Illuminating Life

MANUSCRIPT PAGES OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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Illuminating Life

MANUSCRIPT PAGES OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Paix. Iuſtice. Legliſe. Miſericorde. Charite.

Illuminating Life

MANUSCRIPT PAGES OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Exhibition Catalogue

Edited by Brittney A. Payer and Alex Wall

The University of Guelph
2020

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Illuminating Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages, on view at
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Frontispiece: "The Church with Four Cardinal Virtues," Book of Hours (Use of Rome), Paris, c.1526, MS. *Les Enluminures.*

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ESSAYS

Foreword

We live in an age which has invented the term "digital humanities" and in which historical, art historical, and literary research has evolved to become increasingly discrete from the material primary sources that form the foundation upon which these academic disciplines ultimately rest. In such an historic context, the innovative collaboration of the University of Guelph's History Department, McLaughlin Library's Archival & Special Collections, and the internationally renowned rare book dealer *Les Enluminures* to focus attention on a select corpus of manuscripts and early printed books is especially noteworthy and commendable. By a loan of eight medieval and Renaissance manuscript books and one early printed book combined with select items drawn from the University of Guelph Library's own collections, teaching faculty and librarians have forged a powerful pedagogical tool of which this catalog is the fruit. Its publication is in itself eloquent testimony to the unique way that material objects from the past possess the capacity to kindle the imagination of students and seasoned scholars alike. At a moment of pandemic, the preparation of this exhibit and catalogue has dynamically focussed the attention of the entire University of Guelph community on the role that primary sources in their original state ground our ability to comprehend the historical origins of our culture.

Paul Saenger, Curator of Rare Books Emeritus,
The Newberry Library, Chicago IL

Preface

After more than a year of preparation, the exhibition *Illuminating* *Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages* opened on 12 March 2020. Two days later, the McLaughlin Library at the University of Guelph shut its doors to the public in response to the COVID-19 global pandemic. As a result, *Illuminating Life* must have been one of the shortest exhibitions on record. Among the casualties were two public school visits, a community open house, and countless drop-ins by students, staff, and faculty at the university. But if there is any consolation, it is that the most valuable part of the experience was had in the weeks leading up to the opening: when the manuscripts were out of the cases and their pages were being turned by student researchers and medieval enthusiasts.

The Manuscripts in the Curriculum II program, sponsored by *Les Enluminures*, has made clear the tremendous value of working with original medieval manuscripts. As a special collections librarian and a medieval historian, we have long understood the thrill of handling parchment that is centuries old. This means of connecting with the past is a perquisite of our chosen careers. What we did not anticipate was how universal such feelings of exhilaration would be. We noticed the near-electric impact that these manuscripts have had on faculty from Animal Sciences, on postgraduates in Computer Science, and on students pursuing a Bachelor of Commerce. We watched members of the community draw deep breaths as they carefully turned the pages of the thirteenth-century psalter. At our inaugural 'Meet the Manuscripts' reception in January 2020, we saw high school students marvel at the hand-painted illuminations in the Hardouyn Book of Hours. And we observed a handful of elementary school children giggle over the dog scrawled in Juvenal's *Satyrae*, centuries ago, by other children. Journalists were seduced and featured the manuscripts, and the students studying them, on the local television news.

During the winter semester of 2020, we witnessed the power of original medieval manuscripts to motivate research. The essays found in this catalogue, written by both graduate and undergraduate

students in our courses, are a testament to this motivation. Many of the codices in the exhibition are devotional texts, whose content would normally be of little interest to students. Yet the opportunity to explore the physical manuscript stoked their curiosity and drove them to research as much as they could about their historical context. Their essays provide an enriched understanding of how these texts were produced, how they were used, what they can tell us about the lives of people in the Middle Ages, and what research they may fuel in the future.

Our students have equally benefited from the partnership among the History Department, the College of Arts, and Archival & Special Collections. Archival & Special Collections at the University of Guelph functions as a laboratory for the humanities, enabling students to ascend from digital generalizations to tangible reality. In preparing for the exhibition, they tackled all aspects of exhibit curation, ranging from the techniques of installation to the creation of accurate interpretative exhibit labels. In so doing, they were given a hands-on introduction to the curatorial profession. For the student curators of *Illuminating Life*, their interaction with the original medieval manuscripts has been a true case of experiential learning in which they acquired lessons useful for subsequent careers in scholarship, librarianship, and even entrepreneurship in the private sector.

Susannah Ferreira, Associate Professor of History
University of Guelph

Melissa McAfee, Special Collections Librarian
University of Guelph

Acknowledgements

Just as it took a team of scribes and illuminators to produce many of the beautiful books displayed here, so too did it take the help and support of many in the University of Guelph community to create this exhibition and catalogue, all of whom deserve our deepest gratitude.

Thanks first are due to Dr. Sandra Hindman and Dr. Laura Light of *Les Enluminures* for granting us the loan of nine remarkable books as part of the Manuscripts in the Curriculum II program, as well as to Rebecca Graham, University Librarian, for generously underwriting the not inconsiderable expense of the loan. Thank you also to Amanda Etches, Associate University Librarian (Research), and Barbara McDonald, Associate University Librarian (Academic), who with great competence facilitated the essential administrative steps that enabled the exhibition to come to fruition. These books inspired the entire project, and without them none of it would have been possible. We would also like to express our gratitude to the University of Guelph College of Arts, especially Dr. Samantha Brennan, Dean, College of Arts; Dr. Ruediger Mueller, Associate Dean Academic; Dr. Andrew Bailey, Associate Dean, Research and Graduate Studies; Dr. Sandra Sabatini, Manager, Research and Communications; and Paul Forrest, Media Design and Producer. In the Department of History specifically, we thank Dr. Sofie Lachapelle, Department Chair, and Dr. Kevin James, Chair of the Scottish Studies Foundation. For this volume especially, we cannot forget also Amy Winehouse and Jimi Hendrix, Melissa McAfee's feline companions, whom we thank for subsidizing the printing costs of the catalogue.

This project also benefitted greatly from the generous support of the staff of McLaughlin Library's Archival & Special Collections. These dedicated librarians and archivists graciously accommodated four classes—a total of 52 students!—that were engaged in this project over the course of two semesters, retrieved the manuscripts and ensured their security and preservation, answered numerous questions, provided facsimiles, and led the fabrication and installation of the exhibition as well as the creation of the accompanying digital version. In particular we'd like to acknowledge the

heroic efforts of Bev Buckie, Graham Burt (who saved the day on many occasions), Lara Carleton (photographer extraordinaire), Gillian Manford, Ashley Shifflett McBrayne, and Darlene Wiltsie.

In recognition of all those who advised us on the many aspects of this process, our appreciation is extended as well to Jack McCart and Paul Saegner, Curator of Rare Books Emeritus, The Newberry Library, for lending their expertise as consultants to ensure the exhibition would be as educational as it was exciting. We would also like to thank Dr. William Noel, Associate University Librarian for Special Collectons, Princeton University, for his participation in the "Parchment to Pixels" colloquium and his unending enthusiasm for our project. For her aesthetic advice and guidance from which the design of the catalogue benefitted greatly, we are grateful as well to Dr. Christina Smyilitopoulos, Associate Professor, Art History.

Students in Dr. Susannah Ferreira's History 4700 "Premodern History" course created an online version of the physical exhibit. We wish to thank them all for their diligence in creating this legacy to the physical exhibit: Matthew Belo, Tyler Boothby, Sara Filipopoulos, Judy Li, Evangeline Mann, Mathieu Martel, Keegan McNaught, Andrew Northey, Talia Sicoly, Nicholas Snow, Josie Thomas, Paul Watson, Broghan White, Margarita Wilson, and Kristian Zlatanovski. We would also like to express our gratitude for the energy and resiliency of students in Dr. Ferreira's History 3840 "From Parchment to Pixel" Workplace Learning class, who turned the idea of the exhibition into reality by creating the labels, facsimiles, and design of the exhibit. In addition, they were responsible for planning the Colloquium, "From Parchment to Pixels," which featured student papers about the manuscripts and the launch of the exhibit. Our heartfelt thanks for this go to Julia Cole, Coltrane Daniels, Sara Filipopolous, Janine Magilsen, Nicole Mior, and Henrique Silva Paiane. We appreciate also the brilliant commuication skills of students in Dr. Ferreira's first-year "Wonders of Illuminated Manuscripts" course in organizing and leading tours through the exhibit, from seniors groups to school children. For making it possible for members of the Guelph community to have the rare opportunity of interacting with medieval artifacts, we express our profound thanks to Kristen Akey, Shubh Bhawnani, Emma Bradley, Olivia Cox, Lauren Dean, Yasmeen Elshamli, Sondra Emery, Sanjna Farma, Jade Gorman, Tiffany Grant, Alexis MacDonald-Anderson, Mya Reyes-Marshall, Michelle Tham, and Elizabeth Wilson.

And finally we owe a huge debt of gratitude to Dr. Susannah Ferreira, Associate Professor of History, and Melissa McAfee, Special Collections Librarian, for initiating the contact with *Les Enluminures*, pursuing the loan, and then integrating it into the curriculum at the University of Guelph. We are deeply grateful for your never-failing enthusiasm, encouragement, and passionate support.

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KATHRYN M. COMPER completed her BA (Hon.) in 2017 at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Her undergraduate thesis studied the foreign influences on the Scottish Reformation, primarily investigating the political connections that created an atmosphere for religious reform. She recently received her MA from the University of Guelph, where she researched the life of seventeenth-century noblewoman Lady Anna Mackenzie to explore how women used kinship networks at various stages of life to secure power for their noble families in early modern Scotland.

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RICHARD GRIFFIN is a knight of Sealand, and completed his MA on Plantagenet royal chronicles of the twelfth century under Susannah Ferreira following a BA in Classics, both from the University of Guelph. He was a student digger for the archaeological excavation at Pompeiopolis for two seasons, and is currently working at the Dundas Museum and Archives. He has a continued interest in documents, Geofrey Archbishop of York as he is presented in the chronicles, and the trade of ermine fur.

EVANGELINE MANN graduated from the University of Guelph with a BA (Hon.) in Art History. She is currently enrolled in the Masters of Arts, Art History program at Carleton University.

Her research interests include book and print culture, curatorial practices and contemporary Canadian photography. She is interested in pursuing a career in curatorship within art galleries and museums and was delighted to be part of the curatorial design of the digital version of the *Illuminating Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages* exhibition.

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BRITTNEY A. PAYER holds a combined BA (Hon.) in History and Medieval Studies from Wilfrid Laurier University where she completed also minors in English and in Spanish. She is currently in her second year of the MA History program at the University of Guelph and holds a SSHRC CGS-M scholarship for her graduate work. Her current research focuses on the Holy Roman Empire in the late Middle Ages, particularly concerning magic, witchcraft, and pre-Refirmation conceptualizations of heresy.

TALIA SICOLY is a student at the University of Guelph and is currently completing the final year of her undergraduate studies, working towards a BA in History. She has always had an interest in the past and a passion in working with archival material. She plans to continue her education and obtain her Master's degree in Curatorial and Museum Studies after acquiring work experience abroad. She aspires to pursue a career in the museum field as a curator.

JOSIE THOMAS is completing her BA in History, at the University of Guelph. She is interested in Canadian social history, particularly regarding women. She has worked with the University of Guelph's Rural Diary Archive, where she researched, transcribed, and analyzed nineteenth-century diaries. Her previous exhibition experience includes creating intellectual content for the digital exhibition *What Canada Ate* (2018), as well as creating catalogue entries for and helping to plan the *Spaces of Wonder, Wonder of Space* exhibition (2018), also at the University of Guelph. For her role in *Illuminating Life*, she worked with medieval manuscripts to create the accompanying online exhibition and is featured here as an author.

ALEX WALL is currently pursuing a MA in History at the University of Guelph. His area of study is the Spanish Inquisition and its role in sixteenth-century Spain's diplomatic relations. He also completed his BA at the University of Guelph, with a double-major in History and English, and is the recipient of the Tri-University Prize for Best Paper by an MA Student (2020), the Department of History Graduate Essay Prize (2020), and the W. S. Reid Essay Prize (2019).

MARGARITA WILSON received her BA (Hon.) in History from the University of Guelph in the Spring of 2020. Her area of interest is the intersection of religious history, art and design, and accessibility in the built environment. She currently heads the development of virtual exhibitions for the Millet & District Museum in Millet, Alberta. She plans to work in the field of exhibit design and will be returning to school for an interior design degree in Fall 2021.

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Introduction

Brittney A. Payer

Every book tells a story. Whether fictional or educational, spiritual or realistic, every page offers us valuable insight and tells some kind of tale. While the manuscripts of the Middle Ages may look different from the largely standardized formats of book production seen today, their pages, too, have a story to tell, and it is one beyond simply the calligraphed words on a folio. From the minute details like the materials used to bind them, to their larger place and use in context, the manuscript pages of the Middle Ages give us valuable insight into the experiences of a medieval person, and it is these stories that the *Illuminating Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages* exhibition and this catalogue aim to tell.

The loan of nine medieval manuscripts and printed books from *Les Enluminures*, a rare book firm based in Paris, Chicago, and New York City, provided the basis and the inspiration

Facing page: folio with pen-flourished decoration. Breviary for the Night Office in two volumes, Vol. 2, The Netherlands (South Holland), c.1450-1475, MS. *Les Enluminures* TM 940.

for the *Illuminating Life* project at the University of Guelph. The Manuscripts in the Curriculum II program, sponsored by *Les Enluminures*, was launched in order to give university students a chance to work hands-on with medieval texts. Even with the existence and availability of archival collections in academic libraries, the rarity, cost, and required care of medieval manuscripts means that the opportunities to physically engage with them are scarce. When such texts are accessible, they are often limited to facsimiles and manuscript leaves that, while remarkable and useful, do not offer the same opportunity as does a fully intact, still-bound, centuries-old manuscript. To take full advantage of this loan, Dr. Susannah Ferreira of the Department of History and Melissa McAfee from the University library's Archival & Special Collections worked closely to create four separate classes at all levels of study centred on these manuscripts. The *Illuminating Life* exhibition was the culmination of these many students' hard work and a testament to the importance of the manuscripts program.

Workplace Learning students Sara Filipopoulos and Janine Magilsen arranging the displays during the exhibition installation.

Our project began in Fall 2019 with a class of eight graduate students from both History and Cultural Studies tasked with curating the manuscripts and printed books loaned to us, consisting of a psalter, Vulgate Bible, Office of the Dead, book of sermons, confessional, feudal declaration, humanist publication, book of hours, and two breviary volumes. To these we added pre-modern texts already in the University of Guelph collections, including a copy of Thomas Aquinas' famous questions, a collection of tracts on magic and religion, and numerous Scottish land charters with their accompanying original seals. As the manuscripts would not arrive until January, we set out to become experts on our respective texts and devise a theme around which we could organize the exhibition. The variety of manuscripts—a combination of religious, educational, and administrative—made the choice of a theme difficult, though the collective opinion was that the books should be displayed in such a way that, where possible, emphasized their non-religious qualities. Popular, non-academic discourse about the Middle Ages emphasizes an idea of the period as a Dark Age, static and without progress, and utterly controlled by the Catholic Church. While it would have been easy to use these manuscripts to discuss the centrality of religion in the period, we wanted to show the brighter, illuminated side of the Middle Ages and challenge the preconceived notions of our diverse audience. Daily life was chosen as our theme due to each

book's capacity to illuminate an aspect of the medieval person's experience, whether in education, prayer, administration, community, or popular belief.

With the arrival of the *Les Enluminures* manuscripts in January 2020, so began three undergraduate student classes centred on the exhibition. A fourth-year course was tasked with the creation of an online exhibition that offered more information on each manuscript than could be shared on the case and attribution labels the graduate students created. This was presented alongside the physical exhibition on iPads that guests could peruse to learn more about the encased books. Meanwhile, a Workplace Learning class of second- and third-year students gained valuable hands-on museum and exhibit curation experience through their creation of promotional material and organization of the "From Parchment to Pixels" colloquium that accompanied the exhibition launch. These students also physically arranged the gallery space and the manuscripts, which provided key lessons in the handling of historical objects. The final class for the project consisted of first-year students who learned manuscript and medieval history from the exhibited texts and would have been tasked with leading tours through the exhibit for visiting school groups.

Due to the outbreak of the novel coronavirus, COVID-19, which was officially declared a global pandemic by the World Health Organization just the day before *Illuminating Life* launched on March 12, 2020, the exhibition was unfortunately very short-lived and concluded just a few days after it began. But with the cases emptied, the loaned manuscripts returned, archival access closed, and the culmination of months of hard work having disappeared, we are forced to look beyond the exhibit itself to the achievements reached during the process of its creation.

"Meet the Manuscripts" event where students and visitors from the public could see and touch the manuscripts.

Top: attendees taking advantage of the rare opportunity to get up-close-and-personal with medieval books.
Bottom: graduate student curators Rosalie Engels and Alex Wall discuss the books' history.

First-year students learning medieval calligraphy and illumination from local artist, Debbie Thompson-Wilson.

In January, graduate students led a "Meet the Manuscripts" promotional event where the general public and students outside of the project could see and touch the manuscripts for themselves. This highly successful event was their first—and, for many, the only—time interacting with a medieval manuscript outside of a case, and the reverence with which many touched the books and turned a page reveals just how unique and important these experiences are. It also offered the graduate students a chance to use their research to teach a new audience. In this way, both the students teaching and the students learning became the latest additions to the lifecycle of the manuscripts, and they learned from their pages the way medieval users may have, though the lessons are ever-changing.

In February, a workshop on medieval illumination was hosted by two local artists who rendered stunning recreations of images from the manuscripts on loan. They taught students from each of the four classes working on the exhibition about the distinctive gothic calligraphy frequently used in medieval book hands, the colours typically used in manuscript decoration, and the methods for applying gold leaf to illuminate a text. Students then had the chance to learn for themselves, using quill pens on vellum strips to imitate the process of medieval scribes and illuminators as a way of learning firsthand how these books were created.

