

Fragmentology

A Journal for the Study of Medieval Manuscript Fragments

Fragmentology is an international, peer-reviewed Open Access journal, dedicated to publishing scholarly articles and reviews concerning medieval manuscript fragments. *Fragmentology* welcomes submissions, both articles and research notes, on any aspect pertaining to Latin and Greek manuscript fragments in the Middle Ages.

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Editorial



Editing *Fragmentology* has become a holiday tradition, and this volume reflects the richness and diversity of the various collaborations the *Fragmentarium* project has fostered over the years. Two of the publications, those by Fanni Hende and Paulina Pludra-Žuk, come from *Fragmentarium* Fellowship research; a third, by Estel van den Berg, stems from a traineeship involving publishing material on *Fragmentarium*. The other pieces come from prominent fragmentologists whose connection to the project ranges from close collaboration to professional familiarity.

The theme of reconstruction weaves through each contribution. Jean-Philippe Échard and Laura Albiero take us inside three Stradivari and rebuild a prayer book, and in the process remake the instruments themselves. Dirk Schoenaers, Laurent Breeus-Loos, Farley Katz, and Remco Sleiderink use a partial column of text to rebuild how Middle Dutch Chivalric Romance texts were themselves assembled from their components. Paulina Pludra-Žuk uses the example of Elbląg, to show the potential of the study of fragments bound in, brought from, and imported to Teutonic Prussia; in a region with such a chaotic history, we can use fragments to rebuild libraries long sacked and burned. Hungary likewise has few surviving manuscript codices, and Fanni Hende studies a selection of leaves detached from incunabula to construct an impression of the international book market, especially in Germany, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Scott Gwara and Timothy Bolton uncover the origins of an Otto Ege manuscript, one of the celebrities of the Fragment world; David Gura reveals the Roman provenance of another. Estel van den Berg rebuilds incunabula from pieces, painting the movement of persons and books, and the recycling of vellum prints, during the Reformation. Book reviews address recent publications in art history and musicology. In all, this issue provides a glimpse of a thriving field, with the *Fragmentarium* project at the heart of it.

A note should be made about the means of production of this volume. On November 30, 2021, in my last exchange with the other founding editor, Christoph Flüeler, he expressed his desire that this volume be published by the end of the year. We have succeeded in doing so, thanks in large part to the flexibility of the authors and

referees in performing their work within short delays. Special thanks is also due to Veronika Drescher, who, in addition to performing her duties as Book Review Editor, has also proofread the volume, diligently volunteering her time, even after receiving the news that she would not be employed next year to work on the project.

I have not been party to recent discussions on the project's future, but I can help reconstruct its past. The Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) has been the primary supporter of *Fragmentarium*, and in no small part on its reputation and that of the project host, the University of Fribourg, the project has flourished to gain the trust and support of institutions, projects, and researchers around the world. Hundreds of individuals have contributed to the *Fragmentarium* database, and much of their work has gone uncredited. To-date, the project has had over fifty collaborations around the world, many of which are still active. These scholars, librarians, archivists, collectors, students, and supporters gave the project their confidence and hard work, and, thanks largely to them, the database has become a resource that doctoral students, advanced researchers, projects, and institutions have come to rely upon. The Zeno-Karl-Schindler Foundation and the Stavros Niarchos Foundation both supported excellent researchers outside of Switzerland, and decisively, not only for the project's success, but in the careers of the early-career scholars they have supported.

SNSF research projects enable permanent employees to realize their goals with collaborators on limited-time contracts. On *Fragmentarium* worked numerous people, organizing the preliminary meetings, performing contract work, serving in unpaid internships, and as limited-time employees, including: Laura Albiero, Guillaume Bankowski, Marina Bernasconi Reusser, Sandra Buchs, Pierre Chamberbert-Protat, Joon Ki Choi, Veronika Drescher, Ramona Fritschi, Tomas Germann, Stefanie Herrmann, Douglas Kim, Roger Klein, Maina Loat, Sandy Maillard, Nicolas Mermoud, Sylviane Messerli, Roberta Napolitano, Roberta Padlina, Natalie Ravaz, Brigitte Roux, Christa Schaffert, Rafael Schwemmer, Selda Urech, Johanna Vogelsanger, Martin Wünsche, Yoshe, and others. They built *Fragmentarium*.

The mantra of the precariat is that you are only as good as your last project. It was the best project.

William Duba

Editor of Fragmentology 4 (2021)

Copenhagen, Christmas Day, 2021.

Identifying Medieval Fragments in Three Musical Instruments Made by Antonio Stradivari

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Abstract: This article identifies ten fragments, used as reinforcements in the sounding boxes of three instruments made by Antonio Stradivari (Cremona, ca. 1648–1737), which are now kept in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (the ‘Cipriani Potter’ violin, 1683, and the ‘Hill’ guitar, 1688) and the musée de la Musique in Paris (the ‘Vuillaume’ guitar). The fragments appear to come from a single book of hours, made in Italy no later than the mid-fifteenth century. This identification allows the documentation of the use of parchment fragments in the making process of Stradivari. The authors discuss what the common origin of parchment fragments found in three distinct instruments implies for the authenticity and relative dating of their making. Finally, this study sheds light on the potential of documenting reused parchment fragments, which are widely present in many string musical instruments produced in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

Keywords: musical instruments, organology, parchment, fragment, book of hours

While the reuse of parchment as binding materials is well-known by book historians, book conservators, and fragmentologists, it was not a topic of research for many organologists or conservators of musical instruments.¹ Manuscript fragments found in historical

* Jean-Philippe Échard warmly thanks Colin Harrison, curator, and the staff of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford for the excellent conditions provided to access the two musical instruments in the collection, as well as Justine Provino, Nicole

musical instruments are rarely studied and documented for their codicological aspects or textual content.² It is well known, however, that strips of parchment or paper were used to keep in position the adjacent thin curved ribs of the egg-shaped sounding boxes of lutes, or in citterns, viols, and ‘baroque’ guitars when the backs and ribs of these instruments are made of several adjacent thin boards.³ When parchment and paper strips are encountered in instruments of the violin family, they generally correspond to later repairs or restorations.

This article reports on parchment fragments found in the interiors of three musical instruments and documented systematically with a dedicated endo-photographic system assembled for this campaign. Indeed, the fragments discussed in this article all remain in situ, glued onto wooden surfaces, in the interior of the sounding boxes. The photographic system was designed so that it can enter inside the sounding boxes, and be able to access and photograph most if not all of the fragments. A rigid endoscope (TS o6o VAR 5o o45 QR, Foretec) was used, mounted to a SLR camera (Nikon

Gilroy, Andrew Honey, Philippe Bruguère, Sebastian Kirsch, John Milnes, Oulfa Belhadj, and Marie Radepont for the fruitful discussions in the course of this research. This work benefited from the support of Constant Vétillart for the acquisition of endoscopic photographs of the ‘Vuillaume’ guitar, Alexandre Gillon for their processing, and of Oulfa Belhadj and Marie Radepont for the XRF acquisitions.

- 1 Organology is the discipline studying the history of musical instruments, of their making techniques and of their makers.
- 2 Among the rare examples of studies are the identification of Hebrew fragments in a bass viol and two virginals, reported in D. Melini, and R. Tonnarelli Corsi, “Frammenti Ebraici E Strumenti Musicali: Un’insolita Relazione”, *Materia giudaica: rivista dell’associazione italiana per lo studio del giudaismo* 22(2017), 249–257, and the identification of ca. 1240–1280 script on parchment fragments in a sixteenth-century vihuela da mano, by D. Escudier (IRHT) in 1999, mentioned in S. Vaiedelich, “Vers une organologie scientifique et prospective: l’exemple des deux vihuelas parisiennes”, in *Aux Origines De La Guitare: La Vihuela De Mano*, ed. J. Dugot, Paris 2004, 74–82.
- 3 Reused parchment strips bearing traces of medieval writing and used in the making of the instruments are documented in several instances in the collection of the musée de la Musique in Paris, such as the cittern by Girolamo Virchi, Brescia, sixteenth century, E.1271 or the lute by Laux Maler, Bologna, before 1552, E.2005.3.1.

D600 equipped with a Micro-Nikkor objective). Its diameter (6 mm) allowed its insertion through the slightly conical openings located on the ribs of all three instruments, on the side opposite to the neck. Its length, (450 mm), the variable optical axis of its viewing system (45° – 115° to the endoscope's main axis) as well as the integrated fibre-optic lighting and focusing systems were features well-adapted to the specific constraints. Given the limited dimensions of the sounding boxes, the 50° field-of-view of the optical system was too narrow to frame a whole fragment in one shot: a series of images was made from various angles in order to record all accessible information from each fragment. Despite its intrinsic geometrical and optical limitations, the endo-photographic system overcame part of the challenges linked to the documentation of such fragments.⁴

The identification of this limited set of ten fragments leads to the conclusion that they all originate from a single dismembered book of hours. This result has implications on the attribution and relative dating of the three instruments studied, the practice of using parchment fragments in Stradivari's workshop; and the possible provenance of such material used in a Cremonese workshop in the end of the seventeenth century.

A Bifolium for a Violin

In a chapter dedicated to the violin, known as the 'Cipriani Potter' (Antonio Stradivari, Cremona, 1683, Ashmolean Museum, WA1946.272), Carlo Chiesa and John Dilworth report that: "The most striking aspect of the interior is the parchment backing for the ribs, which appears to be cut from the pages of a book, with a very beautiful printed (or possibly handwritten) Latin text, with capitals illuminated in vivid red and blue."⁵ Given the positions,

4 In particular, the images obtained had stronger geometrical distortions (fish-eye effect) than those obtained with more conventional cameras or digitization systems.

5 J. Dilworth and C. Chiesa, "Violin, the 'Cipriani Potter'", in *Musical Instruments in the Ashmolean Museum – The Complete Collection*, ed. J. Milnes, Oxford 2011, 146–153. The 'ribs' of a violin are the thin bent wooden boards, which are the sides of the sounding box, placed between and glued perpendicular to the front board (or: soundboard) and the back.

shapes and very small dimensions of the openings allowing for a direct visual observation of the inside of a violin, this observation is quite remarkable, despite the scarce details it contains.

The sounding box of a violin — new or at least in good condition — usually does not require such internal reinforcements: The wooden structure, and in particular the wooden corner blocks and linings are indeed sufficient in most cases to strengthen the ribs together with the soundboard and the back of the resonant body. The outstanding decoration technique of the ribs on this very violin — a technique described as a ‘bravura piece’ — is certainly the reason for the use of reinforcements from the inside: for this instrument indeed, Antonio Stradivari carved the wood of the ribs following a floral design and inlaid with black mastic the maple boards, which are barely more than 1 mm thick [Figure 1]. The carving of channels locally reduced the thickness of the ribs and lowered their contribution to the mechanical equilibrium of the violin structure. The gluing of parchment strips on the inner side of the ribs has certainly helped this instrument to survive to the present.

Eight fragments (here named *vln_1* to *vln_8*) are observed in the ‘Cipriani Potter’ violin [Figure 2]. They share many similar features. These fragments are all made of parchment, and are approximately rectangular, of the same height, estimated at 13 mm.⁶ For those on which writing is visible (*vln_1-2*, *vln_5-7*), the leaf was cut parallel to the writing lines. The shape of the letters and the distance between writing lines (approximately 4.4 mm) seem very consistent throughout the whole set of the written fragments. The script is a Southern *Textualis*, characterized by the roundness of the bows, especially in the *b*, *d*, *o*, *p*, and *q*. The contrast between bold and thin strokes is extremely emphasized, and ascenders and descenders are very short. The Italian origin of this script is recognizable in the high level of formalization and in the shape of some letters: *a* with a triangular lobe and an upper lobe closed by a hairline; uncial *d*

6 The ribs height corresponds to the distance between the inner surfaces of the soundboard and the back plate, at the ribs. In this violin, it measures between 29.5 mm, at the neck, and 30.7 mm, at the end-button. See *Musical Instruments in the Ashmolean Museum*, 214. An average value of 30 mm was used to interpolate the height of the fragments from the endoscopic photographs.



Figure 1: Detail view of the upper rib on the bass side of the 'Cipriani Potter' violin. © John Milnes / Ashmolean Museum.

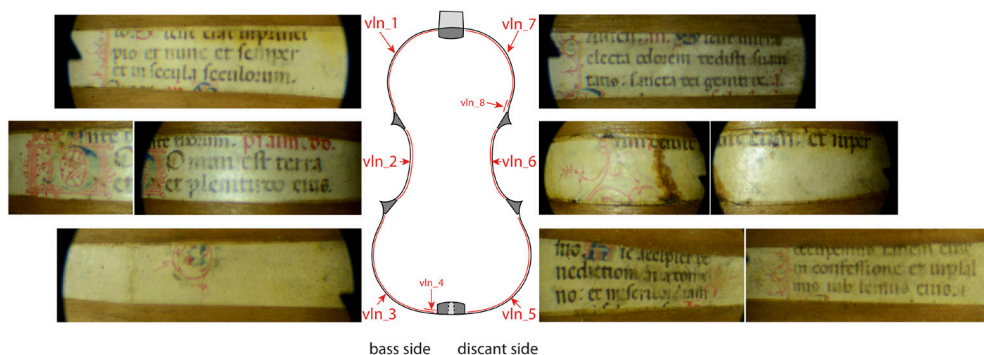


Figure 2: Position of the parchment fragments inside the 'Cipriani Potter' violin, and endoscopic photographs of the written or decorated areas.

with the short and almost horizontal shaft; *g* with a round lower lobe that gives the letter the form of a figure 8. The writing is in dark ink mainly, with minor initials — painted in blue or red, and pen-flourished in the other colour — for the first letters of the psalms. The same colours and pen-flourishing decoration are used for the major decorated two-line-high initial visible on fragment

vln_2, extending as a linear and arabesque embellishments on the whole left border of the corresponding text block. The end of a similar decoration is visible on fragment *vln_3*, otherwise unwritten. Sewing holes are visible for most fragments (one or two per fragment). These observations suggest that these fragments, found in the same musical instrument, may come from the same manuscript.

Indeed, closer comparison of truncated writing lines at the top or the bottom limits of some fragments indicates that fragments 1, 7 and 2 were contiguous, in that order.

The three exhibit pen-flourished decoration in the left margin. Farther on the left, sewing holes are noticeable. This indicates their text was on the recto side of the folio. The text itself is transcribed as:

<i>vln_1.1</i>	[Gloria... sanc]to. Sicut erat in princi-
<i>vln_1.2</i>	pio et nunc et semper
<i>vln_1.3</i>	et in secula seculorum.
<i>vln_1.4/vln_7.1</i>	Amen. <i>an(tiphona)</i> . Sicut mirra
<i>vln_7.2</i>	electa odorem dedisti suavi-
<i>vln_7.3</i>	tatis : sancta dei genitrix. ⁷ <i>a(ntiphona)</i> .
<i>vln_7.4/vln_2.1</i>	Ante thorum. ⁸ <i>psalm(us)</i> . <i>d(avi)d</i> .
<i>vln_2.2</i>	Domini est terra
<i>vln_2.3</i>	et plenitudo eius. ⁹

This reconstituted text corresponds to an excerpt from the liturgical doxology *Gloria Patri*, followed by the antiphon for the Virgin Mary, taken from Psalm 18(19), and then by the first verse of Psalm 23(24), marked as *Psalm of David*.

The single writing visible on top of fragment *vln_6*,

<i>vln_6.1</i>	[fun]davit e[um] : et super ¹⁰
----------------	---

is a part of next verse of the same psalm. Since this fragment also has sewing holes and pen-flourished decoration on its left side, and given the large bottom margin, we hypothesize that this fragment was initially located on the same folio as the previous fragments,

7 R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, I–VI, Rome, 1963–1979 (=CAO), no. 4942.

8 CAO 1438.

9 Ps. 23.

10 Ps. 23:2.

showing the last line of its text-block. From the amount of lacking text between the fragments, we estimate that three lines of texts are actually missing.

Fragment *vln_5*, glued on the discant lower rib, is significantly longer than the previously described fragments. It shows two distinct groups of writing lines. Two sewing holes, as well as traces of a vertical folding line, are visible in the unwritten area between these two groups. This indicates the two groups correspond to conjugate leaves of the same bifolium, once part of a codex. Local damage to the group on the left prevents a full direct transcription. Nevertheless, its central two lines read “nediction[e]m a do[mi-] / no : et m[i]sericordiam”. This is an excerpt from the fifth verse of Psalm 23(24). The other two, lacunar lines correspond well to the text surrounding this excerpt in the Psalm. Indeed, the last word of verse 4 is “suo”, and the full fifth verse is “*Hic accipiet benedictionem a Domino et misericordiam a Deo salvatore suo*”

<i>vln_5L.1</i>	suo. Hic accipiet be-
<i>vln_5L.2</i>	nediction[e]m a do[mi-]
<i>vln_5L.3</i>	no : et m[i]sericordiam
<i>vln_5L.4</i>	[a deo] s[a]l[vatore] s[uo.] H[ec]

Given its position in the fragment, this text would have been located on the verso side of a folio in a codex. This verso side exhibits an excerpt of the Psalm of David (end of v. 4, v. 5) that appears later in the text of the same Psalm found on a recto side on *vln_2* and *vln_6* (v. 1, excerpt of v. 2). A reasonable hypothesis is that these were originally the recto and verso of the same folio, which is supported by the number of missing lines (9) between the last line of the recto and the first readable line of the verso.

The last writing group, on the right of the fragment *vln_5*,

<i>vln_5R.1</i>	occupemus faciem eius
<i>vln_5R.2</i>	in confessione et in psal-
<i>vln_5R.3</i>	mis iub[i]lemus eius.

corresponds to the second verse of Psalm 94 of the Latin Psalter, the so-called invitational psalm.

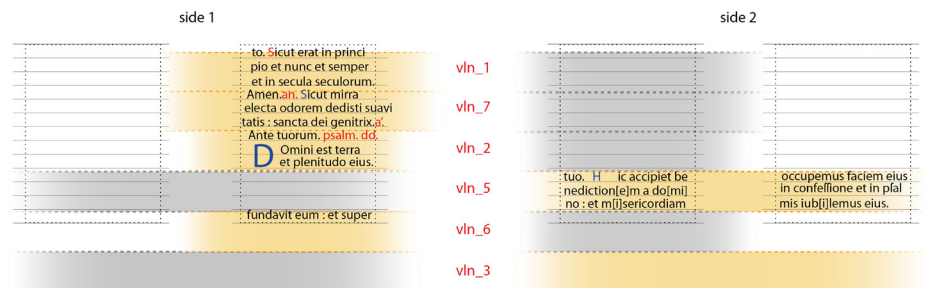


Figure 3: Reconstruction of the bifolium from which Stradivari cut out fragments for the ‘Cipriani Potter’ violin. In grey, fragment sides glued onto the wood.

Organization of the Fragments in the Bifolium

Fragments *vln_1–2* and *vln_5–7* are certainly all cut out from a single bifolium. In particular, fragments *vln_1*, *vln_7* and *vln_2* are contiguous fragments since the visible sides can be assembled/matching in this order. The texts visible from the inside of the violin on fragments 1, 7, 2 and 6 are all written on the same side of the parchment. The sewing holes visible on the left of the text blocks, indicating that this side corresponds to the recto of the folio. From the verso of this folio, only the left block of *vln_5* is visible from the inside of the violin. These fragments thus show that this folio had 13-line text block no less than 58 mm high.

The text block on the right side of *vln_5*, an excerpt of the second verse of Psalm 94, is located on the recto side of the conjugate folio. A red linear and arabesque embellishment decorates the left border of the text. This would suggest that a major initial, very probably the first letter for Psalm 94, is present above in the previous lines of the text block — similarly to the instance for the beginning of Psalm 23 (*vln_2*, f. Ar).

A red and blue decorative element is visible on *vln_3*, close to the central fold. Since the exposed side of the fragment is otherwise blank, another very similar red and blue decorative element can be faintly observed on the hidden side of the conjugate folio, close to the central fold. Given their locations on the fragment, these two ornaments could hypothetically correspond to the *top* end of

embellishments, which would decorate the *right* borders of text blocks. But, assuming that this fragment originates from the same leaf as the other ones in the violin, and given that embellishments are present on the *left* borders of their texts, the most plausible conjecture is that fragment *vln_3* was located towards the *bottom* of the leaf, below fragment *vln_6* [Figure 3].

With the six main fragments glued inside the ‘Cipriani Potter’ violin now spatially organized in a single original bifolium [Figure 3], it is possible to make additional conclusions from the texts themselves.

The texts of the bifolium are those of the Office of the Virgin Mary, and since Psalm 94 is placed at the beginning of the matins, this leaf should be placed before the other one, which contains the antiphons and psalms of the first nocturne. The Office follows the use of Rome, which has for the first nocturne¹¹:

Ant. *Benedicta tu*; ps. *Domine dominus noster* (Ps. 8)

Ant. *Sicut mirra*; ps. *Caeli enarrant* (Ps. 18)

Ant. *Ante thorum*; ps. *Domini est terra* (Ps. 23)

The amount of text that is lacking between the invitatory psalm and the doxology of what we assume to be Psalm 18 allows us to state that about eight pages (that is four leaves or two bifolia) are missing between these two leaves. This bifolium could then have been the third from the center of a quire.

Two Guitars, and Two More Fragments

Two parchment fragments were also identified in two guitars made by Antonio Stradivari, using the endoscopic system described above. The guitar known as the ‘Hill’ (after the name of its previous owners) is dated 1688. It is in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (WA1939.32). The guitar known as the ‘Vuillaume’ (after the name of its previous owner) is undated. It is in the collection of the musée de la Musique in Paris (inv. E.904).

11 See Victor Leroquais’ discussion of the use of Rome in his notes on the Office of the Virgin, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 3162, f. 16r–v.

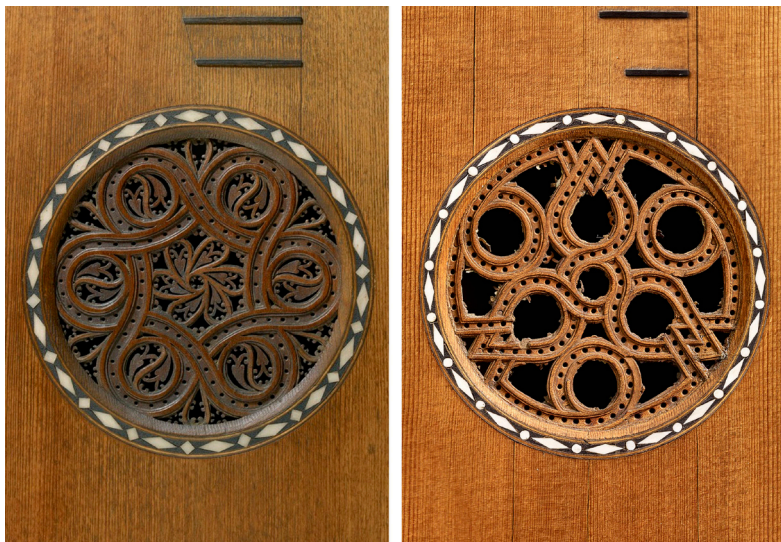


Figure 4: *Roses of the ‘Hill’ (left) and ‘Vuillaume’ (right) guitars. One manuscript parchment leaf is glued underneath each of these roses. Soundhole diameters: 82 ad 88 mm respectively.*

The soundholes of these two guitars are circular openings that are cut out in the spruce soundboards. Openwork roses, made of three layers of wood, each about 0.5 mm thick, cut out in geometrical patterns in order to give visual impression of depth when seen from the outside, are glued on the inside of the soundboards, partially sealing the soundholes [Figure 4]. Our examination revealed that a parchment fragment was glued underneath the lowest thin layer of wood of each of the sculpted roses.¹² The parchment leaves were certainly used as the reinforcing substrate for the three superimposed layers of wood when assembling and making the roses.

The ‘Hill’ fragment

The ‘Hill’ rose is in very good condition, and the holes in the parchment are limited to the delicate openings that were cut out to

¹² Prior to 1999, the conservation staff had already performed endoscopic examination of the ‘Vuillaume’ guitar, since corresponding photographs are kept in the file for this instrument. These photographs only showed, however, manuscript paper fragments glued on the ribs. No corresponding examination report was found. J.-P. Échard, *Stradivarius et la lutherie de Crémone*, Paris (in press).

Figure 5: Assemblage of multiple endoscopic photographs of the fragment inside the ‘Hill’ guitar. Not all distortions could be corrected, and the reconstruction is not geometrically accurate.



create the rose design.¹³ The shape of the parchment leaf, located on the inside of rose of the ‘Hill’ guitar, can be described as an octagon approximately 90.5 mm high and 82 mm long [Figure 5].

Thirteen lines of writing are visible. The white areas surrounding the written area suggest that the whole text block is present. The lines are perpendicular to the guitar’s main axis, the top of the text opposite to the soundboard side. The script is again a Southern *Textualis* of Italian origin, as can be seen from the rounded shape of the letters: in particular, we notice the typical 3-shaped final *m* (line 9) and the Southern Tironian note for *et*. The shape of the *a*, *d* and *g* suggests that the Hill fragment was written by the very same hand as the Cipriani Potter fragments.

It is possible to transcribe almost fully the text, which consists of Psalm 39(40), v. 14–17:

- | | |
|--------|--------------------------|
| Hill.1 | me domine ad adiuvan- |
| Hill.2 | dum me respice. Con- |
| Hill.3 | fundantur et revereantur |

13 No previous endoscopic examination of this guitar has been reported. G. Gregori, *Antonio Stradivari, Le chitarre – The guitars*, Cremona 2019; S. Barber, S. Harris, and L. Sayce, “Ash.49 Guitar”, *Musical Instruments in the Ashmolean Museum*, 298–307.

Hill.4	simul qui querunt [animam]
Hill.5	m[ea]m et auferant eam.
Hill.6	Conuertantur retrorsum
Hill.7	et revereantur qui vo-
Hill.8	lunt michi ma[la.] Ferant
Hill.9	confestim confusionem
Hill.10	suam, qui dicunt michi e-
Hill.11	uge e[u]ge. Exult[e]nt et
Hill.12	letentur super te omnes
Hill.13	querentes te. Et dicant

Psalm 39 is the first psalm of the third nocturne of the Office of the Dead, which is usually part of a book of hours. The four initials are alternatively painted in red and blue. Additionally, one observes a line running parallel to the vertical left border of the text block, at a distance of approximately 10.1 mm. Red curved lines of a pen-flourished decoration are in the bottom left corner, farther to the left of this line, which could correspond to the central fold of a bifolium (the main visible text would then correspond to the recto of a page), or to the border of visible part of the main fragment (the decorated part on the left would then be another smaller fragment used as a patch).

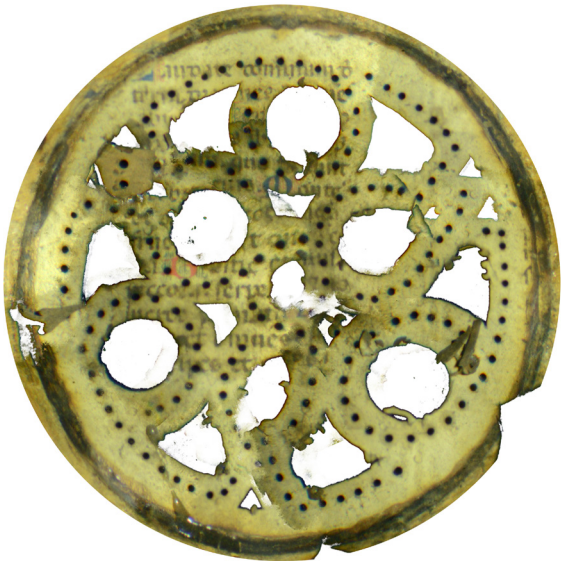
The ‘Vuillaume’ fragment

The current condition of the ‘Vuillaume’ rose is far from that of the ‘Hill’ rose. In particular, the delicate openings cut out in the thinnest part of the three-layered wood structure have been brutally destroyed in the past, leading to larger openings, and consequently, more important lacunas in the parchment and in the text it is bearing [Figure 6]. These larger openings are probably responsible for more dust entering the sound box, leading to a darkening of the parchment surface, reducing the readability of the remaining writings. Also, a triangular-shaped part was inserted during repair work.

The shape of this fragment, located on the inside of rose of the ‘Vuillaume’ guitar, can be described as a disc approximately 96 mm in diameter.¹⁴ Thirteen lines of writing are visible. The size of the

¹⁴ The two guitars have similar circular soundholes in their soundboard (diameters of 82 and 88 mm for the ‘Hill’ and the ‘Vuillaume’ respectively), to which are glued from the inside their carved rose.

Figure 6: Assemblage of multiple endoscopic photographs of the fragment inside the ‘Vuillaume’ guitar. Not all distortions could be corrected, and the reconstruction is not geometrically accurate.



unwritten borders surrounding the written area suggests that the whole text block is present, except for the upper part of the first initial, in the upper left corner. The orientation of the text forms a ca. 63° angle to the guitar’s main axis. Despite the difficulty in reading the text, the script is undoubtedly an Italian *Textualis* that shows the very same features as the Hill and Cipriani Potter fragments.

It is possible to transcribe partially the text, which can be identified as Psalm 148, v. 7–11:

	<i>Transcribed text</i>	<i>Psalm 148:7–11</i>
Vuillaume.1	Laudate Dominum de	Laudate Dominum de
Vuillaume.2	terra dr[...]nes [.....]es	terra dracones et omnes
Vuillaume.3	aby[....] I[.]n[....]o	abyssi. Ignis grando
Vuillaume.4	[...]s sp[...] pro	nix glacies spiritus pro-
Vuillaume.5	[...]rum que [...]unt	cellarum quae faciunt
Vuillaume.6	[...]b[...] eius Montes	verbum eius. Montes
Vuillaume.7	et o[...] co[.]le[...] na	et omnes colles ligna
Vuillaume.8	fruc[....]t omnes c[.]	fructifera et omnes ce-
Vuillaume.9	[...]i B[.]stie e[.] n[.]fa	dri. Bestiae et universa
Vuillaume.10	peccora. [...] serpe[...] et vo	pecora serpentes et vo-
Vuillaume.11	lucres p[...n[...?] Re[...]es	lucres pinnatae. Reges
Vuillaume.12	[...] et [.]mnes [..]pu[...]	terrae et omnes populi
Vuillaume.13	[...]ipes et [...]es iu	principes et omnes iu-

Interestingly, three black traces on the right border of the fragment may correspond to letters at the beginning of other lines of script. This would indicate that the fragment was part of a bifolium in a codex, and that the main visible text corresponds to the verso of a page.

It was possible to use X-ray based imaging techniques on the ‘Vuillaume’ guitar in order to gather additional information about this fragment. Indeed, with X-ray radiography, the denser materials used for red and blue paints/inks (probably the mercury-containing vermilion pigment and copper-containing azurite, respectively) provide a good contrast, since they absorb X-rays significantly more than the other materials that are present. This quite conventional examination technique revealed more pen-flourished initials than the ones that were observed using endoscopy, indicating that the other side (the recto) of the leaf also had writing [Figure 7]. It was possible to access, in part, the otherwise unreadable writings inscribed on the other side of the fragment — that is, on the side glued to the wood of the rose.

X-ray fluorescence imaging is another X-ray based technique, allowing for the spectral and spatial detection of specific chemical elements. It is widely used in the field of heritage sciences to identify various materials including pigments, as well as metal-containing inks.¹⁵ The area of the text block was scanned using this technique. It not only revealed the presence of pen-flourished initials on the glued side, but also allowed a determination of the composition, and thus the colour of these initials. Indeed, the detection of mercury corresponds to the red pigment vermilion, whereas the detection of copper points to an azurite-containing ink/paint [Figure 8].¹⁶

15 See for instance the analysis of ink inscriptions on tools from the Stradivari workshop: M. Malagodi, G.V. Fichera, and M. Licchelli, “A Study of the Inks” in *Antonio Stradivari. Disegni, Modelli, Forme. Catalogo Dei Reperti Delle Collezioni Civiche Liutarie Del Comune Di Cremona*, ed. F. Cacciatori, Cremona 2016, 85–100; H. de la Codre, M. Radepon, J.-P. Échard, O. Belhadj, S. Vaiedelich, and V. Rouchon, “The Use of XRF Imaging for the Chemical Discrimination of Iron-Gall Ink Inscriptions: A Case Study in Stradivari’s Workshop”, *X-Ray Spectrometry* 50 (2020), 1–9.

16 Other elements were detected during this experiment. In particular, iron, copper and zinc located on the writing lines give insights on the composition

Figure 7: X-ray radiography of the rose area of the 'Vuillaume' guitar.

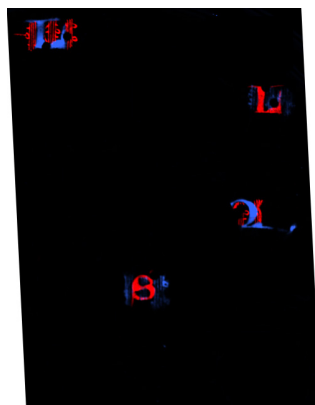
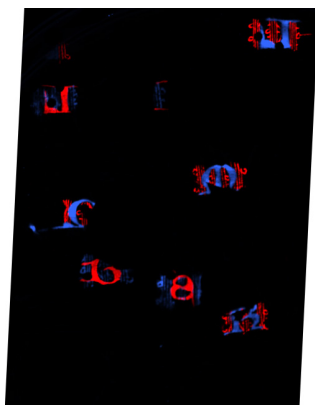
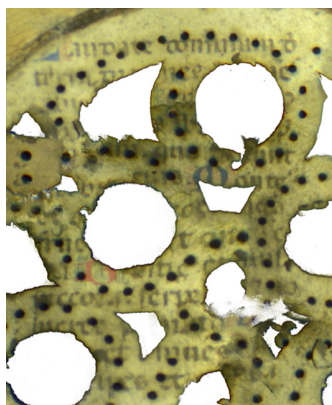
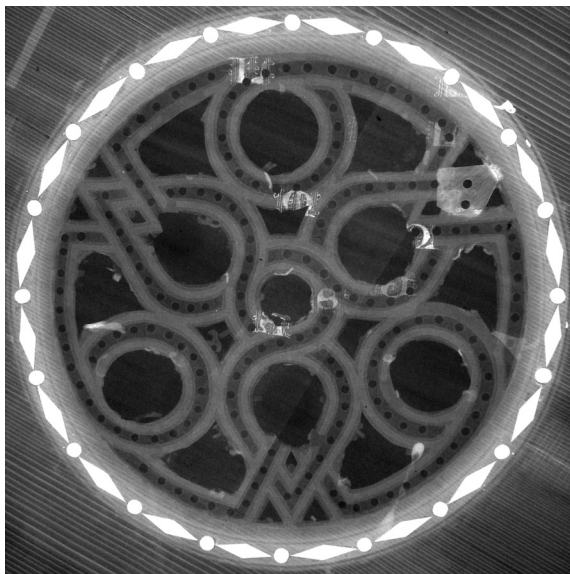


Figure 8: Left: View of the text block visible by endoscopy inside the 'Vuillaume' guitar; Middle: false-colour XRF map of the corresponding area where copper (Cu) is represented in blue and mercury (Hg) in red; Right: Mirrored XRF map, where only the initials invisible to endoscopy are shown, giving an image of the initials present on the parchment side glued onto the wood.

of the dark ink. However, the simultaneous detection of the writing lines on both sides of the leaf strongly overlap in the XRF maps, making it impossible at this stage to image solely the writings on the hidden (recto) side. Analyses

Assuming that the text blocks, as well as the writing lines, on the two sides of the folio are aligned, one may deduce that the initial “L” is the first letter of the first line (hence of the text block) of the hidden side, another “L” is towards the end of line 3, a “Q” towards the end of line 7, and an “S” in the middle area of line 10. This sequence of initials corresponds almost perfectly to the first letters of the preceding verses of Psalm 148 (v. 3 to v. 6), and the length of each verse would be compatible.¹⁷ This would confirm that the hidden side (the one glued against the wood rose) corresponds to the recto of the folio, and the visible side to the verso. The alternating colours of the whole sequence of initials detected on the two sides of this fragment also support this conclusion.

Virtual Reconstruction of the Dismembered Manuscript

Many Corresponding Features... Pointing to the Same Dismembered Codex

An array of consistent textual, script, and dimensional features leads to the conclusion that the fragments found in the three instruments are *membra disjecta* from the same codex [Table 1]. Indeed, all texts are liturgical, in the Latin language, and written in Southern, typically Italian, *Textualis*. Also, many features are strongly similar or compatible: the height and width of the text block, the distance between writing lines, the type and colour of the decoration for the initials and in the margins. For some letters, it was even possible to compare the way they were written [Appendix]. Even though the

were conducted by Marie Radepont and Oulfa Belhadj, using a Bruker M6 Jetstream XRF scanner (Rh source, 50 kV, 600 µA, spot size 100 µm, step size 100 µm, time per pixel 230 ms).

