

The

H·A·L·C·Y·O·N

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF THE THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY

ISSUE No. 40, December 2007

ISSN 0840-5565

SPECIAL MANUSCRIPTS ISSUE

From the editor:

I AM DELIGHTED to dedicate almost an entire issue of *The Halcyon* to medieval manuscripts held by the Fisher Library. The essays herein were written by students at the Centre for Medieval Studies, in conjunction with a course in medieval codicology they took with Professor David Townsend. Guest editors for the issue are Andrew Hicks and Professor Townsend. These essays invite us into the worlds of the medieval historian and codicologist and show us how they ply their trades. One could not ask for a more eloquent testimonial to the value and importance of the holdings of the Fisher Library for teaching and research.

The issue closes with the text of the address given by Thomas Schweitzer at the opening of the Bruce Rogers exhibition.

Barry Walfish

IN THIS ISSUE

Prefatory Remarks

An Eyewitness Account of the Papal Visit to Siena in 1443

Thomas Fisher MS 5288: A Late Link in the Transmission of Augustine

The Curious Case of Thomas Fisher MS 3043: A Copy from a Manuscript or from a Printed Book?

A Neapolitan Royal Book of Hours

Tracking a Medieval Bibliophile: Amplonius Rating de Bercka (1365-1434)

Collation Complexities in the First Half of Thomas Fisher MS 1053,

Confirmatio chartarum

Dating a Fifteenth-Century Franciscan Breviary: Thomas Fisher MS 1269

Paragraphs on Collecting

Events and Exhibitions

WELL OVER TWO DECADES into an academic career in the study of medieval literature, I still tell people that the best part of my job—intellectually the most rewarding, culturally the most stimulating, emotionally the most moving (and the most sheer fun)—is that I get to spend hands-on time with manuscripts.

For my doctoral dissertation I edited three thirteenth-century saints' lives from manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library and Oxford's Bodleian. I still remember an attendant setting in front of me for the first time the principal surviving copy of the works of Henry of Avranches. Henry was perhaps the most successful poet of the last generation of writers to make an illustrious, if sometimes tenuous, living composing Latin verse for prominent patrons. The book (Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.11.78) belonged to Matthew Paris, one of the most important historians of thirteenth-century England, who had cobbled the collection together out of five originally separate booklets. Matthew added corrections in his own hand, inserted extraneous gatherings of leaves that later seemed relevant, and recorded on the front flyleaf a contents list maddeningly enigmatic in its omissions, and equally so in its inclusion of items now missing from the book. The manuscript, in short, bore the typical marks of his habits, witnessing to a mind like my grandmother's attic. And in 1983, in a reading room cold enough in October that I needed my scarf and longed for gloves, I was touching the pages Matthew Paris had touched some seven and a half centuries earlier, second-guessing the vagaries of his gradually developing intentions as a compiler.

The medieval manuscript book is the word made flesh, an artifact that bears not only in the text it carries, but in every aspect of its physicality, traces of the struggle for human meaning and its communication. The questions we ask of a medieval manuscript cannot be determined in advance of the physical encounter, any more than archaeologists can foresee from the library the questions that must be asked at the site of a dig. For all the advances that photography, and in its turn digital technology, have brought to the remote study of the medieval book, crucial questions can only be articulated, much less answered, in the presence of the manuscript itself—an encounter at once sensuous and immediate on the one hand and on the other, puzzlingly, sometimes tantalizingly indirect.

We learn to ask such questions only by direct encounter, and so for the budding medievalist, there is no substitute for hands-on training in codicology, or what

PREFATORY REMARKS

francophone scholars have aptly christened the *archéologie du livre*. No better place than the University of Toronto exists in North America for the pursuit of advanced interdisciplinary research in medieval studies, but for medievalists one serious limitation of a North American education must necessarily remain our limited access to the vast majority of medieval manuscripts, which remain housed in the libraries—great and prestigious, humble and obscure—of Europe. So we prepare in advance—consult microfilms and digital images of the manuscripts crucial to our work, transcribe them, read their published catalogue descriptions—and then finally take to the road to meet the codex in person, in Prague, in Munich, in Barcelona, in Assisi, in Avranches.

I was lucky enough for two years running, in 2006 and again in 2007, to serve as instructor in the graduate codicology seminar of the Centre for Medieval Studies. And my students and I were lucky enough to have at our disposal the medieval manuscript resources of the Thomas Fisher Library and the cordial professionalism of its staff. Without their assistance, without their careful development of the collection, and without the foresighted generosity of those who have donated medieval manuscripts to the Fisher, more than twenty of the next generation of scholars in the field would have had woefully limited contact with the surviving objects that bear the liveliest and most continuous witness to medieval culture.

Thanks to the resources of the Thomas Fisher Library, each of these students has had the chance to engage in the intensive archaeology of a specific manuscript and further, to acquaint herself substantially with the manuscripts of the others' primary research. As instructor, I found myself not only exhilarated anew to witness these first direct encounters with the culture of the handwritten book, but also deeply impressed by the scholarship these enquiries produced. By the end of the term the second time I taught the course, it seemed only fitting that we should offer something of value back to the Library, and so began the idea for an issue of *The Halcyon* dedicated to notes and queries from the Centre for Medieval Studies seminar in codicology. The seven articles that follow are the result. The authors, my fellow editor Andrew Hicks, and I offer them in the hope that they will prove of interest both to a general audience and to the researchers who next pick up these books after us. One fantasizes fondly that the chain of such encounters will stretch as far into the future as it has stretched to us from a past at once distant yet strangely immediate—in the unexplained erasure, in the marginal jotting, in the jumbled sequence of rebound leaves, in the flourish that spills from an initial down the margin and from one age into another.

David Townsend
Professor of Medieval Studies and English
and Acting Associate Director of the
Centre for Medieval Studies

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE PAPAL VISIT TO SIENA IN 1443

MS 1107, a Franciscan miscellany acquired in 2004, speaks to us across the centuries as an eclectic witness of an early owner's individual needs and interests. Assembled in its present form sometime between 1410 and 1425, it includes a penitentiary—a guide for hearing confessions—as well as texts of Marian devotion, such as excerpts from the poetry of Godfrey of Viterbo and from the sermons of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. The penitentiary

and papal bulls included in the manuscript suggest that it was intended for use by Franciscan priests.¹ The book's continued use throughout the first half of the fifteenth century is attested to by various annotations, including three dated entries of significant historical interest.

In 1434, Pope Eugene IV was forced into exile by the foreign invasion of the papal states and by the insurrection of the citizens of Rome. After a number of years in Florence, the papal court moved to Siena in the spring of 1443. The possessor of MS 1107, who was in Siena at the time of the Pope's arrival, took sufficient note of the event to open his penitentiary handbook, possibly one of his few possessions, and jot down three dated entries on the parchment leaf pasted to the inside of the front cover, recording the arrival of the Pope as well as the later visits of two dignitaries who had come to pay homage (see *Figure 1*). The separate dates, the different pen widths, the placement on the page, and the uniformity of the hand all suggest that the three entries were made by a single eyewitness who recorded the events either on the days of their respective occurrence or else soon after.

These three entries run as follows:

M. CCCC. XL tertio die decima martii [erasure]
quando sanctissimus dominus noster papa eugenius
quartus intrauit civitatem senarum et fuit receptus

cum magno triumpho ipse cum novem cardinalibus
et ut extimatum fuit astantes ad videndum fuerunt
xx miliaria ad minus et miro modo ciues supradicte
civitatis se habuerunt ad honorandum eum et mirabilem
ordinem.

On March 10, 1443 [erasure] when our most
holy lord Pope Eugene IV entered the city of Siena
and was received with a great triumph together with
nine cardinals. By estimate at least twenty thousand
bystanders were there to see him, and the citizens of the
aforementioned city comported themselves wonderfully to
honour him and his marvellous office.

Item die .xviii. supradicti mensis intrauit
supradictam civitatem nicolaus parvus etiam cum
magno honore fuit receptus et iuerunt obuiam ipsi
omnes episcopi qui erant in curia et omnes de familia
reverenda cardinalium et ut extimatum fuit ultra
circumstantes ad videndum fuerunt in societate ipsius
tria milia equitum stetit per tres dies et postea iuit ad
balnea petriolia.

On the seventeenth day of the aforementioned
month, Nicolaus the Short entered the aforementioned
city and was also received with great honor. All of the
bishops who were in the curia and all of the reverend
household of cardinals met him. Besides those standing
near to see him, there were by estimate three thousand
knights in his company. He stayed for three days and
afterwards attended the Baths of Saint Peter.

Item die .xxviii. eiusdem mensis intrauit patriarcha
civitatem senarum et iuerunt obuiam ei tredecim [sic]
cardinales et omnes episcopi qui erant ibi postea et
familie cardinalium et multi ciues.

On the twenty-eighth day of the same month, the
patriarch entered the city of Siena. Thirteen cardinals, all
of the bishops who were there, and thereafter also the
households of the cardinals and many citizens met him.

Before discussing the content of the entries, it is important to note that these texts survive in altered form, for several words have been erased after the date of the first entry. The erasure may suggest intentional excision rather than mere scribal correction. Elsewhere, when the scribe makes a mistake, he strikes it out rather than erases. Most importantly, however, the erased text must have been an integral part of the original composition: as it stands, the text is grammatically incomplete. An entire line and a half above the first visible dated entry has also been erased, although one cannot say what it contained or why it was removed. Ultraviolet light does not help in either case because the entire top surface of the parchment, not just the ink, has been scratched away.