In addition to these more deliberate educational and outreach events is the simple significance of having the manuscripts accessible in the library's archive space. One standard first-year history course on early modern Europe was also enriched by these books, as students were tasked with visiting the archives to examine one of the manuscripts on loan for a lesson on the nature and use of primary sources. Perhaps the most crucial impact of this was the students' excitement about the texts, which made an otherwise ordinary lesson in historical research unique. By putting such medieval manuscripts in the hands of our students at all levels of study—from the specialized graduate students who curated the exhibition to the newest students still unsure if history is their path—we allow these students a tactile interaction with the past to foster their learning and their passion, both essential to historical study.

Once again, every book tells a story. The catalogue you are currently reading is no exception, and in these pages you will find the (his)stories behind young children learning Latin, older students grasping humanism, communities enriched by prayers and preaching, families protecting loved ones' souls after death, women shaping themselves to a medieval ideal, religious intellectuals struggling with the supernatural, and landowners expanding their authority. You will learn this alongside examinations of evolutions in production that consider the scribes and illuminators who made these books and what they used to make them. And through it all, you will see the value of what these four classes of students accomplished.

Though most essays here focus on the history of the books displayed, I encourage you to consider more deeply what these pages reveal, the way we students were taught to consider these manuscripts. Just as the exhibition and our research illuminated life in the Middle Ages, this catalogue illuminates how life in the past can be found through experiential learning and students' close study of a manuscript, and, most importantly, the value of that access, this initiative, and the rare opportunity to touch a piece of the past.

Exhibition Launch on March 12, 2020.

Essays

Dixit dominus
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sede adextris me
is Donec ponã
inimicos tuos /
scabellum pedũ
tuorꝝ Virgam
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dominare in medio inimicorꝝ tuorꝝ. Tecum prin
cipium in die uirtutis tue in splendo
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dñs et non penitebit eum / tu es sacerdos in etnũ
secũdm ordinem melchisedech Dñs ad dexteris tuis /
confregit in die ire sue reges Iudicabit in nationi
bus / implebit ruinas / conquassabit capita in
terra multorꝝ De torrente in uia bibet / propterea
exaltabit caput Gloria patri et filio

The Uses of the Psalter in the Medieval Period

Talia Sicoly

The psalter was the most commonly owned religious book of the medieval period until the book of hours was popularized in the fourteenth century.[1] Psalters were owned by everyone from priests to laypeople, but they had specific and often quite different functions for both. For the monastic owners, psalters were mostly used for learning Latin, reading sermons, and for the recitation of a string of prayers that were repeated weekly called the Divine Office. For the laity, the primary function was education: those whose social class enabled them the chance of an education used the psalter to grasp the basics of Latin or to practice reading or writing in the vernacular, while the illiterate were able to learn about Biblical stories through viewing the illustrations that were common throughout these types of manuscripts. A thirteenth-century German

Facing page: folio with large decorated initial. Psalter, Southern Germany, c.1240-1260, MS. *Les Enluminures* TM 789.

Psalter on loan to the University of Guelph from rare book dealer *Les Enluminures* and on display in the *Illuminating Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages* exhibition shows plenty of evidence of the aforementioned uses. This paper will take a detailed look at the uses of the psalter for both monastic and lay purposes, highlighting why it was one of the most important books of the Middle Ages and demonstrating how medieval texts could be both spiritual and educational in nature. This paper will also illuminate how the usage of manuscripts varied according to social class during the Middle Ages.

Beatus Vir page, faded from time and use.

To understand why psalters were so widely used during the Middle Ages, one must first know what, exactly, a psalter was and what one typically contained. The psalter, referred to by many simply as a "hymnbook," was a book that included all one hundred and fifty psalms from the Bible in a compact volume. However, it was much more than that: it was a book that was read, meditated upon, and used for teaching.[2] The psalms are self-contained Biblical poems that became central to Latin literacy and Christian prayer in the Middle Ages.[3] A typical psalter opened with Psalm 1 and usually had an entire page dedicated to it called the *Beatus Vir* page. The psalter in this exhibit has one such page marked with a large "B" painted in red, green, and blue ink. The *Beatus Vir* page was referred to by many, such as Aquinas, as the "title of the entire [psalter]." This was not only because it filled the entire first page, but also because its music was used in over sixty compositions, duets, solos, hymns in different languages, and many contemporary pieces.[4] The number of uses for the first psalm alone shows just how important the psalter was during this time period.

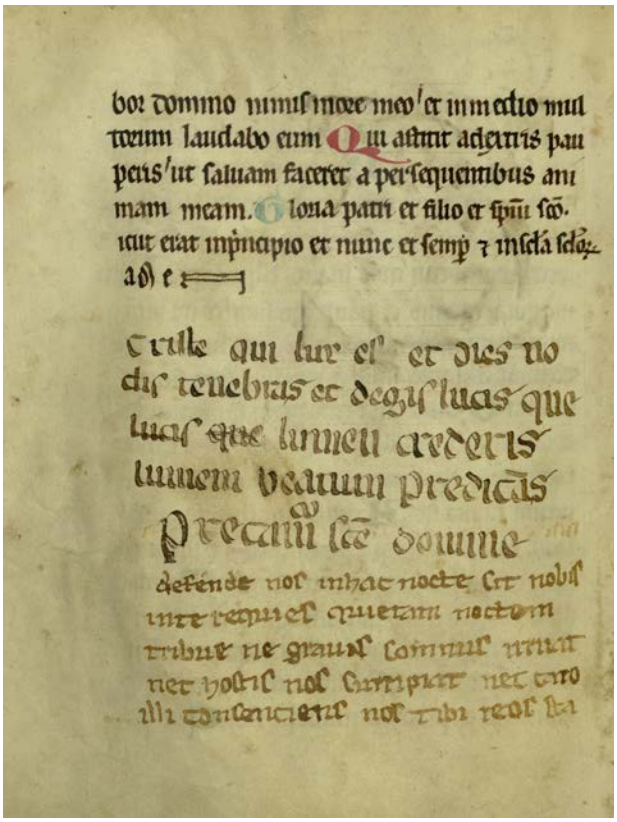
Though psalters were initially seen as prophetic texts that told of the coming of Christ in the Old Testament, as time went on they served more as an allegorical guide on how to live one's

life correctly.[5] These uses placed the psalter at the centre of both public and private worship during the Middle Ages for laypeople and clergymen alike, which is demonstrated in their elaborate decoration.[6] Psalters commissioned by wealthy nobles or Church officials could be very richly illuminated and would require a great deal of collaboration among different professions to craft. One such psalter, known as the *Harley Psalter*, was made by a team of twelve people: two scribes, two artist-scribes, and eight artists.[7] This gives a small idea of just how detailed these volumes could be and how complex their production was; moreover, the fact that the illustrations required so much effort from so many demonstrates how they were considered almost as important as the text itself. Psalters could also vary significantly in their complexity; some, for example, included Roman versions of psalms, calendars, litanies, and documents relevant to the offices of their owner's religious orders (if they belonged to one).[8] Usually, only those in an elevated position in the Church or those wealthy enough to afford these additions had them included in their psalters. Otherwise, most were quite basic and included only a few images to illustrate psalms throughout the text. The manuscript in the University of Guelph's exhibition was most likely commissioned by a layperson, as it contains only basic drawings as well as a few depicting recently canonized saints and classic Biblical figures, such as the portrait of St. Francis and the portrait

Historiated initials depicting St. Francis (left) and St. Dominic (right), with likely deliberate later damage to hands and faces. St. Dominic image property of *Les Enluminures*.

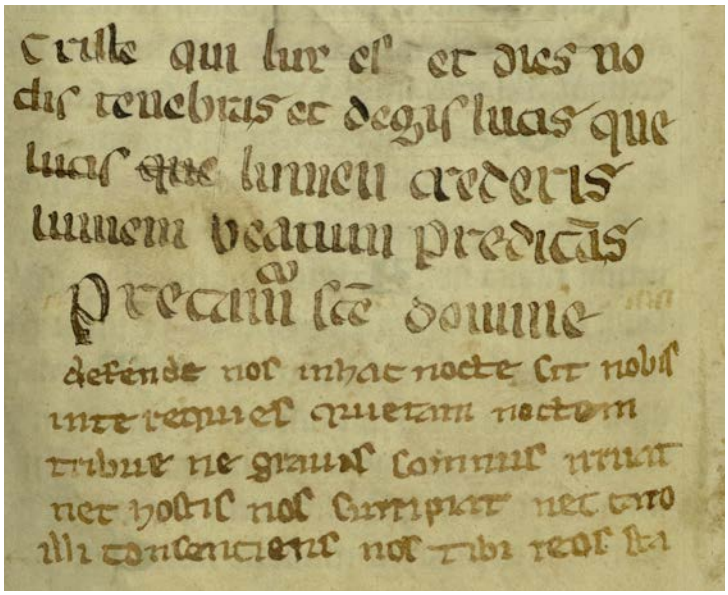
of St. Dominic. Both were canonized only a few years prior to the psalter's creation. The limited number of additional images suggest that the commissioner of this psalter was most likely relatively affluent, but probably not among the upper echelon of wealthy nobles in Germany at the time.

Whether they were lavishly illuminated or only boasted a few images, the psalter was undoubtedly crucial in serving the clergy and monastic orders. As mentioned previously, the clergy and the monastic orders made up one social group that widely used psalters. The psalms played a monumental role in monastic life, as they were sung in different services throughout the day. The psalter primarily facilitated two daily functions within a church setting during the Middle Ages: the first was Mass and the second was the Divine Office.[9] The Mass was a symbolic ritual that re-enacted the sacrifice of Christ and the transformation of His body and blood into bread and wine at the Last Supper.[10] It was celebrated twice during the day: the first in the early morning with only the clergy present and the second later in the morning with the lay community in attendance.[11] The Divine Office was a series of eight different prayer services recited by monks and priests at different times throughout the day and night. It began with Vespers before dusk, followed by Compline before bed, Matins at any time between midnight and dawn, Lauds when the sun came up, Prime before breakfast, Terce shortly after breakfast, Sext at noon, and None in the middle of the afternoon.[12] It took one week of these prayers for a person to say all one hundred and fifty psalms, at which time they would start from the beginning once more.[13] The psalms were the central component of the Divine office, which made the psalter—which contained all of them in one compact volume—a necessary item for any clergyman to have.



Evidence of Latin learning in the psalter. A popular hymn is copied below the psalm text, first in imperfect Latin, then continued by a more skilled writer.

The psalms were such an essential component of daily life for a clergyman that to study the psalter was an obvious choice for most, which demonstrates the psalter's status as not just a religious text but also one with the potential to educate. An aspect of medieval psalters that can provide insight into the learning practices of their owners were marginal images and writings. For example, marginal notes in certain manuscripts illuminate how young men who were planning to enter the Church would begin studying the psalter to grasp the basics of Latin. Those



Detail, comparison of handwriting.

hoping to enter a monastery were tasked with memorizing the psalms, after which they would continue to learn Latin as a language. This meant that they would start by memorizing the pronunciation of words in order to correctly recite the psalms, then proceed to learning the vernacular translation of the Latin. Evidence of someone learning to write in Latin can be seen in the psalter exhibited at the University of Guelph. On this folio there are two different styles of writing below the original text: the first is large and contains several spelling and grammatical errors in its attempt to write out a hymn, which suggests that the author was a student of Latin.[14] The second is a more expert hand that continues the psalm in neater writing until the page ends, which may be due to a new writer or the original writer improving.

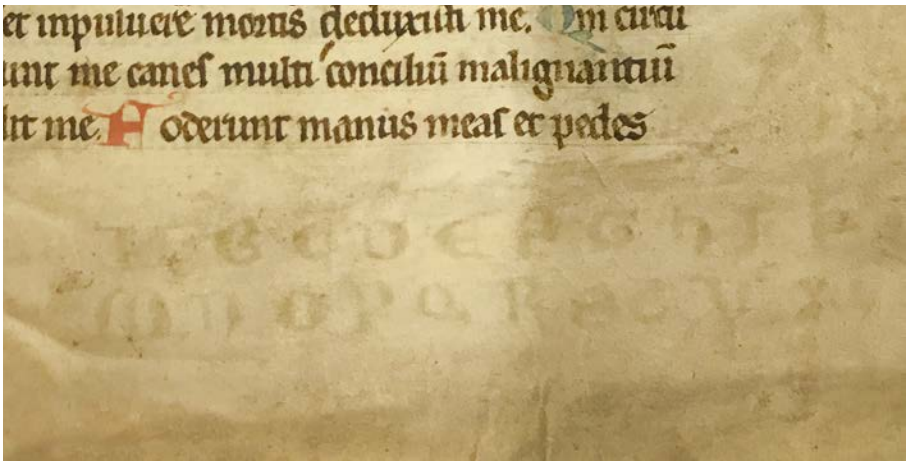
Another example of psalters' educational use is that monks would write down annotations of the meanings of certain Latin terms or phrases in dry point gloss, a barely visible ink.[15] Many psalters, though, have these marginal notes written in dark black ink that provide translated meanings for almost every sentence of the main body of text. Some illustrated pages with few or no words also have writing in the margins that interpret the meaning of an image.[16] One thirteenth-century Gallic psalter has many marginal notes that were added after its creation with instructions on when and how certain psalms should be recited.[17] These marginal notes serve to show that, even after memorizing the psalms and learning Latin, monks may still have struggled with some of the content and needed to leave themselves notes for future reference. Thus, the psalter was an essential component of monastic learning, as it contained all the materials a clergyman needed to know by heart and was also a great resource for them to learn to read and write in Latin.

When in the hands of the lay population, the psalter was utilized in a very different way. Laypeople used the psalter first and foremost to learn the rules and methods to worship God; indeed, the psalms were the principal moralistic text for all Christians since they explained and exemplified the praise and penitence that one was supposed to show in their daily life.[18] Moreover, since psalms were self-contained stories, each with its own moral, medieval Christians found it easier to teach children with psalters than with the rest of the Bible. The Bible itself was a dense text that contained not just stories but proverbs, Gospels, letters, prophetic books, and historical narrative; as children (and laypeoples of lower social classes) would not be able to grasp such advanced subjects, teaching

the core messages of the Bible from a psalter made more sense.

The literary or educational potential of the psalter was exploited by the laity just as it was by the clergy, although laypeople would utilize it to receive the basics of reading and writing in both Latin and the vernacular.[19] Accordingly, they were accessible to lay populations throughout medieval Europe; in England, for example, psalters were widely available to nobles before the Norman Conquest. They were even copied, glossed, and illuminated in the vernacular so that they could be easily understood.[20] This demonstrates just how popular and important psalters were not only to the clergy, but to the lay population of medieval England. Most of that demographic would not have been able to understand the Latin that psalters were usually written in, so vernacular translation enabled them to become available to a wider audience. This practice seems to have been mostly limited to England, however, as psalters tended to be written in Latin in continental Europe during this time period. Literacy rates during most of the Middle Ages were extremely low throughout Europe, but more laypeople started to learn to read during the thirteenth century. This was not only because of an interest in reading religious texts but also due to the emergence of reading and writing in professions such as law. The laypeople who learned to read and write during this time were, of course, nobles who could afford tutoring and could commission private psalters to use for study.[21] Psalters were even used to teach royalty; for example, it was from a psalter that St. Louis (King Louis IX) of France learned to read.[22] Psalters that were copied to look like St. Louis' were subsequently used by the French nobility in the fourteenth century and onward to teach their children Latin. The psalter in the University of Guelph's collection was also very likely used to teach children at some point in its seven-hundred-year life, as a faded alphabet can be found on the bottom of a page that was most likely written by a young child, as the writing is on the messier side.[23]

For those laypeople who did not have the opportunity to learn to read, such as women or the less affluent, images played a large role in education, particularly with regards to Biblical stories. For certain psalters, medieval illuminators created numerous illustrations that depicted selected verses of the corresponding text in order to make a visually coherent story.[24] Book-makers started



Evidence of Latin learning in the psalter. Remnants of an erased Latin alphabet copied in margins by a contemporary hand.

to incorporate more elaborate visuals into their psalters during this period in order to connect a picture to its corresponding story and, therefore, make learning a little easier for laypeople. Thus, if someone was not able to read the psalm, they would know which one it was because of the corresponding image. Some images were even put directly in the middle of the text and served as a visual gloss for the psalm.[25] Many of these images depict Biblical role models that medieval children would have sought to emulate; they were meant to have been seen as heroes to the children who viewed them, as they possessed all of the traditional virtues of a good Christian.[26] Many female figures included in illustrations in psalters were meant to teach morals and virtues that were specific to women of the period. For example, the young princess Isabelle of France was gifted a psalter between her betrothal in 1303 and her marriage in 1308 that was full of depictions of women taking on maternal roles.[27] The purpose of these images would have been to influence her in such a way that she would know how to act when she came into her role as a queen and as a mother.

Historiated initial of St. Michael slaying the dragon, a popular image in hagiographical and non-hagiographical medieval manuscripts. As a biblical role model, St. Michael as a dragon- or devil-slayer represented heroism and the triumph of virtue over evil to the psalter's readers.

Some psalters contain images that are not relevant to the psalms; rather, they are there simply because the commissioner of the psalter wanted them. One such image is a world map found in an English psalter that dates from 1260.[28] These images typically still have religious connotations at their core, however; in the 1260 world map, for example, Jerusalem is situated at the centre of the world, while the beings depicted on the map are more grotesque and bestial at the peripheries. God is depicted outside the globe-shaped map with a cruciform halo and flanked by two angels, which was meant to show that He watched over the earth.[29] In contrast, psalters often contain strange and frequently profane images in their margins that can tell historians much about the humour of

the people who lived during the Middle Ages. While the psalter of this study does not contain any such images, manuscripts like the *Rutland Psalter* contain many. For example, on folio 14r. of the *Rutland Psalter*, the letter "p" on the phrase conspectus (meaning "to penetrate visually") enters the hindquarters of a prostrate half-man, half-fish creature in the margin by joining the tail of the "p" to an arrowhead.[30] This may have served as a pun to the person who commissioned it, but perhaps it also helped them to remember the meaning of the Latin word. It could have also been included by the artist without being requested, as these kinds of humorous drawings were included in a plethora of European psalters during the thirteenth century. This demonstrates how the images in psalters could be both educational and satirical in nature; indeed, they have the potential to educate and entertain modern viewers even today.

