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SCRIPT \$ No. 1 [TM 633] Liturgical calendar 24,000 [TM 783] NICOLAUS DE AQUAVILLA, 2 65,000 Sermones 3 [TM 515] Noted Processional 27,500 [TM 644] Office of the Dead 4 55,000 (Use of St. Kunibert, Cologne) [TM 339] Commentary on PETER LOMBARD 5 27,500 [TM 456] NIKOLAUS FRAUENLOB 6 58,000 VON HIRSCHBERG, Elixir; ... **ITM 7341 JOHANNES DE HILDESHEIM.** 7 45,000 Historia trium regum [TM 775] (ANONYMOUS), 8 122,000 La voie d'enfer et de paradis [TM 545] MECHTILD OF HACKEBORN, 9 45,000 Het boek der bijzondere genade; ... 10 [TM 87] JEROME, [Vitae Patrum] 23,000 [TM 656] PSEUDO-EUSEBIUS OF 11 58,000 CREMONA, Epistola; ... [TM 671] BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. 12 25,000 Traicté d'aymer Dieu [TM 848] HIERONYMUS TOCHTERMANN, 13 4,500 Calligraphic Alphabet

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Learning to Look at Texts

Handwriting is diverse in essence: ever since Antiquity, readers have been able to recognize instantly the hands of friends and familiar correspondents. "Scripts" are the general categories, or types, into which hands can be grouped, usually because they were derived from similar teaching models. Until recently, it must be noted, there was a degree of confusion between the words "hand" and "script": that was happily sorted out, with characteristic lucidity, by the late Malcolm Parkes. Yet the definition and classification of scripts are still a matter of debate.

Scripts are essential evidence of the times, places and contexts in which books and documents were made. Aspiring paleographers are trained to name scripts at a glance. Calligraphers likewise learn to recreate medieval or Renaissance handwriting through the close scrutiny and imitation of carefully-chosen samples illustrating a standard typology. The traditional notion of scripts as definite types embodied in specific letter forms and related to one another in one large family tree underpins many narratives of the history of handwriting. But beyond textbook definitions, the general landscape is often much murkier.

The historical development of handwriting, like any social phenomenon, is a complex business, influenced by many factors. Scripts are based on convention, on the habits of writers and readers, yet they change all the time: usually in gradual steps, but sometimes more abruptly. Scribes rarely reproduce the models they are taught exactly, but neither will they change them radically. Both continuity and change are largely determined by basic human factors, such as motor skills, visual perception and linguistic structures. Major changes are brought about by technical innovation in materials, tools, and techniques; in other cases, techniques (such as the manner of cutting or handling the quill) are modified purposefully, in order to obtain a new style or effect — it is often difficult to ascertain in retrospect which was the cause, and which the effect.

Change affects both structure and style. Structure defines individual letter forms and the ways in which they are arranged into words and lines;

features of style, whether applied to the essential strokes of letters or to additional decoration such as flourishing, provide overall consistency to a script. The evolution of letter forms is defined by two factors, which paleographers call "morphology" and "ductus." Morphology is form in a visual sense, e.g. the letter 'o' considered as a more or less circular shape; ductus is the movement by which such forms are produced, defined as a sequence of strokes: an 'o' might be written as a clockwise loop (in later Roman cursive), a counter-clockwise loop (from c. 1300 to the present), or as two symmetrical downstrokes (in most formal scripts from Antiquity to the Renaissance).

The interaction of form and movement, and its role in the evolution of scripts, can only be understood by taking into account all kinds and grades of writing, from carefully copied books or monumental inscriptions to elaborate chancery documents and everyday scrawls. Changes in both form and movement occur frequently and rapidly in informal hands, where speed of execution is more important than legibility. When a certain innovation becomes common enough, it might be promoted to more formal use, either by modifying an existing script or even by deliberately creating a new one. As E.A. Lowe famously put it, "scripts, like populations, recruit chiefly from below."

More significant from a historical perspective, major shifts in the social value, circulation and uses of writing have affected the forms of books, documents, and scripts. Early medieval Christian books are not the same as ancient Roman pagan books. After the sixth century writing skills became far less widespread, and the sacredness of writing was progressively enhanced by its use in a Christian, monastic, and clerical context. Change was at first accelerated by the breakdown of Roman schools, and scribes went different ways in different parts of the continent. From the ninth century onwards, in the age of Carolingian minuscule and monastic scriptoria, the pace of change and the degree of variety in scripts were much diminished.

In Carolingian books, the formal scripts from late Antiquity were also restored alongside the new minuscule, as elements of innovative layout schemes. Capitals, uncials, and semi-uncials, formerly used for entire texts, were repurposed as display scripts. Hierarchical arrangements of contrasting scripts on the page rose to a new level of sophistication in the ninth century, when scribes learned to build as many as five scripts into a single page, effectively guiding the reader's eye through a complex structure of titles, initials, and body text. Until the invention of print the medieval page was based on varying combinations of script, size, and color.

From the twelfth to the fifteenth century and beyond, "gothic" scripts were progressively developed into many varieties, associated with different kinds of work, according to function, formality, scale, and context of production, by specialized or unspecialized scribes: liturgical volumes large and small for monasteries and secular churches to read and sing from (nos. 1, 3, 4), commercially or privately copied reference texts for masters, students, and preachers, and their successive owners's marginal notes (nos. 2 and 5), practical compilations for the use of individuals and communities, including thousands of medical books (no. 6), vernacular verse and prose, secular and religious, for the laity (nos. 7, 8, 9), patristic and classical texts for scholars (nos. 10 and 11), not to mention the many and very diverse documentary scripts, from solemnly decorated charters to hurried business writing and correspondence.