¹⁷ These three verses are: “[v. 3] Laudate eum sol et luna laudate eum omnes stelle et lumen [v. 4] Laudate eum celi celorum et aqua que super celum est [v. 5] Laudent nomen domini. Quia ipse dixit et facta sunt ipse mandavit et creata sunt [v. 6] Statuit ea in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi praeceptum posuit et non praeteribit.”

	‘Cipriani Potter’ violin, 1683	‘Hill’, 1688	‘Vuillaume’, undated
Leaf material	parchment	parchment	parchment
Language	Latin	Latin	Latin
Type of script	Southern <i>Textualis</i>	Southern <i>Textualis</i>	Southern <i>Textualis</i>
Text content	excerpts of <i>Gloria Patri</i> , antiphon, Ps 23 and 94	excerpt of Ps 39	excerpt of Ps 148:3–11.
Number of lines	13	13	13
Text block height	≥ 58 mm	est. 59 mm	59 mm
Text block width		est. 46 mm	43 mm
Line height	est. 4.4 mm	est. 4.5 mm	est. 4.5 mm
Leaf height	≥ 82 mm	≥ 90.5 mm	≥ 95 mm
Leaf width	≥ 180 mm ¹⁸	≥ 82 mm	≥ 95 mm
top margin		≥ 7 mm	≥ 6.3 mm
bottom margin	≥ 22 mm ¹⁹	≥ 24.5 mm	≥ 30.2 mm
gutter (binding side)		≥ 10.1 mm	est. 15.8 mm
outer margin		≥ 23.1 mm	≥ 18.3 mm

Table 1: Comparison of features. Note: given that all fragments in the ‘Cipriani Potter’ violin are glued onto curved surfaces, the assessment of some dimensions is more uncertain or impossible (left blank).

fragments are not taken from the same bifolium or quire, they are certainly part of the same book.

Characterizing the dismembered codex

The above-mentioned features points to three bifolia coming from a single book of hours made in Italy, in the first half of the fifteenth century, and dismembered before 1683.²⁰ The ‘Cipriani Potter’

¹⁸ This is an assessment of the length of the longer fragments (*vln_3* and *vln_5*) in the violin; glued on the inner side of the lower bout ribs (length 202 mm each), these two fragments are shorter, because they are between the lower block and the corner blocks [Figure 2].

¹⁹ This value is obtained by adding the height of *vln_3* to that of the blank area in *vln_6*.

²⁰ A book of hours is a relatively thin book, with no more than 200 leaves (100 bifolia).

bifolium is taken from the Office of the Virgin; the ‘Vuillaume’ leaf also comes from the Hours of the Virgin, since it contains Psalms 148–150, which were sung at Lauds for the very same office,²¹ but probably from another quire of the same codex. The ‘Hill’ leaf comes from the Office of the Dead of the same original manuscript, certainly from another — third — quire, placed farther in the codex.

Since all leaves taken from the same codex should be approximately of the same dimensions, and all text blocks should be positioned similarly on the folios, it is possible to describe in greater detail the general characteristics of the codex by considering the dimensional values obtained for the three leaves [Figure 9]. It is thus possible to deduce that the parchment bifolia were originally no smaller than 80 mm high and 180 mm wide, leading to a book of hours at least 9 cm wide, and certainly more than 8 cm high. The most conventional height:width ratios in medieval books are 4:3 (≈ 1.33) and the golden ratio (≈ 1.61).²² Therefore, it is highly probable that the fragments observed here were severely trimmed in height. The original leaves could have been about 12–15 cm high.

The small number of writing lines on each page, allowing for wide margins, show the importance given to the aesthetic value of the artefact, in good agreement with the use of such books of hours by lay people for private devotion. The great care in the writing process, which is evident in the regularity of the letters and of the alignment on the ruled baseline, and the elegant pen-flourished initials suggest a quite fine product, probably copied for a member of a noble family.

21 Psalms 148–150 are always sung at Lauds, even in the Office of the Dead; in books of hours, the Office of the Dead usually follows that of the Virgin, so the same psalms are usually not copied twice. As a consequence, it is likely that the ‘Vuillaume’ fragment is taken from the Office of the Virgin.

22 C. Bozzolo, and E. Ornato, “Les dimensions des feuillets dans les manuscrits français du Moyen Âge”, in *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Âge. Trois essais de codicologie quantitative*, Paris 1980, 215–332.

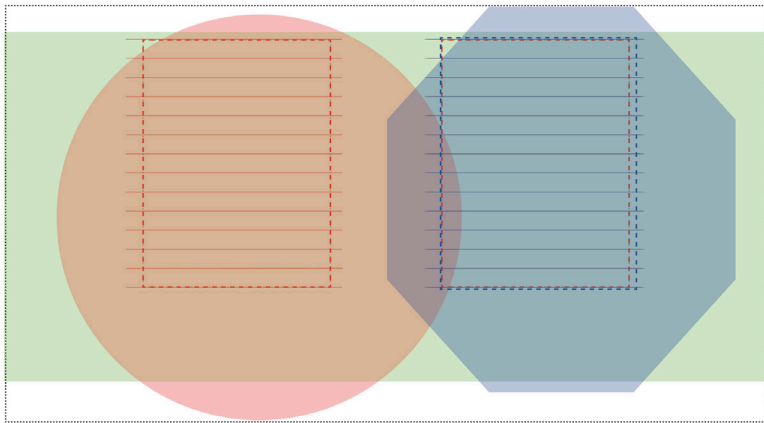


Figure 9: Overlay of the geometrical features of the leaves found in the ‘Cipriani Potter’ (the green rectangle), the ‘Hill’ (the blue octagon) and the ‘Vuillaume’ (the red circle). The black dotted rectangle represents the minimum bifolium size of the original book of hours (80 mm high by 180 mm wide).

Discussion

Fragments as Instrument-Making waste: Implications for the Authenticity and Relative Dating of the Instruments

While the workmanship of Antonio Stradivari has unanimously been recognized in the ‘Cipriani Potter’ violin and the ‘Hill’ guitar, corroborating the signatures they bear (on an original label, and incised on the back of the headstock, respectively), the attribution of the ‘Vuillaume’ guitar to this maker was questioned and debated²³ until recently, when an array of evidence supported considering this guitar as an authentic work by Stradivari.²⁴ Identifying the parch-

²³ Suspected in the 1970s to be a copy of the ‘Hill’ guitar, it was notably given an anonymous origin in F. Gétreau, “Catalogue sommaire des guitares du Musée instrumental du Conservatoire de Paris”, in *Guitares: Chefs d’œuvre des collections de France*, Paris 1980, 307–317.

²⁴ P. Bruguière, “Guitar 1711? ‘Vuillaume’” in *Antonio Stradivari – Volume V–VIII*, Bedburg 2016, 72–81; J.-P. Échard, *Stradivarius et la lutherie de Crémone*.

ment fragment under the rose of this guitar as originating from the same book of hours as fragments found in two instruments unquestionably made by Stradivari confirms this attribution of the ‘Vuillaume’ guitar. In addition, it could provide an indication for when this otherwise undated guitar was made; it may indeed be conjectured that Stradivari used the fragments from this book of hours in a relatively short time-span.²⁵ Since the ‘Cipriani Potter’ is dated to 1683, the ‘Hill’ is dated to 1688, and the other dated guitars by Stradivari were made between 1675 and 1681, the ‘Vuillaume’ guitar would thus date from the same period, circa 1680.²⁶

Furthermore, it is frequently considered that the craftsmanship involved in the design and carving of such roses, which are later patched to the instruments’ soundholes, is quite distinct from that required to make musical instruments, and that instrument makers would commission the roses to other craftsmen. This consideration is highly improbable in the case of the two guitars under study here. Indeed, reinforcement of the ribs, such as that found in the ‘Cipriani Potter’ violin, was typically performed by the violin maker himself; Stradivari selected, cut and glued the parchment fragments found inside the violin. It seems sound thus to consider that he made the two roses, gluing them onto fragments of the same origin, until additional historical information proving the contrary is unearthed.

Insights can also be gained from these observations into the practice of cutting and using parchment fragments in Stradivari’s workshop. In the ‘Cipriani Potter’ violin, some fragments slightly cover the corner blocks and linings. This allows us to situate precisely the reinforcement of the ribs during the making process of

25 Antonio Stradivari (c.1648–1737) opened his own workshop in 1666 or 1667, which remained active over seven decades.

26 The former dating of the instrument (i.e. 1711), based on an apocryphal label glued inside the sounding box, has been questioned in the past decade. P. Bruguère, “Guitar 1711? ‘Vuillaume’” in *Antonio Stradivari – Volume V–VIII*, 72–81. Dendrochronological analysis of the soundboard wood, indicating a tree falling date slightly after 1659, and a very strong correlation to the wood of the ‘Hill’ guitar soundboard, is compatible with such dating of the instrument. J. Topham, “A Dendrochronological Survey of Stringed Musical Instruments from Three Collections in Edinburgh, London and Paris”, *The Galpin Society Journal* 56(2003), 132–146.

the instrument, and determine that Stradivari glued the fragments after having glued the linings and even after having chamfered their edges. The fragments were certainly cut from the bifolium at the same time, in order to optimize the height and the width of each strip. The gluing of the fragments thus was one of the last steps — if not the last — before Stradivari closed the sounding box by gluing the soundboard.

Remarkably, Stradivari has obtained the most from the single parchment leaf he used to reinforce all the parts in the violin, as shown on the virtual reconstruction of the bifolium. The longer curved ribs, in the lower bout of the violin, required fragments as wide as the full width of the bifolium (*vln_3* and *vln_5*).²⁷

Similarly to bookbinders reusing parchment fragments, Antonio Stradivari seemed to grant no importance to the written text and its meaning, since fragments are glued with no consistency, neither in terms of visible side nor in terms of text orientation: on fragments 2, 5, 6, 7, the top of the text is on the back plate side, while on fragment 1 it is on the soundboard side. Also, the part visible on fragments 5 and 3 is from the bifolium side opposite to the one shown on fragments 1, 2, 6 and 7. For each of the fragments on the guitars, it simply seems that one main axis of the geometrical pattern of each of the guitar roses follows the vertical direction of the parchment page glued underneath the rose.

Other instruments made by, or attributed to, Antonio Stradivari may contain more parchment fragments, possibly even originating from the same book of hours, in particular in this period of his career, circa 1680.²⁸ Future endoscopic or X-ray based examinations could reveal such fragments, for instance in the ‘Canobio-Pagliari’ guitar dated 1681 (private collection), or in a seventeenth-century, five-course guitar (Rome, Museo Nazionale degli Strumenti

27 As observed for binding materials, I. Dobcheva, “Reading Monastic History in Bookbinding Waste: Collecting, digitizing and interpreting fragments from Mondsee Abbey”, *Fragmentology* 2(2019), 35–63, esp. Figure 2, p. 47.

28 It makes sense to imagine that instrument makers would be using fragments from the same source when making a series of instruments in a given period, similarly to binders when they would work on runs of printed books, in which are frequently found pastedown materials coming from the same manuscript. N.R. Ker, *Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings*, Oxford 1954, VIII.

Musicali, inv. 739) which may have sculpted roses by Antonio Stradivari.²⁹ As for the violins, the ‘Cipriani Potter’ is only one of the extant instruments where Antonio Stradivari carved the ribs to create arabesque-based designs. Reinforcing fragments may thus be also preserved in the 1677 ‘Sunrise’, the 1679 ‘Hellier’ (both in private collections) or the 1687 ‘Ole Bull’ (Washington D.C., National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution), to name a few. Finally, parchment fragments may also be found in other instruments made by this maker. In particular, the technique for making the single harp or the few mandolins remaining would suggest the use of such reinforcing materials.

The Fate of a Fifteenth-Century Book of Hours

Stradivari worked on these instruments in the last two decades of the seventeenth century; yet, he used parchment leaves from a book of hours that was copied in the first half of the fifteenth century. How and when did the manuscript arrive in Stradivari’s hands? At the current state of our knowledge, it is not possible to determine whether the book of hours belonged to Stradivari’s family or if he acquired it.

The phenomenon of the destruction and reuse of parchment books for another purpose is well known: libraries and archives all over Europe keep an enormous number of fragments, mostly reused as binding material for manuscript and printed books. Even though bindings are the privileged place for reusing parchment leaves, a number of other locations are attested, such as lampshades and cartridges. Numerous studies underline the importance of studying fragments for recovering unknown and rare or even unique texts that would otherwise be irretrievably lost. Such research focus mostly on the fragments themselves and on the reconstruction of their original context, but often neglects their “Nachleben”, that is, their history in their secondary function. Liturgical books often become waste material on account of the obsolescence of their texts, since the liturgy is continuously renewed and books need to be updated. But what about devotional books?

29 G. Gregori, *Antonio Stradivari, Le chitarre – The guitars*, 156 and 159.

Books of hours do not seem to become obsolete, since their content is still valid and useful even decades or centuries after their production. Printed books of hours are shaped on the content and form of their manuscript equivalent; in this respect, throwing away a handwritten book of hours, especially one that follows the use of Rome,³⁰ does not make any sense to us. It is still possible that, once a printed version was acquired, the manuscript book of hours seemed somewhat old and out of fashion to the eyes of the owner.

There is some evidence for the trade of manuscript waste in the early modern period;³¹ however, this evidence is scarce, making it difficult to see what were the supply channels and, most of all, the extent of the phenomenon. It is even harder to trace where the manuscript waste came from; even if we can assume that the crisis and decline of religious houses in the early modern period caused the sale of at least a part of their artistic and cultural heritage, books of hours still stand outside this traditional milieu.

Conclusions and perspectives

The approach presented in this article, using endoscopic photography and X-ray based imaging techniques, has promise for documenting fragments used as reinforcements inside the sounding boxes of musical instruments, and, by extension, for many other artefacts whose inner structure is not easily accessible to the eye. Image processing techniques are currently being investigated to overcome the limitations of endoscopy in terms of geometry and measurements. Future work will also include developments using X-ray fluorescence imaging, which allows both access to unreadable texts, and determination of the elemental composition of the writing materials.







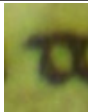



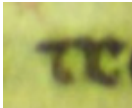


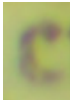



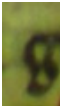

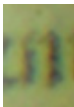




30 The use of Rome in the Office of the Virgin and in the Office of the Dead was one of the most widespread liturgical uses for late medieval books of hours.




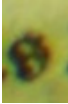



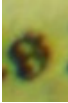







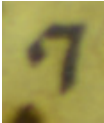






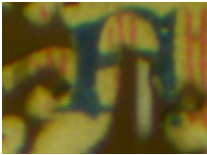

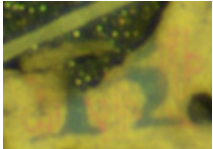
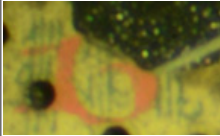
31 F. Manzari has shown that there was a market for art crafts since the seventeenth century. F. Manzari, "Bibliofili, mercato antiquario e frammenti miniati: le peripezie dei fogli di Vittorio Giovardi tra XVIII e XX secolo", in *Frammenti di un discorso storico. Per una grammatica dell'aldilà del frammento*, ed. C. Tristano, Spoleto 2019, 205–225.

The collection of data about fragments found in instruments, such as their type, dimensions, etc. will serve historians of musical instrument making, who could use them to refine this little-studied aspect of makers' working techniques, as well as to document the origin and possible trading routes and suppliers of such fragments, found in a specific instrument, in the production of a luthier's workshop or even at a larger scale. Given the widespread use of such fragments in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century instruments, it is probable that this approach, involving paleographical, codicological and fragmentological expertise can strongly benefit the field of organology.

Conversely, the collection of data about such fragments, involving access to a large body of historical musical instruments, and thus the expertise of musical-instrument-museum curators, conservators and conservation scientists, would shed light on, and give access to a newly accessible body of fragments of medieval, Renaissance and early modern written materials, which could then be studied and interpreted by codicologists, paleographers, philologists and historians in general.

Appendix: Letter Shapes and Decorations

shape	‘Cipriani Potter’ violin	‘Hill’	‘Vuillaume’
a			
c			
d			
d'			
do/de			
e			
f			
g			
n			
o			

shape	‘Cipriani Potter’ violin	‘Hill’	‘Vuillaume’
r			
final s			 
t			 
u		 	
Tironian et			
initials	  	  	  

Reconstructing a Middle Dutch Alexander Compilation

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Abstract: This article provides a first description, edition and analysis of Antwerp, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Special Collections, MAG-P 64.19. This fragment is the sole known remnant of a Middle Dutch compilation of stories about Alexander the Great copied by the well-known *Ferguut* scribe (ca. 1350). Our research shows that this compilation comprised Dutch versions of the *Voeux du paon* and the twelfth-century *Fuerre de Gadres*, which was previously unknown to have been translated into Dutch. We advance the possibility that the Stuttgart and Brussels fragments of *Alexanders geesten* and *Roman van Cassamus*, which were also copied by the *Ferguut* scribe, belonged to a second copy of this compilation, providing a continuous narrative about the life of Alexander. In this respect, the Dutch compilation resembles contemporary manuscripts of the *Roman d'Alexandre* in which Alexandre de Paris' vulgate compilation was complemented with various amplifications. The combination of pre-existing Dutch stories into one (semi)coherent narrative is also similar to the famous *Lancelot* compilation, a collection of Arthurian narratives created in Brabant in approximately the same period. The fragment thus sharpens our understanding of the role of compilations in the dissemination of Middle Dutch chivalric romance.

Keywords: Alexander Romance, French and Middle Dutch, translations and compilations, medieval Brabant, *Ferguut* scribe

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The Middle Dutch Alexander fragment that is the focus of this contribution was acquired by Farley P. Katz in 2018 from an antiquarian bookseller in Paris. He contacted some researchers of Middle Dutch literature in early 2019. After it became clear that the fragment originated from an unknown Alexander compilation and that it was copied by the well-known *Ferguut* scribe — an anonymous scribe who owes his sobriquet to the only extant copy of the Middle Dutch version of Guillaume le Clerc's *Roman de Fergus* — Katz donated the fragment to the Special Collections of the University Library of the University of Antwerp. There it is now kept under the shelfmark MAG-P 64.19.¹

In this study, we first provide a material description of the Antwerp fragment, situating it within the work of the *Ferguut* scribe, whose hand has been previously recognized in seven other (largely fragmentary) codices and who must have been a professional copyist. We then edit the text on the recto and verso of the fragment, each side containing 40 lines. Between the recto and verso sides of the fragment, there is a serious textual lacuna due to missing columns. The edition of the Middle Dutch text is followed by a preliminary reconstruction of the content of both text passages, with an identification of the many names of characters and places. This forms the basis for an attempt to situate the text fragment within Middle Dutch and French Alexander literature of the Middle Ages. Our textual analysis suggests that the fragment comes from an otherwise unknown Middle Dutch Alexander compilation that differs at least in part from Alexandre de Paris' French vulgate *Roman d'Alexandre*. The lost compilation may have comprised Jacob van Maerlant's *Alexanders geesten* (a translation of Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*) and very likely a creative adaptation of the anonymous *Roman van Cassamus* (a translation of Jacques de Longuyon's *Voeux du paon*), but must certainly have included a Dutch version of the *Fuerre de Gadres*, one of the French poems that were integrated by Alexandre de Paris into his vulgate compilation. Fragments in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek (Stuttgart) and the Royal Library (KBR) in Brussels show that *Alexanders geesten* and *Cassamus* were copied

1 Catalogue description of the fragment and images: <https://anet.be/record/opacuantwerpen/c:lvd:14970581/N>.

by the *Ferguut* scribe in at least one other codex. Until now, it was assumed that these fragments were remnants of a multiple-text manuscript in which integral copies of the individual texts followed one another, but the discovery of the Antwerp fragment opens up the possibility that in this manuscript too, the texts were part of a compilation, in which individual narratives were forged together by means of transitional splices. At the end of this contribution, we will compare our reconstruction of the Alexander compilation with the famous *Lancelot* compilation that was created in the same region and in approximately the same period (Brabant, ca. 1325).

Material aspects of the Antwerp fragment

The Antwerp fragment consists of a single strip of parchment that was cut vertically from its leaf. The fragment is 250–259 mm high and about 65 mm wide and has a remnant of one column on each side. The wide side margins indicate that it contains the first column of the recto side [Figure 1] and the final column of the verso side [Figure 2]. The inner margin (recto side) and outer margin (verso side) amount to approximately 24 mm at their widest point. The bottom margin was at least 40 mm. At the top, the strip has been cut off irregularly, resulting in text loss to the tops of both columns. The vertical cutting of the parchment has also caused some text loss on both sides.

The column on the recto side (r^oa) contains parts of thirty lines of verse, the remnants of an original forty lines of writing. The column on the verso side (v^o?) contains remnants of forty lines of writing (and as many verse lines), of which the first part (the majuscule letter column) has been lost due to the cut. In total, the fragment comprises the remnants of seventy verse lines, written in a *littera textualis*. The unit of ruling (or average line height) is 5.3 mm. Plummets (leadpoint) are present on the verso side. On the recto side, only the column reserved for the majuscule letters is vertically ruled. This majuscule letter column is stroked in a lighter shade of brown ink.

On the top half of the recto side is a richly decorated, parted initial ‘H’ measuring ten lines high (corpus: 53 mm). Next to the

initial, presumably two verse lines, which were spread over ten lines of writing, were lost due to the vertical cut. The body of the initial is executed in red and blue ink. Red and dark blue pen flourishes extend into the inner margin. The foliage of white ivy leaves with curved stems on a forest green background calls to mind the decoration of the decorated initial 'H' on the first folio of the *Rose miscellany* kept at the Royal Library in The Hague (Koninklijke Bibliotheek (=KB), MS KA xxiv). Apart from a Dutch translation of the *Roman de la rose*, that manuscript dated to ca. 1320–1325, also contains the *Roman van Cassamus* (see below) and *Die Frenesie* ('The Madness'), a biting satire on love and dubious practices in the Church.²

As mentioned, the fragment is written by a well-known fourteenth-century scribe who was active in the Brabant region and is known to scholarship as the *Ferguut* scribe.³ Besides the only (completely) preserved manuscript of the Middle Dutch chivalric romance *Ferguut* (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ltk. 191, ff. 1–32), his hand has also been identified in two codicological units containing mystical prose in the composite *Ruusbroec* Manuscript Vv (Brussels, KBR, 3067–73, ff. 2–14 and ff. 50–55) and in a relatively large series of fragments that are remnants of probably six other codices (see Table 1). However small the new Antwerp fragment may be, the characteristics of the *Ferguut* scribe's hand clearly stand out, such as the round 'd' with a stroke to the right at the shaft (resembling the Greek δ) (l. 2), the characteristic small 'D' (l. 24) and the apostrophe with an elegant hairline (l. 2).⁴

Since the text in the Antwerp fragment belongs to an unknown collection of stories about Alexander the Great, no direct comparison at the verse level is possible. This implies that some specifications, such as the number of folia and the *mise-en-page* of the original manuscript cannot be reconstructed. However, it is

2 The authors thank Ed van der Vlist and Jeroen Vandommele (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek), who provided us with colour images of the initials in the *Rose miscellany*.

3 According to the latest research, the *Ferguut* scribe presumably worked in the vicinity of Brussels around the middle of the fourteenth century, see E. Kwakkel and H. Mulder, "Quidam sermones. Mystiek proza van de Ferguut-kopijst.", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 117(2001), 151–165.

4 Cf. Kwakkel and Mulder, "Quidam sermones", 153.

important to map out the possible *mise-en-pages*, as this allows us to estimate how many lines of writing (and approximately how many verse lines) have been lost between the text segments on the recto and verso sides of the fragment. Although the number of lines per column cannot be reconstructed precisely, there is little chance the fragment originates from a single-column manuscript: the number of lines was at least forty, which is rather high for a layout with one column per side. A four-column manuscript also seems rather unlikely, since manuscripts with Middle Dutch rhymed epics were rarely made in that format (at this moment, no four-column manuscripts are known from the *Ferguut* scribe; see Table 1).⁵ The two most plausible options are a two- or three-column manuscript.

Usually, two-column manuscripts contain fewer lines per column than three-column manuscripts. In his article “Conventies, standaarden en varianten” (conventions, standards and variants), the Dutch codicologist Jos Biemans states that the number of lines per column of two-column manuscripts with Middle Dutch rhymed epics usually varies between ca. 35 and 52 lines and for three-column manuscripts, between ca. 52 and 62 lines.⁶ These lower and upper limits can serve as benchmarks for estimating the gap between the recto and verso sides of the Antwerp fragment. Since the *Ferguut* scribe wrote three texts in a *mise-en-page* of 3/50 (see Table 1), we will set the lower limit of three-column manuscripts at 50. Thus, if the Antwerp fragment originates from a three-column manuscript, some 210 to 270 lines have been lost between the recto and verso sides or if it were a two-column manuscript, some 80 to 116 lines (assuming full columns).

With only the unit of ruling (5.3 mm) as a lead, it is difficult to determine which hypothesis is preferable. This unit of ruling occurs

5 See J. Biemans, “Conventies, standaarden en varianten. Verschillende mogelijkheden en keuzes bij de vormgeving van handschriften met berijmde Middelnederlandse ridderepiek”, in *Ene andre tale. Tendensen in de Middelnederlandse late ridderepiek*, eds. A. Faems and M. Hogenbirk, Hilversum 2012, 215–257, at 232 and 239. See also J.W. Klein, “(Middelnederlandse) handschriften: productieomstandigheden, soorten, functies”, *Queeste* 2(1995), 1–30, at 19–22.

6 Biemans “Conventies”, 228. Cf. Klein “(Middelnederlandse) handschriften”, 19–22.

in both types of manuscripts and does not allow firm conclusions to be drawn on the number of columns each manuscript page contained. However, this unit of ruling is rather on the high side. For instance, no manuscripts of the *Ferguut* scribe are known with a unit of ruling above 5 mm (see Table 1). In Hans Kienhorst's repository of manuscripts with Middle Dutch chivalric epics, the unit of ruling averages below 5 mm for both two- and three-column manuscripts.⁷ In both cases, a higher unit of ruling often goes together with a relatively lower number of lines per column, which may be explained by the pursuit of a proportional relationship between the height and width of the text area. As far as the Antwerp fragment is concerned, the number of lines per column should probably not be estimated too high. If the fragment originates from a three-column manuscript, it is likely that there were around 50 to 56 lines to each column. The fact that the other multiple-text manuscripts of the *Ferguut* scribe were written in a three-column layout (see Table 1, numbers 5 and 6), might suggest that the Antwerp fragment, with several stories about Alexander the Great, originates from a manuscript with a similar *mise-en-page*.

In this regard, attention should be drawn to the fact that the hand of the *Ferguut* scribe has also been identified in fragments of two other Middle Dutch Alexander texts: *Alexanders geesten* (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Donaueschingen 173) and *Roman van Cassamus* (Brussels, KBR, 18.228). Due to palaeographic and codicological similarities, it is assumed that these fragments belonged to the same manuscript.⁸ Although the Antwerp fragment has similar and complementary content, it originates from a separate, hitherto unknown codex. First of all, the unit of ruling is significantly higher (see Table 1) and secondly, the manner of decoration slightly differs: in contrast to the Antwerp fragment, the fragments of *Alexanders geesten* and *Roman van Cassamus* do not contain colour stroking. The Antwerp fragment raises the count

7 H. Kienhorst, *De handschriften van de Middelnederlandse ridderepiek*, pt. 1, Deventer 1988.

8 H. Kienhorst and H. Mulder, "Copiïsten van Middelnederlandse literaire handschriften", in *Dokumentaal* 15(1986), 93–95; Biemans "Conventies", 233–237; Kwakkel and Mulder, "Quidam sermones", 153.

Manuscript	Mise-en-page	Measurements (mm)
1. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek (=UB), Ltk. 191, ff. 1–32. (<i>Ferguut</i> , full ms.)	2 col., 44 ll.	Page: ca. 260 × 68 Text area: 215 × 142 Unit of ruling: 4.9
2. Brussel, KBR, 3067–73, ff. 2–14 and ff. 50–55. (unit I and IV in <i>Ruusbroec</i> -ms. Vv)	1 col., 16–23 ll.	Page: 130 × 99 Text area: 95 × 69
3. Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus, M 15.10 (<i>Roman van Limborch</i> , fragm.)	2 col., 50 ll.	Page: ca. 254–255 × 177–179 Text area: 218–219 × 132–134 Unit of ruling: 4.4
4. A. Leiden, UB, Ltk. 1205 B. Leiden, UB, BPL 3252/3 C. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek (=UB), 1639, 2 D. 's-Hertogenbosch, Rijksarchief, Archieven van de raad en rentmeester-generaal, inv.-nr. 289a (A–D: <i>Rijmbijbel</i> , fragm.)	2 col., 50–51 ll. (Based on A)	Page: 268 × 184 Text area: 205 × ca. 125 Unit of ruling: 4.0–4.1 (Based on A)
5. Gent, UB, 2749, 3–4 (<i>Spiegel historiael</i> and <i>Rijmbijbel</i> , fragm.)	3 col., 56 ll.	Page: [340–350] × [260] Text area: 235–245 × ca. 175–180 Unit of ruling: 4.3
6. A. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Donaueschingen 173 (<i>Alexanders geesten</i> , fragm.) B. Brussel, KBR, 18.228 (<i>Roman van Cassamus</i> , fragm.)	(A) 3 col., 49–50 ll. (B) 3 col., [50] ll.	(A) Page: [290] × [200] Text area: 216–222 × 156–157 Unit of ruling: 4.4–4.5 (B) Page: [290] × [200] Text area: [230–235] × 154–154 Unit of ruling: 4.6
7. Leiden, UB, BPL 2387 D (<i>Historie van Troyen</i> , fragm.)	3 col., [50] ll.	Page: (?) Text area: [225] × [156] Unit of ruling: 4.5
8. Antwerpen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MAG-P 64.19 (<i>Alexander</i> compilation)	2/3 col., (?) ll.	Page dimensions: (?) Text area: (?) Unit of ruling: 5.3

Table 1. Manuscripts of the *Ferguut* scribe

of known manuscripts by the *Ferguut* scribe to eight.⁹ Table 1 provides an overview of these (mainly fragmentary) codices.¹⁰

Edition of the Antwerp fragment

An edition is proposed on the next two pages. Square brackets [...] indicate material gaps in the Antwerp fragment. Reconstructions are only suggested for minimal gaps within words. Round brackets () indicate passages with difficult or uncertain readings, often because letters are damaged or cut off. Sometimes we make a proposal for a particular reading there. The spelling of *u* and *v*, and *i* and *j* has been adapted to phonetic value. *Italics* indicate the expansion of abbreviations. All visible lines of writing are numbered (not the verse lines).

Interpretation

Even though text loss at the beginning or end of each line hampers a full and unambiguous translation, the Antwerp fragment provides valuable information about the contents of the manuscript of which it is a remnant. More importantly, it brings into further focus the importance of compilation (maybe rather than multiple-text manuscripts) as a mode of dissemination for Middle Dutch Alexander narratives. This aligns the Dutch material with compilations in other languages, such as the *Roman d'Alexandre*, a compilation of

9 For a previous overview, see Kwakkel and Mulder, “Quidam sermones”, 153. Although it was previously assumed that the *Historie van Troyen* fragment of the *Ferguut* scribe (Leiden, University Library, BPL 2387 D) also belonged to the above-mentioned manuscript with at least *Alexanders geesten* and *Roman van Cassamus* (see Biemans, “Conventies, standaarden en varianten”, 235–237), there are convincing arguments to assume that the *Historie van Troyen* fragment is a remnant of a separate codex. The evidence for this will be presented in detail by Laurent Breeus-Loos and Remco Sleiderink in a forthcoming article.

10 The information on the manuscripts with chivalric romances is taken from Kienhorst, *De handschriften van de Middelnederlandse ridderepiek*; for the other manuscripts, we have turned to the online database *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta & Impressa* (<https://bnm-i.huygens.knaw.nl/>).

- 1^o Van p[...]
 Maer dit latic bliven (s)a[...]
 Ic salre noch toe w[...]
 Ic wille u secgen e[...]
 5 Ene wile van andre[...]
 God late mi volbrin[...]
 H[...]
 [...]
 [...]
 10 [...]
 [...]
 [...]
 [...]
 [...]
 15 [...]
 [...]
 Ic vertelde hier te v[...]
 Van gadifiere den here [...]
 Van pheson den Ridder (c)[...]
 20 Hoe hi van emenido[...]
 Te josph verslegen [...]
 Daer menech Riddere rou[...]
 Ende alexander die coninc (m)[...]
 Doe alexander wan die st[...]
 25 Van gadres ende in wen[...]
 Ende hoe die hertoge be[...]
 Vanden grieken wert ver[...]
 Dit hebdi wel horen [...]
 Maer ghi en hebt niet g[...]
 30 Van wat geslachte [...]
 Gadifier was van l[...]
 Hier bi willic u ma[...]
 Wie hi was nu hoer[...]
 Gadifier alsic vers[...]
 35 Was ute arabia geb[...]
 Vanden heetsten verre [...]
 Van gadres die hertog[...]
 Betijs was siere m(o)[...]
 Enen broeder hadde[...]
 40 Die stout w[a]s ende vroe[...]



Figure 1: Antwerpen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MAG-P 64:19, recto

v^o [...] r(l)oge
 [...] f betijs selve doet
 [...] dres ende sine genoet
 [...] vele verslagen mede
 45 [...] (t) die goede stede
 [...] dres alsic vore seide
 [...] alsonder beide
 [...] niemare die niet en spart
 [...] ltoes achter lande vaert
 50 [...] ert emmer henen
 [...] n desen toten genen
 [...] es makic u wijs
 [...] udaen claerwijs
 [...] rnomen openbare
 55 [...] difier verslegen ware
 [...] nre phesonien vader
 [...] e clageden algader
 [...] (van) die liede sijn
 [...] iij bruder sijn
 60 [...] r ende betijs
 [...] sonie die maget fetijs
 [...] vriende ende mage
 [...] us die oude sage
 [...] blide utermaten
 65 [...] (stem) hoe gelaten
 [...] (r) bi sinen goden al
 [...] e maget hebben sal
 [...] tsi lief ocht leet
 [...] (t)rinen godweet
 70 [...] ten ende (ge)bieden
 [...] le sinen lieden
 [...] (m)en ongespaert
 [...] (r)et ende bewart
 [...] orloge te vaerne
 75 [...] lle dade(n) gerne
 [...] rmaten willechlike
 [...] enech (prince) rike
 [...] mechtechste alsic (versta)
 [...] ren in al judea
 80 [...] (v)an baudrie die soudaen

*f betijs selve doet
 dres ende sine genoet
 vele verslagen mede
 in die goede stede
 dres alsic vore seide
 alsonder beide
 niemare die niet en spart
 ltoes achter lande vaert
 ert emmer henen
 n desen toten genen
 es makic u wijs
 udaen claerwijs
 rnomen openbare
 difier verslegen ware
 nre phesonien vader
 e clageden algader
 (van) die liede sijn
 iij bruder sijn
 r ende betijs
 sonie die maget fetijs
 vriende ende mage
 us die oude sage
 blide utermaten
 (stem) hoe gelaten
 (r) bi sinen goden al
 e maget hebben sal
 tsi lief ocht leet
 (t)rinen godweet
 ten ende (ge)bieden
 le sinen lieden
 (m)en ongespaert
 (r)et ende bewart
 orloge te vaerne
 lle dade(n) gerne
 rmaten willechlike
 enech (prince) rike
 mechtechste alsic (versta)
 ren in al judea
 (v)an baudrie die soudaen*

Figure 2: MAG-P 64:19, verso

four pre-existing narratives about Alexander, achieved by Alexandre de Paris (otherwise known as ‘de Bernay’) around 1185–1190. The romances gathered in that vulgate compilation in turn inspired various amplifications.¹¹ In several manuscripts with the vulgate *Roman d’Alexandre*, complementary episodes detailing the avenging of Alexander’s death, the siege of the city Defur and Alexander’s voyage to the gates of Earthly Paradise, as well as instalments of the fourteenth-century Peacock cycle (*Voeux du paon* and/or *Restor du paon*) have been grafted onto the twelfth-century compilation.¹²

The aforementioned fragments of Alexander texts copied by the *Ferguut* scribe kept at Stuttgart and Brussels already suggested that *Alexanders geesten* (ca. 1258), a Dutch adaptation of the twelfth-century *Alexandreis* in which Jacob van Maerlant complemented Walter of Châtillon’s narrative with material from additional sources, was copied together with the *Roman van Cassamus* (ca. 1315–1325), a Dutch translation of Jacques de Longuyon’s *Voeux du paon*.¹³ While it is possible that the Stuttgart and Brussels fragments originate from a multiple-text manuscript in which one text was copied integrally after the other without major modifications, the Antwerp fragment provides evidence for the existence of a compilation in which several stories about Alexander were adapted and forged together to form a more or less coherent and continuous narrative.¹⁴

11 *The Medieval French ‘Roman d’Alexandre’*, eds. E.C. Armstrong et al., 7 vols, Princeton 1937–1955; M. Gosman, *La Légende d’Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du 12e siècle*, Amsterdam 1997; M. Pérez-Simon, “Le Roman d’Alexandre en vers à l’épreuve de la compilation”, in *L’Anthologie. Histoire et enjeux d’une forme éditoriale du Moyen Âge au XXIe siècle*, ed. C. Bohnert, Reims 2014, 45–68; D.J.A. Ross, *Illustrated Medieval Alexander Books in French Verse*, eds. M. Pérez-Simon and A. Stones assisted by M. Meuwese, Turnhout 2019, 13–30. For a general overview of the genesis and manuscript transmission of the *Roman d’Alexandre*, see also the introduction by D. Schoenaers at <https://medievalfrancophone.ac.uk/textual-traditions-and-segments/alexandre/>.