The psalter was one of the most versatile books of the Middle Ages as both its text and images were used to teach churchmen and laypeople alike. The monastic community used it to learn the psalms, which their days revolved around, and to learn to read and write in Latin. Additionally, psalters were used by the more affluent among the lay community to teach their children to read and write, while people of lower social classes learned about Biblical messages and virtues through viewing the images contained within them. They were also used by the lay community to tell inside jokes or to convey personal messages in the margins. Until the book of hours was introduced, the psalter was the most compact way to keep the psalms in one volume, which made it one of the most influential and important tomes of the Middle Ages, standing just behind the Bible itself.

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o appellauimus nomine ejus illius plā
tus egypti. Secum q̄ filij iacobi
cum pepererit eis. i portauimus eū
i terā chanaan: sepelierunt eum
spelūca duplici quam emit abra
ham ē agro i possōne sepulchri
ab ephron etheo ō faciem mam
bre: ubi⁹ q; ē ioseph in egypto
ē filijs suis. ioīa cōmittam tuo sepul
to prē. Quo mortuo: cuncti fra
tres eius i mutuo colloquijs: ne
forte memor sit iniurie qm pas
sus est: i reddat nob malū mālē
q; fecimus. obtulerunt ei. Pī tu
us pat̄ nr̄ ante mortem mandauit
nob tibi uerb illius dicemus. Obsec
ro obliuiscaris sceleris fratrū tu
or. i peccatu malitie qm exercu
erūt in te. Nos quoq; serui dei pa
tris tui plorauimus: sermo
nem iniquū. Ait illis ioseph. Nolite
timere. sub; audoritate sumus
dei. Vos cogitastis de me malū: sed
deus in bonum illud conuertit
ut exaltaret me: sicut i p̄sentia
cernitis. Nolite timere. Ego pascā
uos: i paruulos uros. Consolatus
q; est eos: i blanditus est lenit̄ eis
locutus. Habitauit in egypto ipe
et domus patris eius: et uixit annis
centum decem. Vidit ephraim filios usq;
ad tertiā generationē. Filij quoq; ma
chyr filij manasse nati sup genua
ioseph. Cumq; mandacio: fratres
eius filijs suis post mortē me
am deus uisitabit uos: i adducet uos
de terra ista ad terrā quā iurauit
abraham. ysaac. i iacob.
Cumq; adiurasset eos: atq; dixis
set deus uisitabit uos. asportate no
biscum ossa mea de loco isto. Mo
rtuus est expletis. c. x. uite sue an

nis. Et condita aromatibus: repo
situs est in loculo in egypto

Hec sunt no
mina filioꝝ
israel: qui ingressi
sunt in egyptū
cum iacob. singu
li cum domibus suis.
Ruben. Symeon. Leui
Iuda. Issachar. Za
bulon. Beniamin. Dan. Nephthalim.
Gad. Aser. Erant q; de ipsius co
rum que egressa sunt de femore ia
cob. xiiii. Ioseph autem egypto cū
essent. Hic mortuo omnis filij
eius. omnisq; illa generatio. Filij
israel creuerunt: quasi germen
herbe multiplicati sunt: et ingressi
sunt in immensum. Quibus
mortuis regnauit in egypto
quidam nouus rex ioseph: et ad
ipsum suum. Et ait ad populum
suum. Ecce populus filioꝝ israel mul
tus: et fortior nobis est. Venite: op
primamus eum. ne forte
multiplicetur: et si ingruerint
nobis bellum. addatur inimicis nr̄is
et expugnatis nos. egredia
tur de terra. Posuerunt ergo
magistros operum qui affligerent eos
oneribus. Edificauerunt urbes ta
bernaculoꝝ pharaoni. thesaurum
et ramesses. Sed quanto magis
eos opprimebant tanto plus
crescebant. Oderant ergo filios
israel egyptii. et cum amaritudine
seruiebant illis. Durissimis operibus
luti. et lateris. et omni famulatu
agri. Et quecunq; eis imperabant
cum magna exactione faciebant.
Mortuo autem rege egypti. ingemi
scentes filij israel de operibus suis
clamauerunt. Et ascendit clamor
eorum ad deum. ex operibus seruitutis
Audiuit ergo deus gemitum eorum
et recordatus est pacti quod pepigerat
cum abraham. ysaac. et iacob. Respexit
filios israel. et agnouit deus.

Manuscripts and Mendicants

EXPLORING THE PRODUCTION AND USE OF THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PORTABLE BIBLES

Kathryn M. Comper

The thirteenth century saw the emergence of two establishments in Western Europe whose daily activities centered around the use of the Bible. Newly founded universities provided a setting for wealthy young men to be formally trained in theology, among other subjects, while the rise of the Franciscan and Dominican friars, also known as the mendicant orders, facilitated basic instruction of Church doctrine to the lay populations of Western Europe. However, friars, unlike students, were itinerant and thus had to consider the transportability of their Bibles, which were typically produced as substantial, multi-volume works before the thirteenth century. In addition, the need to make references to Biblical text accurately and promptly in varying circumstances was central to the mission of the friars. As a result of the friars' particular requirements, the portable one-volume Bible emerged as a popular innovation of the

Facing page: folio with pen-flourished initial and marginal notes. Vulgate Bible, England, c.1260-1275, MS. *Les Enluminures* TM 892.

thirteenth century. The standardization of chapters and supplementary texts were defining features of this new type of Bible, which represented the development of a new mission on the part of the medieval Catholic Church to ensure uniform and acceptable worship from its believers.[1] Typically, the dimensions of small portable Bibles equated to a combined length and width total of less than four hundred and fifty millimetres squared.[2] The massive reduction in overall size from the grand multi-volume Bibles found in monasteries required a total overhaul in the production of the manuscripts.[3]

The Vulgate Bible that was displayed in the *Illuminating Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages* exhibition at the University of Guelph, which dates to approximately 1260-1275, is an excellent example of the small portable Bibles that had become extremely popular in mid-thirteenth-century Western Europe.[4] This particular Vulgate Bible is a remarkable item that has managed to survive through years of heavy usage by both Franciscan and Dominican friars in England, who would have used it for preaching, as indicated by its extensive marginal notes. The organization of the content of the manuscript is especially significant. This Bible follows what historian Laura Light refers to as the Paris Bible model, meaning that the manuscript follows a specific order of Biblical books, and includes prologues to each chapter as well as the supplementary text *Interpretation of Hebrew Names*.[5] This paper aims to provide some historical context for the thirteenth-century Vulgate Bible that was part of the exhibit. It will provide some background information on how portable Bibles were used and the technological innovations that were required to produce them. This paper will demonstrate how the composition and usage of these portable Bibles symbolized the amalgamation of significant thirteenth-century technological advancements and religious developments.

The Mendicant Orders

Beginning in the twelfth century, the Catholic Church began to face threats from heretical groups across Europe. The doctrines of these groups were often attractive to those Catholics who felt ignored by their church, as many sects emphasized the importance of providing the laity

Detail, illumination in margins.

access to the Bible.[6] The Cathars, one of the more prominent sects that posed a threat to the Church, rejected the literal truth of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, and denied Jesus' humanity.[7] The Waldensians, another prominent group, were founded upon the literal interpretation of the Bible and its translation into the vernacular; they survived well into the sixteenth century, albeit in small groups.[8] The problem of heresy forced the Church to re-evaluate its direct involvement with communities and lay officials. The example of Languedoc, a small town in the south of France, demonstrated that groups like the Cathars had the potential to take hold over whole communities due to a lack of interest and support from secular authorities.[9] The foundation of the mendicant orders, namely the Dominicans, was a direct reaction to the rise of heresy. Even the Franciscans, who were not known for combatting heresy directly, had to carry out inquisitions in the 1260s in Marseille.[10] The Bible was one of the mendicants' primary tools for carrying out the crusade against heresy, and it played a central role in eradicating this issue by facilitating widespread preaching.[11] Whether or not the particular Bible featured in the exhibit was used to preach against heresy is not yet known, but the standardization of the Bible and its reference tools were central to the Church's mission to teach their followers proper Catholic doctrine and eradicate heresy.

The rise of the friars in response to heresy created a large demand for the production of small portable Bibles. Franciscans followed the life and example of St. Francis of Assisi through penance and devotion, while Dominicans, founded by St. Dominic, preached the tenants of the Catholic faith in lieu of the perceived failure of the monks and monasteries to provide spiritual nourishment to the lay populations of Western Europe.[12] Both orders placed value on the education of their members, specifically in knowledge of the Bible and Catholic doctrine.[13] At the centre of their beliefs, however, was the drive to follow Jesus' example and preach the word of God to the public.[14] Since they were itinerant friars, and because the Bible was at the centre of their doctrine, one-volume Bibles small enough to carry around with ease were essential to the success of the mendicant orders.[15]

Franciscans and Dominicans were mobile, international groups who established friaries across medieval Europe, which contributed to the circulation of specific religious ideas and objects.[16] A Bible did not belong to any given friar because possessions went against their doctrine of complete poverty.[17] Rather, friaries lent Bibles to individual friars for the duration of their lives.[18] The orders most likely purchased Bibles from larger towns that had a selection of professional scribes and illuminators, and distributed them to the friars who typically resided in places that did not have access to these services.[19] Friars were also encouraged to share books amongst themselves.[20] However, if the orders commissioned a new Bible, local scribes often copied exemplars that were readily available and which may have come from commercial centres like Paris.[21]

In the early medieval period, very few people physically came into contact with a Bible at all; thus, when mendicant friars began using small portable Bibles to preach during the thirteenth century, the physical text was brought to a new audience.[22] Friars were trained in disputation and rhetorical arts, and their objective was to make Biblical narratives relevant to wider audiences.[23]

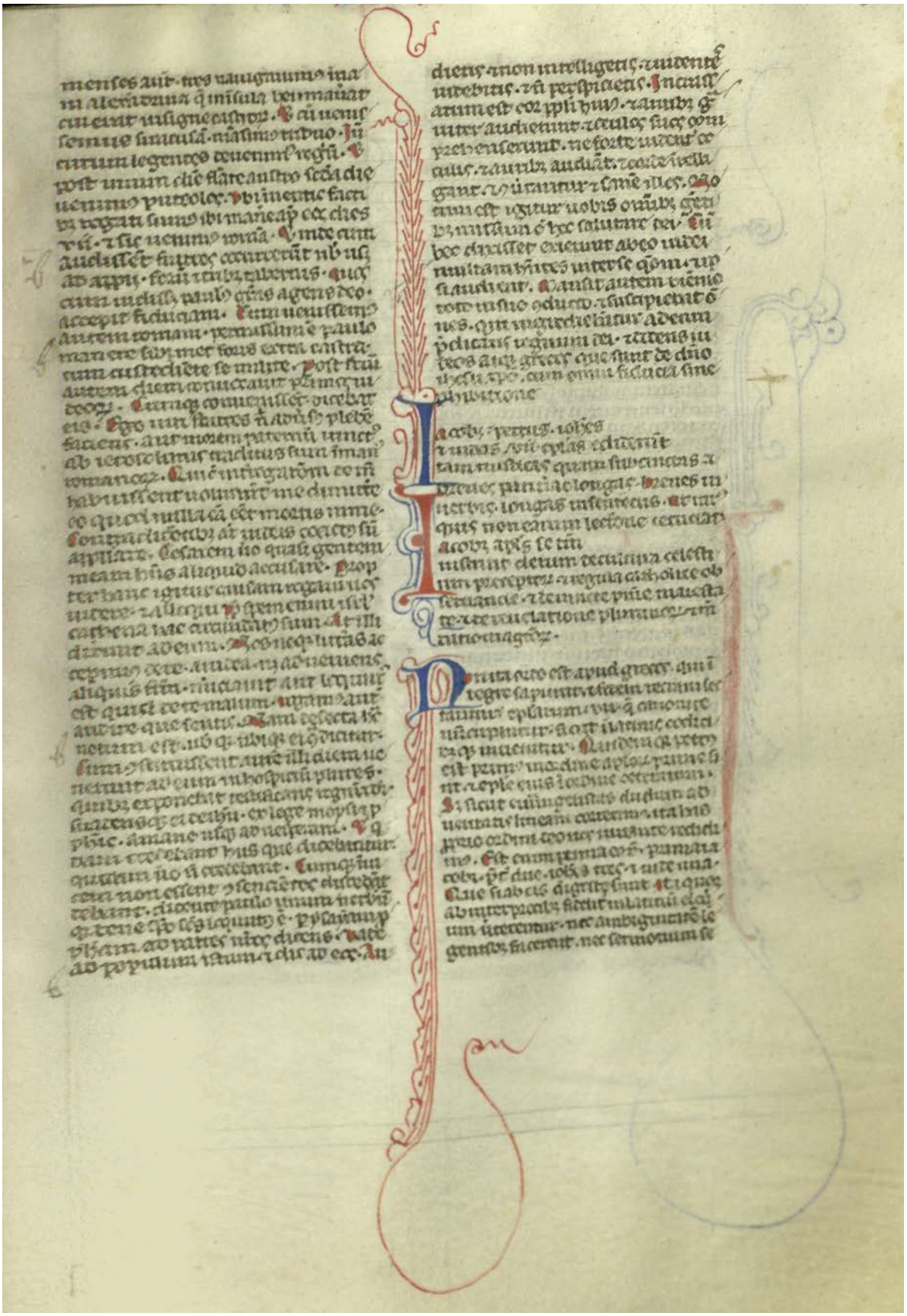
Ad status sermons were directed at specific groups: the poor were told of the moral benefits of poverty, while the rich were reminded of the importance of almsgiving.[24] Preachers modified their sermons to connect Biblical narratives to various situations and even occasionally related Biblical stories to events of the time.[25] They sought to keep the focus on the authority of scripture while still maintaining the interest of their audiences with relevant stories.[26] The main goal of the sermon was to teach good morals and Catholic doctrine, especially the most fundamental components of Catholicism as set out in the Articles of Faith that had been ratified by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.[27] The Bible was considered the means to achieve a moral life, and sermons were a crucial way to propagate the teachings of the Bible in the vernacular.[28] Vernacular preaching was certainly one of the most significant developments of thirteenth-century religious life, and it was brought forth by the mendicant orders and their use of portable Bibles to preach.

Technological Advancement

The Vulgate Bible that was on display measures one hundred fifty-three millimetres by one hundred and five millimetres. An immense restructuring of the standard physical attributes of the typical medieval book was required in order to produce a Bible of this size without sacrificing its functionality.[29] This involved reorganizing page layouts, changing quire structures, and altering the script through shorthand and fonts to ensure the entire text fit into a condensed format.[30] The thin parchment used in this manuscript, however, was the most important innovation in the production of small portable Bibles; it was a feature not seen before 1230.[31] In order to produce such a small manuscript, medieval book-makers by necessity had to increase the number of leaves; the product would have been too bulky if made with regular parchment.[32] The solution was to either scrape the parchment or split the piece into more than one layer until it was extremely thin, like tissue paper.[33] In England and France, such parchment was typically made from calf skin, which was highly processed to produce a soft, white surface with little discernible difference between the flesh and fur sides.[34] As the pages of portable Bibles became smaller and thinner, writing utensils also needed to be adapted to the ultra-fine sheets of parchment. Scribes used feathers from the wings of small birds and sharpened their points as fine as possible to create a smaller font size.[35] The incredibly fine parchment is certainly the most striking feature of this manuscript.

Moreover, some of the decorative elements of this particular manuscript point towards certain technological innovations and developments in book-making that had emerged during the thirteenth century. While most of the chapters in this manuscript begin with alternating red and blue initials with pen flourishing, the displayed manuscript features ten illuminated initials that were unusually placed. Typically, illuminations served to demonstrate textual hierarchy and were used to

Facing page: folio with pen-flourished initials. Note the visible decoration from the previous page, which reveals the thinness of the parchment.

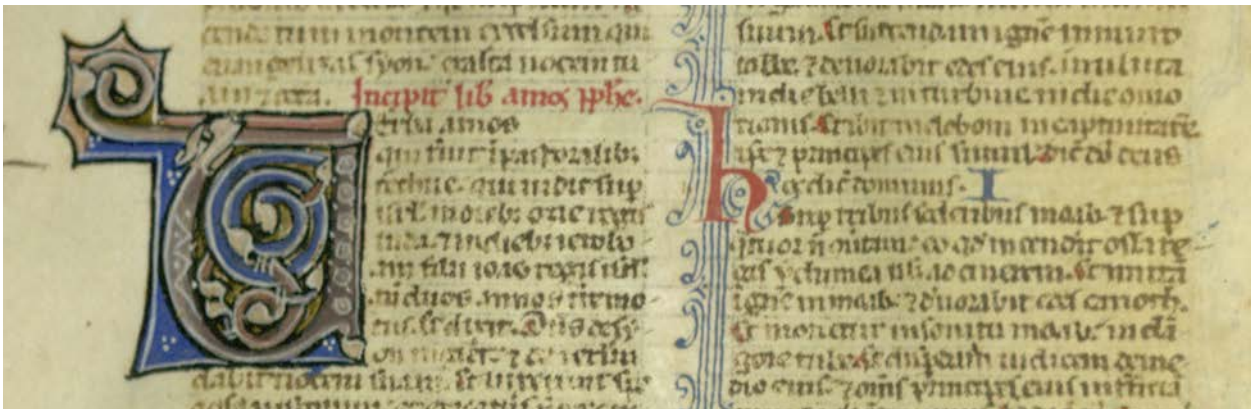


illustrate important Biblical books, such as Genesis or the Gospels.[36] However, the illuminations in this manuscript had been done for the chapters corresponding to one major prophet, Daniel, and nine minor prophets: Hosea, Jonah, Amos, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.[37] The use of gold in illumination was a potential way to indicate that particular passages of the text—in this case, those corresponding to Daniel and the minor prophets—were of utmost importance to the person or group that commissioned the work.[38] Though it might seem strange for a Bible that was owned by a humble friar to have gold illuminations, the use of gold leaf in the decoration of manuscripts was actually quite common by the thirteenth century.[39] The frequent use of gold leaf in the manuscripts was made possible by the emergence of enclosed workshops for illuminators, which were better environments to control gold leaf than drafty monasteries; moreover, the reopening of trading routes to the Near East during the Crusades had made access to gold easier for Europeans during this time.[40]

Development of Textual Structure

Folio with inhabited initial featuring zoomorphic imagery.
Facing page: detail.