Developments in different areas followed different chronological patterns and tended once more to produce distinct regional styles. Thus many of the features that define gothic scripts seem to have appeared in England during the twelfth century, but were adopted in northern France closer to the turn of the century, and by German scribes even decades later. Among many other varieties used for documents, around 1300 a new chancery script was created in France, incorporating many Italianate features; over the next hundred years it was progressively adopted, or imitated to some extent, in many courts of Europe (in England, this is the script known as secretary, no. 7). In the fifteenth century, national styles diverged strongly once again, to the point where, around 1500, documents written in the cursive gothic scripts of one country were certainly difficult to read in another. In books, designed for the international market (and progressively taken over by the printing industry after 1450), regional differences were less dramatic but still evident. Writing rooted in gothic traditions continued well into the seventeenth century in France and England, and in Germany it only came to an end in 1941 (no. 13).

Meanwhile, shortly after 1400, in Italy, a more radical divide had occurred. A handful of Florentine humanists, extending their rejection of scholastic learning to the form of books produced in the preceding two centuries, chose to revert to the layout, orthography, and script (*littera antiqua*) of the beautifully legible pre-1200 manuscripts in which, day after day, they searched for new classical texts. Humanistic minuscule and the cursive script invented at the same time by the same *literati* were the source for the roman type and handwriting models we still use today, but the regional chronology of the adoption of these scripts all over Europe remains relatively unstudied (nos. 11 and 12).

Dating and placing by the script, even from an old photocopy, is a feat paleographers will often be asked to perform. A specific feature, with some luck, can be enough to place and date a script or even to identify an individual scribe, but, as a rule, more comprehensive observations and comparisons are necessary. All textual, visual, and physical aspects of a manuscript should obviously be considered together. But scripts (alongside decoration) offer reasonably precise criteria by themselves. Many inconspicuous and tell-tale differences in letter forms, technique, and style can be discovered by an experienced eye. Naturally, depending on where their experiences lie, the impressions and opinions of experts might differ to some extent — especially when trying to date within a quarter of a century (as they will), even though they do not know the age of the scribe. In formal scripts and skilled hands, features of style are all the more obvious, potentially easier to localize but not necessarily easier to date (since they can remain guite stable over long periods); and scribes can be difficult to separate and identify. Informal scripts and careless or untrained hands offer greater latitude for individual variation, and thus might be easier to attribute to a given scribe than to place or

date in general. In any case, dating and localizing are inseparable, if only because similar developments, as seen above, will occur in different places at different dates.

Even specific regional features are not always reliable evidence of origin. Scribes travel: they might use their native style in a foreign land, or come home after learning to write in a foreign style. Contrasting styles within the same book can be evidence of scribes from different areas collaborating, or of additions made to the book as it travelled from one owner to the next (no. 2). A manuscript might even have a script typical of one region, material features of another, and maybe decoration pointing in a third direction.

Another frequent and subtle difficulty is imitation. Late-medieval students of law were accustomed to books written in the characteristic rounded script of Bologna, the main university in their field. When legal books were copied elsewhere, scribes emulated not only the layout but the script of their exemplars. At the same time, they would not depart from local rules of orthography, including abbreviations: whereas an Italian scribe would always abbreviate "qui" as 'q' with a crossbar, a French scribe would stick to 'q' with superscript 'i'. In many other minute details, a scribe's technical habits show through: whereas a scribe from Bologna would add a foot only to the last minim of 'm' or 'n', a French scribe, even when imitating the same style, would give all minims identical feet.

Devising a rational typology and nomenclature to encapsulate the dimensions and features of a vast number of scripts is a necessity, if experts are to agree on anything, but no easy task, especially for gothic handwriting. Late medieval scribes and writing masters used distinctive names for the scripts of their time, either commonly accepted or more fanciful, suggestive of institutional contexts ("court hand"), places (*littera bononiensis*), kinds of writing (*notula*), stylistic development ("bastard"), or visual aspect (*textus prescissus*, i.e. trimmed text, a high-grade book script with no foot strokes). Just as in calligraphy or type design today, a given script seems to have been defined less by a limited set of letter forms than by general proportions (in relation to nib width and pen angle) and by the treatment of the ends of strokes (heads and feet), which are just as important in the visual texture of the page: e.g. *textus rotundus*, with minims rounded top and bottom, *textus semiquadratus*, with broken or lozenge-shaped heads, and *textus quadratus*, with the same treatment applied to feet. Different scripts needed different amounts of attention and time, which to professional scribes also meant different price ranges.

By contrast, the typology of gothic book scripts currently used by most manuscript scholars, developed by Dutch and Belgian scholars over half a century (Lieftinck, 1954 to Derolez, 2003) needed to encompass all scripts, formal or informal, and to cover a long period with simple coordinates. This has led to an elementary, two-dimensional classification. The primary division is based on a minimal subset of letterforms: textualis has two-compartment 'a', non-looped ascenders, and 'f' and long 's' standing on the baseline: cursiva has a single-compartment 'a', looped ascenders, and 's' and 'f' descending below baseline: hvbrida is similar to cursiva but with no loops. Further subcategories are designed to accommodate most scripts that could not fit into the primary division. Secondarily, each of these categories is gualified according to three levels of execution: formata, libraria (or media), and currens. The simplicity of the system makes it ideal for purposes of cataloging and indexing, but completely different styles might be forced to co-exist in the same box. For a more accurate description, such elementary terms are better used alongside more specific names rooted in tradition, as in hvbrida formata (lettre bourguignonne).

Let us now move beyond general notions and nomenclature. In the following descriptions of thirteen selected items, we hope to illustrate how much more than a name is to be found in a script. Medieval books are valuable for the texts they contain. Reading and looking are two distinct operations of the mind, but by learning to look at texts, much is to be gained concerning the history and significance of what we read in them.