12 Tables of manuscripts and fragments containing all or part of the vulgate *Roman d’Alexandre* in: Ross, *Illustrated Medieval Alexander Books*, 191–200.

13 Jacob van Maerlant, *Alexanders geesten*, ed. J. Franck, Groningen 1882. A description of Maerlant’s translation and compilation strategies in *Alexanders geesten* in: P. Berendrecht, *Proeven van bekwaamheid: Jacob van Maerlant en de omgang met zijn Latijnse bronnen*, Amsterdam 1996, 13–85; 233–237; 253–277.

14 The sole surviving fragment of a Dutch translation of the French *Roman de Florimont* undoubtedly is also a remnant of a multiple-text manuscript.

The recto side of the fragment: Referring back to the *Fuerre de Gadres*

An analysis of the fragmentary text shows that this compilation comprised, amongst other narratives, a hitherto unknown translation or retelling of the *Fuerre de Gadres* (as is demonstrated by the text on the recto side of the fragment), as well as a Dutch adaptation of the *Voeux du paon*, forty lines of which have survived on the verso side of the fragment. That several storylines were woven together, becomes apparent from the very first lines of the fragment. In ll. 1–6, a heterodiegetic first-person narrator switches from one narrative thread to another. He temporarily suspends the current story and promises to return to it at some later time (‘dit latic bliven’ / ‘ic salre noch toe [weder keren]). The lines following the large initial letter ‘H’ at the opening of the new chapter (ll. 17–28) alert the audience to the fact that what follows is the continuation of a narrative that had been previously put on hold. This story revolved around Alexander’s triumph at Gadres (ll. 24–25). The narrator has already revealed (‘Ic vertelde hier te v[oren]’, l. 17) that ‘Gadifiere’, a knight from Pheson,

This romance, completed by Aimon de Varennes in 1186, discusses the trials and tribulations of Philip ‘Macemus’ of Greece and Florimont, Alexander’s grandfather, and provided information about the parentage of Alexander’s mother, Olympias. The Dutch translation was probably achieved in 1318. A single page of a luxuriously executed manuscript dated to the middle of the fourteenth century survives. In this codex, the text was copied in a three-column layout with sixty lines to each column. The length of the French *Florimont* amounts to about 13,000 lines. At 360 lines per folium, a Dutch translation of comparable length filled around thirty-six folia. Even though there is no certainty about the further contents of the lost manuscript, it is plausible that *Florimont* preceded other narratives related to Alexander, as is also the case in the thirteenth-century French manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 792 (for this French manuscript see: Ross, *Illustrated Medieval Alexander-Books*, 147–149). About the French *Roman de Florimont*: L. Harf-Lancner, “Le Florimont d’Aimon de Varennes: un prologue du Roman d’Alexandre”, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 37(1994), 37–147. About the Dutch translation: R. Lievens, “Een Middelnederlandse roman van Florimont”, *Spiegel der letteren* 2(1958), 1–33; F. Brandsma, “*Florimont* 2.0 (editie, vertaling, context)”, in *Ene andre tale: tendensen in de Middelnederlandse late ridderepiek*, 103–121; A. Reynders, “‘Ghi heren, ic houde in ware wort dat ghi van Alexandre gehort hebt’: de Middelnederlandse vertalingen van de Oudfranse *Florimont* en *Voeux du paon*”, *ibid.*, 83–101.

was slain by ‘Emenidon’ at ‘Joseph’ (the valley of Josaphat, ll. 18–21), but he also states that he has not yet been sufficiently clear about Gadifier’s origins (‘van wat geslachte [...] Gadifier was’, ll. 29–30). He continues to explain that Gadifier was born in the hottest regions of Arabia, (ll. 32–36), that he was in some way connected to Duke Betijs of Gadres (Gaza, ll. 37–38) and that Gadifer had a brother, who was courageous and wise (ll. 39–40).

In Dutch, some of this information can be found in the *Roman van Cassamus*. Nonetheless, the allusions to Gadifer and his death at Gadres cannot be explained as deriving from that narrative. As will become clear, the misfortunes of Gadifer’s offspring that are related in the *Voeux* and *Cassamus*, are in fact the subject of the story that is about to follow. Other Dutch narratives about Alexander do not lead to an answer. While Jacob van Maerlant briefly touched upon the subjection of Gaza (ll. 24–25, ‘Doe alexander wan die st[ede] van gadres’) in *Alexanders geesten* (III, vv. 1025–1029), he called the city ‘Gazen’ (III, v. 848; 898) or ‘Gasa’ (III, v. 1027), as did the *Alexandreis*, his Latin source. Both Emenidus and Betis are featured in Maerlant’s biography: there, Emenidus is mentioned as one of Alexander’s commanders and successors; Betis — whom Maerlant referred to as ‘Becus’ — unsuccessfully attempts to kill Alexander during the battle of Gaza (III, vv. 865–891). By contrast, Gadifer and the fateful battle with Emenidus are left unmentioned.¹⁵

Gadifer first appears in the *Fuerre de Gadres*, a now lost French *chanson de geste* dated to around 1160. In this original poem, a certain Eustache related how under the command of Alexander’s lieutenant Emenidus a Macedonian foraging expedition to Gaza spiralled into bloody combat. In spite of grievous losses on both sides, Alexander and the Macedonians prevailed. Alexandre de Paris inserted a heavily adapted and expanded version of Eustache’s poem in his vulgate *Roman d’Alexandre*, where it bridged the narratives about Alexander’s rise to power (Branch I, *Enfances*) and the Macedonian campaigns in the East (Branch III, *Alexandre en Orient*). The

15 *Repertorium van Eigennamen in Middelnederlandse Literaire Teksten*, ed. W. Kuiper and S. Koetsier, Amsterdam 1993–2020 (<https://ctb.kantl.be/publicaties/repertorium-van-eigennamen-in-middelnederlandse-literaire-teksten-remlt>).

battle between Gadifer and Emenidus referred to in the Antwerp fragment is described in this second branch in §§59–62.¹⁶

No Dutch translation of the *Fuerre* or any of the other branches of the vulgate *Roman d'Alexandre* is known to survive. Nonetheless, the manuscript evidence attests to the French romance's popularity in the Low Countries.¹⁷ That the French stories about Alexander's death were also known among speakers of Middle Dutch becomes clear from the first part (Eerste partie) of the *Spiegel historiael*, Maerlant's Dutch adaptation of the *Speculum historiale* in which the Flemish poet overtly criticized the popular French romances about Alexander, calling them 'false' and 'fanciful tales' ('boerden', I, Book III, §56, vv. 47–55). It is more than likely that Maerlant was thinking of the fourth branch of the *Roman d'Alexandre* when he reproached the Babylonians with hypocrisy for mourning Alexander's death, 'daer dat Rommans of spreket scone' (of which a beautiful description exists in French, *Spiegel historiael*, I, Book IV, §46, vv. 1–7). Finally, the French stories about the avenging of Alexander's death — most probably the vengeance narratives by Jean le Nevelon and Gui de Cambrai—were dismissed as fabrications ('geveinsde saghe', I, Book V, §15, vv. 17–20).¹⁸

The Antwerp fragment provides the first evidence of a Middle Dutch version of the *Fuerre* episode. It is, however, unlikely that the Dutch version referred to in the fragment was a complete translation that closely imitated the French model in the *Roman d'Alexandre* without significant abridgments or other innovations. If this were the case, the narrator's audience would have already known about Gadifer's origins (II, §53 'El roiaume d'Egypte n'ot mellor chevalier'

16 Gadifer's death is also repeatedly mentioned in conversations between Casamus, Alexander and Emenidus in the first few hundred lines of the *Voeux du paon* (vv. 51–59; 120–124; 151–153; 195–203; 216–217). Additionally, the plotlines of the *Fuerre* and *Voeux* are recapitulated in the prologue of Brisebarre's *Restor du paon*.

17 For an overview of the manuscript evidence, see the tables in Ross, *Illustrated Medieval Alexander Books*, 191–200. Out of the thirty-four manuscripts and fragments listed there, at least fifteen were manufactured in Flanders or Northern France.

18 Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel historiael. Deel 1. Partie I*, eds. M. de Vries and E. Verwijs, Leiden 1863.

and §62 ‘Gadifer fu molt preus, d’un arrabi lignage’) and his connection to Duke Betis, who, according to the *Fuerre*, was Gadifer’s sovereign (II, §53 ‘Por son lige segnor [*id est* Betis] est entrés en grant pain’). This can be explained in two ways. The information about Gadifer’s Egyptian roots does not appear in the fourteenth-century Latin translation of Eustache’s *Fuerre de Gadres* and should therefore be considered as an addition by Alexandre de Paris.¹⁹ This leaves open the possibility that the Dutch version was based on the original poem, and not on the more widely disseminated *Roman d’Alexandre*. If this is indeed the case, the compiler also had access to a manuscript of the vulgate romance from which he sourced the references to Gadifer’s lineage. Alternatively, the lost Dutch version of the foraging episode may have been an abridgment of the vulgate narrative. If so, it is likely that the information about Gadifer’s origins was initially skipped and later repurposed by the compiler, when he referred to the events at Gadres that had come up earlier in his story.

The verso side of the fragment: Retelling the *Voeux du paon*

With the reference to Gadifer’s wise and courageous brother (II. 39–40), the narrator eased his audience into the events described in the *Voeux du paon*. In this fourteenth-century amplification, a key role was reserved for Gadifer’s sibling Cassamus, who does not appear in the *Fuerre*.²⁰ On closer inspection, there are other elements in the first segment of the fragment that point forward to the Peacock romance. Gadifer is identified as a courageous knight from Epheson (‘van Pheson den ridder c[oene]’, l. 19). This city is not mentioned in the *Fuerre*, but in the *Voeux* it becomes clear that

19 D.J.A. Ross, “A New Manuscript of the Latin *Fuerre de Gadres* and the Text of *Roman d’Alexandre* Branch II”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22 (1959), 211–253, at 230, 234, 248–249.

20 On the *Voeux du paon*: H. Bellon-Méguelle, *Du Temple de Mars à la Chambre de Vénus: le beau jeu courtois dans les ‘Vœux du paon’*, Paris 2008; *Les voeux du paon de Jacques de Longuyon: originalité et rayonnement*, ed. C. Gaulhier-Bougassas, Paris 2010; D. Leo, *Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a ‘Vows of the Peacock’ Manuscript* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS G24), Leiden 2013.

Gadifer was indeed the lord of this Epheson, which his children inherited from their mother, who is identified as a sister of Duke Betis of Gadres (§7, vv. 160–164).²¹ After a chance meeting between Alexander and Cassamus on the road to Tarsus, the action moves to Epheson, where the Macedonians come to the rescue of Gadifer's children.

The narrative of the *Voeux* was grafted onto the *Prise de Defur*, an episode that had been inserted into the vulgate compilation ca. 1250. In several copies of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, the *Voeux* was integrated into the *Prise* and the conquest of Defur was immediately followed by Alexander's encounter with Cassamus. In other manuscripts, the *Voeux* was copied as an appendix after the events following Alexander's demise.²² More often, however, the text was transmitted separately or with its own amplifications, the *Restor du paon* (Restoration of the Peacock, ca. 1338) and the *Parfait du paon* (*Perfection of the Peacock*, 1340).

The first part of the Peacock cycle was soon translated into Dutch. This translation is known from two fragments at the KBR in Brussels and the University Library at Leiden (both ca. 1350). Like the Antwerp fragment, the Brussels *Cassamus* fragment is a remnant of a manuscript that was copied by the *Ferguut* scribe. While the translation in the Brussels fragment for the most part remains close to the *Voeux*, the version in the Leiden fragment is primarily characterized by its many additions to the French text and introduces some alterations, for instance in the setting. A third version is preserved in the aforementioned miscellany kept at the Royal Library in The Hague, which in addition to the *Cassamus* contains the Brabant *Rose*-translation and *Die Frenesie* and which is dated to circa 1320–1325. This *Rose-Cassamus* is best described

21 References to the French *Voeux du paon* from: *Les 'Voeux du Paon' by Jacques de Longuyon: An Edition of the Manuscripts of the P Redaction*, ed. C. Casey, New York 1956.

22 E.g., Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 791, français 1375, français 1590, and français 24365. On the combination of the *Voeux du paon* and the verse *Roman d'Alexandre*: J. Gilbert, S. Gaunt, and W. Burgwinkle, *Medieval French Literary Culture Abroad*, Oxford 2021, 212–242; J. van der Meulen, "Vrouwen van Avesnes. Een nieuwe Alexander in de Lage Landen", in *Ene andre tale. Tendensen in de Middelnederlandse late ridderepiek*, 55–82.

as a partial and abridged version of the French narrative. Each of these witnesses appears to represent its own version of a now lost translation that in most respects closely imitated its French model.²³

The text on the verso side of the fragment starts with another cross-reference to the battle of Gadres (ll. 41–45), where Duke Betis and many of his brothers-in-arms were killed ('ende sine genoet', l. 43). This reference corresponds to the description of Betis' death in §108 of the *Fuerre de Gadres*. Again, it is explicitly stated that these events had been mentioned before ('alsic vore seide', l. 46). Text loss makes it hard to interpret the next few lines (ll. 47–51), but potentially this passage refers to the spreading of the news ('niemare', l. 48) about the massacre. Sultan Clarus ('[so]udaen Claerwijs', l. 53) rejoices ('blide utermaten', l. 64) at hearing the reports of Gadifer's death, who is identified as the father of the beautiful Phesonie ('[scoe]nre Phesonien vader', l. 56). In contrast to Clarus, Gadifer's subjects are in mourning ('clageden algader [...] die liede sijn'; l. 57–58). The speaker lists the names of Gadifer's children: '[Gadife]r' and 'Betijs' (l. 60), and the beautiful maiden Phesonie ('[Phe]sonie die maget fetijs', l. 61). The reference to 'three fine brothers' ('bruder fijn', l. 59) instead of three children or siblings appears to be an error. Clarus' wicked plans are then exposed in ll. 63–68/69: the 'old coward' ('oude sage', l. 63) vowed to make the maiden ('maget', l. 67) his own, whether she liked it or not ('lief ocht leet', l. 68). He summoned his men to war ('orloge te vaerne', l. 74) and they readily complied ('[a]lle daden gerne' [...uter]maten willechlike', ll. 75–76). The exact content of the final lines of the fragment (77–79) is again unclear, but it seems that the speaker states that he has learned ('alsic versta',

23 The fragments are: Brussels, KBR, 18.228 and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ltk. 1195. The manuscript with the *Rose*, *Cassamus* and *Frenesie*: Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA xxiv. For an edition of the Dutch *Rose-Cassamus* and the Leiden fragment: *Roman van Cassamus*, ed. E. Verwijs, Groningen 1869. About the *Roman van Cassamus*, see: A. Reynders, "De Oudfranse Voeux du Paon en de fragmenten van de Middelnederlandse roman van Cassamus", *Queeste* 11(2004), 56–81; A. Reynders, "La traduction en moyen-néerlandais des Voeux du Paon et ses réécritures", in *Les 'Voeux du Paon' de Jacques de Longuyon: originalité et rayonnement*, 209–220; A. Reynders, "De Rose-Cassamus: de versie van de Roman van Cassamus in Den Haag, KB, xxiv", *Queeste* 19(2012), 112–139; A. Reynders, "Ghi heren", *passim*.

l. 78) that the mightiest princes (ll. 77–78) had heeded Clarus' call. One of them is the sultan of Baudres (van baudrie die soudaen, l. 80). This is Cassiël, one of Clarus' vassals, who in the *Voeux* and *Cassamus* is not mentioned until much later in the narrative.²⁴

The lacuna of two or four columns between the recto and verso part of the text is important for the interpretation of this second segment. It is, for instance, by no means evident that the first-person speaker ('ic') in this part of the fragment ('alsic vore seide', l. 46; 'makic u wijs', l. 52; 'alsic (versta)', l. 78) is the same as the heterodiegetic personal narrator who addresses the audience in the transitional passage on the recto side. The information conveyed in the text on the verso side seems to be informed by a conversation between Cassamus and Alexander in §7 (vv. 149–173) of the *Voeux du paon*. In the French text Cassamus confirms that he is the brother of Gadifer, who was killed at Gadres by the Macedonian foragers and left behind two heirs and a beautiful daughter, whose name is not yet disclosed. He tells Alexander that Clarus has become obsessed with the girl and wants to make her his wife, but she would rather be dismembered than to marry him; not only is Clarus too old, he is also evil-hearted. Cassamus then reveals the names of Gadifer's sons: the firstborn is called Gadifer of Epheson. This prosperous city was the inheritance of the children's mother, the sister of Duke Betis of Gadres. The bravery of Betis, the younger son, equals his father's. These young men are the legitimate lords of Epheson, but Clarus, the Indian, brother of Porrus who was defeated by Alexander, plots to disinherit them. Finally, Cassamus implores Alexander to come to the children's aid. Soon after this conversation, Alexander repeats Cassamus' words with some minor alterations to Emenidus (§8, vv. 215–229).

It is clear that the text in the Antwerp fragment is not a literal translation of the dialogues in the *Voeux du paon*. Compared to Cassamus' plea in the French text and Alexander's rephrasing thereof, components have been rearranged (the naming of the children) or added (the references to the battle of Gadres; Clarus's call to arms and the reference to Cassiël); other elements, such as the details about the rich city of Epheson, have been left out altogether. Additionally,

24 *Voeux du paon*, §33, v. 1053; *Rose-Cassamus*, v. 999.

in the French dialogues the name of Gadifer's daughter is not revealed. Unlike the text in the Antwerp fragment, the dialogues in the Dutch *Rose-Cassamus* (vv. 165–200; vv. 227–250) closely follow their French counterparts with only a few small differences: in the Dutch text, Gadifer has inherited Epheson from his father (v. 188) and not from his mother. Additionally, it is not explicitly stated that Clarus is Porrus' brother and, unlike in the *Voeux*, the attack on Epheson has already begun, Clarus having sworn to destroy the city (vv. 193–195). In the French text, the siege is first mentioned in Alexander's conversation with Emenidus (v. 227).

In the event that the first-person speaker in this second segment is the heterodiegetic narrator, the text on the verso side is not a translation in the narrow sense of the word, but a narrative summary that assimilates information from one or both dialogues from the *Voeux du paon* or its Dutch translation. The cross-reference in l. 46, would then refer to the *Fuerre*-narrative that precedes the current episode. An alternative interpretation would suggest that, in this part of the fragment, we are presented with the words of Alexander or Cassamus. Given the number of lines that are missing between the transitory passage on the recto side and the text on the verso side of the fragment (ca. 80–116 or 210–270) and the position of the corresponding segments of direct speech in the *Voeux* (§7, vv. 146–182; §8, vv. 215–229) and the *Rose-Cassamus* (vv. 165–200; vv. 227–250), it would seem possible that this part of the fragment is a creative adaptation of one of the aforementioned dialogues. In the context of the *Voeux du paon* (or the Dutch *Roman van Cassamus*), it makes little sense for Alexander to remind Emenidus of an earlier conversation about the massacre at Gadres. Therefore, the first-person speaker should be identified as Cassamus, who had repeatedly reminded Alexander of the valiant men that had fallen on the battlefield (*Voeux*, §4, vv. 51–58 and §5, 64–65; *Rose-Cassamus*, vv. 46–53 and 55–57). If this is the case, the reference to Betis' death (ll. 40–46) should be interpreted as an amplification added by the *remanieur* who composed the text in the Antwerp fragment and kept a detailed overview of the contents of the *Voeux du paon* and the *Fuerre de Gadres*, as is also evidenced by the early reference to the sultan of Baudres.

None of the lines in the abridged *Rose-Cassamus* have an identical counterpart in the Antwerp fragment. In this respect the Antwerp text seemingly differs from the other *Cassamus* fragments. Even the creative adaptation in the Leiden fragment shares some lines with the abridged version of the *Rose* manuscript. It is, however, possible that this impression is skewed due to the limited amount of material that has been preserved of the Antwerp text. This notwithstanding, there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that (a version of) the Dutch *Roman van Cassamus* rather than the French *Voeux du paon* served as a model for the text in the fragment.

Some elements in the text call to mind the Dutch *Cassamus* rather than the French *Voeux du paon*. In the French version of *Cassamus*' conversation with Alexander, *Cassamus* states that his brother left behind 'doi courtois hiretier' (v. 154, 'two courteous heirs'). In the *Rose-Cassamus*, this information is rendered as 'Het esser drie, die twee sijn sonen. Terde dats die scoenste maget' (vv. 170–171, 'There are three [children], two of them are sons, the third is the most beautiful maiden'). The Antwerp fragment refers to 'three fine brothers' (l. 59) and then lists the names of 'Gadifier' and 'Betij's', followed by 'Phesonie, die maget fetijs' ('Phesonie, the comely maiden', ll. 60–61). Although text loss obscures the exact phrasing of the fragment text, the faulty reference to 'three brothers' (instead of three children or siblings) may be understood as a careless adaptation of the wording in the Dutch *Cassamus*. If the text on the verso side of the Antwerp fragment is indeed a creative adaptation of *Cassamus*' plea to Alexander, the reference to the siege of Pheson in the *Rose-Cassamus* (vv. 193–194), which is left unmentioned in the exchange between *Cassamus* and Alexander in the French source, may have inspired the description of Claerwijs' call to arms in the Antwerp fragment.

Additionally, the names used for the protagonists in the fragment may offer supplementary evidence for the close relation between the Antwerp text and the Middle Dutch versions of the *Voeux du paon*. Unlike in the *Cassamus* texts, in French manuscripts 'Gadifier' and 'Phesonie' are more commonly referred to as 'Gadifer' and 'Fezona(i)(s)' or 'Phesonas'. It should, however, be noted that the names found in the Dutch versions also appear as variants in

some French manuscripts and may have been known independently of the Dutch text.²⁵ The names ‘Claerwijs’ (l. 53) and [Claer]us (l. 63) in the Antwerp fragment clearly correspond to the various names that are used for the Indian king in the Middle Dutch *Rose-Cassamus* (Claerwijs, Claerwise, Clarewijs, Clarewise, Clerwise, but also Claerus, Claeruse). The connection between ‘Claerwijs’ and the French name ‘Clarus’ and its many variations (Clarvus, Clarvis, Clarvos, Clarvoi, Clavorin or Claron) is less obvious. In the Antwerp fragment, Clarus is referred to as an ‘old coward’ (‘oude sage’, l. 63) and given the title ‘sultan’ ([so]udaen, l. 53). In the French *Voeux*, Clarus’ name regularly appears with the epithets ‘li Yndois’ (the Indian) and ‘viellart’ (old man), less frequently with his title ‘roi’ (king). The reference to Clarus as a ‘sultan’ seems to be particular to the Dutch tradition (cf. *Rose-Cassamus*, v. 1457: ‘Claerruse den souttaen’).

Finally, the fact that the Antwerp fragment was copied by the *Ferguut* scribe, who also copied the Brussels version of the *Roman van Cassamus*, adds further weight to the possibility that the Dutch *Roman van Cassamus*, rather than the French *Voeux du paon*, was the immediate model for the adaptation in the Antwerp fragment. Notwithstanding that the Brussels version more closely imitates the French *Voeux* than does the text in the Antwerp fragment, it cannot be ruled out that both are remnants of the same ‘compilation version’ of *Cassamus*. Not all medieval translators consistently applied conservative or innovative strategies throughout their work. Middle Dutch epics like the Flemish *Aiol* suggest that the degree of literalism could differ greatly between passages in a single text.²⁶ Moreover,

25 In the *Rose-Cassamus*, the variant ‘Phesonas’ appears only twice and exclusively in rhyme position (v. 1261; v. 1403).

26 On different strategies in vernacular translation, see for instance: W.P. Geritsen, “Les relations littéraires entre la France et les Pays Bas au Moyen Âge: quelques observations sur la technique des traducteurs”, in *Actes du septième congrès national de la Société française de littérature comparée. Poitiers, 27–29 mai 1965: Moyen Âge et littérature comparée*, Paris 1976, 28–46; J. Beer, “Introduction”, in *A Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. J. Beer, Leeds 2019, 3–4; D. Schoenaers, “Advocaten van de volkstaal”, in *Vertalen in de Nederlanden. Een cultuurgeschiedenis*, eds. D. Schoenaers et al., Amsterdam 2021, 26–183, references: 563–568, especially: 35–36 and 73–75. On translation and invention,

even if the *Cassamus* was a consistently conservative translation prior to its integration into the Alexander compilation, it is probable that the compiler would have copied some passages literally, while heavily editing others. Such an approach can also be found, for instance, in Lodewijk van Velthem's rendering of an older narrative about the battle of Wörringen in the fifth part (*Vifte partie*) of the *Spiegel historiael*.²⁷ If the texts of the slightly 'conservative' Brussels fragment and the wildly creative adaptation in the Antwerp text indeed belong to one and the same compilation version of *Cassamus* that oscillated between different degrees of literalism, it would seem that both were based on a Dutch model. Indeed, the text in the Brussels fragment shares some lines with the abridged *Rose-Cassamus*, which suggests that both these adaptations were derived from the same Dutch translation.

We should not hesitate to consider the possibility that the Brussels *Cassamus* fragment and the fragment of *Alexanders geesten* in Stuttgart are in fact remnants of a second copy of the Antwerp Alexander compilation and the *Ferguut* scribe produced two copies of the Dutch Alexander cycle. It is entirely plausible that Jacob van Maerlant's Alexander biography provided the backbone of a compilation that also included a Dutch retelling of the *Fuerre* and the *Cassamus*, much like the vulgate *Roman d'Alexandre* did in French. While manuscripts of the French vulgate cycle about Alexander may have inspired a project in which Dutch narratives about Alexander were grouped in one continuous and (semi)coherent narrative, it is clear that the Dutch compilation was not an exact imitation of such a French collection, but rather a creative reimagining, in which some

see: S. Menegaldo "De la traduction à l'invention. La naissance du genre romanesque au XIIe siècle", in *Translations médiévales. Cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Âge (XIe-XVe siècles)*. Volume 1. *Étude et répertoire*, ed. C. Galderisi, Turnhout 2011, 295–323. The Flemish *Aiol*: J.H. Winkelman, *De Vlaamse 'Aiol'. Fragmenten van een middeleeuws riddergedicht uit het beghijnhofarchief van Breda*, Breda 2020.

27 The adaptation of Heelu's chronicle in Velthem's *Vifte partie*: E. Mantingh, "'Deen voren ende dander na'. De compositie van de *Vijfde Partie* en Velthems bewerking van Heelu's *Slag bij Woeringen*", in *De boeken van Velthem. Auteur, oeuvre en overlevering*, eds. B. Besamusca, R. Sleiderink, and G. Warnar, Hilversum 2009, 206–230.

narratives were, at least in part, heavily edited and the overarching narrative framework was modified. The way in which the *Voeux du paon* was inserted into the *Prise de Defur* did not call for the intervention of a narrator who suspended one storyline in order to pick up another: the opening lines of the *Voeux*, 'Après che qu'Alixandres ot Dedefur conquis / Et a force d'espee occis le duc Melchis' (§1, v. 1–2), logically follow Alexander's conquest of Defur. This strategy, in which a heterodiegetic 'I' ('ic') clearly signals switches between different narratives is also found elsewhere in Dutch compilations, for instance in the *Spiegel historiael*, the famous *Lancelot* compilation and Velthem's adaptation of the *Suite-Vulgate du Merlin*.

In spite of the references to a now lost Dutch version of the *Fuerre de Gadres*, it would be rash to assume that the *Roman d'Alexandre* was translated into Dutch in its entirety: the *Fuerre* (also the version by Alexandre de Paris) and the *Voeux du paon* also circulated independently from the other branches of the vulgate compilation. Nonetheless, it is possible (maybe even likely) that now lost or unidentified Dutch translations of other parts of the French cycle (for instance the vengeance sequels) were part of the Dutch compilation. Apart from *Alexanders geesten*, an adaptation of the *Roman van Cassamus*, the Dutch version of the *Fuerre de Gadres* and other (hypothetical) lost translations of French or Latin texts about Alexander, the compilation may have included excerpts from the Alexander biography in Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael* or (a retelling of) the fortunes of Alexander's forebears described in the Dutch translation of the *Roman de Florimont*. Other potential components may have included (excerpts from) *Van den neghen besten*, a Dutch poem on the Nine Worthies or Maerlant's adaptation of the *Secretum secretorum*, a mirror of princes in the guise of a letter from Aristotle to his pupil. The same framework is used in *Van smeinschen lede* (ca. 1265?/ before ca. 1350?), a short guide on anatomy, obstetrics, and hygiene.²⁸

28 Wim van Anrooij has argued that the Dutch poem on the Nine Worthies was composed by Jacob van Maerlant and predates the *Voeux du paon*. See: W. van Anrooij, *Helden van weleer: de Negen Besten in de Nederlanden (1300–1700)*, Amsterdam 1997, 67–73. For a refutation of this hypothesis and the suggestion that the Dutch poem was in fact an amplification of the passage on the

Conclusion and the identity of the compiler

Our analysis of the Antwerp fragment has made it clear that a compilation of Alexander texts must have existed in Middle Dutch. The Antwerp fragment is the remnant of a manuscript of this compilation copied by the *Ferguut* scribe around the middle of the fourteenth century. Two other fragments written by this scribe, now preserved in Stuttgart and Brussels, are remnants of another manuscript containing at least *Alexanders geesten* and the *Roman van Cassamus*, but it seems plausible that these texts were also included in the Antwerp compilation. In that case the *Ferguut* scribe probably copied the same compilation twice, which would not be surprising as he has also made two copies of Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel*.

Is it possible to say something about the person who compiled these texts about Alexander the Great? Given that the Dutch narratives included in the compilation were composed and/or circulated in Brabant, and also given the localization of the *Ferguut* scribe (Brabant, maybe Brussels), it seems likely that the compiler was from Brabant. Additionally, the dating of the *Ferguut* scribe's activities gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the compilation, which must have been finished by about 1350. This brings us close in time and space to the emergence of another Middle Dutch compilation project that focused on another one of the Nine Worthies: King Arthur.

Our reconstruction of the Middle Dutch Alexander compilation is remarkably similar to the genesis of the famous *Lancelot* compilation (the final part of which is transmitted in manuscript The Hague, KB, 129 A 10). There, a thirteenth-century Flemish

Worthies in the *Voeux du paon* or, perhaps more likely, the Dutch translation thereof, see: J. van der Meulen, "Jaques ou Jacob. Le Nord et l'invention des Neuf Preux", in *La moisson des lettres. L'invention littéraire autour de 1300*, eds. H. Bellon-Méguelle, O. Collet, and Y. Foehr-Janssens, Turnhout 2011, 105–130. On Maerlant's adaptation of *Secretum secretorum*: J. Brams, "Jacob van Maerlants bewerking van het *Secretum secretorum*", in *Van vader- naar moedertaal: Latijn, Frans en Nederlands in de dertiende-eeuwse Nederlanden*, ed. R. Beyers = *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal-en Letterkunde*, 53(1999), 181–194; *Van smeinscen lede. Een middel-nederlands geneeskundig geschrift. Zijn betekenis in het raam van de medische literatuur der dertiende eeuw*, ed. L. Elaut, Sint-Niklaas 1956.

translation of the French *Lancelot en prose* was enriched with (at least) seven interpolated Middle Dutch romances that must have circulated separately before. To this extended *Lancelot* cycle was added, moreover, an extensive prequel: the *Merlin* cycle. The main components of that cycle were Jacob van Maerlant's *Graal-Merlijn* (a verse translation of Robert de Boron's *Joseph and Merlin*) and a translation of the *Suite-Vulgate du Merlin* made by Lodewijk van Velthem around 1326.²⁹

A consensus has emerged that these stories of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table were brought together by the Brabant priest Lodewijk van Velthem who, around 1325, wove them into a coherent compilation (his name is also mentioned at the end of the The Hague manuscript of the *Lancelot* compilation). As his continuation of Jacob van Maerlant's *Spiegel historiael* shows, Velthem was highly interested in history, and with the combination of the *Merlin* cycle and the *Lancelot* cycle he brought together just about all the existing stories about King Arthur (including a part that was copied from the *Spiegel historiael*).³⁰

In our view, Lodewijk van Velthem fits remarkably well the profile of the compiler of the Alexander stories. In the Antwerp fragment, at least on the recto side, a heterodiegetic narrator looks back on previous events and anticipates what is going to follow. Since this narrator is not copied from the French, we assume that the compiler himself is speaking here. If, moreover, at least *Alexanders geesten*, a retelling of the *Fuerre de Gadres*, and the *Roman van Cassamus* were part of the compilation, it seems that here too an attempt was

29 On the *Merlin* and *Lancelot* cycles: F. Brandsma, "Translations and Adaptations of French Prose Romances, Including the Lancelot Compilation", in *The Arthur of the Low Countries. The Arthurian Legend in Dutch and Flemish Literature*, eds. B. Besamusca and F. Brandsma, Cardiff 2021, 147–193, and B. Besamusca and F. Brandsma, "What Makes a Narrative Cycle Work? The example of the Burgsteinfurt manuscript", in *Rewriting Medieval French Literature. Studies in Honour of Jane H. M. Taylor*, eds. L. Tether and K. Busby, Berlin/Boston 2021, 157–179.

30 On the identification of the *Lancelot* compiler: Brandsma, "Translations and Adaptations", 178–180. On Lodewijk van Velthem: *De boeken van Velthem*, eds. B. Besamusca, R. Sleiderink, and G. Warnar (especially "Ter inleiding", 7–30).

made to present the story of Alexander the Great as completely as possible in Middle Dutch and that in this compilation too the work of Jacob van Maerlant was given a prominent place. In any event, the Antwerp fragment gives an important indication that, in the first half of the fourteenth century in Brabant, several Middle Dutch texts about Alexander the Great were forged together into a monumental compilation and furthers our understanding of the role of compilations in the dissemination of Middle Dutch epic literature.

Reconstructing Book Collections of Medieval Elbląg

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Abstract: Medieval manuscript collections in Teutonic Prussia have been particularly affected by numerous events in modern history, such as the Polish-Swedish wars and the turmoil after World War II. Still, the attempts to reconstruct the local collections may shed new light on the intellectual history of this historical region. To this date this kind of research was based mostly on surviving manuscripts with Prussian origin or provenance, that is, manuscripts produced or used in the territory of Prussia, supplemented by evidence on lost volumes derived from archival inventories. The article, taking as an example the history of collections of the city of Elbląg, discusses the potential of systematic studies of parchment waste used in bindings of manuscripts and printed books for reconstructing the intellectual landscape of the territory in question. It presents the range of provenance evidence that can link manuscript waste to the territory of Teutonic Prussia, including content, script, musical notation, binding and other material evidence.

Keywords: Teutonic Prussia, Elbląg, medieval libraries, manuscript waste

Teutonic Prussia's history of invasion, annexation, and division has rendered difficult the reconstruction of the medieval manuscripts that were produced in or passed through the territory. Few codices that were present in the region in the Middle Ages remain there today, and few have surfaced in collections outside the region.

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In such a situation, the study of manuscript fragments, particularly those reused in the bindings of other books, can help recover part of the written cultural heritage and rebuild the intellectual landscape of the region. Yet, at the same time, numerous challenges present themselves both in terms of specifying what constitutes a fragment from Teutonic Prussia and in identifying such fragments. Thus, in the discussion below, focusing on the town of Elbląg, a fragment can be of interest because it originated in Elbląg, it passed through Elbląg, or it currently is in the Elbląg library. Similarly, the identification of a fragment with Teutonic Prussia can be on the basis of a binding from the region, the fragment text relating directly to the region, evidence from the host volume, paleographical indications on the fragment, or the association with other fragments in the same volume.

