: The fragments often overlapped, but because they were glued on single edges, the leaves could be turned over, revealing the pages below. New York, NY, New York University MSS 535

was able to recognize the relative dates of the script styles, except in the case of ninth-century strips from a glossary [Figure 21]. After the appearance of independent units described above, the leaves are roughly chronological, with a few explicable misattributions. In particular, the Caroline Minuscule of the glossary seemed late to the

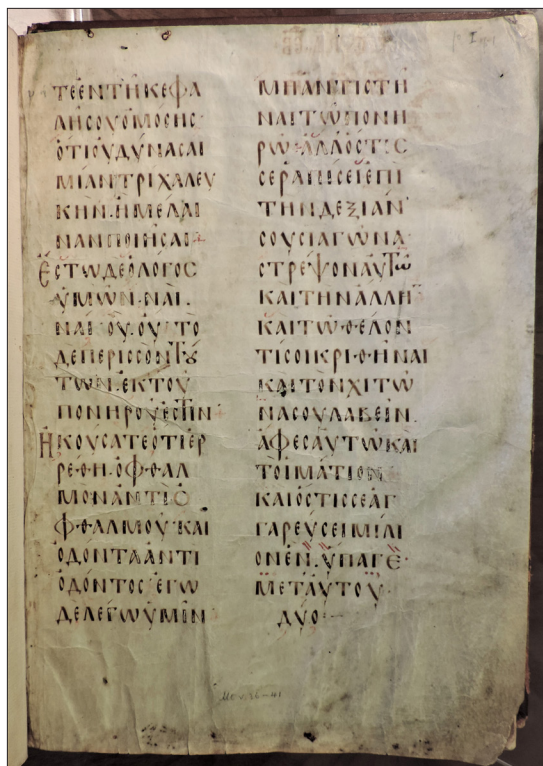


Figure 24: Fragment of a Gospel book in Greek Uncials obtained by Harvard in 1820. Harvard, Houghton Library MS Gr 6

compiler because Humanistic scripts were based on early Caroline. Documents are included in this group of “late” fragments. Fourth, in most cases bifolia were not separated and fragments from the same parent manuscript were kept together (e.g. items 24–25, 32–35, 42–45, 63–66, 92–95), although three fragments of the “St. Jacques III” bible concordance were separated (items 52, 77–78). Finally, the last pages of the album seem to have been reserved for oddities: Middle English [Figure 22], Greek, and a few thirteenth-century strips of music. Given this alleged chronological arrangement, the album may not have been assembled gradually but all at once, after the leaves had been acquired and organized.

A flexible and compact layout characterizes the Bartlett album. Early pages can hold one or multiple fragments which are glued to the paper along one side and neatly arranged (often centered).

Page layouts, in fact, can be detected from the glue residue and rough paper. Many leaves overlap. In some instances large leaves cover smaller ones, with layering of as many as four folios per page [Figure 23]. Since only the edges were glued down, the pages could be turned over, revealing the fragments below. This arrangement must have strained the paper because the glue was laid down in an eighth-inch width: turning over the leaves could easily crease the page. Yet the compiler was careful with the glue and never pasted down the whole leaf, unlike Mr. Gough. He also made sure to have the cleanest page face up. The compiler also selected the best-proportioned fragments, as long and narrow strips such as those used for spine enforcement were found loose with the album. The book-seller's photograph shows detached large leaves and small strips. It seems that, as proposed above, the large leaves fell out, while the small strips were never mounted.

B. University Ownership: The Collection of A. D. White, President of Cornell University

Bartlett's donation to NYU was not only generous, it was also eccentric. American universities did not typically acquire manuscript books, let alone fragments, at this early date. In 1820 Professor Edward Everett sold Greek manuscripts to Harvard that included six folios in Uncial script datable to ca. 975–1025 (Houghton Library, MS Gr 6) [Figure 24].¹⁰⁸ These leaves formed a cover to MS Gr. 12, a Gospel Lectionary, ca. 1100. The Uncial manuscript was a fortuitous acquisition, the unsought component of a more desirable codex. In fact, the first university in America to seek out manuscript fragments was actually Cornell, a land grant university founded in 1865. Fragments owned in the nineteenth century by its president Andrew Dickson White were donated to the institution as early as 1887.¹⁰⁹ For decades, however, White had been making his personal library

¹⁰⁸ N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America, Part V.1: Harvard University, The Houghton Library", *Manuscripta* 54 (2010), 64–147, at 108–12.

¹⁰⁹ White agreed to donate the library in 1887, but it was not formally handed over until 1891, when a new library building was finished.



Figure 25: President White acquired this initial, informally dubbed the “Munich S”, while on tour in Europe with his wife and daughter in 1876. Cornell University, Kroch Library, Rare and Manuscript Collections

available to the university community, chiefly to the faculty.¹¹⁰ The fragments were gathered on at least five occasions, not including serendipitous acquisitions of binding waste. George Lincoln Burr (d. 1938),¹¹¹ President White’s personal librarian from 1878 and from 1892 a professor of History at Cornell, bought cuttings, leaves, and fragments while traveling through Europe in 1885–1886 and 1887–1888. Burr was ostensibly enrolled in Professor Friedrich Karl Biedermann’s seminar in Leipzig but out of term bought rare books on President White’s behalf. White himself had set a collecting precedent by buying a large initial S (191 mm × 175 mm)—which came to be dubbed the “Munich S”—while on a European vacation with his family in 1876 [Figure 25].¹¹² It derives from a mid-fifteenth century

¹¹⁰ Evidence of such consultation would be ephemeral, but in 1886 acting librarian George William Harris taught a course on bibliography and remarked (*Outlines of Elementary Lectures on Bibliography Delivered in Cornell University*, Ithaca, NY, 1886, 2): “for the greater number of manuscripts, incunabula, etc., used to illustrate the lectures, thanks are due to ex-President WHITE, who kindly permitted his valuable collection to be drawn upon for this purpose.” I am grateful to Laurent Ferri for this reference.

¹¹¹ H. Guerlac, “George Lincoln Burr”, *Isis* 35 (1944), 147–52.

¹¹² Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Collection #6532, Medieval Manuscripts Fragments, Box 1, Folder 16; see R. G. Calkins, “Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in the

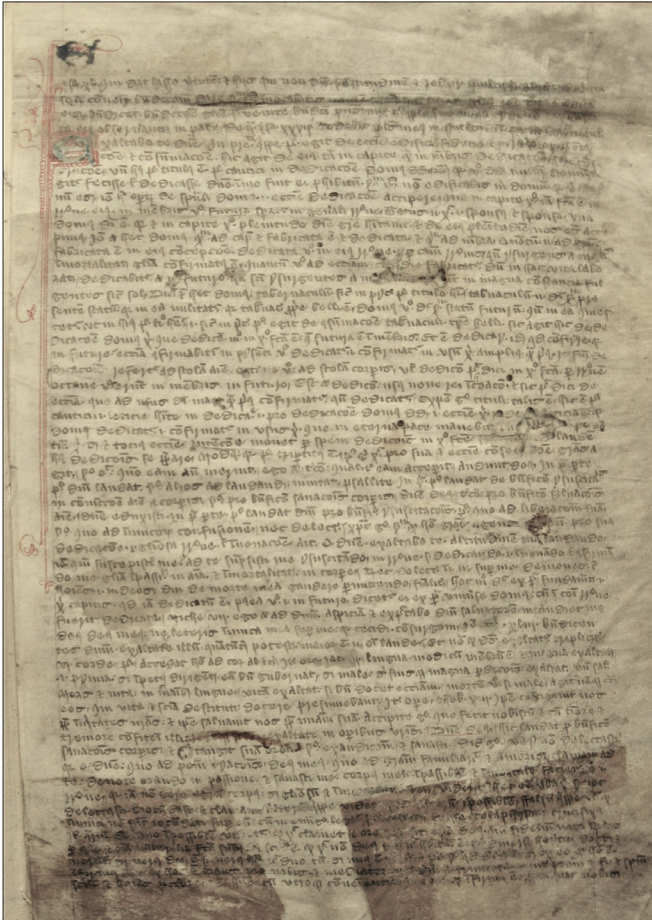


Figure 26: In 1876 President White purchased this unidentified Psalm commentary in London from his Yale confrère Henry Stevens. Cornell University, Kroch Library, Rare and Manuscript Collections

German, Austrian, or perhaps Bohemian Gradual, probably cut from the text for Pentecost.¹¹³ Before 1878, when Burr was appointed White's personal librarian, White already owned other illuminated

Cornell University Library", *Cornell Library Journal* 13 (1972), 3–95; see now no. 17 in the revised online edition (2003): https://rmc.library.cornell.edu/pdf/medieval_calkins.pdf.

- ¹¹³ While the gradual "Domine prevenisti" is prescribed in the *Liber usualis* for the Common of Abbots, the instruction, "Sequentia 'Sancti Spiritus' Canitur" suggests the sequence "Veni sancti spiritus" for Pentecost. The chant beginning with "S" would open the introit "Spiritus Domini"; see Benedictines of Solesmes, *The Liber Usualis*, Turnhout, 1961, pp. 1207, 880, 878, respectively.

and text fragments, including two folios from a choir book.¹¹⁴ Two others were more exotic. While in London in 1876, White bought two bifolia from Henry Stevens, one containing Nicholas Love's Middle English *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*.¹¹⁵ The second came from an English manuscript, ca. 1400, and preserved a Psalm commentary [Figure 26].¹¹⁶ These and similar fragments must have been abundant as inexpensive souvenirs and collectibles for bibliophilic tourists.

Burr's European book-buying is well documented in letters, diaries, and ledgers.¹¹⁷ In spring 1885, following his Leipzig term, he traveled south. On 6 May he wrote to President White that he "rummaged the bookstores" in Florence and bought multiple fragments from the firm of Luigi Gonnelli. On 9 May 1885 he wrote:

I found a roll of miscellaneous scraps of manuscript a half-dozen folio leaves in a hand which at once struck me as Anglo-Saxon and which on more careful study and comparison with Silvestre proves to be a fragment of a copy of the Homilies of Bede, dating probably from the 10th century. I bought them at once for fr. 12, and Professor [J. Willard] Fiske thinks it decidedly "a find." I also ventured to take several sheets of music, with handsome illuminated initials, for fr. 13.¹¹⁸ [Figure 27]

Burr purchased three choir book bifolia with good initials,¹¹⁹ two folios of a Romanesque Italian Atlantic Bible,¹²⁰ one mid-twelfth-century Italian folio of Chrysostom¹²¹ and one apparently from the *acta*

114 Collection #6532, Mapcase Folder 2. Few of the other cuttings he owned at this time can be identified at present.

115 Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, 4600 Bd. Ms. 14 +. The work was a translation of the *Meditationes de vita Christi* attributed to the anonymous "Pseudo-Bonaventure." Stevens was an American rare book dealer educated at Middlebury, Yale, and Harvard, who went on to buy for libraries worldwide. Like President White, Stevens belonged to the Yale Skull and Bones society.

116 4600 Bd. Ms. 46.

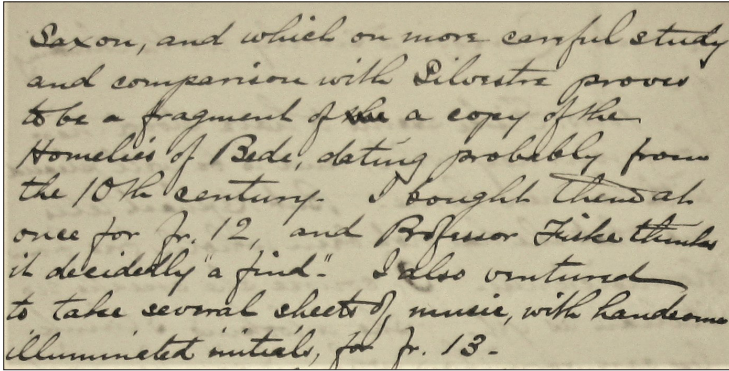
117 Above, note 26. Since the early manuscripts preceded the cut-off date of the Reformation, they were not catalogued in Burr's *Catalogue of the Historical Library of Andrew Dickson White*, vol. I, Ithaca, NY, 1889.

118 George Lincoln Burr (GLB) to Andrew Dickson White (ADW), 9 May 1885.

119 Collection #6532, Mapcase Folder 3; Calkins, "Manuscripts" no. 37.

120 Collection #6532, Box 1, Folder 4 (Book of Judith; Ezra and Nehemia).

121 Collection #6532 Box 2, Folder 8bis; Calkins, "Manuscripts" no. 21. On loose sheets with this manuscript Burr wrote, "the enclosed folio sheets (four pages of manuscript), a fragment of an old manor-roll, written in hands of the 13th and 14th centuries, was bought [by] me from a bookseller at Lucca, Italy, in <http://fragmentology.ms/issues/3-2020/collections-compilations-convolutes>



Saxon, and which on more careful study and comparison with Silvestre proves to be a fragment of ~~the~~ a copy of the Homilies of Bede, dating probably from the 10th century. I bought them at once for fr. 12, and Professor Fiske thinks it decidedly "a find." I also ventured to take several sheets of music, with handsome illuminated initials, for fr. 13.

Figure 27: On 9 May 1885 Burr wrote to President White detailing some of his rare book and manuscript purchases. Cornell University, Kroch Library, Rare and Manuscript Collections

of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste,¹²² and three mid-twelfth-century Italian leaves of Bede's homilies which he thought were Anglo-Saxon.¹²³ The five text fragments had been wrapped in a bifolium from a vellum rental (Italy, ca. 1300) once used to cover a ledger.¹²⁴ Although inaccurate, Burr's assumptions on the date (ca. 1000, he concluded) and origin of the homilies suggest his interest in acquiring ancient fragments. Burr in this case was exercising permission to buy affordable items of historical interest, since more expensive codices required White's approval by letter or telegram. Burr's focus on fragments, including binding waste, may be gauged from a document he once discovered in an early printed book. This complete letter orders a horse for George, Duke of Saxony, and the title "Herzog zu Sachsen" in a letter dated 1499 contradicts authorities known to

1888. He had rolled it about the old leaves of early date (1000 A.D.–1500 A.D.) to be found elsewhere in this portfolio." Yet this and the other leaves treated in this section were arguably bought in 1885.

122 Collection #6532, Box 1, Folder 3; a parallel can be found in *Bibliotheca Casinensis seu Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in Tabulario Casinensi Asservantur*, Monte Cassino, 1877, vol. 3, 59–60 (ex "Florilegium Casinense").

123 Collection #6532, Box 1, Folder 2; Calkins, "Manuscripts" no. 20. Burr's notebook recorded this transaction as "Anglo-Saxon MS. of Bede" and "3 other illum. MSS." Since Burr stated that he bought "a half dozen folio leaves", because the count here is six leaves, perhaps the Chrysostom or other fragments were acquired in Lucca.

124 The ledger, which had the shelfmark B.63, is unidentifiable at present.

Burr on the date of Duke George's accession in 1500—when the title of “Herzog” would have been bestowed.¹²⁵ If Burr was charmed by ancient and illuminated fragments, he was intrigued by the potential insights of fragmentary historical records.

On his 1884–1886 venture Burr acquired many of Cornell's most notable manuscript books, some in Italy (1885), some in Paris (1886). He did not buy any fragments in Paris, however. By mid-March of 1886 Burr was visiting Trier, where he struck a deal with the librarian, Dr. Max Keuffer, to buy duplicates of early printed books from the Stadtbibliothek: “While the library is not at all in haste to sell, [Dr. Keuffer] regards this with reason as a particularly favorable opportunity.”¹²⁶ Naturally, Burr sought the rarest and best incunable copies, but he was especially attracted to those with manuscript pastedowns, flyleaves, and covers.¹²⁷ In a letter to President White, he boasted, “all the early works here [...] are in superb condition: bound in richly stamped leather with clasps, and the binding lined with old MS. (often of the 8th, 9th, or 10th century).”¹²⁸ Burr became obsessed with this binding waste, and his arrangement enabled Cornell to acquire its oldest Western manuscript specimens—all fragmentary—especially a ninth-century copy of a bible produced at St. Maximin's, Trier.¹²⁹ Burr described it to President

¹²⁵ Wolfgang Hildebrand, *Wolffgangi Hildebrands Neu-vermehrt, vortrefflich, ausserlesen curieuses Kunst und Wunderbuch*, Frankfurt: Henning Grossen, 1704 [Witchcraft BF1603 .H64 1704]. See G. L. Burr, “Duke George”, *The Nation* no. 1157 (1 September 1887), 172. This was the first publication of any manuscript fragment in White's library. Burr himself noted the chronological anomaly associated with the Duke's title.