Whatever information has been lost, the visible entries still provide valuable insights into the events that they record. A chronicle of Siena compiled in the late fifteenth century confirms the dates of these three visits, while giving us a somewhat different picture of the

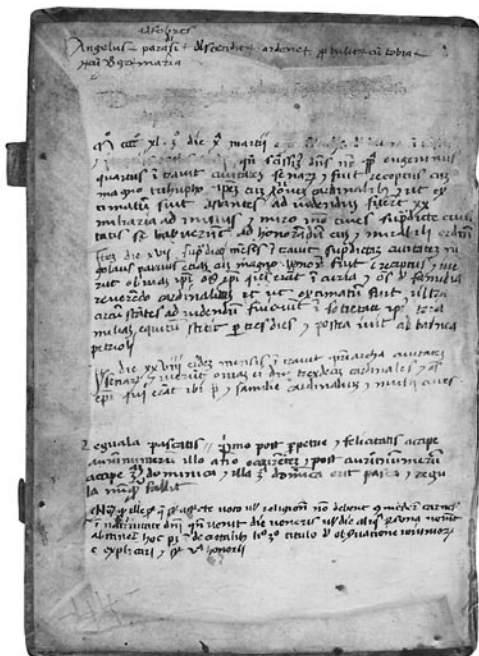


Figure 1

¹ See P.J. Carefoote, "Miscellany of Texts for the Order of Friars Minor: A New Manuscript for the Fisher Library," *The Halcyon* 33 (2004): 3–4.

events from that of our witness.² According to the chronicle, when Pope Eugene IV entered the city, he was accompanied by seventeen cardinals, while our Franciscan records nine and also adds a detail not mentioned in the chronicle, that the Pope attracted a crowd at least twenty thousand strong. His writing also better conveys, through the descriptors *miro* and *mirabilem* (wonderful; marvellous), the general excitement that he and other onlookers must have felt. It is precisely such details that make this account so special. As opposed to the official version of history recorded by the chroniclers, here we see the events at ground level from the perspective of a humble Franciscan excitedly recording the events in the book he had nearest to hand.

Nicolaus the Short can be identified through the chronicle as the *condottiero* Niccolò Piccinino (1386–1444). Although the chronicle does not refer to him as “the Short,” the date and first name match; moreover, other sources mention Niccolò’s small stature.³ A few months before, he had fought for Filippo Maria Visconti against the armies of Pope Eugene IV, but Filippo and Pope Eugene had recently become allies, and the Pope wanted to invite Niccolò to lead their combined armies. This was the reason for Niccolò’s visit to the Pope’s new court in Siena. Our Franciscan, however, was unconcerned with recording such matters of state. Rather, he was impressed by the great pomp that greeted Niccolò’s arrival and the honour paid him by the heads of the Church. He is unique in mentioning that Niccolò came accompanied by a guard of three thousand knights. Nor does the chronicle mention Niccolò’s visit to the Baths of Saint Peter three days after his arrival, although it does say that other noble visitors attended them. Among the extra information mentioned in the chronicle, but not by the Franciscan, is a ceremony wherein Niccolò received presents in the Pope’s palace. While the chronicler had access to such an event and deemed it worthy of mention, the Franciscan limited himself to observations of events accessible to the city at large.

The third note records the official arrival of Ludovicus III Scarampi-Mezzarota, Patriarch of Aquileia from 1439–1465. This, the shortest entry, most closely matches the account in the chronicle and adds only one extra detail not found there: that thirteen cardinals were present. Considering that this is both the last and the shortest entry,

THOMAS FISHER MS 5288: A LATE LINK IN THE TRANSMISSION OF AUGUSTINE

The significant impact of Saint Augustine (354–430 CE) and his philosophy on Western thought is reflected in the numerous copies of his works that can be found in any research or university library today, including the Thomas Fisher. The academic ubiquity of Saint Augustine’s texts dates back almost as far as Saint Augustine himself. Within his influential corpus, *The City of God* (*De civitate Dei*) was one of the most copied early Christian Latin texts. More than 400 manuscripts, dating from the mid-fifth to the late sixteenth century, survive in collections worldwide. One example of this enduring textual tradition is Fisher MS 5288. This fifteenth-century paper manuscript attests not only to the continued popularity of Saint Augustine and his impact on Western intellectual and religious thought for more than a millennium and a half, but also to how his work was treated near the close of the medieval period.

The physical makeup of MS 5288 exemplifies many late medieval codicological developments. The lack of any definite indicator of exact provenance may restrict our investigation; nonetheless the volume demonstrates many popular features of late medieval manuscripts and enables us to understand how the late medieval reader approached an Augustinian text. In accordance with Augustine’s original division of his

work, most editions of *De civitate Dei* are divided into twenty-two books. Written in a single column, MS 5288 contains only the first thirteen, prefaced by relevant excerpts from Augustine’s *Retractions* (427 CE), which attempt to correct some of his earlier arguments. As the first fifteen folios of MS 5288 provide an index to the entirety of *De civitate Dei*, this manuscript presumably represents the first volume of a two-volume set; however, the location of the second volume, if it was completed, is unknown.

Cursory examination reveals that the folios containing the index (see *Figure 2*) and those containing the main body of the text (see *Figure 3*) were compiled separately and assembled at an unknown date, perhaps after the original binding. The manuscript’s execution on paper exemplifies the late medieval transition away from parchment to less expensive materials. The index and main text feature different scripts as well as a marked discrepancy of wear. The paper itself, however, yields the most conclusive evidence for the separate origins of index and main text: the two sections feature completely different watermarks. Examination of the index’s paper reveals a watermark bearing a heraldic shield, whereas the main text’s watermark displays a stylized anchor. The addition of an originally separate index to a manuscript during binding is not altogether

one might speculate that the Franciscan simply lost interest in recording the visits of prominent men as the initial excitement over the installation of the papal court in his home town wore off. The chronicle, by contrast, makes it clear that foreign dignitaries continued to visit throughout the year. Instead, the rest of the endleaf is filled with notes reflecting the other concerns of a fifteenth-century Franciscan priest: a line of verse about Mary and two excerpts from canon law.

The papal visit to Siena in 1443 is today of little consequence even for historians of the period, but to one man, the memory of the spectacle was worthy of preservation. While

the three historical notes on the inner cover do provide a few new minor facts that flesh out the historical record, their greatest value may lie in the immediacy and vitality of their expression. They give us the rare opportunity to lean over the shoulder of a common man living at the cusp of the Italian Renaissance and to watch as he hastily jotted down the highlights of the day.

Justin Haynes, PhD candidate,
Centre for Medieval Studies,
specializing in late antique
and medieval Latin epic

Hailey LaVoy, M.A.,
Centre for Medieval Studies

² Sigismondo Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, ed. Petra Pertici (Rome, 1998), Vol.iii, Book iv, 225–226.

³ P. Margaroli, “Piccinino, Niccolò, condottiero,” *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. Robert Auty et al. (Stuttgart, 1999), 6:2130.

unusual but adds to our appreciation of the specificity of this manuscript's compilation and early use.

Book and chapter headings account for most of MS 5288's decorative schema. Elaborate penwork in four colours highlights each book's opening initial. These initials generally stand six text-lines in height and feature a combination of red and blue on the main body of the letter with red and black flourishes extending up and down the margin of the folio. The manuscript's only other touches of colour are the rubricated chapter headings and paragraph markers.

MS 5288 also participates in the widespread tradition of marginal commentary in medieval manuscripts. The first notable commentator detailing Augustine's source material in *De civitate Dei* was the English Dominican Nicholas Trevet (ca. 1257–1334). His work aimed to provide the reader with the sources of Augustine's numerous quotations and allusions. This first attempt at a commentary for *De civitate Dei* was extremely popular during Trevet's lifetime; his version, however, was quickly superseded by the commentary of Thomas Waleys (ca. 1287–1350).

Although known in his lifetime for his analysis of biblical and patristic texts, Waleys's continuation and elaboration of Trevet's work on *De civitate Dei* became his lasting contribution to scholarship. Waleys expanded considerably on Trevet's source analysis but did not complete his task, providing commentary only for Augustine's first ten books. Consequently, while medieval readers seemed to prefer Waleys's commentary to Trevet's, editions containing all twenty-two books combined Waleys's work on the first ten books with Trevet's commentary on the subsequent twelve. This combined commentary became extremely successful during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and in a sense opened the door for others to begin serious source analysis of patristic and classical work.

MS 5288 features an extremely truncated edition of Waleys's and Trevet's commentary. Many elements have been heavily abbreviated or omitted entirely. The most obvious example appears on folio 16r, which features Augustine's Retraction, and in the margin the Prologue to the Waleys-Trevet commentary (Figure 3). This piece, which in other versions takes up an entire page, has been truncated

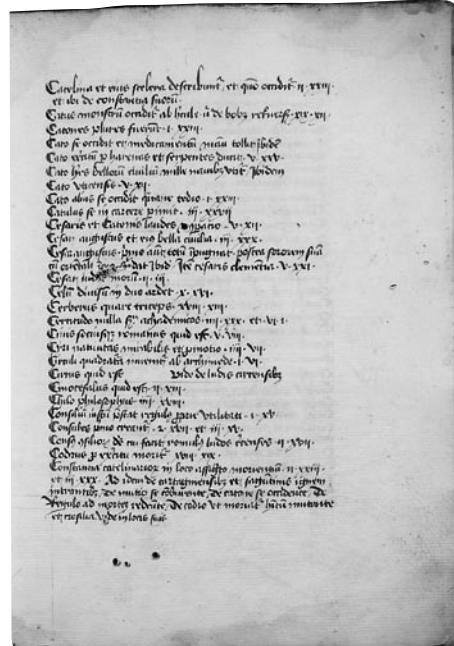


Figure 2

to barely a paragraph. While fuller versions of the commentary dwarf Augustine's original text, the scribe has edited the commentary to include only the most basic of details and the necessary references to Augustine's sources. This substantial feat of editing continues throughout most of the work until the beginning of Book 9, where the commentary ends suddenly and without explanation.