Medieval Manuscripts in Teutonic Prussia

Repeated changes to the political landscape entailed the development, displacement, and dissolution of collections of manuscript books. In the High Middle Ages pagan tribes inhabited Prussia and underwent repeated attempts at Christianization. The arrival of the Teutonic Order, which was formally invited in 1226 by Duke Konrad I of Masovia, marked the final stage of these attempts; by 1283, the order had subdued the territory of Prussia, establishing an administrative system of commanderies, which meshed with the networks of other religious orders,¹ the secular clergy and municipal authorities. In the fifteenth century, conflicts between the Order and municipal authorities led to the Thirteen Years War, which ended with the Second Peace of Thorn in 1466, according to which the western part of the territory received the name of Royal Prussia and was subjected to the authority of Kingdom of Poland. The remaining part of the territory, with its capital in Königsberg, became a fief of the Kingdom of Poland, and, in 1525, was transformed into Ducal Prussia. This transformation brought with it the secularization of

1 For an overview of monastic institutions, see R. Kubicki, "Monastic Landscape in Medieval Prussia and Livonia", *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 24(2019), 155–191.

religious institutions, resulting in the centralization of local ecclesiastical collections, many of which found their way to the court of Albrecht Hohenzollern in Königsberg. In the seventeenth century, Swedish invasions resulted in the destruction of libraries and the appropriation of their contents. The Soviet Army's capture of the territory at the end of the World War II further entailed the dissolution of many collections, some of which today are considered completely lost. As a consequence of these movements, manuscripts from Prussian collections can now be found in numerous repositories across Europe, for example in Berlin, Uppsala, and even the Vatican Library (entering with the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden).

Today the territory of Teutonic Prussia is divided by administrative boundaries among three states, namely Poland, Russia (Kaliningradskaja Oblast) and Lithuania. While sources attest to more than 130 libraries in Prussia before 1500,² only a handful today have historical collections, and even those preserve only a fraction of the medieval holdings. As a result, current knowledge on collections of medieval books in Teutonic Prussia is fragmentary, based on surviving medieval manuscripts that once were part of local libraries³ and on inventories mentioning manuscripts, most of which are lost.⁴

A systematic analysis of manuscript waste from the bindings of manuscripts and printed books can complement our knowledge of

2 For a list of libraries in Prussia before 1500, with bibliographical references to printed editions of archival catalogues, see R.G. Päsler, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur im Preußenland bis 1500: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung*, Köln 2003, 360–384. For a list of Teutonic Prussian book collections, see E. Potkowski, “Duchowość krzyżaków a lektura. Księgozbiory zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach”, *Z Badań nad Polskimi Księgozbiorami Historycznymi* 13(1993), 106–110.

3 *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu*, oprac. M. Czyżak przy współpracy M. Jakubek-Raczkowskiej i A. Wagnera, Toruń 2016; T. Borawska, “Dawne książki warmińskie w zbiorach bibliotek europejskich”, *W kręgu stanowych i kulturowych przeobrażeń Europy Północnej w XIV–XVIII wieku*, ed. Z.H. Nowak, Toruń 1988, 179–205. See also manuscripta.pl (the database will be accessible in 2022).

4 See, e.g., Päsler, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur*; A. Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia. Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden*, Wiesbaden 2003.

the collections of medieval Prussia that were largely lost and scattered, and thus can contribute to reconstructing the intellectual landscape of the region.⁵ The collections from and around Elbląg provide a case study to illuminate the potential of this method.

The Libraries of Medieval Elbląg

Elbląg (germ. Elbing), a Hanseatic city situated in modern northern Poland, traces its origins to the foundation of a castle of the Teutonic Knights in 1237. During the Middle Ages, several institutions in the city had their own book collections,⁶ the oldest of these institutions being the Teutonic castle itself.

The Teutonic Castle Library and the Brigittine Convent

A surviving inventory from the Teutonic castle, dated to 1440, lists 37 liturgical manuscripts, 18 Latin texts (some contained in one volume) and nine items written in German; nevertheless, such an inventory of property provides little information, making at best uncertain any identification of volumes listed with surviving manuscripts.⁷ Shortly after the inventory was written, the castle was destroyed in a conflict between the Order and the city. In 1454, the Brigittines established a convent in the building founded on the

5 Anette Löffler has described in two volumes detached and in-situ fragments from the former Historische Staatsarchiv in Königsberg, which after the World War II found their way to Berlin via Grasleben, Goslar and Göttingen: *Fragmente liturgischer Handschriften des Deutschen Ordens im Historischen Staatsarchiv Königsberg*, Lüneburg 2001, and *Fragmente nicht-liturgischer Handschriften aus dem Historischen Staatsarchiv Königsberg. Mit ausgewählten Schrifttafeln zum gesamten Fragmentbestand*, Osnabrück 2019.

6 For an overview of the history of the book in medieval Elbląg, see J. Sekulski, *Książka w Elblągu do roku 1772*, Gdańsk 1990, 10–24 (without references to sources) and H. Stobbe, *Das Buch im alten Elbing. Sonderdruck aus dem Westpreußen-Jahrbuch 1965. Jahrgabe 1965 der Truso-Vereinigung*, Münster 1965; see also Päsler, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur*, 366–367.

7 *Das grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens mit Unterstützung des Vereins für die Herstellung und Ausschmückung der Marienburg*, ed. W. Zieseimer, Danzig 1921, 93, 9–26.

remnants of the castle,⁸ and it is assumed that the nuns took over some of the books previously held in it. Unfortunately, we have no direct information concerning the Brigittine library. Besides some evidence that can be found in manuscripts discussed below, we have a few indications of books that local citizens bequeathed to the nuns.⁹ What can be assumed is that the poor financial condition of the house precluded assembling a large library. Owing in part to financial troubles, the monastery was dissolved before 1521, and the nuns moved to Gdańsk, taking some belongings with themselves, but books were not mentioned in this context.

St. Nicholas Church

The parish church of St. Nicholas owned an extensive library held in a separate room, built in 1403 during the rectorship of Nikolaus Wulsack, a former student of Prague University.¹⁰ Its 1569 catalogue, published in 1874 by Franz Hipler,¹¹ lists nearly 300 items, many of which are referred to as *libri sine titulo*. Still, we have no exact indication if the titles referred to medieval manuscripts. According to a description of Elbing published in 1818, in 1623 a sale took place in order to purchase better books, selling the old ones for 14 *grossi* per pound of parchment and 10 *grossi* per pound of paper. In total, the weight of the books sold amounted to 205 pounds of parchment and 75 pounds of paper, providing some idea of the size of the collection

8 For the history of the Brigittine foundation in Elbląg see M. Toeppen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des städtischen Lebens im Mittelalter*, Heft 2, Danzig 1872, 139–147; S. Kamińska, *Klasztory brygidek w Gdańsku, Elblągu i Lublinie: założenia i uposażenie*, Gdańsk 1970.

9 In the will of Jacob Struch from 1464: “Item quia libros meos de elemosinis pauperum comparavi et aliquos in testamentum et alias propter Deum suscepimus do et lego eidem monasterio Beate Birgitte [...]”; edition in: R. Kubicki, “Testamenty mieszkańców Elbląga z drugiej połowy XV w.”, *Rocznik Elbląski*, 28(2018), 37–50, at 47. See also Toeppen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten*, 140–141.

10 *Altpreußische Biographie*, ed. C. Krollmann, im Auftrage der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung, Marburg/Lahn 1974, vol. 2, 472; F. Hipler, “Analecta Warmiensia. Studien zur Geschichte der ermländischen Archive und Bibliotheken”, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 5(1874), 316–488, at 420–422.

11 Hipler, “Analecta Warmiensia”, 422–426.

sold.¹² In 1926, only 25 manuscript volumes remained in the library.¹³ Their later fate is unknown.

The Dominican Convent

The Dominican Convent of Elbląg was founded in 1327 and abandoned in 1542. No description of the library survives, and, the only information on the medieval history of the collection states that some books were lost in a fire in 1504.¹⁴ A document dated 1514 attests that some books were donated to the convent during the post-fire reconstruction.¹⁵ After 1542, the conventual church of St. Mary was handed over to the Lutheran congregation and its library was gradually scattered. In 1544, the city came into the possession of some 35 volumes, but already in 1565 as many as 21 of those were missing.¹⁶ In his *Adressbuch der Deutschen Bibliotheken*,¹⁷ Paul Schwenke describes a collection of fifty manuscripts bequeathed to the city by a merchant named Convent, who died in 1812. In 1893 they were kept in the Municipal Museum in Elbląg.¹⁸

Surviving Elbląg Manuscripts and Fragments

Except for a few manuscripts of Dominican provenance held today at the Museum of Archaeology and History in Elbląg and two manuscripts in the Elbląg Library, no medieval collection has been preserved in the town. One more Dominican manuscript from Elbląg is held in nearby Gdańsk.¹⁹ Further abroad, 39 medieval codices

12 M. Fuchs, *Beschreibung der Stadt Elbing und ihres Gebietes in topographischer, geschichtlicher und statistischer Hinsicht*, v. 1, Elbing 1818, 203. For this information I would like to thank Ewa Chlebus from the Elbląg Library.

13 E. Chwalewik, *Zbiory polskie. Archiwa, biblioteki, gabinety, galerie, muzea i inne zbiory pamiątek przeszłości w ojczyźnie i na obczyźnie w porządku alfabetycznym według miejscowości ułożone*, t. 1, Warszawa-Kraków 1926, 80.

14 R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej: od XIII do połowy XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2007, esp. 101–102; Toeppen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten*, 360–366; Sekulski, *Książka w Elblągu*, 13–16.

15 Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej*, 102, p. 79.

16 Ibid., 102.

17 Schwenke, *Adressbuch der Deutschen Bibliotheken*, Leipzig 1893, 109 (no. 449).

18 I would like to thank Ewa Chlebus for this information.

19 Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej*, 101, p. 78.

originating directly from Elbląg are currently held in the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge.²⁰ They were brought to Cambridge after 1626 by an Anglican priest, Richard Pernham, and his wife Mary, whose name appears in most of the manuscripts. The Pernhams stayed in Elbing from 1618 to 1626²¹ and were connected to the local English trading post. According to notes that can be found in some of the codices, prior to coming into the possession of the Pernhams, at least some of these codices belonged to the Brigittine monastery in Elbing. Still, this attribution does not necessarily apply to all the items in the collection, and, in any case, as noted above, the Elbing convent's history was very brief (1454–1521), and we know very little about the books' pre-Brigittine provenance. What can be said, however, is that provenance notes and content connect some of the books to the University of Prague,²² and some supposedly come from the Teutonic castle in Elbing.²³

In addition to these collections, at present two more manuscripts of Elbląg provenance are known, the first of which is held in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg,²⁴ and the second in the Russian State Library in Moscow.²⁵ Both were purchased in the second half of the twentieth century. In addition, the State Archive

20 The collection is described in M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1912.

21 M. Perlbach, "Elbinger Handschriften in Cambridge", *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 19(1920), 36–37.

22 J. Kejř, "Díla pražských mistrů v rukopisech knihovny Corpus Christi College, Cambridge" ["The works of Prague Masters in the manuscripts of the library of Corpus Christi College"], *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 26(1986), 109–148 [English summary, 145–148].

23 Päsler, *Deutschsprachige Sachliteratur*, 366.

24 L. Neubaur, *Katalog der Stadtbibliothek zu Elbing*, Bd. 2, Elbing 1894, 565; Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek, Hs. 198393. <https://handschriftencensus.de/13767>; <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj90292636.T>; digital surrogate.

25 Moscow, Russian State Library (Российская государственная библиотека), Fond 218, Nr. 1241; see manuscripta.pl, <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31301422>; D. Barow-Vassilevitch, M.-L. Heckmann, *Abendländische Handschriften des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in den Beständen der Russischen Staatsbibliothek (Moskau)*, Wiesbaden 2016, 262–265; *Zapiski Otdela Rukopisej*, 26:1963, 386–387.

in Gdańsk holds three leaves of the Chronicle of Jeroschin from the collection of the Municipal Archive in Elbląg.²⁶

Until now, our knowledge of lost manuscripts is based chiefly on archival inventories, bolstered by a few references found in the wills of local citizens.²⁷ Fragments can help complete the picture. In particular, manuscript fragments reused in the bindings of other books can provide an idea of the types of texts and the range of sources that circulated in medieval Elbląg. The present study considers fragments in the bindings of the manuscripts from Elbląg in the Parker Library, as well as those in the bindings of books printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and currently held in the Elbląg Library (Biblioteka Elbląska im. Cypriana Norwida), which inherited the collection of the Elbląg Gymnasium.

While founded in 1535 as the first gymnasium in Prussia, and, for that matter, the Kingdom of Poland, the Elbląg Gymnasium did not have a library until 1601, when the city council bought the collection of the late rector, Thomas Rotus, to establish one.²⁸ Over the following decades, the library was enriched with the books of many local citizens, such as Andreas Neander, the Loitz family, and Samuel and Andreas Meienreis, whose libraries consisted not only of local purchases but also testified to travels abroad.²⁹ The historical printed books collection for the most part has been preserved and

26 Gdańsk, Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe, 492/656, 492/657, and 492/658; <https://handschriftencensus.de/2842>; images: https://www.bbaw.de/forschung/dtm/HSA/Elbing_700329900000.html

27 Kubicki, "Testamenty", 49.

28 About the history of the Elbląg Library see: H. Bauer, "Alt-Elbinger Stammbücher in der Stadtbücherei: I. Biographische Beiträge aus Stammbüchern der kryptokalvinistischen Zeit um 1600", *Elbinger Jahrbuch* 8(1929), 149–205; J. Lassota, "Zarys dziejów Biblioteki Elbląskiej (1601–1945)", *Rocznik Elbląski* 1(1961), 97–120; *Biblioteka Elbląska 1601–2001. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej z okazji 400-lecia Biblioteki Elbląskiej*, Elbląg, 23 XI 2001 r., ed. W. Długokęcki, Elbląg 2001; *Biblioteka Elbląska – przeszłość i teraźniejszość = Elbląg Library – past and present: praca zbiorowa*, ed. P. Derlukiewicz, Elbląg 2005; *Zbiory zabytkowe Biblioteki Elbląskiej. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w Bibliotece Elbląskiej 24 listopada 2006 r.*, ed. W. Długokęcki, Elbląg 2006, <http://www.kpbc.ukw.edu.pl/dlibra/plain-content?id=27564>.

29 See K. Podlaszewska, "Prywatne biblioteki mieszczan elbląskich w XVI w. i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku", *Studia o Bibliotekach i Zbiorach Polskich* 5(1993), 47–69; Sekulski, *Książka w Elblągu*, 25–33.

today is held at the Elbląg Library, although its recent history was far from straightforward. Because the library building was damaged as a result of the Soviet invasion in 1945, it was decided to move the collection in deposit to Toruń and its newly established Nicolaus Copernicus University, and the collection was stored in chests awaiting the move. By the time of the move in 1947, 18 chests had been taken to an unknown location.³⁰ What concerns the manuscript collection, the evidence of the manuscript catalogue from the 1780s shows that, in the eighteenth century, the collection largely held volumes produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³¹ Still, it cannot be excluded that, apart from two preserved pieces mentioned above, the library had some medieval manuscripts which could have been lost along with printed books directly after World War II.

Many of the binding fragments studied have foreign provenance or are of uncertain origin and provenance, and cannot be traced back to Prussia with any certainty. Nevertheless, there are some cases where the binding materials can be directly linked to medieval Prussia. In effect, we use five types of evidence to link fragments to Prussia: bindings, fragment text, host volume provenance, paleographical indications, and parchment waste context.

Fragments in Prussian Bindings

Bindings are very useful in identifying the provenance of the fragments they contain, especially late Gothic bindings, which are relatively easy to identify on the basis of specific sets of decorative tools and techniques. Naturally, this identification depends on the assumption that binders used fragments from manuscripts discarded locally and has to be taken with caution.³² In the Elbląg Library can be found bindings connected to mostly Central European

30 D. Czyżak, "Zanim księgozbiór elbląski do Torunia dotarł", *Rocznik Elbląski* 18(2002), 145. The collection returned to Elbląg in 2001.

31 J. Sekulski, "Księgozbiór biblioteki gimnazjum elbląskiego w XVIII w.", *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 3(1982), 197.

32 A. Reynolds, "'Worthy to Be Reserved': Bookbindings and the Waste Paper Trade in Early Modern England and Scotland", *The Paper Trade in Early Modern Europe*, ed. D. Bellingradt and A. Reynolds, Leiden 2001, 342. N. Pickwoad, "The Use of Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts in the Construction and Covering of Bindings on Printed Books", in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments*

binding workshops: Nürnberg (Koberger officine), Leipzig and Silesia, among others. There are, however, some bindings produced by bookbinders who were active in Prussia.³³

Paul Schwenke, who researched Prussian bindings over a century ago distinguished two workshops located specifically in Elbląg (Elbing I and Elbing II). In the Elbląg Library six bindings come from the workshop known as Elbing II, characterized by its typical set of stamps, mostly of a floral character (stylized leaves, twigs and rosettes) combined with arch-shaped stamps and a speech scroll with the name 'Maria'.³⁴ In one such binding, produced at the turn of the fifteenth century for an incunable containing *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis* by Pelbartus de Themeswar, printed in Hagenau in 1499 by Henrich Gran for Johann Rynman (Inc. 24), the front and back partial flyleaves are parchment fragments of a fourteenth-century missal [F-b3nn], which will be discussed below in relation to musical notation.

While Elbląg Library does not have any bindings from a second bindery connected to Elbląg, Elbing I, one such binding can be found in Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, [MS 516](#). In the binding of a fifteenth-century manuscript containing medical *quaestiones* appear parchment snippets, which, when put together, form part of a twelfth-century calendar leaf for February and March [F-5aeo]. Directly above the kalends of March is written the name *Bononius monachus et presbyter sancti Stephani* (f. 1ar), a saint who was celebrated in Piedmont. This entry, as well as the script of the text, suggests that the liturgical book was written in Italy. What is puzzling in this case is that the saint in question was celebrated in fact on 30 August. It seems probable that the name of Bononius was introduced by a second hand by mistake instead of Bonosius (Bonosus), the bishop of Trier celebrated on 17 February³⁵. In between the

of Medieval Books. Proceedings of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford 1998, ed. by L.L. Brownrigg and M.M. Smith, London 2000, 2–3.

33 E. Chlebus, "Oprawy późnogotyckie w zbiorach biblioteki elbląskiej", *Zbiory polskie*, ed. A. Wagner, Toruń 2021, 51–80.

34 Chlebus, "Oprawy późnogotyckie", 73, I. Schunke and K. von Rabenau, *Die Schwenke-Sammlung gotischer Stempel- und Durchreibungen*, Bd. 2, Berlin 1996, 73.

35 I would like to thank Mr Sławomir Szyller (manuscripta.pl) for this suggestion.

lines have been inserted obits that now are hardly readable. As they can bring important information on the place where the manuscript was used, they deserve further investigation with multispectral imaging.

In addition to the Parker codex, a handful of other Elbing I bindings can be found in the Seminary Library in Pelplin³⁶ and in the University Library in Uppsala.³⁷ These bindings have still to be investigated for the presence of manuscript fragments.

Besides Elbing I and II, bindings from other Prussian workshops can be identified among the books currently in Elbląg Library. A binding for an incunable from Elbląg Library, Inc.44 can be ascribed to the Brethren of the Common Life in Chełmno.³⁸ It contains *Vocabularius iuris utriusque*, printed in Basel by Michael Wenssler no later than August 1475. Parchment flyleaves made of two bifolia came from one of the most typical binding waste texts, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, in this case a late-fourteenth-century copy probably made in Prussia, as suggested by the type of script [F-otyg]. While earlier the stamps used in the binding were associated with Gdańsk,³⁹ more recent studies ascribe the tools to a Chełmno workshop.⁴⁰ The possibilities that at some point the bindery was moved from Chełmo to Gdańsk or that the tools changed owners have yet to be investigated.⁴¹

Another Prussian binding that can be found in Elbląg Library was produced in the so-called *Marien-Schriftband* bindery in Königsberg in the first two decades of the sixteenth century (Inc.84–85).⁴² The composite volume contains *Polyanthea, opus suavissimis floribus*

36 Pelplin, Biblioteka Diecezjalna im. Biskupa Jana Bernarda Szlagi, Ms 200(121), 245(49), 253(67), 269(253).

37 Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C660.

38 Chlebus, "Oprawy późnogotyckie", 67–69.

39 O. Günther, *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, Bd. 5: *Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig*, Danzig 1921, Taf. III; Schunke and von Rabenau, *Die Schwenke-Sammlung*, 66.

40 E. Szandorowska, "Biblioteka i pracownia introligatorska Braci Wspólnego Życia w Chełmnie: Próba rekonstrukcji", *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 9(1973), 265–285.

41 Chlebus, "Oprawy późnogotyckie", 69.

42 Chlebus, "Oprawy późnogotyckie", 69; Schunke and von Rabenau, *Die Schwenke-Sammlung*, 140.

exornatum by Domenico Nani Mirabelli, printed in Venice by Peter Liechtenstein in 1507, and Jerome's *Commentaria in Bibliam* printed in Venice by the brothers Giovanni and Gregorio De' Gregori in 1498. A fragment of a bifolium containing Psalms written in a fourteenth-century hand was used as a flange hooked around the first quire of the book [F-8re6].⁴³

Elbląg Library bindings can also be ascribed to Gdańsk binderies. The researchers of previous generations defined some binderies relying solely on stamp motifs.⁴⁴ The results of such an analysis can be taken only as a starting point for further research, since binding tools often travelled between workshops. Indeed, as Ewa Chlebus argues, only a systematic reexamination that combines the ornamentation of binding stamps with the analysis of specific binding techniques can refine the identification of the binders active in Gdańsk.⁴⁵ In any case, some bindings from Elbląg Library can be ascribed more generally to Gdańsk, and their specific attribution has to be taken with caution.⁴⁶ For example, SD.XVI.2143, has a characteristic set of small stamps pressed densely on the cover, and these have been used to identify the volume as bound in the *Mosaik II* workshop in the first decade of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ The volume contains *Librorum Francisci Petrarche Impressorum Annotatio* printed in Venice by Simon de Luere for Andrea Torresano de Asula in 1501. Two parchment flyleaves are made out of two bifolia containing sermons by the Dominican preacher Anthonius de Azaro [F-eud3]. Another Elbląg Library book bound in Gdańsk comes from the so-called *Rankenstabbuchbinder*,⁴⁸ active in the last decade of the fifteenth

43 E. Chlebus, "Elementy przybyszowe w oprawach późnogotyckich – formy, funkcje, terminologia", *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 61(2017), 81.

44 Günther, *Katalog*; Schunke and von Rabenau, *Die Schwenke-Sammlung*.

45 This remark refers to all under-studied Prussian binderies; Gdańsk, as the biggest center of book production and trade in the region, constitutes a particularly complex case.

46 Chlebus, "Oprawy późnogotyckie", 61–62.

47 Schunke and von Rabenau, *Die Schwenke-Sammlung*, 64.

48 Günther, *Katalog*; 53–55, Schunke and von Rabenau, *Die Schwenke-Sammlung*, 64–65; J. Geiß, "Einbände für den Barther Reformator Johannes Block (1470/80–1544/45). Teil 2: Werkstätten aus Danzig", *Einbandforschung* 13(2003), 13–24; Chlebus, "Oprawy późnogotyckie", 62.

century, covering the 1497 Basel (Johannes Amerbach) printing of Augustine's *Explanatio Psalmorum. P. I–III* (Inc.76). In this volume one can find two strips, the first cut vertically, the second horizontally, containing fragments of the books of Amos and Abdias taken from an eleventh-century Bible [F-7kzk] (Figure 1).

Beyond the distinct and relatively easy-to-identify late-Gothic bindings, more common types of bindings can be described as being likely Prussian in origin. For example, a half-leather binding covered with green or black paint has been indicated in the literature as characteristic for German territories.⁴⁹ Thus SD.XVI.2127–2128, containing *Adriani Turnebi Adversariorum Tomi III* printed in Basel by Thomam Guarianum in 1581 and *Genealogikon Romanum De Familiis Praecipuis Regum, Principum, Caesarum, Imperatorum, Consulium Item, Aliorumque Magistratuum ac procerum Imperii Romani, ab v. C. usque ad haec tempora praesentia* by Elias Reusner printed in Frankfurt by the heirs of Andreas Wechelus in 1589, which once belonged to Samuel Meienreis, an Elbląg citizen and Calvinist priest, has a half-leather binding with four parchment fragments of Isaac Israeli's *De febribus* written in the fourteenth century [F-och8] (Figure 2). In the case of this specific binding, its origin has been narrowed down by Ewa Chlebus to Elbląg or Gdańsk on the evidence of the flyleaf paper's fish-shape watermark.

Recent research on late-Gothic bookbinders in Prussia will allow the extension of research to other repositories that can be identified as having Prussian-produced bindings. Research combining ornamental features with analysis of specific technology has to date focused on Ermland workshops. Examples of Ermland bindings can be found in such repositories as the Library of the “Hosianum” Warmia Archdiocese Seminary and of the Theological Faculty of the University of Warmia and Mazury, the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, the Copernican Public Library in Toruń or Universitetsbiblioteket in Uppsala.⁵⁰

49 Pickwood, “The Use of Fragments”, 9–10.

50 E. Chlebus, *Późnogotyckie introligatorstwo warmińskie w świetle zachowanych opraw* (PhD thesis, forthcoming). In her thesis, Ewa Chlebus identifies summarily the fragments used in the bindings. For an analysis of the binding waste used, see also E. Chlebus, “Jak franciszkanie pruscy utylizowali rękopisy, czyli

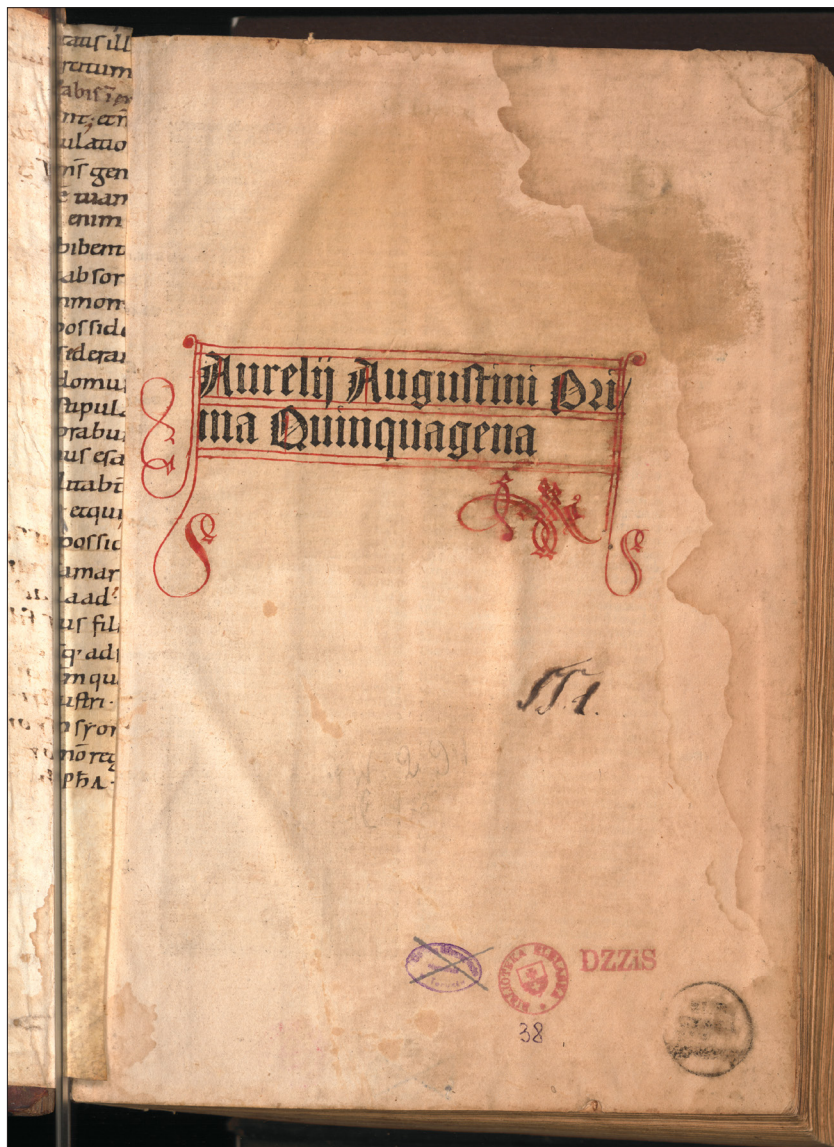


Figure 1: Biblioteka Elbląska, Inc.76 [F-7kzk]

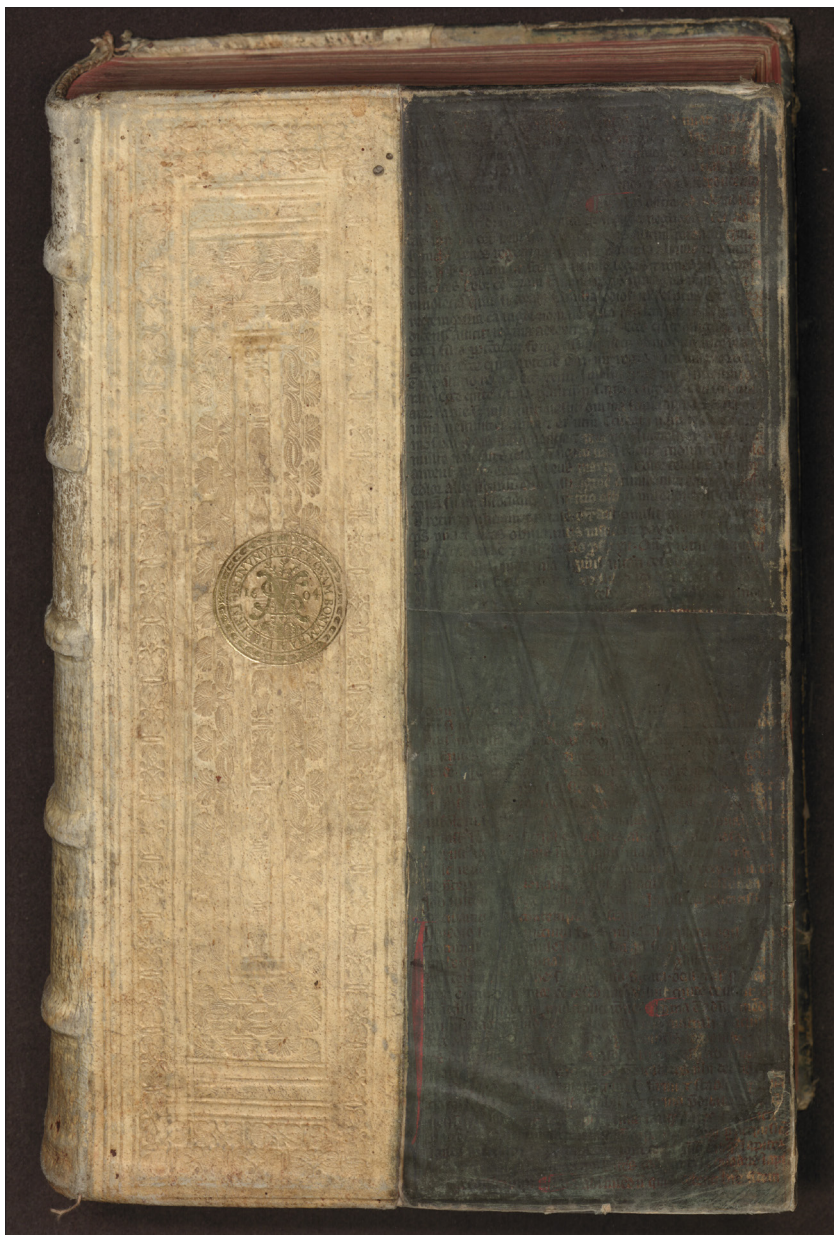


Figure 2. Biblioteka Elbląska, SD.xvi.2127-2128 [F-och8]

Fragment Text

The next type of evidence is the content of the fragment itself, which occasionally reveals a Prussian origin. Most famously, a fragment of the Prussian Chronicle of Nikolaus von Jeroschin was previously used to bind a manuscript preserved today in the University Library in Toruń.⁵¹ For Elbląg fragments, in several cases, archival documents used in the binding strongly suggest a Prussian provenance. For example, a charter used as a pastedown in Cambridge, Parker Library, [Corpus Christi College 520](#), containing among others *Apparatus ad Summam Henrici* by Henricus de Barben, *Aurora* by Petrus Riga and *Historia scholastica* by Petrus Comestor, mentions the citizens of Elbląg explicitly.⁵² The charter relates to the controversy between citizens of Elbląg and the Teutonic Knights and concerns specifically the Elbląg commune's rights of appeal to Lübeck [F-oykc]. It contains the second of two legal opinions that has been issued by the canons of Lübeck between 5 January and 24 July 1296 in response to a delegation of Elbląg citizens.⁵³ The document was edited in 1860 in the *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis*⁵⁴ from an original then held in the Municipal Archive of Elbląg, now part of the Elbląg *fonds* in the State Archives in Gdańsk.⁵⁵ As Kwiatkowski assumes, it is likely that the document was prepared in two copies (as was the case for the second opinion of canons of Lübeck), one for the citizens, and one – the Cambridge charter – for the Teutonic Order.⁵⁶ Indeed, it is very probable that the charter now in Cambridge was kept in the castle of Teutonic Order in Elbląg. Supporting this

o znaczeniu badań makulaturowych dla prawoznawstwa”, *Textus et pictura. Średniowieczny kodeks rękopiśmienny jako nośnik treści, znaczeń i wartości artystycznych*, Toruń 2019, 253–302.

51 *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu*, 422–423.

52 James, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, v. 4, xvii– xviii, 472–473.

53 K. Kwiatkowski, “Qui bona fide a non domino emit”, *Zapiski Historyczne*, 82,3(2017), 12–16.

54 *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis, oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands*, Bd 1: *Urkunden der Jahre 1231–1340*, Mainz 1860, no 117, 203–208.

55 Gdańsk, Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe, 368/III,7 (olim I.23); see E. Volckmann, *Katalog des Elbinger Stadtarchivs*, Elbing 1875, 7.

56 Kwiatkowski, “Qui bona fide”, 15–16.

supposition, a second fragment used in the binding contains texts of documents involving the Teutonic Knights and dated 1275, 1277 and 1285, respectively [F-4nr**b**]. In this case, binding waste can provide additional clues for where the volume was bound.

Host Volume Evidence

Similar evidence for Prussian provenance can be the place of production of the host volume, for example the location of the printing house. Since the printing craft was only developed in Elbląg in the seventeenth century, no example of this kind could be indicated for books printed in the time frame in question. Nonetheless, examples can be found for other collections connected to Prussia.⁵⁷

Obviously, other provenance evidence in the host volume indicating that the binding was made in Prussia can be useful in tracing relations between the fragments and local medieval collections. For example, much can be learned from the annotations in a composite volume that belonged to Samuel Wolf, an administrator and poet born in Silesia (modern Jelenia Góra) in 1549. As provost of a Calvinist school in Lewartów (Lubartów) near Lublin in modern eastern Poland, municipal secretary in Elbląg and author of a few pieces of poetry, Wolf was in close acquaintance with many local personalities of some renown, and the network of his connections can – at least partially – be reconstructed thanks to dedicatory notes which can be found in the books he owned.⁵⁸ In a composite volume with generally poetic content, all of which was printed after Wolf took the position of municipal secretary in Elbląg (Biblioteka

57 Such an example can be found in Toruń, Pol.6.II.724–732 [F-3835], an early print from Königsberg, with a cover consisting of a leaf from a thirteenth-century copy of the fourth book of Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine*; the book was owned by David Bläsing (1660–1719), who was born in Königsberg, later studied in Leipzig (1683), and then became a professor of mathematics (1690) and provost of the University in his hometown (1714). Bläsing donated this volume, along with 3000 others, to the University Library in Königsberg; now around 400 volumes are held in Toruń. It was printed by a local printer, Georgius Osterberger, and thus was probably also bound in a local workshop. I would like to thank Marta Czyżak for sharing this example.

58 J. Tondel, “Krąg przyjaciół Samuela Wolfa, rektora szkoły Kalwińskiej w Lewartowie”, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 30(1985), 183–190.