In addition to physical adjustments, thirteenth-century manuscript makers implemented three key changes to the textual structure of the Bible—both portable and larger manuscripts—that impacted its overall use. The book was standardized and organized into a single volume called a pandect; supplementary texts, such as the *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* and prologues to each Biblical book, were included in manuscripts; and the text was divided and organized into numbered chapters.[41] Each of these features made the Bible easier to use on a regular basis. For instance, a single volume ensured that the entire Biblical text was available to users at any given time, and the organized division of the chapters provided a swift and efficient way to reference specific passages of the Bible. These changes to the textual structure of the Bible were facilitated by the growth of professional manuscript production and the introduction of what is known as the Paris Bible model.



Small portable Bibles had become in extraordinarily high demand during the thirteenth century, with the production for this specific type of manuscript centred in France, England, and Italy.[42] Specifically, the demand for utilitarian instructional material inspired a growth in professional manuscript production in urban centres near universities and, significantly, outside of monasteries. Due to the advanced technical skills that were required to produce smaller manuscripts, medieval book-makers established themselves in towns where experienced scribes and illuminators were already in business.[43] Admittedly, historians have difficulty in pinpointing exact locations of production for these particular Bibles due to the tendency during this period to use multiple scribes during the copying process.[44] Professional laymen who specialized in various tasks undertook productions, and there was also the potential for collaboration between regional or national scribes and artists.[45]

Despite regional variances, one of the most defining features of the production of small portable Bibles was standardization. Paris had become the centre of Bible production in the Middle Ages because of its wealth, the presence of the French monarchy, and its already prestigious university, all of which encouraged the establishment of independent booksellers.[46] Indeed, the patronage of King Louis IX and his court played a significant role in the development of Paris as the centre for illuminated manuscript production.[47] Paris' central role in professional manuscript production facilitated the widespread dissemination of Bibles copied according to the Paris Bible.[48] This Bible model was a pandect that contained the above-mentioned supplementary texts and numbered chapters, and its widespread dissemination ensured the uniformity and standardization that the Catholic Church desired. Accordingly, the small portable Bibles of the mendicants typically followed the Paris model: uniformity and standardization were central components to the utility of such portable Bibles.

The use of a standardized single volume, the addition of supplementary texts, and organization into numbered chapters made the Bible easier to use on a regular basis. For instance, a single volume ensured that the entire Biblical text was available to users at any given time, and the organized division of the chapters provided a swift and efficient way to reference specific passages of the Bible. Ease of reference was already a common feature of early thirteenth-century book-making,

but it was new to the application of the Bible, as it was only compiled into one full volume at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[49] The division of the chapters was important to both students who used Bibles in the classroom and preachers during their sermonizing endeavours.[50] The prologues, which either discussed the translation of St. Jerome or the content of the following book, were also standardized.[51]

Friars, clergymen, and scholars used extrabiblical texts to further interpret the content of the Bible and communicate its narratives in a multitude of ways. For instance, the *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* was a crucial aspect of the Paris model. It presented alternative readings of Biblical passages—either literally or allegorically.[52] Preachers used the text to amplify their arguments in disputations, as it provided them with definitions and enabled them to identify complex Biblical passages.[53] Its inclusion in thirteenth-century Bibles points towards an interest in the Bible beyond its narrative qualities, as it served as a reminder to the literate elite that the Vulgate was not the original form of God's words.[54] However, it is important to note that not every portable Bible was identical, since there was no set exemplar for scribes and illuminators to copy, and they were therefore not produced with complete uniformity.[55] Despite this, the mendicant orders disseminated a particular structure because of their continuous movement around the urban centres and rural areas of medieval Europe.

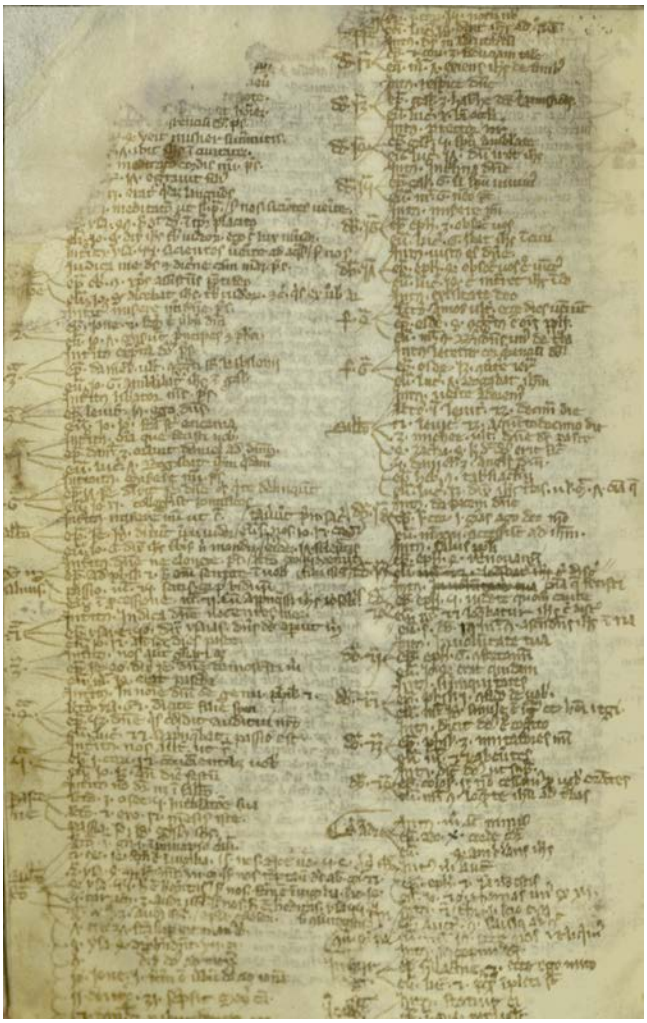


Table of introits and mass readings added by a contemporary hand.

Conclusion

The Vulgate Bible that was featured in the *Illuminating Life* exhibition at the University of Guelph is an excellent example of the small portable Bibles that were popular throughout Europe in the thirteenth century. The production of these new Bibles required immense restructuring to both the physical and textual components of the manuscript. In order to create a functional one-volume

Bible, medieval book-makers had to be innovative. They adjusted various material elements of a typical manuscript; however, the most significant change was to the thickness of the parchment. Similarly, the need for uniformity and ease of use led to the development of a standard textual version of the Bible that was compiled with supplementary texts. The particular version displayed in the *Illuminating Life* exhibition served as the model for future generations of printers because of its utility and organization. In fact, the first printed Gutenberg Bible—which was essential to the development of the modern-day Bible—was a descendant of the Paris Bible.[56] However, it is primarily because of the Franciscans and Dominicans that these manuscripts came to play an important role in the development of medieval Christian practice, belief, and daily life in the first place. The need to combat rampant heresy and ensure adherence to orthodox faith required the widespread action of the mendicant orders. Furthermore, the portability of the manuscripts allowed the Bible to be shared with the general population through the friars' vernacular preaching, which demonstrated a shift in the mission of the medieval Catholic Church.

Overall, the history of small portable Bibles is inextricably tied to the history of the mendicant orders. The popularity of these manuscripts, including the example displayed in the *Illuminating Life* exhibition, was generated by the foundation of the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Additionally, technological innovations in manuscript production allowed the friars to use the Bible to advance the mission of the Catholic Church. There is still plenty of research to be done on the Vulgate Bible that was part of this exhibit, specifically an investigation into the marginal notes and the peculiarly placed illuminations, which might offer more insight into how this particular manuscript was used by the friars of its day. In any case, this portable Bible represents the combination of significant religious developments and technological advancements in the thirteenth century.

Notes

[1] Laura Light, "The Bible and the Individual: The Thirteenth-Century Paris Bible," in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 239.

[2] This distinction is made by Chiara Ruzzier, "The Miniaturisation of Bible Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century: A Comparative Study," in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, eds. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 106.

[3] Ruzzier, "Miniaturisation of Manuscripts," 108; Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2001), 114; Laura Light, "The New Thirteenth-Century Bible and the Challenge of Heresy," *Viator* 18 (1987): 276.

[4] The Vulgate translation of the Bible was the result of the efforts undertaken by St. Jerome, who was commissioned by Pope Damasus in 383 to compile an official Latin version of the Bible. The Latin term "vulgate" roughly translates to "common," which hints at the Church's desire for a uniform and official version of the Word of God. See Fred Gladstone Bratton, *A History of the Bible: An Introduction to the Historical Method* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), 230, 231.

[5] Light, "The Bible and the Individual," 229, 231.

[6] Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1998), 32; Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 3.

[7] De Hamel, *The Book*, 133; Light, "Heresy," 282.

[8] Robert E. Learner, "Les communautés hérétiques," in *Le Moyen Age et la Bible,* eds. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1984), 599-601.

[9] Lambert, *Cathars*, 64.

[10] Holly J. Grieco, "Franciscan Inquisition and Mendicant Rivalry in Mid-Thirteenth Century Marseille," *Journal of Medieval History* 34, no. 3 (2008): 277.

[11] De Hamel, *The Book*, 133.

[12] Andrew Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 89.

[13] Reeves, *Religious Education*, 90.

[14] De Hamel, *The Book*, 131.

[15] De Hamel, *The Book*, 131; Light, "Heresy," 280; Eyal Poleg, "'A Ladder Set Up on Earth': The Bible in Medieval Sermons," in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, eds. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011)," 207.

[16] Reeves, *Religious Education*, 113.

[17] Neslihan Senocak, "Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order: Attitude, Methods, and Critics," *Journal of Religious Studies* 28, no. 2 (2004): 161.

[18] De Hamel, *The Book*, 135.

[19] De Hamel, *The Book*, 135.

[20] Reeves, *Religious Education*, 96.

[21] Laura Light, "The Thirteenth Century and the Paris Bible," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, eds. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 391.

[22] Poleg, "Medieval Sermons," 205.

[23] Poleg, "Medieval Sermons," 210; Poleg, *Bible in Medieval England*, 2.

[24] Poleg, "Medieval Sermons," 213.

[25] Poleg, "Medieval Sermons," 213-214.

[26] Poleg, *Bible in Medieval England*, 152.

[27] Reeves, *Religious Education*, 101.

[28] Poleg, "Medieval Sermons," 212, 215; Michel Zink, "La prédication en langues vernaculaires," in *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, eds. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1984), 489.

[29] Ruzzier, "Miniaturisation of Bible Manuscripts," 108.

[30] Ruzzier, "Miniaturisation of Bible Manuscripts," 108.

[31] Light, "Challenge of Heresy," 278.

[32] Ruzzier, "Miniaturisation of Bible Manuscripts," 113.

[33] De Hamel, *The Book*, 132; Light, "Paris Bible," 382.

[34] Ruzzier, "Miniaturisation of Bible Manuscripts," 115.

[35] De Hamel, *The Book*, 132.

[36] Christopher de Hamel, *The British Library Guide to Manuscript Illumination: History and Techniques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 24.

[37] "Vulgate Bible," *Textmanuscripts*, accessed October 16, 2019, http://www.textmanuscripts.com/medieval/latin-vulgate-medieval-bible-91764.

[38] De Hamel, *Manuscript Illumination*, 67.

[39] De Hamel, *Manuscript Illumination*, 25.

[40] De Hamel, *Manuscript Illumination*, 69-70.

[41] De Hamel, *The Book*, 117.

[42] Ruzzier, "Miniaturisation of Bible Manuscripts," 106.

[43] Ruzzier, "Miniaturisation of Bible Manuscripts," 125.

[44] Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign on Saint Louis: A Study in Styles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 7; Laura Light, "Versions et révisions du texte biblique," in *Le Moyen Age et la Bible,* eds. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1984), 79.

[45] Branner, Manuscript Painting, 7-9; Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Illuminated in the British Isles: French Influence and/or the Englishness of English Art, 1285-1345," *Gesta* 45, no. 2 (2006): 186.

[46] Light, "The Bible and the Individual", 234.

[47] Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 10.

[48] Light, "The Bible and the Individual," 229, 231.

[49] De Hamel, *The Book*, 119, 129.

[50] Light, "The Bible and the Individual," 239.

[51] Light, "The Bible and the Individual," 230.

[52] De Hamel, *The Book*, 123.

[53] Poleg, "The Bible in Medieval Sermons," 219.

[54] Poleg, *Bible in Medieval England*, 123-124.

[55] Light, "Paris Bible," 388.

[56] Light, "The Bible and the Individual," 240, 229.

Duodecimum

cadit sub ratione contingentie vel ne cessitatis sed hec effluunt et ordinantur ex dei voluntate. et sic ipsa dei voluntas facit quedam esse cōtingētia preparando causas contingentes illis rebus quas vult esse cōtingentes et similiter necessarias causas rebus et effectibus necessarijs. et sic voluntas dei semper impletur. non tamen omnia necessario eueniunt. sed eo modo quo deus vult ea esse. et vult q̄ sint contingenter. puidentia non q̄ non tollit contingentiam. ¶ Ad secūdum dicēdum q̄ bona est distinctio sed ad obiectum de formis dicendū q̄ aliter est de formis realibus et aliter de predicatis que important aliquid pertinens ad actum rationis. quia in primis scz. realib⁹ si in eis debeat habere locum talis distinctio. oportet in esse sepationem in re et ī cōsideratione. in secundis non requiritur. sed oportet q̄ res illa cadat sup alia consideratione. et sic dico q̄ iste p̄ destinatus potest considerari vel vt in se. vel vt diuine cognitioni relat⁹. et sic vno modo attribuitur ei q̄ possit damnari. alio modo non.

¶ Articulus. v.

DEinde quesitum est de fato. vtrum omnia sb̄sint fato.

Responsio. dicendum q̄ primo oportet scire quid fatum. et sic postea faciliter patebit ad propositū. videmus autem multa contingenter euenire. et ideo olim fuit dubiū vtrū ista que variabiliter et in ordinate contingunt reducantur in aliquam causā ordinantem. et qui dicunt q̄ non dicunt fatū nihil esse vt Tullius dicit. ¶ Quidam dicunt q̄ in aliquam causā superiorem ordinātur. et isti nominauerunt fatū a for faris. quasi hic omnia sint prefata a quadam superiore causa sed horum est triplex opinio. quidaz enim reduxerunt hoc in quādam seriez causarum. quam dicunt fatum. sicut stoici qui dicunt q̄ nihil ē vt non habeat causā. et posita causā necesse est ponere effectum. Si ergo euenit vel ē talis vt talis effectus habuit causam. et hec causa aliam causam et sic deinceps sicut aliquis est occisus de nocte. quia eruit domuz. quare eruit domum. quia fitiuit. quare hoc quia falsa comedit. et sic quia cōedit falsa et necessitate moritur. ¶ Aristoteles respondet negans duo prima primo q̄ nō quicq̄d fit habet causam. sed tantum quod fit per se. Qz autez ego occidar me eunte est per accidens. Secundo dicit q̄ non posita causa ponitur effect⁹. quia potest impediri. et ideo non sequitur vel non stat series causarum. ¶ Alij reducunt hec in aliam causā. scz in corpora celestia. ex quorum necessitate dicunt omina accidere vnde dicunt q̄ fatum nihil aliud est q̄ vis positionis syderum. hec autem opinio dupliciter est falsa. ¶ Primo q̄ tum ad res humanas que proueniunt ab intellectu qui cum sit virtus incorporea nō sb̄iacet actioni alicui⁹ corpis et ponere animā sb̄iacere virtuti corpoz̄ celestium nihil aliud est q̄z ponere intellectum non differre a sensu vt dicit philosophus in primo de anima in fine. tamen p accidēs et occasionaliter sb̄ditur anima celo. inquā

A Ghost in Green

UNRAVELLING AN INKY MYSTERY IN A 1485 KOELHOFF INCUNABLE OF THOMAS AQUINAS' *QUAESTIONES DE DUODECIM QUODLIBET*

Margarita Wilson

In November of 1485, in Cologne, Germany, Johann Koelhoff the Elder oversaw the production of multiple copies of Thomas Aquinas' *Quaestiones de duodecim quodlibet*. These copies were not like the manuscripts that first held Aquinas' words: these were *incunabula*, books printed with movable type in the manner pioneered by Johannes Gutenberg some forty-five years before. Within the copy of this incunable displayed at the University of Guelph, one can see red and blue rubrics that begin each paragraph of text, standing out from the black ink of the printed words. While the bright colours of these larger letters are seemingly just as vivid on the page today as they were at the book's creation, something curious has happened over the following centuries, most noticeably in the twelfth section of the book. On certain pages, one

Facing page: full page view with visible "ghost" in green from ink bleed-through. Thomas Aquinas, *Saint Quodlibet Sancti Thome*, Cologne, 1485, Incunable. University of Guelph, Archival & Special Collections, s0109b12.

