Founded in 1989 in England as an international scholarly organization, and incorporated in 1999 in the United States as a nonprofit educational corporation for the purpose of "lectures, discussions, and other publications", the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence exists to apply an integrated approach to the study of manuscripts and other forms of the written or inscribed word, in their transmission across time and space. The Research Group is powered mainly by volunteers and volunteer donations.

Information about the activities and publications of the Research Group appears on the official website: http://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme. The website is designed and maintained by our WebMaster, Jesse Hurlbut. Our website and our Booklets are edited by our Director, Mildred Budny. Our multilingual digital font, Bembino, is freely available: http://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/bembino.

We invite you to subscribe to our mailing list, for our Newsletter, and for information about our activities. Please contact director@manuscriptevidence.org with your questions, suggestions, and contributions.

The Research Group welcomes donations for its nonprofit educational mission, including donations in kind, expertise, advice, and contributions to our work, research, scholarly events, exhibitions, and publications. They are easy to send via http://manuscriptevidence.org/wpme/contributions-and-donations.

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

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 those 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 43–46]

[Figures 47–53]
 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 Sorensen. [SORENSON]

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

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

Program for Friday 24 March

Welcome and Introduction 2:00–2:05 pm

Session 2:00–3:30 pm

Session 1.

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

Donnacha 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 Ananai’s Malnad ha-Talmidim in 16th-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 Autolabiers"

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

Break 3:40–3:50 pm

Session 2:30–5:25 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 'Strewed-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

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 eant in]r nobile). [Patres]
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 /] impetu at to Vale), gives the rubricated title for Epistola 15, and opens that text (extending to maiora quae / curses) with an inset 3-line initial with an extended colorful background of branching, scrolling foliate ornament. [PÁRKIS]

Session 1:45–3:15 pm

Session 3. “Materials and Margins”

Presider: Jaclyn 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 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? [PLAT-SYMPHORUS]
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 ‘carnie’ 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-Ḥaqāʾiq (Jerusalem, Israel, Joseph Kapah MS 109) and published 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]
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/cr784781).

Among its verses and pen-line illustrations there appear words and images evocative of landscapes (including fully 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


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

Margaret Gelling and Aran 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 Wilcock (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


[Figures 38–42]

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 Zijl]

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 gelst (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 Wandering, 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 intertextualized 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
“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.

“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/U02BEa Gubā/U02BE (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 (Malkəa Gubā/U02BE), 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 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. [Wells]

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 Quadrilogue 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/16425913. [Buttis]

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 illustrate the kinds of research questions that this approach to manuscript evidence can help answer.

[Figures 36–37]
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 graduates (or parts) in Philadelphia and New York can be set in the context of other surviving manuscripts in the series for Champmol. This long-term 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.

[Hastings, Justin (The John Dickinson Writings Project, University of Delaware)
“\textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{Farmer’s Letters}.

[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)
“\textit{Where are We Now? Updates from the 2022 RGME Symposium}”

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

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 toward 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 member 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-sensory 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, Heisbur Library, cod. Lat. 6, 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, SGSAH 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]
Figure 31. Folio 16r. Opening of chant Salus populi ego sum deit, 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.
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 ‘commonsplace 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 (*Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, No. ib00695000, and *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, No. 04269).

I do not promise good answers, only good questions. Moreover, for the Autumn Symposium, I will 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/

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](https://bibliophilly.library.upenn.edu)) and its images of Lewis E 8 ([https://open.library.upenn.edu/Data/0023/html/lewis_e_008.html](https://open.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 (1350–1406). Philip founded the Chartreuse de Champmol essentially as a necropolis for himself and his descendants;
Figure 29. Private Collection. Pair of reused Carolingian fragments of the recto of a single leaf from a 9th-century copy of the Homiliae 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]

The Publisher takes this opportunity to announce to his subscribers, that he has completed his arrangements for

BINDING THE “AMERICAN SCENERY,”
in a manner commensurate with the character of the Work, and at the most reasonable terms.

THE ORNAMENTAL BLOCKS

for the embellishments of the book and plates have been prepared at a great expense, by an eminent engraver, after designs by Metville’s, whose taste in this department of drawing stands unqualified, 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, (stapling post.) to 26, Ivy Lane, Pater-
noster Row.

Notices of the Binding may be seen at the Publisher’s.

Mr. Hartley’s New Work on the “Scenery of Canada” is now ready.
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 Linda M. Brocato. [Brocato]
Figure 26 (left). 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. [Brezov]

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 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/.[Budy]

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.
Figures 19–20. “Willis, American Scenery,” pages 1 and 2 for Parts 1–29 (of 30). Handwritten check-list in pencil, with annotations in ink and highlighter. Table in rows (drawn freehand) and columns for the different Parts of the publication, noting the components in bifolios and their characteristics for the different Part- and Plate-numbers, including collection, materials (wove or laid paper), language(s) for the plate captions (English, French, German), condition, presence or absence of advertisements, etc. [Brocato]

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

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 Catalogues” and “Hybrid Books: Fragments and Completi, Structure and Heuristics in Richard Twiss’ Farrago”

[Figures 13–24]

Abstracts — Saturday

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 Catalogues” and “Hybrid Books: Fragments and Completi, Structure and Heuristics in Richard Twiss’ Farrago”

[Figures 13–24]
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: Evangeliorum 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 officio congruentium per annis 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. [B109e/109f]

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.
Figures 21–22. Bilbao, University of Deusto, Biblioteca, Prima pars biblicæ cum glossa ordinaria etc. (Genesis to Deuteronomy), printed by Froben and Petri (Basel, 1498), with hand-made embellishment including decorated initials, pen-flourishing, and ornament. Images Public Domain via Creative Commons 3.0 License, via https://loyola.biblioteca.deusto.es/handle/11656/4565.

Figure 23 (left). Volume 1, folio 3r. Opening of preface to the Old Testament, De commendatione sacrae scripture in generis, by Nicholas of Lyra, with a red-collared or rose-ringed parakeet perched upon the marginal foliage.

Figure 24 (above). Volume 1, folio 10r. Opening of epistolary preface beginning Frater Ambrosius for the Vulgate Latin translation by Saint Jerome (circa 342–347 – 420), bracketed by commentary, with hand-painted decorated initials and foliate ornament in the margins, including an upright cornflower (Centaurea cyanus).
Biblia latina cum glossulis tam marginalibus quam interlinearibus ordinariis unius Nicolai de Lyra postillis (1498 Biblia) in six volumes, formerly owned by the Augustiner Kloster, Würzburg. Catalog record via https://lccn.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 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 Translatio biblie, set of prefatory verses by the editor Sebastian Brandt, and opening of preface to the Old Testament (’Primi 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. [BIBLIOGRAPHY]