

A Symposium of the RESEARCH GROUP ON MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE

[www.manuscriptevidence.org/wpme](http://www.manuscriptevidence.org/wpme)

Friday and Saturday, 24–25 March 2023, Online via Zoom

# From the Ground Up



## *Part 1 of the 2023 Symposia on “Materials and Access” with a Pair of Spring and Autumn Symposia, plus a Spring Pre-Symposium*

This Symposium marks an innovation for the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence. Last year, as we returned to the tradition of Symposia (after an interruption starting in 2020), we began to hold them in online versions, and we expanded the practice by holding two Symposia in 2022, for Spring and Autumn. Their Theme in 2022 was “**Structured Knowledge**”.

This year, with the Theme of “**Materials and Access**”, we not only prepare a pair of Symposia, but also extend the Spring Symposium with an accompanying ‘**Pre-Symposium**’ of **Lightning Talks** on the afternoon before. Selected through a Call for Proposals, these Talks explore the challenges of “*Intrepid Borders: Marginalia in Medieval and Early Modern Books*”. The plan for such sessions, their subject, the Call for Proposals, and the selected Program for the Lightning Talks are due to the initiative, enthusiasm, and organizational expertise of Jessica L. Savage and her co-organizers Katharine C. Chandler and Jennifer Larson. The fresh combination of exploratory **Lightning Talks** on Friday and the invited Symposium Presentations on Saturday opens our Symposia more widely.

This extended Symposium presents new and cumulative work, with reports of discoveries, work-in-progress, and collaborative projects. Some build upon work presented for the Symposia in 2022. We consider evidence from the medieval to modern periods and across a wide geographical, historical, and cultural range, both Western (Europe and North America) and non-Western (Ethiopia, Yemen, and Western India). From multiple centers, the Symposium plus Pre-Symposium gathers specialists, teachers, students, collectors, and others engaged or interested in activities relating to manuscripts, printed books, other media, and mixtures of them.

# Intrepid Borders: Marginalia in Medieval and Pre-Modern Books

A Virtual Lightning-Talks / Half-Day Symposium  
of the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence

co-organized by Katharine C. Chandler,  
Jennifer Larson,  
and Jessica L. Savage

Friday, 24 March 2023  
2:00 – 5:30 pm E.D.T. (GMT-4) by Zoom



The borders of books are usually narrow places where reader-viewers of manuscripts touched, turned, and lingered on pages. As a space to develop writing and decoration, marginalia, or “things in the margin”, might be integral to the design of a manuscripts, or their marks could be extraneous additions to the page. Here we consider marginalia and borders in books, from textual extensions to drolleries.

The papers in this set of concise ‘Lightning Talks’ explore the interaction of readers with texts through annotations and glosses — among other means both within (or between) the lines and beyond them — and investigate varied inscriptions or annotations and their purposeful inclusion in book borders. Some papers zero in on the iconographic programs and decorative surrounds in manuscripts, which evolved over the late Middle Ages and into the early modern period, as they contain compelling visual evidence of the whimsical and fantastic, along with elements of the natural world.

PART II: SPRING SYMPOSIUM (SATURDAY 25 MARCH 2023)

# From the Ground Up

A Full-Day Symposium  
of the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence

Part 1 (of 2)  
2023 RGME Symposia on “Materials and Access”

organized by Mildred Budny

Saturday, 25 March 2023  
9:30 – 5:00 pm E.D.T. (GMT-4) by Zoom



Interrelations between “Materials and Access” (our theme for this year) can resemble, and remain inextricably interlinked with, the dynamics between “Evidence and Interpretation”. From its beginning, the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence has attended to distinctions between the latter in approaching subjects of study. Access to original materials and research resources (including photographs or surrogates) — as well as the uses which such access serves — remains central to the processes of examination, interpretation, communication, and transmission of knowledge, whether existing, unfolding, revising, refining, or changing.

The presentations in this Symposium, as part of our long series of Symposia, in person and online, and the first in our pair of Symposia for 2023, explore interactions with the materials — including marginal elements such as annotations and glosses (interlinking with the Pre-Symposium). The span addresses subjects from the early Middle Ages into the early modern period and beyond.



Figures 1–2. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS. W.148. Homiliary, Germany (Lower Rhineland), first half of 4th-century. Images via Creative Commons via <https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W148/description.html>.

Figure 1 (above). Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS. W.148, folio 33v. Opening of Sermon 160 (*Passionem vel resurrectionem domini*) by Pseudo-Augustine for Augustine of Hippo (354–430), with decorated initials, display capitals, Gothic textualis script, Crucifixion illustration, and border imagery. [IMAGE FOR PRE-SYMPOSIUM]

# Program for Friday 24 March

WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION 2:00–2:05 pm

SESSION 2:00–3:30 pm

## Session 1.

Presider: **Jessica L. Savage** (Index of Medieval Art, Princeton University)

**Donncha MacGabhann** (Independent Scholar)

*“Crunching the Numbers: Marginal Numerals in the Book of Kells”*

**Gadi Charles Weber** (Department of Jewish Philosophy, Bar-Ilan University)

*“Two References to Jacob Anatoli’s Malmad ha-Talmidim in 14th-Century Yemen”*

Moderator for Questions/Discussion: **Jennifer Larson** (Department of Classics, Kent State University)

**Elisabetta Tonello** (eCampus University / Università degli Studi eCampus, Novedrate)

*“Marginal Traces in the Manuscripts of Dante’s Divine Comedy”*

**Augustine Dickinson** (Cluster of Excellence “Understanding Written Artefacts”, Universität Hamburg)

*“Marginal Notes in Ethiopian Hymn Anthologies”*

Moderator: **Katharine C. Chandler** (Special Collections and Serials Cataloger, University of Arkansas Libraries)

BREAK 3:40–3:50 pm

SESSION 3:50–5:25 pm

## Session 2.

**Kimberly Lifton** (Medieval Studies, Yale University)

*“A Mistress in the Margins: Clues to Identifying the Patron of the Clumber Park Chartier on the Edge of the Page”*

**Isabella Weiss** (Department of Art History, Rutgers University)

*“Meadows and Margins: Flemish ‘Strewn-Flower Borders’ and Flower Collection in the Late-Medieval Low Countries”*

Moderator for Questions/Discussion: **Jessica L. Savage**

**Kristina Kummerer** (Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame)

*“Liturgy in the Margins: Tridentine Reform in Mons, Belgium”*

**Francesca Pontini** (Department of English, SGSAH Funded, University of Stirling)

*“Unknown Readers in 16th-Century Scotland”*

Moderator for Questions/Discussion: **Mildred Budny** (Research Group on Manuscript Evidence)

CLOSING REMARKS 5:25–5:30 pm (with option to remain after for cheers & chat)

# Program for Saturday 25 March

SESSION 9:30–11:00 am EST

*Opening Remarks*

**Mildred Budny** (Director, Research Group on Manuscript Evidence)

## Session 1. “Laying the Groundwork”

Presider: **Mildred Budny**

*Opening Keynote Presentation*

**Linde M. Brocato** (Cataloging & Metadata Librarian, University of Miami Libraries)  
*“Grounding the Work, Making the Book: How Matter Matters”*

COFFEE BREAK 11:00–11:15 am

SESSION 11:30 am–1:00 pm

## Session 2. “The Lay of the Land”

Presider: **Jennifer Larson** (Department of Classics, Kent State University)

**Ann Pascoe–van Zyl** (School of English, Trinity College, Dublin)  
*“Landscape and the Mind in Exile: Four Old English Elegies”*

**Justin Hastings** (The John Dickinson Writings Project, University of Delaware)  
*“The Horatian Ground of John Dickinson’s Farmer Persona”*

**Hannah Goeselt** (Library and Information Science (MS) [or MLIS]: Cultural Heritage Informatics,  
 Simmons University, Boston)

*and*

**Zoey Kambour** (Postgraduate Fellow in European & American Art at the Jordan Schnitzer Museum  
 of Art at the University of Oregon)  
*“Where are We Now? Updates from the 2022 RGME Symposia”*

LUNCH BREAK 1:00–1:45 pm

SESSION 1:45–3:15 pm

### Session 3. “Materials and Margins”

Presider: **Jacyln Reed** (Department of English and Writing Studies, University of Western Ontario)

**Atria A. Larson** (Associate Professor of Medieval Christianity, Saint Louis University)

*“Gallery of Glosses: An NEH-Funded Digital Humanities Project that Cultivates Scholarly Attention to Manuscript Margins”*

**David W. Sorenson** (Allen G. Berman, Professional Numismatist)

*“Examples of Paleography and Paper in Dated Jain Manuscripts of the Fifteenth through Nineteenth Centuries”*

BREAK 3:15–3:30 pm

SESSION 3:30–5:00 pm

### Session 4. “The Living Library (Part III) Manuscripts & Collections as Sources for Teaching & Research”

Presider: **Justin Hastings**

**Ronald Patkus** (Head of Special Collections and

Adjunct Associate Professor of History on the Frederick Weyerhaeuser Chair, Vassar College)

*“Nicholas B. Scheetz’s Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Vassar:  
A Teaching Collection for a Teaching Collection”*

**Katharine C. Chandler** (Special Collections and Serials Cataloger, University of Arkansas Libraries)

*“Sister Manuscripts from the Chartreuse de Champmol”*

*Closing Remarks*

**Mildred Budny**

*“Material Grounds for Teaching, Study, and Varieties of Access”*



Figure 2. Folio 3v. Opening of Homily on the Vigil of Easter (*Uespere autem Sabbati que lucescit in prima Sabbati*) by the Venerable Bede (672/673 – 735), commenting on the Lection from the Gospel of Matthew 28:1, with decorated initials, display capitals, illustration of a haloed scribe seated at work on writing his text, and border imagery. Might he represent Matthew or Bede? [PRE-SYMPOSIUM]

## Abstracts for Friday (in Order of Presentation)

**MacGabhann, Donncha** (Independent Scholar)

“*Crunching the Numbers: Marginal Numerals in the Book of Kells*”

Among the least remarkable features in the *Book of Kells* (Dublin, Trinity College, MS A. I. [58]) are the numerals in the margins on folios 292v–293r. These are canon table references showing correspondences between the different Gospels. They rarely merit comments by Kells’ scholars, or are summarily dismissed as insignificant additions. However, when subject to analysis, they provide important evidence for understanding how the manuscript was made.

My research over the past sixteen years suggests that Kells was created by just two individuals, the ‘Master–Artist’ and the ‘Scribe–Artist’. An extraordinary predilection for variation permeates the work of the Scribe–Artist, a perfect ‘cameo’ of which is evident in the reference numerals on folios 292v–293r. It is also significant that these are in the red ink associated with a second campaign in which he attempts to complete unfinished work in the manuscript.

[Figure 3]

**Weber, Gadi Charles** (Department of Jewish Philosophy, Bar-Ilan University)

“*Two References to Jacob Anatoli’s Malmad ha-Talmidim in 14th-Century Yemen*”

Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was an intense conflict within the Jewish community of Yemen regarding the allegorical interpretation of scripture. At the center of the controversy was a text entitled *Kitāb al-Ḥaqā’iq* (كتاب الحقائق / כתאב אלהקאיק / “The Book of Truths”), which reportedly presented every image in scripture as representing some inner philosophical meaning. In 1997 the late Yosef Qafilh (1917–2000) found a manuscript of what he believed to be *Kitāb al-Ḥaqā’iq* (Jerusalem, Israel, Joseph Kapah MS 109) and published it under that title, although later scholars have questioned whether or not the identification is anything more than conjecture. In any event the text is fascinating, and suggests that there may have been a number of books in this genre at the time of the controversy. Equally fascinating is the addition of a precise reference to *Malmad ha-Talmidim* by Jacob ben Abba Mari ben Simson Anatoli (died no later than 1247) in the margins of the manuscript. This reference is not unique: there is a similar reference to Anatoli in the body of a different Yemenite text from the same period, where it is cited as a precedent to legitimize allegorical interpretation of scripture.

These examples suggest that Anatoli’s book of philosophical sermons (written in Hebrew in 13th-century Italy) was being read carefully by scholars in Yemen. The *Malmad* was a natural resource for Yemenite allegorists, since Anatoli’s approach to scripture was similar to their own. Nonetheless the fact that it had penetrated the Yemenite community and earned a canonical status is instructive regarding the transfer of texts throughout the Jewish world at the time.

[Figures 4–5]

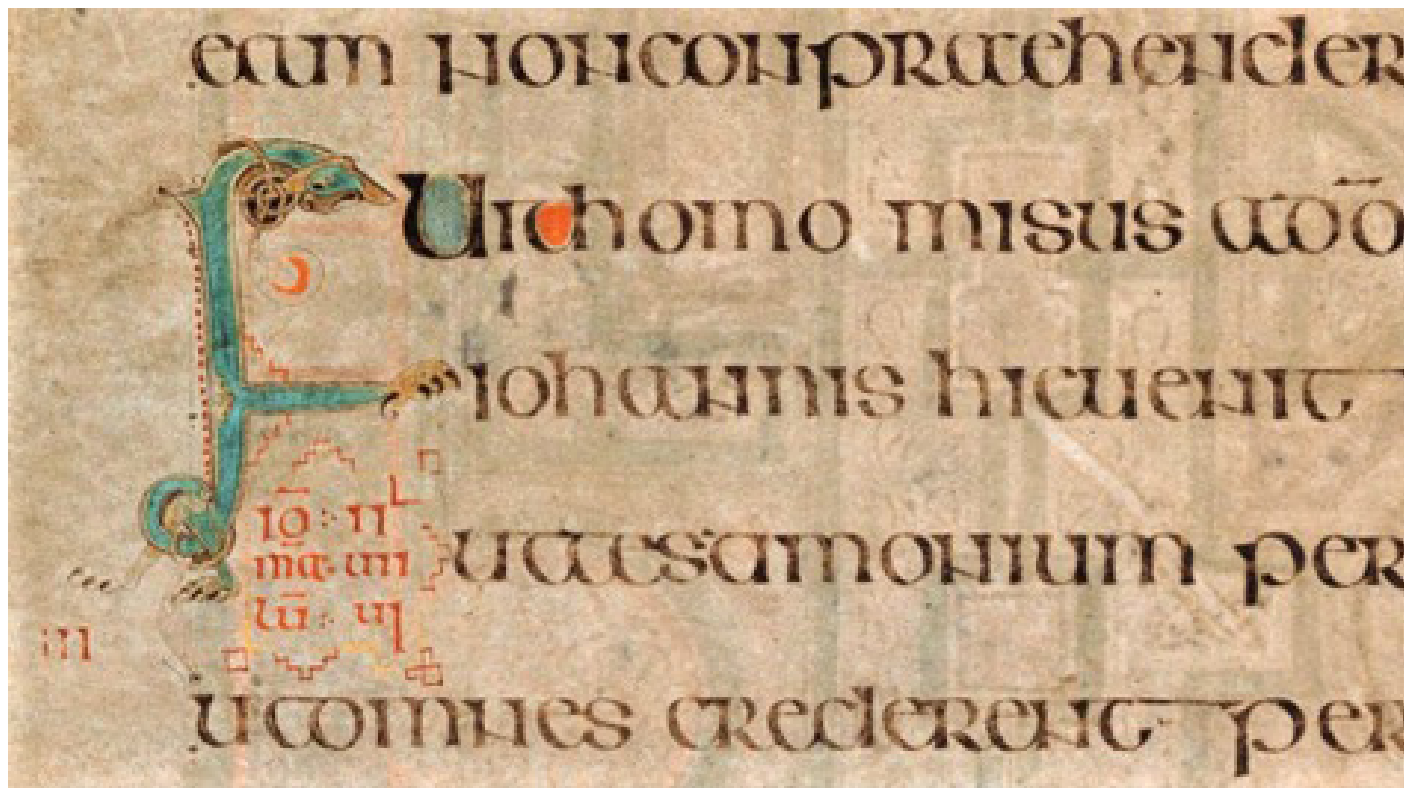


Figure 3 (above). Dublin, Trinity College, MS A.1 (58): Book of Kells. British Isles, probably Iona, circa 800. Detail of folio 292v, showing marginal numerals for the second Eusebian section in the Gospel of John, at John 1:6 (*Fuit homo missus a d[e]o*). Image courtesy Donncha MacGabhann. [MACGABHANN]



Figures 4–5. Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára), MS Kaufmann A 278, folio 1r. Italy, 14th-century. Opening of Jacob Anatoli's *Malmed ha-Talmidim*, with ornate frame and border ornament, including foliage, creatures, and interlace. Image with permission of the Library and Information Center of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Cf. [http://real-ms.mtak.hu/421/1/Kaufmann\\_Ms\\_A278.pdf](http://real-ms.mtak.hu/421/1/Kaufmann_Ms_A278.pdf). [WEBER]

Figure 4 (above). Top right.

Figure 5 (right). Full page.





da esse e puro chi se uole pastore a chi no e un destreto de bestie e male agevole a spece tornare  
 re beatitudine mangiata e dicitur 41  
 Quanto a dire / Solo dice che nel principio de sua poezia / comincio a scruere uerita e la mia de andare a paradiso e post la fine  
 per selue sono pirog / e così fino qui e pone per la selua la uolunta e desiderij / e  
 secondo em / in tra uogamo uolendo e fallendo la uolunta e desiderij  
 uenture  
 Questo guardando de durme cose credend che p sta se uoleno durme uolentura le figuraua / e duratura lo sta  
 fite p durare / altri che d'ituro abbandono lo studio e uolse a guadagnare ma no po uolentura

**N**EL MEZO / **N**EL CHAMIN DI NOSTRA VITA  
 mirroua p una selua spura  
 ch'ella dritta era in smarrita

Quant'adiz ch'era cosa dura  
 e sta selua seluaggia aspre forte  
 ch'etel pensier rinoua l'apaura  
 Tante amara che poe piu morte  
 ma p' trattar del ben che u' trouay  
 diro dell'altre cose ch'uno s'horie  
 Non so ben dir di omi ventray  
 tanta pien di s'borio su quel punto  
 ch'ella uenue via abandonay  
 A appoi ch'iu appie un folle giunto  
 l'auue terminaua quella ualle  
 denauca d'apaural ch'or ch'ompunto  
 S'guarda talto uidi le sue spalle  
 vestite gia de raggi del pianeta  
 demena dritto altri popoli ch'ale  
 A flor fu l'apaura u'poch' ch'etra  
 de ne lagho del ch'or nera durata  
 l'anoite ch'assa ch'ontaneta uicta  
 E ch'ome quer ch'et'olena fannata  
 u'rito fuor del pelago all'arua  
 suolque al aqua penglofa eguata  
 Ch'osi l'animo mio ch'anch'or fuggua  
 suolse a retro animar l'opasse  
 ch'non l'asao grama p' sona uua  
 Poch'elbi u'posatol ch'orpo l'asso  
 u'presi via p' l'apiaggia di s'erta  
 Poch'elrie fermo sc'apural' piu basso

Da poi / Eoe adire che effendi m  
 aduerfita la qual pone p' uelle effe  
 spauca mira e pens' u' se ho r  
 cose celestale e uede tanto man  
 gia comincio p' magnare e d'icere  
 bene e a uolere p' seguire questi  
 como p' le selue sono f' e f' l'ur  
 p' lo mondo fuy p'cedere

come qual ch'elena u'  
 Questa l'anza se somigliata  
 al' u'ra la qual omi p'fetti  
 auua d'anze il uolto



Figure 7. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Ham[ilton] 207, folio 1r. Dante's *Divine Comedy*: Opening with first line in decorated script (*Nel Mezo / del chamin di nostra vita . . .*). Italy, 15th century. Image Public Domain Mark 1.0 via [https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN1670532844&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0007&DMDID=DMDLOG\\_0001](https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN1670532844&PHYSID=PHYS_0007&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001). [TONELLO]



Figure 8. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library, Robert Garrett Ethiopic Manuscripts no. 57, folio 15r. Miscellany of hymns and prayers, Ethiopia, 18th century. Opening of “Malkə’a Ləssān” (“Image/Malkə’ of the Tongue”), a malkə’-styled prayer for deliverance from sins of the tongue, with interlace headpiece. Image via <https://dpul.princeton.edu/catalog/nc580r47q>. [DICKINSON]

**Tonello, Elisabetta** (eCampus University / Università degli Studi eCampus, Novedrate)  
 “*Marginal Traces in the Manuscripts of Dante’s Divine Comedy*”

The *Divine Comedy* by Dante Alighieri (circa 1265 – 1321) met with immediate success and early and inexhaustible exegesis. Witnesses of this fortune are manuscripts (almost eight hundred in number, preserved in libraries around the whole world), which preserve the traces of intrigued, passionate, stylistic, and political readings and which therefore inform us about the contemporary cultural universe of Dante. The margins of the codices that preserve the text of the *Comedy* are full of notes, glosses, drawings, and signs of attention which have rarely been considered by critics.