¹²⁶ GLB to ADW, 29 March 1886. Even today this transaction bears the whiff of scandal.

¹²⁷ Burr's interest in such binding waste was relatively novel. As noted above, the Rush Hawkins sale of 1887 was the first American auction to note manuscript pastedowns and flyleaves of potential interest to collectors. These were usually described as “older” or “earlier.” As Burr reconnoitered the library at Trier, he noted its “rich collection of MSS. and incunabulae [sic].”

¹²⁸ GLB to ADW, 12 April 1886.

¹²⁹ Juan de Torquemada, *Quaestiones evangeliorum tam de tempore quam de sanctis*, Basel: Johann Amerbach, not after 1484 (Rare Books BX1756 .T68 1484+). In the accession catalogue, Burr wrote, “binding lined with leaves of a Carolingian MS.” There are six fragments, now catalogued as Collection #6532, Box 2, Fold-er 7. In his journal Burr noted the “Liber Aureus”, referring to the Ada Gospels

White with characteristic enthusiasm: “Bound with the volume [Juan de Torquemada, *Quaestiones evangeliorum*] are four leaves of MS. of the time of Charlemagne and doubtless from the school of Alcuin at Tours.”¹³⁰ Identifying them as eighth-century, Burr had the fragments removed to be photographed for the Pontifical Bible Commission (post 1902), yet insisting they: “[...] be restored to that volume after photographing them.” They never were. A second book (Pierre Bersuire, *Liber bibliae moralis*) had three manuscript leaves “of a handsome manuscript” which Burr dated 900 AD, also with an origin at St. Maximin’s.¹³¹ A third was “bound in a leaf of vellum MS.” which happens to be a Romanesque folio from Germany of St. Augustine’s *De doctrina christiana*.¹³² Clearly, Burr was not above cutting out flyleaves, despoiling pastedowns, and removing covers, though he usually recorded the parent volume, as he did in the preceding instances.¹³³

While in Trier, Burr learned of manuscripts for sale at Kyllburg, possibly from the picturesque convent of St. Thomas there: “I learned

(Trier, Stadtbibliothek Cod. 22). In a letter to President White (GLB to ADW, 17 April 1886), he compared the script of the St. Maximin bible fragments to that of the Ada Gospels, concluding, “their resemblance is remarkable.”

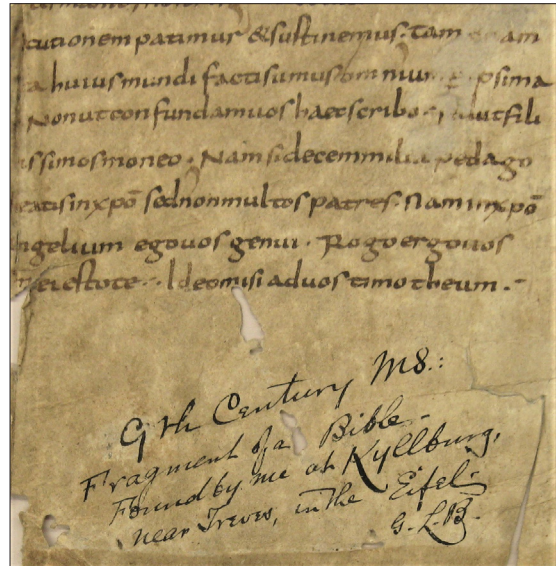
¹³⁰ GLB to ADW, 17 April 1886.

¹³¹ Ibid., “With this too are bound three leaves of a handsome MS. of about 900 A.D.—or perhaps a half-century earlier. This volume also from St. Maximin. The MS. leaves referred to here and above were used by the monks who bound these books, in the 15th century, as lining to the oaken covers and as fly-leaves, the codices from which they came having probably having fallen to pieces from age.” The source was Pierre Bersuire, *Liber bibliae moralis*, Cologne: Unkel, 1477 [Rare Books BS548 .B53 1477+]. This volume apparently yielded one scrap from a twelfth-century German breviary (Collection #6532, Box 2, Folder 6) and one strip of a bifolium cut from a tenth-century breviary (Collection #6532, Box 2, Folder 4). However, given that Burr counted three fragments (and only three in the *Quaestiones evangeliorum*) and that he would have recognized Carolingian Minuscule of early date, it seems entirely possible that the binding waste from this book got mixed up with specimens from other sources.

¹³² As stated in a marginal addition to the accession catalogue. Its binding was originally described as “Vel (old MS)”; the source was Georg von Puerbach, *Theoricae novae planetarum*, Cologne, 1591 (History of Science QB361 .P51 1591 tiny).

¹³³ Yet a large Italian fragment on vellum of Livy’s *Historiae* III.4–7 was clearly a pastedown and flyleaf of a book that has gone unrecorded.

Figure 28: An inscription by Burr commemorates the discovery of this ancient fragment, which he obtained on an excursion to Kyllburg. Cornell University, Kroch Library, Rare and Manuscript Collections



of a collection of old books and MSS. for sale at Kyllburg up in the Eifel, and have an invitation to come up there, which I shall avail myself of in a few days. The MSS. are, I suspect, strays from the convents etc. the time of the Revolution, and I hope to find something worthwhile.”¹³⁴ In fact, he bought yet another ninth-century fragment, now marked in fountain pen: “9th-Century MS.: Fragment of a Bible—Found by me at Kyllburg, near Treves, in the Eifel. G. L. B.” [Figure 28].¹³⁵ This fragment contains *capitula* for I Corinthians plus text from chapters 3–4. One can sense his exhilaration for this acquisition, the only one he ever annotated in ink. Fragments were affordable and recognized as historical artifacts that, at the very least, illustrated the kind of books lost from the historical record.

Burr came home in 1886, but not before befriending Dr. Gerhard Hennen “the bibliomaniac,” who proved instrumental in obtaining manuscript fragments for the White Library. Indeed, having detected Burr’s own bibliomania, Hennen apparently gathered

¹³⁴ GLB to ADW, 8 April 1886. In a letter dated 14 June 1886, Burr wrote that he had visited Schloss Malberg and examined “a maze of ancient Urkunden.” Could this bible fragment have been a purchase or gift from the archivist?

¹³⁵ Collection #6532, Box 2, Folder 5.

inexpensive fragments throughout 1887, some of which he sold to Burr in that year, and again in 1888 after Burr had returned to Europe for a second time (departing on 22 December 1887). A letter to Burr dated 6 January 1888 mentions two manuscripts dated 1438 which librarian O. D. Wright had received in Ithaca: “one has 28 leaves, the other 30.”¹³⁶ By this time Dr. Hennen had already sold Burr a copy of Girolamo Visconti’s treatise on witchcraft entitled, “*Opusculum in quo probatur lamias esse hereticas*,” etc., complete in one quire.¹³⁷ If, as Seymour de Ricci suggests,¹³⁸ Hennen bought the manuscript from J. Hess of Ellwangen, he was preemptively “shopping” on Burr’s behalf.

On 4 March 1888 Burr acquired a second, larger group of fragments from Hennen, whom he visited in Düsseldorf.¹³⁹ Writing to President White from Zurich on 5 May 1888, Burr noted the range, abundance and relative affordability of Dr. Hennen’s congeries:

Curious among the trifles [...] a considerable body of fragments of medieval MSS., including some as old as Charlemagne’s time, one fragment of a 10th century *Catalogus Haereticorum* (perhaps that of St. Philastrius), that graphic visio in monkish (...) of the rich man’s soul in hell [...] one or two papal bulls, an *Algorismus*, or mediaeval arithmetic, a *Computus cirometralis*, part of the apocryphal book of Abdias, and plenty more that I haven’t yet identified. Such things are not hard to

¹³⁶ The “Algorismus” and “Computus cirometralis” mentioned below.

¹³⁷ 4620 Bd. Ms. 48. In a penciled inscription on the last folio, Hennen described it as, “Autograph des Vicecomes aus dem Besitz Tosi’s des Musikers”, perhaps thinking of Pier Francesco Tosi, the Italian castrato, d. 1732. De Ricci suggests Paolo Antonio Tosi, publisher and bibliographer (d. 1851). This gathering was acquired with nine early seventeenth-century manuscripts on witchcraft, many fragmentary, also obtained from Dr. Hennen; each of them was wrapped in an incunable page, which Burr identified in the library catalogue as Hain 4602. Burr describes his acquisition of the manuscript in G. L. Burr, “A Witch-Hunter in the Book-Shops”, *The Bibliographer* 1 (1902), 431–46 (with facsimile of the opening page).

¹³⁸ *Census* II.1246.

¹³⁹ Burr kept a small ledger with entries for “European Trip, 1887–88”; on 4 March he wrote, “Pd. Dr. Hennen for books + Mss.” These were enumerated on a subsequent page of the ledger (see below) and described to President White in the letter of 5 May (below). He wrote to White because he paid Hennen for a manuscript fragment of the “Visio Filiberti” (which probably represents the “graphic visio” mentioned in the letter) on this date.

find, when one knows where to look for them; and they cost little when sought in the right quarter.¹⁴⁰

Burr's ledger contains a list of these manuscript fragments, most of which are also described in the accession catalogue (s.v. 4 Dec. 1888):¹⁴¹

Notebook	Accessions
Trier, Edicts, 16th–18th century. MS. 6.00	Trier Edicts, 16.–18. Centuries: MS. ¹⁴²
Trier. Urkunde, 1482. MS. 2.00 ¹⁴³	
Parabola Salomonis. MS. 5.00	Parabolæ Salomonis: MS. (26 ff.) ¹⁴⁴
Psalterium fragment. MS. of 800 A.D. 8.00	Psalterium fragment, ca. 800 A.D. ¹⁴⁵
Leaf of a Catal. heretic., ca. 850. 3.00	Leaf of Cat. of Heretics, ca. 900 A.D. ¹⁴⁶
Abdias. MS. frag., 2.00	Leaf of Abdias' Apoc. gospel. ¹⁴⁷
Gradual, MS. fragments, ca. 1200. 4.00	Gradual: fragments, ca. 1200. ¹⁴⁸
MS. fragments (various), 5 pieces. 4.00	Miscellaneous fragments of mediæval MS. (18 pieces).
MS. fragments (various), 7 pieces. 4.00	
MS. fragments medicine-pedagogy, ca. 1375. 3.50	Med.-pedagogy. MS., ca. 1400. ¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁰ GLB to ADW, 5 May 1888.

¹⁴¹ The Hennen manuscripts were accessioned after Burr returned to Ithaca and, because he was teaching in the fall of 1888, not until early December.

¹⁴² "Statutten Buch der Statt Trier" (4600 Bd. Ms. 428 ++).

¹⁴³ Unidentifiable at present.

¹⁴⁴ An unidentified commentary on the Parables (4600 Bd. Ms. 12 + Misc. Bd. Ms. 12). Other portions likely to have come from the same parent manuscript are the "Algorismus" and "Computus cirometralis" identified below.

¹⁴⁵ Probably Collection #6532, Box 2, Folder 1; possibly Box 2 Folder 15.

¹⁴⁶ Unidentifiable at present. Burr writes that he showed White a partial transcript of this fragment in the fall of 1887, so Hennen must have sent it and the fragments dated 1438 on approval.

¹⁴⁷ Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, 4600-1562. This bifolium preserves portions of Jerome's commentary on Obadiah.

¹⁴⁸ Unidentifiable at present.

¹⁴⁹ 4600 Bd. Ms. 297 +, two pastedowns; see C. S. Northup, "Dialogus Inter Corpus et Animam: A Fragment and a Translation", *PMLA* 16 (1901), 503–25. The *Dialogus* belongs to a composite source, the components given by Northup. It seems possible that the *Dialogus* is the graphic "Visio" that Burr wrote of.

Notebook	Accessions
Algorismus.	Algorismus: MS. (28 ff.) ¹⁵⁰
Computus cirometralis. [bracketed: "sent me earlier."] 30.00	Computus cirometralis: MS. (30 ff.) ¹⁵¹
	Echternach Abbey revenue list, ca. 1600 ¹⁵² and
	twelve other pieces.

The prices were in Deutsche marks, and the sums were trivial for the most part. Some of these are challenging to identify in the Cornell collection, and most will probably remain unknown: the ancient Psalter fragment, which is possibly Box 2, Folder 1; the Gradual pieces, the "various" or "miscellaneous" fragments. The miscellaneous pieces total twelve in the notebook but as many as thirty in the accessions list.¹⁵³ The assortment impresses the most: scripture, liturgy, devotional, scientific, music. Burr (Hennen?) was clearly selecting representative textual specimens.

Acquisitions during this 1888 trip represent the fourth identifiable stratum of fragments acquired for Cornell. Others potentially acquired after this date are uncertain. For example, Burr misremembered buying certain fragments (mentioned above) at Lucca in 1888. Yet it seems plausible that he did obtain a partial quire of "criminal statutes" there (Box 4, Folder 11), in wrappers from an even earlier Lucchese statute collection (Box 3, Folder 18).¹⁵⁴ While other unprovenanced fragments in the Cornell collection might well have been obtained at this time as well, their date of acquisition is more

¹⁵⁰ Iohannes de Sacro Bosco, *De arte numerandi*, on paper (Misc. Bd. Mss. 146). This was written in the same hand as the "Computus cirometralis," (Misc. Bd. Ms. 115) which bears an internal date of 1438 and supplies a provenance at Ewig Priory, Attendorn, a house of Augustinian Canons founded in 1420. Burr conjectured that the *Parabola* might also be dated 1438.

¹⁵¹ Misc. Bd. Ms. 115.

¹⁵² Rare and Manuscript Collections, 4600-0728.

¹⁵³ The "Echternach Abbey revenue list, ca. 1600 and twelve other pieces" may designate the fourteen folios comprising the Echternach inventory of wheat and wine dues.

¹⁵⁴ The presentation in wrappers seems to be the source of Burr's confusion, as the 1886 fragments also came wrapped in a manuscript fragment.



Figure 29: White acquired this unusual initial featuring the Adoration of the Magi. Cornell University, Kroch Library, Rare and Manuscript Collections



Figure 30: A 16th-century Adoration of the Magi acquired by White. Cornell University, Kroch Library, Rare and Manuscript Collections

problematic. De Ricci recorded that President White bought a breviary folio as well as a group of ten miniatures and cuttings, including the “Munich S,” “around 1895.”¹⁵⁵ We know, however, that the “Munich S” had been in the collection at least by 1878. Furthermore, White was in Ithaca in 1895, and it seems somewhat implausible that he would have acquired Italian miniatures while serving as minister to Russia (1892–1894) or as ambassador to Germany (1897–1903). Perhaps he traveled to Italy at the end of his Russian consular appointment, however.¹⁵⁶

Whatever their circumstances of their acquisition, the unusual cuttings White allegedly acquired “around 1895” both broadened and complemented the pre-modern book art already in his library.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ *Census* II.1237. The breviary folio remains unidentified.

¹⁵⁶ A timeline for White’s residence in Europe can be found in *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* (New York: Century Co., 1904–1905), vol. II.

¹⁵⁷ According to Burr’s lecture notes on illuminated manuscripts: “a collection of detached initials from similar liturgical works and of leaves from the great folio psalters serve only to illustrate the art of illumination.”