Marc H. Smith

Professor of Latin paleography, École nationale des chartes, École pratique des hautes études

| 1

Liturgical calendar

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment Italy, c. 1180-1220

This manuscript illustrates the transition from later Carolingian minuscule towards a more compact, "gothic" structure: note the thick strokes joined directly by touching corners, with hardly any hairlines. Words are constructed as visual units: the regular fusions (or biting) of adjacent curves, characteristic of mature gothic scripts, are not yet present, but 'pp' is conjoined and other



letters tend to move closer and to touch (including 'd' in the slanted, gothic form). The script maintains features rooted in earlier Italian scripts, and later continued in Italian gothic *rotunda*, including broad proportions, rounded arches and bows, and the careful treatment of stroke endings (either with feet or finished flat on the baseline) producing clean, legible letter forms. Note that the scribe writes on the top line, a scribal practice much more common before c. 1230 than after (Ker, 1960).

This calendar may once have been part of a longer manuscript, but evidence suggests that it could have circulated independently. Liturgical calendars can often be dated based on the evidence of the saints and other feasts included, and they are thus important to paleographers studying the development of script. [TM 633]

DESCRIPTION: 8 folios, one quire of eight leaves, written on the top line in a protogothic script approaching *textualis* in 3 columns of 22 lines, red KL-monograms, open and closing folios darkened, some stains, bound in modern half leather. Dimensions 333-320 x 220-207 mm.

LITERATURE: N. R. Ker, "From 'above top line' to 'below top line': A Change in Scribal Practice," *Celtica* 5 (1960), pp. 13-16; Jean-Baptiste Lebigue, "L'organisation du culte: Le calendrier," in *Initiation aux manuscrits liturgiques*, Paris-Orléans, 2007, pp. 151-160, https://cel.archives-ouvertes.fr/cel-00194063/document

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NICOLAUS DE AQUAVILLA, Sermones de sanctis et de communi sanctorum

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment France (Paris?), c. 1275-1325

This manuscript is copied in a small, quick gothic bookhand, compressed both vertically (short ascenders and descenders), and horizontally, with spaces between strokes equal to the thickness of strokes. Adjacent curves ('de', 'bo') are fused together, with the second letter biting strongly into the first. The script contains a number of French features, especially abbreviation marks. The single-compartment 'a', long final 's', and final 'm' extending below the baseline, together with great speed of execution and letters more or less broken up into their component strokes, are frequently found in manuscripts from the university of Paris. A remarkable oddity is the use of an ampersand for "et," very uncommon after 1230, alongside the usual Tironian *nota* '7'. In stark contrast, the notes added on ff. 20v-21 and 211rv by a Franciscan friar are in a

larger, fast, and disjointed personal hand with cursive features (looped ascenders) and distinctly Italian orthography. Such idiosyncratic scripts are difficult to date, and this one could be later by half a century.

The manuscript is signed by a Gaufridus "cultor amoris" (devotee of love). A handful of other known scribes used this sobriquet, which seems more fitting for a secular scribe. This manuscript could have been copied for Franciscan use by a professional scribe. [TM 783]

DESCRIPTION: 210 folios, complete, copied in *semitextualis currens (parisiensis)* in 2 columns of up to 40 lines, alternating red or blue initials and one larger parted red and blue penwork initial, bound in 16th- century limp vellum. Dimensions 205 x 155 mm.

LITERATURE: E. Odelman, "Editing the Sermones moralissimi de tempore by Nicholas de Aquavilla," in Constructing the Medieval Sermon, ed. Roger Andersson, Turnhout, 2007, pp. 165-176; J. B. Schneyer, Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters..., vol. 4, Münster, 1972, pp. 189-205.



Noted Processional (Franciscan Use; Use of Rome)

In Latin, decorated manuscript with musical notation on parchment Northern Italy, c. 1450-1500

The script used in this small manuscript was well suited for the formality of its contents. This is a Processional, a liturgical manuscript containing the texts and music for the



processions that were part of the celebration of feasts such as the Purification and Palm Sunday. Unlike Gaufridus "cultor amoris" (no. 2), this scribe was not in a hurry. The script is a tall and slightly stiff example of late medieval *rotunda*, with each letter carefully and precisely constructed, showing strong contrast between sharply defined thick strokes and decorative hairlines. Typical forms include 'a' with the head stroke connected to the pointed lobe by a curved hairline. The differentiated treatment of shafts and minims is particularly complex, with a broken foot retained in 'i', 't', and 'l', whereas 'a',

upright 'd', 'u', 'm', and 'n' are finished with an upturned hairline (with other minims, 'r', and long 's' flat on the baseline).

Copying music, rather than words, was a specialized activity that required particular skills. The music in this manuscript is carefully and legibly copied on red four-line staves. Michel Huglo, comparing Dominican and Franciscan manuscripts with musical notation, suggested that the Franciscan manuscripts are distinguished by clarity and airiness, with ample room for the chant, certainly true in the case of this manuscript (Huglo, 2011). [TM 515]

DESCRIPTION: 160 folios, complete, written in southern *textualis formata* (*rotunda*) in 18 long lines, 4-line red staves with square musical notation, alternately red and blue penwork initials, in excellent condition, bound in an early (original?) limp vellum cover, lower cover now partially detached. Dimensions 142 x 80 mm.