Based on a few examples, I will propose an analysis and attempt to classify two different types of readers’ intervention on the poem. From readers’ traces, it is possible to obtain important information on the reaction to the text of Dante’s contemporaries (and subsequent generations), which thus show their literary culture but also their mental habits, their values, and their emotions. In this way, it is possible to increase the knowledge of Dante’s cultural context and of the very first reception of the *Comedy*.

[Figures 6–7]

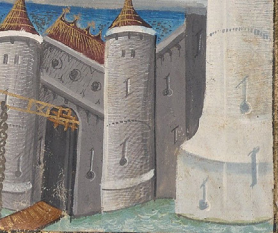
**Dickinson, Augustine** (Cluster of Excellence “Understanding Written Artefacts”,  
 Universität Hamburg)  
 “*Marginal Notes in Ethiopian Hymn Anthologies*”

Ethiopian liturgical manuscripts are not strangers to marginal notations intended to aid the reader: a *synaxarium* or antiphonary might have the months indicated in the margin; a missal might similarly have the titles of each anaphora. *Malkə’a Gubā’e* (“Image of the Assembly”) manuscripts, that is, collections of *malkə’*-hymns, though, often show a much more developed system of marginal aids that points to a complex hymnographic tradition which has hitherto largely been ignored. Publications concerning the genre of *malkə’* so far have been mostly mediocre editions of individual hymns (usually as appendices to editions of hagiographies) or comparative studies seeking to find connections with and possible origins in other Christian hymnographic traditions.

Almost no attention has been given to the manuscripts which preserve these hymns, especially manuscripts solely containing collections of these hymns (*Malkə’a Gubā’e*), and the wealth of insights that can be gained regarding how the genre developed from the fifteenth century to the present day. In addition to these marginal aids, which may include titles, dates of use, numbering of stanzas, and counts of stanzas, corrections and additions, also given in the margins, further show how the use of these hymns changed over time and how the texts were not seen as fixed but rather able to be expanded and modified to reflect current liturgical customs and the piety or tastes of the reciter.

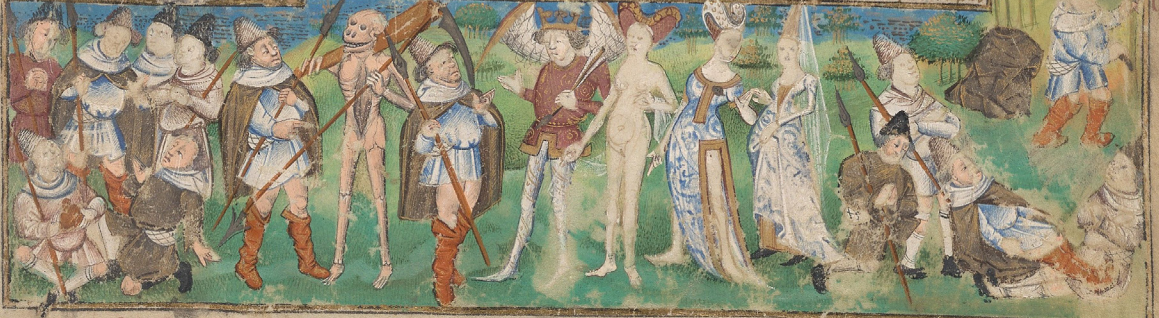
[Figure 8]

C'EST COMENCEMENT DE LA PRE  
 DECEPTABLES LEBIEN SERVY  
 ET TRES VICTORIEUX ROY  
 DE FRANCE SEPTIESME DECEMO



u temps deducit  
 que le roy d'yon  
 se vint assent an  
 trofue du lion.  
 Pour don p'le  
 l'anne face a face.

A nsi quil fault qu'en soy renoulat face  
 Et regard de son chemin sachant  
 A pres la nuit serame et factume  
 ue auora v'ent ouert enflamee  
 e me leuap d'un soume trefamee  
 Du mon esreit n'auilla sus reue.



C'EST LOYAL. C'EST LOYAL. L'ART. C'EST LOYAL. PANA. THESE. PALES. THYMPHEES. C'EST LOYAL



Figure 9 (left). New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, General Collection, Beinecke MS 1216, folio 132r. France, circa 1475. Alain Chartier, *Le Quadriologue Invectif* and Other Works: “Clumber Park Chartier”, formerly at Clumber Park, with works of Alain Chartier (circa 1385 – 1430). Opening of Simon Greban’s *Lamentation du roy Charles septieme*, with illuminations depicting the death of Charles VII and other scenes. Image via <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/16425934>. [LIFTON]

Figure 10 (above). New York, The Morgan Library, MS M. 358, folio 22r, detail. Book of Hours, Franco-Flemish, circa 1440–1450. Terminal of decorated initial with human hand holding thistle flower. Image © Morgan Library via <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/40/77128>. [WEISS]

Omnia s. Adventus.

**B**enedictus & antate domino canticū no  
 uū laus eius ab extremis terre & magt

**T**enabit dominus signū in nationibus et  
 cōgregabit dispersos israel & bñctus

**A**nte me nō est formator deus et post  
 me nō erit quia mihi curuabitur ōne genu  
 et cōfitebitur ōnis lingua & magt

pe est iam dominus. Venite a do rem? Veni.  
 Et dicitur quotidie vsqz ad vigiliam natiuitatis  
 domini exclusiue Hymnus Verbum. In primo no

**A**

re appare bit domi nus su per nu

*Sab. X. Egre  
 dicitur X  
 Festina X  
 Ecce dicitur venit*

*Sabb. X. Egre  
 dicitur X  
 Festina X  
 Ecce dicitur venit*

*Dr in aduēt ad  
 us a t ps fert h  
 eodito  
 b Korate X*

*In  
 in  
 ta  
 toz*

*Ko*

*K. j.*

Figure 11. Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, cod. Lat. e.5, folio 15v. Antiphoner from the Church of St. Waudru, Mons, Belgium. 15th century, with 16th-century additions. Original text leaf for the Third Sunday of Advent, with pasteovers and the reorganized liturgy written in marginal hands. Image courtesy of the Hesburgh Library with the kind permission of David T. Gura, Curator, Ancient and Medieval Manuscripts. [KUMMERER]

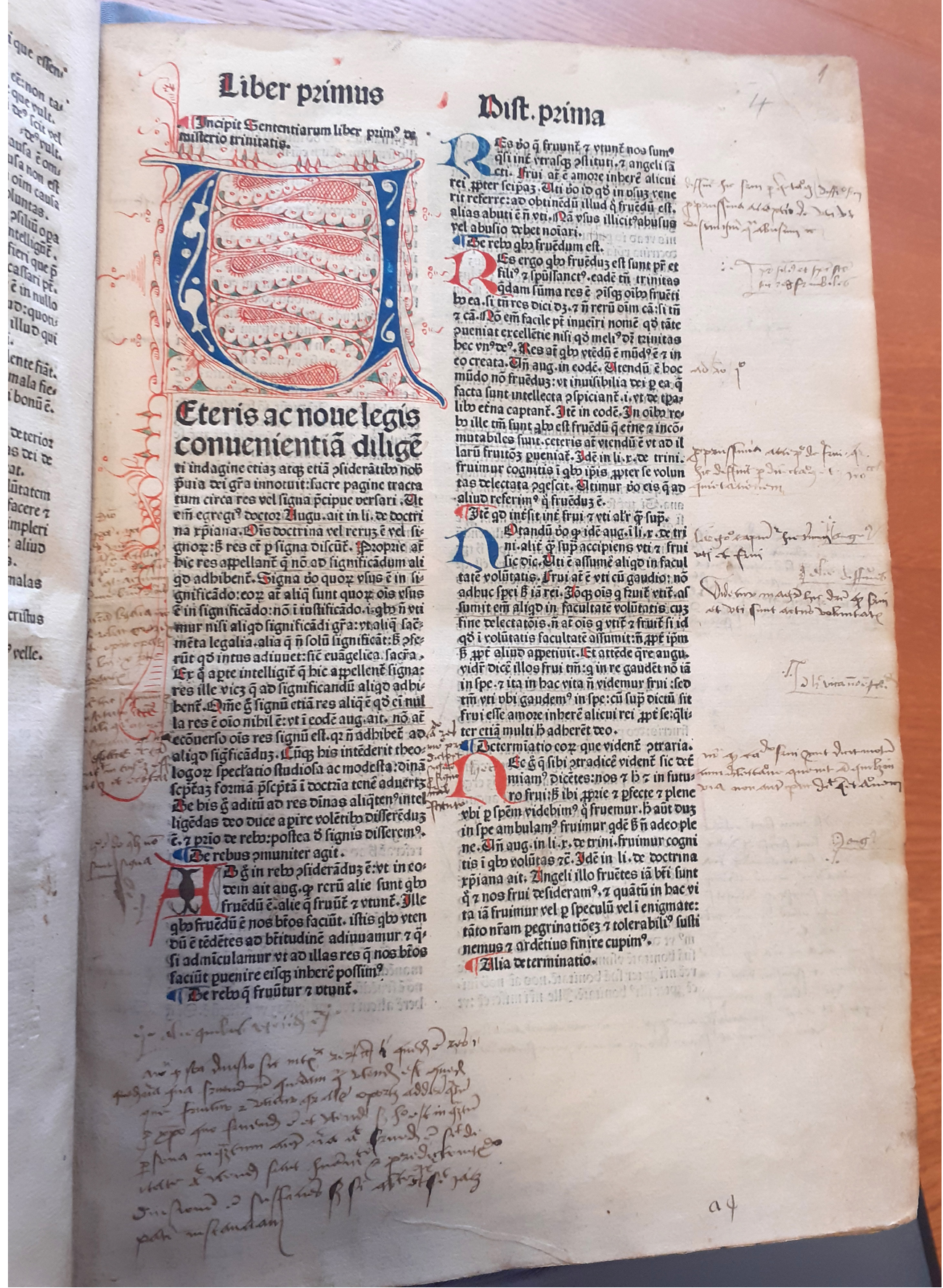


Figure 12. St Andrews, University of St Andrews Library, TypGN.A81KP, folio 1r. Peter Lombard, *Incipit Sententiarum liber primus de misterio trinitatis*, printed by Anton Koberger (Nuremberg, 1481): ISTC no. ip00481000 and Gesamtkatalog no. M32466. Opening of Book I, with annotations. Formerly in the collection of William Scheves, Archbishop of St Andrews from 1478 to 1497. Photography by Francesca Pontini. [PONTINI]

**Lifton, Kimberly** (Medieval Studies, Yale University)

*“A Mistress in the Margins: Clues to Identifying the Patron of the Clumber Park Chartier on the Edge of the Page”*

Similar to many fifteenth-century French manuscripts, the borders of the Clumber Park Chartier (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 1216) are powdered with images of the original patron or recipient’s identity. Monogram *A-As* pervade the borders, appearing a total of twenty times throughout the manuscript’s 137 folios. However, the monogram is not the only marginal clue pointing towards an individual’s identity. In the final illumination on folio 132r, on standards atop the towers of the architectural border framing a scene of Charles VII’s death, which corresponds to the *Lamentation du Charles VII* by Simon Greban (died 1473), appear the arms of the Dukes of Brittany.

While the Breton coat of arms points towards a member of the ducal family during the reign of François II (1544–1560), when paired with the monogram, the mystery of who initially owned the manuscript becomes more complicated. No members of the family boasted a motto or a similar monogram until Anne of Brittany (1477–1514), who would not have been born early enough to be a potential candidate. However, François II’s notorious mistress, Antoinette de Maignelais (1434–1474), appears to have had an affinity for the letter *A*. Her two eldest sons by her first husband, André, Baron de Villequier (1419–1454), were named Artus and Antoine. If Antoinette de Maignelais was the owner of the Clumber Park manuscript, then her choice to place the arms of her current lover, François II, on the margins of an image of her dying former lover, Charles VII (1403–1461), King of France, has nuanced connotations that reveal the political dimensions of her status as a professional mistress and her agency in this role.

[Figure 9]

**Weiss, Isabella** (Department of Art History, Rutgers University)

*“Meadows and Margins: ‘Strewn-Flower Borders’ and Flower Collection in Late Medieval France and Flanders”*

In the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, naturalistic depictions of cut flower blossoms, painted as if strewn across the surface of the page, monopolized the borders of the luxury illuminated manuscripts produced in and around Flanders. These vegetal motifs are normally interpreted as symbols of Marian devotion or as harbingers of a modern, empirical interest in the natural world.

In this paper, I will present research from my dissertation on the relationship between Flemish strewn-flower borders and actual late medieval practices of collecting and displaying flowers from local grasslands. I propose that depictions of cut flowers in the borders of these manuscripts would have evoked in their original viewers the multi-sensorial experience of flower collection in biodiverse landscapes that were buzzing with life. Recognition of the relationship between plant motifs in the margins of late medieval manuscripts and the meadow landscapes from which they derive is significant today. Northwestern Europe’s semi-natural grasslands are highly endangered ecosystems, surviving on the margins of roads and agricultural fields, with more than half of their endemic vascular plant species at imminent risk of extinction.

My presentation will explore the relationship between the grasslands that blanketed the surface of the land that surrounded, and mediated the space between, cities

in the late medieval Low Countries, and the margins surrounding the manuscript page in late medieval Franco-Flemish manuscripts.

[Figure 10]

**Kummerer, Kristina** (Medieval Studies, University of Notre Dame)

*“Liturgy in the Margins: Tridentine Reform in Mons, Belgium”*

The city of Mons, Belgium, is home to the Collegiate Church of Saint Waudru, whose current building was established in the fifteenth century. The church holds artifacts of the city’s history, including five medieval liturgical manuscripts, used by the canons of the church for daily practice of the Divine Office in the Middle Ages. These manuscripts are largely unknown, under-researched, and uncatalogued, but provide insights into manuscript transmission and liturgical change in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries — effects of which are still relevant to liturgical practice today.

In this paper, I will present a selection of the numerous marginal annotations, additions, paste-overs, and insertions within these codices, through which the canons in Mons updated their liturgy to reflect the reforms following the Council of Trent (1545–1563). These marginalia not only provide evidence of regular use throughout the religious tumult of the sixteenth century, but also give a glimpse into the implementation of religious reform in real time and the lives of those responsible for updating the liturgy. I will use University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Library, cod. Lat. e5, which comprises the sixth extant antiphoner once used in the Church of St. Waudru, as a case study to examine the paleography and liturgical goals of each main marginal hand and provide insight into the layers of liturgical reform as it swept through the Low Countries.

[Figure 11]

**Pontini, Francesca** (Department of English, SGSAAH Funded, University of Stirling)

*“Reading the Margins: Patterns of Readers in 16th-Century Scotland”*

Palaeographical considerations can enlighten several aspects of marginalia, including the graphic formation of the reader’s hand, the reader’s willingness to read and annotate books, and the control that readers had over the script on the page. Using these principles as a basis, this paper broadly explores patterns of marginalia in books printed during the first half of the sixteenth century and now preserved in Scottish libraries. By focusing on the genres that readers preferred and how these choices might be directly connected to the specific cultural context of the period, I analyze the palaeographic scripts used by readers, whose names and professions remain unknown. Additionally, this paper focuses on the patterns of readers of early modern books by exploring how these anonymous readers made annotations and by observing the types of marginalia they inscribed in the borders of printed texts. Here, I challenge the idea of collective reader engagement and offer hypotheses on an observed shift from “group reading” to “solitary reading.”

[Figure 12]



## Abstracts for Saturday (Alphabetical order by Speaker)

**Brocato, Linde M.** (Cataloging & Metadata Librarian, University of Miami Libraries)

Opening Keynote Presentation

“*Grounding the Work, Making the Book: How Matter Matters*”

“Grounding the Work, Making the Book” will gather up the threads of my previous talks for the Research Group, to lay out our conceptualization of what it is we catalog (and edit and look for and work with), vis-à-vis the things we hold in our hands. This is essentially the bind of being human, and merits attention as such. Our thinking thus far is very much within the conceptual framework afforded us by Platonism, in part out of the thinking of the Pythagoreans who preceded them, exacerbated by the digital turn, which, at the same time, makes very clear what the structure affords and denies.

I will address this via several concrete examples, some of which we have already seen from other angles in my earlier talks building toward this Symposium, and with images to demonstrate and clarify. Among them are:

Some specimens of ‘Hybrid Books’ (combining, for example, manuscript and print);

*Farrago*, a remarkable composite book, or uncommon ‘commonplace book’, assembled in stages by Richard Twiss (1747–1821);

*American Scenery, or, Land, Lake, and River* by Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806–1867), with illustrations by William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854), and issued in thirty parts (1837–1840);

*Biblia cum glossa ordinaria* edited by Sebastian Brandt (1457/1458–1521) and printed at Basel in 1498 by Johann Froben and Johann Petri de Langendorff (*Incunubula Short Title Catalogue*, No. ib00609000, and *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, No. 04284).

I do not promise good answers, only good questions. Moreover, for the Autumn Symposium, I’ll provide further concrete insight into what we gain and what we lose in cataloging, and therefore in understanding, with a case of a book that is both manuscript- and imprint-like, an incunable meant to be a densely informational intellectual tool.

*Note:* Linde’s previous talks, upon which this one builds, include:

*Episodes of “The Research Group Speaks”*

<https://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/catalogs-metadata-and-databases-part-i/>  
<https://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/tales-from-the-library-crypt/>

Figure 13 (*left*). Coral Gables, Florida, University of Miami Libraries, Special Collections, Marvin and Ruth Sackler Collection of Artists’ Books and Concrete Poetry, Richard Twiss *Farrago: A Collection of Diverting Jests, Blundering Bulls, Smart Repartees, Quaint Sayings, Queer Puns, Merry Adventures, Whimsical Epigrams, Strange Epitaphs, Funny Rebuses, Puzzling Conundrums, Humorous Riddles, Comical Questions*, [etc.] Combination scrapbook and commonplace book of pasted-on clippings and other materials, with annotations. Compiled circa 1790 and later by Richard Twiss (1747–1821). Catalog record via <https://tinyurl.com/2d77bkfs>.