Elbląska, SD.XVI.31–36),⁵⁹ appears the dedication of Andreas Calagius (*Dn. Samuelo Wolfio s. amico Autor mittit*)⁶⁰ inscribed in one of the individual printed books. Since this note appears in the middle of the composite volume, it attests that, when the volume was bound, all the books in it were already in Wolf's possession. In addition, a note on the pastedown indicates the price of the books contained in the volume, expressed in Prussian currency (*Constat in universum 27 g Pruten.*), which is an additional indication that the volume was bound when Wolf settled in Elbląg. The manuscript used in the binding is a fourteenth-century copy of the *Apparatus in quinque libros Decretalium* by Innocent IV (Sinibaldo dei Fieschi) [F-xdgz] (Figure 3), which also appears in two other bindings from the same owner (SD.XVI.975 [F-qtvq] and SD.XVI.984–985 [F-wgqb]). The fragments of the *Apparatus* come from different parts of the page and thus enable us to reconstruct the layout of the pages of the original manuscript.

Paleographical Indications

Owing to a lack of systematic studies of Prussian paleography, the potential of paleographical evidence has yet to be realized.⁶¹ A starting point for paleographical research can be the identifications

59 The composite volume contains the following texts: Cornelius Schonaeus, *Tertius Christianus utpote comoediis sacris transformatus...*, Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Gerardum Greuenbruch, 1592; *Selectorum Carminum Ex Doctiss. Poetis Collectorum, Et nunc primum in lucem editorum Libri Quatuor: I. Iberica. II. Gvsiaca. III. Varia Poemata. IIII. Cantica Sacra*, [Genève]: apud Israellem Taurinum, 1590; Plateanus Johannes, *Virgilio Centones Probae Falconiae...*, Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Ioannem Gymnicum, sub Monocerate, 1592; Hülrich M[arcus] Schober, *Olbiopolis Seu Civitas Beata*, Lipsiae: imprebat Michael Lanzenberger, 1592; Calagius Andreas, *Epigrammatum Farrago*, Witebergae: ex officina Mathaei Welaci, 1583; *Henrici Meibomii Lemgoviensis E Saxonibus Vvstuali Parodiis Horatianarum Libri Duo ad Nicolavm Caasam Magnum regni Danicae Cancellarium*, Helmaestadii: excudebat Iacobus Lucius, 1588.

60 H. Palm, "Calagius, Andreas", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 3 (1876), 691–692, online version: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd128705671.html>

61 For the literature concerning the state of research on medieval scriptoria in Prussia see M. Marszałkowski, *Średniowieczne kodeksy iluminowane z cysterskiego skryptorium w Pelplinie. Problematyka zabytkoznawcza*, PhD thesis, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, 2020, 74–79.

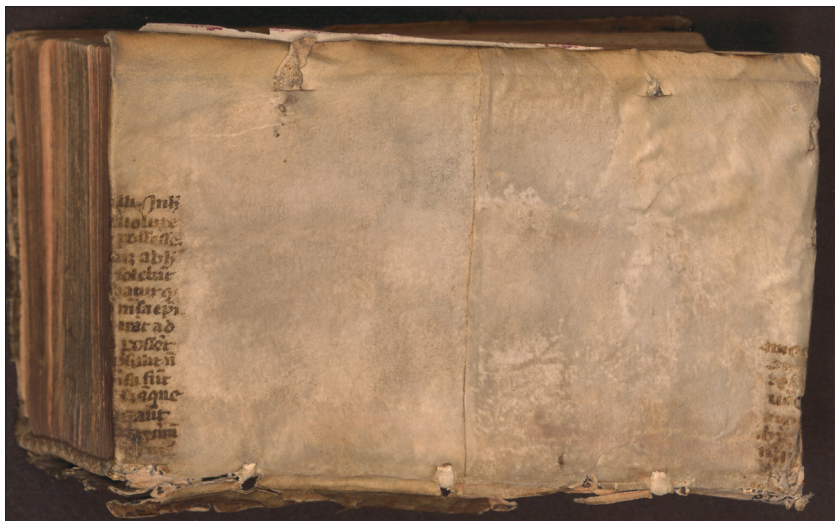


Figure 3. Biblioteka Elbląska, SD.XVI.31-36 [F-xdg2]

made in the catalogue of medieval manuscripts of the University Library of Toruń, which uses context and decoration to associate some manuscripts with Prussian scriptoria.⁶² Nevertheless, none of the fragments analyzed could be unambiguously assigned to one of the identifiable scriptoria. The same applies to the identification of penwork initials that sporadically appear in manuscript waste. The systematic analysis of initials created in local scriptoria has only recently been undertaken, and then with respect to aforementioned collection of the University Library of Toruń,⁶³ as well as the Seminary Library in Pelplin (a town 50 km south-west of Elbląg),⁶⁴ a part of whose holdings come from the former Cistercian abbey of Pelplin, founded in 1276.

Musical notation can provide more precise information. On the basis of characteristic traits, a significant part of Elbląg fragments can be connected to the northern part of modern Poland. Let us

62 See *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu* 19, 26, 38, 86, 110, 144, 154, 168, 195, 207, 210, 215, 224, 234, 262, 271, 286, 327, 331, 339, 343, 388, 402, 408.

63 *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu*.

64 Marszałkowski, *Średniowieczne kodeksy iluminowane*.



Figure 4. Biblioteka Elbląska, Inc.24 [F-b3nn]

return to the example discussed above (Biblioteka Elbląska, Inc.24 [F-b3nn], Figure 4), of an Elbląg (Elbing II) binding with two flanges (partial flyleaves) containing fragments of a missal with a sequentiary, featuring notation using German-Messine contact neumes written in a fourteenth-century hand. On the basis of the partially reconstructed set of signs and the structure of some neumes, it is highly probable that the manuscript came from Pomerania. Certain calligraphic features of some neumes (the *virga* resembles an inverted Arabic numeral 1, and the first element of the *pes* is written with a horizontal line) point to the Cistercian house in Pelplin as a possible place of origin of the manuscript. Nevertheless, such an attribution needs confirmation from additional comparative source studies.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ The fragment was identified and described by Dr. Irina Chachulska from the Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Contextual Fragments

Finally, I gave the working title ‘co-waste evidence’ to the case of a fragment of a Biblical concordance used in the bindings of four sixteenth-century legal books printed in Lyon (Biblioteka Elbląska, SD.XVI.2477.1 [F-aunh], SD.XVI.2477.2 [F-oy37], SD.XVI.2516 [F-fog2], SD.XVI.2515 [F-gdzg]) and bearing no indication of provenance. Based on paleographical evidence, the concordance appears to have been produced in France at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The stamps used on the sixteenth-century bindings bear the likeness of sixteenth-century reformers (Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon and Huss). The ornamentation indicates that the bindings were produced in German territory, but it was used sufficiently broadly that the location cannot be narrowed down any further. The more functional, rather than ornamental, character of the binding (half-leather, manuscript waste) testifies to its practical use, but cannot connect the binding to any specific cultural environment. Nevertheless, another fragment used alongside the concordance in one of the bindings (SD.XVI.2515) comes from a different manuscript – a breviary containing chants for the feast of the St. Hedwig of Silesia [F-8387] – and thus indicates a connection to the territory where St. Hedwig was worshipped. Therefore, combining the evidence from the binding and from the popularity of St. Hedwig, we can assume that the concordance was most likely fragmented in Prussia or Silesia.

Conclusion

This article aimed to use the preliminary results of research on medieval Elbląg to show the potential of studying manuscript fragments in bindings. What seems particularly promising in this respect is the cooperation between specialists in different areas of manuscript studies, namely binding studies, paleography, musicology, diplomacy and art history with the special focus on penwork decoration. The collaboration is not unidirectional: Fragmentology complements and completes these fields, providing new research questions and additional information. What has to be stressed is

that the current state of research of many intertwined fields connected to the history of the book in Prussia and lack or insufficient scope of systematic studies not allows conclusions. There is still a need of parallel systematical investigation that should involve fragmentology.

At present, no more than fifty volumes of medieval manuscripts with provenance connected to different Elbląg institutions have been identified in Polish or foreign libraries. Due to incompleteness of sources and inaccuracy of the descriptions of books contained in historical inventories, it is not possible to estimate the number of manuscripts that circulated at place during the Middle Ages. The perturbations that affected the collection after World War II make the situation even more complex. An analysis of fragments in the bindings of books belonging to collections historically connected to Elbląg can complement our knowledge on local medieval libraries. Among around 200 medieval fragments in our investigation, only a handful can be connected explicitly to Elbląg. The strongest evidence that can indicate such a connection are late-gothic bindings identifiable as produced in Elbląg binderies (as in the case of Biblioteka Elbląska, Inc. 24 and Parker Library, MS 516) or other provenance evidence indicating that the binding was produced in Elbląg (such as the three volumes from the library of Samuel Wolf). Still, much more fragments can be connected to other Prussian cities or to the territory of Prussia without indicating specific location.

The content of the fragments identified so far, both for fragments that were in medieval Elbląg and those currently there, mostly conforms to expectations for in-situ fragments from medieval codices and early modern printed books, with a large number of liturgical and legal texts and a smaller portion of grammatical, pastoral, and medical texts. The most surprising find was two flanges taken from an eleventh-century Psalter with contemporary Anglo-Saxon glosses [F-x8t7], a piece otherwise unique for Polish repositories.⁶⁶ In terms

66 The results of preliminary research on the fragment have been recently presented by Monika Opalińska during the conference *From Fragment to Whole. Interpreting Medieval Manuscript Fragments* held in University of Bristol, Center for Medieval Studies in a talk "A Phantom Psalter from Late Anglo-Saxon England – a New Piece of the Puzzle".

of when they were copied, most manuscripts used in the bindings examined come from the fourteenth century, with a second group being twelfth-century items that were brought to Prussia from other territories. The provenance evidence described above can help to connect the fragments with Prussian territory, whether they were locally produced, or brought to Prussia from abroad. In two cases discussed above, the parchment fragments can be shown to have come directly from manuscript waste that was locally available (namely Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 520, which has a charter involving the citizens of Elbląg, and Biblioteka Elbląska, Inc.24, which features musical notation likely used in nearby Pelplin). Only wider research on manuscript waste from this territory can help in sketching the patterns of circulation of this material in late medieval and early modern Prussia.

Our current research has only examined a small part of fragments preserved in medieval or early modern book bindings connected to Elbląg. The next step will be to investigate books originating from Elbląg, with special emphasis on books from the Elbląg Library now in other Polish repositories, and on bindings identified as produced in Elbląg, now in the Seminary Library in Pelplin and Universitetsbiblioteket in Uppsala.

Research Note

The Scribe and Provenance of Otto F. Ege's Choir Psalter
from the Abbey of St. Stephen, Würzburg, Dated 1499
(Gwara, HL 42)

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While some manuscripts broken by the American rare book dealer and ‘biblioclast’ Otto F. Ege (d. 1951) have received considerable attention, a vellum Choir Psalter from Würzburg designated HL 42 in Scott Gwara’s corpus of Ege manuscripts has remained relatively invisible to scholarship.¹ Yet the emergence of three leaves

¹ 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, 133. Fragments receiving the most attention are: HL 4: Y. Liu and A. Brecht, “Leaf 4 in Otto Ege’s *Fifty Original Leaves Portfolio*—A New Identification: Sermons by Philip the Chancellor (With a Partial Handlist of Sermons on Leaf 4 from Various Collections)”, *Florilegium* 33 (2016), 167–91; HL 8: A. Altstadt, “Re-membering the Wilton Processional”, *Notes* 72 (2016), 690–732; HL 15: L. Fagin Davis, “The Beauvais Missal: Otto Ege’s Scattered Leaves and Digital Surrogacy”, *Florilegium* 33 (2016), 143–66 [and other sources noted therein]; HL 32: G. Baroffio Dahnk, “Frammenti di Ricerca 2020–1: Frammenti liturgici italiani nei ‘portfolio’ di Otto Fr. Ege (I): l’innario F. 32”, *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra* 41 (2020), 107–176; HL 39: A. C. de la Mare, “A Livy Copied by Giacomo Curlo Dismembered by Otto Ege”, in L. L. Brownrigg and M. M. Smith, *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, Los Altos, CA, 2000, 57–88; HL 41: M. Budny, “A New Leaf from ‘Otto Ege Manuscript 41’”, *Manuscript Evidence* (blog), July 7, 2015, <https://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/a-new-leaf-from-otto-ege-manuscript-41/>; For published scholarship on these and other Ege fragments, see S. J. Gwara and C. M. Garriss, *A History of the Teaching Collection of Early Manuscripts at the University of South Carolina*, Cayce, SC, 2018, 22–35.

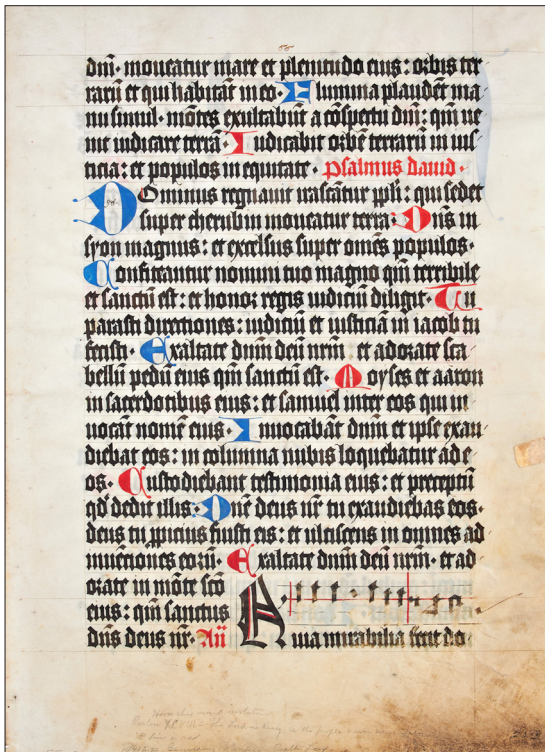


Figure 1: One of three folios offered at Bloomsbury Auctions on 7 December 2020. By kind permission of Bloomsbury Auctions, photographer Roger Wooldrige, and the consignor.

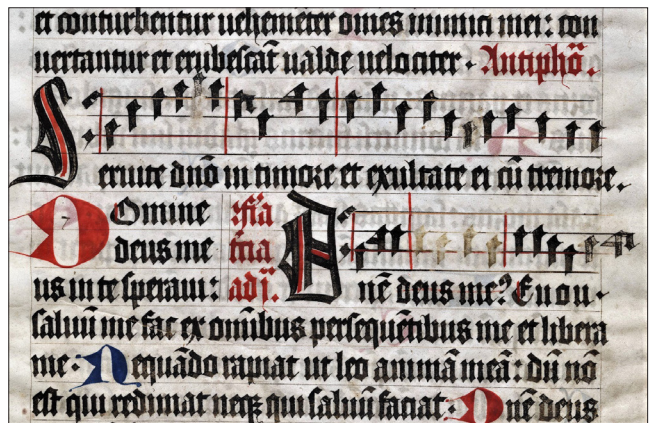


Figure 2: Strapwork and painted initials as well as Huf-nagel neumes are characteristic of the known leaves. Columbia, SC, University of South Carolina, Hollings Library, Early MS 42.

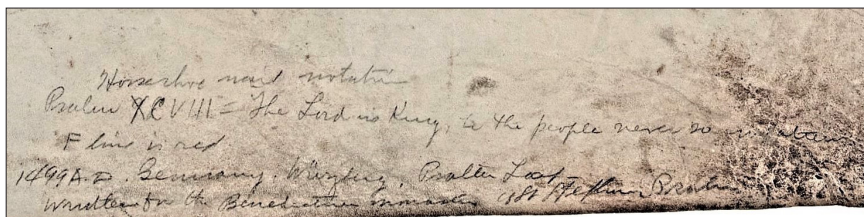


Figure 3: Mrs. Ege annotated the fragment depicted in Figure 1: “Horseshoe nail notation / Psalm XC VIII = The Lord is King, be the people never so impatient / F line is red / 1499 A.D. Germany, Würzburg, Psalter Leaf / Written for the Benedictine monastery of St. Stephen, Psalms”. By kind permission of Bloomsbury Auctions, photographer Roger Wooldridge, and the consignor.

of HL 42 in a recent Bloomsbury auction² [Figure 1] affords an opportunity not only to confirm its alleged 1499 date and provenance at the abbey of St. Stephen, Würzburg, but also to identify its scribe as Matthias Hartung and its modern owners as Sir Thomas Phillippis and the German bible translator, Leander van Ess.

Measuring approximately 495 mm x 350 mm,³ HL 42 was copied in Würzburg in 1499 at (and for) the Benedictine abbey of St. Stephen's there. The text is written in a liturgical *textus quadratus* in a single column of 23 lines, and music for the antiphons is provided in Hufnagel notation [Figure 2]. The decoration on all the known leaves consists merely of strapwork initials with red highlights, alternating red and blue one- and two-line initials, and smaller capitals stroked in red. Each recto is foliated in the middle of the upper margin in modern (eighteenth-century?) pen, and the Bloomsbury leaves bear the numbers '66', '95' and '103'.⁴ Mrs. (Louise) Ege annotated f. 66r with a description asserting its origin in the abbey of St. Stephen's,

2 Bloomsbury Auctions, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 2 December 2020, lot 21: “Three leaves from a large Choir Psalter, in Latin, manuscript on parchment.”

3 The dimensions vary. Based on the leaf at the University of South Carolina, Gwara recorded 465 mm x 360 mm in his census (*Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 133), while a leaf at UMass Amherst is said to measure 475 mm x 335 mm. Its written space conforms to Gwara's measurements, approximately 380 mm x 250 mm. For an explanation of the variable dimensions, see below, p. 4.

4 The leaves preserve the Psalms as well as antiphons and, on occasion, responses: f. 66, Pss. 97–100; f. 95, Pss. 142–143; f. 103, Canticles of Isaiah, Ezechias, and Anna. The division (*selah*) at Ps. 143.9 is identified.

Würzburg, and dating it to 1499 [Figure 3].⁵ The folio was priced at twenty dollars.⁶

Until the emergence of these Bloomsbury leaves, others were found only in Ege's posthumous portfolios entitled, *Fifty Original Leaves from Medieval Manuscripts* (ca. 1954, hereafter *FOL*), alongside a single leaf at Missouri State University, Springfield.⁷ Ege's interest in HL 42 was ostensibly typographic. On a 'cartouche' accompanying the fragment in *FOL*, it was remarked that, "the scribe apparently tried to imitate printing type characters in many instances".⁸ Since the leaves of HL 42 are first documented in a price list from ca. 1952,⁹ and only four of them survive outside the *FOL* portfolios, Mrs. Ege probably broke the manuscript after her husband's death. In fact, the dimensions of the Bloomsbury leaves suggest they were independent of *FOL*, simply because they would not have fit into the mats prepared for the portfolio's clamshell housing. The mats had a height of 470 mm and width of 330 mm, and space was necessary for the leaves to be hinged. Leaves of HL 42 must have been trimmed to fit, making it the sole Ege manuscript known to have been both cut up and cut down.

The cartouche prepared for HL 42 in the *FOL* convolute states, "this leaf from the Book of Psalms was written in the Benedictine monastery of St. Stephan in Würzburg and dated 1499 A.D." This information conforms to that written on the Bloomsbury leaves, and new evidence supports these details. Among the codices once belonging to Ege that were acquired in 2015 by the Beinecke Library, a companion volume to HL 42 (Ege 549.1983) bears the following inscription [Figure 4]:

-
- 5 This folio has an additional dealer's mark 'L55-3' penciled on the left-hand side of the lower margin.
 - 6 The same price appears on f. 95, while f. 103 is marked ten dollars. These were very high prices, but many Americans appreciated the size of the sheet and paid more for larger but more widely available leaves.
 - 7 Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 106–107 (Appendix VIII). Thirty-one of forty sets of fragments have been traced.
 - 8 Ege frequently made this assertion, which was more fully developed in H.J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print*, Cambridge 1945; see Gwara and Garriss, *History of the Teaching Collection*, 26.
 - 9 Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 348.

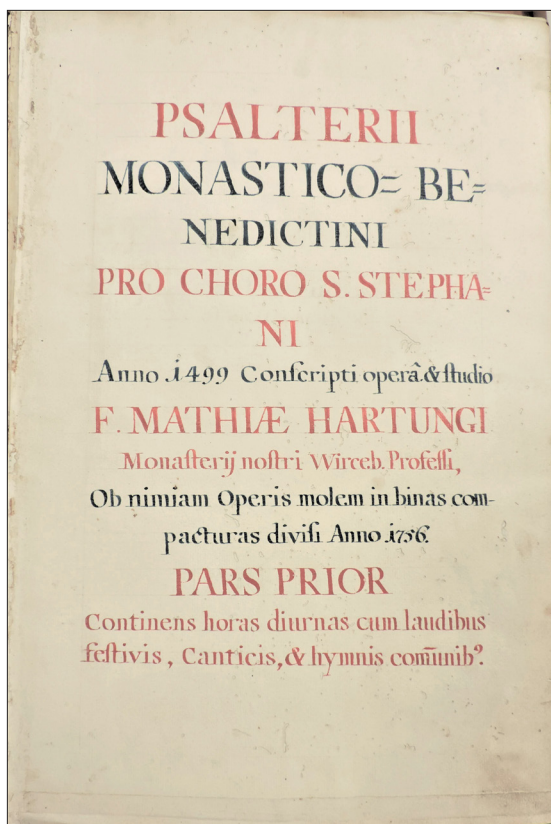


Figure 4: Dedication inscription in the companion volume of Ege HL 42 at the Beinecke Library, Yale University. This memorandum yields the date, provenance and name of the scribe, Matthias Hartung. New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ege 549.1983.

PSALTERII MONASTICO-BENEDICTINI PRO CHORO S. STEPHANI Anno. 1499 Conscripti operâ et studio F. MATHIÆ HARTUNGI Monasterii nostri Wirceb. Professi, Ob nimiam Operis molem in binas compacturas divisi Anno 1756. PARS PRIOR Continens horas diurnas cum laudibus festivis, Canticis, & hymnis Communibus.

The FIRST PART of a Monastic Benedictine Psalter for the Choir of St. Stephen, written in the year 1499 through the care and labor of Brother Matthias Hartung, a monk professed of our monastery in Würzburg; divided in the year 1756—on account of the work's tremendous bulk—and bound into two halves, [this one] containing the diurnal Hours with festal Lauds, Canticles and hymns for the Common of Saints.

This inscription, whose details were most probably taken from a colophon in the undivided book, identifies the manuscript's commission by the Benedictine abbey of St. Stephen's in Würzburg. It was founded in 1057 by Archbishop Adalbero of Würzburg and,

after a period of decline at the close of the Middle Ages, joined the Bursfeld Congregation.¹⁰ It was closed under the secularization of 1803, and its moveable goods and library were either collected into local institutions or entered the open market.¹¹

The inscription in the Yale codex names Matthias Hartung as the scribe of HL 42. Brother Matthias copied liturgical books from at least 1460 until 1499, and perhaps later. In 1481 he copied a liturgical Psalter for the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul in nearby Erfurt. Its colophon stated, “Fr. Mathiae Hartungi OSB: Psalterium conscriptum sub venerabili Patre Domino Gunthero Abbate Monast. Sanctorum Apost. Petri et Pauli Erford. O. S. Bened. 1481.”¹² This manuscript was offered by the Erfurt authorities to the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar, in 1807 and its inscription recorded among their records. It was not purchased, and its whereabouts remain unknown. Yet in addition to Ege’s book and fragments, one codex and two cuttings by Hartung survive. The earliest recorded manuscript dates to 1460 (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.ch.f.246) [Figure 5], a copy of Caesarius of Heisterbach’s *Dialogus miraculorum*.¹³ The unkempt libraria script differs considerably from the elegant liturgical hand that Hartung came to practice. The other surviving witnesses to Hartung’s œuvre are represented solely by

10 L.H. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés*, Mâcon 1935–1938, v. 2, cols. 3468–3469; S. Krämer, *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters*, Munich 1989, v. 2, 850.

11 Krämer, *Handschriftenerbe*, v. 2, 850. Krämer lists some 36 manuscripts now in the university library of Würzburg. See also H. Thurn, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg. II.2: Handschriften aus benediktinischen Provenienzen II*, Wiesbaden 1986, for a fuller discussion. In addition to those in Würzburg, Krämer records only four manuscripts in Berlin, Mainz, Vienna and the Vatican, as well as a single fragment of a twelfth-century Bible, sold at Sotheby’s, 12–13 May 1975, lot 668.

12 B.C. Bushey and H. Broszinski, *Die lateinischen Handschriften bis 1600: Bibliographien und Kataloge der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek zu Weimar*, Weimar 2004, p. 467, where most of the known references to the scribe’s name are gathered. In 1807 the abbreviation ‘Fr.’ of this inscription was thought by the cataloger to mean ‘Friderici’.

13 Described in detail by Thurn, *Die Handschriften II.2*, 98–99. It was copied for St. Stephen’s Abbey.

finita feda scloz Amer
 Explicit Dialogus Cesa
 ri niochi Demmiraculis
 Scripta p me frem mutia
 hartung p fessum quu
 mosti Anno dñi m ccc
 lx Indie sē p mēdie infra
 hora xjai z xjai p q mēdie
 Iste liber ptinet Adstij p fessum
 mosti f ordinis Sancti
 Euducti in herbipoli Deo
 gracia Inductus deus

Figure 5: The earliest recorded commission by Matthias Hartung dates to 1460, as noted in his colophon to a copy of the *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius of Heisterbach. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.ch.f.246, f. 137rb.

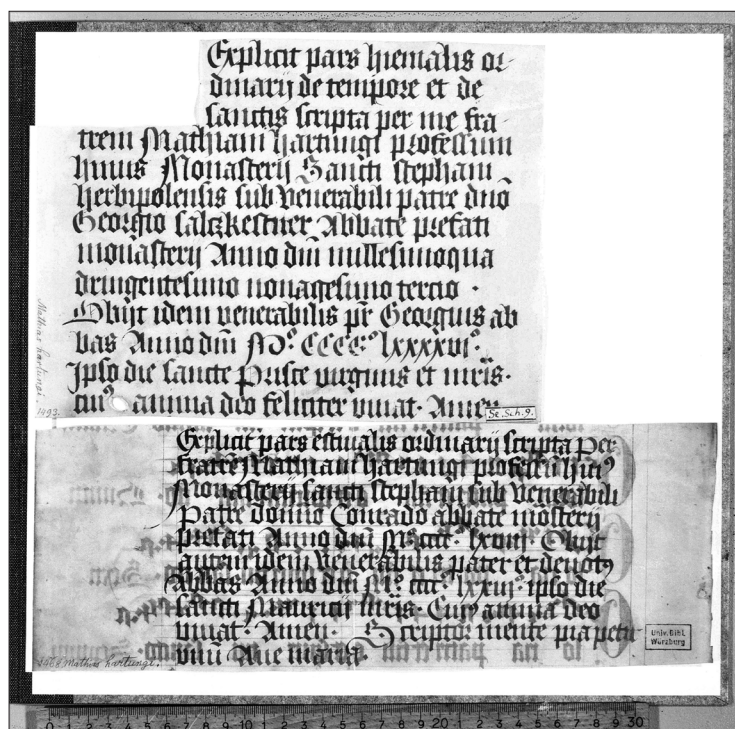


Figure 6: A second commission by Hartung comprising two volumes of an Ordinal is represented only by their colophons. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.m.27/2, f. 1r (above) and f. 2r (below).

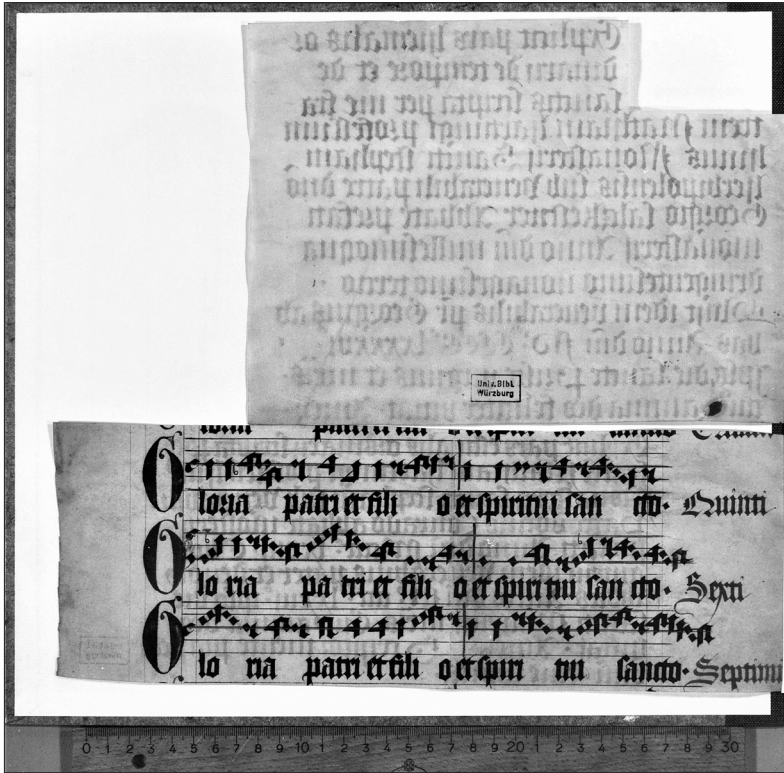


Figure 7: Verso of the Hartung Ordinal fragments. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.m.27/1, f. 1v (above) and f. 2v (below).

two colophon fragments at Würzburg (M. p. th. F.m. 27/2 and 27/1 resp.) datable to 1493 and 1468 [Figures 6-7]:

Winter volume of a Liber ordinarius: 'Explicit pars hiemalis ordinarii de tempore et de sanctis scripta per me Fratrem Mathiam Hartungi professum huius Monasterii Sancti Stephani herbipolensis sub venerabili patre domino Georgio Saltzkestner Abbate prefati monasterii. Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tertio. Obiit idem venerabilis pater Georgius abbas anno domini M^o. CCC^o. LXXXVI^o.¹⁴ Ipso die sancte Prisce virginis et martyris cuius anima deo feliciter vivat. Amen.'

¹⁴ A list of abbots up until the death of Abbot George in 1496 was extended through Petrus Faut (1519) in MS M.ch.f.151 at the Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg; see H. Thurn, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Wurzburg*.



Figure 8: The dispersed volume seems likely to have had initials similar to this one in the *Te deum*. New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ege 549.1983

Summer volume of the Liber ordinarius: ‘Explicit pars estivalis ordinarii scripta per fratrem Mathiam Hartungi professum huius Monasterii sancti Stephani sub venerabili patre domino Conrado abate monasterii prefati Anno domini m°. cccc°. lxxviii. Obiit autem idem venerabilis pater et devotus abbas Anno domini m°. cccc°. lxxviii. ipso die sancti Mauricii martyris. Cuius anima deo vivat. Amen. Scriptor mente pia petit una Ave Maria.’¹⁵

The script of neither colophon matches Hartung’s, so that, even though the first inscription reads “per me,” it was probably penned by a precentor, librarian, or well-intentioned amanuensis. Each of these colophons was copied by a single scribe, but not obviously Hartung. They have two components. First, each colophon names

11.1: *Handschriften aus benediktinischen Provenienzen I*, Wiesbaden 1973, p. 150.

15 This metrical petition is found elsewhere in a fourteenth-century collection of sermons, now Munich, Clm 23374 (see K. Halm and W. Meyer, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Munich 1881, v. 2, pt. 4, 66 and Bénédictins de Bouveret, *Colophons des Manuscrits Occidentaux des Origines au XVI^e Siècle*, Fribourg 1982, v. 6, 493). There are many close variants.



Figure 9: “Virgin and Christ Child in a Cloistered Garden”, with an imaginary castle in the background. The colophon above the miniature confirms the date of 1499. New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ege 549.1983.

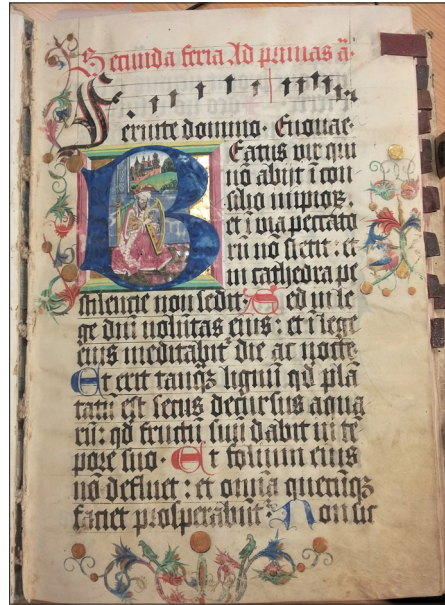


Figure 10: “David Playing the Harp” in an initial B of Psalm 1, “Beatus vir”, with an imaginary castle in the background. New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ege 549.1983.

Matthias Hartung as scribe of the Ordinal and provide a date of completion: 1493 for the winter volume and 1468 for the summer volume. Each then also provides a date of death for a named abbot: Abbot George in 1496 and Abbot Conrad in 1473. Our conclusion is that, when the abbots died, the volumes were annotated to record the abbacies associated with the liturgy in each manuscript. Information from the original colophon was copied alongside the abbot’s death-date. Although, as mentioned, in neither case does the script resemble that of Hartung, the verso of the second fragment (27/2) bears a liturgical script practically identical to Hartung’s in HL 42 [Figure 7]. The formation of the upper element of *a*, the delicately split descender of *p*, and z-shaped *r* of the *or* ligature are characteristic. Nevertheless, the script of the Ege fragment is far more



Figure 11: “Father, Son, and Holy Ghost” in initial D of Psalm 109, “Dixit dominus domino meo.” New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ege 549.1983.

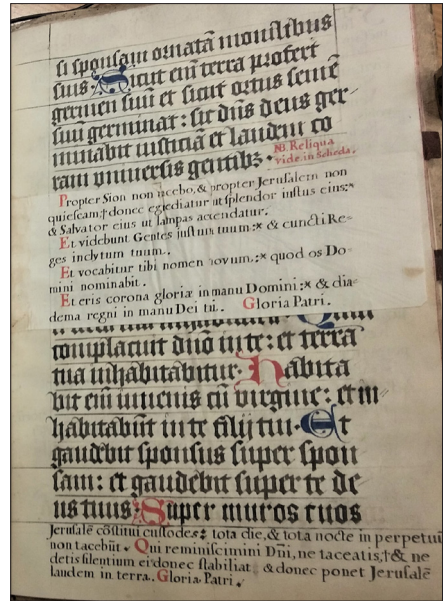


Figure 12: Pages of the Choir Psalter that had been updated over many years of use would most likely not have been saleable. New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ege 549.1983.

controlled, and perhaps Ege’s premise that the writing competed with type explains its exceptional regularity.

Now that the sister codex at Yale has been identified, both it and Ege’s dismembered manuscript can be traced to a Sotheby’s sale of manuscripts once owned by Sir Thomas Phillipps.¹⁶ According to the catalogue, the two volumes totalling 265 folios held “30 large initial letters finely executed in gold and colours with well designed borders illuminated in the South German manner, with animals and birds, and grotesques” [Figure 8]. The catalogue also mentions a very

16 Sotheby’s, 1 December 1947, lot 109 (Phillipps MS 680). In the same auction, Ege also purchased lot 92, the ‘Warburg Missal,’ which was also from the diocese of Würzburg but used in the church of St. John in Warburg. Like HL 42, it also belonged to the German monk, bible translator and bibliophile, Leander van Ess. Leaves cut from it became Ege’s HL 22, sales of which are only documented after Ege’s death.

large miniature of the “Virgin and Child in a Garden” [Figure 9],¹⁷ and singles out three historiated initials: “David Playing the Harp” [Figure 10], “the young King holding the Orb”,¹⁸ and “the Holy Ghost” [Figure 11]. The miniature of the Virgin and initials of David and the Trinity survive in the first volume at Yale. While heavily altered, this book remained “remarkably clean”. By contrast, soiling and rubbing in the second volume perhaps explain why it was chosen for dismemberment. Maggs (London) acquired both components for £260,¹⁹ and Ege either enlisted Maggs as his agent for this purchase or bought the manuscript volumes from a Maggs catalogue.

HL 42 has an even earlier provenance, however. Phillipps obtained it with the collection of Leander van Ess (1772–1847), purchased *en bloc* in 1823. Van Ess professed a monk in Marienmünster in 1790, but after the Secularization served as the parish priest of Schwalenberg (Lippe).²⁰ In 1812 he was appointed (Catholic) professor at the Protestant University of Marburg, resigning in 1822 and moving to Darmstadt.²¹ Throughout these years, van Ess had been acquiring monastic books and manuscripts, either directly from defunct libraries or through intermediaries. Milton McC. Gatch has noted that van Ess acquired printed books from the Dominicans of Warburg and from Huysberg and Hadmersleben abbeys (diocese of Halberstadt), as well as duplicates from the university library at Freiburg im Breisgau.²² The manuscripts, however, seem to have been acquired chiefly between 1812 and 1822, during the Marburg professorship. A few came with van Ess from Marienmünster, but the collector himself wrote to Phillipps that they had been acquired

17 A colophon above the miniature records the date of 1499.

18 This miniature does not appear in the Yale volume, so it may have been removed from the second volume by Mrs. Ege and sold separately.

