

A Symposium of the RESEARCH GROUP ON MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE

www.manuscriptevidence.org/wpme

Friday & Saturday, 25–26 March 2016

106 McCormick Hall, Princeton University

Words & Deeds

*Actions Enacted, Re-Enacted & Restored
from Late Antiquity to Early Modernity & Beyond*

Sponsors: The Research Group on Manuscript Evidence
The Department of Art & Archaeology
The Index of Christian Art
James Marrow and Emily Rose
Barbara A. Shailor
The Samuel H. Kress Foundation
The Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies

Our theme engages with the realms of manuscripts, documents, seals, inscriptions, and other means of authentications or attestation, with a view to deeds in material forms as well as deeds in action. Narratives (both real and imagined) have their part in the story, too, along with illustrations in a variety of media. The interrelationship, tensions, or outright conflicts between words and events, actual or planned, come into focus as well. The span for consideration welcomes a range of dates, languages, regions, materials, forms of activities, and interactions.

Likewise, we address issues of objects which carry within the confines of their present borders most of the evidence, apparently, to reveal their purposes through words and/or images. Such is the case, poignantly, given the vagaries of history (from whatever causes, natural or not), with fragments dispersed from former whole objects or groups of objects, as with collections or individual monuments. Lost objects can also be retrievable in some measure, given the chance and expertise.

Our sessions will focus on these and other predicaments, challenges, and opportunities. For example, we celebrate recent researches and discoveries among the medieval manuscript remnants from the collection of Otto F. Ege (1888–1951). Other realms range from the Late-Antique Theater to Gutenberg, by way of, *inter alia*, the Abbey of Saint-Denis, charters, and amulets. Materials from several collections may be on view.

Further information about this event, including a Report, appears on the Research Group website:
<http://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/2016-symposium-on-words-and-deeds>.

Booklet compiled and edited by Mildred Budny.

Typeset in RGME Bembo according to the Research Group's *Style Manifesto*.



Figure 1. Otto Ege MS 14. First page of Genesis, beginning *In Principio* ('In the Beginning'), from a dismembered large-format Lectern Bible produced circa 1325 perhaps in Flanders or Northern France.

Partly reconstructed here: <http://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/a-new-leaf-from-otto-ege-manuscript-14>.

Otto Ege Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Program

Friday, 25 March

SESSION 9:00–10:40am

McCormick 106

Opening Remarks

Mildred Budny

(Research Group on Manuscript Evidence)

Session 1. Strategies for Acting, Re-Enacting & Re-Creating

Moderator: **Charles E. Barber** (Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University)

Andrew Walker White (School of Arts and Sciences, Stratford University)

“Modes of Presence, Modes of Authenticity: The Interaction of ‘Artifact’ and Persona in Late Antiquity”

Karl F. Morrison (Department of History Emeritus, Rutgers University)

“Oscar’s Paradox: Deadly Love in Western Christian Liturgy”

Sarah Celentano (Department of Art and Art History, The University of Texas at Austin)

“Pro-Papal Testimony through ‘Norman’ Material in the Hortus Deliciarum”

COFFEE BREAK 10:40–11:00am

Lobby outside McCormick 106

SESSION 11:00am–12:30pm

McCormick 106

Session 2. Records of Moments, Intents & Monumentality

Moderator: **Alan M. Stahl** (Firestone Library, Princeton University)

Genevra Kornbluth (Kornbluth Photography)

“Words, Letters, Objects, and Deeds: Amuletic Strategies in the Early Middle Ages”

Brigitte M. Bedos-Rezak (Department of History, New York University)

“Contact and Contract: Sealing the Deed in the Central Middle Ages”

Eric White (Firestone Library, Princeton University)

“Good Words for Misdeeds: Gutenberg’s Typographical Indulgences of 1454–55”

LUNCH 12:30–1:30pm

3rd Floor, McCormick Hall

ON VIEW ALL DAY

Index of Christian Art

Exhibition

**Words & Deeds of Charles Rufus Morey
at the American Embassy in Rome (1945–1950)**

Curator: **Jessica L. Savage** (Index of Christian Art, Princeton University)

Program

Friday, 25 March

SESSION 1:30–3:00pm

McCormick 106

Session 3. Texts, Inscriptions & Intentions at the Abbey of Saint-Denis

Moderator: **Catherine Fernandez** (Index of Christian Art, Princeton University)

Paula Gerson (Department of Art History Emerita, Florida State University)

“When a Door is More than a Door: The Bronze Valves for Abbot Suger’s Central Portal”

Thomas G. Waldman (University of Pennsylvania) and

Elizabeth A.R. Brown (The City University of New York Emerita)

“A Historical Compendium from Saint-Denis, Mazarine MS 2013:

Its Date(s) and Contents — And Why They Matter”

Part I: *“Mazarine 2013 and the Abbey’s Charters”*

Part II: *“The Manuscript, a Historical Compendium — No Way a Universal History”*

COFFEE BREAK 3:00–3:30pm

Lobby outside McCormick 106

SESSION 3:30–5:30pm

McCormick 106

Session 4. Words & Misdeeds: The Ege Family’s Commitment to Manuscript Studies

Moderator: **Barbara A. Shailor** (Department of Classics, Yale University)

Raymond Clemens (Beinecke Library, Yale University)

“The Family Portfolio: A Key to the Ege Collection”

Katherine Philbin (School of Library and Information Science, Simmons College)

“Picking Up the Pieces: How Fragmentology Saved the Day for LIS 464”

Lisa Fagin Davis (The Medieval Academy of America)

“IIIF, Mirador, and Otto Ege: The Pedagogical Possibilities”

RECEPTION 5:30–7:00pm

Index of Christian Art

DISPLAY 5:30–7:00pm

Seminar Room, Index of Christian Art

* * * *

Program

Saturday, 26 March

SESSION 9:00–10:30am

McCormick 106

Session 5. New Projects, New Research at SIMS: The Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies

Moderator: **Henry Schillb** (Index of Christian Art, Princeton University)

Jessica Dummer (Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies, University of Pennsylvania)
“OPenn: Digital Primary Sources Hosted by Penn Libraries”

Dot Porter (SIMS)
“Collation: A Tool for Virtually Taking Apart Manuscript Books”