Pages 382–383: Collage of printed texts and illustrations, with ink annotations. Advertisement “To the Ladies”, prints of “Two Ice-Boats” afloat alongside flat landscapes respectively with distant steeple or windmill; “Enigma” (with lost clipping and exposed newsprint background), etc. Photograph by Linde M. Brocato. [BROCATO]

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OR,

LAND, LAKE, AND RIVER

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

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Figures 14–16. Coral Gables, Florida, University of Miami Libraries, Special Collections, Kislak Center, *American Scenery, or, Land, Lake, and River* by N.P. Willis, with illustrations by W.H. Bartlett (London: George Virue, issued in 30 Parts, 1837–1840). Catalog record via <https://tinyurl.com/mnaaz6eb>. Photographs by Linde M. Brocato. [BROCATO]



FANEUIL HALL, FROM THE WATER.

MARCHÉ ET MAISON DE FANÉUIL VUS DE L'EAU

DER MARKTPLATZ UND DAS KAUFHAUS VON DER WASSERSEITHER.

London, Published for the Proprietors, by Geo. Virtue, 26, Ivy Lane, 1839.

Figure 14 (left). Part 30 (of 30): Front Cover.

Figure 15 (above). "Faneuil Hall, from the River" (Boston).

Figure 16 (below). Part 30: Publisher's Binding Notice on inserted slip.

#### NOTICE.

THE PUBLISHER takes this opportunity to announce to his numerous Subscribers, that he has completed his arrangements for

#### **BINDING THE "AMERICAN SCENERY,"**

in a manner commensurate with the character of the Work, and on the most reasonable terms.

#### **THE ORNAMENTAL BLOCKS**

for the embellishments of the back and sides have been prepared at a great expense, by an eminent engraver, after designs by Melville, (whose taste in this department of drawing stands unequalled,) combining not only emblem and allegory with all that is characteristic of America, but also a Splendid Picture, executed with refined taste and skill, thus rendering it valuable as a work of Art.

The strictest attention will be given to the proper arrangement of the plates, so that they may mutually illustrate each other; and should any of the impressions be found defective, others will be substituted and inserted.

Subscribers are requested to deliver their Copies to the Publisher's Agent when he delivers the present Part, or they may be forwarded, (*carriage paid,*) to 26, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.

*Specimens of the Binding may be seen at the Publisher's.*

MR. BARTLETT'S NEW WORK ON THE "SCENERY OF CANADA" IS NOW READY.

→ OK to see if plates numbered  
→ compare engraved t.p.s

CONTENTS AND LIST OF ENGRAVINGS

TO VOLUME I.

No the engravings

ENGRAVED TP = same as in 30 (at end of P II but not F + t ma E) I  
i.e. facing Page

→ American Scenery

	Page	Sigs	Date	Where
MAP of the NORTH-EASTERN Parts of the UNITED STATES	1			
1 PORTRAIT of Mr. Bartlett, to face the Vignette, Ascent to the Capitol, Washington.	1			
2 Niagara Falls, from the Ferry	4		1837	
3 View from West Point	6		1837	
4 Trenton Falls, View down the Ravine	8		1837	
5 View from Mount Holyoke	10		1837	
6 The Outlet of Niagara River	12	2	1837	
7 The Palisades, Hudson River	14	2	1837	
8 The Rapids above the Falls of Niagara	16	2	1837	
9 Saratoga Lake	18	2	1837	
10 The Colonnade of Congress Hall, Saratoga Springs	20	3	1837	
11 Albany	22	3	1837	
12 Crow's Nest, from Bull Hill, West Point	24	3	1837	
13 View below Table Rock	26	3	1837	
14 Lake Winipiseogee	28	4	1837	
15 The Tomb of Kosciusko	30	4	1838	
16 The Horseshoe Fall at Niagara, with the Tower	32	4	1837	
17 The Narrows, at Staten Island	34	4	1837	
18 View of the Capitol at Washington	36	5	1837	
19 View of the Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga	38	5	1837	
20 View from Fort Putnam	40	5	1837	
21 View of State Street, Boston	42	5	1837	
22 Niagara Falls, from Clifton House	45	5	1837	
23 View from Hyde Park	47	6	1837	
24 Village of Sing-Sing	49	6	1837	
25 View from Ruggle's House, Newburgh	51	6	1838	
26 Descent into the Valley of Wyoming	53	7	1838	
27 Boston, from Dorchester Heights	55	7	1838	
28 View of Faneuil Hall, Boston	57	7	1838	
29 New York Bay, from the Telegraph Station	59	7	1838	
30 Peekskill Landing	61	8	1838	
31 Light House, near Caldwell Landing	63	8	1838	
32 Harper's Ferry, from the Potomac side	65	8	1838	

PUB NOTE

Figures 17-20. Librarian-Cataloger's sheets of notes on blank or reused pages, entered in stages during the work of cataloging, by checking and cross-checking contents of the different Parts and their components, variously as announced, issued, and preserved in the individual set of *American Scenery* (Figures 14-16). Annotations in pencil, inks (blue, red, and green), and highlighter (pink and green). Photographs by Linde M. Brocato. [BROCATO]

iv CONTENTS AND LIST OF ENGRAVINGS TO VOL. II.

				Page
261	1839	EPG	View of Northumberland, on the Susquehanna	63
252	1839	cut	Pulpit Rock, White Mountains	65
253	1839	EPG	View of Hudson City, and the Catskill Mountains	67
26	1839	EPG	Scene among the Highlands on Lake George	69
262	1839	EPG	Schuylkill Water Works, Philadelphia	71
263	1839	EPG	The United States Bank, Philadelphia	73
271	1839	EPG	Brock's Monument, from the American side	75
257	1839	EPG	Village of Catskill	77
272	1839	EPG	View from Gowanus' Heights, Brooklyn	79
273	1839	EPG	View on the Susquehanna, above Owago	81
277	1839	EPG	Bridge at Glens Fall, on the Hudson	84
271	1839	EPG	View from Mount Ida, near Troy	85
281	1839	EPG	View from Glenmary Lawn, on the Owago "The Residence of N.P. Wallis"	87
283	1839	EPG	View near Anthony's Nose, Hudson Highlands	90
284	1839	EPG	Washington's Monument, Baltimore	92
285	1839	EPG	East Port, and Passamaquoddy Bay	94
292	1839	EPG	Cemetery of Mount Auburn	97
293	1839	E	Northampton, Massachusetts	98
294	1839	EPG	Chapel of our Lady of Coldspring	100
20(3)	1839	EPG	The Mountain House, on the Catskills	102 303
29(1)	1839	EPG	Faneuil Hall, from the Water	104

30: 1. VIGNETTE PORTRAIT W. H. BARTLETT

2. VIGNETTE Entrance to the Hudson Highlands = T.P. EPG  
 ADDS "R Martin & Co. New York" to pie de imprimeur

= Same as in pt 1

3. VIEW FROM THE MTN HOUSE, CATSKILL

18.6 x 24.1 CM 4. MAP "THE NORTH EASTERN PART OF THE UNITED STATES"  
 Scale

5. LETTER PRESS v.2 101-106 DD-EE 2 DO PHO EE PH wd meant to separate 2 sep lvs - conig leaves but w/ sep pag

6. LETTER PRESS "PREFACE" [lii]-iv

7. Front matter v. 1.

8. Front matter v.2 - diff printer

9. Ads - diff printer

MAIN MAP  
 67° 50' - 79° 40' long  
 38° 30' - 45° 15' Lat

Inset centered on 38° lat + 78° + 76° long

Figure 17 (left). Annotated photocopy of Part 1, "Contents and List, of Engravings", page i, with attached yellow Post-it note.

Figure 18 (above). Annotated photocopy of Part 11, "Contents and List, of Engravings", page iv, with annotations in pencil, ink, and highlighter, plus attached post-it note, with annotation.



13	EE 2	PHØ	wax?	no ads
105-112	FF 2	PHØ		
14	GG-2	PHØ	stains/spills	no ads
113-120	HH2	PHØ		
15	II 2	PH hd	Pubs' notice about length	No ads
121-128	KK 2	PHØ → mislabeled sheet	dated Aug 1 1838	No ads
16	LL 2	PH hd	Circle (?) & strips	No ads
129-136	MM 2	PH hd		
17	NN 2	PHØ	p. 140	No ads
137-140			End of Vol. I	
[1] - 4	VOL. II. B2	PHØ	Printed by R. Clay, Broad-Street-Hill	
18	VOL. II. C 2	PHØ	stains/drops	No ads
6-12	D 2	PHØ		
19	VOL. II. E 2	PH hd		No ads
13-20	F 2	PHØ		
20	VOL. II. G 2	PHØ	Water damage/stain	No ads
21-28	H 2	PH hd	back, lower	
21	VOL. II. I 2	PHØ	stains	No ads
29-36	K 2	PH hd	enudges - foot?	
22	VOL. II. L 2	PHØ	No back cover, mappen	No ads
37-44	M 2	PHØ	front cover stained / enudged	No ads
23	VOL. II. N 2	PHØ	back cover chipped	
45-52	O 2	PH hd	front stained	No ads
24	VOL. II. P 2	PHØ	sorted f/b/	no ads
53-60	Q 2	PH hd		
25	VOL. II. R 2	PHØ	sorted f	No ads
61-68	S 2	PHØ	stained, chipped b	no ads
26	VOL. II. T 2	PH hd	Sorted swapped f	no ads
69-76	U 2	PHØ	" b	No ads
27	VOL. II. X 2	PHØ	back scuffed	
77-84	Y 2	PH hd		No ads
28	VOL. II. Z 2	PHØ	b/f enudged	
85-92	AA 2	PH hd		
29	VOL. II. BB 2	PHØ	points / glue on covers end / top / back	
93-100	CC 2	PH hd?	pages	
			col II. v. no 06	
	SCCD			
	MARINE LIBRARY			
	CUSTODIAL DEPOSIT			

Figure 19 (left). 'Page 1'. Parts 1-12.

Figure 20 (right). 'Page 2'. Parts 13-29, entered on reused printed sheet turned upside down, with heading "MARINE LIBRARY" (etc.), cancelled with wavy line by hand.



De comendatione sacre scripture Nico. de lyra prologus

In nomine sancte trinitatis incipit plogus primus venerabilis fratris Nicolai de Lyra ordinis seraphici francisci de comendatione sacre scripture in generali.

Ec omnia li

ber vite etc. Eccl. xliij. fm q dicit beatus Hieronimus. Item q dicit beatus Hieronimus. Item q dicit beatus Hieronimus. Item q dicit beatus Hieronimus.

rum et earu distinctioe in unitate essentie et consimilibus. Item pbi cognitione de deo habitā nō ordinauerūt ad aliū finem: sed ipsam queferūt. ppter ipm speculari tm in qm est pfectio ipsi cognoscentis. Cognitio autē dei q in sacra scriptura tra-



Figure 21. Folios 2v-3r (above). Series of prefatory texts, with the close of De Libris biblie canonicis et non canonicis by Bernardinus Gadolus (1463?-1499?), his(?) text on Translatores biblie, set of prefatory verses by the editor Sebastian Brandt, and opening of preface to the Old Testament ("Primus Prologus"), De commendatione sacre scripture in generis, by Nicholas of Lyra (circa 1270 - 1349).

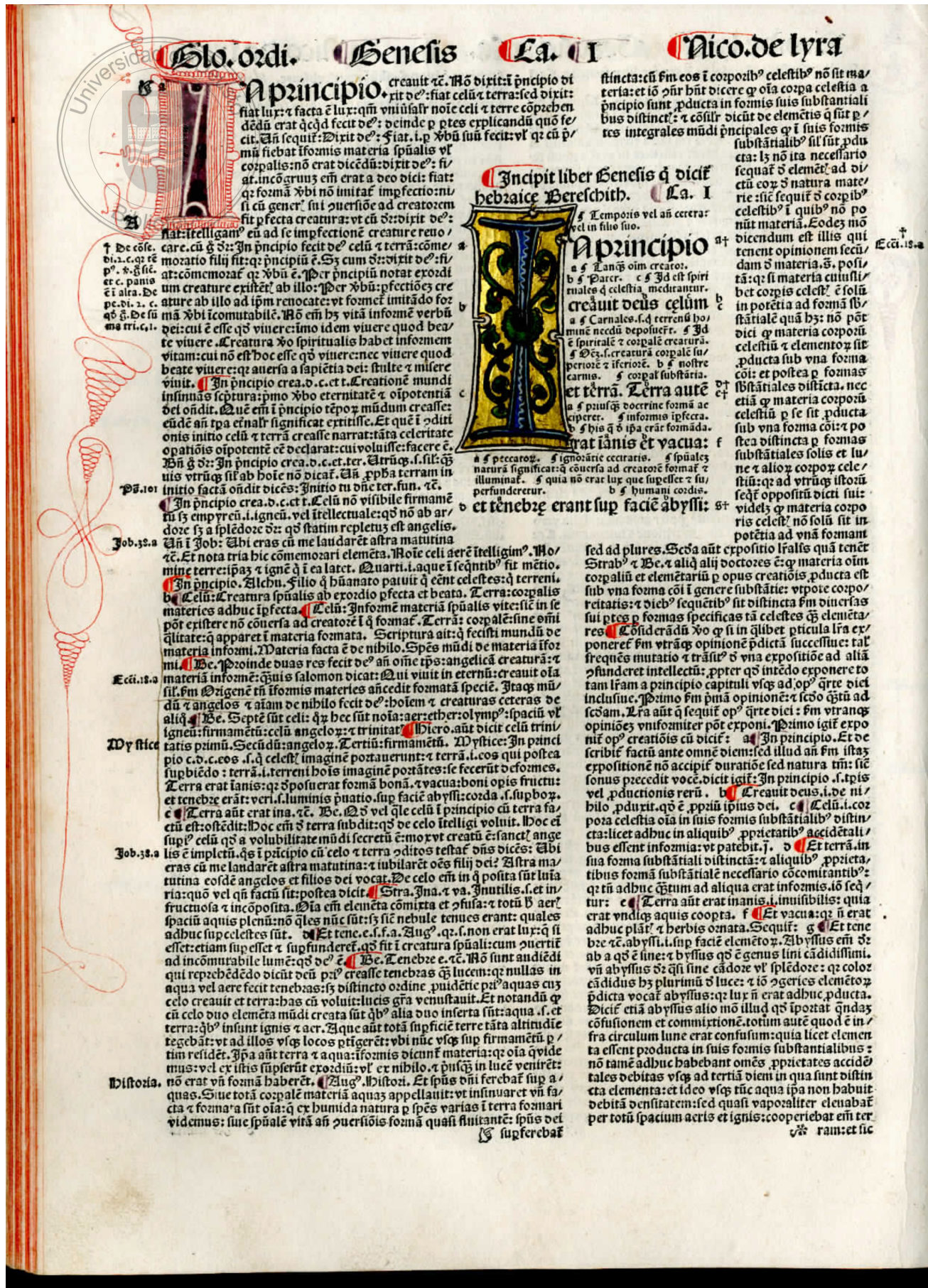


Figure 22. Folios 24v–25r. Opening of Genesis (1:1–4). Biblical text in a short central column framed by bracket-shaped columns with commentaries of the *Glosa Ordinaria* and the *Postilla super totam bibliam* by Nicholas of Lyra at left and right. [BROCATO]

**Glo. ordi. Genesis Cap. I Nico. de Lyra**

**I** superebatur: qz sbiacebat bone volūtatī creatoris: qd formā dūm r̄ p̄ficiendūm inchoauerat. Dicit̄ et̄: Spūs dñi. s. f. a. h̄c faciēdo opa pot̄ p̄ necessitatē indi / gēti: qz p̄ abundantiā bñificētē dē amare putaret. cōmōe em̄ p̄r̄ inlinuat aliqd inchoatū: cui sup̄ferret̄: nō loco: s̄ oīa sup̄ aīa potētia. **a** Et spūs dñi se. r̄. h̄bero. In heb. habet merabep̄h̄. i. incubabat vel fovebat: more voluc̄r̄: oua calozē ani / manis. Intelligim̄ q̄ nō de sp̄ritu mūdi dicit̄: vt putāt mul / t̄es: d̄ sp̄ritō: q̄ r̄ ip̄sē ē omniū viuificator. Si aut̄ viuifica /

**p̄. 103.**

**Dyſtice**

tor: r̄ cōdutor. Si cōdutor: r̄ d̄. **a** Mutte em̄: ait sp̄s tuū r̄ cre abunt. **a** Et spūs. In q̄ subsistētēs req̄scerem̄: statū eī v̄ / uificati: r̄ v̄nda baptisim̄ abluti. **a** Et spūs r̄. Sic d̄. s. r̄ cō / ditor p̄erat fluitāri r̄ cōfūse matricē: vt distingueret q̄n vel / let. Tota q̄ trinitas hic opata intelligit̄: deus: pater scilicet. **a** Principiū: filiū. Spūs d̄ ei: spūs sanct̄. **a** Et spūs. In d̄. Dy / stice. Corda. s. fluctuatiā. q̄ mem̄ quietē amūerat: qz eis sp̄ / ritus nō inmittebat sed sup̄erebat: qz potēs naturā a p̄fūso / ne in mel̄ reuocare. Deinde p̄ totū buī scripturē textū ser /

quasā d̄ opas erates vidēt̄: s̄ q̄n. primis limitib̄ distin / ctas: vt in septima quites speret: et eas h̄re s̄istudine ser. die r̄ū: q̄bus ea facta lūx: q̄ dei creaturā scriptura memorat. **a** p̄ / modū em̄ gener̄: h̄uani q̄ ista luce frui cepit: compas̄ p̄mo diei q̄ lūcē d̄ fecit. Dec etas tanq̄ infantia ē totī sculū: qd̄ tāq̄ vnū hōiēs p̄positiōe magnitudinis sue cogitām̄. **a** h̄ō et̄ cū p̄mo nascit̄ in lucē: infantia agit̄ p̄mā etates: que tenditur ad adam vsq̄ ad noe generatiōib̄: decē. diluuiū q̄i vesp̄era buī diei ē: qz infantia n̄ra obliuiois diluuiū delect. **a** **D**ixit̄. **a** lūx. p̄fect̄: posuit: vt claritatē vt claritatē opis dei ostēderet. **a** **D**ixit̄ d̄. f. l. lūx p̄mo die facta: sp̄ualis vel coz /

poralis intelligit̄. Si sp̄ual: nō illa patri coeterna: p̄ quā fa / cta sūt oīa. S̄z de q̄ d̄: p̄ior omniū creatā ē sapiētia. i. intel / lectualis r̄ angelica vita: q̄ infomiter fluctuat: nisi ad crea / torē conuerſa: que p̄t̄ ēē p̄ma creaturā: et celi dicta. cum d̄: In principio e. d. c. et ter. Sed ad creatorē p̄uerſa. cū d̄: r̄. Et facta ē lux. In qua luce sp̄ualī forte diuisio lucē a tenebris: distinctio rei intelligit̄ iā formate ab informi. Appellatio d̄ / ei et noct̄: significatio distinctiōis: q̄ significat̄ nihil deū inordinatū relinq̄re: nec p̄fect̄ creaturā sine supplemento vniūsi decoris eē. **a** **E**spa in triduo anq̄ fieret lū / minaria: p̄sumati opis termin̄. **a** **M**anē: futuri inchoatio. Si autē p̄mo die cozporal / lūx facta ē: p̄gue mūdi ornat̄ a luce inchoat̄: vñ cetera q̄ creāda erāt videbantur. Si autē querit̄: vbi ē facta: cū abyssus oīm terre altitudinē reget: p̄t̄: qz i illis p̄ti / bus q̄s nūc illustrat̄ solis diurna lūx. **a** **H**ec mirū lucē i aquis posse lucere: cum etiā nauay opatiōe sepī illustrēt̄: q̄ i p̄fūdo mersi misso ex ore oleo: aquas sibi illu /