LITERATURE: P.-M. Gy, "Collectaire, rituel, processional," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 44 (1960), pp. 441-69; Michel Huglo, "Dominican and Franciscan Books: Similarities and Differences Between Their Notation," in *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, ed. Johan Haines, Musicalia Medii Aevi 1, Turnhout, 2011.



| 4

Office of the Dead (Use of St. Kunibert, Cologne); Prayers before celebrating Mass; Funeral service; Necrologium (added)

In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment Germany, Cologne, 1487 and 1727 (with later additions)

Formal gothic book scripts were used throughout the later Midde Ages, especially for liturgical manuscripts and Bibles. The earliest printed book, Gutenberg's 42-line Bible of 1454-1455, is set in a type modelled on scripts similar to those of this German manuscript. The dedication page was copied in ten lines of large red letters of the most formal style, known to scribes as *textus quadratus* or *textura*. Almost all letters are constructed by combining a small number of elements: long vertical strokes with heads and feet in the form of lozenges or short oblique strokes (especially 'i', 'n', 'm', and 'u'). Breaking and straightening curves allowed scribes to fuse adjacent letters from top to bottom ('de', third line) and to distribute space and strokes evenly, as in a fence, to the point where decorative effect takes precedence over legibility. Geometrical construction with a broad nib also creates dynamic tension between the outer and inner forms of letters: see how the four strokes of 'o' constitute a parallelogram within a symmetrical hexagon. The text that follows was copied in a slightly less formal script, where the feet of minims are made by simple up-turns of the pen (*textus rotundus*).

Relatively large in format, this manuscript from the important church of St. Kunibert in Cologne was used daily by the canons for the liturgy associated with death and burial. Dated and with a known donor, it is preserved in an elaborate sixteenth-century



binding. [TM 644]

DESCRIPTION: 64 folios (50 + 14 later paper leaves), complete, written in *textualis libraria* (*textus rotundus*) in 19 long lines, hufnagel notation on four-line staves, 3-to 6-line penwork initials, significant soiling and parchment repairs, early sixteenth-century blind-tooled leather binding with title and metal fittings. Dimensions 230 x 158 mm.

LITERATURE: Peter Kürten, Das Stift St. Kunibert in Köln von der Gründung bis zum Jahre 1453, Cologne, 1985; Peter Kürten, Das Stift St. Kunibert in Köln vom Jahre 1453 bis zur Auflösung, Cologne, 1990.

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Commentary on PETER LOMBARD'S First Book of the Sentences, related to PAULUS VENETUS, Super primum sententiarum Johannis de Ripa Lecturae Abbreviatio

In Latin, decorated manuscript on paper and parchment Northern Italy, 1479 (?)

Cursive gothic scripts came into common use in thirteenth-century charters and other documents. By the fourteenth century they were used in various kinds of books. In informal manuscripts such as this, made by masters and students for their own use, *cursiva currens* tended to replace the lower grades of book scripts. But professional scribes also developed *cursiva* into a proper book script, often large and bold, known as *bâtarde*. By the fifteenth century, *cursiva* scripts were found in almost any type of book except the most formal (Bibles and liturgical books were rarely copied in *bâtarde*, but many Books of Hours were). This manuscript shows a typical Italian cursive script, with single-compartment 'a', looped ascenders, and 'f', long 's', and final 'm' extending below the line. The scribe began each section using a large, somewhat irregular *rotunda* as a display script, and then continued in his much smaller, highly-abbreviated cursive script.

The text of this manuscript is an abbreviated version of the lengthy commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard by the fourteenth-century Franciscan theologian, Johannes de Ripa (still only partially edited). It appears to correspond most closely with the abbreviation by Paul of Venice, written shortly before 1402 at Padua and known in only one other manuscript. **ITM 3391**

DESCRIPTION: 124 folios, likely missing quires at the beginning and end, written in two scripts: *textualis* (*rotunda*) and *cursiva currens* (*notula*) in 2 columns of 35 to 31 lines, 6- to 12-line red initials, some with pen decoration, in excellent, almost pristine condition, 17^{th} - century binding of vellum leaves from a printed book over pasteboard. Dimensions 160 x 128 mm.

LITERATURE: Jean de Ripa, Lectura super Primum Sententiarum: Prologi quaestiones I et II; Prologi quaestiones ultimae, ed. A. Combes and F. Ruello, Textes Philosophiques du Moyen Age 8 and 16, Paris, 1961 and 1970; Paulus Venetus, Super Primum Sententiarum Johannis de Ripa Lecturae. Abbreviatio, ed. F. Ruello, Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi, Testi e studi XV, Florence, 1999.





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NIKOLAUS FRAUENLOB VON HIRSCHBERG, *Elixir;* ORTOLF VON BAIERLAND, *Arzneibuch; Korpus der Klostermedizin*

In German, with isolated Latin inserts, manuscript on paper Germany (southern Bavaria) or Austria, dated 1489

The scribe of this manuscript, Jakob Kreutter of Augsburg, states that he completed his task in 1489. Dated manuscripts are an essential paleographic touchstone for dating other manuscripts by comparison. This bristly and dynamic script, typically German, may appear almost illegible: the letter forms are consistent but highly connected.

with hardly any penlifts within a word, or even between letters and abbreviation marks, which are made in one swooping stroke. Rather than a professional book scribe, Jakob seems to have been a private individual interested in copying the text for himself; in Germany many such occasional scribes signed and dated their work. His hand even suggests he would have been more familiar with documents than with books. In dramatic contrast to his simple pen-drawn "Lombardic" initials, his flourished 'W's are evidently based on documentary models: many German charters begin with the word "Wir" (i.e. "We") decorated in similar penwork.

This manuscript includes the *Elixir* by Nikolaus Frauenlob of Hirschberg, an extensive natural-scientific compendium that is unedited and known in only three complete manuscripts, the *Arzneibuch* of Ortolf von Baierland, a medical text, and the *Korpus der Klostermedizin*, in which magical procedures and spells take their place alongside dietary guidance and medical instruction. [TM 456]

DESCRIPTION: 149 folios, watermarks dating 1480-1490 and 1498, missing two leaves after f. 148, written in *cursiva currens* (*Kurrent*) in 2 columns normally of 25-35 lines, red initials, unbound, quires loosely stitched together, housed in a blue cardboard box. Dimensions 300 x 200 mm.