19 We are grateful to Alex Day at Bernard Quaritch, Ltd. (London), for consulting his firm’s marked catalogues and sharing these details with us.

20 J. Altenberend, “Leander van Ess (1772–1847)”, in *‘So Precious a Foundation’: The Library of Leander Van Ess at the Burke Library of Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York*, ed. M. McC. Gatch, New York 1996, 21–45, at pp. 22, 24.

21 J. Altenberend, “Leander van Ess (1772–1847)”, 32.

22 M. McC. Gatch, “The Book Collections and the Library of Leander van Ess”, in *‘So Precious a Foundation’*, 47–84, at pp. 56–58.

from defunct abbeys. The largest group has been traced to St. Barbara's, Cologne, but others came from Jakobsberg (Mainz) and from small religious houses in the dioceses of Paderborn, Cologne, Mainz, and Trier.²³

In his privately printed catalogue, Phillipps described the St. Stephen's volumes laconically as a single book: "Psalterium Wirceburgense, 1499 conscriptum. Vell."²⁴ In 1823, however, van Ess had prepared a catalogue of his library that drew the attention of Sir Thomas, who bought the entire collection. The St. Stephen's manuscripts are more fully described therein:

296. *Psalterium monastico-Benedictinum pro Choro S. Stephani (in Würzburg) anno 1499 conscriptum, opera et studio F. Mathiae Hartungi, Wirceburgi professi. Partes duae, continentes horas diurnas cum laudibus festivis, cautis et hymnis communibus.* Ist auf 274 Pergamentblätter sehr schön geschrieben mit Text und Noten in Missalschrift. 31 Initialen sind auf Goldgrund gemalt, mit Randverzierung, Laubwerk, Thieren eingefasst, auch sind mehrere schöne Bilder, Landschaften—auf einem Bilde ist die Stadt Würzburg mit den Schlosse Stein und die Umgegend sehr malerisch schön angebracht—auf Goldgrund schön gemalt. Ausserdem enthält es unendlich viele colorierte Initialen. Wenige Blätter sind auf Papier ergänzt. Wiewohl stark gebraucht, doch im Ganzen sehr gut leserlich, und die Gold-Initialen meistens wie neu. In Schweinsleder-Holzband gebunden, in Fol. maximo.²⁵

296. [...] It is beautifully written on 274 sheets of parchment with text and notation in 'liturgical script'. 31 initials are painted on a gold background, framed with border ornamentation, foliage, animals, and there are also several beautiful pictures, landscapes—the city of Würzburg with Stein Castle and the surrounding area are beautifully painted in one picture—beautifully painted on a gold background. It also contains an infinite number of coloured initials. A few paper sheets have been added. Although heavily used, the whole thing is very legible, and the gold initials

23 M. McC. Gatch, "The Book Collections", 59–60.

24 T. Phillipps, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart., A.D. 1837*, Middle Hill (Worcestershire) 1837, p. 8, no. 680. The catalogue was privately printed and issued by Phillipps in small numbers on multiple occasions across three decades. It is now available as a facsimile of the copy once in the library of book dealer Lew D. Feldman, with an introduction by A.N.L. Munby, as well as online in the [digitized copy](https://fragmentology.ms/issues/4-2021/ege-42) of the Royal Library in The Hague.

25 L. van Ess, *Sammlung und Verzeichniss handschriftlicher [sic] Bücher aus dem VIII. IX. X. XI. XII. XIII. XIV Jahrhundert*, etc., Darmstadt 1823, p. 48. Van Ess shipped the books to Phillipps, who failed to pay in a timely fashion or to remit the whole amount; see A.N.L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library Up to the Year 1840*, v. 3, Cambridge 1954, pp. 29–32.

are for the most part like new. Bound in pigskin over wooden boards, in grand folio format.

This account disagrees with the 1947 Sotheby's description in certain details. Van Ess recorded thirty-one illuminated initials, while Sotheby's tallied thirty. Interestingly, van Ess documented a landscape miniature of Würzburg and "Stein Castle" (Festung Marienberg). This landscape is neither in the Yale volume nor in the Ege deposit. While it may well have been cut out and sold by Ege, it went unmentioned in the Sotheby's description. The loss may therefore have occurred before Ege's ownership. In fact, there is a slight difference in the total number of leaves, with van Ess reporting 274 plus a few added paper sheets, but Sotheby's noting only 265 leaves plus a "title[-page] and 6 leaves on paper". If this discrepancy does not reflect a counting error, two leaves appear to have been lost between 1823 and 1947, and one of these theoretically preserved the

Figure 13: The original alum-tawed pigskin binding is heavily wormed and bears a (later) date of 1756. The volume Ege dismembered may resemble this one. New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ege 549.1983



Würzburg landscape. The precise number of leaves raises questions of the remains of Ege's volumes. Today the Yale manuscript, which seems complete, has 114 folios. If the volume mutilated by Mrs. Ege held the remaining 158–160 folios, a substantial portion of it may survive: only 36 leaves have ever been accounted for. The condition explains why. Folios updated with unsightly glued-on paper stubs, inked cross-hatchings and boldly written annotations would not have been suitable for sale [Figure 12].

The discovery of Mathias Hartung's identity as the scribe of HL 42, not to mention the Phillipps and van Ess provenance, suggests an encouraging trend in Ege scholarship. As more leaves emerge, so do bibliographical details that further research into the manuscripts the Eges dispersed. It is hoped that the substantial missing remnant of the present manuscript survives, and is brought to light soon [Figure 13].

Research Note

The Medieval Provenance of Otto Ege's "Chain of Psalms" (FOL 4)

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Notre Dame (IN), University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, cod. Lat. b. 11 is a thirteenth-century manuscript of ninety-two sermons on the Psalms attributed to Philip the Chancellor (ff. 1r-60v) and an alphabetical index (ff. 61r-65v).¹ These ninety-two sermons circulated as part of the larger *Summa super Psalterium*, which was comprised of 330 sermons in total. The sixty-five folios that constitute cod. Lat. b. 11 are the largest known remnant of Otto Ege's "Chain of Psalms" manuscript which he included as Leaf 4 (Gwara, Handlist 4) in his *Fifty Original Leaves* portfolio.² The identification of cod. Lat. b. 11 as an Ege manuscript arose through social media exposure, when P. Kidd tweeted³ an image for his blogpost "Otto Ege's 'Chain of Psalms' Manuscript" relating the manuscript's appearance in the 1937 Erik von Scherling's *Rotulus* catalogue.⁴ D. T. Gura quickly recognized the image and made the identification,⁵ and Kidd then posted an update with images of Gura's 2016 catalogue description

- 1 The manuscript is described in D.T. Gura, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts of the University of Notre Dame and Saint Mary's College*, Notre Dame (IN) 2016, 204-213.
- 2 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, 117-118; cf. Y. Liu and A. Brecht, "Leaf 4 in Otto Ege's Fifty Original Leaves Portfolio – A New Identification: Sermons by Philip the Chancellor", *Florilegium* 33(2016), 167-181, which identifies some of the leaves prior to the discovery of the parent volume,.
- 3 P. Kidd (@mssprovenance), <https://twitter.com/mssprovenance/status/1149967714452201472>.
- 4 P. Kidd, "Otto Ege's 'Chain of Psalms' Manuscript," *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance*, 13 July 2019, <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2019/07/otto-eges-chain-of-psalms-manuscript.html>.
- 5 D.T. Gura (@d_gura), https://twitter.com/d_gura/status/1150208637173997568.

of the manuscript.⁶ This particular manuscript has garnered much attention lately in various publications and online. However, aside from Kidd's discovery of the listing in the von Scherling catalogue, there has been no coherent attempt in the scholarly literature to ascertain any pre-Ege provenance of the manuscript. This note serves to account for the manuscript's fourteenth-century provenance using newly available ultraviolet photography.

Cod. Lat. b. 11 transmits an erased ownership inscription in the upper margin of fol. 1r (Figure 1). At the time of the 2016 catalogue of the University of Notre Dame's manuscripts, ultraviolet photography was not available at the Hesburgh Library. This inscription is one Kidd attempted unsuccessfully to reveal through image manipulation on his blog site,⁷ and the previous *in situ* examinations by the curator with ultraviolet hand lanterns during cataloging failed to do so as well. However, ultraviolet photography is now possible in the Hesburgh Library's Preservation Department.⁸ The resulting image allows for the identification of a medieval ownership mark for

6 P. Kidd, "Otto Ege's 'Chain of Psalms' Manuscript: An Update," *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance*, 14 July 2019, https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2019/07/otto-eges-chain-of-psalms-manuscript_14.html. Kidd challenged the ex-Laruelle provenance which Gura based on the Delvaux-Liege sale catalogue's description from the Schoenberg database. The sale lists the manuscript as having two columns, but the sermons are ruled in a single column. However, the index is ruled and copied in two columns and could be the basis for the description. It cannot entirely exclude the manuscript from the Laruelle collection, but, as Kidd points out, Laruelle's collection mostly came from the Abbey of Saint-Jacques de Liège. According to the abbey's catalog, the codex from Saint-Jacques contained sermons on only seventy-eight psalms and thus cannot be cod. Lat. b. 11. However, it is not known if Laruelle acquired the Saint-Jacques manuscript or a different copy. Kidd later acknowledged the possibility of the ruling pattern of the sermons and dense marginal annotations being mistaken as a two-column layout and posts the Saint-Jacques de Liège catalogue description: see P. Kidd, "Otto Ege's 'Chain of Psalms' Manuscript: Another Update and a Cautionary Tale," *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance*, 20 July 2019, https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2019/07/otto-eges-chain-of-psalms-manuscript_20.html. It is rather unlikely that cod. Lat. b. 11 is the Saint-Jacques copy of the text.

7 Kidd, "Otto Ege's 'Chain of Psalms' Manuscript: Another Update and a Cautionary Tale."

8 I would like to extend my thanks to Hesburgh Library conservators J. H. Johnson and M. Rozumalksi for supplying the ultraviolet images.



Figure 1: Erased ownership inscription in the upper margin of Philip the Chancellor's sermons on the Psalms. Notre Dame (IN), University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, cod. Lat. b. 11, fol. 11r

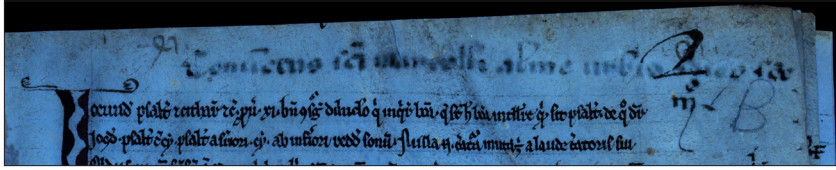


Figure 2: Ownership inscription of the Servite Library of San Marcello al Corso under ultraviolet light. Notre Dame (IN), University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, cod. Lat. b. 11, fol 1r (detail)

cod. Lat. b. 11, and therefore the various leaves excised by Ege. The inscription reads: “conuentus sancti marcelli alme urbis seruorum sancte marie” (Figure 2). The script presents all features of Cursiva Antiquior consistent with a fourteenth-century origin. Thus at some point during the fourteenth century, the complete manuscript belonged to the library of the Servite friars (*Ordo seruorum Mariae*) at San Marcello al Corso in Rome.

The order’s formative origin is placed ca. 1245, but the Servites did not receive their final papal approval until that of Benedictus PP. XI in 1304 – well after the Second Council of Lyons in 1274.⁹ According to the order’s own annals, the Servites were in possession of San Marcello al Corso in 1369 and began receiving liturgical books and other objects as donations.¹⁰ It was not until 1382, however, that there was a directive to create a library at San Marcello al Corso,¹¹ and in the beginning of 1384 the first library was set up for students in the convent. Many of its books originated from an earlier bequest in the will of the Bishop of Como, Bonifacio Boccabadati da Modena (fl. 1326, d. 1351/2), and from a previous gift from San Marcello’s titular cardinal, the Cluniac Androin de la Roche (1300/10 – 1369);¹² the

9 C. Borntrager, O.S.M., “The Marian Spirituality of the Medieval Religious Orders: Medieval Servite Marian Spirituality”, *Marian Studies* 52 (2001), 229-245.

10 Arcangelo Giani, *Annalium sacri ordinis seruorum fratrum b. Mariae Virginis a suae institutiones exordio centuriae quatuor, pars prima geminum eiusdem religionis saeculum ... complectens ab anno 1233. usque ad annum 1433*, Florentiae 1618, ff. 170va-171ra; and Giani, *Annalium Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Servorum B. Mariae Virginis A suae Institutionis exordio Centuriae Quatuor*, Typis Marescandoli 1719, 345-347.

11 E.G. Vogel, “Über einige frühere italienische Bibliotheken”, *Serapeum* 2 (1841), 318-320, at 320; and Gianni, *Annalium* 1719, 345.

12 Giani, *Annalium* 1719, 345-346.

prior of San Marcello, a 'Frater Marcellus', was directed by the order's general to add these donations to the nascent collection in 1384. However, the library did not endure for long, and already by 1402 the Servites were selling books to survive ("...ne fratres paene fame conficerentur..."). The convent at San Marcello al Corso would not again possess a functioning library until 1517/18 when an Antonio della Rovere seemingly donated 100 *aurea* to renovate the library along with 730 books.¹³ The restoration and rebuilding of the collection ultimately proved fruitless, and the entire library burned down in 1519. The ownership inscription places the complete codex in the Servite convent where it most likely entered the collection at San Marcello al Corso between 1382 – 1384 during the library's provisionment and construction; the manuscript was probably removed during the sales of 1402 or in the years immediately afterwards.

This newly gained information sheds much light on the manuscript's provenance, but also shows the irreparable harm wrought by Ege's biblioclasy on our understanding of the book's medieval movements prior to its Servite ownership. For example, we lack the binding, pastedowns, and flyleaves – all features which could provide more clues about its medieval owners: how did a book that clearly was produced in the university circuit of thirteenth-century France make its way to Rome a century later? Nevertheless, the *Summa* retained its scholastic value in the Servite convent for the formation of its students.

13 The annals record an "Antonius Vrsius" as the bishop of Agen, however the better known Antonio d'Orso was deceased by 1321 and never held the episcopate of Agen. Antonio della Rovere does not occupy the seat until 1518 after the resignation of Leonardo Grosso della Rovere.

Research Note

Fragments of Jerome's *Epistolae* (Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 1470) in the Utrecht University Library

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Utrecht University Library possesses one partially complete print of Jerome's *Epistolae*, printed in 1470 by Peter Schoeffer's Mainz printing office (G fol 1). Peter Schoeffer, Gutenberg's former companion, is renowned for printing beautifully crafted incunabula on both vellum and paper, and this copy of the *Epistolae*, printed on high quality vellum and richly illuminated, is one of the treasures of the University Library. This copy, known as the Gouda Hieronymus (Henceforth GH), after the place where the first known owner of it lived,¹ consists of the first volume only; the second volume of the book, consisting of folios 201–408, is missing. The University Library also holds several fragments, both detached and in situ, of Jerome's *Epistolae*, printed on vellum. Several descriptions of the GH state that these fragments came from the missing second volume, but this is impossible; therefore the University Library holds the remains of at least two copies on vellum.

The Provenance of the GH

As attested by an ownership mark on the pastedown, the GH was probably first bought by Adam van (der) Craenleyde,² a canon in Bergen op Zoom who was active as pastor of St John's Church

* This research was carried out as part of a traineeship at Special Collections of Utrecht University Library, April – July 2021, under the supervision of Bart Jaski, keeper of manuscripts and curator of early printed books (*rariora*).

1 Hieronymus Stridentionis, *Epistolae*, Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 1470 (ISTC [ih00165000](#)). The modern edition is Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, ed. I. Hilberg and M. Kamptner (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 54–56), Vienna and Leipzig, 1910–1918, 1996.

2 J. Alblas and J. van Someren, *Incunabelen Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht*, Utrecht, 1922, 80, no. 307 (*Liber Ade de Craenleyde pastoris In Gouda*

in Gouda from 1476 to ca. 1503.³ It is probably after his death that the brothers of the Devotio Moderna in Utrecht acquired the book. Their establishment in the city centre, founded in 1475, was called the Hieronymus House, after their patron saint. Here the brothers copied and collected books until their collection was confiscated by the Protestant city council in 1584. From their library, eight manuscripts and about 30 printed volumes are now left, of which the GH is by far the most outstanding.⁴ It was placed in the newly founded city library, which in 1636 also became the university library.⁵

There are two versions (A and B) of Schoeffer's 1470 print of the *Epistolae*, identical except for their introductions.⁶ The University Library possesses issue II or B of the *Epistolae*, as the introduction is addressed to all the Christian people interested in the letters ("OMnes christiane religionis homines"), rather than solely to an ecclesiastical audience ("OMnibus ecclesiastici ordinis deuotis zelatoribus veritatibus").⁷ The rubrication of this volume was done in Mainz, as was usual for Schoeffer's printing office, but further illumination could have been done elsewhere. The illustration on the first folio of the *Epistolae* of Jerome as cardinal with a jumping lion at his feet and a messenger delivering a letter (see Figure 1) is thought to have been produced in the Northern Netherlands around

et canonici bergensis supra Zonima (crossed out); subsequent mark of ownership: *Pro conventu fratrum Hieronymi In traiecto inferiori*).

- 3 B. Ibelings, "Een zegelstempel voor de pastoors van de Goudse St. Janskerk uit de 15e eeuw", in *De schatkamer: regionaal historisch tijdschrift Midden-Holland*, 31 nr. 1 (2017), 1–13, at 4–8; K. Goudriaan, "Erasmus en Gouda: een vluchtige relatie", *ibid.*, nr. 3, 38–43, at 40–41.
- 4 K. van der Horst et al., *Handschriften en oude drukken van de Utrechtse Universiteitsbibliotheek*, second edition, Utrecht 1984, 98–100, 103–104 (no. 39); A.G. Weiler, *Volgens de norm van de vroege kerk: de geschiedenis van de huizen van de broeders van het Gemene leven in Nederland*, Nijmegen 1997, 159–169.
- 5 The GH is mentioned in the earliest catalogue, *Bibliothecae traiectionae catalogus*, Utrecht 1608, quire F3r.
- 6 C. Schneider, *Peter Schöffer: Bücher für Europa*, Mainz, 2003, 34–38.
- 7 On the two introductions, see H.M. Pabel, *Herculean Labours: Erasmus and the Editing of St. Jerome's Letters in the Renaissance*, Leiden 2008, 37–39. This corresponds to Hain *8554 and GW 12425, see <https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/HIERSOP.htm>, where, however, the Utrecht copy is listed under GW 12424 (issue I or A); the same holds for the ISTC.

1480,⁸ although this attribution was prompted by the ownership of van Craenleyde. The historiated initial has not been placed in a group with a similar style, nor does the penwork have characteristics that clearly point to either Gouda or Utrecht as the place of origin.⁹

Thus, while some gaps in our knowledge of the production and provenance of the GH remain, what we know is incompatible with the information available for the University Library's fragments of Jerome's *Epistolae*, which are almost all associated with the collection of Hubert van Buchell.

Hubert van Buchell (1513–1599)

Hu(y)bert van Buchell was able to collect books due to his lucrative position as canon of the chapter of St. Mary's Church in Utrecht.¹⁰ In recent years it has been established that he used the vellum of manuscripts of St. Mary's Church that had become obsolete as binding material for his own books. This mainly happened after his move to Cologne in 1570. This was a cheap solution for him, and aligns with a contemporary rumour that he was notoriously stingy. He used leaves from more than a hundred manuscripts and prints as flyleaves and pastedowns for his own books.¹¹ Twenty-two fragments originated from an edition of Jerome's *Epistolae* printed in Mainz in 1470, and were or still are bound in eleven host volumes.

8 Loes Kuiper-Brussen, "Hieronymus, *Epistolae*", in Van der Horst, *Vier eeuwen*, 103–104. Alblas and van Someren, *Incunabelen*, 80, no. 307, state it is 'probably German'.

9 Compare, for example, the penwork in J.W. Klein, "Marginale problemen. Penwerk in enkele Goudse handschriften en drukken", in *Middeleeuwse handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden 1988*, ed. J.M.M. Hermans, Grave 1989, 97–114; A.S. Korteweg, "Zuid-Holland", in *Krieziels, aubergines en takkenbossen: randversiering in Noordnederlandse handschriften uit de vijftiende eeuw*, ed. A.S. Korteweg, Zutphen 1992, 68–83; G. Gerritsen-Geywitz, *Het Utrechtse draakje en zijn entourage. Vijftien penwerkstijlen in Utrechtse handschriften en gedrukte boeken uit de tweede helft van de vijftiende eeuw*, Hilversum 2017.

10 Van der Horst, *Vier eeuwen*, 189–200.

11 B. Jaski, "Collecties handschriftfragmenten in de Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht", in *Perkament in stukken: teruggevonden middeleeuwse handschriftfragmenten*, ed. B. Jaski, M. Mostert, and K. van Vliet, Hilversum 2018, 22–33, at 26–31.

According to his testament, his book collection should have been donated to St. Jacob's Church in Utrecht after his death. However, it was effectively confiscated by the city council and placed in the city library, established in St John's Church in 1584. This addition nearly doubled the library's collection.¹²

We know that van Buchell used a copy of the *Epistolae* to bind his own books, because all the host volumes containing these paste-downs have a variation of the name '(van) Buchel' on the front page. The front page is marked with notes such as: *ex dono H. van Buchel*, *ex dono Buchelii*, *ex domine Buchell* or simply *Buchel*. There is one exception to this rule, host volume T fol 23, which was never part of the van Buchell collection, as will be discussed below.

The theory that van Buchell used the now-missing second volume of the GH as binding material was advanced by Jan Alblas and Jan Frederik van Someren in their catalogue of the incunabula in Utrecht University Library, published in 1922.¹³ Loes Kuiper-Brussen repeated the notion in her description of the GH in 1984.¹⁴ Considering the similarities between the GH and the fragments, as will be discussed below, this assumption seemed only logical.

The Provenance of the Fragments

When researching the pastedowns and the flyleaves in the van Buchell collection, I found that there are six fragments of pages that also survive in the GH. As a result, van Buchell must have used a different copy (at least one) than the GH as binding material. A comparison of the fragments, the GH, and a digital copy of München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc.c.a. 30 a (=M),¹⁵ shows the results.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Alblas and van Someren, *Incunabelen*, 80, no. 307.

¹⁴ Kuiper-Brussen, "Hieronymus", 104.

¹⁵ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc.c.a. 30 a, [urn:nbn:de:bsb:12-bsb00043092-3](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsb:12-bsb00043092-3).

Table 1: Fragments of Jerome's *Epistolae* (shading = same quire)

Fragment identifier (shelfmark or fragment)	Host volume printed	Nr. + Size fragm.	distinction	M pp.		GH f.
Inc. fr. 11.17a	1584	2 × ⅛	C	147-148		75
E oct 268	1584	1 × ⅛	C	147-148		75
S qu 226	1584	2 × ¼	C	157-158		80
H fol 124	1559	1 × ½	C	163-164		83
Rariora oct. 649	1590	1 × ¼+strip	C	165-166		84
T fol 23	1555	2 × ½	D	343-344		173
G fol 210	1563	strip	K	525-526		-
H fol 114	1568	2 × ½	M	595-596	637-638	-
Inc. fr. 11.17b	-	2 × ½	M	595-596	647-648	-
F qu 170	1583	2 × ¼	M	597-598		-
H fol 118	1577	strip	M	601-602		-
E qu 81	1589	2 × ¼	M	637-638		-
F fol 202	1562	2 × ½	M	641-642		-

The fragments taken from six of the host volumes correspond to five folios from the GH, meaning that they come from a different copy of the *Epistolae*. The GH only contains the first volume of Jerome's letters, namely those that the 1470 edition classifies under distinctions 'A' to 'E'; The *epistolae* classified under distinctions 'F' to 'M' appear in the second volume. Thus, while it is conceivable that those fragments from Distinctions K and M came from the GH, it is more likely that they came from the same prints as the other fragments van Buchell used for his bindings, that is, from a copy other than that owned by van Craenleyde and the Hieronymus House, and we may infer that the copy van Buchell used originally had belonged to the library of St. Mary's Church.

The flyleaves taken out of their host volumes are also included in this table, under Inc. fr. 11.17. These fragments have traces of glue on them, so it is certain they were used as binding material. Since they are vellum fragments, like the other flyleaves, they must have been taken from the same copy of the *Epistolae*. Inc. fr. 11.17a consists of two small fragments that were taken from F oct 119 and contain

the text of an *epistola* classified under Distinction C, just like the pastedowns of the host volumes S qu 226, H fol 124 and Rariora oct 649. A comparison with the GH shows that the fragments came from the same quire (consisting of a quinion of ten folia). In the GH, this quire consist of folios 75–84. Similarly, Inc. fr. 11.17b consists of two half leaves with the text of an *epistola* under the letter 'M', just like the fragments in four other host volumes, F fol 202 [[F-ufwg](#)], H fol 114 and E qu 81 – the latter two parts of the same leaf. They were probably also part of the same quire. Moreover, the first fragment of Inc. fr. 11.17b is the top half of the first folio of H fol 114. They must have belonged to the same quire as the fragments in F qu 170 and H fol 118. It follows that van Buchell's binder cut one folio (pages 595–596 in the München copy) in half and used it to bind two different books, the top one for an unknown host volume, the bottom one for H fol 114. The same happened with a folio used for the other fragment in H fol 114 and those in E qu 81 (pages 637–638 in the München copy), and for the fragments of Inc. fr. 11.17a and E oct. 268 (pages 147–148 in the München copy). From these indications, I conclude that Inc. fr. 11.17b was also used by van Buchell as binding material.

The odd one out in the list above is a convolute with the shelfmark T fol 23.¹⁶ Unlike the others, it is not listed in the catalogue of 1608 as part of the van Buchell collection.¹⁷ The reason van Buchell had obtained so many books from St. Mary's Church was probably because it had hidden the books of its library among its canons after the Iconoclastic Fury ('Beeldenstorm') of 1566.¹⁸ We have to presume that van Buchell was not the only canon in whose house books of St. Mary's Church were hidden, and that some were similarly used as binding material by other canons or

16 T fol 23 contains Simon Grynaeus, *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus ...*, Basel 1555 and Peter Martyr, *De rebus Oceanicis ...*, Basel 1533. The binding is different from those of the books of van Buchell. Since it also contains the year 1560 stamped in the leather, it was bound before the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566, suggesting that some books were already used as binding material prior to that event.

17 The volume now known as T fol 23 appears in the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Ultrajectinae*, Utrecht 1670, 72 and 74, under the old shelfmark N.100p.

18 Van der Horst, *Vier eeuwen*, 137.

came into the hands of other persons and were then used accordingly. In support of this hypothesis, the collection of van Buchell includes binding fragments from manuscripts that, minus a few quires, stayed or were returned to the library of St. Mary's Church.¹⁹

In the above analysis it also appears that the Jerome fragments come from a small number of quires, rather than being taken at random from the printed book as a whole. Hence van Buchell may not have a complete copy of the *Epistolae* from St. Mary's Church in his possession, but merely a handful of quires.

Parchment Quality, Decoration and Humanist Handwriting

We have now established that, in binding his books, van Buchell definitely used a 1470 print on vellum of Jerome's *Epistolae* that was *not* the GH. This is also proven by the quality of the parchment of the fragments. The quality of the vellum in the GH is high; the vellum is very white, there are no or little traces of follicles. Most holes in the vellum have been fixed with needle and thread before the printing process. The fragments van Buchell used are mixed in quality, even those coming from the same quire or an adjoining one. This difference in parchment quality further lessens the chance that he somehow used folios from the missing second volume of the GH.

It is also instructive to look more closely at the printing of the fragments and additions made by hand. Some of these were done immediately after the printing process in Mainz, by the same shop, and some were done elsewhere. Peter Schoeffer printed the *Epistolae* in two colours, black and red. The printed red was reserved for captions, such as the titles of the *epistolae*, and for names, such as when two or more people are in conversation. The red colour of the

¹⁹ These manuscripts with missing quires are now found in the collection of Utrecht University Library, including most notably Ms. 130 and Ms. 709; see Jaski, "Collecties", 27–28. Of the latter, four adjoining bifolia surfaced in the nineteenth century in the hands of a private owner. Leaves of the former were used to bind, among others, G fol 210 and H fol 118, each of which also contains a strip (or perhaps strips) from the *Epistolae* attached as support around the back below the cover.

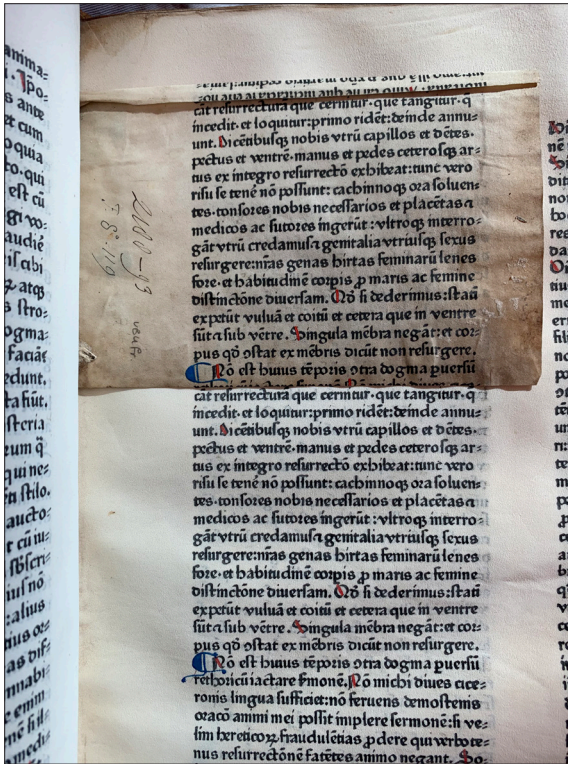


Figure 2: Inc. fr. 11.17a placed on top of the GH, above the same passage in the GH, fol. 75r. Note the difference in quality of the parchment. The blue paragraph mark and the rubrication are very similar.

printed letters differs from the red of the rubrication (the red strokes through the capital letters of each new sentence), meaning that the rubrication was painted or stamped on the printed capital letters in black after the printing itself was finished. The same applies to the paragraph marks and lombards, which are either blue or red. Given the uniform appearance of the rubrication, paragraph marks and lombards, they were all added in the same environment, presumably Schoeffer's own printing shop. While further illumination, such as painted initials and miniatures, could also have been done there, it is just as equally possible that they were added elsewhere, by the bookshop or workshop where the book was bought, depending on the buyer's personal taste and budget.²⁰

20 For decoration added in Schoeffer's own printing shop, see L. Hellinga, *Incurabula in Transit: People and Trade*, Leiden 2018, 103–104, 109–118.

Peter Schoeffer clearly strove for a uniform look for his products. Although his goal was to make nearly identical copies, very small differences in the additions by hand point to different persons working in the same shop. Unfortunately, the fragments contain no distinctive paragraph marks or initials from which to draw conclusions.²¹ The lombards, however, are more numerous, although not all of the fragments have them. Those that do are distinct from the München copy of the *Epistolae*, printed on paper. The lombards of the fragments are more stretched, oval-shaped instead of round, and more ink is applied. See, for example, the lombards of the fragments in figures 3–6, compared to the lombards of the München copy in figures 7–10. The shape of the lombards is more fluid with few unnecessarily elongated strokes. The fragment of T fol 23 (figure 6), the only host volume not from the Buchell collection, has a lombard similar in style to the other fragments, supporting the conclusion that it too comes from the *Epistolae* we have assigned to St. Mary's Church.

Instead, the lombards in the van Buchell fragments and the lombard of T fol 23 are similar to those in the GH. Compared to the lombards in the München copy, they have the same fluid strokes, and lack the 'dot' on the ends. For example, the lombard 'P' of the GH on folio 173r is nearly exactly the same as the lombard 'P' on the flyleaf of T fol 23 (figures 11 and 6), suggesting that they were both added by the same person in Schoeffer's workshop. This similarity, combined with others, such as the printing on parchment and identical rubrication, may have prompted Alblas and van Someren to think they belonged to the same copy. One should also note that the *Epistolae* contain many quotations in which Greek and Hebrew words and sentences have been transliterated into Latin. The marginal notes in the GH restore them to their proper form in Greek and Hebrew letters and a corrected Latin transliteration – quite a learned endeavour. None of the fragments have any handwritten annotations in Latin, Greek or Hebrew. We do find two cases of

21 For more information on distinctive paragraph marks in the works of Peter Schoeffer, see L. Hellenga, *Incunabula in Transit*, 113. See also her article "Peter Schoeffer and His Organization: A Bibliographical Investigation of the Ways an Early Printer Worked", *Biblis Yearbook*, ed. G. Jonsson, Stockholm 1995–96, 67–106.



Figures 3–6: F fol 202, H fol 114, H fol 114, T fol 23



Figures 7–10: München, p. 642, 637, 638, 343

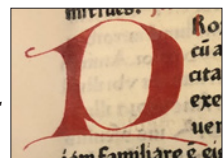


Figure 11: GH, f. 173r

marginal notes that point to some leaves having been used by van Buchell as wrappers.²²

When taking the quality of the vellum, the shape of the lombards and the lack of annotations into account, the conclusion must be that van Buchell used a single vellum copy of the *Epistolae* as binding material, and that this copy is not the GH but rather came from St. Mary's Church, where he used to be a canon.

Conclusion: More Copies of the 1470 Mainz Edition of the *Epistolae*

In researching the flyleaves and pastedowns of in the van Buchell collection, the remnants of a new copy of Jerome's *Epistolae*

²² On F fol 202: *Buchel Schreyb Almanach 1573*, and on E qu 81: *Ein cantzeleisch formular / calender. Index librorum de annorum 87*. The first suggests that van Buchell started to use the leaves from the *Epistolae* for his own purposes not long after he had fled to Cologne in 1570.

printed on vellum in Mainz by Peter Schoeffer have come to light in Utrecht University Library. This means that there were more extant copies printed on vellum than previously thought: at least eighteen instead of seventeen.²³ A likely provenance has also been established: St. Mary's Church in Utrecht. One could easily assume that binders typically used old manuscripts for binding waste, because manuscripts had become redundant with the increasing number of printed editions at the end of the fifteenth century. As our fragments show, sometimes the binder's knife did not spare even intricately crafted incunabula, in this case due to the political circumstances of Utrecht in the 1460s and 1470s, and to personal decisions made by Huybert van Buchell.²⁴

Determining the provenance of incunabula presents unique challenges compared to researching medieval manuscripts. The uniform look of incunabula likely caused Alblas and van Someren to assume that van Buchell's flyleaves and pastedowns came from the second volume of the GH, despite their different provenance.²⁵

As a result of this note, the entry for the *Epistolae* in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue needs updating. Besides one incomplete version of the *Epistolae* (Version B) on vellum and fragments of another vellum copy, Utrecht University Library also has, hitherto

²³ M. Lane Ford, "Deconstruction and Reconstruction: Detecting and Interpreting Sophisticated Copies", in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects. Proceeding of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section Munich, 19–21 August 2009*, ed. B. Wagner and M. Reed, Berlin 2010, 291–303, at 296, which is based on personal communication with Lotte Hellinga. Compare to the ISTC entry (<https://data.cerl.org/istc/ih00i65000>, last edit 26 March 2021), where fourteen copies on vellum are noted and one mixed, but excluding Christie's, London, 20 November 2002 (Live auction 6711), lot 82, which, as Lane Ford notes, consists of fragments of three different copies printed on vellum. The ISTC does not note that Utrecht UB 307 (G fol 1) is printed on vellum. Hence, the total number of known copies printed on vellum may even be nineteen.

²⁴ For incunabula leaves as binding material, see also E.M. White, "Gutenberg Bibles that Survive as Binder's Waste", in Wagner and Reed, *Early Printed Books*, 21–35; Hellinga, *Incunabula in Transit*, 204–229.