**Bar. 1. b**

strat̄: q̄ nō misso rariores q̄ sint nō fūere i principio: qz nō dū p̄gregate in vno loco. **a** **D**ixit̄ d̄. f. Aug. **a** **D**ixit̄ d̄. nō t̄palit̄. Si em̄ t̄palit̄: r̄ mutabil̄. Si mutabil̄: r̄ p̄ subiectā creaturā. Si per subiectam creaturam nō est lūx p̄ma creatura. S̄z for / sita qz iā dictū erat: In principio fecit deus celū r̄. poterat p̄ celestē creaturāz vor / ita t̄paliter fieri: fiat lūx. **a** **H**ō s̄ ita: ista cozporalis lūx facta est p̄ subiectā creaturam quā ante fecerat: v̄c̄te d̄: fiat lūx. **a** **Q**uō per sp̄ualis creaturē occultū motū d̄ / ci potuit diuinitus. **a** **H**ō em̄ cozporaliter sonuit vox dei: sicut illa: Tu es filiū meus r̄. **a** **Q**ua em̄ lingua sonare: cū linguaz diuersitas nō dū eēt: **a** **H**ec lingua erat vna et sola que loqueret̄: nec erat que oporteret audire r̄ intelligere. Bene ergo accipi / tur vox dei verbū: qd̄ in sono voc̄ intelligit̄. **a** **A**d naturā em̄ verbū: p̄ qd̄ omnia fa / cta sunt: hoc ip̄m p̄tinere d̄. **a** **E**ternū q̄ est qd̄ dixit deus: fiat lūx: qz verbū dei pa / tri coeternū. **a** **C**um em̄ audimus: r̄ dixit deus: fiat: intelligimus in verbo esse vt sic / ret. **a** **C**um nō addit̄: et factū ē ita: intelligim̄ factā creaturā nō excessisse p̄fixos in / verbo terminos gener̄ sui. **a** **Q**uō d̄: vidit d̄. q̄ eēt bonū: intelligim̄ in benignita / te spūs ei nō q̄s cognitum postq̄ factū est placuisse: sed in eadē bonitate placuisse vt factū maneret: in qua placuit vt fieret. **a** **I**deo em̄ diligit deus creaturā suā: vt sit: et vt maneat. **a** **F**iat lūx. **a** **H**istorice. ea p̄ditōe. s̄ q̄ cūtra subsistit̄ in t̄palit̄ in dei sapia p̄uūq̄ i seip̄s. **a** **E**t facta ē lux. i. angelica r̄ celestis substātia: in se t̄palit̄: sic erat i sapia: q̄tū ad eā incommutabilitatē eternalit̄. **a** **E**t notat̄ huī creaturē infor / mitas. s̄. r̄ ip̄fectio anq̄ formaret̄ in amore cōditōis. **a** **F**ormat̄ em̄: cū ouertit̄ ad in / commutabile lumē verbū. **a** **F**iat lūx. **a** **S**i cozporal lūx facta ē: q̄ nā illa ē: quaz cū sol occiderit: videre nō possum̄: qz nec luna erat: nec erāt stelle. **a** **S**z forſitan i ea pte celi ē: in q̄ sol̄ n̄ solis lūx. s̄ sic et iūcta: vt discerni nō possit: vt forte i ea pte lucē d̄ fecerat: in q̄ hōiēs factur̄ erat: vt cū ab illa pte lūx discessisset: vesp̄era diceret̄: **a** **S**z q̄r fact̄ ē sol i p̄t̄e dicit̄: lux illa faciēdo diei sufficiebat: **a** **S**z forte lūx p̄ior: su periores t̄m p̄tes illustrabat: r̄ ad illuminationē inferior̄ solē fieri oportebat. **a** **P**ōt̄ quoq̄ dici anteq̄ eēt fulgorē diei sole addito. **a** **E**missionē nō contractionēq̄ illi lucis: si nōctē r̄ diē intelligim̄: q̄ causa reddet̄. **a** **H**ondū em̄ erāt aīalia: quib̄ hic viciss̄ / tudo exhiberet̄. **a** **E**t vidit d̄. lū. r̄. Aug. **a** **H**ō q̄s incognitā lucē laudauit: s̄z tam factā dignā laudē declarauit. **a** **S**ed qz nō totas mūdi tenebras luce expulſit: r̄ / cre subdit̄: **a** **E**t diuisit̄. i. a. r̄. Diuisit̄ em̄ nō solū q̄litar̄: s̄ r̄ locoꝝ distātia: v̄fundēdo lucē in sup̄iori p̄te: inferiori in tenebris remanēte. **a** **A**ppellauit̄q̄ lucez diē r̄. **a** **N**ulla lingua hec appellatio facta ē: qz apud deū pur̄ intellect̄ ē sine strepitu lingue. **a** **S**z appellauit̄. i. appellari fecit̄: qz sic distinguit̄: vt discerni possent r̄ noīari. **a** **E**t di / uisit̄ lū. r̄. Aug. **a** **H**oc factū ē ex q̄ lūx facta est. **a** **S**z nō ponit̄ ab hōie sil̄ dicit̄: sicut a deo fieri. **a** **D**istinctio aut̄ lucis a tenebris: distinctio ē inter p̄fectū cultusq̄ rei statū: et quē h̄z ex se defectū. **a** **D**ic̄ quippe in specie rei d̄ dicit̄ intelligim̄: nō ceter̄. **a** **I**n eī rei p̄uatiōe vel defectū: q̄ reb̄ t̄paliter d̄ dicit̄: ex se inest: etiā si d̄ dicit̄ effect̄. **a** **E**sp̄era in **a** **O**mnib̄

ram: et sic quedā confusio et cōmixtio erat in clemētis: r̄ ideo hoc vocabat̄ ab yfusus. **a** **E**t spūs r̄. aquas. i. sup̄ illā p̄gerit̄ et cōmixtiōe clemētōz p̄ dictam: r̄ vocat̄ nomie aquaz: qz sicut dicit̄ est: ip̄a a / quaz coopelebat terram: et aliq̄ duob̄ clemētis cōmixta erat mō p̄dicto: r̄ ac cipit̄ hic sp̄ritus dei. i. voluntas que ferebat̄ su / per illā p̄gerit̄ clemētōz: sicut voluntas artifi cis sup̄ materiā quaz formare r̄ ornare intēdit̄. **a** **D**ixit̄ d̄. r̄. **a** **H**ic incipit̄ o / pus distinctio / nis: r̄ p̄mo po nitur distinctio diei r̄ noct̄. **a** **S**e cūdo distinctio cozporū celestiu /

**a** **S** spūs sanct̄. **a** **S** bona voluntas creatoris cui subiacebat quod formandū erat. **a** **S** tanq̄ d̄ns. **a** **S** **S** yra lingua fovebat sicut aut̄ oua. **a** **S** sicut sapientia artificis sup̄ferit̄ fabricando operi. **a** **S** informē sed ductile materiā. **a** **S** totā cozpalē machinā: qz ex humida natura formant̄ q̄ vide mus i sp̄s varias. **a** **S** vel sp̄uale vitā q̄i fluitatē an cōuersiōis forma. **a** **S** coz tenebrosam r̄ fluidū. **a** **S** **S** p̄ritus dñi ferebat̄ super aq̄s. **a** **S** nō r̄epozalr̄: nō sono vocis: sed i verbo sibi co / ereno. **a** **S** **D**ic̄ incipit̄ distinguerē opa. **a** **S** an / gelica natura vel cozporalis lux. **a** **S** illuminatio fi dei. **a** **S** apparet̄. **a** **S** lūx a lūendo. i. purgādo rene / bias. **a** **S** bene ab eterna luce p̄r̄ fit r̄palis lux: vt p̄ cam cetera viderentur. **a** **S** angelica natura dei v̄sione illustrata. **a** **D**ixit̄ d̄. **a** **F**iat lux: et facta ē lux. **a** **E**t vidit deus lucem quod esset bona. **a** **E**t diuisit̄ lucem a

**a** **S** i. videri voluit. **a** **S** i. placuit ei in sua essen tia quod prius placuerat in sapientia. **a** **S** i. filios lucē. **a** **S** r̄ formata. **a** **S** i. q̄ opent̄ hōies **a** **S** i. videri voluit. **a** **S** i. placuit ei in sua essen tia quod prius placuerat in sapientia. **a** **S** i. filios lucē. **a** **S** r̄ formata. **a** **S** i. q̄ opent̄ hōies **a** **S** i. videri voluit. **a** **S** i. placuit ei in sua essen tia quod prius placuerat in sapientia. **a** **S** i. filios lucē. **a** **S** r̄ formata. **a** **S** i. q̄ opent̄ hōies

distinctio elementoz. **a** **D**ixit̄ d̄. **a** **S** i. videri voluit. **a** **S** i. placuit ei in sua essen tia quod prius placuerat in sapientia. **a** **S** i. filios lucē. **a** **S** r̄ formata. **a** **S** i. q̄ opent̄ hōies

**a** **S** i. videri voluit. **a** **S** i. placuit ei in sua essen tia quod prius placuerat in sapientia. **a** **S** i. filios lucē. **a** **S** r̄ formata. **a** **S** i. q̄ opent̄ hōies

De comendatione sacre scripture Nico. de lyra prologus

In nomine sancte trinitatis incipit plogus primus venerabilis fratris Nicolai de Lyra ordinis seraphici Francisci de comendatione sacre scripture in generali.

Et omnia li-



ber vite etc. Eccl. xxiij. fm q dicit beatus Hier. go. Domel. xxxv. cuan gellozum: Temporalis vita eterne vite copara ramos e pon' dicceda q vita. Scie No a pbyz losophis tradite ordinat ur ad finem consequen dum in presenti vita, qz scientie practice ab eis tradite ordinant ad felicitatem politica: loquen do de politia presentis vite. Similiter scientie spe

culantur ordinant ad felicitate contemporianā: loquedo de cō templatiōe que potest haberi in vita p̄sentis: et p̄ viam nature que dependet ex fantasmate. Unde dicit. iij. de tria. q. intel ligenti' nobis necesse est fantasmata simul speculari. et si ta li speculari dicit ibidē: q. intelligere corumpit in nobis: quoad interi' corumpo. Sacra enī scriptura ordinat ad felicitate vite future quā phylosophi nesciunt: fm q dicit beatus Hieronym' in epistola ad Paulinū d' omnib' sacre scripture libris: hoc doctus Plato nesciuit: hoc demosthenes eloquēs ignorauit. Et quib' cōcludit q libri a phylosophis descripi continētē scientias ordinatas ad finē in hac ipali vita tantūmodo naturaliter cōsequendū vite i coparent ad ly bros sacre scripture: q ordinat ad finē eterne vite: mag' sūt dicendi libri moztis q vite. s. liber continētē sacram scrip turam: que licet in multis libris p̄ualibus caudat: sub vno tñ libro p̄tinet: qui noie generali liber vite pp̄ie nominat: fm q dicit in verbo p̄sumpto: hęc omnia etc. in quo sacra scrip tura qd̄rupliciter describit fm quatuor excellētias quibus oēm scripturā aliam excellit. p̄mo enī describit vt singularis eminentie: qd̄ notat p̄nomen singulare cum dicit: hec. Secūdo describit vt generalis cōtinentie: qd̄ ostendit si gnūm vniuersale cū dicit: omnia. Tertio vt specularis intel ligentie: qd̄ denotat conditio libri cui dicit: liber. Quarto vt salutaris efficacie: qd̄ ostendit p̄secutio finis intenti cum dicit: vite. Circa primū sciendū q vna scientia eminentior est altera seu honorabilior: duplici de causa: vt habetur. i. de tria. cna est: q. est s nobiliori subiecto. Alia: q. p̄cedit cer tiori modo. Et p̄pter vtrāq. sacra scriptura q pp̄ie theologia dicit: cū ipsa sola sit textus huius scientie omēs scientias alias antecedit. p̄mo q. habet et deū p̄ subiecto qui est in sum mo tot' nobilitatis: p̄pter qd̄ notat theologia: quasi sermo de deo. Secūdo: q. p̄cedit modo certiori. Alie enī scientie hu manitus recte p̄cedit q inuestigationē rōnis humanē: in q quidē p̄cessu licet nō sit error: q̄tū ad cognitionē p̄nozū p̄ncipioz q sunt p̄ se nota: fm q dicit. ij. Metaph. In forib' qd̄ delinquet: tñ in deductiōe cōclusionū ex p̄ncipijs potest esse error: maxime q̄tū ad cōclusiones a p̄ncipijs p̄ncipijs longin quas. vñ et in tali p̄cessu oēs phylosophi innitētes tñ hūa ne inuestigationi inueniunt errasse. et ideo de singulari emi nentia hui' scientie dicit Deu. iij. hęc est sapientia vestra et intellect' corā populis. Sapientia enī dicit pp̄ie illa scien tia que cōsiderat altissimas causas: vt habet. i. Metaph. Sa cra No scriptura habet deū p̄ subiecto: vt dicitur est: qui ē p̄ma causa simpliciter omnium: et ideo pp̄ie dicit sapientia. s. cō uenienter addit vestra. ad distinguendū sapientia sanctozus seu catholicoz: que est ipsa sacra scriptura: a sapientia phylo sophoz: et hoc p̄ntissime in duob' videlicet in p̄prietatibus de deo cognitis: et in fine cognitionis. licet enī phylosophi ha buerint cognitionē de deo: hoc tñ solū fuit q̄tū ad p̄prietate res que de ipso p̄nt cōcludi p̄ inuestigationē rōnis p̄cedentē et creatur' sicut p̄bs. xij. Metaph. p̄bat eius vnitatē: et. viij. p̄b. vii. vnitatis infinitatē. et sic de similibus. Sed p̄phete et apli sancti qui hanc scripturā nobis tradiderūt p̄ reuelatio nem spū sancti habuerūt cognitionē de p̄prietatib' diuinitis et cōcedentib' inuestigationē rōnis: vt de pluralitate p̄sona

rum et carū distinctiōe in vnitare essentie: et consimilib'. Item p̄bi cognitionē de deo habitā nō ordinauerūt ad aliū finem: sed ipsam quæsierūt. p̄pter ipm speculari tñ in q̄tū est p̄fectio ipm' cognoscētis. Et cognitio aut dei q̄ in sacra scriptura tra ditur: ad hoc p̄ncipaliter que rit vt p̄ ipsam ipse speculari seu cōtemplāse seraf in amozes ipm' obiecti cognitū. s. dei: ipm sup se et sup oia diligendo. et p̄pter hoc saluator: Mat. xxij. dicit q. in duob' p̄ceptis charitatis tota lex pendet et p̄phete. Et Aplos. i. et bino. i. finis p̄cepti est charitas de corde puro: et sciētia bona: ac fide nō ficta. Et qz p̄bi suo sensui innitentes hūc finem nō attenderūt: ideo errauerūt: p̄pter qd̄ corū sapi entia insipientia noīat: ad Ro. i. Qui cum deū cognouissent: nō sicut deū glorificauerūt aut gratias egerūt: s. euauerunt in cogitationibus suis: et obscūratum est insipiens cor eozus: dicentes enī se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt. Sed quoniā sa cra scriptura nō solū excellit alias in q̄tū est de subiecto nobi lioz: sed etiā in q̄tū p̄cedit mō certiori: videlicet p̄ diuinas reuelationē cui nō potest subesse fallum. ideo subdixit in anteq̄ ritate p̄missa: Et intellect' coram populis. Intellectus enī p̄ p̄te dicit habit' p̄ncipioz: et ca que nō est error: vt iam dictū est: p̄pter qd̄ illud quod cōcludit directe ex illis: iudicat sim pliciter esse verū: et qd̄ inuenit eis repugnās: iudicat simpliciter esse fallum. Ita similiter q̄quid ex sacra scriptura mansi ste cōcludit: verū iudicat: qd̄ aut ei repugnāt: fallum simpliciter reputat. et ideo sacra scriptura nō solū vocat sapientia: s. citat cum hoc intellect' vñ dicit Eccl. xv. Implebit enī spū sapientie et intellectus. Et Lolo f. j. Impleantini agnitōe volū tatis eius in omni sapientia et intellectu etc. et sic pater primus. Circa scdm cōsiderandū q sub cōsideratione alicui' scientie nō solū cadit subiectū sed etiā ea que habent attributionē ad ipm: vt habet. iij. Metaph. sicut sub cōsideratione medici nō solum cadit sanitas vel corpus sanabile: sed etiā vna in q̄tū est indicatiua sanitatis: et potio in q̄tū est factua etc.: et dicit in q̄tū est ipm' cōseruatiua: et sic de alijs. Omnia autē creata habēt attributionē ad ipm deū qui est bul' scie subiectū: p̄pter qd̄ ista scientia est quodāmodo cōsideratiua omnium: in quo apparet eius cōtinentia generalis que notat in verbo p̄m' p̄sumpto cum dicit: Omnia. de quo potest exponi: qd̄ dicit: Sap. i. hoc qd̄ cōtinet omnia scientia habet vocis. vt sit sen sus: hoc. s. volumen sacre scripture. que licet diuidat in plu res libros partiales: tamē redigunt in vno volumine qd̄ vbi bna appellat. Continet oia q. hęc scientia est quodāmodo oim cōsideratiua. Scientia habet vocis. de p̄prietate vocis est: q. sit verbi significatiua: et pp̄ie est sacre scripture q sit diuini verbi expressiua: fm q manifeste habet Job. i. In principio erat verbum etc. Et qz p̄ verbum omnia facta sunt: vt ibidem subdixit. ideo omnia sub cōsideratiōe hui' scientie cōtinent: nō tñ sub p̄p̄ijs rationibus singularoz: qz hoc pertinet ad scientias p̄ticularēs et humanitas inuentas. sed in q̄tū est om̄ibus creatis manducimur in cognitionē et dilectiōe dei per verā fidem charitate formatam ad quā cōsideratio huius scientie ordinat: vt p̄dictū est. Et hoc est qd̄ dicit Aug'. xiiij. de tri nitate ca. j. Nō vtiqz quicquid sciri potest ab homine in rebus humanis vbi plurimū supuacne vanitatis et noie curiositat' est: hūc scientie tribuēs: sed illud tantūmodo quo fides salu ber imā que ad veram beatitudinē ducit: glanitur: nutrit: de fenditur et roborat. Et et Job. xij. saluator loquēs d' spiritus sancto cuius reuelatione tradita est hęc scriptura dicit: Doce bit vos omnē veritatem. Glofa: necessariam ad salutem. et sic p̄t' secūdū. Circa tertiu q. et intelligentia specularis. qd̄ no tatur cum dicit: liber. cōsiderandū q liber habet similitudi nem speculū: q. sicut in speculo apparent forme sensibiles: sic i libro relucēt intelligibiles veritates. Unde et diuina scien tia in qua relucēt omēs veritates liber vocatur: in quo libro legunt sancti apostoli et p̄phete qui hanc scientia tradiderūt: et hoc est qd̄ dicit Glofa super illud Eia. xv. vij. Dupone do mul tue etc. Glofa. p̄phete in ipso libro p̄sentie dei i quo omnia scripta sunt legere possunt. qd̄ tamen nō est sic intelligē dum: q. p̄phete viderint ipsam dei essentias que idem est cum eius p̄sentia: quia p̄pheticā cognitio cū habeat enigmata: ena enat in tali visione: fm q dicit Aplos. i. Loz. xij. Sed p̄ rāto dicunt p̄phete in libro p̄sentie dei legisse: qz p̄ species diuinitus impressas mentib' p̄phetaz et p̄ lumē p̄pheticū eis pro portionatum: videbant suo modo veritatem a dei scientia ad eos veruatā per reuelatiōes sicut intellectus possibilis virtu te luminis intellectus agentis inspicit in specieb' a fantasma tibus acceptis sibi p̄portionabiles veritates. Nos autē qui talem cognitionē nō habemus: quia lumine prophetico illu



Figures 23–24. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, John Boyd Thacher Collection, no. 730 / Incun. 1498.B56: Biblia latina cum glossulis tam marginalibus quam interlinearibus ordinariis una Nicolai de Lyra postillis (1498 Biblia) in six volumes, formerly owned by the Augustiner Kloster, Würzburg. Catalog record via https://lcn.loc.gov/76028200.