LITERATURE: James Follan, ed., Das Arzneibuch Ortolfs von Baierland nach der ältesten Handschrift (14. Jhdt.)..., Stuttgart, 1963; Gerold Hayer, "Elixir Nicolay Frawnlob von Hiersperg ...," in Peter K. Stein with Renate Hausner et al., ed., Sprache – Text – Geschichte. Beiträge zur Mediävistik und germanistischen Sprachwissenschaft ..., Göppingen, 1980, pp. 185-265.

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| 7

JOHANNES DE HILDESHEIM, Historia trium regum

In Latin, manuscript on parchment England, c. 1400-1450

> This formal *cursiva* illustrates the difficulty of reconciling typology and history. Based on some typical English letters, tall two-compartment 'a', short 8-shaped 'g', and 6shaped 's', it might qualify as *cursiva antiquior libraria* (*bastard anglicana*). But considering proportions and technique — consistently heavy shading, treatment of minims and descenders — and all other letters, especially 'p' with a descender as a separate stroke, short closed 'r', and tall 'v', it is actually a fine imitation of the script that

originated in the French chancery around 1300, i.e. the "secretary"

script, first adopted by English clerks in the late fourteenth century, but often retaining, as here, a few letter forms from *anglicana*. An occasional long split 'r' or short 'v' shows this scribe still lapsing back into old habits. The manuscript was copied by several scribes, with varying degrees of formality and variations in individual letters. Nonetheless, the general characteristics of all their hands suggest an origin in the first half of the fifteenth century.

John of Hildesheim's *Story of the Three Kings* was a very widely read account of the journey of the three Magi. Most copies are in German and Austrian collections. The text of this manuscript, which is related to the version found in another manuscript copied in England, deserves careful study. [TM 734]

DESCRIPTION: 44 folios, this text complete, but once part of a longer volume, copied by several scribes in *cursiva antiquior libraria* (secretary script with *anglicana* features) in 32 to 35 long lines, edges darkened, some stains, last 6 leaves rodent damaged, overall in good condition, 18th-century blind-tooled reversed calf binding. Dimensions 260 x 165 mm.

LITERATURE: C. Horstmann, ed., The Three Kings of Cologne. An Early English Translation of the "Historia trium regum" by John of Hildesheim, London, 1886; Parkes, 1969; Frank Schaer, ed. The Three Kings of Cologne, Edited from London, Lambeth Palace MS 491, Heidelberg, 2000; Smith, 2008.

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De 23 aluam

(ANONYMOUS), La voie d'enfer et de paradis [Songe de la voie d'enfer et de la voie de paradis]

In French, decorated manuscript on paper France, Bourges, c. 1460

Apart from the color initials and its somewhat taller proportions, this elegant cursive hand is similar to scripts used for writing formal documents of the same period. Characteristics to note include the marked shading, connected minims, broken curves (especially the lobe of 'a'), partially loopless ascenders, long approach strokes on 'm', 'n', and 'R', short "horns" on the top of 'e', 'g', and other letters, two forms of 'r', final 's' similar to a small 'B', and the open lower curve of 'g'. This kind of script was widely used in fifteenth-century French books, often in a heavier, less cursive, calligraphic form known as *bâtarde*. In deluxe books copied for the dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Good (1419-1467), and Charles the Bold (1467-1477), one finds a loopless, sometimes very heavy variant of the same, known as *lettre bourguignonne*.

The text was composed by an anonymous author at the end of the fourteenth century, based on the *Voie d'enfer et de paradis* by Pierre de L'Hôpital; this manuscript is one of only three copies of this still unpublished work. In the first half of the sixteenth century it belonged to the celebrated Bourges poet, patron of the arts, and book collector, Jacques Thiboust, and it includes his ex libris – the earliest example of a French heraldic bookstamp (note his anagram QVI VOYT S'ESBAT = IAQVES TYBOUST). [TM 775]



DESCRIPTION: 139 folios, missing some leaves at the beginning and end, watermark dated 1464 and 1455, written in *semihybrida libraria* (close to *bâtarde*) on up to 24 lines, alternating red or blue initials, 16th-century binding of re-used parchment over pasteboards. Dimensions 212 x 150 mm.

LITERATURE: A. Thomas, "Anonyme, auteur de la *Voie d'enfer et de paradis," Histoire littéraire de la France*, Paris, 1927, vol. 36, pp. 86-100; Arthur Rau, "The Earliest Extant French Armorial Ex-libris," *The Book Collector* (1961), pp. 331-332.

muolas raveris fouriet 31° idus maias 1719. Er hanhe palait ademefine Contonnes Define paniture Brow lour mos Et de fin oz eler Filmtun et hulant ntint Averabo am les Paratout mylant at the to blue hant Nace on malars offort latone moult haulte et De Proel atono Fonder effort pay godur mafforde onet angle dor define affile Om moult Hella ft a toftam boys Critic Pacontos no pourorope La centul fini part De nobleffe Di thattel et la fortore fit mant Lochaster Dy elso Ent Te amandan moult bellement Ila came an me menore Et comparque me tenost Sole diaffel favoit nome p diff elle et avionnez. Orenelleux toutes your le noment Et moult bentoux des Tuonoment Site dwap pono quel Varion Edis en tout lan Jena Faifon Ant la Deffue groun bent me bente Storander foretaine ou toy of Gan czef - in server

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MECHTILD OF HACKEBORN, Het boek der bijzondere genade (Dutch translation of Liber Specialis Gratiae); short meditations and exempla, including one from THOMAS OF CANTIMPRÉ, Bonum universale de apibus (Biënboec)

In Dutch, manuscript on paper Northern Netherlands, Eastern part (IJssel region), c. 1490-1510

This kind of script originated in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and was typically used in the Low Countries and the Rhineland to copy texts in Latin, Dutch, and German. Its austere style is associated in particular with followers of the *Devotio Moderna*, including the Brethren of the Common Life and Canons of the Windesheim congregation. The hand shows bold, simplified letters made of straight vertical strokes with few hairlines, loopless ascenders, footless minims, and lobes tending to the form of a lozenge. Its origins from cursive scripts are seen in the simple form of 'a' and in 'f' and long 's' extending slightly below the line.