Figure 31: Initial from a miscellaneous group of cuttings that White seems to have acquired around 1895. Cornell University, Kroch Library, Rare and Manuscript Collections

At least seven items, including six initials, can be confidently identified:

1. “Adoration of the Magi”, cutting on vellum. Southern France, perhaps Savoy, ca. 1450.¹⁵⁸ [Figure 29]
2. Border with bird; Initial M. Two cuttings on vellum. Central Italy, ca. 1350.¹⁵⁹
3. “Adoration of the Magi” in initial E. Northern Italy, ca. 1475.¹⁶⁰ [Figure 30]
4. Bifolium from a Choir Psalter. Northern Italy, fifteenth century.¹⁶¹
5. Initial V (U), cutting on vellum from a choir book. Italy, ca. 1450.¹⁶²
6. “Saint Peter and Saints”. Italy, ca. 1525.¹⁶³

Five other cuttings of late decorative initials (Box 1, Folders 12, 18–19, 21 [two items]) may also belong to this group [Figure 31], making up approximately “ten miscellaneous cut initials” that De Ricci mentions as White’s 1895 purchase. Coincidentally, White’s focus on illumination in the 1890s corresponds with donations of illuminated leaves to the Metropolitan Museum in the same decade.

¹⁵⁸ Collection #6532, Box 1, Folder 11; Calkins, “Manuscripts”, no. 18. I am grateful to Christopher de Hamel for this attribution. He suggests that the miniature shows both French and Italian influence.

¹⁵⁹ Collection #6532, Box 1, Folders 9.1, 9.2; Calkins, “Manuscripts”, no. 25.

¹⁶⁰ Collection #6532, Box 1, Folder 13. Calkins, “Manuscripts”, no. 35.

¹⁶¹ Collection #6532, Box 1, Folder 15. Calkins, “Manuscripts”, no. 36.

¹⁶² Collection #6532, Box 1, Folder 12. Calkins “Manuscripts”, no. 38.

¹⁶³ Collection #6532, Box 1, Folder 20. Calkins “Manuscripts”, no. 51.

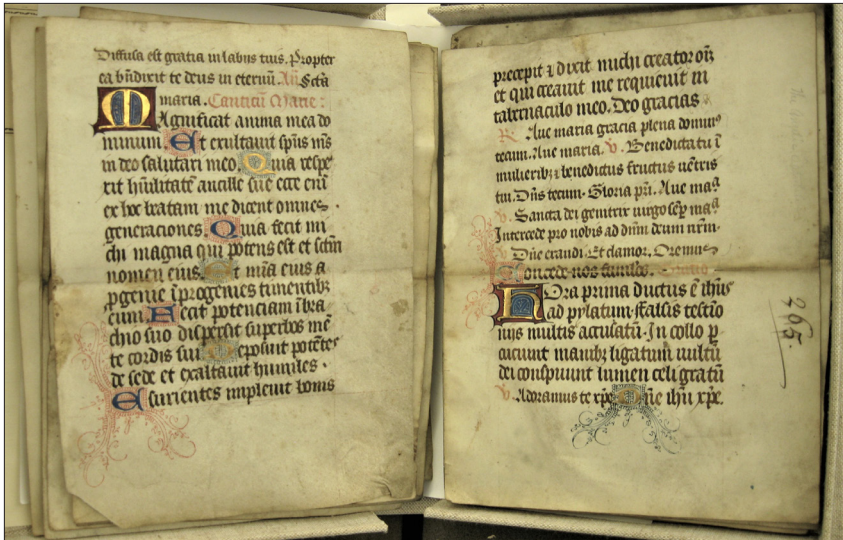


Figure 32: A fragmentary Hours acquired by the Watkinson Library between 1866 and 1886. Hartford, CT, Trinity College, Watkinson Library

The White Library periodically added fragments to its collection. Its last verifiable nineteenth-century fragment purchase was sixteen leaves (two quires) of *De octo partibus orationis* by Donatus, acquired in 1897 from Spürgatis (Leipzig), catalogue 55.¹⁶⁴ Burr had been appointed Professor of Medieval History at Cornell in 1892, and while he retained his title of Librarian of the Andrew Dickson White Library, he was focused on developing the witchcraft and Reformation collection. Nonetheless, he continued to pursue early manuscript acquisitions, as de Ricci explained:

Cornell University also owns a considerable number of minor vellum fragments, hardly worth listing in detail, and which have been mainly secured as practice-material for the classes in palaeography. Most of them are from the bindings of old books and a number are still attached to them.¹⁶⁵

After the White Library was donated to Cornell, its focus changed. Manuscripts were no longer collected in quantity, even

¹⁶⁴ *Census* II.1237; p. 2, item 8 in the Spürgatis catalogue.

¹⁶⁵ *Census* II.1254.

though some acquisitions continued to be made through Burr's tenure.

C. Manuscript Fragments at a Learned Society

While some library companies and learned societies held manuscript codices in the nineteenth century, only two have fragments that I have been able to document. One resided at the Watkinson Library (Hartford, CT). Between 1866 and 1886, the Watkinson acquired twenty-two soiled and disbound folios from a Flemish Book of Hours [Figure 32].¹⁶⁶ They were donated by George D. Sargeant, who died in 1886. These leaves have little value except to convey the range and quality of fragments available in North America at the time. Far more consequential is an unstudied American fragment collection at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. The Society's founder, Jeremy Belknap, highlighted a need to acquire manuscripts as part of the institution's mission. He penned a "Plan of an Antiquarian Society, August 1790," in which he proposed a society "for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and communicating the antiquities of America." Each member, by Belknap's charge,

[...] shall engage to use his utmost endeavors to collect and communicate to the Society manuscripts, printed books, and pamphlets, historical facts, biographical anecdotes, observations in natural history, specimens of natural and artificial curiosities, and any other matters which may elucidate the natural and political history of America from the earliest times to the present day.¹⁶⁷

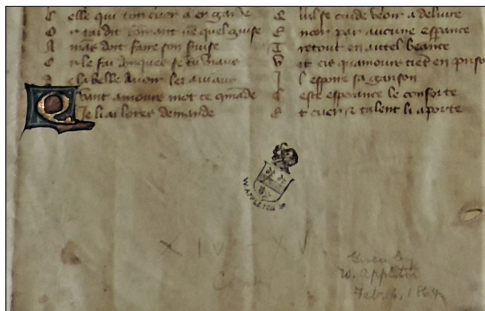
The society first met on 24 January 1791. On 27 December of that year Belknap donated the second documented Middle English manuscript in America,¹⁶⁸ called, according to an inscription on a flyleaf, "in the history of the English language an interesting document." It could be said to "elucidate the natural and political history of America from the earliest times."

¹⁶⁶ *Census* I.159. The manuscript is now held by Trinity College, CT.

¹⁶⁷ Quoted in C. Deane and C. Smith, "Introduction", *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 1 (1791–1835) [1879], v–xxxvi, at xii.

¹⁶⁸ *Liber uricrisarium* by the English Dominican Henry Daniel, who lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. His *Liber* is dated 1379, but the MHS manuscript is mid-fifteenth century. The Fabyan Chronicle now at Harvard was written in late Middle English but dates to ca. 1510 (see *Census* I.954; now Harvard, Houghton Library MS Eng 766).

Figure 33: Appleton used two library stamps on these leaves, and each bears a penciled date of acquisition (6 February 1864). *Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society*



Other pre-modern manuscripts were donated in 1802,¹⁶⁹ 1803, 1816, 1817, 1840, 1857, and 1864. Perhaps in recognition of Belknap's Middle English donation, benefactors gave early manuscripts in similarly exotic languages, particularly Middle Welsh, Greek, and Old French. While all of these arguably elucidated the history of settlement in North America, the 1864 donation of fourteen manuscript leaves and bifolia in Old French was especially notable.¹⁷⁰ These fragments represent eight texts, six in verse and two in prose. If we can trust the account that “fourteen pieces of ancient manuscripts” were donated, one item seems to be missing.

The donor of these leaves, William Sumner Appleton,¹⁷¹ was a member of the Society and served as its assistant librarian. He probably acquired the fragments as a collection during a Grand Tour in 1862.¹⁷² Stamped with the Appleton crest or a library marque “w. APPLETON, JR. / BOSTON,” they bear penciled notes, “Given by W. Appleton Feb 6 1864” [Figure 33]. The six verse-texts include: one

169 The *Laws of Hywel Dda*, ca. 1350, in Old Welsh, was donated in 1802 by “Miss Lucretia Graves.” Its acquisition was reported in meeting minutes from January 1803: “The following donations have been made to the Society since the meeting of January 26, 1802 [...] a Book brought out of Wales in the ancient character, from Miss Lucretia Graves”, in “Quarterly Meeting, January, 1803”, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 1 (1791–1835), 150–56, at 153. The manuscript was deaccessioned and sold in London by Sotheby's on 10 July 2012 (lot 23).

170 N. B. Shurtleff, “Annual Report of the Librarian”, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 7 (1863–64), 355–59, at 356.

171 Charles C. Smith, “Mémorial of William Sumner Appleton”, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, s.s. 17 (1903), 516–31.

172 Smith, “Mémorial”, 518.

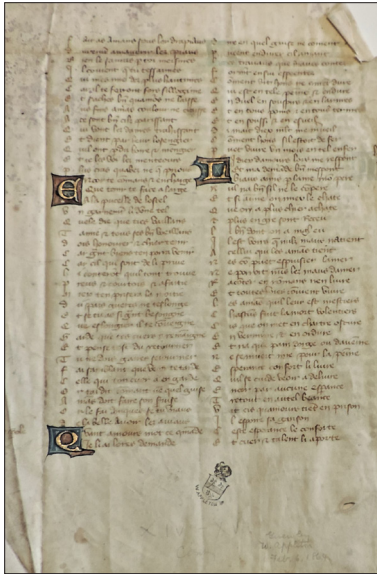


Figure 34: This bifolium of *Roman de la Rose* was unknown to scholarship until very recently. Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society

Figure 36: While the *Roman de Tristan* was very popular in thirteenth-century France, finding this bifolium in a mid-nineteenth-century American collection is astonishing. Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society

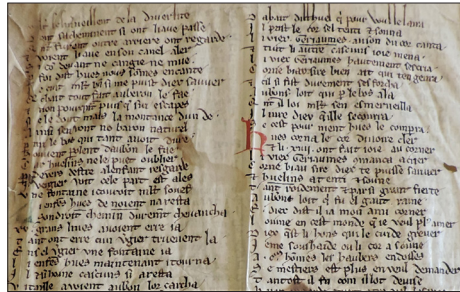
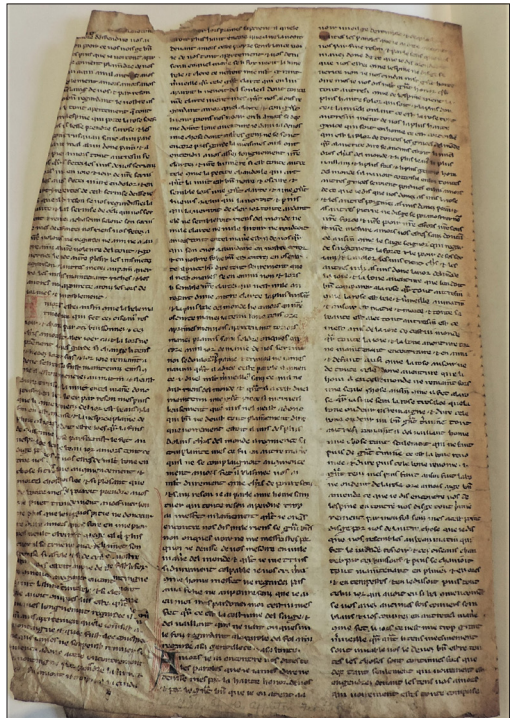


Figure 35: Appleton donated this bifolium of *Huon de Bordeaux*, a very popular romance in medieval France. Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society



bifolium of *Roman de la Rose* [Figure 34],¹⁷³ three bifolia of the allegorical *Pélerinage de la vie humaine*,¹⁷⁴ a bifolium of an unidentified “Mistère de la Passion,”¹⁷⁵ a bifolium of the *chanson de geste* known as “Huon of Bordeaux” [Figure 35],¹⁷⁶ two folios of the *Chevalier au Lion* (the romance of Yvain) by Chrétien de Troyes,¹⁷⁷ and, in two small pieces, a “continuation” of *Perceval*, Chrétien’s grail romance.¹⁷⁸ Fragments in French prose include a large bifolium of the *Roman de Tristan* [Figure 36],¹⁷⁹ a single leaf of the French translation of the *Ordo iudiciarius* by Tancred of Bologna, and (allegedly) two folios “prepared for illumination” of the French translation by Raoul de Presles of St. Augustine’s *City of God*. This Raoul de Presles seems to have gone missing.¹⁸⁰ All of the manuscripts originated in bindings—as pastedowns, padding, covers and spine reinforcements.

¹⁷³ Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Special Colls., Appleton O.S. Folder 3. Apparently folios 1 and 10 of a quinion used as the cover of a ledger; F. Lecoy, *Le Roman de la Rose par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun*, Paris, 1965–70, vv. 2453–2608, 3253–3412, with many textual deviations.

¹⁷⁴ Appleton O.S. Folder 5. The text comes from the second recension, ed. J. J. Stürzinger, *Le Pélerinage de Vie Humaine*, London, 1893, vv. 5342–5497; vv. 5800–5952. An intervening bifolium is missing. A second group of two bifolia (Appleton O.S. Folder 6), less ornate, contains vv. 11,526–11,648; 11,787–11,912; 12,195–12,325; 12,447–12,568. This group of leaves was intended to be illustrated, but the miniatures were never added.

¹⁷⁵ In de Ricci’s nomenclature (*Census* I.939). Probably from the same source as the less ornate bifolia of the *Pélerinage*.

¹⁷⁶ Appleton O.S. Folder 1. P. Ruelle, *Huon de Bordeaux*, Brussels, 1960, vv. 3709–4079. Only three complete manuscripts of *Huon* are known, and this bifolium has continuous text. For an edition and textual analysis, see K. V. Sinclair, “Un nouveau manuscrit de la version décasyllabique de Huon de Bordeaux”, *Le Moyen Âge* 85 (1979), 445–64.

¹⁷⁷ Appleton O.S. Folder 2. W. W. Kibler, Chrétien de Troyes: *The Knight with the Lion, or Yvain (Le Chevalier au Lion)*, New York, 1985, vv. 3867–4026, 4987–5148.

¹⁷⁸ Appleton O.S. Folder 2. Continuation of the Old French *Perceval* by Chrétien de Troyes; see W. Roach, *The Continuations of the Old French Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes*, vol. 1, Philadelphia, 1949, vv. 5482 (14,438)–ca. 5501 (14,457); ca. 5520 (14,476)–5538 (14,494), and ca. 5443 (14,399)–5460 (14,416)–5565; (14,521)–5582 (14,538). The text has significant lexical variants.

¹⁷⁹ Appleton O.S. Folder 4. R. L. Curtis, *Le Roman de Tristan en Prose III*, Cambridge, 1985, 197.25–202.56, 214.33–220.17.

¹⁸⁰ O. Bertrand, *La Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin Traduite par Raoul de Presles (1371–1375)*, Paris, 2013, 66. De Ricci identified this fragment as Raoul’s

The rarity of the contents and relatively uniform focus (verse texts and romances) suggest that it had been compiled in France and sold by a collector, binder, or bouquiniste.¹⁸¹

As an example of fragments available in mid-century Europe, Appleton's portfolio of Old French verse cannot be rivaled by any other North America historical society, Athenaeum or library company. But what value did they hold for Appleton and for the Society's membership? On the one hand, they were illustrative of elite European culture. Representing vestiges of medieval French secular entertainment—chivalric romance, pious allegory, and love theory—the fragments exemplified “valuable works in almost every department of historical literature.”¹⁸² On the other hand, they had an additional “value” as scribal artifacts. The Society's *Proceedings* for 1864 include the following remarks: “The most valuable additions to the library have been as follows [...] From William Appleton, Esq. [...] fourteen pieces of ancient manuscripts, illustrative of the style of chirography at different periods of time.”¹⁸³ These remarks probably characterize Appleton's own understanding of his gift, which is notable precisely because its contents range in date from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. It is in fact a representative history of French vernacular paleography, and the first of its kind in North America.

commentary on *Aeneid* I, but the incipit he cites identifies the text decisively (*Census* I.939).