Volume 1, Genesis – Deuteronomy, with the Biblical text accompanied by prefatory texts and commentaries, and with hand-painted decorated initials and foliate and other ornament in the margins. Photographs by Linde M. Brocato. [BROCATO]





Figure 25. Private Collection, Volume of *Postille* ("Sermons on Biblical Readings" or commentaries in an annual liturgical cycle): *Postille maiores cum questionibus et additionibus. Postille maiores totius anni cum multis historijs . . . Euangeliorum dominicalium, ac ferialium* [etc.], printed by Jean David dit ("alias") la Mouche (Lyons, 1527). Folio Ir, detail: Illustration inset within the text at the opening of the *Postilla seu si mauis expositio epistolarum et euangeliorum: tam in dominicalibus ferialibus officiis congruentium per anni totius discursum*, with commentary.

Illustration of the crowned Deity accompanied by the works of Creation, comprising animals, birds, land, vegetation, water, sun, moon, stars, and winds in the four corners. Photograph by Mildred Budny. [BUDNY]

<https://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/how-to-be-indiana-jones-in-the-catalog/>  
<https://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/how-to-be-tarzan-in-the-catalog/>

*RGME Symposia*

<https://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/2022-spring-symposium-on-structures-of-knowledge/>  
 “*Paths of Access and Horizons of Expectation I: (Library) Cataloging and Classification*” (abstract only)  
<https://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/2022-autumn-symposium-on-supports-for-knowledge/>  
<https://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/2022-autumn-symposium-program-booklet/>  
 “*Paths of Access and Horizons of Expectation, II: From Book-In-Hand to Catalog(ues)*” and “*Hybrid Books: Fragments and Compilatio, Structure and Heuristic in Richard Twiss’ Farrago*”

[Figures 13–24]

**Budny, Mildred** (Director, Research Group on Manuscript Evidence)  
 “*Material Grounds for Teaching, Study, and Varieties of Access*”

This year’s theme of “Materials and Access”, suggested by the RGME Editorial Committee, gives rise to explorations of the challenges, potential, and conditions — past, present, and future — for each of these spheres, and for both together, as well as, it may be, for their opposites of ‘immateriality’ and ‘access withheld’. Reflecting upon the nature, limitations, and possibilities inherent in the materials as such, modes of access to them (and to those modes), and in them together as they might interact with each other and with their audiences, caretakers, users, students, teachers, and others. Responding to the theme, the subjects and case studies for this Symposium and its Pre-Symposium embrace a broad array of materials, printed and manuscript, exhibiting a wide range of dates and places of origin, languages, genres of text and illustration, and forms of approach to them. Some forms, such as glosses, annotations, and commentaries, work to provide, guide, or seem to promise closer and fuller access to (and understanding of) the texts — Biblical, poetic, and other.

Marking the date of this year’s Spring Symposium, which occurs on 25 March, we take note of evocative images of the Annunciation, as traditionally celebrated on this date, in medieval and later art, including manuscripts. Among them, many depict books in use, opened or closed, and demonstrate diverse approaches to their material appearance, including bindings, script, decoration, and illustrations. These depictions, too, provide forms of evidence, more and less detailed, for books as physical objects at the time of their representation, which can offer a medium of access to some materials now lost.

Across the subjects, we consider varieties of access, both direct and indirect, both now and otherwise, and their impact upon or implications for knowledge of the materials. Among the diverse paths to the material evidence which may allow, partly allow, obscure, block, or obfuscate access, there are, for example, surrogates or representatives in the forms of photographs (of multiple kinds and quality), curatorial and related records, and catalogues, metadata, and databases (ditto). Our continuing series of sessions exploring “Catalogues, Metadata, and Databases” lays some groundwork for keeping up to date with developing standards, practices, and desirable directions for such work for manuscripts, fragments, bindings, documents, printed materials, and other bodies of evidence.

As our research continues, cases for which we enjoy access offer opportunities to examine the originals, prepare or examine photographs from them, conduct research, and, with permission, publish the results, or interim results as part of work-in-progress reports. Examples include



Figures 26–27 (above). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number 2004.564. Detached and cropped Leaf from a Book of Hours with framed illustration on one side painted by Jean Bourdichon (1457 or 1459 – 1521) and text on the other. France, circa 1485–1490. Images via CC0 License via <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/476562>. [BUDNY]

Figure 26 (left). Recto with scene of the Annunciation to Mary by the Angel Gabriel, with descending Dove and opened book.

Figure 27 (right). Verso with single column of text in 21 lines, partly covered by the remnants of a pasted backing mat: [*Domine labia mea aperies / ] et os meum annuntiatbit laudem tuam . . .*

Figure 28 (right). Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, MS M.269, folio 16r. Book of Hours for the Use of Rome. Northern France, circa 1460, first owned by “Collette”, depicted within. Within a foliate border, the verse of Psalm 50:17 (*Domine labia mea aperies et os meum annuntiatbit laudem tuam*) fits between a framed image of the Annunciation above, with an opened book on a lectern and inscribed unrolled scroll. The foliate border includes an ‘inhabited’ scrolling stem at the right, with angels, humans, and birds; and a garden scene below, where human couples play musical instruments and backgammon. Image courtesy The Walters Art Museum by CC0 License via <https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W269/>. [BUDNY]



Domine labia mea  
 aperies Et os meum  
 annuntiabit laudem  
 tuam

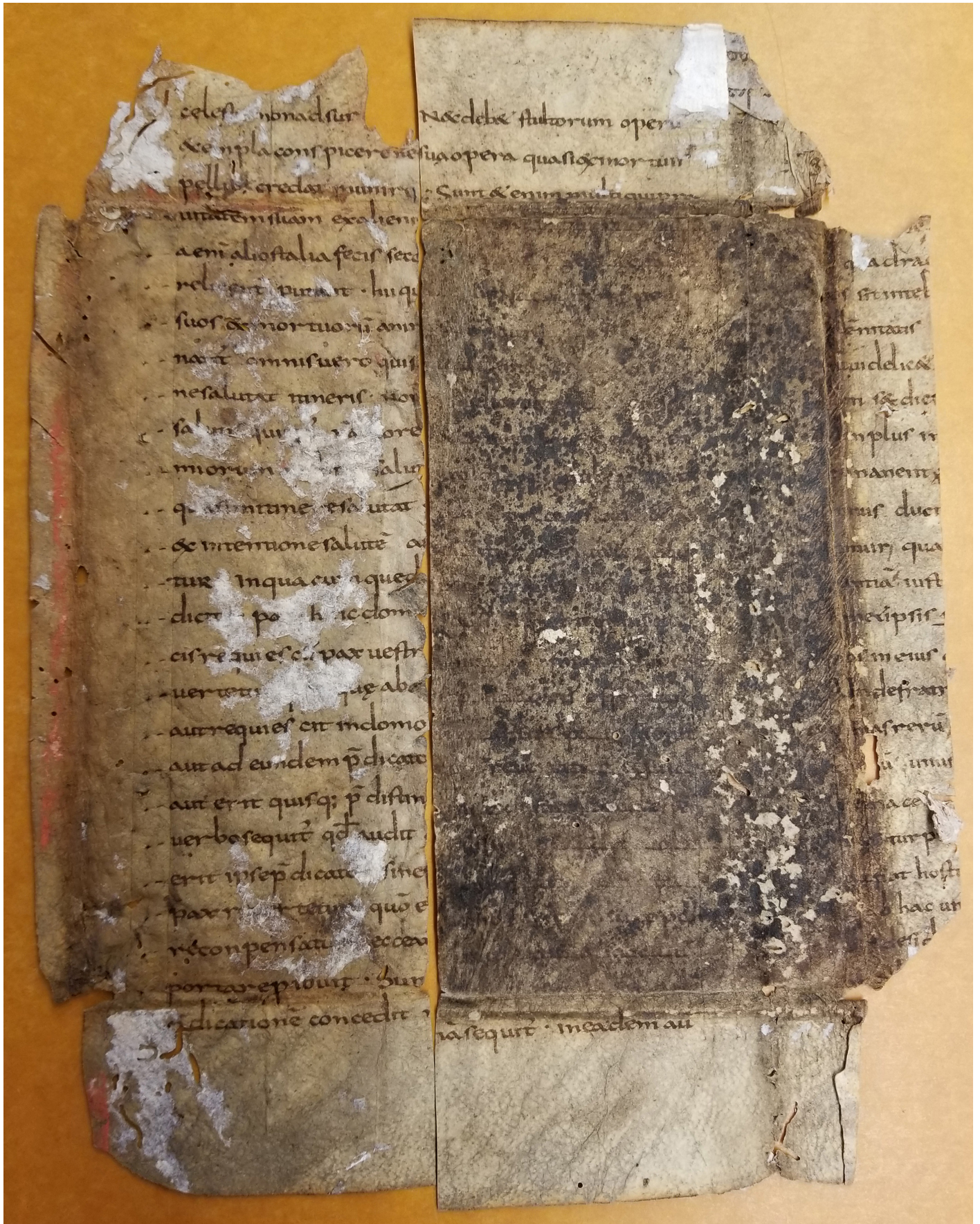


Figure 29. Private Collection, Pair of reused Carolingian fragments of the recto of a single leaf from a 9th-century copy of the *Homilia in Evangelium* by Gregory the Great (circa 540 – 604), written in two columns in Carolingian minuscule script, with pronounced damage by the folds, stains, holes, stitching, and remnants of pasted paper from reuse on the front and back of a former binding for some unknown volume, now lost. Photograph by Mildred Budny. [BUDNY]

reused binding fragments ‘retrieved’ (removed) from the materials which, for a time (a long time), they joined as protective coverings or parts of them. Now in different private collections, some cases under examination comprise medieval liturgical materials and fragments of a Carolingian copy of a Latin homily. Linking access to the materials with scholarly expertise might not only aid in identifying the text, genre of book, history of transmission, and other features, but also grant revelations about special characteristics, as is the case for the Carolingian fragment, which preserves an important and rare surviving witness to a significant stage in the author’s revisions. Such work, integrating materials, access, and expertise, might exemplify the merits of respecting and maintaining the distinctions in the complex interrelationship between Evidence and Interpretation.

[Front Cover Image and Figures 25–29 and 38–39]

**Chandler, Katharine C.** (Special Collections and Serials Cataloger, University of Arkansas Libraries)  
*“Sister Manuscripts from the Carthusian Monastery of Chartreuse de Champmol”*

Sometime around 1470, a set of manuscript graduals was made in the town of Dijon for the monks of the Chartreuse de Champmol, a Carthusian monastery outside Dijon, then the capital of the Duchy of Burgundy. One fragment of nine leaves, in a leafbook, is now in the collections in the Rare Book Department in the Free Library of Philadelphia (MS Lewis E 8). A full gradual in 225 leaves is in the Morgan Museum & Library (Morgan MS M.115). Together they bear witness to the changing textual process of liturgical invention through the late Middle Ages and the early modern era.

I explore how these manuscripts reveal more about the interior life of the monks in the monastery; and later, how they were attractive on the rare-book market, as these manuscripts, at least, made their way to dealers and bookbreakers in the latter part of the nineteenth century, well after the destruction of the Chartreuse in the 1790s. In this paper, I hypothesize that at least eight to twelve of these nearly identical books were made for the twenty-four choir stalls of the Chartreuse. The manuscripts are unusual in that they contain red and blue whimsical penwork elements that, to the modern eye, like doodles in the margins, containing faces similar to the man in the moon, or people blowing bubbles out of their mouths, as well as leaves and acorns throughout.

Both manuscripts have erasures and added entries made by various hands, apparently responding to changes in the liturgy until well into the eighteenth century. Owing to BiblioPhilly (<https://bibliophilly.library.upenn.edu>) and its images of Lewis E 8 ([https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0023/html/lewis\\_e\\_008.html](https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0023/html/lewis_e_008.html)), and to photographs I have taken of Morgan M.115, I have been able to compare the books virtually side by side. It is clear the books were made from the same exemplar, which most probably came from the Chartreuse de Vauvert in Paris, destroyed around the same year as Champmol.

The Burgundian ‘empire’ expanded its borders in the late fourteenth century upon the marriage of Philip the Bold (1342–1404), Duke of Burgundy, to Margaret of Flanders (1350–1405). Philip founded the Chartreuse de Champmol essentially as a necropolis for himself and his descendants;

Figures 30–33 (*overleaf*). Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 8, Fragments from a Latin Gradual produced at, and for, the Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon, circa 1475. Leaf-book assembly of leaves containing chants for the Mass during the cycle of the year, with musical notation on 4-line staves; and parts of the liturgical Kalendar. Images Public Domain via Creative Commons via [https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0023/html/lewis\\_e\\_008.html](https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0023/html/lewis_e_008.html). [CHANDLER]

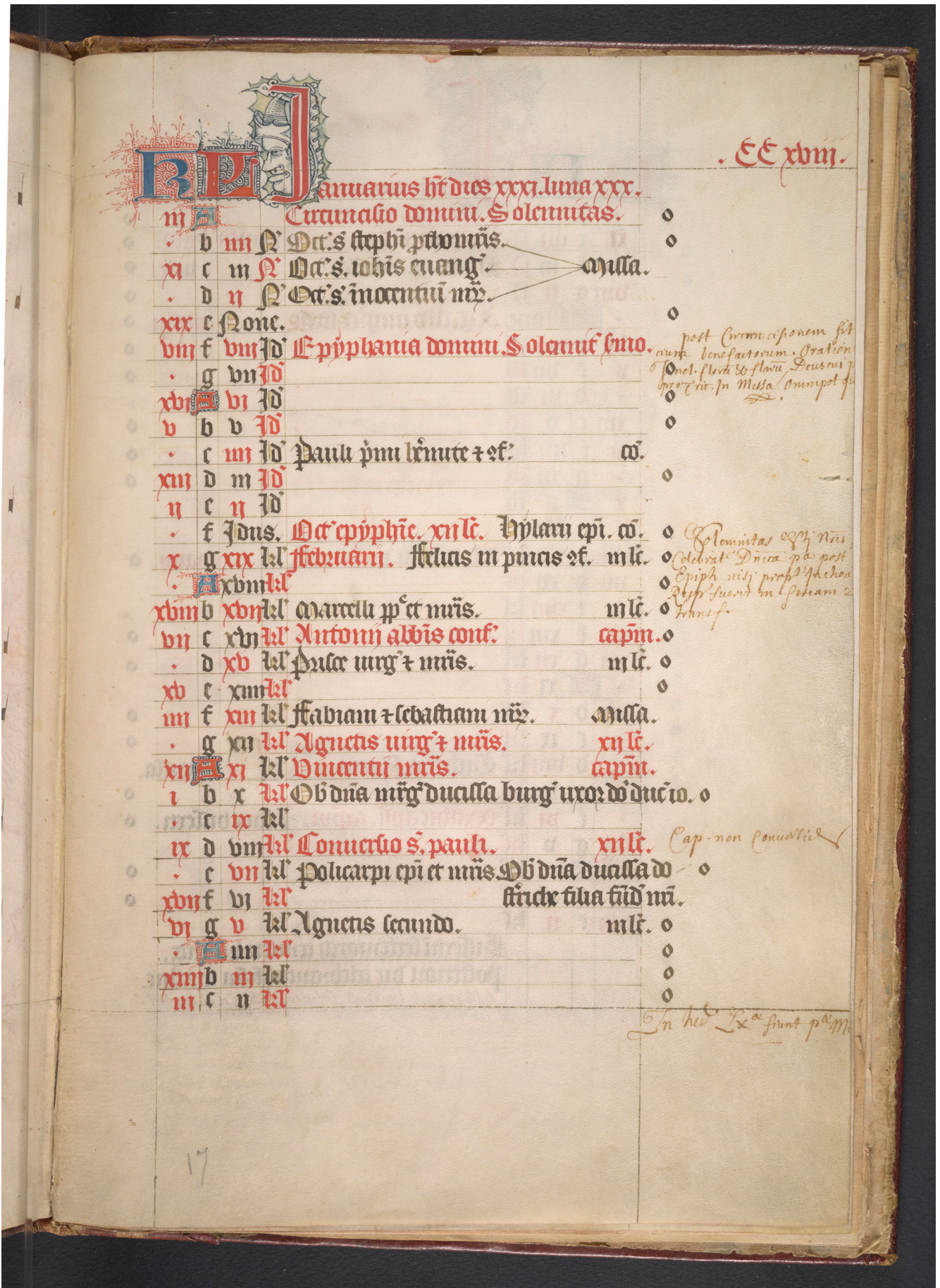


Figure 30. Folio 17r. Page for January in the liturgical Kalendar, listing saints' and feast days and obits, with additions. Listings include Epiphany and its Octave, and an obit recording the death of Margaret (1363–1423), Duchess of Burgundy, on 23 January.

.lxj.

um qui a suavis est mihi cor dia

tu a. **L**otas michi fecisti uia

vi te adimplebis me letia

a cum uul tu tuo domi ne. of. <sup>Introit.</sup>

**S**alus populi ego sum

dicit domi nus de quaam q; tri

pula ti o ne clamauerunt ad

me exaudiam e os et ero illo rum

16

Figure 31. Folio 16r. Opening of chant *Salus populi ego sum dicit*, with blue initial embellished with elaborate pen-flourishing in red ink as decorative filling and extensions, including an open-mouthed beast's head and foliate ornament with flowers, leaf-sprays, and acorns.



Figure 32. Folio 16v. Chants including *Attendite popule meus legem meam inclinate* (for Pentecost Tuesday), with animated initials, interlace, and pen-flourishing. [CHANDLER]

John D. Lewis  
1919.

COLLECTION OF  
THOMAS F. RICHARDS,  
BOSTON.

.vñ bn.

**R**edemptio  
nem mi sit do mi nus populo  
offici. **D**ne in auxil.  
co dne memorabo. **I**ustus es  
suo. **Unica xvñ. officii.**  
domine et rectum iudicium tuum fac cum  
seruo tuo secundum misericordiam tu  
**B**eam. **ps** **B**eati immaculati in via: qui  
ambulant in lege domini. **Beata**  
lu ra. **L**audate

Figure 33. Folio 1r. Twenty-third Sunday in Ordinary Time, including chants for *Justus es domine et rectum iudicium tuum fac cum seruo tuo secundum magnam misericordiam tuam* and *Beati immaculati in via qui ambulant in lege domini*. [CHANDLER]

he expected the Carthusian monks there would pray eternally for the souls of the Dukes and Duchesses of Burgundy. By the third quarter of the fifteenth century, Charles the Bold (1433–1477), Duke from 1467 until his death, was spending the majority of his time in Flanders. Tragically, the expectations of Burgundy’s future ended with Charles at the battle of Nancy in 1477.