Lynn Ransom (SIMS)
“The New Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts”

COFFEE BREAK 10:30–11:00am

Lobby outside McCormick 106

PANEL DISCUSSION 11:00–12:20pm

McCormick 106

Round Table. Fragments as Essence and Essentials

Moderator: **Beatrice E. Kitzinger** (Department of Art & Archaeology, Princeton University)

Barbara A. Shailor (Yale University)

Lynn Ransom (University of Pennsylvania)

Pamela Patton (Index of Christian Art, Princeton University)

Lisa Fagin Davis (Medieval Academy of America)

Celia Chazelle (Department of History, The College of New Jersey)

Mildred Budny (Research Group on Manuscript Evidence, Princeton)

CONCLUSION 12:20–12:30pm

McCormick 106

Closing Remarks

Giles Constable

(School of Historical Studies Emeritus, Institute for Advanced Study)

* * * *

Abstracts (Alphabetical order by Speaker)

Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte M. (Department of History, New York University)

“Contact and Contract: Sealing the Deed in the Central Middle Ages”

In the vocabulary of medieval scribes and legal discourse, as well as in modern scholarship, signs of validation have been believed to transform words into deeds, and inscribed skins of parchment into authoritative diplomas and executory charters. In the time and place here under consideration, tenth- to the thirteenth-century Northern Europe, signs of validation ranged from graphic subscriptions through autograph signatures to wax seals. The means by which a transformative power accrued to these signs involved differing modes of referential strategies.

In this paper, I propose to consider the extent to which tactile contact was critically significant to documentary representation. An examination of the placement and graphic features of subscriptions on charters seems to suggest that such manuscript signs behaved as haptic traces, registered by the parchment experienced as a form-giving support. In the course of the eleventh century, signs of validation came increasingly to depend upon seals. Imprinted in a malleable material, seals were compendia of impression and contact. They continued the practice of the haptic and the organic, even more explicitly displaying the ability of touch to be creative of reception itself. The persistent evidence provided by the amalgamation of tactile contact and graphic form accomplished by such signatory devices effectively registered the change a particular act of commitment had made to the deed.

[Figures 9 and 10]

Brown, Elizabeth A.R.: see **Waldman, Thomas G.**

Budny, Mildred (Research Group on Manuscript Evidence, Princeton)

“Introduction to the Symposium: The Back & Forward Story”

In introducing this Symposium, I relate some highlights of its genesis and its revelations. As is the custom of the Research Group, we began with a theme, which could, we expected, extend broadly across times and places, according with the interests of our prospective participants. This freedom generated a collaborative creation, by which ‘Words & Deeds’ grew from ‘charters, seals, and other forms of authentications’ to embrace fragments, including those formed haphazardly, as well as those resulting from deliberate forms of spoliation. The Research Group website describes some of this process of evolution.

Different research projects by the Research Group in recent years have both prepared and focused our keen interest in the subjects presented here. They include the work of conservation, photography, and research leading to our blog on <http://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/manuscript-studies>, reporting on manuscripts, documents, seals, early printed texts, and other materials. Among them are reports of leaves from manuscripts dispersed by Otto Ege — the subject of a session here previewing the major collection transferred recently from his family to the Beinecke Library.

Already our research on certain fragments in private hands has yielded conjectured reconstructions of the surviving parts of four ‘Ege Manuscripts’ (as reported on our blog), including one whose newly revealed parts at Yale are illustrated in Figures 1 and 8, from Genesis and Revelation respectively. Likewise, the opportunity to examine at close hand and over repeated intervals different specimens

of medieval seal matrices, seals, and charters in several private collections, including the Rassweiler Collection (examples are shown online via <http://medievalmatricesandseals.com>), has directed our attention specifically to the nature, challenges, and potential of such materials.

From such work there continues to flow a stream of discoveries, setting newly identified materials into context and offering them for wider recognition. A case study currently in progress centers upon a despoiled, small format Book of Hours which has lost, or perhaps mislaid, its pages of illustrations or decorated initials for significant openings of the text (Figure 15). They have been roughly excised at an unknown date, presumably in order to select them for separate display, whether dispersed individually or as a group. Its predicament resembles that of many manuscripts across time, not only because it endured spoliation, but also because its rejected remnant (resembling a stripped carcass) has, after all, found a welcome home and scholarly devotion. A Research Group Workshop at the Index of Christian Art (<http://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/2014-seminar-on-manuscripts-and-their-photographs>) presented some preliminary findings, guided by our Trustee Adelaide Bennett. For this Symposium, we present images for public view (Figure 15 and in the Display at the Reception). We seek to learn more from the accounts of discoveries, experiences, solutions, and observations relayed in the presentations, discussions, and feedback at this event.

[Figures 1, 8, and 15]

Celantano, Sarah (Department of Art & Art History, University of Texas, Austin)

“Pro-Papal Testimony through ‘Norman’ Material in the Hortus Deliciarum”

The Augustinian abbesses Relinde and Herrad designed the *Hortus Deliciarum* (“Garden of Delights”) in the last third of the twelfth century for their canonesses at the Alsatian monastery of Mont Sainte-Odile, also commonly referred to as Hohenbourg. The manuscript was an extensively illuminated encyclopedic compilation of educational materials dating from antiquity to that present time that is still admired today for its sophistication and complexity. The 1870 bombing of the Strasbourg Municipal Library during the Franco-Prussian War reduced the original work to ash. About two-thirds of its contents survive today in partial copies of the nineteenth century.

Long ago, Ernst Kitzinger and Otto Demus noticed intriguing iconographic and stylistic commonalities between the *Hortus* and the mosaics of Norman Sicilian sites such as the Cappella Palatina and Monreale Cathedral. Attempts to explain the visual kinship posited Hohenbourg’s access to a model book from the Sicilian mosaic workshops. While this theory still finds much scholarly support, there is still want of an explanation as to how or why such a book would have been available to an Alsatian women’s house, or why such material would have appealed to Relinde and Herrad.

This presentation will offer additional moments of Norman cultural contact in the *Hortus*. Throughout the manuscript, texts or images appear that were found primarily — or at times, only — in areas that had come under Norman rule. Apart from the visual correspondence between the *Hortus* and Sicilian mosaics, other texts and iconographic motifs suggest Relinde’s and/or Herrad’s knowledge of additional works from the Norman kingdom in the south as well as from England and the duchy of Normandy.