181 Probably on the same journey Appleton acquired a mortgage dated 1405 and signed by Louis duc d'Orléans in favor of the Celestines of Sens. He donated this document in 1863 and published it in “October Meeting,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 7 (1863–64), 152–54, with a color plate of the seal following page 154.

182 T. C. Amory, Jr., “Annual Report of the Librarian,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 8 (1864–65), 262–67, at 263. Amory pleads for funds to “enrich” the library “with the ancient historians, chronicles and memoirs of mediæval Europe.”

183 N. B. Shurtleff, “Annual Report of the Librarian,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 7 (1863–64), 355–59, at 356.

VI. Conclusion: Speculations on the Cultural Contexts of Fragment Collecting in Nineteenth-Century America

The preceding evidence reveals two kinds of fragment collections in North America, both dependent on specific collecting rationales. Private collectors gathered “aesthetic” compendia of miniatures and cuttings illustrative of medieval and Renaissance book arts. These could be loose folios like those given in the 1890s to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but they were more often pieces pasted into albums, and probably trimmed to enhance their eye-appeal. They could also be bound in grangerized books to produce cultural histories illustrative of period arts, but this configuration is documentable in only one instance. A second kind of collection could be called “academic” or “pedagogical.” The New York University album, for example, was ostensibly donated as a student resource. While no donor correspondence survives, an advertisement emphasizes the album’s utility to students and researchers [Figure 20]:

A rare collection of 171 leaves or fragments of ancient manuscripts, in various languages [...] Old documents, chronicles, Diaries, Wills, music, etc. [...] of interest and value especially to the student or research worker [...] unlimited opportunity for study and discovery, especially in respect to the numerous types of manuscript work represented.

The representative contents and loose chronological organization of the NYU album seem broadly academic, suggesting a concern for paleography, format, and textual exemplification. Its objectives overlap with Appleton’s donations to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The collection of Old French verse and prose not only showcased medieval literary achievements and textual formats but also exemplified three centuries of paleographical development.

The Cornell fragments differed in pedagogical utility, however. They enhanced an extensive collection of early manuscripts that elucidated President White’s research subject, the “warfare” of science with Christianity.¹⁸⁴ Although Burr thought the fragments, like

¹⁸⁴ A. D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, 2 vols., New York, 1896. These volumes developed ideas published in “The

documents, would highlight historical moments or illustrate Great Man historiography, White viewed medieval books as evidence of credulous Catholic piety. For example, he was fascinated by the way philosophy or belief took form aesthetically. In 1896 he remarked, “the various stages in the evolution of scholastic theology were also embodied in sacred art, and especially in [...] missal painting.”¹⁸⁵ Manuscript illuminations propagandized theology, when, for example, Creation was depicted as physical labor and God as an architect.¹⁸⁶ Obsessed in the 1880s by the influence of Protestant dogma on Catholic piety and popular religion, White sought sixteenth-century manuscripts that highlighted either theological conservatism or challenges to orthodoxy. As collectors, both White and Burr would have interpreted illuminated manuscripts and miniatures against their prevailing Reformation bias—although Burr was utterly transfixed by the artwork. In other words, White’s library, including the manuscripts ultimately reflected the contours of his scholarly interests.

All of these emphases derived from trends emergent in the diverse cultural environments of the New World. The aesthetic focus responded to bourgeois specimen collecting, the souvenir culture of elites materially detached from their Old World origins. Whether shopping on Grand Tours or by catalogue, moneyed American bibliophiles could still indulge in the refined pursuits of European collectors. The academic collecting rationale responded to the antiquarianism of America’s learned societies: documentary history, preservation, and illustration. “Curious” manuscript specimens became objects of artifactual study in American universities based on the German research university, especially at Cornell and Johns Hopkins. President White was in fact responding to the focus of *Kulturgeschichte* that he absorbed as a graduate student in

Warfare of Science”, *Popular Science Monthly* 8 (February and March 1876), 385–409 and 553–70, reissued as a book under the same title later that year (New York, 1876).

¹⁸⁵ White, *History*, 11.

¹⁸⁶ White, *History*, 3.

Germany. Collections of manuscript fragments that survive from nineteenth-century America therefore reflect intellectual ideals established in the period for private connoisseurship and public higher education.

Research Note

The Bull in the Book: A 1308 Witness to the Career of Francesco Caracciolo, Chancellor of Paris

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Under the category of ‘binding fragments’ falls a group of textual objects that are more or less complete. Official documents provided an excellent source of binding material: The larger ones, such as papal bulls and royal charters, were ideal for wrapping codices or for serving as pastedowns and flyleaves. That they contained most of their writing on only one side provided an additional bonus. Moreover, many of these documents became obsolete within the span of a generation, as the parties involved died and the circumstances described changed. Such is the case with the University of Paris, whose colleges and associated convents had both significant libraries and lively documentary activity with the Papal curia and Royal courts of Europe. Some of this material survives in their books, such as the first evidence for the Parisian activity of Francesco Caracciolo (d. 1316), master of theology and chancellor of Paris.

William Courtenay has recently drawn attention to the figure of Francesco Caracciolo, and a major part of his revision centers on what he then thought was the first mention of Francesco, as the recipient of a papal bull in 1308 in which he is identified as a master studying in the Theology Faculty of Paris.¹ As Courtenay points out,

* Thanks to Laura Albiero and Chris Schabel for their advice on a draft.

1 W. J. Courtenay, “Francis Caracciolo, the Paris Chancellorship, and the Authorship of two Quodlibeta in Vat. lat. 932”, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 80 (2013), 49–83 (<http://www.cairn.info/revue-archives-d-histoire-doctrinale-et-litteraire-du-moyen-age-2013-1-page-49.htm>). Chris Schabel (personal communication) has since found an earlier reference, from 15 June 1307, in a bull (Città del Vaticano, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 54, f. 55, n. 284) addressed *in eundem modum* to, among others, “Francisco de Neapoli canonico Rothomagensi”. Given, as is noted below, that the 1308 bull identifies Francesco as a canon of Rouen, the two Francesco must be identical.

this caused confusion in the scholarly literature, particularly in the work of Palémon Glorieux, who synthesized the two elements, saying of Francesco Caracciolo: “On le trouve en 1308 maître en théologie de Paris, où sans doute il a été étudiant de Pierre de Narnia. Chanoine de Rouen, il obtient de Clément V une nouvelle prébende à Paris (18 août 1308).”² Yet, as Courtenay underscores, Glorieux had a problem: Caracciolo did not incept as Master of theology until probably 1312. The convincing solution that Courtenay proposes is that, at the time of the 1308 letter, Francesco Caracciolo was a master of arts, not theology. For the letter merely calls him “Master” and “advanced in study at the Faculty of Theology.”

The letter at the center of the dispute was a papal bull sent by Clement V to Francesco Caracciolo and dated 18 August 1308. In the document, Clement V narrates that he had sent an earlier letter in which, at the behest of Robert of Anjou, then duke of Calabria, he conferred on Master Francesco Caracciolo, studying theology at Paris, a canonical prebend in Notre-Dame of Paris. When Francesco brought the letter to the church, he was given a half-prebend with the obligation of serving as a priest. Therefore, Francesco petitioned Clement for relief, having Pierre de la Chapelle-Taillefer, Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina, intervene on his behalf. Clement therefore grants Francesco’s petition, ordering that he be granted the next-available full canonical prebend without the obligation to serve as a priest, and that, in the interim, he be allowed to keep his half-prebend without the obligation of becoming a priest. In the text, we also learn that Francesco also held prebends in the churches of Rouen and Beauvais.

The letter was recorded in the papal register, and Denifle mentions it in a note to the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*.³ In fact, the register indicates two letters: one sent to Francesco Caracciolo, the recipient of the prebend, and one sent *in eundem modum* to the act’s executors, namely the papal notary James de

2 P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIIIe siècle*, vol. 1, Paris 1933, no. 227, pp. 458–459.

3 Città del Vaticano, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 55, cap. 582, f. 114v; *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle et É. Chatelain, v. II-1, Paris 1891, no. 686, p. 147, n. 1.

Normannis, archdeacon of Narbonne, as well as the archdeacon of Bar-sur-Aube in the diocese of Langres, and finally the prévôt of Chalaute-la-Grand in the diocese of Troyes.

This second letter survives in fragmentary form, bound at the beginning of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, N.A.L. 99, as pp. A–B [F-nqp8]. The manuscript, the 1338 catalogue of the library of the Collège de la Sorbonne, passed after the French Revolution to the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, and eventually received the shelfmark Hist. fr. 855, under which Léopold Delisle published an edition of the catalogue it contains, without mentioning the bull.⁴ In 1895, Henry Martin’s catalogue of the Arsenal’s manuscripts, describes the codex as 1223 and mentions the bull. After summarizing the contents from Delisle, he adds: “Page A.–B. Fragment de bulle. — Commencement : «Clemens... dilectis filiis magistro Jacobo de Normannis... —Quos ad acquisitionem scientie litterarum ac virtutum dociles...».”⁵ Martin’s observation, unfortunately, did not attract further notice, and in the mid-1920s, the codex was transferred to the Bibliothèque nationale, where it took the shelfmark *Nouvelles acquisitions latines* 99, and the entry associated with the volume became reduced to a reference to Delisle’s edition and the book’s dimensions.⁶

The codex was evidently rebound in the nineteenth century; prior to that, the letter appears to have been used as a pastedown and flyleaf; the part of the dorse facing the boards (now the back of p. A) has discoloration and the offset of another fragment (one perhaps used as a spine lining). What was the visible side of the pastedown (now p. A) has, in a seventeenth-century hand, the title “Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Sorbonicae. Anno 1338”, clearly

4 L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, v. 3, Paris 1881, 8–114.

5 H. Martin, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal*, v. 2, Paris 1886, pp. 353–354.

6 H. Omont, “Nouvelles acquisitions du département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale pendant les années 1924–1924”, *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 89 (1928), 240–298, at 250, no. 99: “Catalogues des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la Sorbonne (1338). —Publiés par L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, t. III, p. 8–114. –XIV^e s. Parch. 353 pages. 320 sur 247 millim. Rel. parchemin. (Ancien no 1223 des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l’Arsenal.)”

associating the bull with the book prior to its being rebound. Given that, by 1338, Francesco Caracciolo had been dead for over twenty years, it is possible that the bull was used in the original binding of the catalogue.

This binding fragment, found coincidentally,⁷ provides material for a note corroborating a detail in the institutional history of the University of Paris. At the same time, it attests to the presence of an untapped source for the history of universities, namely handwritten material used to bind the books in the libraries associated with the university. A survey of such fragments, whether for the University of Paris or another medieval university, would profoundly advance our understanding of the intellectual and institutional history of the period.

Appendix: Bulla Clementis papae V ad Magistrum Iacobum de Normannis de Urbe et alios

18 August 1308

Lusignan

Clement V writes to Master James de Normannis of Rome, papal notary and archdeacon of Narbonne, the archdeacons of Bar-sur-Aube and Langres, and the prévôt of Chalautre-la-Grande, ordering that they serve as the executors of his decision to grant Master Francesco Caracciolo, then studying in theology, a full non-priestly canonical prebend in the church of Paris, and that, until such a prebend be available, he be allowed to keep his current half-prebend without the obligation to perform the sacerdotal duties associated with it.

Summaries: *Regestum Clementis Papae V*, v. 3, Rome 1886, pp. 138–139, no. 2939; *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle et É. Chatelain, v. II-1, Paris 1891, no. 686, p. 147, n. 1.

7 The research project Biblissima (<https://biblissima.fr>) used this manuscript as one of a handful in an early version of their nascent catalogue of IIF manuscripts. As of this moment, the project indexes nearly 19000 manuscripts.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, N.A.L. 99, pp. B–A
 R = Città del Vaticano, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 55,
 cap. 582, f. 114v.

[B] Clemens episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Magistro Iacobo de Normannis de <Urbe, notario nostro, Narbonensis et .. Barrensis Lingonensis archidiaconis, ac preposito Calastrie sancti Martini Turonensis> ecclesiarum, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Quos ad acquisitionem scientie litterarum ac virtutum dociles ferventesque cognoscimus libenti animo in huiusmodi eorum exercitio confovemus, set vacantibus studio theologicæ facultatis> tanto favorabilius adesse tenemur quanto facultas eadem animarum profectum – quibus dispositi<one divina preesse dinoscimur – respicit quantoque sunt anime corporibus digniores.

Olim siquidem, volentes> personam dilecti filii magistri Francisci Carazoli de Neapoli canonici Parisiensis, obtentu dilecti filii n<obilis viri Roberti ducis Calabrie, specialis prosequi prerogativa favoris, canonicatum ecclesie Parisiensis cum> plenitudine iuris canonici et prebendam nulli alii de iure debitam, siqua in eadem ecclesia tunc <vacabat, apostolica sibi auctoritate contulimus et providimus etiam de eisdem. Si vero talis pre>benda tunc in dicta ecclesia non vacabat, nos prebendam proximo inibi vacaturam que de iure null<i alii deberetur conferendam sibi cum vacaret donationi apostolice duximus reservandam, decernentes> ex tunc irritum et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam contingeret attemptari, prout in nostris^{a)} inde <confectis litteris plenius continetur, certis sibi super hoc executoribus per alias nostras litteras sub certa> forma deputatis. Ac auctoritate huiusmodi litterarum idem magister Franciscus receptus fuit in eadem <ecclesia in canonicum et in fratrem. Et demum quandam dimidiam sacerdotalem prebendam, que postmodum in> dicta ecclesia, in qua integre et dimidie prebende existere dinoscuntur, vacavit et sibi de<bebatur de iure, fuit, pro eo quod in dictis litteris de prebenda integra et non sacerdotali nulla mentio facta erat,> acceptare coactus nisi voluisset litterarum ipsarum comodo

^{a)} nostris m² P

caruisse. Quare dictus magister Franciscus n(obis humiliter supplicavit ut, cum ipse, qui in facultate predicta laudabiliter profecisse dinoscitur, in ipsius uberiori) acquisitione desideret ferventius insudare ne in ulteriori prosecutione dicti studii occasione onerum <prebende dimidie supradicte se impediri contingat, providere sibi super hoc de benignitate> sedis apostolice dignaremur.