Detailed study of the two graduals (or parts) in Philadelphia and New York can be set in the context of other surviving manuscripts in the series for Champmol. This longterm research has prepared the groundwork for conjecturally reconstructing the former full set of graduals which the monastery made for its use in liturgical performance in the choir of the church.

[Figures 30–33]

**Hastings, Justin** (The John Dickinson Writings Project, University of Delaware)  
*“The Horatian Ground of John Dickinson’s Farmer Persona”*

Richard Gummere (1883–1969), in a brief but important article entitled “John Dickinson, the Classical Penman of the Revolution” (1956), glanced at some of the classical literature that forms the intellectual ground of the *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, written by John Dickinson (1732–1808), one of the American Founding Fathers. The present essay seeks to expand and correct our knowledge of Dickinson’s use of classical literature by focusing on the narratorial persona he constructed for his Pennsylvania farmer. First, this essay explores a number of biographical similarities between Dickinson and the Roman lyric poet Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65–8 BCE). It next establishes the likelihood that Dickinson would have known the Horatian poetic corpus through his formal education, culminating in his years of study at the Middle Temple in London, as well as through his connections with Quaker religious, political, and pedagogical thought. This essay then examines what mid-to-late eighteenth century editions of Horace, both in the original Latin and in English translation, would have looked like in England as well as the American colonies.

These three preliminaries open up the rhetorical space to consider Dickinson’s use of Horatian satire in constructing the narratorial persona in his *Farmer’s Letters*. As a result, this essay will demonstrate not only the depths of Dickinson’s knowledge of classical literature, but also the prodigiousness of his political acumen in composing and promulgating the *Farmer’s Letters*.

[Figures 34–35]

**Kambour, Zoey** (Postgraduate Fellow in European & American Art at the Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art at the University of Oregon)

and

**Goeselt, Hannah** (Library and Information Science (MS) [or MLIS]: Cultural Heritage Informatics, Simmons University, Boston)

*“Where are We Now? Updates from the 2022 RGME Symposia”*

Updates report the progress of both scholars’ research on the subjects of the pairs of presentations at both the 2022 Spring and Autumn Symposia, and describe new projects.

**Larson, Atria A.** (Associate Professor of Medieval Christianity, Saint Louis University)

“*Gallery of Glosses: An NEH-Funded Digital Humanities Project that Cultivates Scholarly Attention to Manuscript Margins*”

Awarded funding from an NEH Level II Digital Humanities Advancement Grant in August 2022, the “*Gallery of Glosses*” began as a humble, traditional editorial project to edit the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Gospel of Matthew. After twists and turns of scholarly research, conversations with digital humanists, and successful internal and external grant applications, the project now is much larger — and more daunting. What has emerged is now a digital humanities project intent on creating a platform and a public-facing website that can facilitate research on glosses on a wide variety of texts.

As all medievalists know, glosses constitute scholars’ primary witnesses to both early and highly developed study, usage, and understanding of “authoritative” texts in western medieval society, such as the Bible, works by Aristotle, Justinian’s Roman law collections, and other key legal, theological, and academic texts. Nevertheless, scholarship has largely ignored the diversity and breadth of glosses on key texts in favor of studying what is more readily available in early or other printed editions, namely the final ‘final’ standardized form of the glosses on any given authoritative text, which came to be known as the *Ordinary Gloss*. This means that the interpretive voices of countless numbers of medieval thinkers have been lost to history. If their glosses did not make it into the *Glossa ordinaria*, they are relegated to the margins, literally, of one or more manuscripts housed in European libraries, relocated elsewhere, or no longer extant. At the same time, medievalists have become increasingly attuned to the historical significance of the witness of *marginalia*, all the while aware of the unfeasibility of printing in analogue form these types of texts.

What is needed, therefore, is an open digital platform, designed for efficient workflow, that can support the gathering and organizing of potentially thousands of glosses across hundreds of manuscripts and that can be accessible to users around the world. The workflow also needs to be simple enough to permit scholars to add small sets of glosses connected to a particular authoritative text (e.g., a particular verse in the Bible, a particular law, or particular section of Aristotle), to which other scholars can then add and compare additional gloss witnesses from other manuscripts. The *Gallery of Glosses* trusts that this functionality will ensure a larger community of users who can utilize the platform in a way to preserve, organize, and disseminate small bits of data that can then be linked to other bits of data put in by other users. Users will be able to enter metadata about the manuscripts and glosses (e.g., pertaining to origin and provenance of the manuscripts), as well as tags, in order to create a meaningful web of data about these glosses. Medievalists can use these to better understand not just the ideas that the glosses express, but also the networks of communication and transmission of knowledge throughout pre-modern Europe.

In this presentation, I will (1) go over a brief history of the project in order to explain why I decided to move away from an analog edition and to a digital humanities platform; (2) show the current functionality of what we have built so far for *Gallery of Glosses*; and (3) give a few examples that illuminate the kinds of research questions that this approach to manuscript evidence can help answer.

[Figures 36–37]



THE PATRIOTIC AMERICAN FARMER.  
 J-N D-K-NS—N ESQ. BARRISTER AT LAW:  
*Who with Attic Eloquence and Roman Spirit hath Asserted  
 The Liberties of the BRITISH Colonies in America.*

*'Tis nobly done, to stem Taxations Rage,  
 And raise, the thoughts of a degenerate Age,  
 For Happiness, and Joy, from Freedom Spring;  
 But Life in Bondage, is a worthless Thing.*

*Printed for & sold by R. Bell. Bookseller*

Figure 34. Washington, D.C., National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, *The Patriotic American Farmer. J-N D-K-NS—N, Esq. Barrister at Law*. Etching and engraving on paper by James Smither (1725-1797) after Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827), printed for R. Bell, Bookseller. Circa 1768. Framed portrait of John Dickinson with books and his *LETTERS from a FARMER to the Inhabitants of the BRITISH Colonies*. Image via CC0 license, via [https://npg.si.edu/object/npg\\_NPG.97.145](https://npg.si.edu/object/npg_NPG.97.145). [HASTINGS]

[ 3 ]

## L E T T E R S

F R O M A

F A R M E R, &amp;c.

L E T T E R I.

*My dear COUNTRYMEN,*

I AM a *Farmer*, settled, after a variety of fortunes, near the banks of the river *Delaware*, in the province of *Pennsylvania*. I received a liberal education, and have been engaged in the busy scenes of life; but am now convinced, that a man may be as happy without bustle, as with it. My farm is small; my servants are few, and good; I have a little money at interest; I wish for no more; my employment in my own affairs is easy; and with a contented grateful mind, undisturbed by worldly hopes or fears, relating to myself, I am completing the number of days allotted to me by divine goodness.

BEING generally master of my time, I spend a good deal of it in a library, which I think the most valuable part of my small estate; and being acquainted with two or three gentlemen of abilities and learning, who honor me with their friendship, I have acquired, I believe, a greater knowledge in history, and the laws and constitution of my country, than is generally attained by men of my class, many of them not being so fortunate as I have been in the opportunities of getting information.

FROM my infancy I was taught to love *humanity* and *liberty*. Enquiry and experience have since confirmed my reverence for the lessons then given me, by convincing me more fully of their truth and excellence. Benevolence towards mankind, excites wishes for their welfare, and such wishes endear the means of fulfilling them. *These* can be found in liberty only, and therefore her sacred cause ought to be espoused by every man, on every occasion, to the utmost of his power. As a charitable, but poor person does not withhold his *mite*, because he cannot relieve *all* the distressed of the

A 2

miserable,

Figure 35. Philadelphia, The Library Company of Philadelphia, *Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania, to the inhabitants of the British colonies* (Philadelphia: David Hall and William Sellers, Second edition, 1768), page 3 / A2. Opening page of Letter 1, headed "My dear Countrymen". Image courtesy Library Company of Philadelphia, via <https://www.librarycompany.org/>.

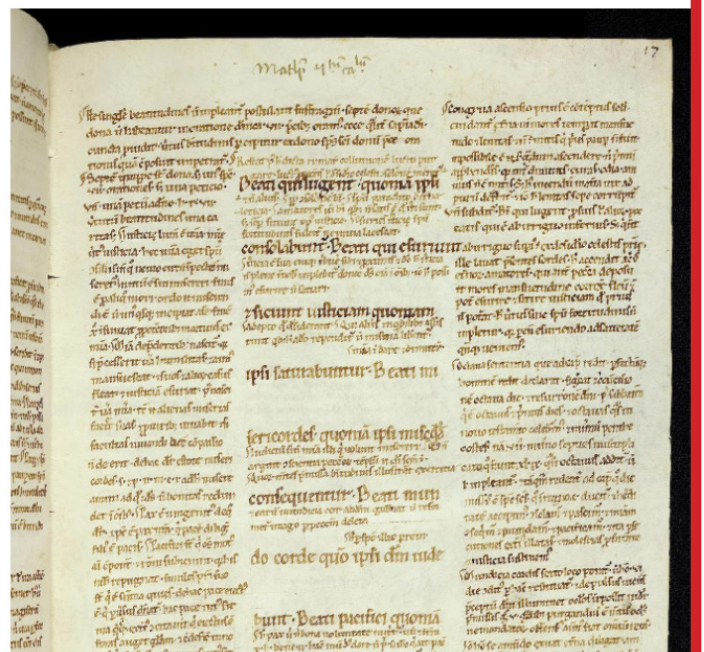
Figures 36–37. Screenshots from “Glossing Matthew” for the case of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. MS 51, a copy of the Gospels of Matthew and John with glosses. France, perhaps Paris, circa 1190; digital facsimile via [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/bav\\_pal\\_lat\\_51](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/bav_pal_lat_51). Images courtesy Atria L. Larson. [LARSON]

Figure 36 (above). Portal to the manuscript entry in the database.

Figure 37 (below). Transcription of the gloss alongside a photographic image of folio 17r (top): Matthew 5:5–9, with commentary.

## bav\_pal\_lat\_51\_0041.jpg

(edit layout) (align named Glosses) ¶Hec singule beatitudines ut impleantur postulant suffragium, septe donorum, que dona ut habeantur in oratione dominica, vii precibus oramus. Ecce qualiter sapientia dei cuncta prouidit uirtus beatitudinis precipitur ex dono spiritus sancti, donum prece orationis quam composuit impetratur. Septem quippe sunt dona, sed unus spiritus; vii orationes, sed una petitio. Unde unam petii a domino hanc requiram. Septem uirtutum beatitudines, una ca ritas. ¶ Iusticie lumen est misericordia, misericordie uirtus iusticia. Hec misericordia eget spiritu consilii, sine quo nemo circumspecte miseretur. Initium est sui misereri, finis est pro alio mori. Ordo enim miserendi est, ut unusquisque incipiat a se finem Christo insinuat, pro peccatoribus mortuus ex misericordia. ¶ Misericordia de precedentibus nascitur quia si precesserit uera humilitas et animus mansuescat, et suos et aliorum casus fleat, et iusticiam esuriat; post nasci tur uera misericordia, tunc enim alienas miseras faciet suas, et pro uiribus uiuabit, et si facultas uiuandi deest, compassio non deerit, de hac dicitur, “Estote miseri cordes, sicut et pater uerum misericors est,” id est, ad hoc misere amini, ad quod et deus, ut bonitas redun det in omnibus. ¶ Pax est unigenitus de quo dicitur ipse pax nostra. Qui pacem diligit filius est pacis. ¶ sunt qui omnes motus animi componunt, et rationi subiciunt quia his nihil repugnat, similes patri suo sunt, qui est summa quies. De hac pace eiectus est qui peruersis dominatur; hac pace intus fir ma quecumque exterius concitauerit, qui



**Pascoe–van Zyl, Ann** (School of English, Trinity College, Dublin)

“*Landscape and the Mind in Exile: Four Old English Elegies*”

The evocative potency of landscape imagery in Old English (OE) poetry has been frequently noticed by scholars. Its power is such that its resonance and roots have been distinctly perceived in the poetry of, for example, Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–1889), Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809–1892), Ezra Pound (1885–1972), and Seamus Heaney (1939–2013). The ‘seminal period’ of the ‘rediscovery’ of OE poetry in the ‘English literary tradition’ in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may have elicited echoes of OE poetic landscape imagery in the poetry of the Romantics as well.

My specific explorations, however, took inspiration from the work of the eminent place-name scholar, Margaret Gelling (1924–2009), who used her trenchant observations about the toponymic usage of landscape terms in OE place names to offer a nuanced and fresh interpretation of some terms used in the epic poem *Beowulf* – namely *hlið* (‘slope’), *hop* (‘remote place/valley’) and *gelad* (‘difficult water-crossing’). I found most compelling her argument regarding *hlið*. Among OE place names, this term is one of the less common; according to Gelling, in the south of England it appears to be a specialized term for a hill with a concavity.

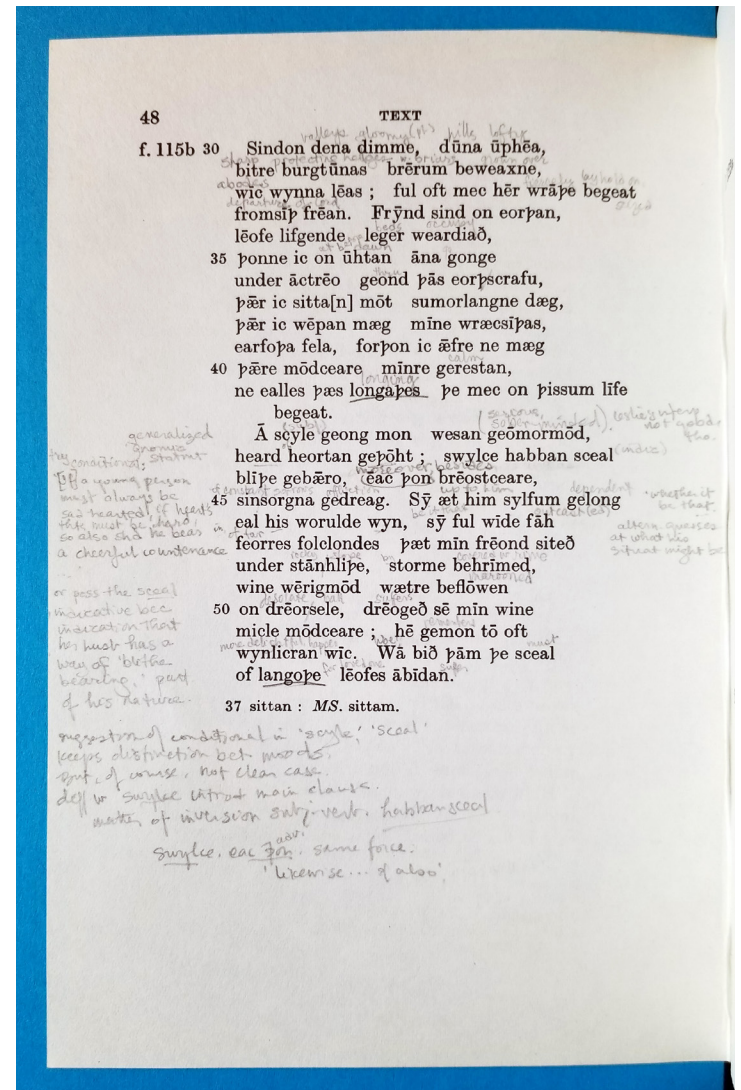
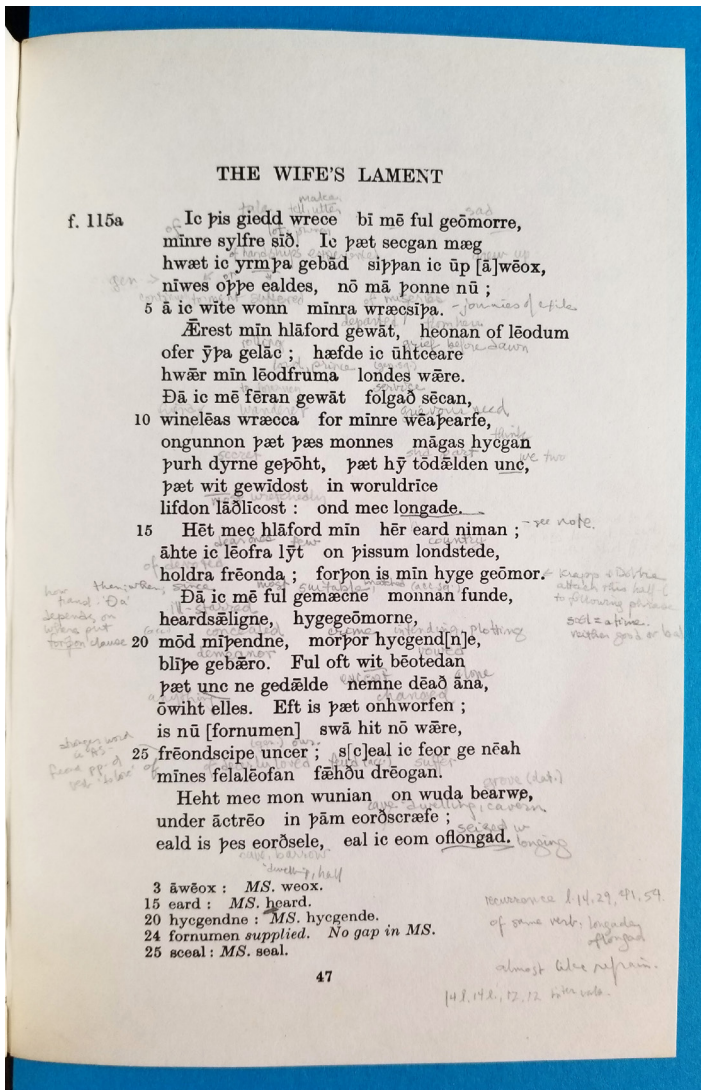
When engaged in naming parts of their surrounding environment, the peoples of early medieval England were specific and highly differentiating. The most differentiating category is the naming of hills and ridges. In effect, the *Beowulf* poet’s choice of *hlið*, indicating a concave hill (as opposed to, for example, *beorg*, a ‘rounded hill’), and its compounds may have aimed to convey a particular atmosphere. To quote Gelling:

A hill with a hollow provides dead ground, and this could be a lurking place for natural or supernatural enemies. In all the instances in *Beowulf*, the *-hlið*, *-hleoðu* compounds have a menacing context. Grendel comes from the marsh under *misthleoðum*, and when fatally wounded he returns to his joyless dwelling *under fenhleoðu* (Gelling 2000: pp. 8–9).

Gelling’s application of place-name scholarship to OE poetry began and ended with *Beowulf*. The time is ripe for analyzing the rich landscape imagery in other OE poems, notably the elegies. Inspired by Gelling’s ground-breaking work, and aided by similar insights and methodology, I endeavor now to examine the evocative elegies of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, *Wulf and Eadwacer*, and *The Wife’s Lament* through the lens of place-name scholarship.

These poems survive as single copies in the late tenth-century Exeter Book of Old English Poetry (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501, with a digital facsimile via <https://theexeterbook.exeter.ac.uk/>). Although some scholars – Neville, Klein, and Wickham-Crowley – have considered landscape terms in these elegies, there has yet not been an extensive analysis aided by such broader and deeper perspectives. My work explores links between the landscape terms in these poems and patterns of ‘exile’ cognition and emotion of ‘exile’. A growing body of work on emotion in the study of OE has observed that emotion and cognition are inextricably linked in this context.