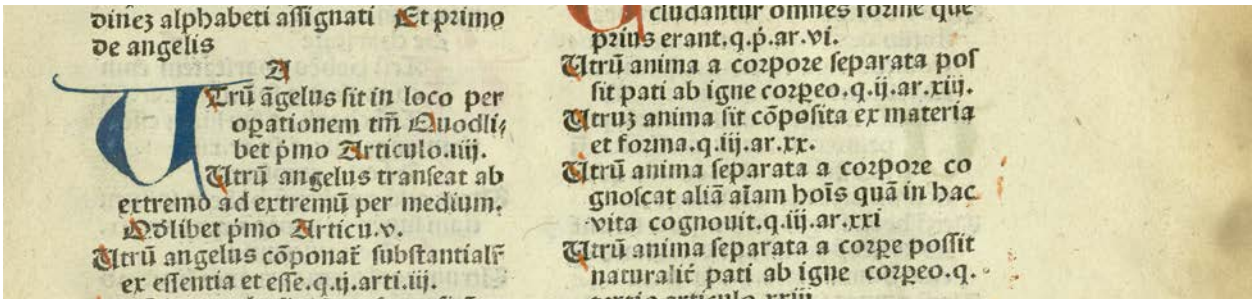
can see ghostly green shapes: mirror images of the ink from the rubrics on the other side that have bled through the paper. Yet it is only the blue rubrics that have spawned these "ghosts." Why is this? Why has the blue ink bled through the page and changed colour when the red and the black ink have not?

Researchers have conducted several studies in order to analyze the chemical makeup of inks—both printed and painted—used in medieval manuscripts and incunables. However, there is a lack of literature describing anything resembling this phenomenon. This paper seeks to apply the knowledge of medieval pigments accumulated from such studies in order to draw a conclusion regarding this mystery, as it was most likely a property or properties of the pigments themselves that played a role in the appearance of these green "ghosts." This study draws upon both the fields of medieval history and of chemistry to determine precisely what it was that caused this phenomenon to occur.[1]

Printed or Painted?

First and foremost, it is crucial to establish whether the blue ink was printed or painted onto the manuscript's folios. This is because the methods medieval ink makers utilized to create blue printing ink were different than those they used to produce blue painting ink, and, therefore, these inks were made up of very different chemical compositions. It did not take long for printers to introduce coloured inks to the printing process; the first known incunable printed using ink colours other than black was the *Mainz Psalter*, which was published by Fust and Schöffer in 1457, less than two decades after Gutenberg produced his first incunabula. The two primary colours used in most printing processes were red and blue, which scribes and printers had commonly used for decorative initials and rubrics.[2] However, it is unlikely that the rubrication of the *Quaestiones* was done with a printing press; the typeface used for printed initials was typically square in shape and did not overlap with the body text, while the rubrics of the *Quaestiones* overlap with the printed text in places and extend beyond the neat box shape of a standard printed typeface. Furthermore, the form and flourishes of the rubrics found in the *Quaestiones* strongly resemble hand-painted rubrics found in other

Detail, green "ghost" of blue ink that has bled through from the folio's reverse side.



Detail. Unlike standard incunabula typeface, the rubricated printed initials in this copy overlap with the main text.

contemporary incunabula, making their origins as hand-painted all but certain.

That the rubrics in the *Quaestiones* were hand-illuminated rather than printed is actually far from surprising. Even after the advent of coloured printing, printers continued to finish many books by hand, a process which involved adding in initials and rubrics. One of the principal reasons for this was the fact that the blue ink used in printing presses (which was made from indigo) was perceived as duller than those pigments used in conventional hand decoration.[3] Additionally, the clergymen who comprised much of the market for incunabula in medieval Germany were very likely to demand that their books include hand-illuminated initials. This was because they favoured the more elaborate nature of the hand-illuminated initials, with their delicate designs and their incorporation of floral and animal figures; indeed, even the most skilled printer could not yet fully replicate this level of intricacy and detail.[4] Hand illumination was often done within a monastery after the monastery had purchased the printed book; it was otherwise "done locally to the specification of the buyer," with custom initials and rubrics added to standard copies of printed books.[5] Though the *Quaestiones* would have been used in a scholarly setting and thus did not require the intense illumination required for religious texts, it demonstrates how hand illumination was still used by the book-making industry at large during this period.

Having established the fact that the blue ink was applied by hand rather than printed onto folios of the *Quaestiones* incunable, one can now determine the pigments used to produce such ink. The blue pigment that medieval scribes used in hand illumination was usually produced from azurite (a copper carbonate) or ultramarine (a derivative of lapis lazuli). The pigment used in the *Quaestiones* is almost definitely azurite, as ultramarine was even more expensive than gold during the Middle Ages and is therefore unlikely to be found in a text that was used for teaching outside of the Church.[6] Known to medieval Germans as *Bergblau*, azurite was the more commonly-used blue pigment base during this time period: studies of various manuscript and incunable collections have found that the majority of the blue pigment within medieval texts contains azurite—anywhere from fifty-eight to eighty-five percent in any given collection.[7] The lower cost of azurite during the Middle Ages and its high prevalence in medieval illuminations indicates that it was likely the base for the *Quaestiones*' blue pigment.

As to why the other pigments used in the incunable did not undergo any changes in colour, one can only speculate without chemical analysis; however, some conjectures can be made with a fair amount of confidence. These conjectures can then help shed light on the cause of the mysterious transformation of the blue ink. The recipes for black printing ink during the Middle Ages varied from printer to printer to the point that different printers' inks can be chemically distinguished from each other in many cases. Johannes Gutenberg's ink, for example, contained unusually high levels of copper compared to other printers, which has allowed scholars to identify texts originating from his presses more easily.[8] However, a commonality between the various printing ink recipes was that they all had to be made with oil as a solvent, as water-based inks would not adhere to the metal type.[9] Additionally, while iron-gall ink (primarily made from arabic gum, iron or copper sulphate, and tannin mixed in water) was the medium of choice for writing ink, printing ink was largely carbon-based.[10]

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the printing ink used in the *Quaestiones* was both insoluble in water and unlikely to oxidize, properties that are useful to note here. In regards to red ink, which was also used in the rubrics of the *Quaestiones*, such pigments were made of a variety of compounds that included orange lead, cinnabar, crushed cochineal beetle, brazilwood, and madder.[11] Vermilion, an alternate form of cinnabar, was one of the more common base ingredients for red ink used in both printing and hand illumination. Vermilion and cinnabar are composed of mercury sulfide, which is insoluble in water.[12] The fact that both the black and red inks used in the *Quaestiones* incunable were composed of materials that caused them to remain relatively unaffected by water suggests that moisture in some way had a role to play in the transformation of the blue ink.

The Role of the Paper

The paper of the *Quaestiones* incunable also played an important role in the phenomenon of the green apparitions. A typical sheet of paper during the Middle Ages was made from cellulose, which was cheaper to produce than vellum and thus was more attractive for mass printing. Despite this, some incunabula, such as the 1467 *Constitutiones* of Clemens V (printed by Peter Schöffer in Mainz), were printed on vellum rather than paper, and some books, such as the original Gutenberg Bible, were printed on both vellum and paper.[13] The *Quaestiones* incunable, however, was indeed printed on paper.[14]

As with the ink printed upon it, the chemical composition of medieval paper varied greatly, sometimes even from folio to folio within the same document.[15] Moreover, the presence of certain compounds within certain inks, such as iron and copper, could have potentially altered the chemical composition of the paper; the oxidation of these chemicals sometimes contributed to

Facing page: folio with rubrication. Note the blue 'S', which appears green on the page's reverse side.

tum ītellectus afficitur p passionem corporis.non tamen ex necītate mouetur ab eo.secūdo quia multa in rebus naturalibus contingunt q̄ nō accidūt ex necessitate celi sed p accidēs et non habēt causam. ¶ Alij reducūt omnia hec in causam supracelestem scz in prouidentiam dei.a qua omnia sunt predeterminata et ordinata. et secundum istos fatum erit q̄dam effect⁹ puidētie.quia puidētia nihil aliud est q̄ ratio ordinis rerum.put est in mente diuina.fatum vero est explicatio illi⁹ ordinis put est in rebus Unde. Boetius fatum est īmobilis dispositio rebus mobilib⁹ inherens. Sic ergo accipiēdo fatum potest dici q̄ omnia sbijciuntur fato.vnde dicitur Osee ij super illud. Non vocabis vltra baaliz.sed vir meus.qđ idē est vtrunq; sed deus noluit hoc. quia baalim nomen erat cuiusdā gētium.et ideo sunt vitāda nomina gētilium cum quibus nec nomina conuenit habere cōmunia.et ideo aug. dicit Si quis hoc non intelligat fatū sētentiam teneat. linguam corrigat. vt non dicat fatum sed puidētia dei

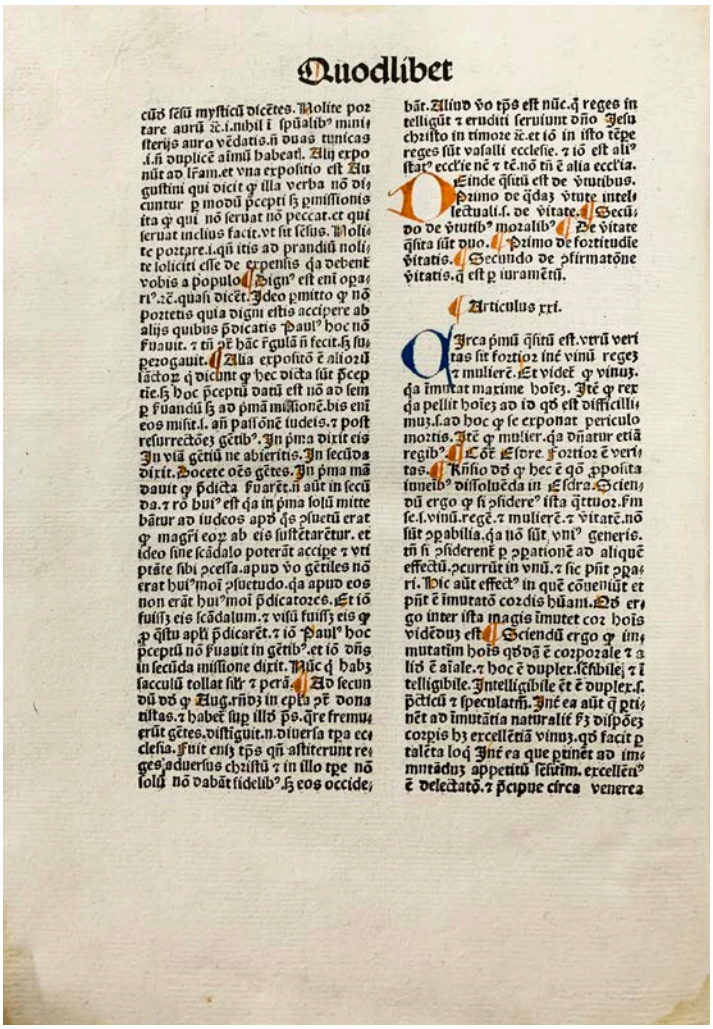
¶ Articulus.vi.

Deinde q̄situm est de angelis. circa hoc q̄sita sunt duo. Primum vtrum esse āgeli sit accidens eius. et videtur q̄ nō.quia accidens intelligitur ineſſe alicui preexistenti.angelus autem non p̄existit ipsi esse. ¶ Contra. Hyl.dicit ꝛc. ¶ Responsio dicendum q̄ opinio Auic.fuit q̄ vnum et ens semper p̄dicant accidens.hoc autem non ē verū quia vnum prout cōuertitur cū ente significat ſaz rei.et similter ipsū ens et vnum put est principium numeri significat accidens.Sciēdum ergo q̄ vnumqđq; qđ est in potentia et in actu.fit actu p hoc q̄ pticipat actum supiorem.p hoc autem aliquid maxime fit actu q̄ pticipat p similitudinē primum et purum actū. Primus autē actus est esse ſbīstens p se.vnde oppletionem vnūquodq; recipit p hoc q̄ pticipat esse.vnde esse ē completiū omnis forme.quia p hoc completur q̄ habēt esse.et habz esse cum est actu et sic nulla forma ē nisi p esse.et sic dico q̄ esse ſbale rei non est accidēs.sed actualitas cuiuslibet forme existentis siue sine materia siue cum materia et quia esse est cōpletio omnium.inde ē q̄ pprius effect⁹ dei est esse.et nulla causa dat esse nisi īquātū pticipat operationem diuinam. et sic ꝓprie loquendo non est accidens.et qđ Hyl' dicit dico q̄ accidens dicitur large omne qđ non est pars essentie.et sic est esse in rebus creatis.quia in solo deo esse est eius essentia.

¶ Articulus.vii.

Secundo q̄situm est vtrum diabol⁹ cognoscat cogitatiōes hominum. ¶ Respōdeo dicēdum q̄ cognoscere cogitationes cordis potest cōtingere dupliciter in se et p se.et in aliquo effectu. Primo solius dei est. Hiere xv. Prauum est cor hominis et īscrutabile.vnde nec āgeli sic eas cognoscunt. cuius ratio est triplex.vna ꝓter debilitatem esse qđ habent eo q̄ supra gradum quo alīquid est ens in potentia est gradus quo res sūt in aīa. Alia rō ē quia qđ

the breakdown of the cellulose of the paper in what is known as the Fenton reaction. This type of chemical degradation would have been exacerbated if the alkalinity of the environment was high.[16] Following such a reaction, the iron- or copper-based pigments, such as blue ink made from azurite, would be absorbed by the degraded paper. Even without knowing the exact chemical composition of the paper used in Koelhoff's incunable, examples from other paper incunabula provide evidence that copper ions would become absorbed into the paper rather than spread across the page. This matches the phenomenon that can be observed in the *Quaestiones*, where the components of a copper-based pigment (azurite) on one side of the folios have bled through to the other.[17] Such a phenomenon has not otherwise been observed in parchment manuscripts. While there is evidence of another copper-based pigment known as verdigris spreading throughout the parchment of certain manuscripts, researchers believe that this spreading was actually the result of honey that ink-makers used to keep the verdigris moist during application. Moreover, the verdigris spread laterally across the surface of the parchment in these instances and was not absorbed into it.[18] This suggests that it was not only the presence of copper ions in the Koelhoff incunable but the specific nature of azurite itself that caused the chemical reaction.



Quodlibet

cūs ſēſū myſticū dicētes. Nolite poz
tare aurū ꝛc.i.nihil i ſpūalib⁹ mini
ſterijs auro vēdatis.ñ duas tunicas
.i.ñ duplicē aimū habeat. Alij expo
nūt ad ſram.et vna expoſitio eſt Au
guſtini qui dicit q illa verba nō di
cuntur ꝑ modū ꝓcepti ſz ꝑmiſſionis
ita q qui nō ſeruat nō peccat.et qui
ſeruat melius facit.vt ſit ſēſus. Noli
te portare.i.qñ itis ad prandiū noli
te ſolliciti eſſe de expenſis q̄a debent
vobis a populo. Dign⁹ eſt enī ope
ri⁹.ꝛc.quaſi dicēt. Ideo ꝑmitto q nō
portetis quia digni eſtis accipere ab
alijs quibus ꝓdicatis Paul⁹ hoc nō
fuauit. ꝛ tñ ꝑ hāc r̄gulā ñ fecit.ſz ſu
pezoganit. Alia expoſitō ē aliozū
lāctoꝝ q̄ dicunt q hec dicta ſūt ꝓcep
tie.ſz hoc ꝓceptū datū eſt nō ad ſem
p fuandū ſz ad ꝑmā miſſionē.bis enī
eos miſit.i. añ paſſōnē iudeis.ꝛ poſt
reſurrectōez gētib⁹. In ꝑma dixit eis
In viā gētiū ne abieritis. In ſecūda
dixit. Docete oēs gētes. In ꝑma mā
dauit q ꝓdicta fuarēt.ñ aūt in ſecū
da.ꝛ rō hui⁹ eſt q̄a in ꝑma ſolū mitte
bātur ad iudeos apd q̄s ꝓſuetū erat
q magīſt eoꝝ ab eis ſuſtētarēt̄ur. et
ideo ſine ſcādalo poterāt accipe ꝛ vti
ptāte ſibi ꝓceſſa.apud vo gētiles nō
erat hui⁹moi ꝓſuetudo.q̄a apud eos
non erāt hui⁹moi ꝓdicatozes. Et iō
fuiſſz eis ſcādalum.ꝛ viſū fuiſſz eis q
p ḡſtu apli ꝓdicarēt.ꝛ iō Paul⁹ hoc
ꝓceptū nō fuauit in gētib⁹.et iō dīs
in ſecūda miſſione dixit. Nūc q habz
ſacculū tollat ſil⁹ ꝛ perā. Ad ſecun
dū vō q Aug.rñdz in epla ꝑ dona
tiſtas.ꝛ habeē ſūp illō ꝑs. q̄re fremu
erūt gētes.diſtiguit.n.diuerſa tpa ec
cleſia. Fuit enīz tp̄s qñ aſtiterunt re
ges aduerſus chriſtū ꝛ in illo tpe nō
ſolū nō dabāt fidelib⁹.ſz eos occide
bāt. Aliud vō tp̄s eſt nūc.q̄ reges in
telligūt ꝛ eruditi ſeruiunt dño Jeſu
chriſto in timore ꝛc.et iō in iſto tēpe
reges ſūt vaſalli eccleſie. ꝛ iō eſt ali⁹
ſtat⁹ eccl'ie nē ꝛ tē.nō tñ ē alia eccl'ia.

Deinde q̄ſtū eſt de vtutibus.
Primo de q̄daz vtute intel
lectuali.ſ. de vitate. Secū
do de vtutib⁹ moralib⁹. De vitate
q̄ſita ſūt duo. Primo de fortitudie
vitatis. Secundo de ꝑfirmatōne
vitatis.q̄ eſt ꝑ iuramētū.

Articulus xxi.