Nos itaque, ipsius magistri Francisci animi promptitudinem qua ferventer et <solerter instituisse dinoscitur studio litterarum et precipue dicte theologie facultatis ac alia sua grandia> merita probitatis quibus ipsum Dominus multipliciter edotavit sollicite attendentes, ac propterea non indi(gne volentes ipsum horum intuitu et consideratione venerabilis fratris nostri Petri episcopi Penestrini nobis pro) magistro Francisco in hac parte humiliter supplicantis uberioris dono gratie prosequi et favore, preben(dam integram et non sacerdotalem nulli alii de iure debitam siqua vacat ad presens in ecclesia supradicta cum omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis apostolica ipsi auctoritate conferimus et de illis etiam providemus. Si vero talis prebenda nunc in ecclesia ipsa non vacat, nos prebendam integram non sacerdotalem) [A] proximo inibi vacaturam que similiter^{b)} de iure nulli alii debeatur eidem magistro Francisco conferendam cum <vacaverit donationi apostolice reservamus, decernentes ex nunc irritum et inane si secus super hiis a quoquam> quavis auctoritate contingeret^{c)} attemptari. Non obstantibus quibuscumque contrariis ipsius ecclesie consuetudin(ibus vel statutis iuramento, confirmatione sedis predictae, vel quacumque firmitate alia roboratis, aut si aliqui apostolica> – quibus per hoc nullum volumus^{d)} preiudicium generari – vel alia quavis auctoritate in dicta ecclesia <in canonicos sint recepti vel ut recipiantur insistant, sive si venerabili fratri nostro . . episcopo et dilectis filiis . . decano et capitulo Parisiensibus vel quibuscumque aliis communiter vel divisim ab eadem esset <sede indultum quod ad receptionem vel provisionem alicuius minime teneantur et ad id compelli non possint, sive> quod de prebendis ipsius ecclesie ac aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis ad eorum collationem vel aliam quamcumq(ue dispositionem coniunctim vel separatim spectantibus nequeat alicui provideri per litteras apostolicas non

^{b)} que similiter *m*² P

^{c)} contingeret] contigeret R

^{d)} volumus] voluimus P

facientes) plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem, et qualibet alia d(icta sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali, cuiuscumque tenoris existat, per quam presentibus non expressam vel tota)liter non insertam effectus huiusmodi gratie impediri valeat vel differri et de (qua cuiusque toto tenore de verbo ad verbum oporteat in presentibus fieri mentionem, seu quod in) Rothomagensi et Belvacensi ecclesiis canonicatus et prebendas noscitur obtinere. Dictoque m(agistro Francisco nihilominus auctoritate presentium gratiosius indulgemus ut insistendo studio theo)logice facultatis dictam dimidiam prebendam liberam^{e)} valeat retinere donec prefatam prebendam (integram non sacerdotalem fuerit pacifice assecutus, nec interim ipsius dimidie prebende occasione vel causa) teneatur se facere ad sacerdotium promoveri nec ad residendum personaliter in eadem neque (ad premissa a quoquam valeat coartari, non obstantibus omnibus supradictis aut quibuslibet privilegiis, indulgentiis, et) litteris apostolicis de quibus quorumque totis tenoribus habenda esset in eisdem nostris litteris mentio special(is).

Quocirca mandamus quatenus vos, vel duo, aut unus vestrum, per vos seu) alium seu alios, eundem magistrum Franciscum vel procuratorem suum eius nomine in corporalem possessi(onem huius prebende integre et non sacerdotalis, si tempore collationis per nos sibi facte de ipsa in predicta) ecclesia Parisiensi vacabat, inducat is auctoritate nostra et defendatis inductum. Alioquin huiusmodi (prebendam integram non sacerdotalem per nos taliter reservatam, si ab huiusmodi nostre reservationis tempore) in eadem ecclesia Parisiensi vacavit vel cum eam vacare contigerit, prelibato magistro Francisco vel (dicto procuratori pro eo conferatis et etiam assignetis ipsumque faciatis pacifica ipsius prebende integre et non) sacerdotalis possessione gaudere sibi que de ipsius prebende integre non sacerdotalis^{f)} fructibus, proventibus, (redditis, iuribus, et obventionibus universis integre responderi. Non obstantibus omnibus supradictis aut si preli)batis episcopo, decano, et capitulo vel quibusvis aliis ab eadem sede indultum existat quod excom(municari aut interdici nequeant vel suspendi per litteras

^{e)} liberam om. R ^{f)} possessione...sacerdotalis om. (hom.) R

apostolicas que de indulto huiusmodi plenam et) expressam non fecerint mentionem, contradictores auctoritate nostra appellatione postposita com(pescendo.

Datum Lugusiaci, XV kalendas Septembris,) pontificatus nostri (anno tercio).

Review

Czagány Zsuzsa, éd., *Antiphonale Varadinense s. XV, I. Proprium de tempore, II. Proprium de sanctis et commune sanctorum, III. Essays*, Budapest: Research Center for Humanities. Institute of Musicology (Musicalia Danubiana 26) 2019, 3 volumes, [426] + [332] + 338 pp. ISBN 9786155167218, 9786155167225 et 9786155167232.

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La présente publication de l'antiphonaire de Várad, édité par Zsuzsa Czagány, est organisée en trois volumes et comprend le fac-similé de tous les fragments (vol. I-II), dont l'ordre a été reconstitué, accompagné par un texte de présentation et un volume d'essais (vol. III). Tous les textes et les contributions sont publiés en honnais et en anglais : seule la version anglaise a été considérée pour ce compte-rendu. Une bibliographie exhaustive ainsi que la liste des sources et l'index des pièces complètent l'ouvrage.

L'antiphonaire de Várad, copié au xve siècle pour la cathédrale de la ville, a survécu sous forme fragmentaire : 317 *membra disiecta* sont aujourd'hui conservés à la Bibliothèque diocésaine de Győr et, à côté de ceux-ci, 62 fragments ont été localisés à Bratislava, Budapest, Cluj-Napoca, Debrecen, Esztergom, Győr, Košice, Levoča, Martin, Modra, Oponice et Poprad. Certains fragments sont encore attachés aux livres dont ils constituent les feuillets de garde ou la couverture, d'autres ne sont lisibles que d'un seul côté et une bonne partie d'entre eux n'a jamais reçu une cote.

Le premier volume, consacré au Temporal, présente une introduction expliquant les critères suivis et comporte une table de reconstitution du manuscrit original qui indique le sigle du

fragment, l'occurrence liturgique et l'incipit de la pièce, de manière à servir de « table de navigation » pour la consultation du fac-similé ; une table analogue se trouve, pour le Sanctoral, au début du volume II. Un appareil de notes en bas de page renseigne le lecteur sur les éventuelles incertitudes de reconstruction, les variantes textuelles par rapport au bréviaire de Várad (Vat. Lat. 8247) et les variantes mélodiques en comparaison avec le *Codex Albensis* (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 211). Seule la partie d'hiver du Temporal a survécu (de l'Avent au Saint Sacrement) ; le Sanctoral présente toute l'année liturgique, avec des lacunes, de la Conception de la Vierge (8 décembre) à la fête de sainte Catherine (25 novembre), sauf les saints après Noël, insérés dans le Temporal. Le commun des saints et l'office de la Vierge complètent le deuxième volume.

Le troisième volume comporte la partie analytique qui présente une description détaillée de l'ensemble des fragments. Le manuscrit originaire était un livre de grandes dimensions (820 × 540 mm au moins), enluminé à la feuille d'or et noté avec la notation rhomboïdale typique des manuscrits tchèques. Cette notation n'étant pas utilisée en Hongrie, elle doit avoir été copiée dans un autre *scriptorium*, peut-être en Tchéquie ou en Moravie, la décoration étant proche par ailleurs des manuscrits tchèques et moraves de la fin du xve siècle.

Le groupe principal – à savoir, les fragments conservés à la bibliothèque diocésaine de Győr – fut découvert en 1860 par Flóris Rómer qui en donna une description ; d'autres fragments ont été ensuite signalés au fil des années, les dernières pièces ayant été découvertes en 2013. Czagány nous renseigne sur l'histoire récente du manuscrit et sur la littérature scientifique qui lui a été consacrée ; elle fait état des différentes hypothèses sur l'origine du manuscrit, à la fois attribué à Győr et aux Prémontrés, et souligne l'importance des études de Janka Szendrei pour l'identification correcte de son usage. Tout en étant à l'usage de Várad, le style décoratif et la notation rattachent toutefois le manuscrit aux ateliers moraves, ce qui s'explique par le destinataire du livre, qui était selon toute probabilité János Filipecz, d'origine morave, évêque de Várad entre 1476 et 1490.

Un chapitre entier est consacré à l'histoire du diocèse, de sa fondation au premier quart du xie siècle jusqu'à son apogée à la

Renaissance, et à l'action des évêques et des rois dans la construction de la cathédrale et dans la constitution d'une bibliothèque liturgique. Mais, une fois le contexte de production du manuscrit ainsi établi, il a été impossible de reconstituer avec précision son itinéraire. L'histoire du diocèse à l'aube des Temps modernes est en fait particulièrement agitée et les références de l'époque au trésor de la cathédrale sont trop génériques pour pouvoir y identifier des manuscrits. Cependant, Z. Czagány analyse avec une remarquable minutie les documents privés, les testaments, les inventaires sommaires, les lettres et les témoignages de l'époque et avance l'hypothèse de deux scénarios possibles : soit les manuscrits ont été transportés en 1556 au château d'Ecsed, puis dispersés en 1603, soit ils sont restés à la cathédrale et ensuite prélevés par le jésuite István Szántó en 1580. L'auteur souligne la fragilité de ses hypothèses qui, à défaut d'une documentation plus riche, ne peuvent pas être corroborées, et aborde ensuite l'analyse des fragments.

L'examen des sources ne se limite pas à la reconstitution de l'ordre primitif des fragments. Un regard beaucoup plus attentif ressort en fait d'un questionnement intelligent sur la provenance des fragments réutilisés pour les reliures de manuscrits et livres imprimés au cours du XVII^e siècle. Czagány conduit un examen historique et codicologique détaillé, considère les anciens possesseurs, les mouvements des personnes et des collections, les lieux et l'époque des reliures et met en lumière la manière dont les feuillets ont été détachés de l'antiphonaire et réutilisés, tout en donnant de précises références bibliographiques sur les signalements et les études précédentes. Croisant la provenance et le contenu des fragments dispersés, l'auteur parvient à dresser un cadre plutôt clair des vicissitudes du manuscrit : les cahiers ont été détachés de diverses sections du manuscrit, qui se présentait probablement à l'origine en deux tomes séparés (Temporal et Sanctoral). Czagány identifie deux groupes de provenances : un groupe de fragments « occidental » (Győr, Bratislava et Modra) tirés du Temporal et un groupe « oriental » (Košice, Martin et Cluj-Napoca) issu du Sanctoral. Elle en déduit que le volume du Sanctoral devait se trouver dans le Nord-Est de la Hongrie, peut-être à Košice.

Le dernier chapitre traite du répertoire de l'antiphonaire et souligne ses particularités à l'aide de la comparaison avec trois bréviaires de la même région (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 8247 ; Güssing, Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters, Cod. I/34 ; Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 104), le *Codex Albensis* et des fragments d'antiphonaire conservés à Güssing. Ce procédé permet à l'auteur d'identifier certaines spécificités de l'usage de Várad et les divergences par rapport à l'usage d'Esztergom et parfois par rapport aux mêmes bréviaires de Várad. Certains détails méritent d'être mentionnés : un trope mélogène constitue le verset *Stephanus dei gratia plenus* du répons *Intuens in celum* ; un nombre de pièces qui sont uniques à l'usage de Várad ou à cet antiphonaire ; le recours à des pièces anciennes ; l'emploi de mélodies diverses de celles utilisées dans les sources de l'Europe occidentale. Dans le Sanctoral, il convient de signaler la présence d'offices propres pour saint Adalbert, évêque de Prague et martyr (23 avril), Étienne, roi de Hongrie (20 août, office versifié) et Démétrios de Thessalonique (26 octobre). Les pièces de chants dignes d'un intérêt particulier ont fait l'objet d'une transcription intégrale, textuelle et musicale, en notation moderne.

Les conclusions auxquelles l'auteur parvient sont résumées en trois points : d'abord, une tradition se définit non seulement grâce à certains textes, mais aussi – et surtout – à la manière dont ces pièces sont contextualisées ; deuxièmement, les traces de la tradition authentique demeurent dans le Temporal plutôt que dans le Sanctoral ; enfin, les traditions de l'Europe centrale se sont consolidées et précisées dans les dernières décennies du Moyen Âge. L'étude du répertoire a d'ailleurs montré comment l'antiphonaire de Várad s'aligne sur d'autres traditions d'Europe centrale, tout en gardant ses particularités pour ce qui est de l'ordre des pièces, du choix des textes et des mélodies.

Cet ouvrage souligne l'importance de l'étude des fragments afin de reconstituer des traditions liturgiques autrement perdues et s'impose comme un exemple de rigueur scientifique et historique. La reconstruction du manuscrit originaire, qui témoigne d'une solide connaissance des aspects musicologiques et liturgiques, s'accompagne d'une remarquable exploration des sources documentaires

qui essaye de suivre le chemin de l'antiphonaire de son lieu de production et de première destination (qui ne coïncident pas) à l'actuel dépôt de conservation. L'auteur conduit une analyse comparative du répertoire et de chaque pièce qui ne laisse rien au hasard.

Les quelques observations qui suivent ne veulent en aucun cas affaiblir la valeur de l'ouvrage, qui reste d'une excellente qualité. Toutefois, nous croyons que ces réflexions peuvent enrichir le débat et améliorer certains détails. Par exemple, chaque pièce a été soigneusement identifiée, mais la référence à la base cantusindex.org a été donnée seulement « si nécessaire » : d'abord, on peut se demander pourquoi l'auteur a omis toute référence au *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* d'Hesbert (non cité en bibliographie), sur lequel la base *Cantus* repose pour la plupart des pièces et dont elle conserve la référence numérique ; deuxièmement, il aurait été assez facile d'insérer la référence à côté de chaque pièce, dans l'index général, et de rendre immédiatement évidentes au lecteur les pièces rares ou non répertoriées.

L'utilisation que l'auteur fait de la base *Cantus* peut parfois aboutir à des conclusions qui ne reflètent pas tout à fait l'état des sources : par exemple, le répons *Custodi nos domine* (CAO 6385) est donné comme typique de l'Autriche et de l'Allemagne du Sud en raison d'un grand nombre de sources de ces régions signalées par *Cantus* (p. 245). Mais, d'un côté, l'auteur ne tient pas compte des sources du CAO pour cette pièce (V et F, respectivement Vérone, Bibl. du Chapitre XCVIII, antiphonaire de Vérone du ^x^e siècle, et Paris, BnF, Latin 12584, antiphonaire de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés de la même époque) ; de l'autre, elle néglige de considérer le caractère partiel du dépouillement de la base *Cantus*, dans laquelle certaines régions sont surreprésentées comparativement à d'autres zones, totalement absentes. Par conséquent, toute conclusion fondée sur une observation quantitative des sources présentes dans *Cantus* ne peut être que partielle et non significative. Il en va de même pour l'antienne *Benedicat nos deus pater* (CAO 1691, sources D et F, respectivement Paris, BnF, Latin 17296, antiphonaire de Saint-Denis du ^{xii}^e siècle, et Latin 12584).

On observera par ailleurs que la description de chaque fragment est incluse dans la présentation des sources (pp. 180–205), qui

comprend leur matérialité, leur emplacement actuel, leur histoire et leur répertoire. Une présentation ‘par notice’, qui offre les données de façon systématique, aurait été à notre avis plus efficace et plus aisée pour le repérage des informations précises. Enfin, nous restons aussi perplexe quant à l’utilisation du terme ‘Psautier’ pour désigner les seules pièces de chant de l’office ferial (p. 239, 253) : ainsi, l’affirmation « le Psautier est inclus après l’octave de l’Épiphanie » est ici inappropriée.

Au-delà de ces quelques notes critiques, les trois volumes de fac-similé et commentaires représentent une recherche considérable et un modèle particulièrement réussi d’une présentation efficace des résultats. En fait, l’intérêt croissant pour la ‘fragmentologie’ en tant que discipline ‘synecdotique’, qui tente de reconstituer un contexte à partir d’un fragment, est suffisamment mûre pour qu’elle puisse bâtir une méthode propre, adaptée à la nature des sources ; elle ne devrait pas se borner au signalement, à la transcription et à la numérisation, mais plutôt considérer l’aspect archéologique du fragment en tant que porteur d’histoires multiples et acteur de fonctionnalités différentes. C’est précisément cette méthode que Zsuzsa Czagány met ici en œuvre avec une fine compétence : son ouvrage a le mérite d’avoir considéré les fragments à la fois dans leur dimension ‘horizontale’, en rétablissant l’ordre des pièces dispersées, et dans leur dimension ‘verticale’, en offrant des hypothèses sur la stratigraphie géo-historique du manuscrit d’origine et les différents aspects qu’il a pris au fil du temps.