²⁵ Alblas and van Someren had identified the whereabouts of all the fragments now known, except those in E oct 268, Rariora oct 649 (olim C qu 132), and the strips in F qu 170 and G fol 210. It is quite possible that other fragments will be found in the vast collection of van Buchell.

unnoticed, fragments of a paper copy.²⁶ This new information moves toward 4.5:1 the ratio of paper to vellum for the Mainz 1470 edition.²⁷ It further supports the notion that vellum as printing material continued to be appreciated in the fifteenth century, and that the Low Countries were an important distribution area for the German printing presses. But in the end, even texts printed on vellum – or, probably, especially texts printed on vellum – could finally meet the binder's knife.²⁸

26 This paper fragment consists of 12½ detached leaves, and one leaf used to cover Ms. 796 (6 E 32) (see <https://utrechtuniversity.on.worldcat.org/v2/oclc/965406117>). The detached leaves were used as wrappers for genealogical documents previously owned by the Utrecht lawyer and historian, Aernout van Buchell (Buchelius, 1565–1641), the nephew of Hubert van Buchell; see also the 1927 letter by Willem Adriaan Beelaerts van Blokland (1883–1935) to the curator and librarian, Abraham Hulshof (1874–1954), which is kept among the paper fragments in Utrecht, University Library, 222 A 40, map 81.

27 Cf. Lane Ford, “Deconstructing”, 296.

28 See further F. Eisermann, “The Gutenberg Galaxy’s Dark Matter: Lost Incunabula, and Ways to Retrieve Them”, in *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. F. Bruni and A. Pettegree, Leiden, 2016, 29–54, at 38, and the literature there cited; White, “The Gutenberg Bibles”, where on p. 22 he notes that more vellum fragments of the Gutenberg Bibles survive than paper fragments.

Project Report:

Codex Fragments Detached from Incunabula in the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

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Abstract: This article presents the results of a study of 37 manuscript fragments detached from incunables in the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The incunables themselves were imported into Hungary between the end of the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Keywords: Hungary, membra disjecta, fragments, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

History of the Incunable Collection

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences was founded in 1825 by Count István Széchenyi, a wealthy Hungarian aristocrat committed to the cause of reform, modernization, and the advancement of Hungarian culture. The next year, the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was founded by Count József Teleki (1790–1855), using his family library, some thirty-thousand manuscripts and literary works from Hungary and abroad, to form the nucleus

* I am grateful for the great opportunity offered by the *Fragmentarium* Fellowship in 2020 and for being able to share the descriptions of fragments kept in Budapest by means of the *Fragmentarium* database. I would like to give sincere thanks Professor Edit Madas, Professor Gábor Sarbak and Dr. William Duba for their help in the description and identification of the fragments. I owe thanks to Professor István Monok, the Director General of Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Antal Babus, the head of the Department of the Manuscripts and Rare Books, and all librarians of the Department.

of the collection. Later, to supplement these works, acquired by members of the Teleki family from the seventeenth century onward, József Teleki purchased books for the institution at European auctions, notably acquiring the book collection of the catholic priest and linguist Ferenc Kresznerics (1766–1832) after the latter's death, which featured incunabula previously in the Dominican convent in Vienna. At his death in 1855, Teleki left his private collection to the Academy Library as well. In total, through Teleki's donations, the Library came into the possession of nearly four hundred incunabula.

Other aristocrats followed Teleki's example and donated their books to the Academy. In 1928, one of these donors, Count Ferenc Vigyázó, bequeathed his 17,000-volume library to the Library of the Academy. This collection included nearly four hundred incunabula, which had been the property of his father, Sándor Vigyázó, who had good relations with Hungarian and foreigner antiquarian booksellers, and, in the front of his books, entered the name of booksellers, the date of purchase and the price. According to his notes, he purchased books from Franz Rohrer, an antiquarian in Linz, Jacques and Ludwig Rosenthal, Cornelia Haller, all booksellers in Munich, as well as Gustav Ranschburg, an antiquarian in Budapest. The foreign incunabula came mostly from ecclesiastical libraries after the secularization of religious orders in the nineteenth century.

In the twentieth century, new purchases augmented the collection. Nowadays, the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has around 1200 incunabula. The incunabula collection has been thoroughly examined by Marianne and Béla Rozsondai (henceforth *Catalogue*).¹ The catalogue they compiled contains the bibliographical description of the printed books, complemented by additional information on the particular copies kept in the Library. In the latter part of the entries — among other things —, the former owners of the volumes are mentioned and the bindings are described. The authors have indicated whether the binding contains codex fragments and, in case a fragment was detached from its host volume, its shelfmark and a short description. In several cases, the origin

¹ M. Rozsondai and B. Rozsondai, *Catalogue of the Incunables in the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, Budapest 2013, especially 7–10.

of the fragments could be refined on the basis of the host volume's late-medieval owner or bookbinding workshop, since such workshops utilized mostly leaves from locally used codices for binding or binding wastes. From this information, it can be assumed that the detached fragments came in general from codices written in the German language area.

The Fragment Collection

Most loose fragments in the Library of the Hungarian Academy served in the bindings of books and were detached from their host volumes at the request of the Library of the Hungarian Academy during the restoration of early prints and manuscripts in poor condition, a process that has been ongoing since 1954. These fragments (spine linings, wrappers, flyleaves, pastedowns, and title labels) were assigned a *numerus currens* and placed into the Fragment Collection of the Department of Manuscripts. Their shelfmark consists of a letter T standing for *Töredék* ('fragment' in Hungarian), and a number. A register records the shelfmark, the support material (parchment or paper), the century the script was produced in, the title of the contents, and the language of the fragment. In order to preserve the connection between the fragments and the host volumes, since the 1950s, librarians have been noting the shelfmarks of the host volumes on the fragments and in the register; the so-called conservation sticker in restored rare books contains the shelfmarks of detached fragments as well. Thanks to this practice, the fragments' history of coexistence with prints or manuscripts after being bound with them has been preserved.²

In addition, a part of the fragment collection was discovered in the 1970s and 80s: 1. several excised fragments from codices copied

2 Unless otherwise noted, all shelfmarks, including references to Fragments (T), Manuscripts (K) and Incunables (Inc.), refer to Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár és Információs Központ (Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, henceforth LIC HAS), Kézirattár és Régi Könyvek Gyűjteménye (Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books).

or used in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary;³ 2. the fragment collection of Nándor Knauz (1831–1898, historian and prelate in Esztergom);⁴ 3. liturgical fragments with notation;⁵ 4. fragments written in the German language;⁶ 5. Hebrew fragments;⁷ 6. fragments containing works of canon law.⁸

For a *Fragmentarium* Fellowship project financed by the Zeno-Karl-Schindler Foundation, I described from this collection manuscript fragments that were detached from incunables. These fragments are not homogeneous: they were neither copied at the same time, nor in the same scriptorium, nor did they come to the library as part of the same collection, except for those from the Dominican convent in Vienna. All these fragments were, however, used to bind incunables outside of the Kingdom of Hungary; hence the fragments' provenance is certainly not Hungarian.

The fragments studied here come from liturgical codices, Bibles, canon law texts, medical works and schoolbooks. For the sake of convenience, they divide into two broad groups based on where they were reused: 1. on the outside of books, as covers and wrappers; 2. on the inside, as pastedowns, flyleaves, spine linings, sewing guards, parts of the board (cardboard), and similar cases.

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- 3 Cs. Csapodi and K. Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica. Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt. I. Fennmaradt kötetek: 1. A–J*, Budapest 1988, 211–217.
 - 4 K. Körmeny, *A Knauz-hagyaték kódextöredékei és az esztergomi egyház középkori könyvtárának sorsa*, Budapest 1979.
 - 5 J. Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, Budapest 1981; For the descriptions of musical fragments, see the database of the HAS-'Momentum' Digital Music Fragmentology Research Group: *Fragmenta Manuscriptorum Musicalium Hungariae Mediaevalis* (fragmenta.zti.hu).
 - 6 A. Vizkelety, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der altdeutschen Handschriften in ungarischen Bibliotheken*, Bd. 2, Wiesbaden 1973.
 - 7 S. Scheiber, *Héber kódexmaradványok magyarországi kötéstáblákban. A középkori magyar zsidóság könyvkultúrája*, Budapest 1969, no. 96, no. 142.
 - 8 P. Erdő, "Az Akadémiai Könyvtár kéziratárának egyházi jogi tartalmú középkori kódextöredékei", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 99 (1983), 251–256.

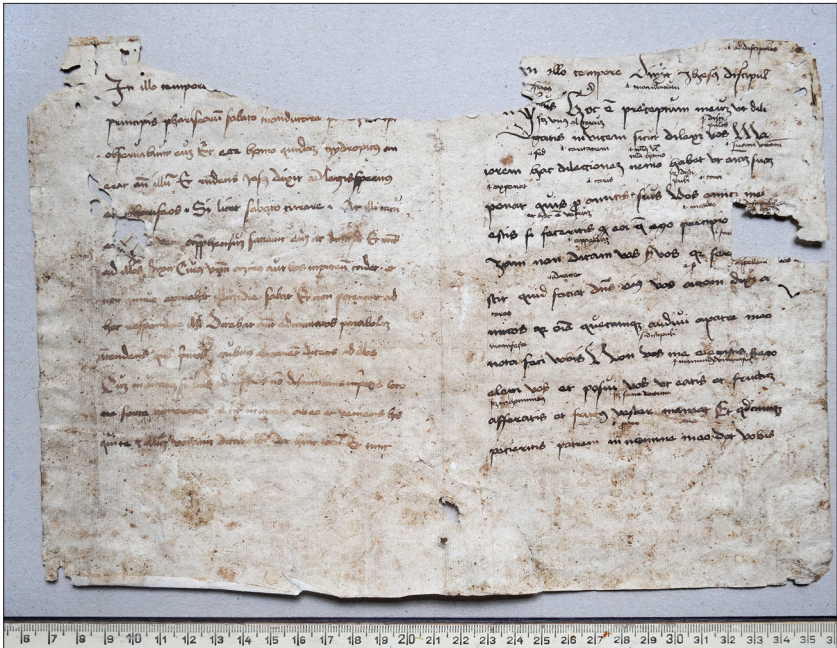


Figure 1: Evangelistary with interlinear glosses, Budapest, LIC HAS, Department of Manuscripts, T 324 f. 7v/2r (T 324a [F-10pa])

1. Fragments as covers

Three shelfmarks (T 324, T 336, and T 549) contain fragments that were used as covers. A fourth (T 326) consists of a fragment used on the outside of the host volume.

T 324

Fragments under the shelfmark T 324 formed the binding (cover, boards, internal binding material) of a volume of Horace's *Opera* printed in Venice in 1490/91 (Inc. 292, *Catalogue* no. 464, GW 13464, ISTC ih00454000). This volume is currently bound in a blind-ruled leather binding made in 1956. Previously, the volume was bounding in a binding where the boards were covered by two charters (T 324d and T324e); the boards themselves were made of cardboard, composed of fifteen bifolia from two manuscripts (T 324a, T 324b). Two pieces were detached from the spine, one of them was a fragment

of a charter (T 324f) and the other one was a piece from an incunable printed on parchment (Inc. 908). A paper strip containing text written in German (T 324g) and thirteen pieces from a Psalter were used inside the binding (T 324c).⁹ In this case, we can see how bookbinders used different manuscripts for a single binding.

T 324a [F-1opa]

T 324a groups together fragments of a fifteenth-century Evangelistary, consisting of eight paper bifolia written in cursive script and constituting two adjacent quires (quaternions). They contain the Gospel passages for the thirteenth to the twenty-fourth Sunday after the octave of Pentecost; for the feasts of the apostles Saint Andrew and Thomas; for the first, second, and third Sundays of Advent; for the first Sunday after Epiphany; for the first and second Sundays after the octave of Epiphany; and for the common of Apostles and of several Martyrs. The original codex was a handbook for preaching supplemented with interlinear glosses.

The fragments, glued together as cardboard, constituted the boards of the original binding; they have become brown from the glue, and because of this, the text is often unreadable. The paper is so brown that not even the barely-visible watermarks can be identified.

T 324b [F-fzro]

The fragments grouped under T 324b also came from a fifteenth-century paper codex. Five of the seven bifolia contain the sixth treatise of Peter of Spain's *Summulae logicales*, with commentary, copied by two hands. There are pen trials on one of the other two bifolia: three lines from an elegy of Conradus Celtis copied three times. The last bifolium is unreadable. Glued together as cardboard like T 324a, these bifolia also constituted the boards of the binding.

T 324c [F-jtgw]

T 324c represents the oldest codex fragments in this binding: a twelfth-century Latin psalter. Thirteen of the fourteen pieces

9 I would like to thank Julianna Orsós for her help with the descriptions of the charters and the German strip.

belong to five bifolia from four adjacent quires, covering Psalms 36–67; the fourteenth piece is unidentifiable. There are annotations in German on five leaves, but they are truncated. What remains resembles a Latin psalter with so-called *Gebetsanweisungen*.¹⁰ The first annotation appears next to Psalm 39 (f. 2r) (*Expectans expectavi Dominum*): *S. so dv gro(u)ze ang[st] / habist daz die got[.] / lose von allem ser[...]*. Later, one can read (Ps 56, *Miserere mei Deus*, f. 7r): *S. vber to(u)gene no[...]* / *daz ist der salmen d[...]* / *David vber sine sunder sp[...]*. On f. 9v (Ps 64, *Te decet*), the beginning of the annotation is worn, and only the second part is readable: *die sine mit nide beste*. Finally, next to Psalm 67 (*Exsurgat Deus*, f. 10r) we read: *S. mere aller gotis hei/ligin S. Laurentij vnd / allin gotis martiraren*. The texts of the annotations are similar to (among others) three thirteenth-century codices from Munich, Erlangen and Augsburg.¹¹ The final phrase is identical to a source (the third) analyzed in Blaas's study of psalters with German marginal annotations, as well as a codex used in Irsee Abbey.¹² It is interesting to observe the presence of Saint Lawrence, because he is missing from this sentence in the codex *Psalterium Davidicum* kept in Munich and the manuscript from Erlangen.¹³

Two user hands wrote antiphons on the margins next to the Psalms 58 and 63. The antiphon starting with *Iuste iudicate*

10 I would like to thank Professor Christoph Flüeler for his help with these texts. For a list of manuscripts containing *Gebetsanweisungen*, see *Gebetsanweisungen in lateinischer Psalterhandschrift*: <https://handschriftencensus.de/werke/748>

11 K. Bartsch, "Psalterien mit deutschen Randbemerkungen II–III", *Germania* 27(1882), 345–350, at 346, no. 35: *Psalterium cum notis talibus*, München, Staatsbibliothek, [Clm 2311, f. 33v](#); 348, no. 39: *Psalterium*, Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 116, f. 40r.; *Psalterium*, Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I.2.4.19, f. 53v.

12 C.M. Blaas, "Psalterien mit deutschen Randbemerkungen I", *Germania* 27(1882), 339–344, at 342, no. 46.; L. Baumann, "Eine alemannische und eine bairische Gebrauchsanweisung zu den Psalmen aus dem XII–XIII Jahrhundert", *Alemannia* 12 (1884), 82–96, at 85.

13 Baumann, "Eine alemannische und eine bairische Gebrauchsanweisung", 92: *Psalterium Davidicum*, München, Staatsbibliothek, [Clm 2641, f. 59r](#); Bartsch, "Psalterien mit deutschen Randbemerkungen", 349, no. 67: *Psalterium*, Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 116, f. 64r.

(CANTUS 003533) was sung at Matins on Thursday or Wednesday. The other antiphon surviving on the fragments – *A timore inimici* (CANTUS 000196) – was for Lauds or Matins on Wednesday.

T 324d [F-qoos]

The outside-facing text is now faint, but on the charter can be read the names *pater Ortlieb*, *Innocentius episcopus* and the name of Augsburg; indeed, *per civitatem et diocesem Augustanam* appears at the top of the first charter. On the dorse of the charter there are two names: *Thomas dilher*, otherwise not identified, and *Baptista Mantuanus*, a fifteenth-century Carmelite friar.

T 324e [F-r33f]

A second charter contains the names *Philippus Wintergerst*, *Iohann*. As with the first charter, so with the second, the outside-facing text is faint. On the dorse, a drawing shows an animal under a tree, with an abbreviation(?) under the drawing: *NNN. A. Euch(?)*. Next to the drawing the name *Michael dilher* is visible written by the same hand as the one that wrote *Thomas dilher*.

T 324f [F-zjqx] and Inc. 908 [F-fxoj]

A charter and a parchment incunable were detached from the spine. The charter is scarcely legible, permitting little beyond the identification of the text as being in German. The incunable, now in the Academy's Incunable collection under the shelfmark Inc. 908 (*Catalogue* no. 724, GW M30718, ISTC ip00261520) contains one of the six known copies of the 1488 Ulm printing of Raimundus Peraudi, *Litterae indulgentiarum pro bello contra Turcos*.

T 324g [F-k1cs]

This fragment is a paper strip containing a fifteenth-century German text: *bürgen maister zu giengen umb ain von im erkaufft hab schuldig worden*.

The ensemble of information provided by the fragments in the binding, on and in the boards, in particular the German script and origin of the manuscript and print material, suggests that the host volume, printed in Italy, was bound in a German-speaking area at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth century.

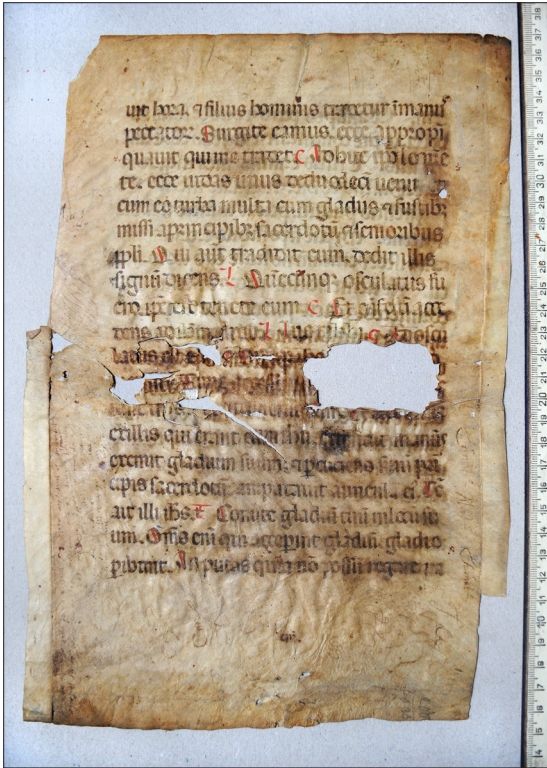


Figure 2: LIC HAS,
Department of
Manuscripts, T 336

T 336 [F-pgxe]

Three other fragments served as covers for host volumes. A fourteenth-century fragment contains part of the Gospel reading for Palm Sunday. The leaf, with part of the Passion according to Matthew, came from a liturgical book, and not from a Bible, since rubric *litterae* distinguish the words of Jesus (T), the narrator (C) and the Jews (S). On the verso, Judas' words are introduced with possibly a Z instead of an S.¹⁴

The surviving leaf was the last page of a quire, as it has a catchword – the second part of the word *patrem* – in the middle of

¹⁴ I would like to give thanks to Gábor Szoliva OFM for his help in the identification of the letters of characters. For a discussion of their significance, see K. Young, "Observations on the Origin of the Mediæval Passion-Play", *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 25(1910), 309–354.

the lower margin. This leaf wrapped the host volume, and a hole where the spine was may have been due to a title label. The host volume, printed in Venice, was Antonio Mancinelli's *Carmen de floribus* (Inc. 619/koll. 1–2; *Catalogue* no. 595, GW M20277, ISTC im00109000; *Catalogue* no. 598.1, GW M20321, ISTC im00119500). It bears an ownership mark: the round stamp of the library of the Observant Franciscan convent, Santa Maria Maddalena in Sansepolcro. Nowadays, the main part of the convent's book library is kept in the municipal library of Sansepolcro,¹⁵ although some of their works were obviously taken abroad, such as this volume in Hungary and another in California.¹⁶ In this volume's case, it came to Hungary after Sándor Vigyázó bought it from the antiquarian Ludwig Rosenthal in Munich in 1904.

T 549 [F-fc3p]

Two trimmed bifolia from a fifteenth-century psalter have also survived as covers of the Isidore of Spain's *Etymologiae* printed in Venice in 1483 (Inc. 525, *Catalogue* no. 483, GW M15272, ISTC ii00184000). The print was taken from Italy to Germany at the turn of the sixteenth century. In 1507, the host volume came into the possession of the abbey of St. Nikola in Passau, a monastery of Augustinian canons, when the provisor of the Hospital of St. John donated the early print. The host volume must have been bound in the monastery in Passau, for which we already have evidence of a working bindery between 1486 and 1500.¹⁷

The bifolia, from adjacent quinions, contain the psalms and associated antiphons for the Divine Office on Sunday, Monday, Friday and Saturday. According to the arrangement of the psalms, the psalter was made for secular and not monastic use. The origin can be determined through a comparison of psalters from the diocese of Passau, namely, one used by the secular churches of the diocese

¹⁵ See [Catalogo delle edizioni del saec. XVI conservate presso la Biblioteca comunale di Sansepolcro](#), Firenze, 2005.

¹⁶ A 1520 edition of Quintus Curtius, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, kept in the University of California Los Angeles, YRL Special Collections Ahmanson-Murphy Room Aldine (Z233.A4 C94) was owned by the Convent.

¹⁷ *Einbanddatenbank* woo2399 (<https://www.hist-einband.de/de/werkstattde-tails.html?entityID=501213m>).

(*Breviarium Pataviense*), one by the Augustinian Canons, and one by the Premonstratensians.¹⁸ These last two were chosen because they do not use square notation; similarly, the fragment is notated in Messine-German Gothic Notation.¹⁹ Moreover, the antiphons attached to the psalms are closest to the usage of the Augustinians canons (Table 1). Therefore, it can be assumed that the incunable was bound in bifolia of the locally used psalter in the bindery of the monastery of the Augustinian canons in the early sixteenth century.

T 326 [F-tizj]

Another fragment, this one of Donatus, does not qualify as a cover in the usual sense. Its host volume was tied together with string and a parchment strip – the fragment – was placed between the string and the first page.²⁰ Since 1955, the host volume, Peter of Bergamo's *Tabula super opera Thomae de Aquino* (Basel 1478; Inc. 71, *Catalogue* no. 743, GW M32083, ISTC ip00452000), has had a pastiche leather binding (*Catalogue* no. 743). The Dominican Friars in Vienna owned this print in the fifteenth century, as attested by an ownership mark on the first and fifth pages. Thus, it is conceivable that the grammatical manuscript from which the fragment came was also used in the convent. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Ferenc Kresznerics bought the incunable, and it later entered the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; a label on the fragment carries the early twentieth-century shelfmark of the host volume.

2. Binding fragments Inside the Covers

Most of the loose fragments examined for this study came from inside the books, having served as flyleaves, pastedowns, sewing guards, otherwise attached to the boards, as spine linings, or in other

18 *Breviarium Romanum, Psalterium*, Venetiis [ca. 1500], ff. 52r–58v; Klosterneuburg, [Augustiner-Chorherrenstift-Bibliothek, 1015](#), ff. 81r–89r (=Antiphonale, Augustinian canons); *Breviarium Pataviense*, Civitas Augustana [ca. 1490], ff. 31v–35r; *Finis breuiarij secu[n]du[m] vsum Premo[n]straten[sem]* (=Breviarium O. Praem.), Parisiis 1513, ff. 36r–46r.

19 I would like to thank Dr. Gabriella Gilányi for her help in the identification of the notation.

20 Cs. Csapodi, *Könyvkonzerválás és restaurálás a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárában*, Budapest 1958, VI. tábla.

	Breviarium Romanum	T 549 (F-fc3p)	Antiphonale, Augustinian canons	Breviarium Pataviense	Breviarium O. Praem.
Dca ad Vesp.	In mandatis (003251)				
	Sit nomen Domini (004971)	S[...]	Sit nomen Domini (004971)	Excelsus super omnes gentes (002774)	Sit nomen Domini (004971)
	Nos qui vivimus (003960)	Domus Iacob (002427)			Nos qui vivimus (003960)
Fer. II ad Vesp.	Clamavi et exaudivit me (001824)				
	Unde veniet auxilium mihi (005269)	Auxilium meum a Domino (001536)			
Fer. VI ad Vesp.	A viro iniquo (001197)				
Sabbato ad Vesp.	Benedictus Dominus Deus (001720)				
	Per singulos dies (004266)	In eternum (003204)			

Table 1: Comparison of Antiphons sung at Vespers in T 549 (F-fc3p), the *Breviarium Romanum*, and psalters in use in the Passau area (CAO/CAN-TUS numbers in parenthesis).

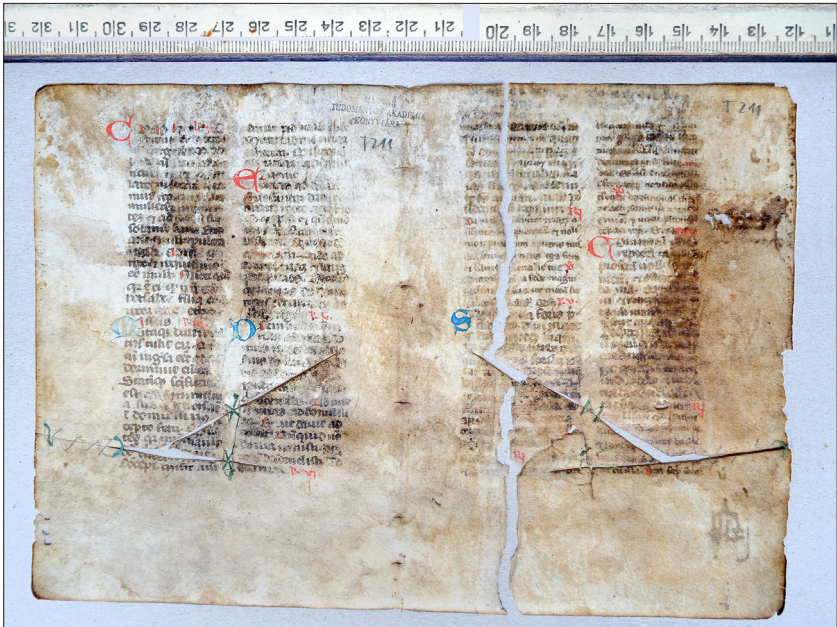


Figure 3: Bifolium with cuts, Budapest, LIC HAS, Department of Manuscripts, T 211 f. 14/17.

other roles. These fragments are best presented thematically: eight liturgical fragments, including three breviaries (T 211, T 490, T 4), one gradual (T 175), one missal (T 258), two antiphonals (T 302, T 53), a hymnal (T 608), a cantatorium (T 303); one Bible fragment (T 382), a sermonarium (T 323), a school text (T 259), and some canon law (T 488) round out the collections. Accompanying these fragments are sometimes flyleaves with notes made by users of the host volumes.

T 211 [F-gh5]

Twelve bifolia from a thirteenth/fourteenth-century breviary were likely attached to the boards of a volume. Their condition is quite poor: they are worn, torn, and incomplete. Cuts are visible on each bifolium, likely the result of the binding process. These cuts were sewn up before the fragments were detached in restoration.

This sewing up of cuts suggests that these bifolia had been reused more than once. In the fifteenth century, in any case, bookbinders reused them for an incunable of Antoninus Florentinus'

Chronicon (Inc. 238, *Catalogue* no. 51, GW 2082, ISTC ia00778000). The fragments belonged to two adjacent quires containing the feasts of Pentecost, Monday to Saturday after Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, the Octave of Trinity Sunday, Second to Sixth Sundays after Pentecost, First Sunday in August, First Sunday, Saturday after the Second Sunday, and the Third Sunday in September. Owing to the current condition of the fragments, often the text of the liturgy is not visible or only the rubrics remain legible. The chants of the feasts follow the *Breviarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* printed in Venice in 1552.²¹ The fragments' host volume was owned by the Dominican Friars in Vienna and was bound in a fifteenth-century blind-tooled leather binding prepared with tools that belonged to the workshop of the Dominican monastery.²² Thus, the bindery likely used these twelve bifolia from discarded material in the convent.

T 490 [F-200C]

Another breviary fragment survives in another book by Antoninus Florentinus previously held by the Dominicans in Vienna. In this case, however, the volume belongs to the collection of books owned by Iohannes de Lindow, a Dominican friar active in the second half of the fifteenth century.²³ From this volume, containing the Venice 1477–1480 printing of Antoninus' *Summa theologica* (Inc. 130/1, *Catalogue* no. 59.5, GW 2185, ISTC ia00872000), a fragment of a fourteenth-century breviary was detached. In this case, however, Iohannes de Lindow must have bought this incunabulum bound, since it was not bound in the workshop of the Dominican convent, but in the so-called *Lilie zweifach rund II* workshop active in Southwest Germany between 1485 and 1500.²⁴ Secondly, the breviary was prepared for monastic use. The breviary was copied in a fourteenth-century German hand, and a parchment strip in the

21 *Breviarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Venetiis, 1552 (Copy consulted: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Liturg. 55 [<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10197382>])

22 *Catalogue*, no. 51.2.

23 M. Rozsondai, "Die Bücher eines Dominikaners des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 57 (1982), 186–192.

24 *Catalogue*, no. 59.5; *Einbanddatenbank*, woo3666 (<https://www.hist-einband.de/de/werkstatt/details.html?entityID=502480s>).

same binding containing German text further reinforces the origin in a German-speaking area. The breviary fragments were originally the inner bifolium of a quire; for the binding, it was cut horizontally and used in the spine. The trimmed bifolium contains lectures and chants for the third Sunday of Lent.

T 4 [E-jyk]

Fragments from two codices share the same shelfmark. One of them, a small strip, has not been identified owing to its size and illegibility. The other fragment is a leaf cut from a twelfth-century breviary. This leaf was cut into several parts and three pieces became part (presumably the spine) of the binding of a copy of Antoninus Florentinus' *Chronicon* (Inc. 237/2, *Catalogue*, no. 51.1, GW 2072; ISTC ia00778000). The host volume's binding suggests an Augsburg origin. First, it was bound with a German-language charter written at the beginning of the sixteenth century (now K 560).²⁵ Second, the decorative devices on the binding were used in bookbinding workshops in Augsburg until the 1530s.²⁶ In the seventeenth century, the host volume was in the Library of Saint George in Augsburg, which belonged to the Augustinian canons. The monastery was dissolved in 1802, and the collection must have been dispersed at that time. The volume was eventually purchased by a member of the Teleki family. As indicated by its size, the breviary was copied for personal use. The surviving leaf contains lections and chant texts for the feast of Christmas. The breviary was not notated, but a user's hand added German adiastematic neumes above the responsory *Verbum caro* and its second verse *In principio*.²⁷ The sequence of chants extant on the fragment match those of the *Breviarium Augustanum* printed in Augsburg in 1584.²⁸

T 175 [E-z2kw]

A bifolium from a twelfth-century gradual was cut up, and two pieces from the top quarter were used to bind the host volume,

25 Vizkelety, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 67, no. 29.

26 *Catalogue*, no. 51.1.

27 CANTUS 007840; 007840a. I would like to thank Dr Gabriella Gilányi for her help in the identification of the notation.

28 Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Aug 295, ff. 25r–26v.

Raimundus de Sabundus, *Theologia naturalis sive liber creaturarum* (Inc. 622, *Catalogue* no. 827.1, GW M36911, ISTC iro00033000). The fragment was written in a *praegothica* script with Lorraine-style German neumes.²⁹ Apart from the notation, we can date the manuscript to the twelfth century by the presence of the offertory verse in the feast of Virgin Mary, since offertory verses disappear by the end of the century.³⁰ The small size of the fragment makes it difficult to determine its origin, but the tonary letters in the margins suggest the southern German origin of the formal gradual.³¹ The restored fragment contains some of the chants for the feasts of Commemoration of the Virgin Mary, the first Sunday after Christmas, Saint Felix of Nola and the second Sunday after Epiphany. The fragment's host volume was printed in Strasbourg in 1496. Its first known owner was the Servite Convent of Saint Charles in Volders near Innsbruck. In 1805, the incunable was transferred to the Servite Convent of Saint Joseph in Innsbruck. The above-mentioned Sándor Vigyázó bought the incunable from Franz Rohrer, an antiquarian from Linz, in 1903.

T 258 [F-i8bo]

Two pieces of a bifolium cut from a twelfth-century missal notated with adiastematic neumes, missing the bottom eleven lines, contain items for the Friday after Septuagesima Sunday, Sexagesima Sunday, and Quinquagesima Sunday. The lections, Gospels, and chants for these Sundays are fairly standard and thus offer no help in specifying the fragment's rite. The bifolium was cut horizontally into two pieces, which were used to reinforce the spine of the host volume. The half-leather binding of the book does not reveal more about the origin of the missal either. The host volume, an incunable printed in 1499 in Strasbourg (Inc. 141, *Catalogue* no. 924, GW M45485, ISTC it00101000), was bound in the so-called *Pelikan*

29 J. Szendrei, *A magyar középkor*, Fig. See the musical analyses of the fragment the database of the HAS-'Momentum' Digital Music Fragmentology Research Group: <http://fragmenta.zti.hu/graduale-s-12-2-sonka-folio-budapest-mta-konyvtar-kezirattar-t-175/>

30 Off. *Offerentur regi virgines*; V. *Eructuavit cor meum* (CANTUS g01371; g01371a)

31 I would like to give thanks to Professor Jennifer Bain for her help in the identification of tonary letters.

rund workshop in the southern German region (*Catalogue* no. 924), which operated between 1497 and 1517.³² The front pastedown was a calendar from 1503, 1514 or 1525, which the twentieth-century restorer reused as a flyleaf and placed at the beginning of the book, where it can still be found. The calendar fragment covers the end of February until December. Saint Rufus is celebrated on 26 August, in keeping with the practice of Würzburg and against the practice in most German dioceses of celebrating Rufus on 27 August.³³ Thus it is possible that the incunable was bound in or near Würzburg. On the verso of the front flyleaf appears the only medieval or early-modern ownership mark: Alexander Mair bought the book in 1553. He likely bought it already bound, since the *Pelikan rund* workshop operated only until 1517. Mair was a monk and a so-called hospital-master in the hospital of the Holy Ghost in Memmingen from 1546 until his death at the beginning of 1557.³⁴ The book, containing Publius Terentius Afer's work, later entered the book collection of the Teleki family, although there is no information about the circumstances of its purchase. What we do know is that it is one of the books donated to the Academy Library by József Teleki.

T 302 [E-5vk4]

Fifteen strips from a thirteenth-century antiphonal served as the quire guards to a 1482 print of Iohannes de Turrecremata, *Expositio super toto Psalterio* (Inc. 328, *Catalogue* no. 977, GW M48221, ISTC it00527000). After being detached from the host volume, twelve strips were identified as coming from two leaves, containing chants for the Purification of Mary, for the feast of Saint Agatha, and for the Chair of Saint Peter. They contain chants written in square notation on staves composed of four red lines. A user added the text of the antiphons for the feast of Gregory the Great. The strips are not adjacent, but rather a few lines of text or music are missing between the pieces (Figures 4–5).

32 Einbanddatenbank, woo2988 (<https://www.hist-einband.de/werkstatt/details.html?entityID=501802s>)

33 Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Hannover and Leipzig 1898, 163.

34 *Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben*, ed. Franz Ludwig Baumann, Stuttgart 1876, 374.