Circa ꝓmū q̄ſtū eſt.vtrū veri
tas ſit fortioz inē vinū reges
ꝛ mulierē. Et videt q vinuz.
q̄a imutat maxime hoīez. Jtē q rex
q̄a pellit hoīez ad id qō eſt difficilli
muz.ſ.ad hoc q ſe exponat periculo
mortis. Jtē q mulier.q̄a dñatur etiā
regib⁹. Cōt Eſdre Fortioz ē verī
tas. Riſio dō q hec ē qō ꝓpoſita
inueīb⁹ diſſoluēda in Eſdra. Scien
dū ergo q ſi conſidere⁹ iſta q̄ttuoz. Fm
ſe.ſ.vinū.regē.ꝛ mulierē.ꝛ vitatē.nō
ſūt ꝓpabilia.q̄a nō ſūt vni⁹ generis.
tñ ſi conſiderent̄ ꝑ ꝓpationē ad aliquē
effectū.ꝛcurrūt in vnū.ꝛ ſic ꝑnt ꝓpa
ri. Nec aūt effect⁹ in quē cōueniūt et
ꝑnt ē imutatō cozdis hūam. Dō er
go inter iſta magis imutet coz hois
videndūz eſt. Sciendū ergo q im
mutatiū hoīs qdā ē cozpozale ꝛ a
liā ē aiale.ꝛ hoc ē dupler.ſcībile.ꝛ ī
telligibile. Intelligibile ēt ē dupler.ſ.
p̄ctcū ꝛ ſpeculatiū. Jnē ea aūt q̄ ꝑti
nēt ad imutatiā naturalē ſz diſpōz
cozpis bz excellētiā vinuz.qō facit ꝑ
taleta loq Jnē ea que ꝑtinēt ad im
mutāduz appetitū ſēſitiū. excellēn⁹
ē delectatō.ꝛ ꝑcipue circa venerea

Telling the Ghost's Story

It is now evident that the "ghost in green" that appears on the pages of Koelhoff's incunable was the result of the azurite pigment becoming absorbed into the paper following the oxidation-based degradation of the cellulose. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, it is likely that neither the red nor the black ink found in the *Quaestiones* were made of water-soluble components, and they therefore would not have experienced the same chemical reactions that the azurite in the blue pigment did when exposed to moisture. The fact that the

Folio with rubrication featuring one of Aquinas' more famous *quaestiones*, "Is truth stronger than wine, kings and women?" Aquinas' answer is yes, though the sensual powers of women awarded them second place.

blue pigment was transformed while the red and black inks remained unaffected indicates that it was likely some sort of water exposure that caused the chemical reactions that produced this "ghost." Since this reaction only occurred on a few folios within the book, and since the book as a whole is in what can be described as excellent condition, it can be assumed that this water exposure was minimal and yet sufficient enough for the reaction to occur.

One could now establish the exact nature of the reaction that took place. The copper carbonate from which azurite derives also manifests in a chemically similar but visually contrasting form: the mineral malachite. This mineral was itself another popular pigment that medieval scribes and printers utilized to achieve a rich green colour in book decoration. Malachite has been described in modern literature as an "impurity" when it is found in azurite, but this term obscures how malachite appears within azurite in the first place.[19] Azurite remains stable in environments with moderately low pH levels (below six or seven).[20] However, when the environment's alkalinity is increased, azurite further oxidizes into malachite in a process known as pseudomorphism, which leaves the crystalline structure of the azurite intact while altering its chemical makeup.[21] Water, having a pH range of six to eight, is therefore capable of creating an environment more alkaline than azurite can tolerate, which provides a likely catalyst for such a reaction to take place.[22] This strongly suggests that past water damage to the folios of the *Quaestiones* incunable, in addition to the degradation of the cellulose in contact with this copper oxidation, was responsible for the discolouration. This mysterious green shadow is therefore not only a ghost, but a victim of drowning.

Conclusion

It was not until the invention of Prussian Blue dye in 1704 that synthetic pigments became available to printers, and the synthetic form of azurite, known as blue verditer, would not be developed until the early nineteenth century.[23] Until this time period, printers and illuminators alike had to contend with delicate natural pigments that provided vivid colours at the cost of vulnerability to the ravages of time and the natural environment. It was in such a world that Johann Koelhoff the Elder produced in 1485 his copies of Thomas Aquinas' *Quaestiones de duodecim quodlibet*, and it was in such a world that some of the rubrics within this book underwent a striking and haunting transformation from azurite blue to malachite green. Though medieval printers and illuminators utilized their own formulae for making pigments, there were enough commonalities in their ingredients that, even without a chemical analysis of the pages of the *Quaestiones*, an explanation for this remarkable phenomenon can be obtained with reasonable certainty. Furthermore, solving this mystery has also revealed a strong likelihood that the incunable suffered past exposure to water, a hidden history that could only be uncovered through the medium of a most curious ghost story.

Notes

[1] Without access to electroscopic equipment and, moreover, without continued access to the primary source itself due to COVID-19, chemical analysis of the manuscript's letters could not have been conducted for the purposes of this study. Instead, existing studies of the pigments and inks found in other similar incunables and manuscripts were consulted.

[2] Mayumi Ikeda, "The First Experiments in Book Decoration at the Fust-Schöffer Press," in *Early Printed Books As Material Objects: Proceeding of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section Munich, 19-21 August 2009*, eds. Marcia Reed and Bettina Wagner (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur, 2010), 39–40.

[3] Ted Stanley, "Black and Blue Printing Ink Analysis by XRF, DRIFTS and Raman Spectroscopy of Recently Discovered Gutenbergian Ars Minor Fragments," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 57, no. 4, 2018: 218; Ikeda, "The First Experiments," 49 (note 27).

[4] Lilian Armstrong, "Information from Illumination: Three Case Studies of Incunabula in the 1470s," in *Early Printed Books As Material Objects : Proceeding of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section Munich, 19-21 August 2009*, eds. Marcia Reed and Bettina Wagner (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur, 2010); Ikeda, "The First Experiments" 48; John T. McQuillen, "Fifteenth-Century Book Networks: Scribes, Illuminators, Binders, and the Introduction of Print," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 107, no. 4 (December 2013): 507.

[5] Tracey D. Chaplin, Robin J. H. Clark, David Jacobs, Kristian Jensen, and Gregory D. Smith, "The Gutenberg Bibles: Analysis of the Illuminations and Inks Using Raman Spectroscopy," *Analytical Chemistry* 77, no. 11 (June 2005): 3611; Christine Beier, "Producing, Buying, and Decorating Books in the Age of Gutenberg. The Role of Monasteries in Central Europe," in *Early Printed Books As Material Objects: Proceeding of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section Munich, 19-21 August 2009*, eds. Marcia Reed and Bettina Wagner (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur, 2010), 79–80.

[6] J. R. Barnett, Sarah Miller, and Emma Pearce, "Colour and Art: A Brief History of Pigments," *Optics & Laser Technology: Colour and Design in the natural and man-made worlds*, 38, no. 4 (June 1, 2006): 449.

[7] Wilfried Vetter, Irene Latini, and Manfred Schreiner, "Azurite in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts: A Reflection-FTIR Study Concerning the Characterization of Binding Media," *Heritage Science* 7, no. 1 (April 3, 2019): 1; R. J. King, "Azurite and Malachite," *Geology Today* 17, no. 4 (2001): 152; Louisa M. Smieska et al., "Trace Elements in Natural Azurite Pigments Found in Illuminated Manuscript Leaves Investigated by Synchrotron X-Ray Fluorescence and Diffraction Mapping," *Applied Physics A* 123, no. 7 (July 2017): 483.

[8] T. A. Cahill et al., "Gutenberg's Inks and Papers: Non-Destructive Compositional Analyses by Proton Milliprobe," *Archaeometry* 26, no. 1 (1984): 8; H. Mommsen et al., "X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis with Synchrotron Radiation on the Inks and Papers of Incunabula," *Archaeometry* 38, no. 2 (1996): 355.

[9] Stanley, "Black and Blue Printing Ink Analysis," 205; Wight, C, "Gutenberg Bible: Making the Bible - the Ink," *The British Library*, July 21, 2004, accessed August 27, 2020, https://www.bl.uk/treasures/gutenberg/ink.html.

[10] Chaplin et al., "The Gutenberg Bibles," 3617; Jasna Malešič, Martin Šala, Vid Simon Šelih, and Drago Kočar, "Evaluation of a Method for Treatment of Iron Gall Ink Corrosion on Paper," *Cellulose* 21, no. 4 (August 1, 2014): 2925.

[11] Barnett, Miller, and Pearce, "Colour and Art," 448–49.

[12] Cahill et al., "Gutenberg's Inks and Papers," 6; Stanley, "Black and Blue Printing Ink Analysis," 217.

[13] Armstrong, "Information from Illumination," 61; Chaplin et al., "The Gutenberg Bibles," 3611–22.

[14] Aquinas, "Twelve Questions on Various Subjects."

[15] Mommsen et al., "X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis," 352.

[16] Malešič et al., "Evaluation of a Method for Treatment," 2926; Jasna Malešič, Drago Kočar, and Aneta Balažic Fabjan, "Stabilization of Copper- and Iron-Containing Papers in Mildly Alkaline Environment," *Polymer Degradation and Stability* 97, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 118.

[17] Mommsen et al., "X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis," 351–52; Malešič et al., "Evaluation of a Method for Treatment,"

2934.

[18] Daniel Varney Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (Courier Corporation, 1956), 168.

[19] Vetter, Latini, and Schreiner, "Azurite in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts," 4.

[20] King, "Azurite and Malachite," 153.

[21] King, "Azurite and Malachite," 155.

[22] Fabre Minerals,"Mineral Specimens / Europe," accessed April 9, 2020, https://www.fabreminerals.com/specimens/WEU-western-europe-mineral-specimens.php; Chaplin et al., "The Gutenberg Bibles," 3615–16; Barnett, Miller, and Pearce, "Colour and Art," 449.

[23] Chaplin et al., "The Gutenberg Bibles," 3615–16; Barnett, Miller, and Pearce, "Colour and Art," 449.

Hore beate marie Virginis secundum vsum Romanum totaliter ad longum sine requie. Cū multis suffragiis ⁊ Orationib⁹ de nouo additis Sicut videbitis in tabula. Nouiter impressis Parisius: per Germanum Hardouyn commorantē inter duas portas Palatii ad intersimum Sancte Margarete. Et ibi venundentur.

The Virgin Mary and Idealized Womanhood in Germain Hardouyn's Book of Hours

Evangeline Mann

Parisian book publishers and printers between 1488 and 1568 were renowned throughout Europe for creating magnificently crafted books of hours, which were distinctive prayer books that the owner(s) used to guide their daily prayer routines.[1] Germain Hardouyn, a particularly well-known publisher and printer, worked between 1500 and 1541 to supply the Parisian elite and growing middle classes with books of hours.[2] The copy displayed in this exhinit is a beautiful example of a small volume that Hardouyn published in Paris both in French and Latin.[3] This manuscript features numerous ornate, colourful illustrations of scenes predominantly from the New Testament on its parchment folios, as well as various textual components designed to shape readers' spiritual contemplation routines, such as the "Almanac for the years 1536 to 1541," the "Calendar, in Latin," and the "Office of the Dead."[4] However, contemporary scholars have

Facing page: title page. Book of Hours (Use of Rome), Paris, c.1526, MS. *Les Enluminures.*

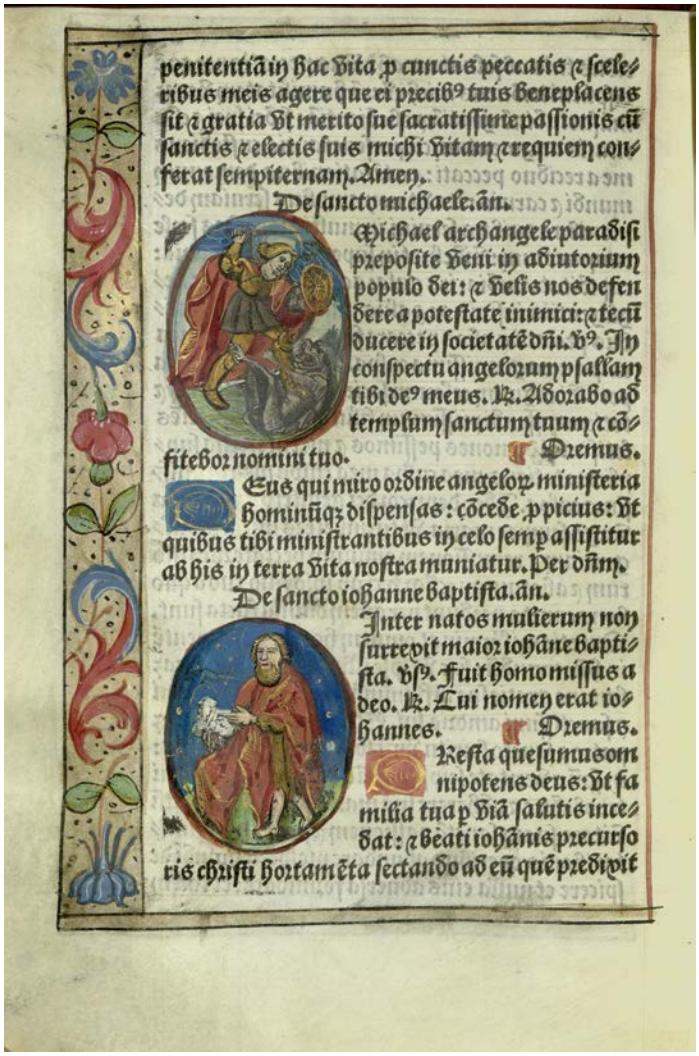
particularly linked these books to female spiritual contemplation because of their repeated emphasis on the Virgin Mary as well as their status as symbols of tranquil prayer conducted within sheltered domestic settings.[5] While Hardouyn's book of hours has limitations—it does not include detailed information on the owner(s) of the book or how they used it—it is nonetheless a magnificently crafted primary source that illustrates the relationship between gender and spirituality during the late medieval period through its various visual and textual elements.

Hardouyn's book of hours reflects the broader trend among late medieval authors to heavily emphasize the Virgin Mary in their writings in order to present an idealized vision of femininity for the women who made use of them. The creation of this idealized conception was achieved through a combination of unique imagery and textual passages.[6] Images in Hardouyn's book present the Virgin as a delicate and learned maternal figure, which is reflected in other books of hours from late medieval France and England, such as the *Poncher Hours*, the *Bedford Hours*, and the *Book of Hours of Sarum Use*.[7] References to the sacred mother are frequently repeated in textual passages throughout Hardouyn's book, such as in the "Hours of the Virgin"; this is also the case in other comparable books of hours like the *San Diego Hours*, *Marie's Hours*, and the *Nevill Hours*.[8] Finally, the dissemination of books of hours during the late medieval period highlights how medieval women valued books of hours, gave them to their descendants, and attempted to personally embody the idealized Marian qualities that the books depicted, including steadfastness, selflessness, and grace, in order to emulate the Virgin.[9] In sum, the images and textual references within these books of hours, as well as their dissemination from one generation to the next, highlight the key role books of hours played in shaping an idealized image of femininity associated with spiritual contemplation. This image was at the forefront of the scene of medieval female spirituality and greatly impacted the lives of those who owned and prayed with these books.[10] The stunning illustrations within Hardouyn's book

"The Annunciation," large metalcut image.

of hours in particular highlight these concepts and reveal clearly how the Virgin was portrayed and celebrated in late medieval France and England.[11]

To begin, the distinctive representations of the Virgin Mary as an idealized, attractive mother figure within Hardouyn's book of hours and parallel iconographic traditions demonstrate the idealization of the Virgin Mary that permeated late medieval religious texts.[12] In Hardouyn's book of hours, the Virgin is represented in five large metalcut images and four minor metalcut images, each as vibrant and detailed as the next. These colourful scenes showcase recognizable New Testament narratives such as the Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion, and Adoration of the Magi.[13] In these images, Mary is consistently depicted as a pale and delicate woman wearing elegant, glossy blue gowns, often exuding a sense of serenity. The uniform representation of Mary in this book of hours and others like it played a role in establishing an idealized vision of sacred womanhood that visually emphasized physical attractiveness.[14] Furthermore, she is also depicted as the mother of Christ who is the essential, constant, and central figure present for His joyous and harrowing life moments, which were major events for Christian worship.[15] In scenes such as the Adoration of the Magi, Nativity, and Crucifixion, the Virgin visibly occupies more space than any other figure on the page, which indicates her importance within Christian narratives.



Folio depicting miniatures of St. Michael slaying the dragon and St. John the Baptist.

These representations are particularly intriguing when considered in light of the Protestant Reformation and other related religious reformist movements—such as Calvinism and Zwinglianism—that occurred during the late medieval period, since northern European writers such as Huldrych Zwingli rejected theorizations of the Virgin's sanctity.[16] Additionally, his follower Clement Ziegler composed documents in 1524 to openly support Zwingli's claims and to articulate the necessity for Christians to believe that Christ's link to the divine came through His filial

connection with God rather than with the Virgin.[17] Therefore, Hardouyn's book of hours opposed these earlier perceptions by illustrating the Virgin Mary as an ideal embodiment of graceful femininity and effectively linking the visual conceptualization of late medieval motherhood with the Virgin's maternal identity.[18]

It is important to realize, however, that Hardouyn's book of hours was not an isolated case in this regard. The French *Poncher Hours*, which was created in 1500 for an affluent woman named Denise Poncher, is another example of a book of hours that highlights the prioritization of the Virgin Mary in late medieval visual culture and the ways in which books of hours were employed to generate an idealized vision of femininity.[19] The *Poncher Hours* has many pictorial representations of maternity, such as Anne Teaching the Virgin to Read (f.123r, within the Hours of the Holy Spirit), Virgin and Child (f.90v), and Mary Spinning Wool (f.121r, within the Hours of the Conception).[20] These depictions resemble those of Hardouyn's book of hours, as they similarly associate the Virgin Mary with idealized femininity and highlight the importance of motherhood within Christian familial structures.[21] Moreover, in one scene Poncher herself is depicted as a charming and dainty figure who is juxtaposed beside a portrayal of Death, which visually emphasizes her radiance and likens her to the Virgin.[22] Scholars and museum curators such as Virginia Reinburg and Elizabeth Morrison have interpreted Poncher's evidently adolescent appearance in this book and its strong association with the Virgin Mary's maternal identity as a visual celebration of Poncher's nuptial arrangements.[23] In this way, the *Poncher Hours* demonstrates how a late medieval French book of hours linked the female owner's significant life events to the Virgin.[24] The Virgin Mary served as the pinnacle of graceful, motherly femininity that Poncher was presented as imitating.