Review

Gaudenz Freuler (with contributions by Georgi Parpulov), *The McCarthy Collection, Volume I: Italian and Byzantine Miniatures*, London: Ad Ilissvm 2018, 304 pp. ISBN 9781912168071.

Reviewed by **Nicholas Herman**, University of Pennsylvania
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We are living in a golden age of lavish print publications dedicated to privately formed collections of manuscript fragments. This may seem an astonishing fact, but it is demonstrably true.¹ Why is this so? It appears to be the result of a number of complementary circumstances. To begin with, consider the evolution of collecting practices: two centuries ago, those wishing to chart the course of European painting had ample access to post-Napoleonic spoils in the form of full altarpieces that were only rarely subject to export controls. In the twentieth century, such individuals were increasingly constrained to mere retable compartments. Now, ambitious collectors are largely limited to miniatures and leaves excised from manuscripts. Indeed, as full manuscripts grow scarcer on the antiquarian market, and ex-novo private manuscript libraries are becoming a rarity, collectors of means still have the ability to buy widely in the genre of illuminated manuscript miniatures. Then, of course, there is the thrill of discovery and the aesthetic delight of the *cutting*, which is distinguished from the codex by its display

¹ To name only the most prominent examples of the genre since the turn of the millennium, one can cite S. N. Fliegel, *The Jeanne Miles Blackburn Collection of Manuscript Illuminations*, Cleveland 1999; G. Freuler, *Italian Miniatures: From the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries*, Milan 2013; M. Medica, Federica Toniolo, and Alessandro Martoni, *Le miniature della Fondazione Giorgio Cini: pagine, ritagli, manoscritti*, Milan 2016; C. De Hamel, *The Medieval World at Our Fingertips: Manuscript Illuminations from the Collection of Sandra Hindman*, London 2018, and the forthcoming catalogue of the Burke collection, edited by Sandra Hindman and Federica Toniolo.

value. The reasons for the current re-birth of the printed collection catalogue are more prosaic: the advent of widespread digital photography, desktop publishing, and high-quality offset printing have rendered such projects more feasible. Furthermore, catalogues of single-leaf items are able to illustrate an entire collection, rather than a mere selection of folios, as would be the case in a catalogue of books. For the scholar, the arrival of the internet has made tracing sister leaves and localizing artistic contexts easier than ever before. In the past few years, specialist researchers have been able to harness new tools in the service of collectors, with extraordinary results.

The present volume is the first of three charting the McCarthy Collection of manuscript fragments (consisting of leaves and cuttings), and is dedicated to material from the Italian peninsula and the Byzantine world. A short personal foreword by Robert McCarthy confirms the collector's rationale: miniatures can offer a condensed vision of large-scale artistic trends. Following this, a brief introduction and the first eighty entries are by Gaudenz Freuler, with the final eight entries on Byzantine material written by Georgi Parpulov and included as a coda. Several of the entries group together leaves or cuttings that hail from the parent manuscript or set of manuscripts, such that in total 152 objects are included. Initially, only one further catalogue volume was planned, but now, at least two forthcoming volumes have been announced. Written by Peter Kidd, they will be dedicated to Spanish, English, Flemish and Central European (vol. II) as well as French material (vol. III).

In the current volume, each entry begins with basic information including the size of the fragment (but not the written area) and the incipits. Subsections list recent provenance and related literature, and, where possible, sister leaves and specific bibliography. The commentary is discursive, well written, and not overly long. There is relatively little about the collection history of individual items within each entry (a subject covered synoptically in the short introduction), but there is much discussion of original liturgical contexts. Though only a select number of items are reproduced recto-verso, the illustrations are otherwise generous, and where comparative leaves, panel paintings and frescoes from elsewhere are illustrated, the relative colour balance appears to be accurate.

As the introduction sets forth, the collection's pan-European scope echoes the comprehensive twentieth-century assemblages of Georges Wildenstein and John Frederick Lewis, now housed at the Musée Marmottan Monet and the Free Library of Philadelphia, respectively. In many ways, the emphasis amongst the Italian material dovetails nicely with that of a present-day collection with a later focus, that of T. Robert & Katherine States Burke, currently on deposit at Stanford University, and for which an exhaustive catalogue is forthcoming. While the latter is centered on Florentine and Sieneese works of the mid-fourteenth century and beyond, the Italian portion of the McCarthy collection is particularly strong in earlier material.

For example, the first sixteen entries are dedicated to an impressive assortment of fragments extracted from eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts. Entry 18 brings together nineteen small miniatures and inhabited initials from an early and extravagantly illustrated volume of the *Golden Legend* produced in Lombardy in the late 1280s. Acquired from a variety of sources over the past twenty-five years, the assiduously collected fragments are here analyzed globally in order to arrive at conclusions about the textual peculiarity of the original book.

Another important section of the catalogue (entries 19–39) concerns Bolognese illumination, ranging from early Bible illustration to the expressive and narratively dense choirbook initials of Niccolò di Giacomo. The following entries are largely devoted to Venetian (cats. 40–44) and Friulian (cat. 45) examples, and an important nucleus of Umbrian material (cats. 46–53), where links with monumental painting and sculpture at Assisi and elsewhere are especially prevalent.

The middle section of the catalogue is dedicated to Tuscany (cats. 54–69), with Sieneese and Florentine leaves intermixed, beginning with two leaves by the Master of Sant'Alessio stemming from the choirbooks of San Francesco al Prato, Pistoia (cat. 54, a–b).² A significant amount of material hails from the former Bernard H. Breslauer collection, and as such the McCarthy collection shows

2 See S. Chiodo (ed.), *Storie di pagine dipinte: Miniature recuperate dai Carabinieri*, Livorno 2020, 80–81.

itself to be an heir to that important dispersed ensemble.³ The two most visually stunning items of this pedigree are the extraordinary Adoration of the Magi from a Gradual by an eponymous master close in spirit to Agnolo Gaddi and Spinello Aretino (cat. 67), and a two-level frontispiece from a Gradual showing the Annunciation taking place above a choir of Bridgettine Nuns, attributed to Lippo d'Andrea (cat. 69).

The penultimate group of Italian entries (cats. 70–75) charts a voyage from little-known works by Jacobello da Salerno (cat. 71) through the Marche and Liguria, demonstrating the geographic breadth of the collection. A final nucleus, later in date, can be grouped around the enduring influence of Lombard illumination in the Po Valley in the first half of the fifteenth century (cats. 76–80).

The final entries are dedicated to Byzantine material from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, with a closing entry (cat. 88) discussing eight leaves from an illustrated Georgian Gospel Book of the sixteenth century. Here, a remarkable series of Evangelist portraits (cats. 81, 84, 85, 86, and 87) bears witness to the continuity of this genre in the Eastern Mediterranean, and a certain later susceptibility to extraction: remarkably, several of these items can be traced to parent manuscripts at Mount Athos and elsewhere, which had been subject to despoilment a hundred or more years ago.

Catalogues such as this one serve to produce a momentary snapshot of the state of knowledge, to fix in paper a moment in the life of a collection. Of course, the obvious peril is that the state of the question in this field advances rapidly. One case in point is that, since publication, a fifth leaf of the fine Umbrian Missal of circa 1290 has surfaced, which can be added to the three from the McCarthy collection (cat. 47, BM nos. 1421, 1420, and 1812) and the sister leaf, formerly in the Friedrich G. Zeileis collection, identified in the catalogue. The new leaf is currently on the market (August 2020), and its purveyors, Maggs of London, were presumably able to

3 W. M. Voelkle, R. S. Wieck, and M. F. P. Saffiotti, *The Bernard H. Breslauer Collection of Manuscript Illuminations*, New York 1992.

identify it owing to the very appearance of the McCarthy catalogue: discovery begets discovery, sleeper-seekers beware!⁴

In another case, the very recent catalogue of the exhibition *Storie di pagine dipinte: Miniature recuperate dai Carabinieri* (Florence, Palazzo Pitti, 2020) has traced one of the McCarthy leaves by the Maestro Daddesco (cat. 62) to a precise parent volume: Antiphonary B from the choir books of Santo Stefano al Ponte in Florence, now held at the Museo Civico in Montepulciano.⁵ The fact that the author named this set, as well as those made for the Duomo of Florence in the 1330s, as potential comparanda in the commentary of the catalogue entry is a testament to first-class connoisseurship and codicological skill.

Overall, the volume is magnificent in terms of production values, as we have come to expect from Paul Holberton Publishing and its imprints. The book is a pleasure to peruse and complements other recent publications alluded to above, and is as much a testament to the learning of its authors as it is to the discernment of the collector. As with any complex project of this nature, there are some inevitable typos. One of the reproductions of Cat. 49, for example, is mislabelled as Cat. 48 (p. 159), and some callout numbers in the introduction are erroneous. One hopes that these very minor oversights are the reflection of a still-waxing collection, a living gathering of objects that one hopes may some day be honoured through an equally erudite and authoritative, but certainly more flexible, web-based digital platform.

4 Leaf from a finely illuminated manuscript Missal - with an almost nude man and two men's heads within the initials, in *Latin on vellum [Italy, Umbria (probably Assisi), c. 1290]* https://www.maggs.com/departments/continental_and_illuminations/all_categories/223109/ (Accessed 30 August 2020).

5 Chiodo, *Storie di pagine dipinte*, 210–11.

Review

Erik Kwakkel, *Books Before Print*, Amsterdam: Arc Humanities Press (Medieval Media and Culture), 2018, 304 pp. ISBN: 9781942401612.

Reviewed by **Scott Gwara**, University of South Carolina
gwaras@mailbox.sc.edu



As a user-friendly introduction to manuscript studies, Erik Kwakkel's *Books Before Print* both fascinates and amuses in a relaxed, lateral-thinking style. The subject is “the materiality of manuscripts and what it teaches us about the culture of producing and reading books in the age before print” (p. 26). Kwakkel considers “material features” to be “‘cultural residue,’ tangible traces of the rationale behind the manuscript’s intended use” (p. 3). *Books Before Print* does not concern textuality, therefore, but the physical receptacles of texts, including the methods of producing manuscripts, especially their design and manufacture, as well as the various extra-textual adjuncts used to locate, identify, access, and read their contents. Kwakkel conveys how the manufacturing process and reading enhancements he outlines can change relative to genre, region, and date. The book is perfectly pitched for its intended audience of non-specialists (p. xix), particularly because of its engrossing case studies. While many describe rare features, they open up a world of utter fascination. A mesmerizing discussion of rotary bookmarks serves as an object lesson (pp. 137–38). No more than forty specimens are known, yet their exoticism and ingenuity impart the “magic and excitement” (p. xix) that Kwakkel establishes as a primary objective of his book.

Readers will appreciate both the accessibility and charm of *Books Before Print*. The style derives from its origin in a popular blog (<https://medievalbooks.nl>), from which Kwakkel earned an international following. Droll chapter titles include “Books on a Diet”, referring to oddly-proportioned “holster” manuscripts; “Manuscripts on the Move”, concerning the relocation of manuscripts; and “Medieval Book Apps”, on manuscripts with moveable parts.



Figure 1: Manuscript fragments used in the lining of a silk purse. Boston, Boston Public Library MS q Med. 277

Kwakkel's most intriguing, if idiosyncratic, subjects include edible gingerbread hornbooks (p. 172), a birthday party invitation from a Vindolanda Tablet (p. 178), and name-tags for orphans (pp. 189–93). He ingeniously re-imagines conventional subjects: bosses are “shiny add-ons” (p. 24), margins are “the empty part of the page” (p. 47), glosses are written in “comment boxes” (p. 52), a “colophon includes spam” (p. 68), and “certain bookmarks can be called ‘smart’” (p. 135). This evocative language makes the concepts current. The thirty-two micro-chapters are conveniently divided into five sections, each with an introduction summarizing them. Kwakkel's tone, presentation (featuring 129 illustrations, many full-bleed), and diverse subject matter will attract young bibliophiles and non-specialists to manuscript studies, and the volume will doubtless be adopted for courses on librarianship and history of the book.

Naturally, *Books Before Print* has content relevant to fragmentology, although Kwakkel himself devotes little space to fragments. He approaches them from five perspectives: 1. Early evidence of structure (alleged papyri bifolia, p. 6), mise-en-page (wide margins, p. 46), and rare texts (pp. 41, 48, etc.); 2. Ephemera, such as model books (pp. 112–17), scribal specimen sheets (p. 197), bookmarks (pp. 134–38), memoranda like book inventories (p. 198), and name-tags (pp. 188–93); 3. Creative re-use as binding waste (pp. 242–44), book covers (pp. 243–44), palimpsests (p. 8), fabric reinforcements

Figure 2: Lampshade made from leaves of a Spanish Antiphonal. Collection of Scott Gwara



Figure 3: The tag from this English charter (dated 1321) was made from a recycled parchment document. Columbia, SC, University of South Carolina collection (=UofSC), Early MS 83

(pp. 244–45), and patches (p. 240); 4. Epistles and notes (pp. 179–81); 5. Mutilation by ‘thieves’, though perhaps such damage had less sinister motives (pp. 240–41). While acknowledging the textual value of ancient fragments, Kwakkel generally treats the re-use of them materially as book components. “Thousands of manuscripts were sliced, diced and stripped for parts”, he quips (p. 243), before itemizing mutilations at the hands of binders, librarians, tailors, gluemakers, and scribes (p. 243). To the list of salvage I would add purses [Figure 1], lampshades [Figure 2], [book satchels](#), seal tags on charters [Figure 3], and spare parts for a 1925 Bugatti.¹

As evidence, manuscript fragments have obvious limitations. Kwakkel obliquely evokes the ambiguity of them when he challenges

¹ A. N. L. Munby, “Book Collecting in Britain in the 1930s”, in A. N. L. Munby, *Essays and Papers*, ed. N. Barker, London 1977, pp. 217–23, at pp. 220–21.

the ancient remains of papyrus codices as the oldest “books” (p. 5). ‘Books’ for Kwakkel must be comprised of nested bifolia. The earliest ones must therefore bear unambiguous “sharp centre folds” (p. 5). While the concession is fair,² it could give the wrong impression about early papyrus fragments, since in the aggregate they document the emergence of the codex. That is a reliable finding of incalculable importance. It goes without saying that Kwakkel appreciates the evidentiary value of book constituents (at least 20 illustrations depict them, including the ‘Wells Fragment’ of the Gutenberg Bible), but their specific utility is logically disregarded in a book like this. Teaching from fragments rather than complete books is like playing Tchaikovsky’s violin concerto with two fingers, and Kwakkel has a wealth of complete manuscript books at his disposal, chiefly from Leiden’s Universiteitsbibliotheek.

Nevertheless, because Kwakkel’s book will have international exposure, it would be useful to emphasize that most of its findings on codices apply equally to fragments. Especially in America, where manuscript books are scarce in academic institutions, appreciating the homologies between fragments and codices will broaden the pedagogical utility of Kwakkel’s observations. There are disadvantages, of course. In respect to chapters 5–6 (on first and last leaves), it is sometimes impossible to identify the first and last leaves of a manuscript from a fragment, even if it bears the first and last words of a text. Fragmentologists have to rely on patterns of wear, ownership inscriptions and colophons, rust marks from chain bindings, bosses or nails, the characteristic pinholes of woodworm infestation and other evidence to draw their conclusions. (Woodworms, incidentally, do not like parchment, and should one penetrate into the substrate, it will not venture far.) Fragments have underappreciated utilities, however. In 1981 Christopher de Hamel deduced the structure of the Hours of Étienne Chevalier from a newly discovered single bifolium.³ For educators, moreover, single leaves, bifolia, and quires have an advantage over complete books: they can be studied safely

2 E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia 1977 (repr. Eugene, OR 2011), pp. 9–10.

3 Sotheby’s (London), *Catalogue of Illuminated Miniatures and Single Leaves from the Ninth to the Sixteenth Century* (14 July 1981), lot 37 (pp. 25–33).

on a light box. In fact, transmitted light highlights many defects of parchment, methods of preparation, and techniques of decoration. For manuscript fragments on paper, moreover, a light box is ideal for detecting watermarks (One can imagine the awkwardness with which the watermark in Kwakkel's Figure 5 was photographed.).