MS 5288 features at least four distinct scripts; however, the one that attracts the most attention for its idiosyncratic style and decoration is that of the main text. While this principal script features many elements of a standard cursive script (one of the most popular writing styles during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), it also provides the researcher with prime examples of the kinds of temporal and geographical variations in script common during the later medieval period. The proclivity of scribes to adapt standard scripts during this era has led paleographers to classify scripts according to the tendency for particular letter-forms to occur together. Assessing the manuscript from this perspective, MS 5288's main script seems most closely to resemble Burgundian bâtarde (or bastarda), a book hand popular in fifteenth-century France, Burgundy, Flanders, and England.



Figure 3

All of the above elements help us to understand the background of MS 5288. While the text of *De civitate Dei* may be available to a modern reader in any bookstore, the physical elements of this particular text anchor us to a specific point in the history of the Augustinian tradition. The precise origins of this manuscript may be forever lost; factors such as script, decoration, and commentary, however, give evidence of how works of the Latin Christian canon were regarded and utilized at the close of the Middle Ages and on the eve of the Protestant Reformation. Our understanding of the diachronic Augustinian tradition is greatly enriched by examples like MS 5288, in which material circumstance powerfully supplements more purely textual considerations. In studying the script, commentary, index, even the very paper of this manuscript, we catch a glimpse at how earlier audiences approached one of the most influential Christian philosophers.

Laura Carlson, M.A.,
Centre for Medieval Studies

Linda Shaw, M.A.,
Centre for Medieval Studies

THE CURIOUS CASE OF THOMAS FISHER MS 3043: A COPY FROM A MANUSCRIPT OR FROM A PRINTED BOOK?

At first glance, MS 3043, a late fifteenth-century copy of a treatise on Roman magistracies, is a simple, even plain book, indistinguishable perhaps from any number of such volumes that might populate the dusty library of a scholar with antiquarian proclivities. An unadorned copy of a largely forgotten work by an equally forgotten author, it hardly commands the reader's attention with the forcefulness and urgency so often displayed on the opening leaves of more ostentatious humanistic manuscripts. On the contrary, this manuscript offers its modern readers a quiet puzzle—one whose most intriguing pieces we present here. Though this puzzle has no clear solution, it yet serves as a useful reminder that within every book, the manuscript book in particular, we can read not only the text inscribed on its pages, but the indelible traces of its initial creators, past owners, and former readers.

Below the signature of a not-yet-identified Baron Giulio Ricasoli (presumably a former owner), the rubricated, rustic-capital title (see Figure 4) announces the text as “Fenestella de Romanorum magistratibus.” Although the first-century Augustan historian Fenestella did write a treatise on Roman magistrates, his text has not survived. Instead, MS 3043 presents a fifteenth-century treatise by the Florentine humanist and curial official, Andrea Fiocchi (d.1452). In the 1420s, Fiocchi wrote a short tract in two books entitled *De potestatibus Romanorum*. Subsequently (certainly by 1468 and perhaps as early as 1430) an abridged, single-book recension appeared, entitled *De Romanorum magistratibus* and bearing a false ascription to Fenestella. The ruse, however, did not last long. As early as 1476, a short two years after its pseudonymous publication, the attribution was doubted by the Renaissance classicist, Giovanni Calfurnio (d. 1503), who noted that

its Latinity did not savour of the antiquity it feigned.¹ Nevertheless, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the text enjoyed a prolonged print and manuscript vogue, repeatedly published and copied as a work by the Roman author, Fenestella.

The question then arises: was this paper manuscript copied before the text was first printed in 1474, or might its exemplar be not a manuscript but the printed book? While we can say little with certainty, textual evidence does suggest that MS 3043, if not copied directly from a printed book, may still postdate the publication of *De Romanorum magistratibus*.

Buried on fol. 15r (Figure 5) are seventeen interpolated lines (*Feciales dicti...Inde in forum pergit*), which are demonstrably out of place. Appearing in a chapter detailing the *pater patratus* (an official appointed to represent the state to foreign nations), the interpolated passage solely concerns the *feciales* (priestly officials headed by the *pater patratus* and charged with international relations), whose office Fiocchi had dispensed with in the preceding chapter, “De feciali sacerdotio.” Indeed, the interpolation rehearses several points already made. More conclusively, the lines rudely interrupt an extended quotation from Livy’s *Ab urbe condita* and even divide a single sentence, divorcing antecedent from consequent. As might be expected, these extra lines do not appear in printed copies of the text, including a 1533 publication by Johannes Soter, a copy of which is held by the Fisher Library (B-10 7965).

Although the absence of these lines in published copies would seem to separate MS

3043 decisively from printed versions of this work, the probable source of the interpolated passage suggests just the opposite. Andrea Fiocchi was not the only humanist scholar to detail the consuls, praetors, senators, and minor officials of republican and imperial Rome. Around 1475, the famous humanist, Pomponio Leto (1425–1498), penned a similar treatise, *De Romanis magistratibus et sacerdotiis*. This work often accompanied the “Fenestella” text in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century publications, as it does in Soter’s publication. Though Leto’s work clearly models Fiocchi’s initial effort in its structure and chapter headings, the two works share no passages in common.²

It is in Leto’s treatment of the *feciales* that we find, word for word, the likely source of the interpolated lines in MS 3043. While we cannot altogether rule out the possibility that both passages were drawn from a common third source, the fact that these clearly related treatises were so often printed together invites speculation. Might a late fifteenth-century reader of “Fenestella,” prompted by Livy’s mention of the *feciales* in the passage quoted, have jotted down Leto’s remarks in the margin, and the gloss subsequently been incorporated into the main text if and when the volume was recopied? This imaginative scenario, of course, offers but one way of accounting for the shared text. Moreover, the puzzle is further complicated by marked irregularities in the structure of the manuscript: the very leaf that bears the interpolation, fol. 15, seems not to have been part of the manuscript’s original composition.

The main body of the text was written by a single scribe in a humanistic book hand of varied quality; the gatherings are

1. As observed by John Monfasani, “Calfurnio’s Identification of Pseudepigrapha of Ognibene, Fenestella, and Trebizond, and his Attack on Renaissance Commentaries,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 (1988): 37.

2. On these and other similar works, see Domenico Maffei, *Gli inizi dell’umanesimo giuridico* (Milan, 1972), 109–118.

even and regular in the typical humanistic quires of ten, save the first two, of eight and seven leaves respectively. However, fols. 15 and 47 display a different hand (a poor imitation, it seems, of humanistic script), a different manner of ruling (graphite, not dry-point), and even a different paper. While the manuscript's primary paper bears no visible watermark, fols. 15 and 47 were later cut from a single sheet of paper, evidenced by a watermark that appears partly on fol. 15 (horizontally) and partly on fol. 47 (vertically). Regrettably, the watermark presents a hunting-horn motif too common to pinpoint the paper to a particular period or locale. Close inspection confirms that the original leaves were excised and the "replacement leaves" meticulously affixed in their stead. Perhaps the replacements occurred when the manuscript was rebaked, a modification likely dating to the sixteenth century or later, given the spine's gold tooling, an uncommon technique in late-fifteenth-century Italy.

The motivation for the "replacement leaves" remains obscure. Were the original leaves damaged? Did they bear scribal errors egregious enough to warrant recopying? Might they have been excised by a later owner fascinated enough by paleography to collect specimens of various scripts, replacing original leaves with less than convincing counterfeits? It is impossible to say. We can, however, reasonably suppose that the replacement leaves do not far diverge from the lost originals (assuming there were lost originals).

In both cases, the text is continuous across the replacements, and the writing block and the ruling pattern clearly conform to the rest of the manuscript. Moreover, both tables of contents (one at the front, one at the back) correctly note that fol. 47r begins a new chapter, "De pretoribus." Hence, the presence of the interpolation on fol. 15r may well be original to the manuscript and not the result of later modification. If this is correct and our suppositions about the origin of the interpolation bear any weight, then this copy of the pseudepigraphic *De Romanorum magistratibus* would postdate its inaugural publication and was perhaps copied in the 1480s or 1490s.

MS 3043 leaves more questions open than answered, and its seeming simplicity masks beguiling complexities. Though it pales in comparison to the many lavish copies of classical and contemporary texts produced in humanistic scriptoria, it is no less rich and fascinating in its puzzling and bedeviling details, which attest to the vagaries of the brief period in which script and print still competed as means of literary dissemination.

Kate Humble, PhD candidate,
Centre for Medieval Studies, specializing
in the study of English Common Law and
twelfth-century Anglo-Irish historiography

Andrew Hicks, PhD candidate,
Centre for Medieval Studies, working on the
intersection of music theory and philosophy

A NEAPOLITAN ROYAL BOOK OF HOURS

Thomas Fisher MS 1266, an ornate fifteenth-century Book of Hours, typifies the late-medieval lay devotional handbook in its mingling of standard religious texts with a unique, individualized presentation. A common core of devotional texts prefaced by a liturgical calendar defines a Book of Hours, which typically includes the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Office of the Dead, the Penitential Psalms, the Litany of Saints and additional prayers to the Virgin and other saints. To these standard contents, MS 1266 adds the Office of the Passion, prayers for the Elevation of the Host, and a fragment of the Gospel of John, additions shared by many other Books of Hours. Individual patrons often commissioned volumes tailored to their own devotional practices, and such is the case with MS 1266. Study reveals that this volume was commissioned in the early fifteenth century by a member of the Italian branch of the House of Aragon, a family with strong ties to the Dominican religious order.