The manuscript is a rare copy of the still unpublished Dutch adaptation of the *Liber* specialis gratiae ("Book of Special Grace") by the famous German mystic Mechtild of Hackeborn (1240/1–1298), along with a few other Dutch texts, including a rare allegory on the life of bees. Made two centuries after her death in the very region where the *Devotio Moderna* had originated, the manuscript bears witness to Mechtild's enduring popularity. Only thirteen manuscripts of Dutch versions of this text are known today. [TM 545]

DESCRIPTION: 304 folios, watermarks dating 1495-1499, missing three leaves, written in Netherlandish *hybrida libraria* in 21–28 lines; 5- to 3-line penwork initials, generally in good condition, apart from severe iron-gall corrosion in pp. 1–4, 16th- or 17th-century brown leather binding, re-using part of the original blind-tooled cover. Dimensions 144 x 102 mm.

LITERATURE: B. Kruitwagen, "De Münstersche schrijfmeester Herman Strepel (1447) en de schriftsoorten van de Broeders van het Gemeene Leven en de Windesheimers," in *Laat-middeleeuwsche paleografica, paleotypica, liturgica, kalendalia, grammaticalia,* The Hague, 1942, pp. 1-116; R. L. Bromberg, ed., *Het Boek der Bijzondere Genade van Mechtild van Hackeborn...,* Zwolle, 1965; K. Schmidt, ed., Mechthild von Hackeborn, *Das Buch der Besonderen Gnade. Liber Specialis Gratiae,* Münsterschwarzach, 2010.





JEROME. [Vitae Patrum] Vita Pauli primi eremitae: Vita Malchi monachi captivi: Vita Hilarioni

In Latin, manuscript on parchment Italy, c. 1425

The fact that the nomenclature of medieval scripts can be a controversial issue among scholars may be difficult to appreciate. But names do matter. The script in this manuscript might be called *gothico-antigua* – that is gothic tending towards the humanistic style. distinguished by roundness and clarity. In structure and detail it is still truly gothic, a small, semi-formal version in the Italian tradition (semitextualis on account of singlecompartment 'a'). Petrarch (d. 1374) and later scribes began writing this kind of script with capitals rather than gothic maiuscules, and spacing lines so as to accommodate longer ascenders and descenders, in distant imitation of the layout of earlier manuscripts: such features may still be observed here. The scribe was even consciously experimenting with humanistic traits as he wrote; on this page he has switched from his common gothic 'g' to an idiosyncratic, pseudo-humanistic form; but in one word (gnarus), his usual 'g' slips from his pen. In addition, the three-line Roman capital initial is clearly taken from humanistic models, and so is the display script, a mixture reminiscent of romanesque and Byzantine majuscules, often seen in manuscripts from Northern Italy before c. 1450.

The monks and hermits living in the deserts of Egypt in the third and fourth centuries were an inspiration for Christian reform movements throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. They were certainly read in humanist circles, as

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evidenced by this copy of Jerome's lives of three fourthcentury desert hermits. [TM 87] A in oznilo cipzi fo.

DESCRIPTION: 64 folios, lacking guires after ff. 20v and 60v, written in semitextualis libraria with gothico-antigua features and early humanistic titles, in up to 20 long lines, red penwork initials, bound in modern pigskin. Dimensions 185 x 180 mm.

LITERATURE: P. Leclerc, E. M. Morales, and A. de Vogüé, eds., Jerome: Trois vies de moines: Paul, Malchus, Hilarion, Sources chrétiennes 508, Paris, 2007, pp. 142-83.

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lazion oznis mos thabats Equi cizcit quingz milliaria a Gaça urbe palelline ell litis ad autru. Cum pazentes babaret volir deditos. Rola ut Dicitur de lpinis flozuit. a qb millins Alexandriam pramatice traditur est. ibigs gram illa pa cicbatuz etas magna ingenij et moz Deninta planit breni. cazur omnibs et logidi ante mary Quodos by many all omnibus, spo acdens non circy finoziby non bazene languine : no theatri luxuria Delectribati sed tota illi uoluntar i ca ag

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PSEUDO-EUSEBIUS OF CREMONA, *Epistola de morte Hieronymi*; PSEUDO-CYRILLUS [Cyril of Jerusalem], *Epistola de miraculis Hieronymi*; PSEUDO-EUSEBIUS OF CREMONA, *Vita Sancti Hieronymi*; HIERONYMUS, *Vita sancti Pauli*

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment Northern Italy, c. 1450-70

In addition to seeking out and studying the texts of classical authors, the humanists of Renaissance Italy looked to the past to create a new type of book in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Their models were mostly the handsome, legible manuscripts from eleventh- and twelfth-century Italy in the late Carolingian script they called *littera antiqua* as opposed to *littera moderna*, i.e. gothic. The new revived script, humanistic minuscule, had clearly separated elements, few abbreviations (including the ampersand for "et"), and consistent letter forms, notably upright 'd', Carolingian 'g', and long final 's', although short final 's' proved impossible to eradicate (this page has a few) and ultimately remained the norm. This hand is a regular and legible,

although slightly stiff, example, with hardly any shading. Occasional disconnected strokes reveal the painstaking construction of letters, as in the bow of 'a' (two strokes) or 'y' written as 'v' with the tail added. The gold initial 'P' illustrates the revival of Roman epigraphic capitals, mainly after 1450.