Part of this discussion will by necessity address the complex issue of medieval perceptions of “Norman” identity. I argue that “Norman” cultural material was particularly compelling because it was politically charged — specifically, it could act as a tacit statement of support for the papacy during its conflict with Frederick Barbarossa. This presentation comes from a larger project that examines the political connotations of style and iconography and virtual pilgrimage as a political act in the *Hortus*.



Figure 2. Otto Ege MS 15, the 'Beauvais Missal'. Illustrated initial C for *Concede* opening *Concede quesumus omnipotens deus: ut qui hodierna die* on a leaf from a dismembered Missal in Latin with musical notation made in Northern France in the late 13th century for the Use of Beauvais.

Partly reconstructed here: <https://brokenbooks2.omeka.net/exhibits/show/beauvais-missal-reconstruction>.

Otto Ege Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Photograph courtesy Lisa Fagin Davis.

Clemens, Raymond (Beinecke Library, Yale University)

“The ‘Family’ Portfolio: A Key to the Ege Collection”

One of the unexpected treasures that came from the Beinecke Library November 2015 acquisition of the Otto F. Ege Collection from his heirs was the discovery of a special portfolio of manuscript leaves that Ege himself had set aside for himself and his family. Called the “Family Album,” it functions as a clef des archives for many of the manuscripts broken, sold and ultimately dispersed by Ege. Because the nicest leaf was often the first leaf, the recovery of the Family Album means that we are able to provide greater provenance information for many of the Ege books and to confirm the information (sometimes faulty) found in catalogs that describe the manuscripts that Ege bought. In other cases, the Family Album supplies the most impressive art and its availability for art historians will deepen our knowledge of the era. Interestingly for some manuscripts, the page in the Family Album, while nice, isn’t magnificent. For example, the famous Beauvais Missal leaf in the Family Album is not the missing *Te Igitur* leaf, perhaps indicating that when the Missal was divided, Ege did not receive any of the illustrated leaves or that they had been removed before Ege purchased it.

[Figures 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 12, 13, and 14]

Davis, Lisa Fagin (Executive Director, Medieval Academy of America)

“IIIF, Mirador, and Otto Ege: The Pedagogical Possibilities”

There has been a lot of discussion in recent years about digital fragmentology, that is, the process of using digital tools to piece broken manuscripts back together. In North America, where nearly 500 collections house pre-1600 fragments and single leaves, this subject is of particular importance.

The cloud-based Omeka platform represents a simple, out-of-the-box tool for fragmentology projects, but it has several limitations, such as the lack of a book-ish interface and a limited metadata model. The development and increasingly broad adoption of the International Image Interoperability Framework (IIIF), whereby images can be shared, manipulated, and annotated, will facilitate the development of platforms that surmount the limitations of Omeka, opening up new pedagogical possibilities. In the classroom, IIIF-compliant images of a fragmented manuscript can be drawn into a shared canvas viewer such as Mirador to (re)create a digital version of the original codex.

Using the scattered *Fifty Original Leaves of Medieval Manuscripts* portfolios, which themselves represent a well-defined corpus, students in the Library and Information Science program at Simmons College (Boston, Massachusetts) have developed a test-case Omeka site, partially reconstructing one of the manuscripts that Otto Ege dismembered in the mid-twentieth century. Katherine Philbin’s paper here describes this test-case and its results.

With the development of the Mirador-based Broken Books application, such projects will be able to go a step further, initiating students into the fragment-centric data model developed by the Broken Books team, a model they can use to dig deeper into the subject manuscript. Each leaf can be catalogued individually and also studied as part of the whole, leading to several important learning outcomes:

- 1) a deeper understanding of the subject manuscript, its origins, function, contents, and history;
- 2) strengthened (and marketable) skills as digital humanists.

In other words, students can work with fragmented medieval manuscripts in a context that values interoperability and clean, well-designed data, studying old books in a new way.



Figure 3. Otto Ege MS 44. Illustrated initial *T* for *Tobias* opening the Book of Tobias on a dismembered leaf from Volume I of a Lectern Bible made in Germany, Austria, or Bohemia, and dated 1507.

Otto Ege Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
 Photograph courtesy Lisa Fagin Davis.

Dummer, Jessica (Digitization Project Coordinator, Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies)

“OPenn: Digital Primary Sources Hosted by Penn Libraries”

In January 2013, the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies embarked on a project to build a website that provides open access to selected digital assets in both human-readable and machine-readable formats. The data set of digital assets consists of master TIFF files, publication-quality TIFF files, Jpeg images, thumbnail images, and XML manuscript descriptions. This data is available to the public on OPenn (<http://openn.library.upenn.edu>). Users will have unmediated access to any data we provide, from a single image to the entire data set and the site will allow them to use the data for any purpose, with the only possible restriction being attribution for copyrighted works.

The University of Pennsylvania holds over 2,000 Western manuscripts produced before the nineteenth century. Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts comprise approximately 900 items. Of these, the Lawrence J. Schoenberg Collection in particular emphasizes secular topics, especially science and mathematics.

We want to promote the use of our materials by the public for scholarship and innovative digital projects. I will present an introduction to our data set and a demonstration of how to access the data in a variety of ways, including how to download the entire set on OPenn. In addition, I will report on some projects that are using our data to examine and study manuscripts in new ways. I hope to interest conference attendees in the opportunity to work with open data from Schoenberg and Kislak manuscripts on OPenn.

Gerson, Paula (Department of Art History Emerita, Florida State University)

“When a Door is More than A Door: The Bronze Valves for Abbot Suger’s Central Portal”

Abbot Suger’s west façade for Saint-Denis dedicated in 1140 had three sets of doors. Those on the left were the old Carolingian doors of the abbey. The central portal doors and the right doors were newly made for the façade. Of the central portal doors, Suger wrote that they were made of cast bronze, were gilded, and had scenes of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ. He composed an eight-line poem for the doors, but Suger doesn’t tell us where, exactly, the poem was located.