A single scribe, executing a well-formed Italian book hand, wrote most of the volume, but substantial later additions attest to its long and varied history. A second Italian hand added the Apostles' Creed, and three distinct humanist hands appended, respectively, the Athanasian Creed, a prayer known as the Crown of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and instructions for the use of the Book of Hours. Finally, a French scribal hand copied, between the second and third humanist additions, another prayer, the "Oraison très dévôte à Dieu le Père," common in French Books of Hours of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

These additions, however, do not obscure the manuscript's numerous clues to its origins. The ample rubrication, decoration, and illumination suggest a noble patron, one who could afford such luxury. The decorative flourished initials are consistent with a Mediterranean style, marked by parallel rows of vertical lines in contrasting colours. The delicate filigree penwork that embellishes the prayer *Domine Iesu* on fol. 15r matches similar ornamentation in Italian manuscripts from the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

The fifteenth-century Italian characteristics revealed by the manuscript's primary

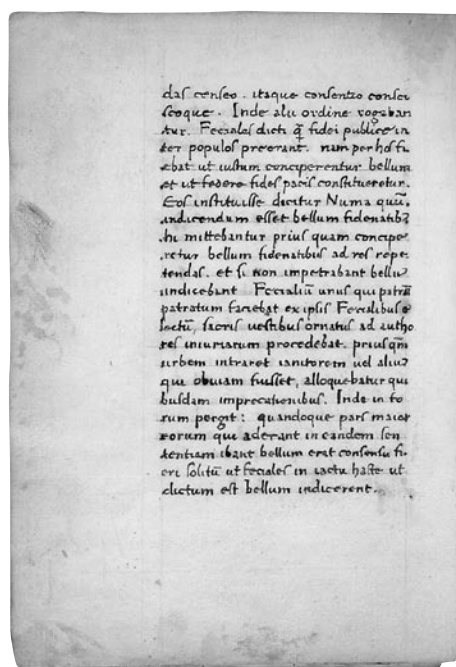
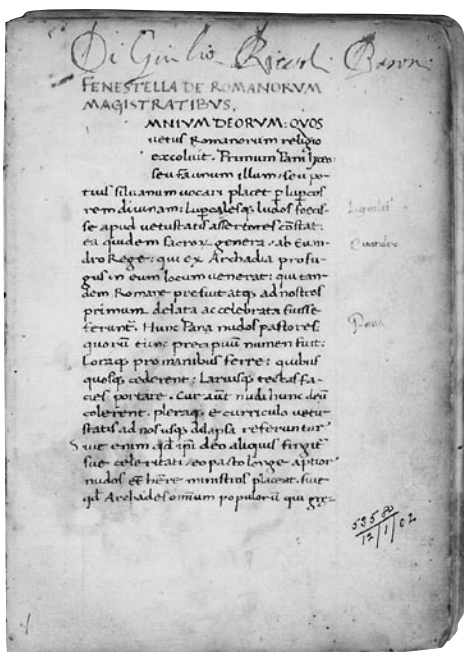


Figure 4

Figure 5

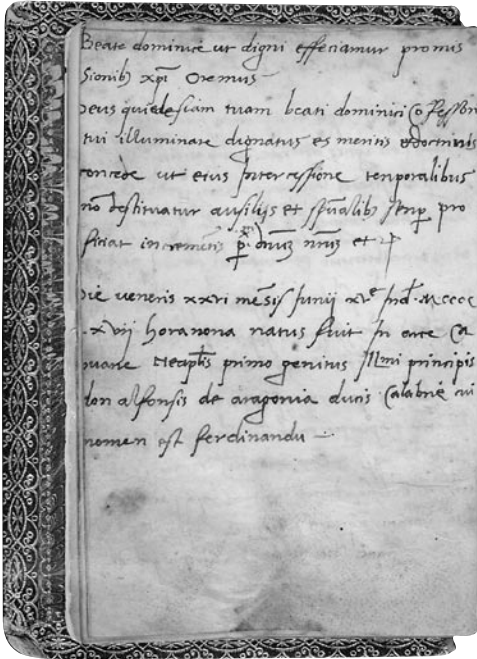


Figure 6

hand are likewise confirmed by its visual composition. Its decorative borders, although not without French influence, more closely reflect the Italian preference for rich, heavy Arabesques and thick pigments. The miniatures, especially those depicting the Virgin, follow traditional, widespread iconography. Joseph appears rarely, depicted as an old man without *nimbus* (the “halo” indicating sainthood), since he was not canonized until the end of the fifteenth century. A blonde Virgin Mary and a temple priest depicted as a Christian prelate are also common in this period. Death personified as the Grim Reaper (in the Office of the Dead) appears in numerous manuscripts from the fifteenth century onwards, usually carrying a scythe or lance in the scene frequently referred to as the Triumph of Death. A caricatured Grim Reaper, crowned and carrying a bow and arrows, flesh still attached to his bones, is more unusual but still suggests a fifteenth-century origin. The miniatures thus collectively support the dating of the manuscript, though they do not all display distinctly Italian features.

The individual, localized celebrations in the calendar enable us to narrow further the origins of MS 1266. The calendar contains three feasts not admitted until 1423: the



Figure 7

feast of Saint Barbara (December 4), the Apparition of Saint Michael (May 8), and the feast of the Ten Thousand Martyrs (June 22). The universal feast of the Transfiguration (August 6), introduced in 1456, is conspicuously absent, suggesting a window of thirty-three years (between 1423 and 1456) during which the manuscript may have been written. The frequent appearance of Dominican saints in the calendar suggests that the patron was connected in some way with the order, as do the commemorations of Saints Dominic and Thomas Aquinas, which appear in the calendar as “red-letter days,” feasts of special importance. The feast of the Dedication of the “great church of Taranto,” included on October 29, likely refers to Taranto’s San Dominico Maggiore (built ca. 1320), an identification which would accord with the manuscript’s Dominican inclinations and may afford an important clue to its original recipient and locale.

A note added on fol. iv (Figure 6) documents the birth of Ferdinand II of Naples and thus connects the manuscript to the Neapolitan branch of the royal Aragonese family. The note reads:

Die veneris xxvi mensis Iunii xv^o indictionis mccc
[I] xvii hora nona natus fuit in civitate Ca[p]juane

Neapolis primogenitus Illustrissimi principis don alfonsi de aragonia ducis Calabrie cui nomen est Ferdinandus.

Around three o'clock on Friday the 26th of June, in the fifteenth indiction, 1467, the first-born son of the distinguished prince, Don Alfonso of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, was born in the Campanian city of Naples, and he was named Ferdinand.

The coat of arms depicted on fol. 15r (Figure 7) confirms the family connection. Though largely rubbed out, a fate suffered by the many Aragonese manuscripts appropriated by French invaders, the original arms can be deduced from the presence of the “Aragonese Crown.”

Displayed on the opening leaf of the Office of the Virgin and incorporated into an elaborate illumination, the arms are supported by angels (*putti*) and centrally placed below a miniature depicting the Annunciation. We can identify the left side of the vertically divided circle as the arms of the royal Neapolitan Aragonese, who had titular claims on Jerusalem and Hungary. Hence, within this left half, at top left and lower right appear the House of Aragon’s gold and red vertical stripes (“paly of five or and gules,” in heraldic parlance), and at top right and lower left come first the Kingdom of Hungary’s red and silver horizontal stripes (“barry of eight gules and argent,” the silver here oxidized to black), second the Kingdom of Naples’s gold fleur-de-lis on blue background (“azure semé-de-lis or”), and third, by conjecture from what remains visible, the Kingdom of Jerusalem’s gold cross in a silver field (“argent, a cross potent or”). The right half of the circle, however, remains unidentified.

The imperial laurel wreath that encircles the arms frequently appears in contemporary Neapolitan Aragonese documents. Related coats of arms have been catalogued and identified in numerous manuscripts from the collections of the Biblioteca napoletana dei Re d’Aragona and the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence. The books range from legal documents to copies of philosophical and literary texts commissioned by the powerful family, including most notably the Hours

TRACKING A MEDIEVAL BIBLIOPHILE: AMPLONIUS RATING DE BERCKA (1365–1434)

of Alfonso of Aragon (Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, MS I. B. 55).¹ This book displays similar, if more lavish, decoration, including the Arabesque borders and the *putti*, which both sustain the arms and grace the top of the opening leaf.

A look at the genealogy of the Aragonese family highlights the calendar's brief mention of the "great church of Taranto." Ferdinand II was the grandson and heir of Isabel of Taranto, herself heir to Prince Juan Orsini of Taranto and Maria of Enghien, Queen of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem. King Ferdinand of Aragon built the Aragonese castle in Taranto after the sack of Otranto by the Turks in 1480, and his son Juan was also the Archbishop of Taranto. Perhaps then we should look not to the great princes of Naples but to their more humble relatives in Taranto, especially since the manuscript's illumination pales in comparison to other, extremely sumptuous Books of Hours commissioned by the Aragonese family, namely the Hours of Alfonso of Aragon mentioned above.

Was MS 1266 commissioned to commemorate the birthday or marriage of a member of the Aragonese family and subsequently passed down through the ages? Was it later appropriated by French invaders, a circumstance that would account for the rubbed-out arms and added French prayer? Though the manuscript may not divulge all its secrets, its Aragonese arms and imperial laurel wreath reveal a close and important connection to the powerful family.

*Thania Meneses Flores, PhD candidate,
Centre for Medieval Studies working on
performance history in Andalusia*

*Alison Purnell, M.A., University of
Toronto, currently a PhD candidate
at the University of York (England)*

The influence of Euclid's *Elements* in all branches of late medieval mathematics is without parallel. Works on mathematical astronomy, trigonometry, optics, and even music often presuppose a solid foundation in the demonstrative method of Euclid's geometrical treatise. In the early Middle Ages, knowledge of the *Elements* was restricted to a fragmentary, incomplete translation by the sixth-century scholar, Boethius. The twelfth century, however, witnessed a remarkable renewal of interest in Euclid's text, and by the end of the century there were numerous Latin translations in circulation, most translated from Arabic versions. In the mid-thirteenth century (before 1259), the renowned mathematician Campanus of Novara produced a revised and expanded "edition" of Euclid, often deemed a "commentary" by both medieval and modern authors. Campanus's redaction, largely based on the most successful twelfth-century translation, quickly became the definitive version of "Euclid" and, published in Venice in 1482, was the first Latin Euclid in print.