Since *Books Before Print* deserves notice from fragmentologists, I thought to assemble images of corresponding features from fragments that either illustrate or augment Kwakkel's observations. A lightbox was used in many cases. These images are admittedly miscellaneous, for (as Kwakkel observes) the medieval book "can be explored from many different angles" (p. 6). In the spirit of the accessibility, focus on rarities, and notable close-up photography of *Books Before Print*, the features illustrated here were selected for non-specialists. I have also restricted my selection chiefly to fragments in the University of South Carolina collection ('UofSC').⁴ Many of them were chosen from Otto F. Ege's portfolio, *Fifty Original Leaves from Medieval Manuscripts* (ca. 1954). Page references in *Books Before Print* are given in parentheses.

Informative, entertaining, and compelling, this volume captures the diversity and complexity of manuscripts and the imaginative ways that scholars approach them. Librarians and other educators who teach with fragments can be confident that *Books Before Print* will meet, and often exceed, their needs as a textbook.

Appendix: Images of Fragment Features

Substrate

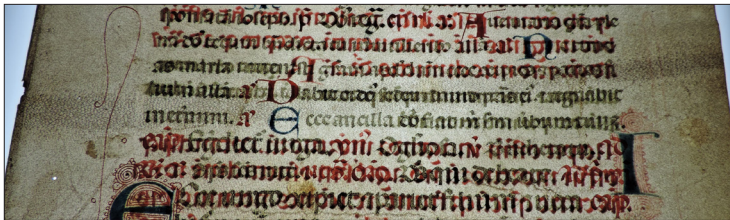


Figure 4: This dense foliation indicates the animal's spine (pp. 237–38). UofSC Early MS 152

4 Complete images for many of the manuscripts presented here can be found at <http://scmanuscripts.org/>.

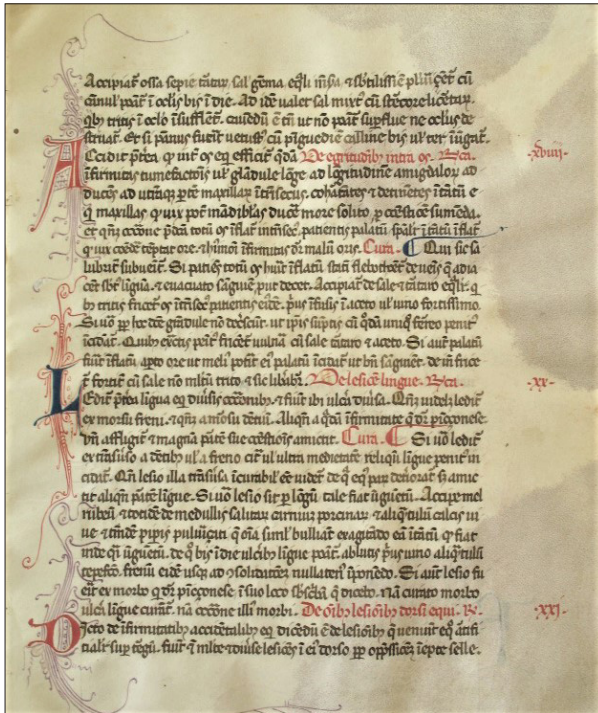
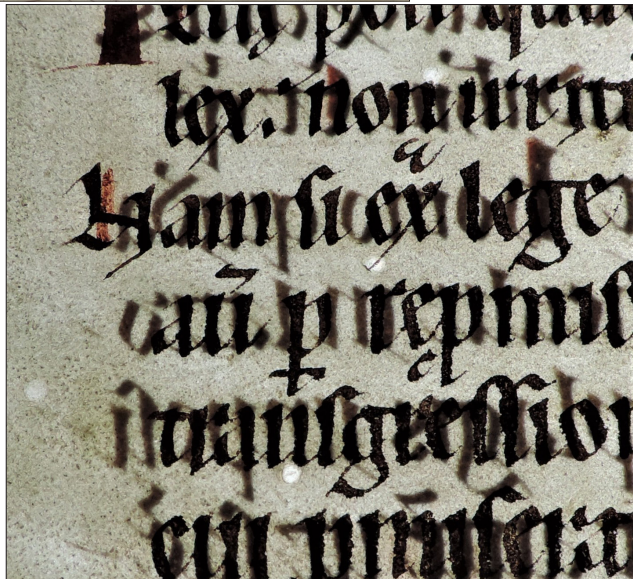


Figure 5: Dark circles and scallop shapes indicate the animal's spots (pp. 237–38).
St. Louis University,
Vatican Film Library
MS 61a

Figure 6: Tiny holes in this missal reveal parasite damage, possibly the common cattle grub or horn fly (pp. 7–8).
UofSC Early
MS 2



Preparation

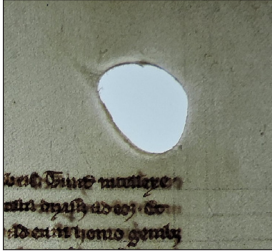


Figure 7: Hole caused by the loss of scar tissue which was either scraped off during manufacture or fell off while being stretched. Scar tissue is less flexible than the undamaged tissue around it (pp. 7, 235–36). *UofSC Early MS 6*



Figure 8: This prominent veining reveals the channels of the blood vessels and sometimes even the tubules themselves. *UofSC Early MS 33*

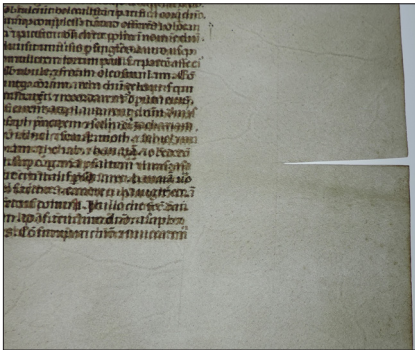


Figure 9: This parchment dried under uneven tension, and the edge was slit to make it lay flat. *UofSC Early MS 114*

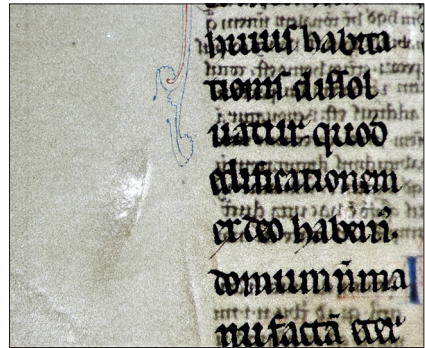


Figure 10: Crescent-shaped scuffs result from aggressive scraping, as the *lunellum* (knife used for scraping the wet hide) is crescent-shaped (p. 236). *UofSC Early MS 70 fol. 4*



Figure 11: Crescent-shaped cuts often result from scraping near thick axillary skin. ‘Axillary’ designates the skin near joints (Lat. *axilla*=‘joint’); repairs can be quickly basted while the wet skin is stretched on the frame (indicated by ovoid holes) and stitched more comprehensively later (indicated by round holes) (pp. 236–37). *UofSC Early MS 74 fol. 1*

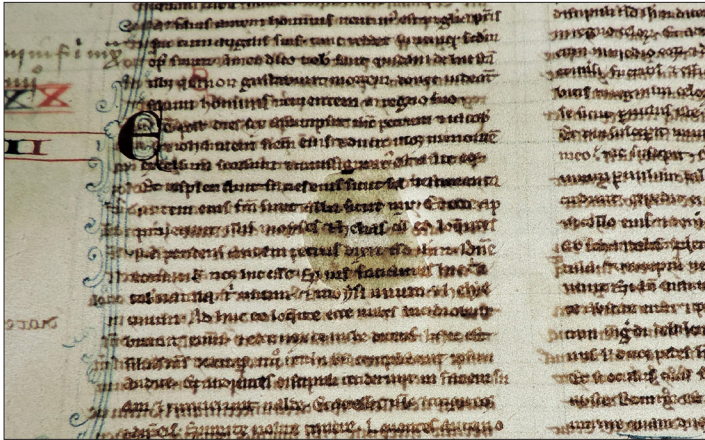
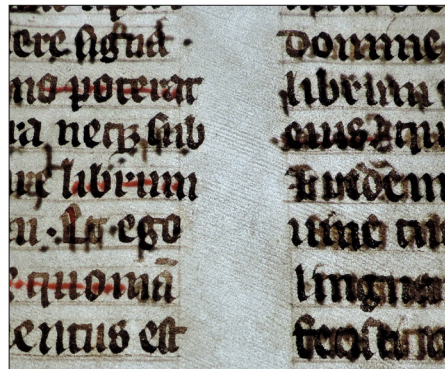


Figure 12: This patch is virtually invisible without the lightbox. *UofSC Early MS 6*



Figure 13: Two margins of this folio were entirely replaced with vellum patches before the text was copied. *UofSC Early MS 99*

Figure 14: These striations are characteristic evidence of parchment preparation. To be readied for writing, the parchment surface is sanded with a pumice stone or similar material before being rubbed with chalk. *UofSC Early MS 22*



Decoration

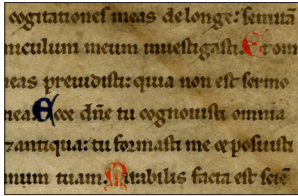


Figure 15: Dyeing gesso changes the appearance of gold leaf. The gesso beneath the gilding on these initials is bright red (p. 21). *Winthrop University Medieval MS Fragment 11*

Figure 16: Speech banderoles in this fragment depict conversation in a busy tavern (pp. 105-7). *Private Collection, France*

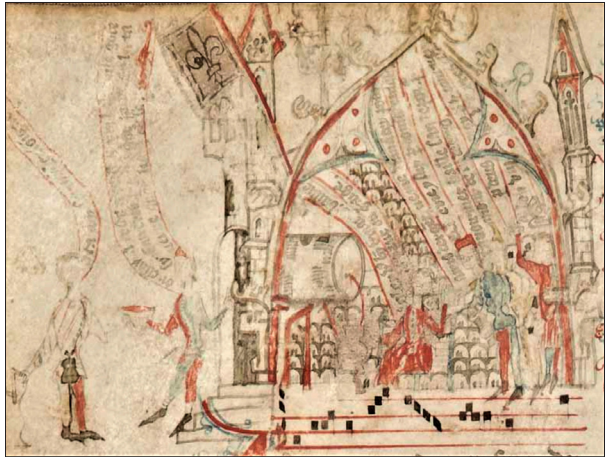


Figure 17: Three pinprick holes in the center of each circle show the use of a compass, while the lines were produced by a straight edge. *Collection of Scott Gwara*

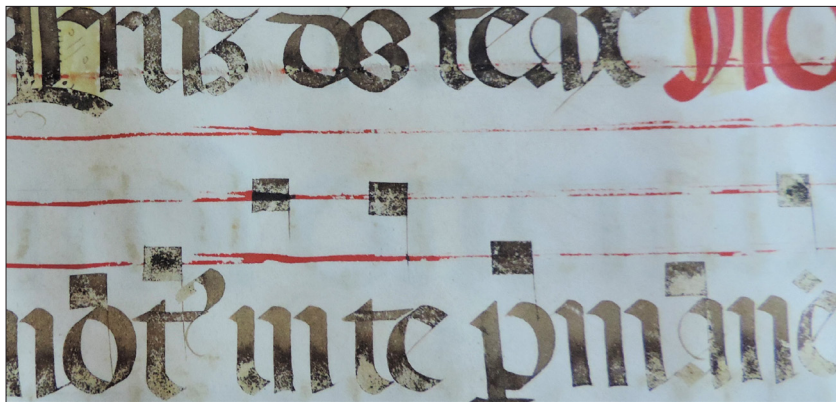


Figure 18: The 'rake' used for making the musical staves was lifted and re-set. *Collection of Scott Gwara*



Figure 19: This folio has the identical decoration on both sides of the page. The light box reveals that a mirror-image was traced on one side. *UofSC Early MS 67b*

Scribal Artifacts: Finding Aids, Reading Aids, Corrections, Additions

Figure 20: Scribal specimen sheet recently sold on Ebay (p.196). *Private Collection, London*

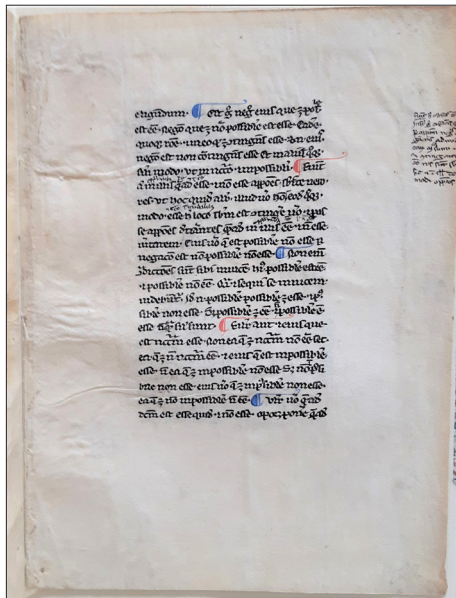
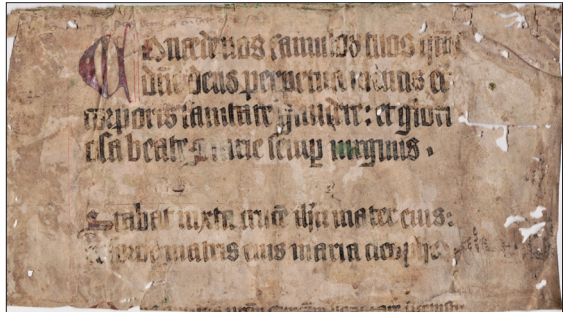


Figure 21: This university text of Aristotle's *Organon* has exceptionally wide margins for glossing that are characteristic of such Aristotle manuscripts (pp. 48–50). *Collection of Scott Gwara*

Figure 22: *Signes de renvoi* have different functions. In the glosses to this bible folio the *signes* indicate that the text flows onto the next page (p. 19, 31, 56). *UofSC Early MS 74, f. 1*

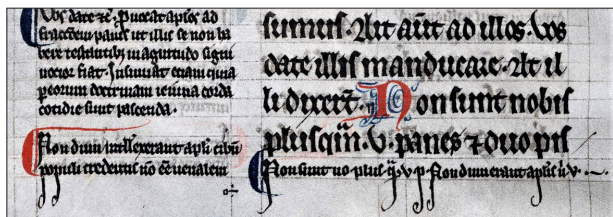


Figure 23: *Signes de renvoi* on this bible folio show where to insert missing text (pp. 19, 31, 56). UofSC Early MS 14

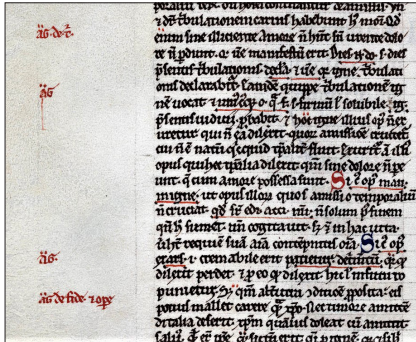
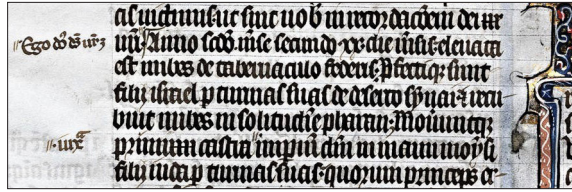