Figure 4: Budapest, LIC HAS, Department of Manuscripts, T 302 [F-5vk4], f. 1v



Figure 5: Budapest, LIC HAS, Department of Manuscripts, T 302 [F-5vk4], f. 2v

T 53 [F-71ki]

A bifolium from a fourteenth-century antiphonal was vertically cut into two pieces in order to be used in the binding of a copy of Plutarch's *Lives of Illustrious Men* (Inc. 209, *Catalogue* no. 801, GW M34477, ISTC ip00831000). The fragments contain chants from the *Communale*. According to the number of the antiphons sung in the Nocturn on the feast of a martyr, the former antiphonal was made for monastic use, and a comparison of the chants with similar Benedictine and Cistercian books suggests the Cistercian Order. Only *Scuto bone virtutis*, the fourth antiphon of the third Nocturn on the feast of a martyr corresponds to a Benedictine antiphon, and all of the antiphons match the Cistercian practice.³⁵ The host volume belonged to the Convent of the Discalced Augustinians in Mariabrunn, and was part of the 1734 donation of a certain Rosenmarcker, a “noble chancellor” who gave five thousand volumes to the convent.³⁶ The ownership mark commemorates this gift: *Conventus B.V.M. est ad fontes fratrum eremitarum discalceatorum S.P.A[ugustini] ex haereditate Rosenmarckeriana*.³⁷

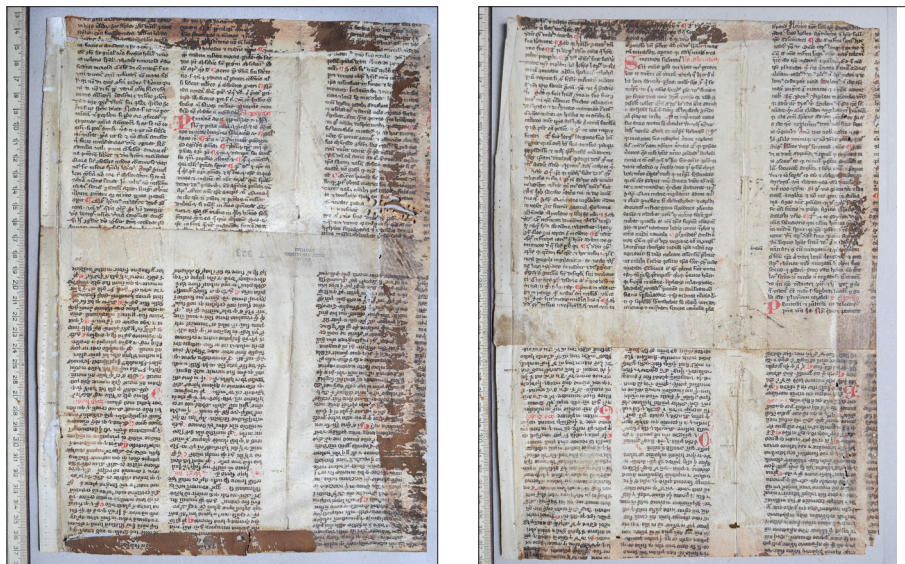
T 608 [F-on5t]

Three pieces cut from a twelfth-century hymnal became part of the binding of a Leipzig incunable of the *Speculum Exemplorum* (Inc. 921, *Catalogue* no. 893, GW M4295210, ISTC is00653000). The fragments contain items without musical notation for the Purification of Mary, the first(?) and fifth Sundays in Lent, the Octave of Easter, Pentecost and the feasts of John the Baptist, the Apostles Peter and Paul, and Mary Magdalene. Thus combining Sundays, movable feasts, and Saints, the hymn texts show that the original manuscript was not divided into *temporale* and *sanctorale*. The three pieces were parts of a bifolium and leaf in the same quire.

35 I compared two Benedictine antiphonals and two Cistercian antiphonals with the fragment, identified in the Cantus Database as: A-Gu 30 [Antiphonal from the Abbey of St. Lambrecht]; F-AS 893 [Breviary from St.-Vaast d'Arras]; A-Wn 1799 and CDN-Hsmu M2149.L4 [Antiphonal from the Abbey of Salzinnes, Namur].

36 J.J. Gavigan: “The Discalced Augustinians in Vienna”, *Augustiniana* 20(1970), 495–580, a: 525–550.

37 *Catalogue*, no. 801.



Figures 6–7: Former pastedowns, Budapest, LIC HAS, Department of Manuscripts, T 323 [F-fvn8]

The bifolium was the second-innermost of the quire; the leaf was the last of the quire, and the missing leaf between the bifolium and leaf shows that the gathering was indeed a quaternion.³⁸

T 303 [F-bjhu]

Two bifolia, one almost completely destroyed by mold, survive from a twelfth-century (first half) *cantatorium* with St. Gall notes. The fragment contains various *Gloria* and *Sanctus* melodies. The mold-damaged bifolium preserves chants for the Easter Season, Ember Days after Pentecost, the feasts of the Apostles Philip and James, the Assumption of Mary, Saint Adrian, the Apostles Simon and Jude, Saint Cecilia, Saint Chrysogonus, Saint Martin and Saint Andrew. The fragments were detached from the binding of a Strasbourg printing of Paulus Burgensis' *Scrutinium scripturarum* (Inc. 821, *Catalogue* no. 703, GW M29971, ISTC ip00201000), bound

³⁸ I would like to give thanks to Gábor Szoliva OFM for his help in the determination of the lacunas between the fragments.

in Augsburg in the fifteenth century. There are no ownership marks other than that of Sándor Vigyázó, who bought this print from Franz Rohrer in 1901.

T 382 [F-4hyv]

The oldest fragment examined in this study is a strip from a Bible –the Gospel of Luke– written in the tenth century. Written in Carolingian minuscule, with no visible decoration, the piece was detached from the spine of its host volume, Valascus de Tarenta, *Practica, quae alias Philonium dicitur* (Lyon, 1500) (Inc. 371, *Catalogue* no. 988, GW M49062, ISTC iv00008000). Wolfgang Grefinger, an organist and composer in Vienna, who bought the book in 1508.³⁹ There is also the ownership mark of Benedikt Perger, the personal physician of Archduke Matthias of Austria and president of the University of Vienna at the end of the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ The host volume was bound in Eichstätt in the sixteenth century, at which point the Bible fragment likely became part of the binding (*Catalogue* no. 988). Owing to the antiquity of the fragment, it is uncertain whether the manuscript it came from had its origins in or near Eichstätt.

T 323 [F-fvn8]

Four bifolia from a fourteenth-century *sermonarium* contain seventeen sermons on All Souls' Day, the feasts of Saint Martin of Tours, Saint Elizabeth, Saint Cecilia, Pope Clement, and Saint Catherine, as well as on confession, penitence, prayer, and fasting. The bifolia have been trimmed so that only three of the four columns per side (two columns per page) remain (Figures 6–7). The texts of the sermons parallel those in Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol, Cod. 475, ff. 97rb–112vb, which contains the same sermons in the same order, except for the last one, on fasting.⁴¹ Five sermons — on

39 O. Wessely, "Grefinger, Wolfgang", *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 7(1966), 19.

40 U. Denk, *Alltag zwischen Studieren und Betteln: die Kodrei Goldberg, ein studentisches Armenhaus an der Universität Wien, in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wien 2013, 53–54.

41 W. Neuhauser, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck*, Teil 5: Cod. 401–500, Wien 2008, 474–488 (https://manuscripta.at/hs_detail.php?ID=7557).

All Souls' Day, on fasting, and on the feasts of Saint Martin, Saint Elizabeth and Catharine — cited in Schneyer's *Repertorium* also appear in manuscripts that belonged to various monastic orders, including the Benedictines, Carthusians and Cistercians.

Incipit	Fragments [=missing columns]	ULBT Cod. 475
In commemoratione omnium fidelium defunctorum. <i>Circumdabunt me gemitus mortis</i> (Ps 17,5). Ista verba scribit nobis beatus Iob (Schneyer 8, 705, no. 56)	1ra (end)	97rb
De eodem. <i>Memor esto iudicii nostri sic enim erit et tui</i> . Iob (=Sir 38,23). Verba ista sunt verba Iob sub persona	1ra–1vb	98rb
De eodem. <i>Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur</i> (Apc 14,13). In verbis istis tria sunt notanda	1vb–2ra	99vb
De sancto Martino episcopo. <i>Ante translacionem testimonii habuit placuisse Deo</i> (Hbr 11,5). Nota quod quadruplex fuit translacio sancti Martini (Schneyer 9,868,91)	2ra–2rb	100rb
De eodem. <i>In enim veste poderis quam habebat etc.</i> (Sap 18,24). Istud verbum dictum est de Aaron	2rb–vb	100vb
Sancta Elyzabeth. <i>Scit omnis populus qui habitat inter partes orbis te mulierem esse virtutum</i> (Rt 3,11). Hec ergo verba Booz ad Ruth, per Booz intelligitur Iesus	2vb–3ra (begin- ning)	101va
De s. Elisabeth. [<i>Fecisti viriliter et confortatum est cor tuum</i> (Idt 15,11). Conveniunt hec verba beate Elisabeth] Expl: [...]remunerata est a domino fruicione Dei. (Schneyer 9,338,173)	[3rb–3va]	102vb
De Cecilia. <i>Mulieris bone beatus vir</i> (Eccl. 26,1). Verba ista bene conveniunt	3vb–4ra (end)	103va
De s. Clemente. <i>Si quis mihi ministrat me sequitur etc.</i> (Io 12,26). In verbis istis duo ponuntur	4ra–b	104rb
De s. Katherina. <i>Omnis glorie eius filie regis ab intus etc.</i> (Ps 44,14). Notandum quod gloria beate Katherine triplex est	4rb–5ra(?)	104vb

De s. Catharina. [<i>Domine Deus exaltasti super terram habitationem meam</i> (Sir 51,13). Hec verba bene potest dicere beata Catharina] Expl.: [...] ut patet in sua legenda. Rogemus. (Schneyer 8,706,63)	[5rb–va]	105va
De confessione. <i>Confitemini alterutrum primo quinque</i> (Iac 5,16). Fratres mei de confessione vobis propono	5vb–6vb (end)	107rb
De penitencia. <i>Penitentiam agite appropinquavit enim regnum</i> (Mt 3,2). Notandum quod penitencia multum est utile	6vb–7ra	110rb
De penitencia. <i>Penitemini et convertimini ut deleantur peccata vestra</i> (Act 3,19). Notandum quidam penitent	7ra (incipit only)	110vb
De penitencia. <i>Penitentiam agite</i> etc. Mt. (Mt 3,2; 4,17). Qui hec verba male eveniunt ei	[7rb–va]	111va
De penitencia. Item nota quod libenter debemus agere	7vb	111vb
De penitencia. Sciendum est quod tempus penitencie est usque ad extremum	7vb–8ra	112rb
De penitencia. Quedam penitencia est vera. Augustinus Penitencia est penitenda verum non admittere et admissa deflere	8ra–rb	112vb
De ieiunio. <i>Dum ieiunias unge caput tuum oleo et faciem tuam lava</i> etc. (Mt 6,17). Dignitas ieiunii multipliciter commendatur (Schneyer 9,101,27)	8vb (begin- ning)	–

The four bifolia belonged to one quaternion, and were glued two-by-two as pastedowns of a folio-sized host volume, (Pseudo-Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum morale*, Inc. 794/I, *Catalogue* no. 1008, GW M50621, ISTC iv00291000) (Figures 8–9). The fragments were restored and separated from each other in 2021.

T 259 [F-bpb4]

Bound in another copy of Antoninus Florentinus' *Summa Theologica* (Inc. 735, *Catalogue* no. 62, GW 2191, ISTC ia00877000) were two strips of bifolia from a popular schoolbook, Alexander of Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*, along with a commentary, written in northern textualis (text) and notularis (commentary) scripts at the beginning

of the fourteenth century. The commentary shows similarity with that attributed to Gippus.⁴² The host volume was previously owned by Wendelinus Wetzstein and by the Benedictine monastery of Zwiefalten. Presumably the first owner of the incunable, Wetzstein was a vicar in Veringenstadt – a German city close to Zwiefalten – at the end of the fifteenth century.⁴³ The decoration of the binding contains elements used by a bookbinding workshop in Augsburg, and thus the fragment may have originated from this southern region of Germany.

T 488 [F-qemd]

One leaf of a fourteenth-century copy of the decretals of Pope Gregory IX came from a German incunable on the mass (Inc. 689, *Catalogue* no. 115, GW 3085, ISTC ia01395000), where it may have served as a flyleaf. The fragment contains part of Book I of the *Liber Extra* with Bernard of Botone's commentary, as well as unidentified interlinear and marginal notes by later users, and two *manicula* on the recto. While the host volume was printed in Nürnberg before 1484, its binding comes from an unknown nineteenth-century workshop. The only known previous owner was Sándor Vigyázó, who purchased the incunable from the bookseller Rohrer in 1901.

3. Handwritten pieces not originating from codices

Three shelfmarks under consideration have material that did not originate from a manuscript codex. In one case, a handwritten list of the chapters of Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa confessionalis* (T 384 [F-g6co]) was detached from a 1480 Venice printing of the same (Inc. 130/4, *Catalogue* no. 59.6, GW 2185, ISTC ia00872000). Four paper leaves (K 557, olim T 319 [F-ofi3]) – two pastedowns and two flyleaves – were detached from a 1489 Strasbourg Bible (Inc. 50, *Catalogue* no. 186.1, GW 4265, ISTC ib0058800). The leaves contain

42 Compare, for example, with the copy preserved in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14354 ([urn:nbn:de:byb:12-bsb00046571-2](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:byb:12-bsb00046571-2)).

43 P. Schmied, *Der Klerus des deutschen Teils der Diözese Konstanz am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts. Nach den Steuerlisten des Gemeinen Pfennigs von 1495*, Regensburg 2013, 62.

texts of various genres and different languages. On the last one, ownership marks from Freiburg, Freising and Basel can be read.

Conclusion

The incunables in the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences attest to the international book trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and the activities of Hungarian collectors. Since the fragments studied in the Fragmentarium project have a known relation to their host volumes, we can use the combined provenance information to determine the origin of the fragments and their circumstances of their fragmentation and reuse in binding. By and large, these fragments were written, used, and reused as binding material in German-speaking lands. The incunables were already bound when Hungarian nobles purchased them.

Review

Peter Kidd, *The McCarthy Collection, Volume II: Spanish, English, Flemish & Central European Miniatures*, London: Ad Illisum 2019, 248 pp., 150+ colour illustrations, ISBN 9781912168132.

Peter Kidd, *The McCarthy Collection, Volume III: French Miniatures*, London: Ad Illisum 2021, 336 pp., 350 colour illustrations, ISBN 9781912168187.

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Not all printed catalogues of illuminated manuscript fragments are created equal. Though the genre may seem straightforward and formulaic, it is actually subject to great variation not only in terms of production values, colour fidelity, and layout, but also—more importantly—in terms of scholarly conception, rigour, completeness and exactitude. The two final volumes of the Bob McCarthy collection stand out in this regard. They are among the most accurate, systematic, and careful examples of their kind ever produced. The collection they document is equally extraordinary, consisting of Spanish, English, Flemish, and Central European material brought together in volume 2 and French material examined in volume 3. The former includes some 97 items over 63 entries, and the latter some 190 over 96 entries (multiple leaves or fragments from the same parent volume are grouped together). The last volume also includes 9 additional entries for items omitted from the first volume of the series, which was dedicated to Italian and Byzantine material.

Within each of these three volumes, geographical patterns reveal differing histories of dispersal and collecting. The Italian material in the first volume primarily consisted of material purposely excised for the collector usually quite early on, especially “cuttings” and

single-sheets extracted from service books.¹ The Spanish, English, Flemish, and Middle-European material from the second volume, on the whole less sought-after by post-Napoleonic collectors, contains a significant proportion of irregularly cut fragments unglued from later bindings. While the catalogue author takes great pains to establish provenance of items that have circulated previously in the trade, it is a shame that such orphan fragments, often unmoored quite recently owing to their growing commercial value, arrive at the market with no conceivable way of being reconnected to their host volume. Finally, among the French material recorded in volume 3, and owing to a special emphasis of the collector expressed in the foreword, there is a preponderance of sets of leaves from small-format Bibles produced in Northern France. That most of these can be linked to other leaves in public and private collections shows that there are in fact a relatively limited number of late medieval books that have fallen under the knife in recent decades, though the practice of biblioclasm is still, unfortunately, ongoing.

In terms of the sheer artistic quality of individual items, this ensemble may not rival the famous collections of illuminated material composed a century ago or more. At that time, more dazzling specimens were routinely available on the market. However, the McCarthy collection is probably unparalleled among present-day private collections in terms of breadth and depth. As a whole, it provides a remarkable survey of Western European manuscript illumination of the twelfth to early fifteenth centuries (with a few excursions earlier and later). The goal of the present review is not to summarize or highlight this wonderful panorama; rather, it is to acknowledge the care and sophistication of the publication itself.

The author of these two volumes, an independent scholar and consultant to auctioneers and private collectors, has become one of the field's foremost practitioners of fragmentology, to use a neologism that he himself has openly questioned.² Publicly, he is the author of the Medieval Manuscripts Provenance blog, which provides a longstanding and regular feed of discoveries made through dogged

1 See my [review](#) in *Fragmentology* 3 (2020), 155–59.

2 <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2018/07/the-use-of-word-fragments.html>

scrutiny of digitized collections, items coming up for auction, and newly digitized catalogues from the past three centuries of the book trade.³ Like this website, the current volumes brim with new and authoritative identifications of sister leaves and chains of provenance for dozens of manuscript leaves, cuttings, and recuperated fragments, here encompassed under the convenient but inadequate subtitle for the volumes, “miniatures.” As I often tell students, the ability to virtually re-stitch these *folia fugitiva* is not magic; it is the result of patient work, organizational acumen, inquisitiveness, networking, and good memory. Nor is it merely a demonstration of scholarly prowess: Peter Kidd’s discoveries, like those of any good fragmentologist, lay the groundwork for better understandings of broader artistic and social currents. Tracing the sequence of custody of medieval works of art is not merely an exercise in posthumous aristocratic house-calls (though this is often part of it). In best-case scenarios, it can lead us to an orphaned work of art’s place of origin that is otherwise lost.

The author’s Note on the Catalogue repeated at the outset of each volume consists of a thorough, well-reasoned account of the rationale behind each entry’s discrete sections: numbering; headings; attributions in the headings; physical description; dimensions; decoration and text; parent volume and sister leaves; provenance; commentary; bibliography; and references to online sources. It reads like a manifesto of best practices in cataloguing and describing, while also acknowledging the affordances of a print volume. This short but valuable section enunciates many principles that are rarely voiced by catalogers, and can even be in conflict in multi-author publications. Most importantly, the introduction broaches the key distinction between relaying information as it exists and deducing conclusions thereupon. This is the difference between noting the presence of a bookplate and asserting ownership by the individual represented. Such a distinction is a key epistemological point for any study of the historical past, and writers must constantly balance conveyance and inference, based on the particular context. Iconographies, for instance, are rarely labeled, but in most cases a scene’s

3 <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/>

conventional title and the sacred subject it represents are clear, and can thus be inferred without issue.

An exemplary aspect of the author's method is his citation practice for web resources. Recognizing the often-unwieldy URLs that point to specific items on museum or library websites, the author has used the TinyURL abbreviation service to produce custom, short, and meaningful aliases for use in the footnote text. This solves one of the vexing issues of retrofitting electronic references to print. The other problem, the rapid, almost universal expiration of URLs over time, even when the content is still available elsewhere on an institution's website, is deftly if laboriously solved by the author: where possible, he has saved copies of websites to the Archive.org repository, which provides as certain a means as is currently possible to record a snapshot of a web resource.

Interestingly, the author offers no discrete discussion of condition in the catalogue entries. No explicit reason is given, but given the overall emphasis on unity, utility, and verifiability, this may be due to the avoidance of inherently subjective language. There is certainly a well-trodden and glib language of condition qualifiers redolent of dealer and auction-catalogue speak that scholarly writers should seek to avoid, but there are also more precise means of indicating flaws in the parchment, signs of use, and patterns of abrasion or incision. The reliance on digital images, which the author freely admits, also calls for a certain amount of caution in describing condition. Similarly, the author urges caution when it comes to the stated dimensions of items, as he often has been forced to rely upon legacy information which may not be trustworthy. Better tools for scaling and sizing digital photographs may one day assist in solving this problem.

In line with the emphasis on objectivity that pervades the catalogue is the limitation of the commentary section for each entry. This is in contrast to the first volume of the series, written by Gaudenz Freuler, which includes extensive discussion of stylistic arguments and frequent references to—and illustrations of—works of art in other media. The contrast between these approaches is a reflection of differing norms for different regional traditions of scholarship, but also a reflection of the more permeable medial boundaries and

better rates of survival for Italian art. The author of the volumes presently under review makes clear that the purpose of his discursive brevity is to avoid subjective opinion and speculation about style and geographical localization, as many attempts at attribution expressed by previous scholars have either not withstood the test of time, or have been repeated uncritically in subsequent catalogues. For the volume on French material, the introduction (pp. 9–13) makes plain what the anti-model is: Robert Branner's posthumous 1977 survey of manuscript illumination in the era of Louis IX, well-known for its opacity and problematic stylistic groupings, and sadly not yet succeeded by a more reliable study.⁴ Nevertheless, we might counter by using the connoisseur Federico Zeri's (admittedly Italo-centric) argument that even an attribution that one day proves faulty is a contribution of sorts, as it sets up a baseline for others to either confirm or deny. The author also evinces a healthy degree of skepticism about dating, noting that chronologies for these schools of manuscript illumination are notoriously fluid. Supposedly archaic tendencies have a longer life in areas removed from so-called "metropolitan" centres, while the circulation of model-books and artisans across Europe can short-circuit expected patterns of artistic change.

Finally, the plenitude of useful scholarly apparatuses that accompany each volume should be noted. Often unsung, systematic indices have maintained their usefulness even in the age of Google Books searchability. While the first volume included indices of current whereabouts, subject, artists, places, and people, volumes 2 and 3 add substantial alphabetical lists of iconographies, identified texts, and prior provenance. In the third volume, the index of current whereabouts even includes very useful subsections of sister leaves in named private collections, unnamed private collections, and of unknown whereabouts. Of course, the situation for items not held by institutions can evolve rapidly. But one example is the private collection in Grimsby, UK, cited in both volumes; this was that of Roger Martin (d. 2020), the bulk of which was sold at a posthumous auction shortly after the appearance of the final volume of

4 Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles*, Berkeley 1977.

the McCarthy catalogue.⁵ The endpages of volume 3 also include addenda and corrigenda for the previous volumes, rather extensive for volume 1 but admirably short (and consisting mostly of additional information) for volume 2.

Overall, these final two volumes of the McCarthy Collection catalogue of miniatures are a model of the genre. They are every part the equal of the wonderful collection they represent.

5 *The Roger Martin Collection of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Bloomsbury Auctions, London, 6 July 2021.

Review

The Burke Collection of Italian Manuscript Paintings, edited by Sandra Hindman and Federica Toniolo, introduction by Christopher de Hamel, London: Ad Illissum 2021, 472 pp., 300 colour illustrations, ISBN 9781912168200.

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Dopo la pubblicazione dei tre volumi dedicati alla Collezione McCarthy (2018, 2019, 2021), alla collezione Cini (2016), e alla collezione Hindman (2018), a questa serie si aggiunge ora un altro imponente catalogo, consacrato alla importante raccolta di miniature di T. Robert Burke e Katherine States Burke. Nella prefazione i due proprietari ripercorrono la storia della collezione, nata dalla passione per la miniatura medievale e dall'intento di riunire una raccolta significativa dell'arte che loro chiamano «Italian manuscript painting», dal tardo medioevo all'inizio del Rinascimento.

La maggior parte dei pezzi è passata più volte tra le mani di vari collezionisti, rimanendo durante lunghi periodi inaccessibile al pubblico. Ben venga quindi la decisione di Robert e Katherine Burke di depositare la raccolta presso la Stanford University Libraries, dove, non solo è ora a disposizione per consultazione e ricerca, ma dovrebbe aver trovato un porto sicuro e definitivo. Alcuni di questi, infatti, come per esempio l'iniziale O, molto probabilmente proveniente da un graduale del monastero camaldolese di S. Mattia sull'isola di Murano (nr. 39), ha cambiato proprietario almeno otto volte prima di essere acquistato dai Burke.

In una lunga introduzione Christopher de Hamel, per lunghi anni attivo nel Dipartimento dei manoscritti occidentali di Sotheby's, presenta i contenuti testuali, iconografici e artistici della raccolta. La maggior parte dei frammenti proviene da manoscritti liturgici.

Soprattutto le grandi iniziali presenti nei graduali e antifonari — da lui genericamente definiti *Choir books* — prodotti in Italia nel tardo Medioevo, le avevano rese molto ricercate per essere ritagliate e, isolate dal contesto per il quale erano state create, incorniciate ed appese alle pareti di musei o abitazioni di collezionisti privati. Nella seconda parte del saggio l'autore ricostruisce la nascita e lo sviluppo del collezionismo inglese del XVIII secolo, le prime grandi aste di miniature medievali tenutesi a Londra, e le vicende di alcuni dei più importanti collezionisti di quell'epoca e precedenti proprietari di alcuni pezzi, tra i quali William Young Ottley, James Dennistoun e Sir Kenneth Clark.

Tranne due codici interi — un antifonario dalla chiesa di S. Maria sopra Porta a Firenze (nr. 17) e un codice con due testi in volgare (nr. 15) — la maggior parte della collezione è composta da miniature ritagliate. L'oggetto più antico risale alla seconda metà del XII secolo (nr. 4) ed il più tardo è una gouache su pergamena dei primi decenni del XVII secolo (nr. 43).

Le schede del catalogo, redatte da noti specialisti di miniatura italiana, sono suddivise in ordine cronologico in regioni: Umbria (nr. 1-3), Toscana (nr. 4-27), Emilia-Romagna (nr. 28-32), Lombardia (nr. 33-36), Veneto (nr. 37-41) e Lazio (nr. 42), e precedute da una utile cartina geografica.

Quando possibile, la descrizione delle miniature è preceduta da una biografia dell'artista, con informazioni riguardanti gli anni di attività, la storia della fortuna critica, e una ricostruzione del *corpus* delle opere conosciute o attribuite.

La scheda comprende le informazioni riguardanti misure, tecnica di esecuzione e stato di conservazione, informazioni sul contenuto, la provenienza, la cronologia delle mostre nelle quali il frammento è stato esposto, e la bibliografia.

Particolarmente utili e interessanti risultano essere le sezioni *Provenance*, *Sister leaves* e *Parent manuscript*. Nella prima vengono riassunte le informazioni riguardanti la provenienza originale del frammento — nel caso sia possibile accertarla — ed i vari passaggi di proprietà, fino all'acquisizione nella collezione Burke. Nelle altre due vengono elencate altre iniziali conosciute provenienti dal medesimo manoscritto e conservate in altre istituzioni sia pubbliche che

private, così come i codici conosciuti che appartengono al medesimo *corpus* liturgico, come per esempio i 14 frammenti di un antifonario del convento di S. Francesco di Assisi miniato dal Maestro del mesale Deruta (nr. 2), conservati in più di nove collezioni.

A complemento della accurata descrizione vi sono le ipotesi sull'attribuzione, la collocazione stilistica e cronologica, accompagnate, se necessario, da immagini di confronto sia di altre miniature che di opere su tavola o ad affresco.

La maggior parte delle miniature, sia su singoli fogli che ritagliate, sono molto note tra gli storici della miniatura; quasi tutte sono figurate o presentano delle storie, e sono attribuite ad un artista di cui o si conosce il nome, o che riceve una appellazione proprio in questo contesto, come è il caso del Master of the Burke *Saint John the Baptist and the Messiah* (nr. 3).

L'apparato illustrativo, costituito da immagini a piena pagina o dettagli, è molto ricco e per la maggior parte a colori. La qualità molto alta permette in alcuni casi di osservare la punzonatura dell'oro nel campo di una iniziale di Lorenzo Monaco (nr. 13), o le appena visibili iniziali 'B.F.' del miniatore nella Lapidazione di s. Stefano (nr. 36). Mancano purtroppo riprese fotografiche del lato posteriore dei frammenti, una mancanza che dispiace per esempio nel caso di un foglio con un'iniziale decorata, sul cui retro se ne intravede una filigranata (nr. 14, p. 157). È probabile che sul verso di alcuni frammenti compaiano annotazioni riguardanti precedenti proprietari o riferimenti a cataloghi di vendita, che potrebbero fornire interessanti informazioni sulla loro provenienza (si veda in proposito il blog di Peter Kidd <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2021/07/the-backs-and-edges-of-cuttings.html>).

Conclude il volume la bibliografia delle pubblicazioni citate nelle schede, introdotta da una selezione di testi di approfondimento sulla storia della miniatura, un indice delle scuole e degli artisti, e uno dedicato all'iconografia. L'apparato degli indici è completato da quello dedicato alle provenienze, nel quale sono raccolti sia i luoghi di origine, se conosciuti, delle miniature, sia i precedenti proprietari, fondamentale nel caso di oggetti che, soprattutto da quando sono entrati nel mercato antiquario, hanno cambiato sovente proprietario.

Il grande impegno profuso dai catalogatori nel raccogliere le preziosissime informazioni presentate nei paragrafi *Related leaves* o *Sister leaves*, sarebbe stato ancor più meritevole se queste fossero confluite in un indice dei luoghi di conservazione, dal momento che in alcune schede sono identificati più di 20 altri frammenti sparsi in altrettante raccolte.

Occorre inoltre essere grati a Katherine e Robert Burke, poiché grazie a loro la collezione ha finalmente trovato una sede di conservazione idonea e si spera definitiva, che sottragga questi meravigliosi oggetti alle logiche di un malsano mercato antiquario.

Review

Giovanni Varelli, ed., *Disiecta Membra Musicae: Studies in Musical Fragmentology* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 21), Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 2020, VI + 398 pp., ISBN 9781912168071.

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Manuscript fragments have long been the subject of scholarly research, but recent years have seen a rapid and significant surge in interest in the topic, largely in response to the proliferation of new digital tools that have helped collate and disseminate local fragment holdings to an ever-growing population of scholars around the world. Numerous topics and approaches lie at the heart of this new ‘fragmentological’ impulse, including the reconstruction of lost codices from their constituent and often widely dispersed fragmentary parts; provenance history, the historic manuscript trade, and patterns of fragment collecting; paleographical and art historical inquiry; and the varied contexts and “second lives” of manuscripts that have been cut up and recycled in so many different ways (from book bindings and fabric stiffeners to saddle padding and lampshades). In his foreword to the volume reviewed here, Giovanni Varelli credits much of this scholarly interest to the “ex-centricity” (and, by extension, eccentricity) of fragments. Their very “unexpectedness” and dislocated-ness from their original codicological, textual, and cultural contexts challenge more traditional understandings of the materiality of manuscripts and the methodological and historiographical approaches more typically used in projects that focus on intact and complete codices (p. 1). Varelli goes on to point out that this “ex-centricity” necessarily lies at the heart of medieval musicological study given the degree to which so much of our collective knowledge of medieval music and musical culture relies solely on fragmentary evidence. Unlikely though it may seem

given musicologists' long familiarity with fragments as valuable—or in many cases, the *only*—material or textual evidence underlying their work, this volume of twelve essays is the first to focus entirely on musical fragments as a specific target of study. In particular, the essays presented here provide a range of discussions of and models for the various methods of investigation involved in fragmentological inquiry related to musical sources.

In the volume's first essay, "Polyphonic Fragments: Destruction, Recovery, Reconstruction," Margaret Bent provides an insightful and handy overview of the various accidents behind and motivations for the historical fragmentation of musical manuscripts, whether for functional utility (such as the recycling of fragments in book bindings or inside the workings of organs or lutes), textual and musical revision (e.g. instances of manuscript cannibalization in which a later hand has cut out initials and pasted them in new locations to reuse them in a new repertory, only to discard the now-mutilated original pages in the process), or for dismembering manuscripts to prioritize and commercialize their artistic contents (a practice that began in earnest in the nineteenth century as art collectors eagerly sought illuminated choir book initials for their growing collections). The remains of the destructive (or reconstructive) activities Bent outlines provide the subjects for the volume's remaining essays, all of which interestingly demonstrate how even the smallest musical fragment might shed light on the development of a specific national or regional musical tradition, provide insight into different forms of liturgical genres and practice, and suggest new ways of looking at fragments not just as isolated and disjunct reminders of their original purpose and use, but as re-tasked objects that often convey new significance and meaning within their new codicological or artefactual contexts.

Susan Rankin's article on early-medieval Processional chants cogently demonstrates how, in many cases, the evidence preserved by surviving fragments flies in the face of established narratives about the evolution of liturgical manuscripts. Her analysis of two sets of late-tenth century musical fragments from eastern Switzerland reveals, for instance, that the Processional likely emerged as a formal textual genre much earlier than traditional scholarship has

tended to believe. Rankin makes an important point here about the utility of fragments, noting that much of the existing scholarly narrative about medieval musicological history is predominantly based on studies of the few surviving complete, or nearly complete, codices of particular genres. Similarly, David Hilley's essay reveals how fragments of plainchant offices can preserve important and unique details about localized saint-based devotion (in this case, in twelfth-century Austria and southern Germany) that might otherwise not be preserved in codices.

The essays by Jurij Snoj, David Catalunya, and Pawel Gancarczyk focus on how the systematic study of fragments can help paint a more complete picture of medieval musical practice in specific geographic areas. Snoj reports on his systematic search for musical fragments located in libraries across Slovenia, resulting in the discovery of 618 complete and incomplete folios and 158 smaller musical scraps collectively stemming from 222 original parent codices. His analysis and interpretation of this significant body of evidence reveals numerous points of interest related to the relationship between Latin and Old Church Slavonic, the influence of political affiliations within the Holy Roman Empire on the notational styles used to render music in manuscript sources, and the circumstances within which these 222 original codices were likely fragmented, recycled, and dispersed. Catalunya's examination of polyphonic fragments from fourteenth-century Aragon challenges earlier scholarly tendencies to attribute the creation of many of these fragments' original parent codices to the royal household in Barcelona. Careful analysis of scribal hands, the arrangement of manuscript contents, and the overall quality of writing supports and decorative schemes strongly suggest that the creation of many of these manuscripts in various centers across the region by scribes and book makers was influenced by the itinerant activities of the royal court. In his essay on polyphonic fragments in central Europe, Gancarczyk argues for the importance of determining which questions or considerations governed decisions about what a community chose to preserve versus what they opted to discard. His investigation of the manuscripts used by Czech Utraquists points out how the preservation of codices

and the creation of fragments helped forge and maintain communal identity.

Building upon this notion of how fragments and their (re)use help define community, Sanna Raninen's essay examines how Scandinavian Protestants incorporated earlier medieval musical sources into their new reformed liturgical practices. In contrast to the more rapid impact that Lutheran reform had in regions such as Germany and England, Raninen notes that the pace of change in Scandinavian liturgical practice was slow. Despite a steady move toward a heavier reliance on the vernacular and the emergence of new practices of worship as the Reformation progressed, Latin and older medieval liturgical forms remained current in many Protestant books well into the sixteenth century, with earlier musical manuscripts updated to accommodate evolving Protestant liturgical needs.

In what I found to be perhaps the volume's most compelling essay, Karl Kügle argues that we should not so easily accept the longstanding and widespread assumption that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century book binders reused manuscript fragments as pastedowns solely in random or utilitarian ways. Through a series of four case studies, Kügle offers persuasive evidence of how binders may have deliberately chosen and positioned specific manuscript fragments as pastedowns in order to extend and complement the texts and music these fragments now encompassed and bound. It could be argued that the significances outlined in each case study are nothing more than coincidental; however, Kügle's contention that the selection and placement of fragments in recycled contents may have been intentional in certain cases opens up entirely new avenues for the comparative and complementary analysis of early books.

The pair of essays by Reinhard Strohm and Danielle Sabaino explore how manuscript fragments—and traces of manuscript fragmentation—can be packaged and preserved in later manuscript miscellanies that convey the specific interests and wider cultural frameworks involved in manuscript production, compilation, and use. Strohm considers a compilation of ten polyphonic and twenty plainsong pieces written by twelve scribes in six different forms of musical notation, arguing that this collection of 'fragments' is not a

random compilation, but a condensed *florilegium* for organists deliberately added to—and consequently preserved within—a larger codex. Sabaino's essays analyzes how adiastematic notation found accompanying an early Italian vernacular poem might help reconstruct the lost structure and melody for an early song. Although much of Sabaino's argument stretches beyond the scope of my own knowledge of medieval notation and musical transcription, this essay does forward a convincing *possible* case that both the poetry text and the accompanying notation are, indeed, intentionally related. More importantly for the purposes of this volume, however, is how this study demonstrates how exceptionally important sources with complex questions surrounding them can be discovered in fragmentary form and studied to productive and surprising effect.

The volume's final two essays demonstrate the utility of modern digital approaches toward fragmentological research. Zsuzsa Czagány offers an overview of the work of the Institute for Musicology's (Budapest) Digital Musical Fragmentology group and its website, *Fragmenta Manuscriptorum Musicalium Hungariae Mediaevalis*, along with a pair of case studies detailing how this online resource has assisted efforts to reconstruct a pair of broken fifteenth-century musical manuscripts. In the collection's final essay, Julia Craig-McFeely discusses the forensic reconstruction of damaged manuscript folios via the assistance of different digital methods, with an emphasis on the capacity of digital imaging to allow scholars to combine and layer multiple manipulated images of the same folio to help uncover hidden information about a fragment's material, textual, artistic, and musical contents and contexts. Perhaps most importantly, Craig-McFeely also addresses the ethics of digital intervention in manuscript reconstruction, noting the importance of carefully guiding readers' awareness and interpretation of how—and why—digital images of particular manuscripts may have been edited and manipulated. Together, these two concluding essays point out the capacity of digital technologies and methodologies to push forward fragmentological research in new and exciting ways.

All in all, the twelve essays included in this volume work together to demonstrate the various ways that the careful consideration of

fragmentary manuscript evidence can help us reinterpret—and in some cases even rewrite—what we know about medieval musical culture, liturgical practice, and manuscript recycling and reuse. Collectively, these fascinating examples of fragmentological research prove that though often frustratingly incomplete, manuscript fragments should not, and cannot, be ignored.

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