This manuscript is a vivid witness to the importance of St. Jerome in fifteenth-century Italy, and includes the foundational texts for his cult (see also no. 10). Handsome pen initials and classic white vinestem initials, or *bianchi girari*, adorn the text, which begins with an historiated initial depicting an ascetic St. Jerome meditating before the Crucifixion. [TM 656]

DESCRIPTION: 70 folios, complete, written on the top line in *antiqua* (humanistic) script in 30 long lines, penwork initials, two 5- to 7-line white vinestem initials, one historiated, early (probably contemporary) leather binding over wooden boards with later painted border. Dimensions 203 x 153 mm.

LITERATURE: Ullman, 1960; De la Mare, 1973; E. Rice, Saint Jerome in the Renaissance, Baltimore and London, 1985.

Transitus' dun Hieronymi per Eusebium Cremonensen aufdem Hieronymi difapulum fancallimum editus fapir. Atri reiserendillimo Damallo Epilcopo et chriftianiflimo Theodolio Romanor Sena ton Eusebuil Cremonenfil olim Hierony mi lanch limi di la pulul. Mune uero co dem orbatul lundine. Sum dolorem et limum oaudium . Multifariam multila mo dif olim deuf locutuf eft omnibul nobil per luum dil Jech Timum filum fanctum Hieronymum de fou ptual fanch in urtutbul et prodious multi que per uum feat ipladis unnedio noltr. hait nol latil: de quo for not telter hunuligu eum undemuß et oaile notart et lanctitatem pipeximul et manufnoltre contrectauerunt de uerbo el faentre et doctrine : quibul nuper uita manifelta est. uod eroo uidimul et audiuimul annuinaamul ilobil. Eramul enim range ouel errantel erroribul et superstinosif fabulis non audientel fanam doctrina: fed coacernantel fibi pleudo prophetal qui lincentel in populo maoiltri mendacel introdu cebant fectal name parditionil donec fre illucesceret diel qui tangs fol refulcent guinguaounta annul et les mentibul multi laborbul et erumnif in lechonib et mortis ut nobil franceret pane doctrine deludant tenebralor erroru profugant et cun ctof aperditione liberant effullit i Templo dei. Incipient ab oriente ulas ad occidentem auferent bella bereticos, cori arcum conterent arma et scuta sua combusit ioni: quoni à in splo deul politit prodicia luper tersam ut nomen luum Fieret manifeltum m'nationibul. Demde pertranhenlulge

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Traicté d'aymer Dieu* [Anonymous French Translation of *De diligendo Dei*]

In French, decorated manuscript on parchment France, c. 1535-1550

The invention of printing with moveable type in the mid-fifteenth century did not mean the end of the hand-written book. This manuscript — an example of the skill of a sixteenth-century scribe and artist — was almost certainly a presentation copy to an unknown patron. The extremely regular script, spacing, punctuation, and the decorated initials are inspired by contemporary printed volumes, and their aspect suggests that the book was copied in France c. 1535-1550, during the latter portion of the reign of King Francis I (d. 1547).

This elegant manuscript is apparently the only surviving copy of a hitherto unknown (and thus unedited and unpublished) French vernacular translation of the important work of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux on the love of God. Linguistically it is an interesting bridge between the late twelfth-century version and the later seventeenth-century translations such as the one by the Feuillant monk Antoine de Saint-Gabriel (published Paris, 1664). This manuscript belonged to Philip Augustus Hanrott (1776-1856), the British bibliophile and collector, who had the manuscript bound in his characteristic armorial binding. [TM 671]

DESCRIPTION: 36 folios, complete, written in a fine and regular humanistic script influenced by Roman type on up to 22 lines, two decorated initials, 19th-century English binding of dark blue morocco. Dimensions 310 x 250 mm.

LITERATURE: F. Callerot et al., ed. and trans., Bernard of Clairvaux, *L'amour de Dieu. La grâce et le libre arbitre*, Paris, 1993; Stewart Gregory, *La traduction en prose française du 12^e siècle des Sermones in Cantica de Saint Bernard*, Amsterdam, 1994.



Le Prologue de lainct Bernard Abbé fur le traicté d'aymer Dieu 4 À illustre personne Monseigneur Haymericus Diacre de l'Eglise Rommaine, Cardinal, & Chace lier: Bernard Abbé dict de Claire vaulx. Viure, et mou rir en Dieu 4

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BIBLIOTHÉQUE d'Armand de Crochard Fontaine Milon Maine et Loire | 13

HIERONYMUS TOCHTERMANN, Calligraphic Alphabet

Illuminated parchment sheet Germany, Augsburg, 1734



Even in the early modern period, the ability to copy books and documents in a formal script continued to be a valued skill taught by professional writing masters, both in person and by means of copybooks. This fanciful alphabet illustrates the classic German script *Fraktur*, based on the script of the Imperial chancery in the late fifteenth-century, and used in manuscript and in print until 1941. It includes thirty-three letters (including some double letters and the 'sz' ligature 'B'). Each letter is executed in different colors and patterns, including stars, flowers, and abstract designs. Copied in a micro-script within the 'm' is a brief colophon in verse, that humorously comments on the name of the scribe, "Tochterman" or "son-in-law"; translated, it says, "Each and everyone calls me son-in-law/ each and everyone does so rightly/ but whenever I ask for it/ the dowry proves most hard to find/ and if you only give me the news of it/ you can't [give me] the daughter." The date, 1734, is hidden in the final punctuation mark.