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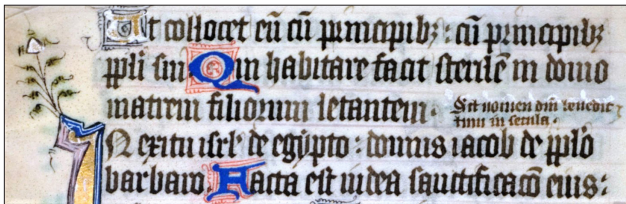


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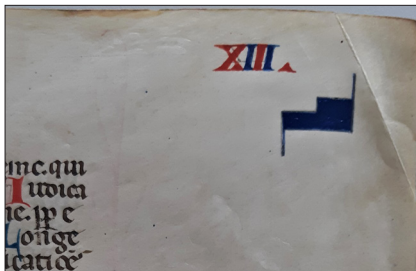


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Genres



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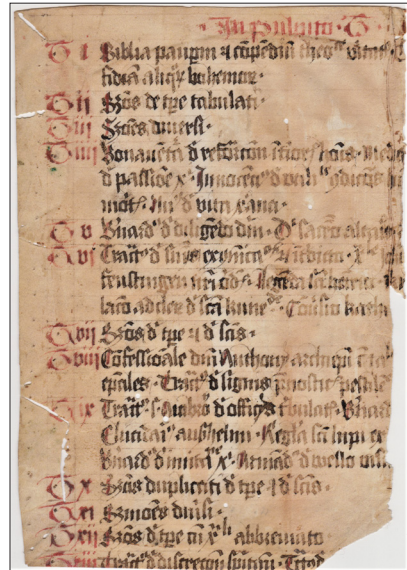


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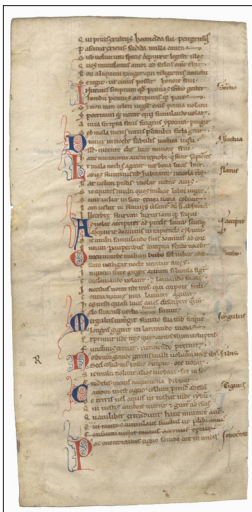


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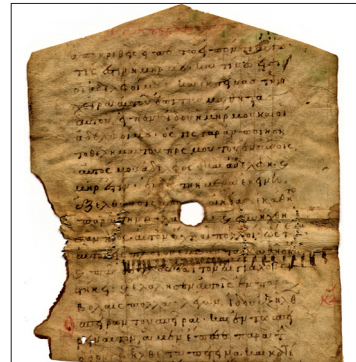


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Figure 32: Latin palimpsests are considerably rarer than Greek ones. Columbus, OH, Ohio State University Libraries, Rare Books & Manuscripts Library, Spec.Rare. MS.MR.33

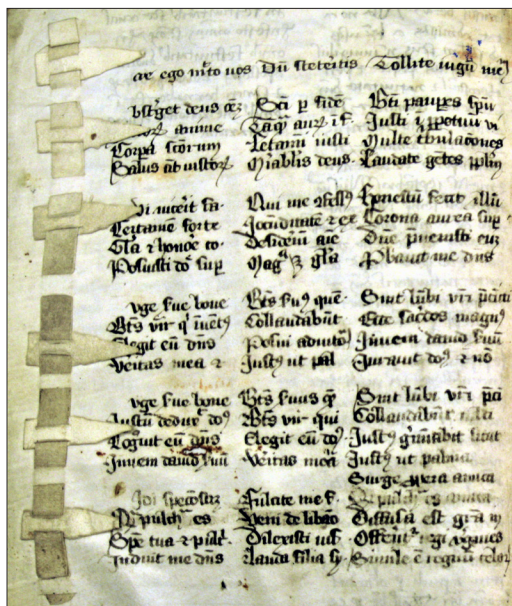


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Inscriptions

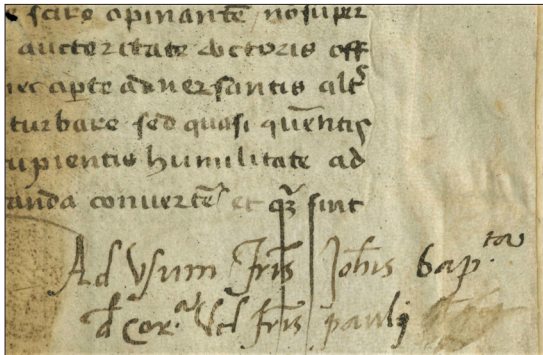
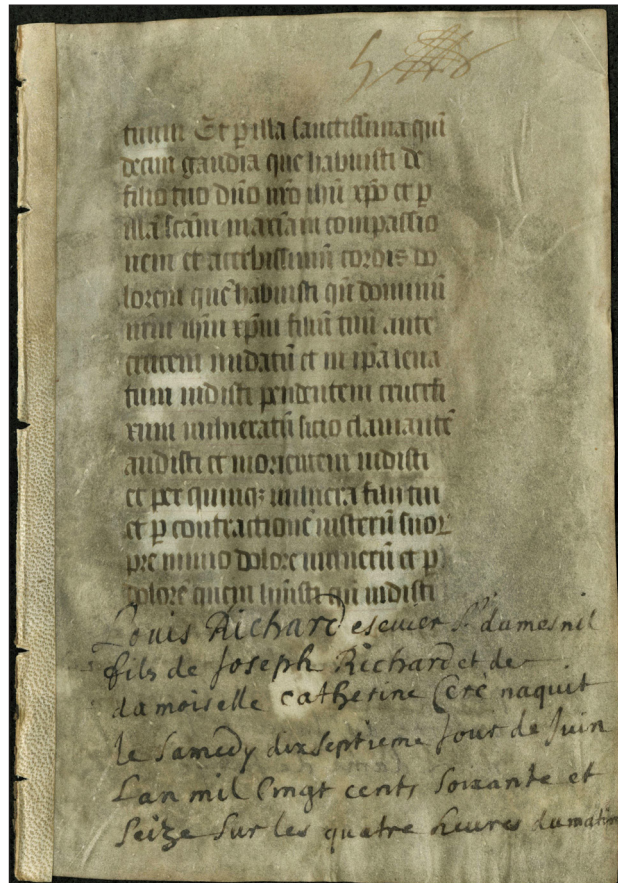


Figure 34: Brother John the Baptist or Brother Paul of Cortona were assigned to read this copy of *City of God* (pp. 125–27). UofSC Early MS 124, f. 2

Figure 35: Books of Hours with family inscriptions (called 'livres de raison') often record details of ownership. This one documents the birth of Louis Richard in 1576 (pp. 125–27). UofSC Early MS 132



Review

Kathryn M. Rudy, *Image, Knife, and Gluepot: Early Assemblage in Manuscript and Print*, Cambridge: Open Book Publishers 2019, 374 pp. ISBN 9781783745173.

Reviewed by **Hanno Wijsman**, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT - CNRS)

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This review concerns a very original book that deserves to be read by all students and scholars in the history of manuscripts and early printed books. It is not easy to pin down what kind of book it is, because it is, in fact, several kinds at the same time. I could, if I weren't afraid that some of you may stop reading this review, describe Rudy's book as a 350-page blog post. I emphasise that I mean this in a very positive way: the book is informative at several levels, it is highly readable, it is funny, and it is richly illustrated, partly with reproductions, partly with thumbnails linking through to online images. A very pleasant surprise of this book is that it has been published by OpenBook Publishers, Cambridge. Therefore it is not only purchasable in a hardcover and paperback version, it is also, from the day it was published, available as a digital file for free (pdf or xml) or for a small price (epub or mobi): <https://www.openbook-publishers.com/product/8o6>. Art historian Kathryn Rudy, whose writing style makes this multi-layered study into a genuine page turner, leads us through three interwoven storylines.

The first storyline, historically speaking, traces the coming about of a later medieval book of hours and prayers in Dutch, an object that is not simply definable as a manuscript or as a printed book. The book was made around 1500 by Beghards in Maastricht. Beghards are lay men, organized (since the twelfth century) into semi-religious communities; in the fifteenth century, they became members of the Franciscan third order. Jan van Emmerick and at

least one other Beghard scribe copied a prayerbook and probably started to paste in images only in the course of the writing process. Some of these images were drawings, but most were prints. Indeed, at the turn of the sixteenth century, prints had been available for over fifty years and had become widespread. They were used as models for drawings, but also as handy cut-and-paste-in illustrations.

This “hybrid book production” (p. 165) of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mixing manuscript and print techniques, has become a popular topic for research over the last decades, but has, particularly in the Northern-Netherlandish context, often been seen as something specific for female communities. Rudy shows that the Maastricht Beghards also produced at least two books in this way and she analyses the images that were available for such a venture at that time and place. This was not an easy analysis to carry out because of the book’s current condition. It is here that the second storyline comes into the picture

This second story is mainly a nineteenth-century one. The book of hours and prayers probably remained with the Maastricht Beghards until the French Revolution and, after the ensuing confiscations and spoils, ended up on the art market. Although it is unclear where the book was kept in the first half of the nineteenth century, the British Museum bought the book in 1861 from the Paris book dealer Edwin Tross. Rudy’s research shows that the book was at that moment already partly mutilated. It may have been a Paris book dealer who started to dismember the book by cutting out images. “When the dealers prepared manuscripts for sale, the objects often changed shape. A few items were allowed to remain intact, or relatively intact” (p. 137).

Indeed, by 1861 a series of (printed) images had already been removed, being soaked off rather than cut out. At the British Museum, this process was completed in the typical nineteenth-century spirit of categorising art-forms: a manuscript would go to the manuscript department, but prints were supposed to be kept in the print department. “This is also the story of a curator who, in 1861, cut the prints out of the manuscript in order to mount them, according to their style or ‘school’, thereby giving them a completely different function” (p. 11).

Rudy reconstructs not one, but two (partially) cut-up Beghard books. The fact that one of these (the one the lion's share of Rudy's study is dedicated to) had an original foliation of 541 Roman numerals, as well as a nineteenth-century foliation of 487 Arabic numbers, significantly helped the reconstruction process. Still, according to Rudy, from the original book, 146 folios have disappeared whereas 63 (blank) folios have been added. The rump manuscript is now in the British Library in two parts, 54 leaves (or fragments of leaves) are now in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, whereas no less than 83 leaves and 41 prints are still missing, in spite of Rudy's investigations in Paris and elsewhere.

These details are summarized in the appendix, a 14-column, 645-line Excel sheet, which is available on the publisher's website (on the page where the book is also downloadable). Though one may justly say that an Excel sheet is handy for any use any reader would like to make of it, this online appendix looks more like a work-in-progress and could have received a bit more polishing.

The bulk of the main prayer book is now MS Add. 24332 in the British Library. In spite of all the removed leaves, it is still bound between the two original wooden boards covered with blind-tooled leather from around 1500, though the spine has been re-done ("a detail that later proved important", p. 18). As Rudy discovered and explains, a smaller part only came to the manuscript department in 1926 and became MS Add. 41338.

In Chapter Three, the analysis of a second prayerbook, also from the Maastricht Beghards and quite similar in its afterlife and now also in the British Library (MS Add. 31002), allows Rudy to broaden from the single case to more general and comparative observations. In the fourth and last chapter, some more comparisons are made.

Throughout the book a third story line regularly surfaces, concerning the research the author has undertaken in order to write this book. As she sets out "I have written this book in the first person because it is about my process of research as much as it is about the content of what I learned" (p. 7). This autobiographical strand is a very original aspect of the book. Rudy describes in a very direct way the often winding and steep paths she has taken in order to carry out the research for the book. These accounts are lively, funny, almost

always very interesting to read and at many instances frankly rather baffling.

Rudy explains her approach: “When art historians write up their research, they usually just report on the solutions and conclusions, without revealing how they arrived there. They skip some steps, in which they look bumblingly stupid, and move directly to the climax. I’d wager that moments of epiphany occur only in the movies: the lightbulb goes on in the fantasy versions of our research, but rarely in reality. This set of discoveries I have been chronicling happened slowly: wrong ideas were eroded when they rubbed up against many small grains of evidence, until their shape changed into more correct notions. Events unfolded slowly. During the time it took me to finish the research for this book, I completed three others. In the down times, sometimes I connected pieces of information that led towards reconstruction. Sometimes I simply forgot things. And I had to stare at the evidence several times before accepting it, or even realising that it was evidence. Perhaps you, my reader, would have seen Christ with the orb pop out from the matte, spotted the difference straight away and known the solution. But I did not” (p. 256).

Part of this report is about the research itself in its scholarly sense: “Rather than write a catalogue of manuscripts and the prints they formerly harboured, I have written a narrative about the process of discovering fragments and reuniting them with their former substrates” (p. 6). Methodological questions, the checking of hypotheses, and the like are thus explicitly discussed, which is a great feature of the book. Part of it discusses the more down-to-earth practical circumstances: “This strongly motivated me to redouble my efforts to escape to sunlit urban culture, and in the autumn of 2011, I applied for a fellowship from the Neil Ker fund — for the study of medieval manuscripts — administered by the British Academy, to go to Paris to look for the prints. The BA awarded me the fellowship but gave me only a third of the money I had requested. This put me in a bind: accepting the grant meant that I still had to go to Paris and do the work I had laid out, but do it on a third of the budget I had estimated, and make up the rest myself. I had already spent tens of thousands of dollars/euros/pounds on this project. I realised that a project such as this can only be completed by people with

private funding. For their art history projects, the other 99% have to confine themselves to theoretical arguments about objects that have already been published or do web-based studies of digitised objects. To do original research on previously unknown manuscripts that are spread around Europe is a pricey sport" (p. 140).

The spirited, sometimes blunt and very funny account is a very honest one. If at first it may seem that the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris is just described as a terrible place where administrators do everything to prevent researchers to be able to do their research ("I braced myself for the traumatic experience of applying for a BnF reader's card", p. 141), a few lines later a curator is introduced who "aided my research tremendously and made it much more efficient than it otherwise would have been" (p. 141).

It is Rudy's honesty that makes this book such a great read for students, revealing how trial-and-error is normal in scholarly research: "That is typical of my experience with primary evidence. I need to study it, reflect on it, and return to it months or years later before I can grasp its working even partially. Funding councils never understand this: it takes multiple trips to Paris, London, Maastricht, and elsewhere to work out such relationships" (pp. 205-206). These valuable lessons not only apply on the carrying out of research. They also make us return to the objects we study: "Institutional limitations are methodological ones, for me as much as for the nineteenth-century curator" (p. 8).

Inevitably, in a book that does so much at the same time, the various things it does cannot always be done as thoroughly as when the author would have concentrated on it. At some instances, Rudy's study has a tendency to become a bit too much of a narrative and less of a scholarly study. Though this in itself does not bother me, a certain tendency to a scarcity of references and footnotes should be noted. As with every study, this one too stands in a context of much other work that could sometimes have been used and mentioned more thoroughly. Rudy gives due references in the bibliography and in the footnotes, particularly in the introduction, but some more discussion, for example, of the religious communities in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Low Countries or of comparable cases of hybrid books could have been better integrated.

This is a highly recommendable book, as a scholarly study in book history focusing on the transitional period from manuscript to print, but also as an excellent and entertaining account of how art historical research can and should be carried out in the early twenty-first century and what difficulties one encounters on the way. The three story lines – respectively situated at the turn of the sixteenth, in the nineteenth and in the twenty-first centuries – have been neatly interwoven on the author's loom, not in the last place by the her personal style: "Just as a wall with a small amount of graffiti attracts more graffiti, a manuscript with one thing pasted to it often attracts many more things, and a book with items cut out of it also attracts further mutilations" (p. 132).

As to fragmentology, this book brings together many strands, but leaves many more strands open, or rather, offers them to the readers. Rudy gives us clues, a lot to think about, many methodological reflexions, but also a lot of work to do. The appendix available on the publisher's website shows numerous blank spaces: many of the missing images may still be lingering in libraries, archives or private collections. Rudy's last chapter shows that many more mutilated hybrid books wait for investigations into their reconstruction. So now that *Image, Knife, and Gluepot* is there as your guide, reader, what are you waiting for?

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