The doors were destroyed just after 1793, but drawings and etchings made between circa 1600 and 1780 provide some additional information. It seems that each of the two valves of the doors contained four medallions with images, thus there were eight images to depict the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension. From a drawing made for the antiquary Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715), we also know that the series of images included the Supper at Emmaus. I argue that the complete set of eight images can be determined by analyzing the text of Suger’s eight-line poem.

As already noted by Erwin Panofsky, Suger’s poem draws heavily on the writings of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. However, little attention has been paid on the degree to which Suger relies on texts of John’s Gospel and First Epistle. In this paper I show how a close reading of the poem and its sources, drawn from both the Pseudo-Areopagite and John the Evangelist, allows us to establish the subjects of the eight scenes on the doors. Finally, it can be seen that the doors can be ‘read’ on at least three levels: the poem alone, each line of the poem as a comment elucidating a specific image, and last, the images alone can be read as a sequence that is integrated with the iconography of the entire central portal.



Figure 4. Pendant: Merovingian amulet from Grave 808 under Cologne Cathedral. Rock crystal and gold, height 37.4 mm including mount but not suspension loop, interred with a coin dating 526–534 C.E.

Köln Domschatzkammer F536 1/11700.

Photograph © Genevra Kornbluth. Some other Merovingian bound pendants with rock crystal appear in her gallery of images: <http://www.kornbluthphoto.com/Merovingian4.html>.



Figure 5. Intaglio: Hematite amulet. Aphrodite and Youth, height 24 mm, date uncertain (1st–6th c. CE).

Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 26086.

Photograph © Genevra Kornbluth. A higher-resolution image appears, along with other intaglios in the same collection, here: <http://www.kornbluthphoto.com/Kelsey.html>.

Kornbluth, Geneva (Kornbluth Photography)

“Words, Letters, Objects, and Deeds: Amuletic Strategies in the Early Middle Ages”

A great many amulets survive from the early Middle Ages. Those from Byzantine and surrounding territories are generally inscribed, while those from the North and West normally are not (though related works are). The two corpora are strictly segregated in scholarly discourse, but are nonetheless linked by shared functional mechanisms. Like the objects themselves the inscriptions act, but not necessarily as texts or even coherent words.

A rock-crystal ball in Budapest and many “Abraxas” gems bear inscriptions without text, in combinations of names and caractères without referents. Taken together with contemporary papyri, they demonstrate how letters become pictorial in their shapes and arrangements, and combine with figural imagery in their physical manifestations. Letters disappear, and gibberish inscriptions are written and broken. Magical papyri suggest that objects and letters were meant to stay together to fulfill ritual instructions, but archaeological evidence shows that they did not always do so. The clay figure in the Louvre related to PGM (= “Greek Magical Papyri”) Number IV. 296–466 lacks the prescribed words; and the same image on Abraxas gems can be plain or inscribed.

Ritual context, names, shapes, and special materials made Eastern-style amulets function. No textual evidence tells us whether ritual activation was considered necessary when amulets were produced and used in the West, but other criteria cross cultures. Runic inscriptions on the backs of Merovingian fibulae and other metalwork are, like the Greek letters on Abraxas gems, hidden and/or incomprehensible, and dominated by names. As on Mediterranean amulets, they contrast with the relatively more straightforward Latin inscriptions of coins and seals.

Merovingian amulets are uninscribed, but made of special materials and in special shapes. Rock crystal, known for both visual and invisible qualities, dominates the corpus. Crystal was artificially shaped into spheres for bound pendants, and other materials were most often used for similar pendants when naturally spherical (e.g. ore nodules). Faceted spindle whorls were based on the geometry of solid polyhedra. Archaeological contexts grouping the pendants and whorls with animal claws, teeth, and other objects of power confirm their amuletic functions. The example of Eastern amuletic strategies provides a useful paradigm for the interpretation of the Western corpus.

[Figures 4 and 5]

Morrison, Karl F. (Department of History Emeritus, Rutgers University)

“Oscar’s Paradox: Deadly Love in Western Christian Liturgy”

The title of my paper is allusive rather than specific. “Oscar’s Paradox” refers to Oscar Wilde’s celebrated epigram in the “Ballad of Reading Gaol” (1897–1898): “Each man kills the thing he loves, . . . Yet each man does not die.” The subtitle is more specific.

Here I consider Western European sources chiefly dating between the eighth and fourteenth centuries. The text for this talk is I Corinthians 2:15–16: “The spiritual man makes judgments about all things, but he himself is not subject to any man’s judgment: ‘For who has known the mind of the Lord that he may instruct him [Isaiah 40:13]?’ But we have the mind of Christ.”

This is the substance of what I have to say. In the Christian narrative of salvation, reading the mind of Christ was the key to open the “oracles of God” in Scripture and to enter into the “mystery that has been kept hidden for ages and generations, but is now disclosed to the saints...the mystery which is Christ in you, the hope of glory” (Colossians 1:26–27). The nexus of everything was the mind of Christ concerning Jews and Christians: how it was that Christians could say that they were



Figure 6. Otto Ege MS 44. Illustrated initial A for Adam opening I Chronicles in Volume I from the same Lectern Bible as Figure 3.

Otto Ege Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
Photograph courtesy Lisa Fagin Davis.

“different from the Jews, but still, precisely speaking, Israelites according to their prophets,” Israelites of the promise, in fact the true Israel.

Christians’ entire sacred narrative from Incarnation to Last Judgment, and all the articles of formal professions of faith depended on this equation. Liturgy and its sacraments were devised and revered, not as monuments of petrified formulae, but a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a living work in progress, through which believers could enter mind, heart, and body, collectively and individually, into the mind of Christ and in complete reality participate in God and see with new eyes through the vision of God.

The whole liturgical *Gesamtkunstwerk* belonged to a particular kind of work in progress: indigenation, the importation and assimilation of a foreign religion to variable societies and cultures in a period of fundamental upheaval, amounting to nothing less than the formation of Europe. Everywhere and at all times, it was a matter of piecing fragments together into structures that made sense to the societies and cultures receiving the foreign importation. There were *spolia* liturgies as well as *spolia* church buildings. Each theatre of indigenation had its own inherited stories to fit the imports into. For each building the picture puzzle out of pieces was a matter of life and death. In any case, the puzzle would display a warfare between kingdoms, and, in the running conflict between the kingdom of the Devil and that of Christ as in the earthly communities where the indigenisers lived, dangers and enemies, often in disguise, were everywhere, even among one’s nearest and dearest, in one’s own family.