Campanus's version of Euclid's *Elements* was by far his best known and most widely disseminated work; well over one hundred manuscript copies are still extant. Most were destined for practical use, often for students at university, and are correspondingly plain, practical copies. However, on generous loan to the Thomas Fisher Library from a private collection is a strikingly extravagant copy of Campanus's edition of Euclid. A large historiated initial, depicting Euclid with various mathematical instruments, opens the volume (see Figure 8), and the remaining fourteen books are articulated by large foliate initials with gold leaf, twining tendrils and pastel foliage. The propositions are written in a beautifully formed, amply spaced book hand (known as *littera textualis formata*), and the proofs written in a smaller, though still well-executed version of the same. Rebound (ca. 1725) in leather stamped with the arms of the Schönborn family, the manuscript stands out not only by virtue of its striking visual layout but also its venerable pedigree: it once belonged to the famous fifteenth-century bibliophile, Amplonius Rating de Bercka



Figure 8

(1365–1434), and may even bear his own handwriting in its margins.

Paleographical characteristics—including the ruling, flourished initials, and formal French book hand—place this volume in the late fourteenth century, likely of French origin. Fortunately, these paleographical indications are confirmed by a precise date. The scribe concluded his task with the comical, if common, scribal lamentation (in hexameter verse): "Explicit hic totum: pro scripto da michi potum" ("Here is the very end: in exchange for this writing, give me a drink!"). Immediately below this well earned demand, another hand noted the date: "1398 10 novembris". The placement suggests that this date may mark the completion, final correction, or perhaps even early acquisition of the manuscript. The presence of interlinear and marginal glosses in a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century French cursive suggests that the manuscript was, in fact, used in France shortly after its completion. If so, it did not remain there long. Less than two decades hence, the manuscript reappears in the famous library of the German doctor and professor, Amplonius.

The library catalogue of some six hundred volumes, penned by Amplonius himself in 1412, includes as the twenty-fourth entry in the list of mathematical works:

¹ Tammaro de Marinis, *La Biblioteca napoletana dei Re d'Aragona, Supplemento* (Verona, 1969), I: 70–71 (with figs. 60–63)

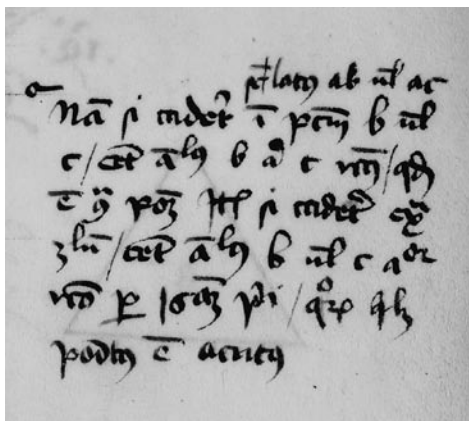


Figure 9

24. Item quindecim libri elementorum Euclidis et per consequens omnes cum commento Campani in optimo volumine.

24. Item: The fifteen books of Euclid's *Elements* and therefore the whole, together with Campanus's commentary in a single, most excellent volume.¹

Volumen optimum (most excellent volume) aptly describes the superb quality of script and layout in the Euclid manuscript now on loan to the Fisher library. And as noted above, "commentary" was a common descriptor for the version that circulated under Campanus's name.

The shelf-mark penciled on the front fly-leaf of the manuscript, "Erfurt, Colleg[ium] Amplon[ianum] Math. 24," confirms the identification and indicates that it was once part of the Bibliotheca Amploniana at the University of Erfurt. Amplonius bequeathed his library to the newly formed University, and his collection remains remarkably intact even today as part of the Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek Erfurt. The integrity of the collection was well maintained thanks in part to a decree issued by Amplonius himself: "For each and all of the books and volumes, both large and small, which have been incorporated into the college's library or which will be incorporated into it in the future, I will truly forbid anyone to knowingly soil, damage, move, or remove them or to allow that they be soiled, damaged, moved, or removed by anyone."² Amplonius's

wishes seem to have been respected. His son, who became deacon of the college, at least once imprisoned two students on suspicion of stealing books.

The subsequent transfer of the Euclid manuscript to the library of the aristocratic Schönborn family was not, however, the result of a cunning theft but a well-documented purchase. By the early eighteenth century, the Amplonian collection had fallen into disuse. Not only had much of the material become obsolete, but students, now accustomed to printed books, no longer knew what to do with the medieval manuscripts, written as they were in difficult-to-read Gothic scripts. In 1723 a university librarian from Bellmont complained about the collection's state of neglect in a letter to the Elector of Mainz. Around this same time, Archbishop Franz Lothar von Schönborn (1655–1729) was angling to buy the original Amplonian manuscripts that formed the base of the library's collection. Lacking sufficient funds, in 1725 he settled for twenty manuscripts, which he then relocated to his residence in Pommersfelden (the Schloß Pommersfelden).³

That a treatise on Euclidean geometry, apparently of French origin, found its way into the hands of a doctor living in central Germany reveals something of the cosmopolitan, eclectic character of this medieval scholar. Born in Bercka in central Germany, Amplonius received his Baccalaureate of the Seven Liberal Arts from the Charles University in Prague in 1385. He enrolled at the University of Cologne as a medical student in 1391 before moving to the newly founded University of Erfurt to complete his degree in 1392. After a short stay in Vienna, he returned again to Cologne, this time as professor, and eventually found his way back to Erfurt. He continued to shuttle between Erfurt, Mainz, and Cologne, where he died in 1434. It is not clear where or when Amplonius acquired this copy of Euclid.

Amplonius may not have been drawn solely to the aesthetics of this elegantly conceived edition of Euclid's *Elements*. In addition to the French marginal hand noted above, many leaves also contain other mathematical marginalia that reveal a close reading of Euclid's geometrical proofs. A highly abbreviated, fifteenth-century German cursive, this hand is strikingly simi-

lar to documented examples of Amplonius's own hand, including his library catalogue. This German glossator keys his marginal comments to Euclid's text with, appropriately enough, a sign reminiscent of a key (as seen in Figure 9); Amplonius himself employed similar "keys" in the margins of other manuscripts from his collection.

This same marginal hand has also added the nicknames given to the more famous (or infamous) Euclidean diagrams. These names sometimes derive from the shape of the diagram, such as I.46, "The Tunic of Francis" (*tunica Francisci*); III.7, "The Goose's Foot" (*pes anseris*); III.8, "The Peacock's Tail" (*cauda pauonis*). Other names allude to the notorious difficulty of particular propositions, such as I.32, famously entitled "The Flight of the Miserable" (*fuga miserorum*). Many of these are widely attested, but the Fisher manuscript offers a few additional names that we have not found elsewhere, including I.32, "Solomon's Seal" (*sigillum Solomonis*), and a second name for I.46, "The Hyperborean Mountains" (*montes yperborei*). Significantly, a similar combination of diagram names occurs in another copy of Euclid in Amplonius's collection.⁴

While it would be rash to assert conclusively that Amplonius himself penned the mathematical comments and diagram nicknames, it remains a tantalizing prospect that deserves further research. If they are by Amplonius, they suggest that he made a careful and complete reading of the entire work. This would accord with the breadth of his intellectual pursuits outside of the medical profession. His own catalogue lists, in addition to books on medicine, numerous volumes on each of the seven liberal arts, Aristotelian philosophy (including natural philosophy, metaphysics, and moral philosophy), law, and theology. Even if the identification of Amplonius's hand proves untenable, this "deluxe Euclid" still deserves to be studied as carefully by modern scholars as it was by its medieval readers.

Marcus Mazurek, M.A.,
Centre for Medieval Studies
and Andrew Hicks

¹ Wilhelm Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin, 1887), 801.

² Katrin Paasch, "Die Bibliothek des Collegium Amplonianum von 1434 bis 1945," in *Der Schatz des Amplonius: Die große Bibliothek des Mittelalters in Erfurt*, ed. K. Paasch (Erfurt, 2001), 38.

³ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁴ See Paul Kunitzsch, "'The Peacock's Tail': On the Names of Some Theorems of Euclid's *Elements*," in *Vestigia mathematica: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Mathematics in Honour of H.L.L. Busard*, ed. M. Folkerts and J.P. Hogendijk (Amsterdam, 1993), 205–214.

COLLATION COMPLEXITIES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THOMAS FISHER MS 1053, *CONFIRMATIO CHARTARUM*

Even a cursory inspection of Thomas Fisher MS 1053, a type of medieval legal handbook known as a *Confirmatio chartarum*, reveals how extensively its numerous users have modified this little book throughout its history, so that its contents and form have developed away from the intentions of its first compiler. Although the *Confirmatio chartarum* was initially a fairly straightforward book of late medieval English laws, probably intended as a kind of pocket guide, generations of later users have scribbled marginalia on the manuscript's original leaves, doodled in the corners, and even supplemented the original contents with various other legal and non-legal texts that range from a few lines of upside-down verse to a barely readable version of the *Statutum de scaccario* preserved on the last, irregular folio of the codex, a sheet of parchment more than twice as wide as the other leaves (see Figure 10).