While scholars have demonstrated how the repeated visual emphasis on the Virgin Mary within late medieval books of hours highlights conceptions of idealized femininity and maternity, it is necessary to consider how these books also presented the Virgin as a learned figure.[25] Within Hardouyn's book of hours, for example, two distinct pictorial representations combine themes of maternal femininity and education: "St. Anne teaching Mary how to read" and "Annunciation." In

Detail of miniatures depicting women and marian imagery. Images property of *Les Enluminures*.

the "Annunciation," the book the Virgin holds alludes to her dutiful obtention of literary knowledge when she was informed of the sacred conception of Christ.[26] The depiction of St. Anne, a maternal figure herself, instructing the Virgin in the analysis of book passages in the former scene is also noteworthy. It was meant to represent St. Anne as a supportive maternal figure who aimed to ensure that the Virgin, as her cherished female offspring, was knowledgeable and able to understand the world.[27] Numerous medieval artisans have explored and portrayed this theme in their imagery, and it is particularly highlighted in other late medieval French religious texts, such as the *Book of Hours of Sarum Use* (c.1430), the *Primer of Claude of France* (1505-1510), and the renowned *Bedford Hours* (c.1420).[28] These creative portrayals of the same subject matter indicate how scribes and illuminators within late medieval France idealized the Virgin as a capable and curious learner and similarly prioritized St. Anne as a female figure who symbolized the essential transfer of knowledge from parents to their children.[29] Hardouyn's book of hours is part of this iconographic pictorial tradition that established an idealized vision of femininity by displaying the Virgin as an attractive and caring mother figure who was also knowledgeable and intelligent due to the efforts of her own mother.

Similar concepts are also crucially expressed through several textual components of Hardouyn's book of hours, which provides a superb example of how the language and textual passages that describe the Virgin Mary within these ornate religious books framed her as an example of perfect femininity for readers.[30] The significance of the Virgin in this regard is also demonstrated by comparable textual descriptions of the Virgin within contemporary books of hours.[31] Textual passages within Hardouyn's book of hours distinctly associate the Virgin Mary with prayer and spiritual reflection; for example, the manuscript includes the "Hours of the Virgin" alongside other spiritual text passages that represent Christ's life, such as the "Hours of the Cross" and the "Hours of the Holy Spirit."[32] Additionally, the book's inclusion of prayers titled, "Hours of the Conception of the Virgin" places further textual emphasis on feminine fertility and parenthood.[33] The Virgin is the only Christian figure throughout this book to whom specific types of prayers are consistently allocated,

Detail of miniatures depicting women and marian imagery. Images property of *Les Enluminures.*

"The Nativity," large metalcut image.

which reflects her importance within late medieval worship rituals in France and England.[34] This emphasis also highlights how Hardouyn utilized this book to establish a textual and theoretical link between the idealized Virgin and daily prayer routines in order to emphasize an association between femininity and tranquil spiritual contemplation.[35]

Similar texts created during the late medieval period also indicate how book-makers employed textual passages and prayers to honour the Virgin. One way that books of hours achieved this was by specifically linking her to other holy Christian figures such as God and Christ in order to emphasize the Virgin's centrality in Christian prayer rituals and narratives.[36] This tendency is particularly evident within an unnamed French woman's book of hours created during the 1270s; it includes the "litany of the Virgin," which honours and recognizes the prominence of the Virgin in Christianity.[37] A deep reverence for the Virgin is demonstrated in this section, which notes her grace and maternal tenderness seventy-one times, and connects her to the Holy Trinity by referencing her sacred relationships with the Holy Spirit, God, and Christ.[38] *The Nevill Hours* (Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire), another book of hours produced in England during the 1400s also demonstrates these concepts by strategically merging specific prayer sections, such as the "Hours of the Cross interleaved with the Hours of the Virgin."[39]

The distinct inclusion of these prayers highlights the Virgin as a sacred mother figure because her identity, as well as the prayers a reader would employ to contemplate her loving devotion to her Son, are intertwined with the prayers that emphasize Christ's Passion, which was a central component of the New Testament and Christianity.[40] Hardouyn's book of hours is similar to the aforementioned examples in that it additionally includes several lengthy textual prayer passages that celebrate the Virgin, such as the "Hours of the Virgin" (fol.B5-F7), "Hours of the Conception of the Virgin (fol.K8-L2)," and "Five prayers in Honour of the Virgin" (fol.L2-L3v).[41] The repeated textual

emphasis on the Virgin reflects how Hardouyn and other late medieval book-makers used the frequent placement of textual passages throughout their manuscripts to emphasize the Virgin's importance.[42] The specific instances within the books of hours outlined in the preceding analysis reflect how medieval writers meant to honour the Virgin and frame her femininity as idealized and maternal by including specific prayers to the Virgin within their books of hours.

Hardouyn's book of hours features a long prayer section titled the "Hours of the Virgin (use of Rome)," which historians often deem to be the spiritual and theoretical focal point of the medieval book of hours.[43] This particular textual passage would have effectively guided readers in their regular prayer routines; moreover, it serves as textual evidence of the late medieval association between the Virgin and peaceful spiritual contemplation, which was meant to symbolize perfect and sacred femininity.[44] The Hours of the Virgin, collectively referred to as the *Horae beatae Mariae virginis*, were ordinarily prayer and worship routines to be completed by the user at designated times of the day or evening.[45] Each designated grouping contained combinations of prayers, hymns that honoured the Virgin, such as the "Ave maris stella," and rhythmic cycles of poetic psalm recitations that gently articulate Christ's love, tenderness, and steadfastness for His followers. The "Hours of the Virgin" became formally incorporated into Catholic worship practices in 1571 through a holy declaration titled "Officium beatae Marie Virginis," but its associations with womanhood and spirituality evidently began centuries earlier.[46]

Top: "The Adoration of the Magi," large metalcut image.
Bottom: "The Crucifixion," large metalcut image

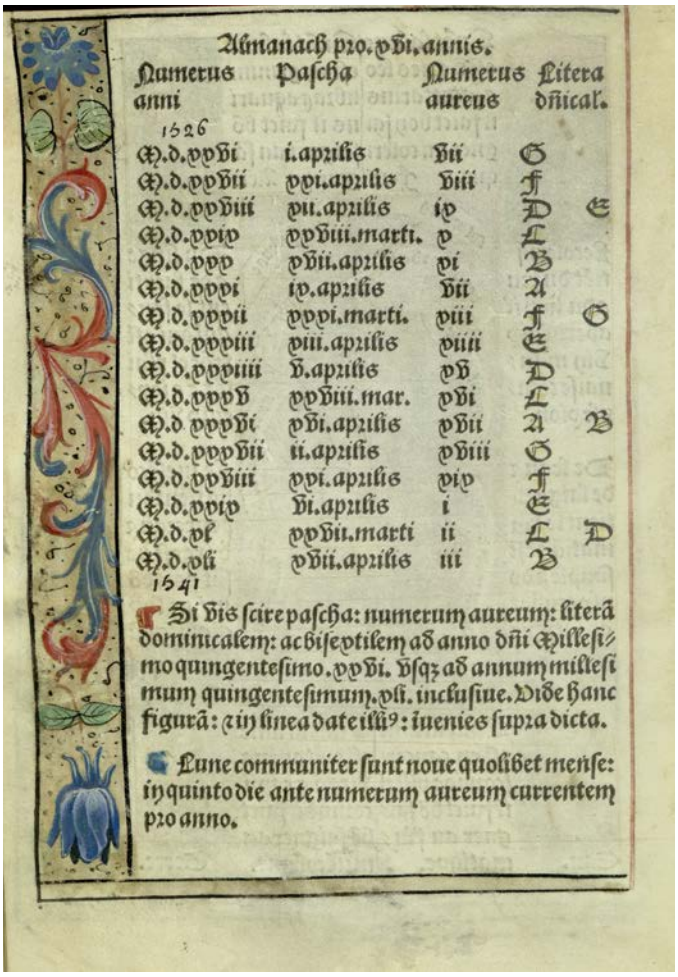
In fact, ancient versions of these hours were revered and recited by groups of thirteenth-century spiritual female recluses known as ancresses in England. Indeed, the thirteenth century ecclesiastical volume *Ancrene Wisse* specifically encouraged ancresses to focus their daily prayers on the Hours of the Virgin.[47] Hardouyn's inclusion of the "Hours of the Virgin" into the book he produced links this distinctive series of prayers dedicated to the veneration of the Virgin to the historical origins of these prayers and their longstanding integrality in women's lives.

While medieval book-makers shaped Christian prayer and worship rituals through their publications, the interests of the readers themselves could also determine the contents of the books produced for them. Several late medieval French and English books of hours demonstrate how medieval women deliberately and meaningfully employed these celebratory passages to enrich their own prayer routines and worship rituals.[48] The female reader's deliberate utilization of specific types of prayers from their books of hours to enrich their prayer routines is particularly evident through analysing the contents of the books that women owned. For example, the sixteenth-century English *San Diego Hours*, which was created for a woman named Catherine Heydon, included an early medieval prayer containing references to feminine virginity from Biblical books such as Timothy and Corinthians.[49] These specific Biblical references demonstrate how certain textual components within medieval books of hours emphasized female spirituality for their readers. Moreover, this prayer was also part of the worship routines for medieval nuns living within convents; therefore, its inclusion within this manuscript highlights how it was designated for communities of women worshippers.[50]

The inclusion of this prayer in Heydon's prayer manual is particularly thought-provoking when compared to an earlier version of the prayer composed by the Anglo-Saxon writer Alcuin. While Alcuin's composition of the prayer emphasized Christ and God, Heydon's prayer thoroughly described the power of the Virgin to ensure spiritual grace.[51] The contrasts between the earlier and latter versions of the prayer indicate how late medieval books of hours included textual components that appealed to individual owners' spiritual interests and sensibilities, as well as how it facilitated a distinctive connection between the female owner and biblical descriptions of the Virgin.[52] The "*Obsecro te*" prayer, also included within Heydon's book, referenced the Virgin's life events, further demonstrating how medieval women utilized textual prayer references to associate the Virgin with their own spiritual rituals.[53] Therefore, these two prayers in Heydon's manuscript illustrate how her interest in the Virgin guided

her individual worship practices.

Finally, it is crucial to investigate the widespread dissemination of books of hours amongst female worshippers throughout France and England during the late medieval period, which is key in the investigation of how books of hours generated an idealized image of femininity through their representations of the Virgin Mary. The use and transfer of these books between female worshippers demonstrates how specific women aimed to emulate the Virgin through the use of their books of hours.[54] In Amiens, for example, multiple female generations within the same familial group cherished, prayed from, and transferred a book of hours between them from 1460 to the mid-1500s; similarly, in Tournai during the 1450s, several books of hours were granted to younger women from their elderly female relatives.[55] These magnificently crafted books of spiritual contemplation were also transferred between multiple female generations in the Hainaut and Chartres families throughout the 1500s.[56] The distinctive late medieval practice of bequeathing books of hours to younger female descendants indicates their value as sacred volumes and representations of familial ties, but more importantly it highlights the connection between the dissemination of books of hours and their prominent presences within female kinship circles.[57]



Almanach pro. xxi. annis.

Numerus anni	Pascha	Numerus aureus	Litera dñical.	
1526				
℣.d.xxbi	i.aprilis	bii	G	
℣.d.xxbii	xxi.aprilis	biii	F	
℣.d.xxbiii	xii.aprilis	iv	E	e
℣.d.xxiv	xxbiii.marti.	v	D	
℣.d.xxv	xbii.aprilis	vi	C	
℣.d.xxvi	iv.aprilis	bii	B	
℣.d.xxvii	xxvi.marti.	viii	A	g
℣.d.xxviii	viii.aprilis	viiii	G	
℣.d.xxviiii	v.aprilis	x	F	
℣.d.xxx	xxbiii.mar.	xi	E	
℣.d xxxi	xbi.aprilis	xii	D	b
℣.d.xxxii	ii.aprilis	xiii	C	
℣.d.xxxiii	xxi.aprilis	xiv	B	
℣.d.xxxiv	bi.aprilis	i	A	
℣.d.xl	xxbii.marti	ii	G	d
℣.d.xli	xbii.aprilis	iii	F	

1541

Si bis scire pascha: numerum aureum: literā dominicalem: ac biseptilem ad anno dñi Millesimo quingentesimo. xxbi. vsq; ad annum millesimum quingentesimum. xli. inclusiue. Vide hanc figurā: cui linea date illi⁹: inuenies supra dicta.

Lune communiter sunt nouę quolibet mense: in quinto die ante numerum aureum currentem pro anno.

Calendar in Latin.
Facing page: detail.

The transfer of books of hours between female family members and companions demonstrates the potency and ubiquity of the specific vision of idealized femininity propagated by late medieval authors during this period. These texts were not merely dogmatic tools of the Church that had little effect on their target audience; rather, they were popular and prominent manuals deeply entrenched in the lives of those they addressed and that held considerable value for them. The transfer of these texts also indicates that they inspired young and old women alike and encouraged them to focus on the central position of the Virgin Mary as the model of feminine behaviour and spirituality. For example, elderly women would symbolically transfer these books to

their children as representations of their affection and concern for their children's behaviour and attitudes, which was meant to mimic the Virgin's tender, parental affection for Christ during His lifetime.[58]

Additionally, the medieval woman's act of bestowing her book of hours upon another woman and her encouragement of the new owner to meaningfully engage in spiritual contemplation reflected care and concern for other women's spiritual wellbeing and salvation. For instance, a Parisian nun known as Anne La Routye indicated in her book that she hoped the woman who possessed it after her would frequently employ it as a sacred instrument to facilitate divine meditation.[59] Furthermore, a woman from northern France named Marie Narrette indicated a similar wish in 1405 for her own book of hours.[60] These examples highlight how medieval women encouraged others to pursue a life of spiritual reflection through passing on their books of hours and thereby expressed concern for other women's spiritual wellbeing.[61] This further demonstrates how medieval women came to embody the virtues that were commonly associated with the Virgin's feminine grace—generosity, tenderness, and nurturance—by transferring their books of hours. Thus, by passing on their books of hours, they were reflecting the very image of idealized femininity that the books of hours depicted.[62] While Hardouyn's book of hours does not include the names of the women who possessed the book, its identity as a sixteenth-century French book of hours that emphasized the Virgin Mary to effectively frame her as the pinnacle of womanhood situates it within this historical and iconographic tradition.

Hardouyn's book of hours is a remarkable primary source that highlights the importance of these texts in late medieval France and England, particularly as they related to the spiritual rituals and practices of female worshippers. This manuscript reflects how books of hours were instrumental in forming an idealized vision of womanhood in late medieval France and England through their distinctive representation of the Virgin Mary in both illuminated scenes and textual passages. The visual and textual components of these books of hours together presented an image of the Virgin as a sacred and devoted maternal figure, and associated an ideal of femininity with care for others as well as dutiful spiritual contemplation. The dissemination of these books of hours also sheds light on the impact that they had on female audiences and highlights how the idealized conception of womanhood established through religious images and texts impacted the behaviour and mentalities of the women who owned these books. Finally, comparing Hardouyn's book of hours to other books of hours with similar themes and content confirms the validity of this trend and situates it within the specific historical context of book-making and print culture in late medieval France and England.

Facing page: "Pentecost," large metalcut image.
Image property of *Les Enluminures*.

Dnine labia mea aperies. Et os
meum annunciabit laudem tuam.
eus in adiutorium meum intende.
omine ad adiuuandum me festina.

Dii

Notes

[1] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*, accessed March 25, 2020, http://www.textmanuscripts.com/curatorial-services/manuscripts/germain-hardouyn-printed-book- of-hours-141447; Elizabeth Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and the Power of Prayer: The Hours of Denise Poncher," *Getty Research Journal* 6, no. 1 (2014): 143-147; Virginia Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," in F*rench Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 71-74.

[2] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*.

[3] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*; Book of Hours (Use of Rome), Paris: c.1526, MS, *Les Enluminures*.

[4] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*; Book of Hours (Use of Rome), MS.

[5] Alexa Sand, "Domesticating Devotion: Body, Space and Self," in *Vision, Devotion, and Self- Representation in Late Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 213.

[6] Pamela Sheingorn and Laura Saetveit Miles show that the Virgin was portrayed as an educated woman and Seth Lerer discusses the effect of the Virgin's imagery on the owners of English books of hours. Adelaide Bennett, Rachel Fulton Brown, Michael T. Orr, and Virginia Reinburg express the importance of images and passages that describe Mary and how these representations impacted Christian prayer and rituals in the late medieval period.

[7] Morrison, "Marriage, Death and Prayer," 145-147; Pamela Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," *Gesta* 32, no. 1 (1993): 69, 74.

[8] Seth Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession in a Newly Discovered Tudor Book of Hours," *Studies in Philology* 109, no. 4 (2012): 410-411, 414-422; Adelaide Bennett, "A Thirteenth-Century French Book of Hours for Marie," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996): 21-23; Rachel Fulton Brown, "The Hours of the Virgin," in *Mary and the Art of Prayer: The Hours of the Virgin in Medieval Christian Life and Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 2, 5, 18.

[9] Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," 71-74.

[10] Sand, "Domesticating Devotion," 213.

[11] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts.*

[12] Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 145-147; Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother,'" 69, 74; Laura Saetveit Miles, "The Origins and Development of the Virgin Mary's Book at the Annunciation," *Speculum* 89, no. 3 (2014): 632, 634.