On the whole, indigenation of the Jews into the narrative of salvation was not a matter of assimilating living people to the story of redemption. The settlements of Jews in Northern Europe were spotty and experienced wide fluctuations. Almost the entire medieval history of Jews in England runs from the Norman Conquest to the Edward I’s expulsion of the Jews (1066–1290). Even earlier than the period with which I am concerned here, in the patristic era and in the Late Roman Empire, the basic template for indigenizing the Jews of Scripture to daily life was found in fraternal rivalry, indeed in the very intimate rivalry of fraternal twins: sometimes Cain and Abel, normally Esau and Jacob. Without digressing into twinship, Augustine added Romulus and Remus to the catalogue. It did not go unnoticed that, in each of these pairs, the elder brother killed or wished to kill the younger. Indigenizing Scriptural archetypes to their own circumstances, Christian scholars identified the elder brothers with Jews and the younger, with Christians, the slain younger brother being the archetype of Christ. Neither did it go unnoticed that, in the fraternal rivalry, each brother was the alter ego of the other. In adding Romulus and Remus to the ensemble of rival brothers, Augustine characterized them as founders of the two cities, the city of God and the city of man, whose rivalry constituted the whole history of the world, and made the Church, not the kingdom of God on earth, but a *civitas permixta* of both until the final consummation of all things. It was also, he said in true Platonic style, the archetypal conflict in each soul.

So we come to Oscar’s paradox — “Each man kills the thing he loves, . . . Yet each man does not die.” The meaning is surely convoluted. What is killed here, in the rivalry of brothers, both branches of the true Israel, and, in quite different ways, both witnesses to truth, the one blind, the other only partially sighted? We are edged into intertextuality with Baudelaire’s appeal to the reader as his accomplice, in his manipulation of reader’s expectations. We remember Baudelaire’s conspiratorial wink at his reader, especially when we recall the theatricality of liturgy, and the daily and hourly re-enactments of traumas and victories from Jewish history by religious singing the parts of Jews with their own lips.

Tu le connais, lecteur, ce monstre délicat,
— Hypocrite lecteur, — mon semblable, — mon frère!”
(*Fleurs du mal*, 1857).

The picture puzzles into which scholars and others fitted the bits and pieces of the mind of Christ they thought they had recovered varied. How could they not, being *spolia* put together with

compound mortars of ignorance and knowledge, truth and falsehood, and, in any case, all of them provisional? Everybody recognized that fundamental questions — theodiceal questions — remained angrily open, without answers, urgent questions on which the ultimate destiny of the human race depended. The volcano's mouth had only temporarily been plugged.

[Figure 6]

Philbin, Katherine (School of Library and Information Science, Simmons College)

“How Fragmentology Saved the Day for LIS 464”

Students and faculty at the Simmons School of Library and Information Science recently faced an unexpected obstacle to the study of the medieval manuscript: the temporary closure of the Boston Public Library Rare Books Department in late 2015 due to mold contamination. Of necessity, final coursework for LIS 464, Simmons' graduate-level introduction to manuscript studies for library students, was conducted using digital surrogates. Specifically, class members used the online exhibition tool Omeka to create a partial reconstruction of a late 15th-century Book of Hours, the 47th manuscript dismantled by “biblioclast” Otto F. Ege to create his famous *Fifty Original Leaves from Medieval Manuscripts* portfolios (“FOL 47”).

Developed by the Center for History and New Media at George Mason University, Omeka allows digital images to be labeled with descriptive information (Dublin Core metadata) and then arranged for exhibition with captions or more extended commentary. In the case of LIS 464, our collaborative exhibit presenting all of the available images of FOL 47 (organized by section of the text) may be viewed at <http://lis464.omeka.net/exhibits/show/ege-fol-47>.

This examination of the digitized fragments of FOL 47, both individually and in their partially restored context, has resulted in a new assessment of the manuscript's recent provenance and likely origins. For example, FOL 47 can now be recognized as a specific Book of Hours purchased by Otto Ege on November 24, 1936, at the New York sale of a private collection (<http://lis464.omeka.net/exhibits/show/who-used-ege-fol-47/a-remaining-puzzle>). Perhaps more surprisingly, the virtual reassembly of even so small a portion of FOL 47 — 22 leaves to date, out of the original 159 — has allowed its liturgical tradition to be identified for the first time as the Use of Troyes (<http://lis464.omeka.net/exhibits/show/who-used-ege-fol-47/update--the-use-of-troyes>).

As a case study in using digital reconstruction to tease out the lost coherence of a broken book, the experience of LIS 464 demonstrates the enormous potential of “fragmentology” to engage students and produce meaningful scholarship.

For more information about this project's use of Omeka and other details of the approach, please see <http://lis464.omeka.net/exhibits/show/about-this-project>.

Porter, Dot (Curator, Digital Research Services, Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies, University of Pennsylvania)

“Collation: A Tool for Virtually Taking Apart Manuscript Books”

Collation is a project that focuses on generating visualizations of codex manuscript structure, for a variety of different use cases. It can be used to “virtually disbind” a manuscript, by showing how the codex would look were it to be taken apart. It can also be used to reconstruct the historical structure of manuscripts that have been disbound, rebound, or otherwise broken.