Perhaps the most dramatic modification of the manuscript occurred because of a rebinding error. Folios 13 and 14 initially enveloped six other leaves, as the first and last folios of the third gathering. But at some stage this bifolium (i.e., two conjoined leaves) was removed and displaced. These two now disordered folios were then separated further

from the rest of their original gathering and incorporated into a whole new gathering, along with what are now folios 15 and 16—two leaves added after the original compilation but before the rebinding. In all likelihood, it was this later addition of folios 15 and 16—already a step removed from the original form of the manuscript—that confused the order of foliation when the book was rebound. Practically speaking, leaves that appear out of order in any book are problematic for the reader; in the case of the *Confirmatio chartarum*, however, the errors compounded in the later rebinding not only invite more detailed enquiry into the history of this codex, but also offer a valuable reminder of the continual evolution of any medieval manuscript, regardless of its seemingly stable form.

A standard gathering of eight leaves in a medieval codex like the *Confirmatio chartarum* was often produced by folding one large piece of parchment in half three times, then cutting it appropriately and sewing the resulting four bifolia together. Such gatherings of eight were in turn themselves sewn together and bound to form the whole codex. Our present manuscript has a total of 164 leaves of parchment in twenty-one gatherings (not including the exterior bind-

ing, pastedowns, and flyleaves). The collation is therefore represented as follows. (The principal numbers record the number of the gathering, the superscript numbers represent the number of leaves, and the lowercase Roman numerals represent the flyleaves.)

$$\text{iii} + 1^6 + 2^6 + 3^4 + 4^6 + 5^8 + 6^8 + 7^8 + 8^8 + 9^8 + 10^8 + 11^8 + 12^8 + 13^8 + 14^8 + 15^8 + 16^4 + 17^8 + 18^8 + 19^9 + 20^{16} + 21^9 + \text{iii}$$

This collation reflects the present rebound state of the *Confirmatio chartarum*. In order to rebind a book, the original threads that bound the codex together usually need to be replaced with new ones. Naturally, whenever leaves are separated, the danger looms of introducing new errors, especially when those responsible for the rebinding must remove, add, or reorder various texts. When this is considered, problematic areas in the above collation of the *Confirmatio chartarum* become more apparent. Any gathering that contains either more or less than eight leaves deviates from the standard number of leaves per gathering preferred by the original compiler. Although some interesting idiosyncratic features occur in the latter half of the codex, as in gathering 20, which contains not less than sixteen leaves, I shall focus here only on the collation in the first half.

The first two gatherings, each of which comprises six leaves, contain a table of contents and a liturgical calendar. While the table of contents is written in the principal hand of the main text, a different hand wrote the liturgical calendar on a different type of parchment than the rest of the codex. But because this hand is nearly contemporary with the dominant hand of the codex (both employ a version of *anglicana formata*, an elegant book hand used in England from the thirteenth century onwards), the calendar was most likely added to the codex in the first binding. Liturgical calendars are not uncommon in legal codices—for example, Thomas Fisher Library, MS 1244, a Norman book of laws roughly contemporary with the *Confirmatio chartarum*, contains a similar liturgical calendar. It is very possible that it was the original intention of the first compiler of the *Confirmatio chartarum* to include this calendar as the second gathering.

But it is rather surprising to see that gatherings 3 and 4 have four and six leaves respectively. Closer inspection reveals that gathering 3 has been bound in a very unusual manner. It actually consists of two bifolia sewn together side by side, instead of one outer piece of parchment enveloping the inner leaves, as in normal practice. (In other words, folios 13 and 14 in gathering 3 comprise a single piece of parchment folded in half and then sewn onto folios 15 and 16, which also have been folded in

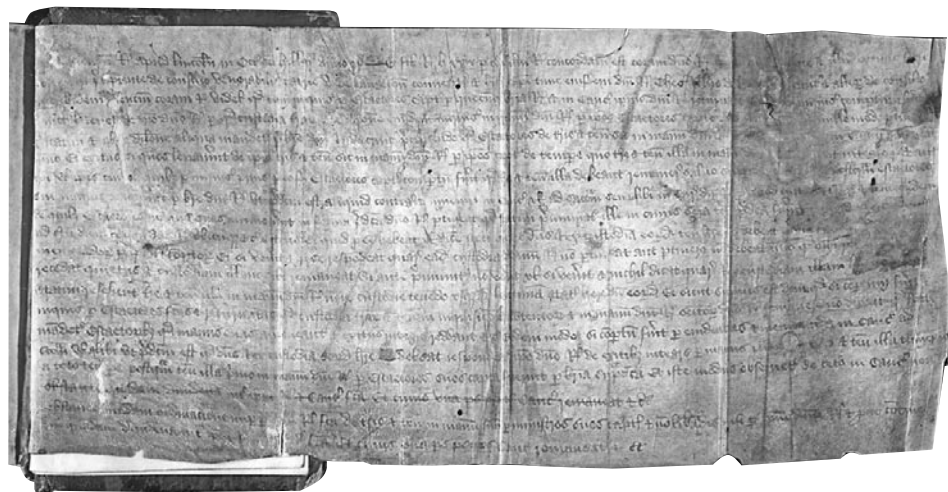


Figure 10

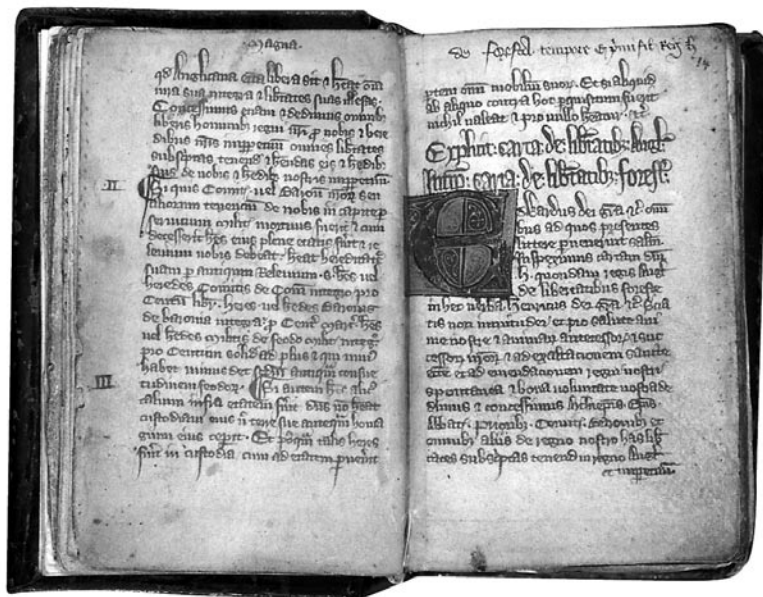


Figure 11

half against each other. Thus, technically speaking, gathering 3 could be represented as two individual gatherings each consisting of only two leaves.)

In addition to this irregularity of collation, the contents of these leaves also confirm the rebinding error. As the table of contents at the beginning of the manuscript and the *incipit* on folio 13r indicate, the first legal text of the codex is the 1225 version of the *Magna carta*. Here, however, the text of the *Magna carta* only continues to the end of 13v, where it ends halfway through article three with the words, “fuerit in custodia cum ad etatem peruenerit.” The text does not continue on to folio 14r. The new leaf instead abruptly proceeds with an abridged ending to the *Magna carta* beginning with the words “partem omnium mobilium suorum.” Another text, the *Carta de foresta*, then begins immediately afterwards under the last lines and *explicit* of the *Magna carta* (see Figure 11). The greater part of the *Magna carta* has gone missing between these two leaves.

Furthermore, the second half of gathering 3, folios 15 and 16, is a later addition to the codex written in a different hand, and it contains a fuller ending to the abridged version of the *Magna carta* that ends at 14r. The addition consists of a witness list, a *datum* clause and date—all standard diplomatic elements that appear in other manuscripts of the 1225 version of the *Magna carta*. Folio 16v contains a Latin hymn written in a different hand, which although interesting for various reasons, has little bearing on the issue of collation: it has been copied out in order to occupy the leaf’s empty remainder. The next leaf, folio 17r, the first of gathering 4, picks up the second half of article three of the *Magna carta* precisely where 13v left

off, with the words, “scilicet uiginti Cuius habeat hereditatem suam.” The text of the *Magna carta* then continues in its expected order until folio 22, where it ends abruptly and the *Carta de foresta* begins again on the following leaf, folio 23r.

In accordance with the sudden discontinuation of the *Carta de foresta* at folio 14v and its equally sudden resumption on folio 23r, folio 14v contains the faint catchword, “[—]mum” which completes the last word of folio 14v, “pri[—]mum”, and corresponds exactly to the first letters of folio 23r, “[—]mum annum,” nine leaves later. Catchwords—notations in the bottom margin of a gathering’s last leaf, anticipating the first word of the next gathering—are used to keep the gatherings in order when they are ready to be sewn. In this case, however, the catchword seems to have eluded those responsible for the rebinding, and the rebinding error occurred in spite of it.

If those who rebound the book had noticed the catchword or had double-checked the continuity of the text, the *Confirmatio chartarum* probably would have been properly rebound. As it stands, the book’s form as originally intended by the first compiler was greatly altered. Again, because of a mix-up in foliation, the *Confirmatio chartarum* is no longer an easy book to peruse even for a reader comfortable with its legal Latin and medieval handwriting. But in its complex collation, this codex affords a reminder of both the textual and physical fluidity of the medieval law book in England in the late Middle Ages.

Tristan Major, PhD Candidate,
Centre for Medieval Studies,
focusing on the languages
and literature of medieval England

Thomas Fisher MS 1269 is a fine example of a fifteenth-century Franciscan breviary. These compact books, still used in modified format today, provided the emerging itinerant mendicant orders with convenient access to all the material they needed for their daily recitation of the Divine Office—the set of prayers, readings, and responses to be said over the course of the day that changes throughout the liturgical year. A breviary combines elements previously found in separate books such as psalters, hymnals, antiphonaries, and lectionaries and presents them in a pared-down, highly abbreviated format: it is this characteristic that lends the breviary its name.