My conclusion considers a possible root of these links. The OE Psalms, which were thoroughly interiorized by medieval English monks and nuns (among others) through the practices of the liturgy and private devotion. Moreover, the Psalms in Latin and OE were the foundation of literacy and learning in early-medieval England, and they transmit an ancient source of heterogeneous landscape imagery. It is conceivable that OE poets harnessed this imagery to express diverse



Figures 38–39 (above). Private Collection, Student's annotated copy (inscribed "London 1971") of R.F. Leslie, ed., *Three Old English Elegies: The Wife's Lament, The Husband's Message, The Ruin*. Old and Middle English Texts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966). [PASCOE–VAN ZYL]

Printed text of "The Wife's Lament" laid out in lines of verse in half-lines, with textual apparatus; many (faded) pencil additions of glosses by one scholarly hand, supplying interlinear translations and marginal notes. Unsigned as such, the annotations are datable to the period of study for the M.A. at University College London in 1971–1972, in a book inscribed at the front by the owner: "M. Budny / London '71". Photography by Mildred Budny. Images reproduced with License by Liverpool University Press and with permission of Mildred Budny.

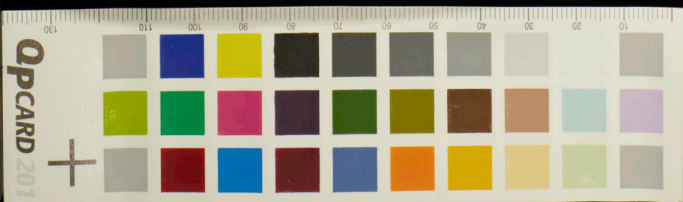
Figure 38 (above left). Page 47: Printed text from folio 115r.

Figure 39 (above right). Page 48: Printed text from folio 115v.

Figure 40 (right). Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501, folio 115r. "The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry": Opening of "The Wife's Lament", laid out in long lines, with spacings and punctuation corresponding to major divisions (as marked in the edition). England, late 10th century. Images with permission, courtesy of Exeter Cathedral and University of Exeter Digital Humanities Lab. [PASCOE–VAN ZYL]

hringſt to hælſum þa he inhælle þæt þætæd ƿrædeð.  
 ƿlone na folnum :

**I**C þæt ge ƿræce bime ful gðomnes minne ſelſne ƿið  
 ic þæt ƿægan mað hæt ic ƿræca gebæd ƿið þan ic ƿræce  
 mæſt oþþe ældeſt no ma þon nu a ic ƿræce þon minna  
 ƿræce ƿið þa ældeſt min hlaforð ge ƿræce hænan of lædū  
 of þi ƿið þa gelac hæfde ic uht cære hæt min læd þu  
 ma londſt ƿræce . Ða ic me ƿræce ge ƿræce folgað ƿæcan  
 ƿræce læt ƿræce for minne ƿæc hæfde . ongunnon þæt  
 þæt moundſt mað hæt hætgan þu þið ƿræce ge þoht þæt  
 to dædum unc þæt ƿræce ge ƿræce . In ƿræce ƿræce lifdon  
 læd licofte ƿræce longade . hæt me hlaforð min hæfde  
 hæfde minan ælde ic lædſne . læt on þiſſum lond ſæ  
 de holoþa ƿræce for þon ƿræce min hæt ge gðom .  
 Ða ic me ful gðomne monnan funde hæfde ƿræce  
 hæt ge gðomne mod miſtne monþon hæt ge  
 bliþe gebæd ful of þæt ƿræce bætædan þunc ne ge dæde  
 nne deað ana . oþþe ældeſt ƿræce ƿræce on hæt ƿræce ƿræce  
 nu þa hæt no ƿræce ƿræce ƿræce unc þæt ƿræce ge  
 nne minnſt ſela lædſne ƿræce dædum hæt me  
 mon ƿræce on ƿræce bæcpe unof þæt ac ƿræce in þa  
 dæd ƿræce . ælde ƿræce þæt dæd ſela ælde ic æm of longad .



Sancti 96 2014

1

IOSEPH DICIT QUI CORPUS DNI SEPULCUM



**P**ater in consilio impi-  
orum & in uia peccatorum  
non stetit & in cathedra  
pestilentiae non sedet;

**S**ed in lege domini  
fuit uoluntas eius & in  
lege eius meditabitur  
die & nocte;

**T**unc erit tamquam  
lignum quod plantatum  
est secus decursus  
aquarum;

**Q**uod fructum suum  
dabit in tempore suo &  
folium eius non decidet  
& omnia quecumque  
fecerit prospera  
buntur;

**Q**uia in consilio  
impiorum non stetit  
sed tamquam pulvis  
quem proiciet uentus  
a facie terre;

**I**deo non resurgunt  
impium iudicio neque  
peccatores in consilio  
iustorum; uiam uero  
domini uiam iustorum  
& iter impiorum  
peribit;

**E**adig byð se peri  
he ne sæd on geþe  
alt un iulicpisan  
ne on þam pege ne  
stent synfulna  
ne on heora pol  
baþe endum set  
le ne sitt.

**E**c his pillabýð on  
zooel æ 7 ymb his  
æ he byð smeagen  
oe dægtes  
7 nihtes.

**B**im byð sþa þam  
cwope þe byð  
aplanoos neah  
pætepa pýnum.

**A**et sylð his pæte  
mas cwoiulicwode  
7 his leaþ 7 his blæ  
oa ne pælpriad nene  
seapriad sþa byð þam  
men þe pe ap ymb  
sþracon eall him  
cymd to goode þ he ded.

**A**et þa un iulicpisan  
ne beoð na sþylee ne  
him eac sþane limþ  
ach beoð ouste geþe  
pian þon hit pino to blaþ.

**B**y ne apusad þa un  
iulicpisan on oomes  
dæg ne þa synfullanne  
beoð on geþealte þa  
iulicpise na

**F**on þam goopæchþyl  
ee peþ þa iulicpisan  
ge eapnedon æ þa  
un iulicpisan cumad  
to pium

et ap te pnan sealmes capitul is ge epe den ps almus

singulariter in  
spe constitisti  
me;

synocpi me ge seccete  
on blyþe 7 on co  
hopan.

**D**e pitta sealm 7 7 se epe den dauwe 7 sealm  
þone he sang behy 7 syltes pnope 7 be he ne  
ne sþe ealna dæra iulicpise na de se cad 7 ppe  
peapone 7 se on heocon iuce mio cwise 7e 7 7  
ende ealna dingsa 7 æle mann þe sþine sealm  
singð he hine 7 singð behy 7 sylte pnope 7 sþa  
dye ezechias þa he alyted pæf ophis metcwi  
nesse 7 sþa dye cwise þa he alyted pæf sþam  
iuoem.

VERBA DOMINI AD PATREM ET ADORAT IN TEMPLUM

**V**erba Domini  
auribus percipe  
domine intelle  
ge clamorem me  
um intende uoci  
orationis mee  
rex meus & deus  
meus;

**Q**uoniam ad te  
conuersus domine  
mane & exaudi  
uocem meam;

**M**ane adstabo tibi  
& uidebo quo  
niam non uo  
lent deus  
iniquitatem  
tuam;

**N**on habitabit iux  
ta te malignus ne  
que permanebun  
t in iustia ante o  
culos tuos;

**O** dista domine om  
nes qui operantur  
iniquitatem pec  
catorum quos qui locum  
cur mendacium  
suum;

**Q**uoniam sanguis  
et dolosum abo

**D**ulciter in sol  
min  
pono in iohinum  
earum 7 on sþe mi  
ne 7 emne 7 min  
ge sþop 7 dene  
þara pnoða  
minna  
ge beoð.

**F**opdam ic ge bio  
de on dægtes eode  
ac ge oostæt þa se hy  
ne min ge beoð on iustan.

**I**estande on ap i me  
gen þe pnan de æt ge  
beoð 7 se þe his sþicon  
sæc þinne pillan butan  
cwoe 7 eac þone pýpice  
pnoða þu eac se sylca  
goð þe nan un iulicpise.

**N**e mo þe ne pnan  
se 7 þe pillenda  
ne þa un iulicpisan  
ne pnan de þe pnan  
þinum eazum.

**P**u hatast ealle þa  
þe un iulicpise na  
7 þe pnan de æt ge  
þu ne hpa pnan de 7 þu  
pnan de þa þe sþinle  
leaþing a 7 pnan de.

**A**no þa man 7 lazan  
7 þa sþicol an þu



states of mind. Various copies survive of OE renditions of the Psalms, partial or full, as glosses or as a set of texts in its own right. My focus is on the OE Psalms (Prose and Metrical) which survive, alongside the Latin *Romanum* Psalms, in a single manuscript made in about the middle of the eleventh century: The Paris Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin MS 8824, with a digital facsimile via <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451636f.image> and <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc784781>).

Among its verses and pen-line illustrations there appear words and images evocative of landscapes (including hilly ground, trees, and vegetation) which may record a pervasive awareness of the natural setting in which human activities would engage and unfold. Attention to the connection between cognition, emotion, and landscape, as expressed in OE poetry with a probable symbiosis rooted in the OE Psalms, could well reveal fresh aspects of human engagement with, and within, the environment.

### *Further Reading*

Anya Adair, 'Hateful Hills and Joyful Dread: Emotive "Filler Words" in the Old English Metrical Psalms', *English Studies*, 98 (2017), 15-25 (p. 19)

Daniel Donoghue, *How Anglo-Saxons Read Their Poems* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018)

Margaret Gelling, 'The Landscape of Beowulf', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3 (2002), 7-11

Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014)

Alice Jorgensen, 'Introduction' in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions: Reading the Heart in Old English Language, Literature*, ed. by Alice Jorgensen, Frances McCormack and Jonathan Wilcox (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 1-17

Stacy Klein, "Gender and the nature of exile in Old English elegies", in *Locating Medieval Landscapes*, ed. by Clare A. Lees and Gillian Overing (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 113-131

Anne L. Klinck, ed., *The Old English Elegies: A Critical Edition and Genre Study* (Montreal: McGill – Queens University Press, 1992)

Geoffrey Shepherd, "Scriptural Poetry", in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. by E. G. Stanley (London: Nelson, 1966), pp. 1-36

M. J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*. *Medieval Church Studies*, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)

Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley, 'Living on the *Ecg*: The Mutable Boundaries of Land and Water in Anglo-Saxon Contexts' in Lees and Overing (2006), pp. 85-110

[Figures 38–42]

Figures 41–42 (*opposite*). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, MS latin 8824. The bilingual Paris Psalter: *Psalterium duplex* in Latin (*Romanum* Version) and Old English (in prose for Psalms 1–50, poetry for Psalms 51–150). England, probably Canterbury, second quarter of the eleventh century, with a scribal colophon naming *Pulffpinus Cada* (Wulfwinus 'the Lumpy', presumably a nickname), and a series of pen-line drawings illustrating parts of the first seven Psalms (Latin). Images via <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451636f.image>. [PASCOE–VAN ZYL]

Figure 41 (*left*). Folio 1r. Psalm 1 in Latin and in Old English, with illustration within verse 3: River god and tree.

Figure 42 (*right*). Folio 3v. Psalm 4:10 (*singulariter*) – 5:1–7 (*abo/[–minabitur]*), with an OE introduction in long lines on King David's Psalms for verse 5 and illustrations for two verses. In a hilly landscape with vegetation, the full-length bearded Psalmist in classical garments approaches the Hand of God emerging from a sleeve above and holding a compass as creator (below verse 5); Boat-like gaping Hell Mouth filled with human heads and flames (within verse 7).



Figure 43 (*above*). Ronald Patkus, Head of Special Collections at Vassar College, shows a glossed Latin Biblical manuscript leaf to students in a class on the Middle Ages taught by Nancy Bisaha, Professor of History. On view is a verso (with the end of the Epistle to the Romans and the opening of 1 Corinthians) from the same manuscript fragment as in Figure 44 (*right*). [PATKUS]

Figures 44–46. Poughkeepsie, New York, Vassar College Libraries, Archives and Special Collections Library, Nicholas B. Scheetz Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts Collection (*Bibliotheca Sheetziana*). Photographs courtesy Ronald Patkus. [PATKUS]

Figure 44 (*right*). Nicholas B. Scheetz Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts Collection, MS 17, folio 58r France, probably Paris, circa 1210–1220. Bifolium from a Latin copy on vellum of Peter Lombard, *Magna Glosatura* (“The Large or Great Commentary”) on the Pauline Epistles. Romans 16:12–20 (*Deus autem*) and commentary, laid out in two pairs of parallel columns in larger and smaller scripts, with pen-flourished initials.



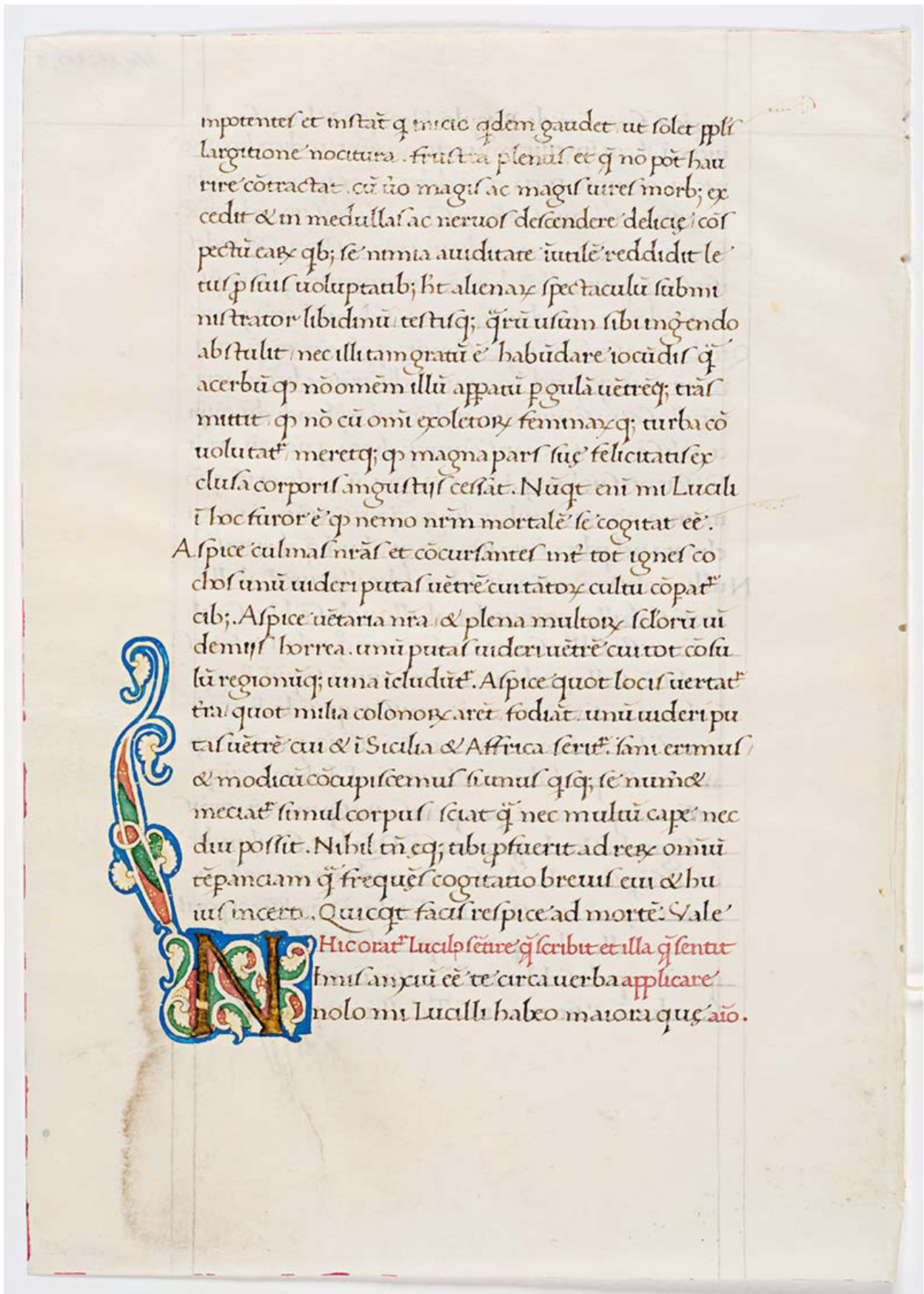


Figure 45. Nicholas B. Scheetz Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Collection, MS 42v. Italy, circa 1470. Single leaf from a copy of Seneca, *Epistolae morales* ("Moral Letters"), written on parchment in a single column of 28 lines. This page ends *Epistola* 14 (from [excipiem affectus / ] *impotens et* to *Vale*), gives the rubricated title for *Epistola* 15, and opens that text (extending to *maiora quae* [ / *cures*]) with an inset 3-line initial with an extended colorful background of branching, scrolling foliate ornament. [PATKUS]

**A**d te levavi oculos meos quia  
 habitas in caelis.  
**E**cce sicut oculi servorum in mani-  
 bus dominorum suorum.  
**S**icut oculi ancillae in manibus  
 domine suae ita oculi nostri ad dominum  
 deum nostrum donec misereatur nostri.  
**M**isereere nostri domine misereere  
 nostri quia multum repleti sumus de  
 spectatione.  
**Q**uia multum repleta est anima  
 nostra obprobrium humilitatibus:  
**E**t despectio superbis. *ps d.*  
**N**isi quia dominus erat in

Figure 46. Nicholas B. Scheetz Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Collection, MS 42v. Northern France, circa 1425. Leaf from a Book of Hours, with Psalms in the Vulgate Version, written on parchment in a single column of 14 lines, with 1-line and 2-line decorated initials and decorated line-fillers at line endings. Psalm 122 (*ad te levavi . . . et despectio superbis*), rubricated title for the next psalm (abbreviated for *psalmus davidis*), and the opening line of Psalm 123 (*Nisi quia dominus erat in [ / nobis ]*). [PATKUS]

Figures 47–53 (overleaf and Back Cover). Private Collection, Selection of pages from Jain manuscripts on paper with dated colophons. Written in single columns of long lines, the text stands between extended, full-page, vertical bounding lines or bar-like borders. At more or less the center of the column, some pages introduce a circular motif, blank spacing, or decorative filling, which emulates the stringing hole characteristic of palm-leaf manuscripts. Images courtesy David Sorenson. [SORENSEN]