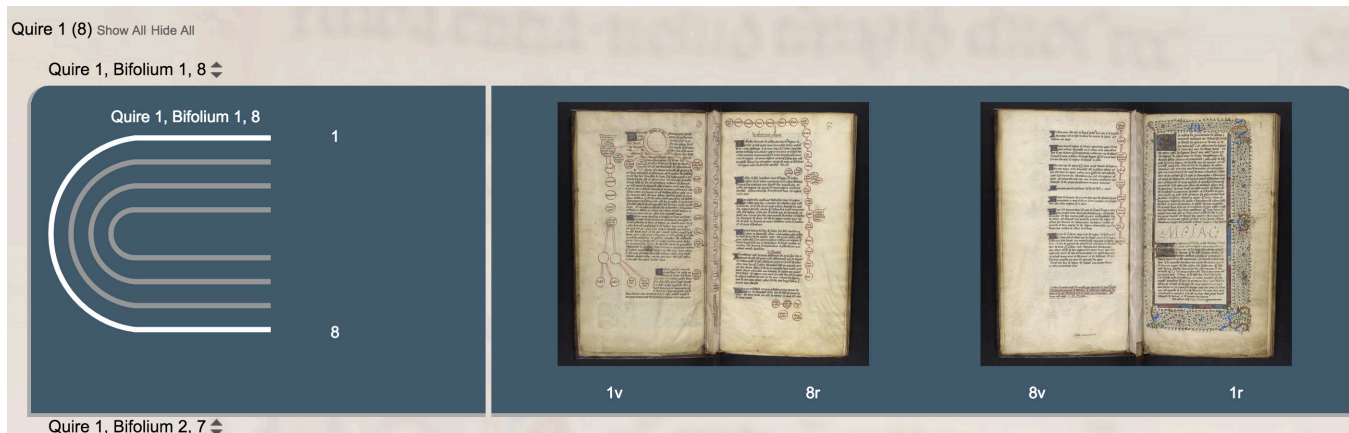


Figure 7. A single bifolium viewed in Collation. Folios 1/8 of University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 226, *La generacion de Adam*, a collection of genealogical and chronicle materials from Adam onward.

It is available in digital facsimile via <http://hdl.library.upenn/1017/d/medren/4952511>, with the collation viewable via <http://dorpdev.library.upenn.edu/collation/LJS266/LJS266-1.html>.

The current proof-of-concept site includes several different manuscripts, selected from the collections of the University of Pennsylvania and other institutions, which represent the various use cases for Collation.

This talk will describe the reasons behind Collation, and will provide a demonstration of the Collation Form, which is currently under development. The Collation Form will allow scholars and librarians to generate Collation views of their own manuscripts.

[Figure 7]

Ransom, Lynn (Curator, SIMS Programs, The Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies, University of Pennsylvania)

"The New Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts"

With a growing collection of over 220,000 records representing approximately 90,000 manuscripts, the Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts (SDBM = <http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/schoenberg/>) is the largest freely available repository of data on manuscript books produced before 1600.

Compiled from data drawn from over 12,000 auction and sales catalogues, inventories, catalogues from institutional and private collections, and other sources that document sales and locations of manuscript books, it serves a wide range of users: an international body of scholars across the humanities, book collectors and booksellers, students at all levels, and citizen scholars interested in discovering and learning about the history of the book before print. Up until now, the SDBM was a closed system, administered by a few.

In the last year, thanks to a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, we have begun the process of redeveloping the New SDBM to open up access to individuals and institutions, giving them the ability to contribute, refine, and collect SDBM data. The end result will be a user-driven, community-built tool for researching the historic and current locations of the world's manuscripts. In this presentation, I will introduce the New SDBM and demonstrate the new functionality in the hopes of signing up new members to our growing user community.

Waldman, Thomas G. (University of Pennsylvania) and
Elizabeth A.R. Brown (The City of University of New York Emerita)

*“A Historical Compendium from Saint-Denis, Mazarine MS 2013:
Its Date(s) and Contents — And Why They Matter”*

Part I: “Mazarine 2013 and the Abbey’s Charters”

Part II: “The Manuscript, a Historical Compendium — No Way a Universal History”

For many years we have studied the manuscripts and charters of the abbey of Saint-Denis at the time of Abbot Suger (circa 1081–1151; ruled 1122–1151). Today we will speak about one of the most important and intriguing of the manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 2013, a historical miscellany compiled and copied at Saint-Denis between about 1117 and 1120/1129, and then completed circa 1160 by the addition of Suger’s “Life of Louis VI”.

Thomas Waldman will focus on the script(s) and dating of the manuscript, and the light they cast on other events and circumstances at the abbey. Treating the relationship of charters and text manuscripts (one of the themes of this conference), he will discuss the manuscript in the context of the charters written at the abbey in the names of Abbot Suger and of King Louis VI (ruled 1108–1137), as well as the (false) papal bulls found in the abbey’s oldest cartulary, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouvelle acquisition latine 326.

Elizabeth Brown will discuss the Mazarine manuscript’s diverse contents and the problems arising from labeling it *Gesta gentis Francorum* and describing it as a universal chronicle. She will analyze the contents of the manuscript and consider the part Suger may have played in selecting the texts assembled in the first part of the volume. She will also consider the uses to which the texts were later put, including the Dyonisian historian Rigord’s likely consultation of the manuscript. She will consider the puzzling and complex collection of texts in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 12710, which were copied in Paris and Hainaut in some ten different hands between the middle and end of the twelfth century. That manuscript is closely linked with Saint-Denis (and Mazarine 2013) and, in Hainaut, with the Premonstratensian house of Saint-Feuillen du Roeulx and the seventh-century Benedictine house of Lobbes.

White, Andrew Walker (Stratford University, Woodbridge, Virginia)

“Modes of Presence, Modes of Authenticity: The Interaction of ‘Artifact’ and Persona in Late Antiquity”

Given the static, isolated, and complex nature of our evidence, it is easy to fall into a default position of studying each artifact in isolation from the other. And given the vivid impressions received through immersion in the modern world, the evidence is further isolated by anachronistic assumptions about when, how, by whom, and for what purpose our artifacts were used. What we often lack is the sense of how the artifact once derived its meaning as but one node in a vast matrix of signifiers — well beyond the realm in which we have discovered it.

Consider the modern institution of theater — typically supported by the commercial upper middle classes, but occasionally attended by humbler folk when they have enough money saved up. The event is usually attended on a whim, with no fanfare (save the mini-drama of parking), and is designed primarily as an aesthetic experience largely irrelevant to politics, religion, let alone one’s own personal life. Descriptions of theatrical events (the presenter is a theater critic) are relegated to “arts” websites and newspaper sections, and criticism addresses the skills of the dramatist and performer almost exclusively.

This experience, routine for us, would be completely incomprehensible to the typical Roman citizen, for whom theater attendance was not only compulsory, but all-encompassing. Accordingly, the presentation here will demonstrate how it is possible to combine the normally balkanized fields of Epigraphy, Sigillography, Paleography, Archaeology, and Theater Historiography into a conceptual whole. Drawing from evidence beginning in the Antonine period, we will begin with the basic outlines of a Graeco-Roman cultural festival, reconstruct its processional liturgy, the formation of the assembly in the theater space proper, and the artifacts involved in establishing the authenticity and significance of these events.