Hieronymus Tochtermann (1683-1755) was a calligrapher and schoolmaster who lived and worked in Augsburg. At least seven manuscript copy books by Tochtermann, dating from 1729 to 1754, survive in Germany and New York (two in the Butler Library of Columbia University), as well as single sheets. [TM 848]

DESCRIPTION: One sheet, thirty-three letters copied in *Fraktur* decorated in many colors of ink with gold highlights, in good condition, slightly soiled, central fold and marginal creases, framed. Dimensions 250 x 330 mm.; with frame 295 x 370 mm.

LITERATURE: Werner Doede, Schön schreiben, eine Kunst: Johann Neudörffer und die Kalligraphie des Barock, Munich, 1988; M. G. Roethlisberger, "Der Augsburger Kalligraph Hieronymus Tochtermann," Librarium, Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft 46 (2003), pp. 2-24.



Index of Scripts

Carolingian minuscule (or Caroline minuscule). This reformed script became the predominant script used in Western Europe from the ninth to the twelfth century, its rapid spread linked to the intellectual and liturgical reforms begun during the reign of the Emperor Charlemagne (d. 814). It is a very legible, upright, and rounded script, with moderate shading, mostly avoiding ligatures (except for the '&' form of "et"), and consistent letter forms.

Late Caroline minuscule (or romanesque minuscule, praegothica, protogothic minuscule) (no. 1*). Names variously used to describe twelfth-century minuscules in terms of the transition from Carolingian to gothic, based on specific letter forms (slanted 'd', short 's', Tironian '7' to abbreviate "et") and on changes in style and technique: lateral compression, heavier weight, shorter ascenders and descenders, oval-shaped rather than round bows, and upturned finishing strokes (feet) on minims.

Textualis or gothic book script (nos. 2*, 3, 4).** Used throughout Europe from c. 1200 into the sixteenth century, *textualis* was a compact script with short ascenders and descenders and strong lateral compression, using a limited repertory of short, bold pen strokes in different combinations. Letters were closely connected by head and foot strokes, with adjacent bows joined together by fusion or "biting." *Textualis* is commonly distinguished from other gothic scripts by double-compartment 'a', loopless ascenders, and 'f' and long 's' standing on the baseline.

Rotunda (no. 3*). A formal, rounded variant of *textualis* used in Italy, Southern France, and the Iberian Peninsula (and later, Southern Germany), characterized by several specific letter forms and especially by the systematic differentiation of minims, with or without feet; used to copy legal manuscripts from Bologna (*littera bononiensis*) and deluxe liturgical manuscripts, where it remained in use as late as the seventeenth century.

Cursive gothic scripts (nos. 5*, 6, 7***).** Cursive scripts originated in quick documentary writing, based on pen movements (*ductus*) that limited pen lifts between strokes. Ascenders and descenders tend to be long and connected with loops, and 'f' and long 's' extend below the line. Widely used to copy books in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, cursive scripts vary greatly as to letter forms and features of technique and style, ranging from fast, hurried hands to more formal styles, which developed into "bastard" scripts. Late medieval national variants include *anglicana* followed by "secretary" in England (no. 7), *bâtarde* in France (no. 8), and early forms of *Fraktur* in Germany (no. 13).



The Liesborn Gospels



TM 735













TM 257

Bâtarde (no. 8*). The notion of "bastard" scripts should be applied to formal book scripts that imitate cursive, documentary letter forms but use a broad nib in a set manner (*cursiva formata*). Bâtarde is the style derived from French chancery scripts, used mainly in the fifteenth century for luxurious vernacular books in France and in the Burgundian territories, where it was often written with loopless ascenders (*lettre bourguignonne*). It is a dynamic script, heavily shaded, curved and prickly at the same time, with long strokes (shafts) often sloping from the right and short strokes (minims) upright or sloping from the left.

Hybrida (no. 9*). A category of cursive scripts characterized by loopless ascenders (probably as a solution to the difficulty of writing loops in small sizes with a broad nib). *Hybrida* scripts were used particularly in the Low Countries and the Rhineland from the second decade of the fifteenth century onwards in *Devotio Moderna* circles. Netherlandish scripts probably influenced the more luxurious but also loopless Burgundian *bâtarde* (see above), a form of *hybrida formata*.

Gothico-antiqua (or gothico-humanistica, fere-humanistica) (no. 10*). A class of transitional scripts common in fifteenth-century Italy, somewhat loosely defined, resulting from a mixture of *textualis* and humanistic features and letter forms. It is often difficult to decide to which side the mixture leans most.

Humanistic minuscule (or Antiqua) (nos. 11*, 12**). A reformed script, created in the first years of the fifteenth century mainly by Niccolò Niccoli (d. 1437) and Poggio Bracciolini (d. 1459), who deliberately rejected gothic scripts in favor of (late) Carolingian minuscule. It has few abbreviations (including the return of the ampersand for "et"), clearly separated elements, and consistent letter forms, notably upright 'd', Carolingian minuscule 'g', and, at least originally, long final 's', and is often accompanied by imitation Roman capitals (more classical in form after c. 1450). Antiqua was the model for roman type, perfected as early as 1470, which in turn was imitated by scribes.

Fraktur (no. 13*). A formal German *hybrida* developed in the reign of Emperor Maximilian (d. 1519), based on the script of the imperial chancery. *Fraktur* and other gothic scripts remained the norm for centuries, in print and manuscript, for Germanic languages (including part of Scandinavia). After decades of debate, the Nazi government abolished them in 1941.





TM 722





TM 602





TM 628









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