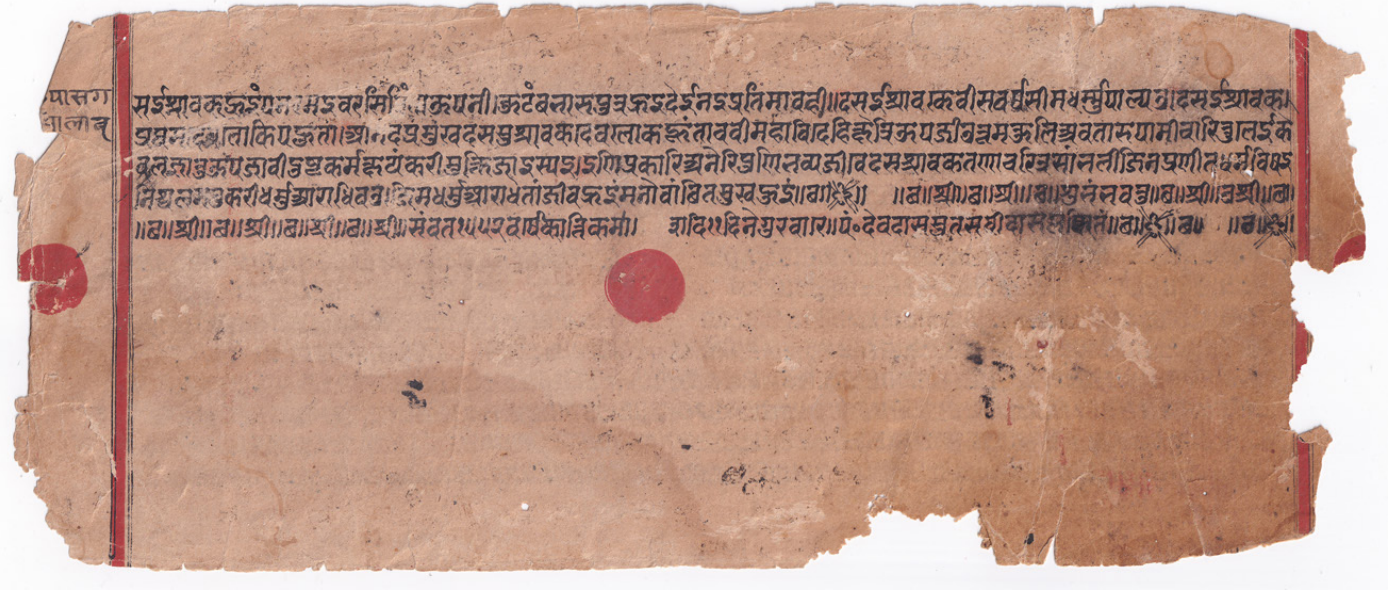


Figure 47. Colophon dated to Vikrama Samvat (VS) 1552 = Anno Domini (AD) 1496. [SORENSEN]

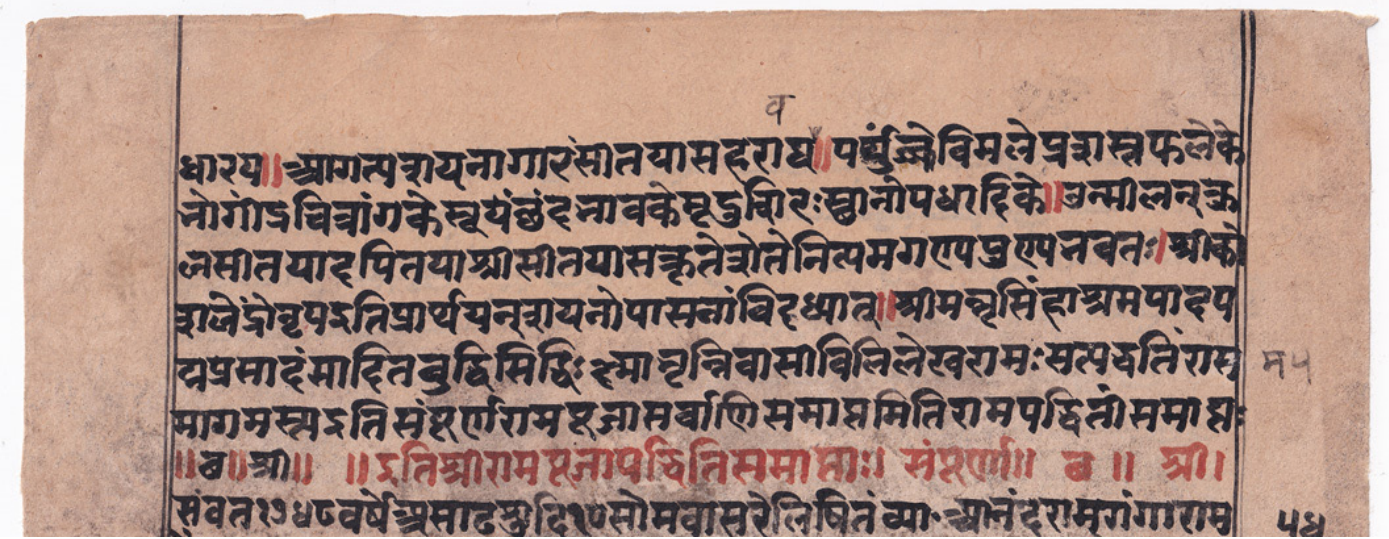


Figure 48. Colophon dated to VS 1748 = AD 1692. [SORENSEN]

**Patkus, Ronald** (Head of Special Collections and Adjunct Associate Professor of History on the Frederick Weyerhaeuser Chair, Vassar College)

*“Nicholas B. Scheetz’s Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Vassar: A Teaching Collection for a Teaching Collection”*

In 2019, Vassar College acquired the Nicholas B. Scheetz Collection of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts. The collection was built over a number of years as a teaching collection, and has helped to expand significantly the scope of the college’s existing collection of such materials. Plans are now underway for RGME to hold a symposium at Vassar in 2024. It will highlight holdings and focus on the role of teaching with primary sources in undergraduate institutions.

*Note:* Nicholas B. Scheetz Collection Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Library, Vassar College Libraries: [https://www.vassar.edu/specialcollections/collections/manuscripts/findingaids/scheetz\\_MedRenMS.html](https://www.vassar.edu/specialcollections/collections/manuscripts/findingaids/scheetz_MedRenMS.html).

[Figures 43–46]

**Sorenson, David W.** (Allen G. Berman, Professional Numismatist)

*“Examples of Paleography and Paper in Dated Jain Manuscripts of the Fifteenth through Nineteenth Centuries”*

In order to build a database of samples of paper samples which can be used as a reference for manuscript studies, I have been working on assembling a collection of samples of Jain manuscripts with dated colophons. Although, with these manuscripts pertaining to Jain communities of Western India, dated colophons are very much the exception rather than the rule, especially among earlier material, nonetheless such material can be found and studied. With enough such material, we can begin to get a picture of useful trends, in page layout, paleography, and paper characteristics, among other things.

The material presented is nothing spectacular; it consists of ‘ordinary’ manuscripts and fragments, dated from the 1440s to the 1860s CE/AD. All of it is from a single private collection; all of it is from eastern India via book and paper sellers in Jaipur and Kishangarh. As Jain material, it has sufficient cultural and geographic specificity to present a coherent series, rather than representing a variety of locations and sub-cultures.

Although this is very much a ‘work in progress’, and the description in this presentation is very much an interim report, it may be of use to look already at what patterns are beginning to emerge from this sort of series. Accordingly this presentation is primarily a look at what specific characteristics and trends appear, and what to look for in future acquisitions.

[Figures 47–53]

कृपदयाम्प संवत् १६७४ चरसपेयवदि १३ दिने मृतश्च प्रियं कृत  
 पुहता ए अवदात प्रसिद्धं एदि ६६ श्रीजिनसिंहसूरिनद्रपाटि  
 | श्रीजिनराजसूरिद्रुया संवत् १६४२ नामपिताधरमसी माता धर  
 लदेबोधरा गोत्र संवत् १६५५ दीवाली संवत् १६७४ कागुणमुदे  
 सातमिवे रता माहे संघ आसकरा ए उवण उं नद्वारक आ  
 चार्थननुकी धउहे मा चार्थमा नीनउल सूरिसत्रदी धउ इत्यादि  
 क अवदात वदत नो प्रसिद्ध संवत् १७०० वरसद्र आसादसु  
 दि ए अण सण करी घी रान ए रण माहे सिवांगत ऊ या शत ल  
 करी पाट ६७ श्रीजिनराजसूरिनद्रपाटि श्रीजिनरत्नसूरिते सो  
 प्रतक ल इवर्त्त मान रहारक जगमयुग प्रसन्न वर्त्त इवे ॥ इति  
 दावली सपूसा ॥ संवत् १७४० वधी मास सुदि ए दिने लिख  
 तं जेतसी कौटमध्या श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

तसमये लघुमाच  
 लीयागल ए विराम  
 गरसूरि ॥

Figure 49. Colophon dated to VS 1748 = AD 1692. [SORENSEN]

कुवोवुवांसां जाणउवरसतणुउनां ॥ २० ॥ दासुपड्यजिणवरकेतसु वैउथऊमासतेतसु अ  
 कुयालीइणारमिसारतदीइसुरगुरुगिरुउवार ॥ २१ ॥ इहाचऊदअनइवुपडीणऊपमालीप  
 रीऊडीऊपरिअधिकपाववणिते संखातामणीयाऊण ॥ २२ ॥ इमणतोवाधइकेदेइ  
 महिमलापनीसंखादोइणकरहिसविकहिउंउंतेऊपरिफरकइऊमउं ॥ २३ ॥ एऊप  
 लीणकगुणवहइणदनागुणकोपारनजहइ ॥ २४ ॥ पगिरबिइऊइवलीतिहांगणतां बिइनदे  
 पणइहा ॥ २५ ॥ इतोउणदीसइअतिघण ॥ २६ ॥ वा ॥ सुवरणअबइतेहतणानणतांउणतांएह  
 ऊमारसविकेऊपरिसुषदातारा ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ मा ॥ न ॥ वमनिमायापरिहममयलीकायाति  
 रमलकरु ॥ एहऊपमालीहीयमइधरुसुग ॥ २९ ॥ ति ॥ वकडिमलीजांवरु ॥ ३० ॥ ऊपमाली  
 मितं संखाकदी ॥ कीजाणइकीजाणइनदी ॥ क ॥ विकहिकंणमधरयोरीसासविकंमिलीणक  
 सउंइकवीस ॥ ३१ ॥ अणजाणतांकहिउंकेअली अधिकंउंउंउंमयेवली सुतिलावन्यसमा  
 युकहिइमितं धिनमानवकिनवचनेवमितं ॥ ३२ ॥ इति श्रीगौतमपट्टाचउपडी संसर्णम ॥  
 संवत् १७३७ वर्षे आषाढवदि पदि ने श्रीदीवबिंदरो श्रीअंवलगाखवाचक श्रीपश्रीरणचंइ  
 गणितत्रिष्यवाप श्रीपश्रीनानचंइगणितत्रिष्यमुनिधर्मचंइ लिखितम् ॥ आषाढागोबाईपठण  
 २४ म ॥

Figure 50. Colophon dated to VS 1748 = AD 1692. [SORENSEN]

अन्यप्यथां सवेसुयाअणवद्वयंति। तवेसुयाउत्तमबंअवेरं। लोमुत्तमेसमणेनायपुत्रे २३६ तिणसेछालवसत्तमावा। स जासुह  
 भावसभाणसेछा। निवाणसेछाजदसद्वधम्मा। ननायपुत्तापरमत्तिनाणा। २४ पुठोवमेहणइविगयगेदी। नसंचिदंऊवइआसुपुत्रे तरिउस  
 पुदंमहाअवोधां अनयंकरेवरिअणंतवररूपकोहंवेप्राणंवेतेवेमाणां लोभंउच्छंअसच्छदोसा। एयाणिवंताअहीरंमहेसी। न  
 ऊहइपावनकारवेइ २६। क्रियाक्रियंविणइयाणुवायंअन्नाणीयाणंपडियवहाणं। सेसववायंइतिवेदइता। उवडिएधम्मसदी।  
 रायंइउसवारियाइछिसराइअंउवहाणवंडकरवयठयाण। लोगेविदिताआरंमारं। चासवंपट्टारियसव्वारो। २७ सोच्चाय  
 मंअरिदंनआसियोसमादियंअठपत्रंविस्सदो। तंसदहंतायजणाअणाउइंवेवदेवाहिवआगमिसेति। तिवेमि। २८। इतिविरसुइ  
 नामकयणंठंसमत्तं। वट्ठकावापंवंमहद्वयसुव्वयमुलं। समणमणाइलसाऊसुच्चिंनंवेरेवामणवजवसाणं। सव्वसमुदम  
 होदधिच्छं। १। तिच्छंकरेदिसुदेसियमगां नरगतिरिउविवजि। यमगांसवपचितेसुनिम्मियसारं। सिद्धि विमाणंअवंगुयवारं  
 २। देवनरिदनमसियपूयंसव्वजगुत्तममंगलमगां। उधरिसंगु। णनायकमेकं। मारकपदस्सवमिसगभूयं। ३। देवदाणावगं  
 धवा। तरकरकस्सकिंनरा। वंअयारीनमंसंति। उकरंजे करंनि ते। धएसधम्मध्वेनितासासएजिणदेसिण। सिद्धासिद्धंतिवाणो।  
 सिद्धिस्संतिनहावरो। ५। अरिदंतसिद्धपवयणा गुत्तथरेवऊसुयतव्वं। सीसु वलजयायतेसिं। अनिरकणनाणा वउगेयइं। संसणविणएआव  
 ससया। सीलवैयनिरइयारिया। रवणलवसव चियाणवेयावेवेयसमादिएउ। अयुवनाणांहेण। सुयअतिपवयणवनावणायाएहिकारो  
 हिंतिउयरंलंलदइतीवो। ७। तिणवयणेअणुरता। तिणवयणजेकरंनिआवेणो। अमलोअसंकिजिहा। तेदोइपरि नसंमारं। ८। सारंइसणनाणे  
 सारंतव नियमसंकमसीलो। सारंजिणवरधम्मं। सारंसलेखणापंदीयमरणं। ९। कइहाणकोमिकारणी। उगइ चरनिठेवणी। संसारजल तारणी।  
 एगंतहोइसोयती वदया। ११। एवंरुनाणि गोसारंजेनदिसइ किंचणं। अहिंसासमयंवेवोए नावतंविआणिया। १२। सव्वणेनायोविजाणे। पट्ट  
 रवाणेययंत्तमंअणु। नएतवेवेव वादाणेअकिरिआसिद्धि। १३। नविसुहीदेवतादेवलोए। नविसुहीपुहविपपरायानविसुहीसिद्धसेणाव  
 इयाणांतसुहि सुणि वीयरागी। १४। अतिविमलो नोयांनंतिस्ससंपया। स नंतिपुत्तमिंतंवाएगोधम्मिनल जरी। १५। एगोमेसासवंआप्या। नाएदंसण  
 संजुउ। सेसासव्ववाचिराभावा। सव्वसंजोगलक्काणा। १६। इति समाप्तः सं २५ पिनाअसोसो २५ लि. कु. नागजीपठ. वा. भाषा नाइदेवव

Figure 51. Colophon dated to VS 1748 = AD 1692. [SORENSEN]

एवउ सहवन्ति। संयंउियायसव्वेवुलसीलरकाउजाणीणे। ४७। सिद्धाणानविदे  
 हानआउकम्मंनयाणाजाणीउ। सासअयातातसिंविइंजिणिदागामललि  
 या। ४८। कोलअणाइतिह लोजाणीगहणेमिन्नीसोइ। ४९। समियालमिंहेति  
 धिरंयिजीवाणिगाव टारामल्लरती। ५०। तासंपइसंयत्तमणुअत्रिउसदेय  
 संमत्त। सिरिसंतिस्सरिसिद्धक र हासाउज्जमेधंस्म। ५१। एसोजीवति  
 यारोसारववइंणजाणणार। ५२। स शिवात्राउइरिउंसुयससुहाउ। ५३।  
 इतिजीववित्रीरपकरणां। सपूसो स वता २६। ५४। वर्ये। चित्रसुदीउदिने  
 गुणिसांमंदसागरकेमलखिले। ५५। तिकापुजीपवतावे। ५६। श्री। ५७। श्री।  
 ॥ १॥ २॥ ३॥ ४॥ ५॥ ६॥ ७॥ ८॥ ९॥ १०॥ ११॥ १२॥ १३॥ १४॥ १५॥ १६॥ १७॥ १८॥ १९॥ २०॥ २१॥ २२॥ २३॥ २४॥ २५॥ २६॥ २७॥ २८॥ २९॥ ३०॥ ३१॥ ३२॥ ३३॥ ३४॥ ३५॥ ३६॥ ३७॥ ३८॥ ३९॥ ४०॥ ४१॥ ४२॥ ४३॥ ४४॥ ४५॥ ४६॥ ४७॥ ४८॥ ४९॥ ५०॥ ५१॥ ५२॥ ५३॥ ५४॥ ५५॥ ५६॥ ५७॥ ५८॥ ५९॥ ६०॥ ६१॥ ६२॥ ६३॥ ६४॥ ६५॥ ६६॥ ६७॥ ६८॥ ६९॥ ७०॥ ७१॥ ७२॥ ७३॥ ७४॥ ७५॥ ७६॥ ७७॥ ७८॥ ७९॥ ८०॥ ८१॥ ८२॥ ८३॥ ८४॥ ८५॥ ८६॥ ८७॥ ८८॥ ८९॥ ९०॥ ९१॥ ९२॥ ९३॥ ९४॥ ९५॥ ९६॥ ९७॥ ९८॥ ९९॥ १००॥

Figure 52. Colophon dated to VS 1748 = AD 1692. [SORENSEN]

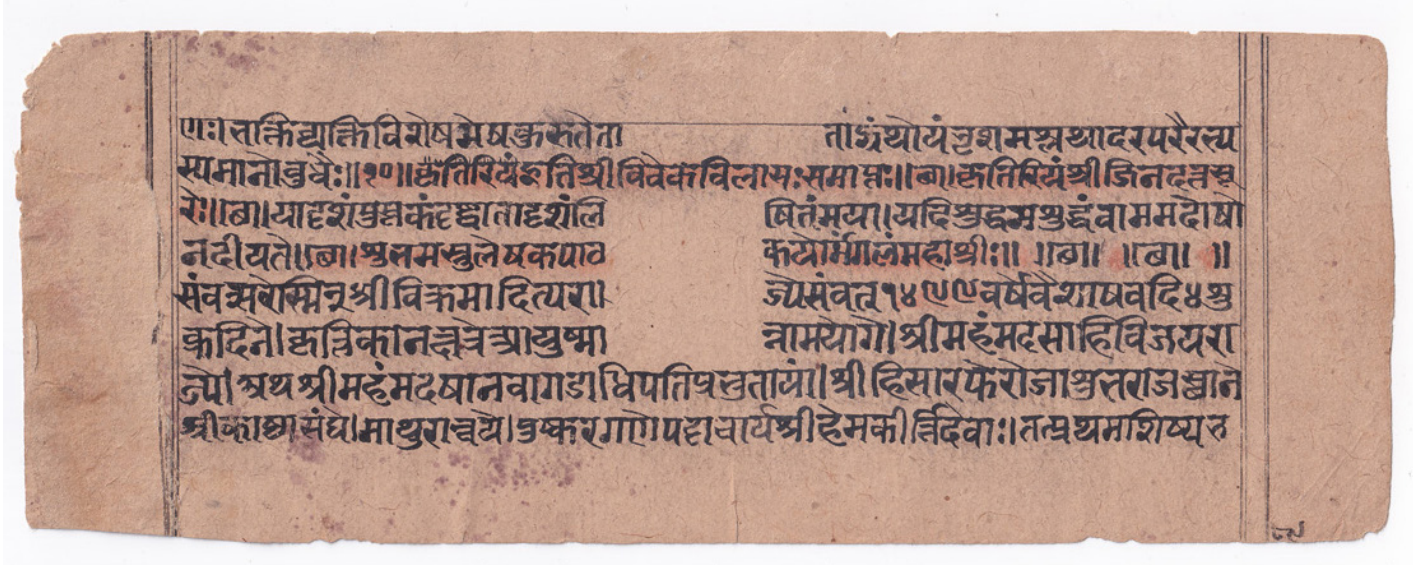


Figure 53. Paper leaf from Jain manuscript dated by colophon VS 1499 = AD 1443. [SORENSEN]

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