Medieval breviaries vary in content and features according to the time and place of their creation. The calendar is one of the most obvious examples of this variation, as the idiosyncrasies of regionalized ecclesiastical practices, specifically liturgical observances, leave traces in the form of local feast days included in the calendar. MS 1269 bears such traces of its date and provenance in its calendar. But before we venture into specifics, we shall briefly describe this breviary.

The manuscript shows evidence of careful craftsmanship. Although its present cover is nothing more than a sheet of rough vellum, the pages themselves are fine, thin, and unblemished. They are grouped in twenty-two gatherings, all complete, of ten folios each, with a singleton at the end; hence, the manuscript totals 221 leaves and a front and back flyleaf. (Despite this collation, the manuscript has been consistently represented in modern catalogues as having 217 folios.)

The elegant decoration, consistent throughout, features alternating red and blue initials, purple pen-work, and a touch of either yellow or gold-leaf highlighting in each black capital throughout the manuscript. The main scribe writes a late Italian Gothic script, with some letterforms verging on the new humanistic style. Careful corrections are present in the same hand and at least three other humanist hands; most of these corrections are concentrated in the psalter. The most splendid decoration is a single inhabited initial, which sets off the opening of the psalter and depicts a bearded King David looking up to heaven. The gold leaf illuminating this initial continues along the outer margin of the page in a thick gold bar (a “baguette”) from which flowers, leaves, and berries sprout in vivid color.

While this illuminated initial stands out as the sole example of illustrative luxury in the manuscript, the consistency of pen-work and decoration throughout the entire manuscript, coupled with the script’s

DATING A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCISCAN BREVIARY: THOMAS FISHER MS 1269

meticulous execution, attests to the great care taken in the production of this book. Nevertheless, the manuscript is not without its imperfections. The text is discontinuous at the transition from the psalter to the Divine Office, that is, between gatherings 6 and 7 (see *Figure 12*), as evidenced by a number of codicological and textual inconsistencies at this point in the manuscript. As all gatherings are otherwise complete, we believe that an entire gathering has gone missing. The missing ten folios would have provided enough room not only to complete the Divine Office (which presently wants the first two and a half weeks of Advent) but probably also to contain a hymnal.

Happily, although the manuscript now lacks this one portion of its text, what remains bears strong witness to its origins. Franciscan saints abound both in the calendar and in the litany (fol. 121v). Most obvious among these are Saints Francis and Clare, but lesser Franciscan saints such as Vincent Ferrar and Louis of Anjou are also present. We find further clear indication that the breviary was made for Franciscan use in the inclusion of the feast of the Portiuncula on August 2. Around 1211 the Portiuncula chapel, with its "little portion" of land in Assisi, was donated in a ruined state by the Benedictines to Francis, who then, it is said, rebuilt it himself. The feast is celebrated with the granting of an indulgence from sin, a

practice which attracted crowds of pilgrims throughout the medieval period.

The calendar also includes the dedications of the basilicas of Saint John Lateran, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul Outside the Walls, three of the four great basilicas in Rome. Thus an early central Italian provenance seems almost certain. The calendar, like the rest of the manuscript, also includes a number of later additions and corrections. The original scribe had included saints mostly of Roman, Italian, and Franciscan origin, the most recent being Saint Vincent Ferrar, who was canonized in 1455. The earliest addition to the calendar by a later hand is the translation of the body of Saint Bernardine of Siena between churches in Aquila, which took place in 1472. Thus, the book must have been created between 1455 and 1472 somewhere in central Italy, perhaps in Rome or somewhere in Umbria.

MS 1269 seems to have been in regular use for more than a century after its creation, as evidenced by the gradual change to humanist hands in the corrections to the text and the additions to the calendar. Also, the later addition in the calendar (see *Figure 13*) of the dedication of one Ecclesia [de Beata Maria] Angelorum—which almost certainly refers to the Basilica di Santa Maria degli Angeli in Assisi, which was built around the smaller Portiuncula chapel—indicates that at the end of the sixteenth century, when

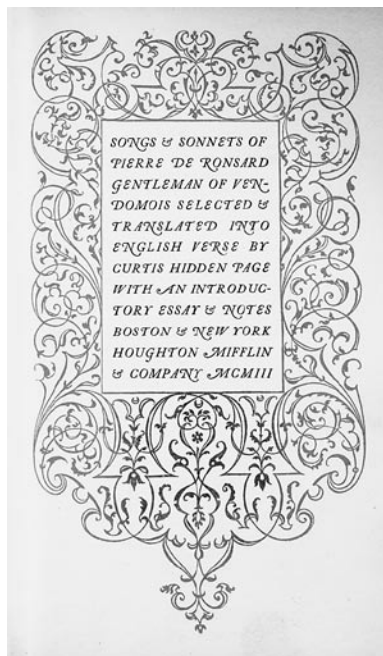
the construction of the basilica was begun, this manuscript still remained in central Italy. (The possibility that the church is the one in Rome of the same name is less likely, as it has no Franciscan connection.) After this, the manuscript falls into obscurity until the modern period, though the striking of Saint George from the litany (fol. 122v) may be evidence that the manuscript had made its way to England as early as 1778, when Saint George temporarily lost his status as patron saint of England. A clear modern record, however, does not surface until the manuscript was purchased at auction in London in 1903 by one Captain Michael Tennant (See record number 8900 in the *Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts*, University of Pennsylvania Library, <http://dewey.library.upenn.edu/sceti/sdm/index.cfm>). It changed hands once more before it came into the hands of Ralph G. Stanton, a professor of mathematics at Waterloo who, in 1988, donated it to the Fisher Library as part of the substantial Stanton Collection.

Michael Elliot, PhD candidate,
Centre for Medieval Studies,
studying late Anglo-Saxon law and politics

M. A. Jacobs, M.A., Centre for Medieval
Studies, 2007; currently a PhD candidate in
Scandinavian literature at the
University of California, Berkeley



Figures 12 (left) and 13 (right)



PARAGRAPHS ON COLLECTING

by Thomas T. Schweitzer

Text of speech delivered at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, September 27, 2007 at the opening of the Bruce Rogers Exhibition.

Friends of the Thomas Fisher Library, fellow book lovers,

When I handed the first draft of my essay for the catalogue of the present exhibition to Richard Landon he kindly but firmly insisted that I should alter a phrase in the first paragraph. I complied, even though the original version spoke the truth: I called myself in very strong terms “a dilettante.” I have never formally studied librarianship, book design, or printing, nor have I ever exercised them in practice. I would not have been able to write the learned comments provided by Richard, nor could I have designed and printed the handsome catalogue by Stan Bevington and The Coach House Press. So, do I have a right to stand here now and speak to you? Well, perhaps I do, all the same. I have been collecting the printed work of Bruce Rogers, one of the greatest American book designers, for close to fifty years. B.R., as he was affectionately called by his friends, was a past master of the styles of the best periods of typographic design, while at the same time always having a recognizable style of his own. Instead of rehashing my essay in the catalogue, I would

like to make a few remarks about what I have learned about book collecting in general, illustrating my points with occasional reference to Bruce Rogers’s books.

1. First of all: a mere accumulation of books is *not* a collection. For it to become a collection there should be an *underlying idea* that binds them together, the subject of the collection, if you wish. This subject may be anything or anybody of interest to you. The number of possible subjects is as big as the totality of human knowledge, experience, art, emotion, and fantasy. Also, I found it advisable to choose a subject for which there is a sporting chance that in the very long run one can create a collection of at least a representative sample of the books in one’s chosen field. Clearly, this restriction will influence the field chosen in a substantial way.

2. Therefore, read up on your intended field of collecting. Be sure that you are truly interested in the subject, and that it will not be of fleeting interest. Read the authorities and reference books on the subject, obtain the best bibliographies in the field, ask for dealers’ catalogues, be familiar with

internet antiquarian book search engines and visit them frequently. You will achieve a worthwhile result only if your collecting is a long-term commitment. Unless you are rich, you will have to make up for this lack of cash by perseverance, diligence, and enthusiasm. Also, it certainly helps if you love to read what you are collecting. With the right choice of the field it *can* be done. I arrived to Canada in 1953 as a penniless immigrant and never rose above the level of a middle-ranking civil servant.

3. Useful information can come from the most unexpected sources. For instance, part of my job as a researcher at the Economic Council of Canada was to keep an eye on the *Wall Street Journal* and its sister publication, *Barron’s Weekly*. In 1969, just when the inflationary spiral triggered by the Vietnam war spending took flight, I found, to my greatest surprise, an article in *Barron’s* about Gilman Brothers, an antiquarian book dealer in Crompond, N.Y., who claimed to have a huge barn full of books, some sixty miles northwest of Manhattan. I wrote for their catalogue and received one, printed badly, on execrable paper, but quoting close to a thousand books, at reasonable prices. I worked my way through it and found, to my delight, a copy of *The Songs and Sonnets of Ronsard*, one of the thirty items Bruce Rogers called his best designs among the 450 printed by 1938 (see image, above left). It was not a mint copy by any means, but on arrival it turned out that it was signed by the translator (Curtis Hidden Page) and also carried a note saying: “Please return, my last copy.” Of even greater interest was a tipped-in manuscript sonnet to Ronsard by the translator. Certainly a worthy association copy of a book every Rogers enthusiast would be happy to have.

4. Always buy the finest copy you can afford; however, if you have serious difficulties in finding a fine copy, make allowances, and buy whatever seems reasonable. You can always trade up when a better copy comes on the market. My copy of Sir Thomas Browne’s *Urne-Buriall* is the fourth copy I acquired.

5. Cultivate personal friendships with good, reliable, and knowledgeable dealers. They are as useful as a good reference library, more helpful and warm-hearted. No internet search engine can be a substitute for their lifetime of interest and experience.