The goal will be to get closer to a more complete answer to the questions: What did it mean to make 'a trip to the theater' in those days? How did it establish its meanings? What sign-system operated upon the spectators and participants (often one and the same)? Last, but by no means least, how did an official proclamation delivered from the stage establish the authenticity of imperial presence, without which the theater assembly could not exist? What effect does that imperial presence, and the presence of scribes recording the audience's responses, have on our notions of "Roman theater"?

White, Eric (Firestone Library, Princeton University)

"Good Words for Misdeeds: Gutenberg's Typographical Indulgences of 1454–55"

The indulgences printed at Mainz in 1454–55 promised repentant Christians a plenary remission of sins and an opportunity to contribute financially to the war against Constantinople's Turkish captors. For modern historians, the 50+ surviving Mainz indulgences provide an invaluable body of documentary evidence: hand-notarized forms that were issued to specific individuals at specific places on specific dates. In case studies focused on three of these indulgences (including a key specimen in Princeton University's Scheide Library), this lecture will retrace their original usage, accidental survival, 18th-century rediscovery, and modern forensic analysis by scholars who eventually realized that these humble scraps of parchment not only could be used as evidence to fix the date of the Gutenberg Bible, but were themselves the earliest securely datable specimens of European typography.



Figure 8. Otto Ege MS 14. Illustrated initial *A* for *Apocalypsis* opening the Book of Revelation, with the scribal author seated at work, from the same large-format Lectern Bible as Figure 1.

Otto Ege Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.



Figure 9A. Seal of Elvise of Nangis, appended to a charter of 1204. Figure 9B. Detail of the fingerprints.

Paris, Archives Nationales, L 846 no 49.

Photographs courtesy Brigitte Bedos-Rezak.

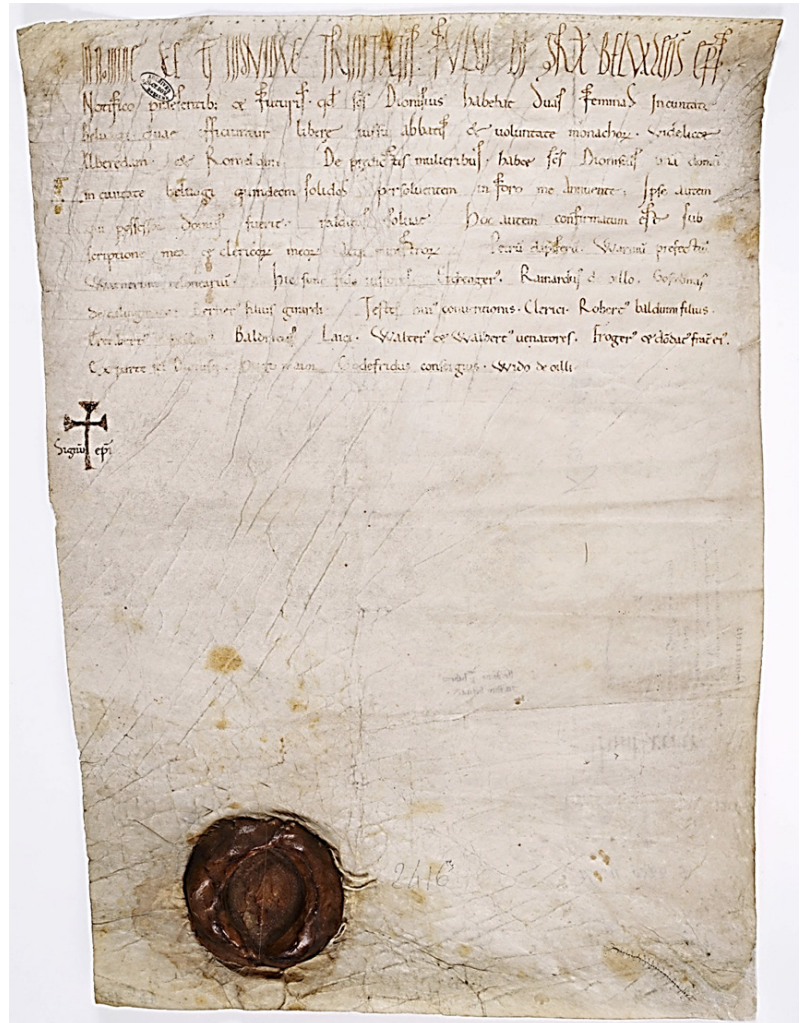


Figure 10. Charter, with seal, in the name of Foulques, Bishop of Beauvais (1089–1095).

Paris, Archives nationales, AE/III15 (K20/6/13).

Photograph courtesy Brigitte Bedos-Rezak.

Words and Deeds of Charles Rufus Morey at the American Embassy in Rome (1945–1950)

Jessica L. Savage



Figure 11. Postcard of 1948 from the Index of Christian Art Archives.

Charles Rufus Morey, founder of the Index of Christian Art, was the first to fulfill the role of American cultural attaché to Italy, a tenure beginning with his retirement from Princeton University's Department of Art and Archaeology in 1945. A champion of Italian culture, Morey dedicated his mission at the American Embassy in Rome not only to promoting Italian national heritage but also to reconstructing it after the ravages of world war. Morey's distinguished background in classics and art history, coupled with his long-standing ties to the study of historical Rome, made his assignment all the more fitting.

As a diplomat, Morey actively sought opportunities to repatriate books and works of art looted in wartime Europe. For example, he created the Union of Archaeological and Historical Institutes to safeguard artifacts in transit. Among his main activities were the establishment and maintenance of research libraries in Italy.

Morey oversaw the direction of the American Academy in Rome from 1945 to 1947, where he brought in major speakers, lectured widely, and organized exhibitions which increased Italian–American cultural exchange. He formed many collegial relationships with important people, among them nobles, curators, and clerics, who knew him as *Professore*. Pictured here from the Index archive is a photographic postcard, dated 1948, of Morey (at the left) with Prince Don Giovanni Francesco Alliata di Montereale, President of the Nato–American Association, as they pause while walking in Segesta, Sicily.