6. Don’t haggle. A good dealer deserves his profit. Also, he will not begrudge you a good buy. The field of collecting is almost infinite and not even the best dealer can be an expert in all fields. After thirty to forty years of collecting you yourself will become somewhat of an expert in your field of specialization.

7. Know what is rare in your field, and when at long last it turns up, grab it. Bruce Rogers regarded his design of Sir Thomas Heath's *Euclid in Greek* as one of his most successful solutions to a difficult problem. I have seen it on the market only twice in about fifty years and have always regretted that I missed my opportunities.

8. Speaking of regret: *don't* regret it if once in a while you have overpaid. I had been vainly searching for the Rogers-designed Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years before the Mast* for twenty-seven years. At last a copy turned up in a dealer's catalogue, so I jumped at it. Within one week of my purchase two other copies turned up in two other dealers' catalogues, at two-thirds of the price I paid. I took it in my stride; I also remained a customer of the dealer I bought my copy from. There is an old stock-market saying: "Bulls make money; bears make money; hogs never make money." He who always waits for the very best deal will never build a good collection.

9. NEVER, NEVER, NEVER buy books as an "investment" (which is a polite term for speculation). Leave that to the professional book dealer, who like all businessmen, must be a risk-taker. Buy for the enjoyment of building your collection and (as all true collectors will admit) for the joy of the chase. If you have not developed your taste and don't love what you collect, you are bound to collect what happens to be fashionable (there are fashions in books as there are in other merchandise) and you may have to sell when it has fallen out of fashion. The antiquarian book trade has to be a high mark-up trade because it is a very labour- and space-intensive business. As for buying and selling at auctions, these involve substantial auction fees. An interesting, and I think typical, example of books being a poor medium for even a very long-term speculative gain is the following: in 1974 Lathrop C. Harper, an American rare book dealer, offered for sale an extremely rare sixteenth-century pamphlet, only ten copies of which were known to exist. The pamphlet's first page was an introductory dedication letter by Rabelais, the great French humanist and satirical writer, the author of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, to a friend and fellow scholar. So it was not only rare but also of literary importance. The volume had a handwritten note by a previous owner on the back of the front cover, reading: "Cost 1 sh. From P. Brown Lond. 1702." Harper quoted it for \$3,700 or about 1,600 Pounds Sterling. This sounds like a very impressive 32,000-fold increase. But allow for inflation and compound interest for 272 years, and it turns

out that the rate of return on the investment would have been less than 2.5% before taxes. This calculation does not make allowance for the perishable and combustible nature of a book, nor for the cost of insurance or of a safety deposit box!

10. I have emphasized before the aim of achieving a representative sample of the field of your collecting. Some people dream of achieving a *complete* collection. But that is just a dream. There are always unique copies, large paper or special paper copies, binding variants, dedication copies, association copies, etc. Just one example: Sir Thomas White was a Canadian banker and Minister of Finance during the First World War. He was evidently a very prosperous man; he was also a versifier. After the Second World War he commissioned Bruce Rogers to design for him two vanity publications: White's poems *The Battle of Britain*, and his *Essays of Francis Bacon Paraphrased in Blank Verse*. White inscribed and presented copies of these volumes to his numerous friends and acquaintances, to such an extent that I have never encountered a copy of either that was *not* inscribed by White. My copy had an interesting trip: it was presented and inscribed to President Harry Truman; from him it went to the Truman Presidential Library; from there to the Library of Congress, which released it as a duplicate (all documented by stamps); it was picked up for me at a Washington D.C. garage sale by my cousin Paul who knew about my collecting interest in Bruce Rogers. The most fascinating Rogers collection I know of is the one which belonged to his physician and which is now housed in Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book Library. In each volume Rogers wrote either a favourable or unfavourable comment on that particular item. This is a collection impossible to match. By the way, Rogers was notoriously severe about his own work. Once a collector brought him a volume, previously unrecorded as a Rogers. His reaction was: "Yes, that is my baby! Why don't you chuck it into the river?" And speaking of the ambition of a "complete" collection, I have not even mentioned the type of printed matter that is really difficult to find—the ephemera: announcements, invitations, prospectuses, order forms, advertisements, and the like. Most of these have never been catalogued and many may be unrecorded. So, forget about "a complete collection."

11. I have mentioned that it helps the collector if he loves to read his collection. But there may be problems with this. For example, Rogers did design complete works of many classics for Houghton, Mifflin: the complete Hawthorne (1900) in 22 volumes,

John Lockhart's *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott* in 10 volumes (1901), Tennyson's *Poetic and Dramatic Works* in 7 volumes (1907), Thoreau's *Writings* in 20 volumes (1907), Emerson's *Complete Writings and Journals* in 22 volumes (1903–14). I did acquire a copy of the Lockhart at a reasonable price, in order to have a representative sample of how Rogers dealt with big, multi-volume problems, but that was it. Also, I did dip into this work once or twice, but I certainly did not attempt to work my way through it all. Ten volumes of Lockhart on Scott was too much for me, however much I liked to read my collection.

12. Do your best to stick to your field of collecting. Collecting *is* a vice, albeit a delightful one: you will be permanently short of money. Not sticking to your field of specialization is a vice within a vice: you are wasting the money you need to improve your collection. The temptations of this vice within a vice will be great. While reading up on your field you will pick up a lot of what could be called "collateral information." Do your best to avoid "collateral damage." Try to impose iron discipline on yourself. I tried; I cannot claim I always succeeded.

13. Keep a loose-leaf binder handlist (or its computer equivalent) of your collection. It should contain a short description of each item, date and source of acquisition, and the purchase price. Also, buy an extra copy of the best bibliography in your field, have it disbound, interleaved with blank pages, and kept in a ring-binder. As often as possible, preferably daily, but at least once a week, enter in this all the relevant items from catalogues and internet search engines, including most recent dealers' offering prices, so you know when an offer is attractively priced. This way you will also be up to date on items, variants, and special copies not previously recorded in bibliographies.

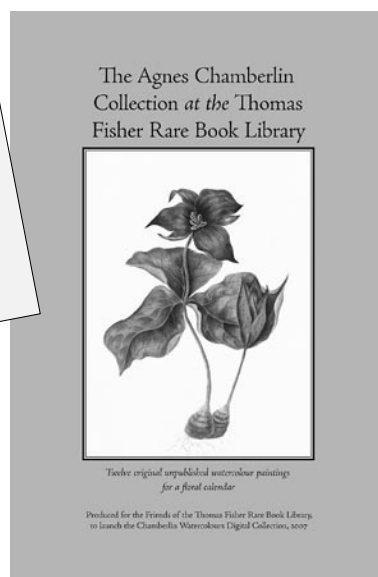
14. For the right person and done the right way, collecting does provide a lifetime of enjoyment. I always liked my profession. It is now fifteen years since I retired and much of my *work* as an economist is now obsolete. I find it pleasantly ironic that the result of my *hobby* of collecting will survive me, may be helpful and perhaps also give aesthetic pleasure to scholars and students long after I am gone.

15. Last but not least, a closing recommendation: choose a life partner who appreciates and supports your collecting endeavours. Without my wife, Alina, I would have never succeeded in assembling the collection you see here today.

A Garden of Gifts

Using images from the Agnes Chamberlin Collection, the Library presents new greeting cards for 2007 and a floral anniversary calendar. Each box contains five each of the cards shown here.

You can purchase holiday cards, note cards, and most exhibition catalogues at the Library Book Room on the second floor of Robarts Library, or through the Fisher web site at www.library.utoronto.ca/fisher/publications/cards.html. You can also buy cards at most fall meetings of the Friends of the Fisher Library.



Mark your calendar for upcoming events...

Exhibitions 2008

Exhibition hours: 9–5 Monday to Friday
All exhibition openings begin at 5:00 p.m.

28 January–25 April 2008

A Hundred Years of Philosophy from the Slater and Walsh Collections.

Exhibition opening: Tuesday 29 January

5–16 May 2008

The Peter Paul Series of Contemporary English Canadian Poetry

An exhibition to celebrate the 10th anniversary of this bilingual series, each volume of which features a selection of poems by a Canadian poet, accompanied by artwork by an Italian artist.

9 June–29 August 2008

Queer CanLit: Canadian Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Literature in English

Exhibition opening: Thursday 12 June

Planned Events 2008

All lectures begin at 8:00 p.m.
(unless otherwise noted)

Wednesday 13 February 2008

The David Nicholls Memorial Lecture

A.W. Pollard: His Exemplary Career

Henry Woudhuysen, Chair of the English Department, University College London

Wednesday 26 March 2008

The Gryphon Lecture on the History of the Book

Aurel Stein: Collecting on the Silk Road
Susan Whitfield runs the International Dunhuang Project at the British Library, an Internet resource for manuscripts, paintings and textiles from the Silk Road.

Editor's Note

This issue was edited by Andrew Hicks, David Townsend, Barry Walfish and Maureen Morin, and designed by Maureen Morin. Comments and/or suggestions should be sent to:

Barry Walfish,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library,
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A5
(416) 946-3176
barry.walfish@utoronto.ca.

The Halcyon: The Newsletter of the Friends of The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library is published twice a year in June and December. *The Halcyon* includes short

articles on recent noteworthy gifts to and acquisitions of the Library, recent or current exhibitions in the Library, activities of the Friends, and other short articles about the Library's collections.

Members of the editorial board of *The Halcyon* are Anne Dondertman, Philip Oldfield, and Barry Walfish, Fisher Library, Karen Turko, Robarts Library, and Maureen Morin, Information Technology Services, Robarts Library.

For more information about the Fisher Library, please visit the web site at www.library.utoronto.ca/fisher/

The

H·A·L·C·Y·O·N

University of Toronto Library
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A5