The Index is fortunate to house a wealth of materials associated with Morey during his time in the Foreign Service. Through these items, we wish to show a different facet to the founder of the Index, whose words and deeds as a cultural attaché to Italy left a lasting mark on our organization. On long-term display in the Index is a collection of Morey's prize medals given to him on various occasions, including one from Pope Pius XII to commemorate the Jubilee year in 1950.



Figure 12. Ege Family Photographs.

Otto Ege Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
 Photograph courtesy Barbara Shailor.



Figure 13. Otto Ege MS 22. Illustrated initial *R* for *Resurrex[i]* opening *Resurrexi et ad[huc] tecum*, presumably for Easter Sunday, in a dismembered Missal in Latin with musical notation on 4-line staves made in Würzburg circa 1325.

Otto Ege Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
 Photograph courtesy Lisa Fagin Davis.



Figure 14. Otto Ege MS 35. Illustrated initial *P* for *Pauci* opening Book I of Saint Jerome's treatise *Contra Iovinianum* ("Against Jovinianus") in a dismembered copy made in France circa 1450.

Otto Ege Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
Photograph courtesy Lisa Fagin Davis.

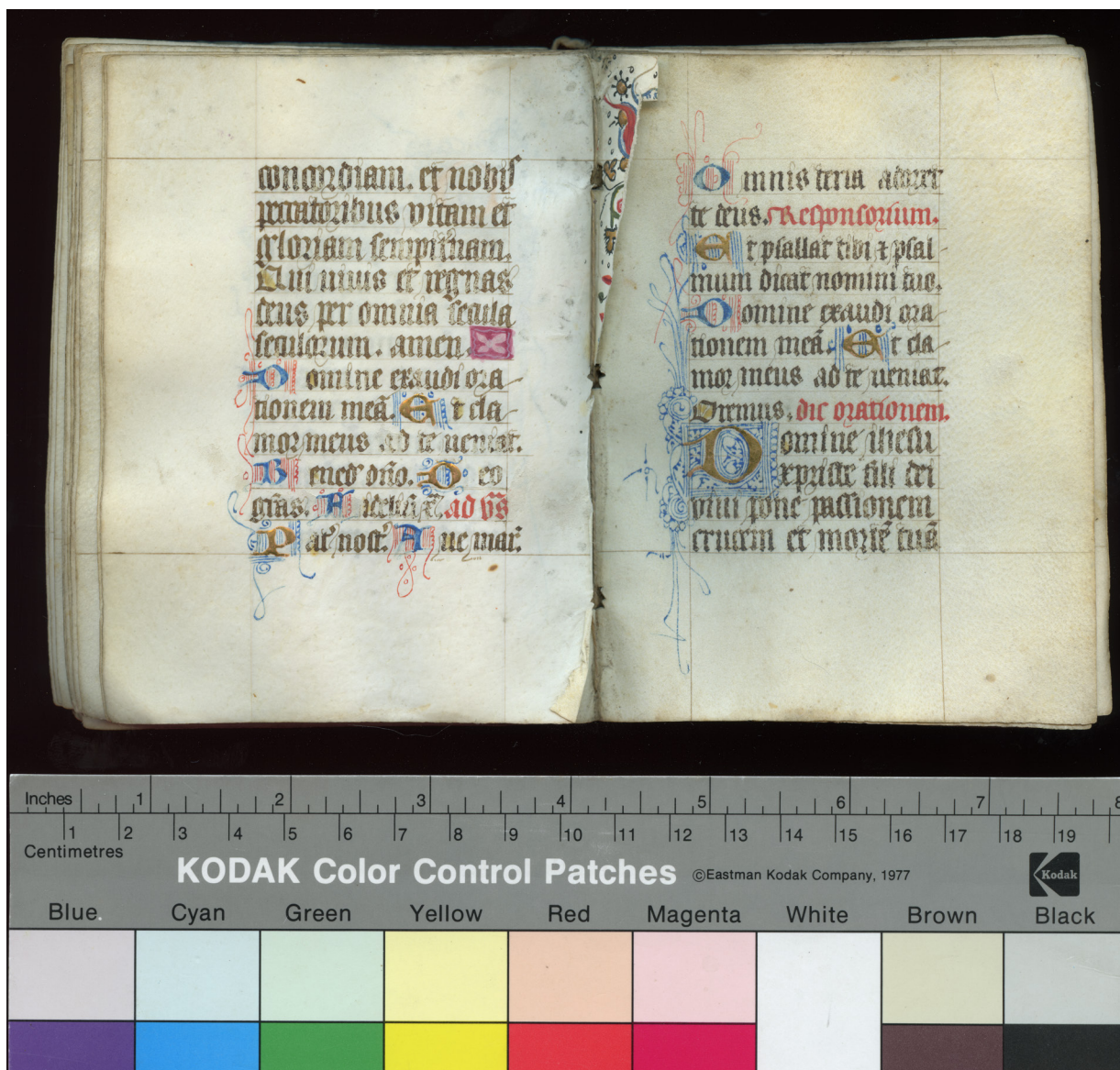


Figure 15. Despoiled Book of Hours. Folios 88 verso and 89 recto within the Hours of the Cross, with a fragmentary stub remaining from the leaf which carried the decorated opening of Vespers in a despoiled manuscript of circa 1400, in Latin and French, and now in private hands. The text contains the Hours of the Virgin for the Use of Rome, and a Calendar and Litany for Troyes.

Photography © Mildred Budny.

The Research Group on Manuscript Evidence exists to apply an integrated approach to the study of manuscripts and other forms of the written or inscribed word, in their transmission across time and space.

Information about the activities and publications of the Research Group appears on its official website:

<http://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme>. Our font, Bemino, is freely available via:

<http://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/bemino>.

The Research Group welcomes donations for its nonprofit educational mission, including donations in kind, expertise, advice, and contributions to our work, research, scholarly events, exhibitions, and publications.

They are easy to send via <http://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/contributions-and-donations>.

Please subscribe (via <http://eepurl.com/6JMcD>) to our mailing list, for our Newsletter and for information about our activities. Please contact director@manuscriptevidence.org with your questions, suggestions, and contributions.