[13] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*.

[14] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*

[15] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*

[16] Stephen Bates, "The Virgin Mary and the Reformation in the Midlands, 1516-1560," *Midland History* 44, no. 2 (2019): 160-161, 169, 170.

[17] Bates, "The Virgin Mary," 161, 169, 170.

[18] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*

[19] Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 143-147.

[20] Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 145.

[21] Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 145.

[22] Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 146.

[23] Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 147, 150.

[24] Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 143-147.

[25] Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 414.

[26] Miles, "Origins and Development of the Virgin Mary's Book," 632, 634.

[27] Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother,'" 69.

[28] Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother,'" 74-76.

[29] Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother,'" 74-75.

[30] Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 414.

[31] Kathleen Kennedy, "Reintroducing the English Books of Hours, or "English Primers,"" *Speculum* 89, no. 3 (2014): 693-694; Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 143; Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 412, 414-417, 421, 426-427; Bennett, "Thirteenth-Century Book of Hours," 21-23; Brown, "Hours of the Virgin," 1-12; Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," 71-74.

[32] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*.

[33] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*.

[34] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*.

[35] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*.

[36] Bennett, "Thirteenth-Century Book of Hours," 21-23.

[37] Bennett, "Thirteenth-Century Book of Hours," 21-23.

[38] Bennett, "Thirteenth-Century Book of Hours," 22.

[39] Michael T. Orr, "Illustration as Preface and Postscript in the Hours of the Virgin of Trinity College MS. B. 11.7," *Gesta* 34, no. 2 (1995): 162, 165.

[40] Orr, "Illustration as Preface," 165.

[41] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*.

[42] Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 418-422; Bennett, "Thirteenth-Century Book of Hours," 21-23; Orr, "Illustration as Preface," 165.

[43] Kennedy, "Reintroducing English Books of Hours," 693-694; Brown, "Hours of the Virgin," 1-10.

[44] Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 143. This was done as part of the Divine Office, which consisted of the "Matins" (night Office), the "Lauds" (daybreak), the "Little Hours" (recited at various times throughout the day), the "Vespers" (sunset), and "Compline" (bedtime).

[45] Brown, "Hours of the Virgin," 1-6.

[46] Brown, "Hours of the Virgin," 2, 5.

[47] "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*; Brown, "Hours of the Virgin," 5, 18.

[48] Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 410, 421, 426-427; Bennett, "Thirteenth-Century Book of Hours," 21-23; Orr, "Illustration as Preface," 162, 165.

[49] Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 410-411, 414-415, 418-421.

[50] Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 421.

[51] Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 418-422.

[52] Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 418-422.

[53] Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 418-422.

[54] Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," 71-74; Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 145-147; Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 414.

[55] Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," 74.

[56] Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," 74-75.

[57] Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," 74-75.

[58] Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," 71-75; "Printed Book of Hours," *Textmanuscripts*.

[59] Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," 75.

[60] Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," 75.

[61] Reinburg, "Owners and their Books," 71-75.

[62] Morrison, "Marriage, Death, and Prayer," 143-147; Lerer, "Literary Prayer and Personal Possession," 414.

duc dna requiē Et lux laō ma.

Ipsi trēs diligenter scitis quia dies dñi sicut fur ita ī nocte veniet Cū enī dixerīt pax et securitas tūc repētinus eis supueniet interitus: et sicut dolor in vtero habentī et non effugiet. Vos autē trēs nō estis in tenebris ut vos dies illa tanq̄ fur cōprehendat. Omnes enī vos filij lucis estis: et filij diei. Beatus mortuus: qui in dño moritur

Libera me dñe de morte eterna. In die illa tremēda Quādo celi mouēdi sūt et terra

Dies illa dies ire dies calamitatis et miserie dies magna et a

Commemmorating Community

THE ST. KUNIBERT OFFICE OF THE DEAD

Nico Mara-McKay

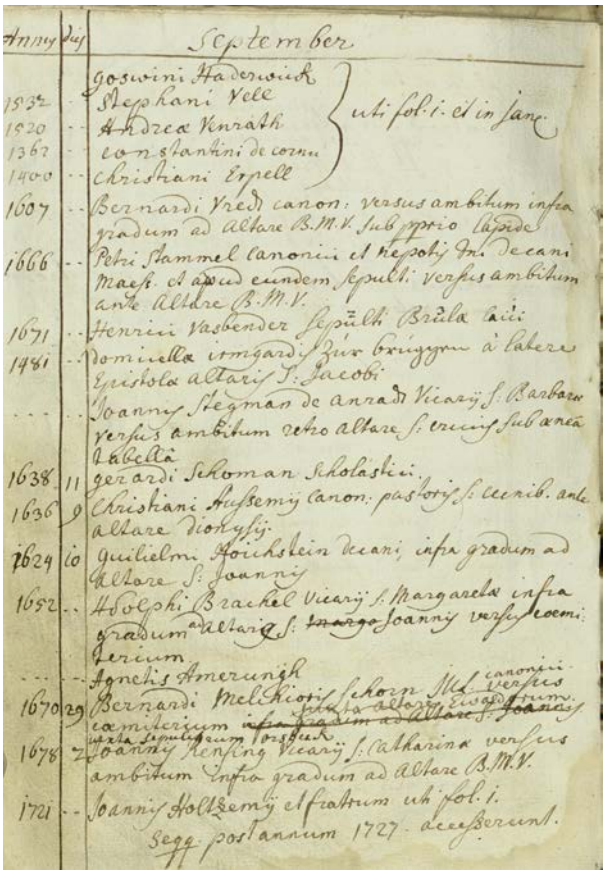
The Office of the Dead is a cycle of prayers and orations recited during funeral services and during regular commemoration of deceased members of a congregation. The material qualities of the fifteenth-century Office of the Dead on displayed at the University of Guelph exhibition, *Illuminating Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages*, attests to centuries of active use within the Church of St. Kunibert in Cologne, for which it was commissioned.[1] A good death and a well-attended funeral demonstrated that a person was cared for by their family and friends, which made dying well of utmost importance for medieval Christians. The ideal medieval funeral was an elaborate affair that consisted of several stages; these were considered important steps to ensure that a person's soul after their death would continue to be of concern for those who cared for them. Completed in 1487, the Office of the Dead (Use of St. Kunibert) and the appended

Facing page: folio depicting alternating red and blue rubrication and short musical notation.Office of the Dead (Use of St. Kunibert), Cologne: 1487 and 1727 (with later additions), MS. *Les Enluminures* TM 664.

necrologium (begun in 1727) helped to maintain a sense of security and continuity in the face of death among the members of the medieval community that it served.

This Office of the Dead was commissioned for use within a specific community in Cologne, Germany, and its appended necrologium demonstrates concern for the wellbeing of community members for centuries after their deaths. While the Church of St. Kunibert was consecrated in 1247, its foundations date centuries earlier. According to a hagiographic account, St. Kunibert (ca. 595–663) became the first archdeacon of the church at Treves, was elected to the bishopric of Cologne, and later became the archbishop of the city.[2] Kunibert is said to have founded the church where he was later buried, which he dedicated to St. Clement.[3] However, by the ninth century, St. Kunibert himself had become associated with the church, which eventually came to bear his name. Following its consecration in 1998 by Pope John Paul II, the church became known as the Basilica of St. Kunibert, as it remains today.

As described in the book's colophon, the Office of the Dead (Use of St. Kunibert) was donated to this collegiate church in 1487 by Johannes Ehrlich of Andernach, archbishop of Trier. The archbishop's donation was a demonstration of piety, as well as a means of benefitting his soul and those on whose behalf the prayers were recited. It is likely that the book remained within the Church of St. Kunibert from the time of its creation until the late eighteenth century, as there are inscriptions from canons who maintained the book, and the eighteenth-century necrologium appended to the end of the book records dates of death until 1767. The necrologium was produced in ink on paper, and it lists the dates of death for those associated with the church of St. Kunibert and select members of the local community. This necrologium functioned as a perpetual calendar, marking when prayers should be recited for the dead. It lists the year of death, the date—in this case, ranging from as early as 1362 to 1767—and the person who is to be remembered, sometimes also listing their burial location. This practice of noting the death dates and burial locations of the deceased marks an ongoing desire to commemorate the members of the St. Kunibert community. After the eighteenth century, this Office of the Dead seems to have entered into private collections.[4]



September page of the necrologium, eighteenth century addition.

The material qualities of the Office of the Dead (Use of St. Kunibert) further suggest its long and active use within the church. The book's current binding is a later addition: a lovely sixteenth-century tooled leather cover over wooden boards with metal bosses at the corners. The desire to rebind the book indicates that the church wanted to strengthen the manuscript's enclosure to ensure its long use. Medieval books were often fastened shut to keep parchment leaves flat, as they could wrinkle and change shape with humidity. Though the strap is no longer attached to this codex, a metal clasp shows where it would have been closed at the middle of the foredge. A small piece of parchment fastened with metal fittings on the cover indicates the book's contents and describes it as for use in the choir by the dean. The spine is bound in a paler leather than that of the boards; though soiled heavily, the dark leather cover depicts stamped figures in decorative panels, including the detail of a seated figure raising their finger in an outdoor setting with clouds overhead. The care taken in the binding and external decoration attest to the value the medieval Christian community placed on this volume.

Sixteenth-century leather-bound cover with metal bosses. Image property of *Les Enluminures*.

Features within the codex confirm that it was intended for active use by the clergy. This Office of the Dead is inked on parchment in Latin, with later additions on paper. The parchment pages contain a number of features that would have been familiar to the medieval reader and were designed to make this book easy to work with. For example, the text is arranged in a single column with most pages nineteen lines in length. The lines are ruled in ink, not only to ensure an even line from the scribe, but also to provide a visual guide to the reader. The large size of the gothic bookhand used in this text further supports it was intended for use within the church, likely by priests officiating the service, while the soiling of the book's pages (especially at the lower corners) attests to its extensive use over the ensuing years. The size of the script is large enough that people could have stood around the text as it was read and sung during the canonical hours. Sections are marked with decorated initials embellished with pen flourishes that run vertically down the page.

Though some are evident, the decorative elements in this manuscript are limited, as the clarity and content of the text was prioritized over ornamentation since it was intended for practical use within the church.[5] For ease of reading, the scribe or another worker created a rubric consisting of alternating red and blue initial letters that are larger and stand out from the rest of the text. This aids the reader in noting when versicles and responsories should be sung. This text also includes music with four-line hufnagel notation that indicates the notes to be sung by the priest and choir during the service. Signs of the longstanding use of this text are abundant. In addition to the soiling already noted, corrections have been inserted in ink. Moreover, pages have been repaired charmingly by sewing in several places, including a hand-stitched insert that replaces a lost section of parchment. Where the text has been worn out, it has been rewritten for clarity. Though the Office of the Dead (Use of St. Kunibert) had been in active use for centuries, it was lovingly cared for and repaired when needed. The appended necrologium indicates specific community members for whom the Office would have been recited, though this volume would have been used in countless funerals over the centuries of its use.

Initially, the Office of the Dead was developed as a means of commemorating the deaths of monks and nuns in closely related monasteries before its use by and for the laity. In the Middle Ages, Christian liturgy was divided into two parts: the Mass (contained in the Missal) and the Divine Office, a cycle of daily devotions divided by canonical hours recited by monks (the compendium of these is the breviary).[6] In the eighth century, the Office of the Dead was developed to enable Christians to pray for recently deceased members of closely related Frankish monasteries.[7] The practice of reciting the Office was later adopted in England, Germany, and the rest of France in the ninth century and continued to spread through its use by confraternities.[8] By the tenth century, recitation of the Office of the Dead was a common feature in Benedictine monasteries, and in the eleventh century, the abbey at Cluny began commemorating their dead on 2 November as All Saints' Day; this was a practice that would subsequently spread across western Europe.[9] After the twelfth century, the Office of the Dead began to appear regularly in books of hours and eventually, commemoration of the dead became an expected part of clerical training.[10] The Office of the Dead became one of the few texts that was identical in both the breviary used by the clergy and the book of hours used by the laity. This interest in honouring the beloved dead among the laity rose in conjunction with the development of the idea of Purgatory and concern for the souls that were not yet in Heaven.

Mortuary rolls, bederolls, obits, and other written texts transmitted notifications of death between monasteries in order that prayers could be said on behalf of the deceased members of the community. For example, the 1458 mortuary roll of Elizabeth Sconinex, the Abbess of Forêt, is forty-two feet long and includes the names of the monastic houses to which it was taken, which totalled three hundred and eighty-three by 1459.[11] Personalized masses served as a kind of personal

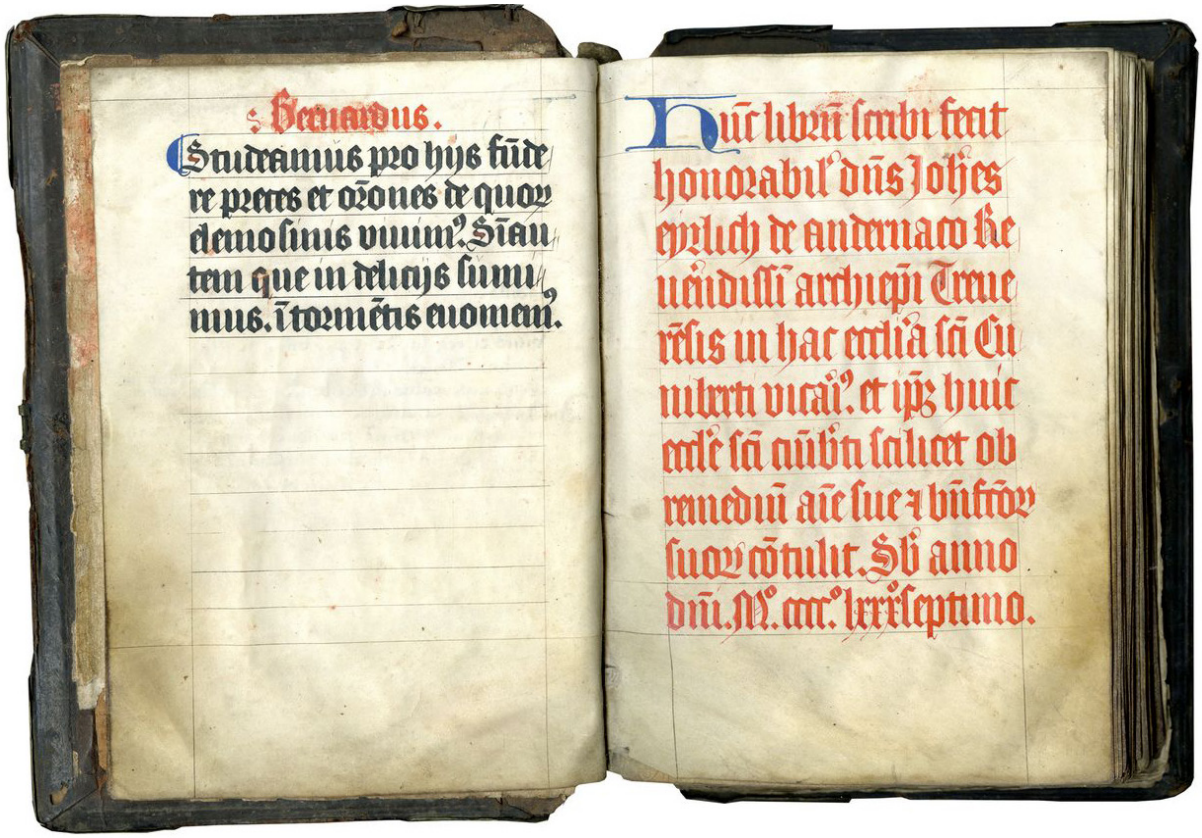
Facing page: folio with rubrication in red and blue ink.

digne mīstrare. te qs ei⁹ caritate di
Aligere meam. p. Collā.
Ssit nobis qs dñe vtus et gra
spūs sā: que corda et corpa nra cleni
ter expurget. et ab oīb⁹ tueat² aduersis.
Ure igne sā spūs reues Collā
nos et cor nrm dñe ihū xpe:
ut tibi casto corpe seruiam⁹ et mūdo
corde placeam⁹ p. Collecta.
Deus qui corda fidelīm sā spūs il
lustracōe docuisti: da nob in
eōdē spū recta sapere. et de eius semp
cōsolacōne gaudē. p. Collā
Deus qui nob sub sacrō mira
bili passiōis tue memoriā reliquisti:
tribue qs ita nos corpis et sanguīs
tui sacra mistēria venerari. ut redēpti
ōis tue fructū in nob iugit² sentiam⁹. Qui
Exaudi qs dñe supplicū Collā.

advocacy on behalf of the deceased. Last wills and testaments often made explicit the deceased's wishes for periodic or perpetual prayer on their behalf, and donations to the church would ensure this.[12] Indeed, monastic communities drew up contracts of commemoration, sometimes performing vigils at the anniversary of the person's death, or on the first of every month, as well as on a special day reserved for the commemoration of all souls.[13]

For lay people, wills made explicit the desire for prayers to be said on the deceased's behalf for a period of time, and one obligation of confraternities was regular prayer for the dead.[14] Membership in a confraternity provided assurance regarding one's afterlife, as confraternities often provided the coffin or bier that would be used to transport the deceased from the home to the cemetery, as well as ensure additional mourners at the deceased's funeral service.[15] Prayers from the Office of the Dead would have been recited on the third, seventh, and thirtieth day following death to commemorate the deceased and pray for their soul.[16] Occasional and commemorative masses were relatively inexpensive to purchase, though they could become more elaborate with the purchase of perpetual masses.[17] The summary of these contracts may be represented in the necrologium, and demonstrates a desire to lessen the time a deceased person would spend in Purgatory.

While Purgatory is not mentioned by name in the Christian Bible, the concept of the Bosom



Prayer attributed to Bernard of Clairveaux (left) and colophon indicating provenance (right).
Image property of *Les Enluminures*.

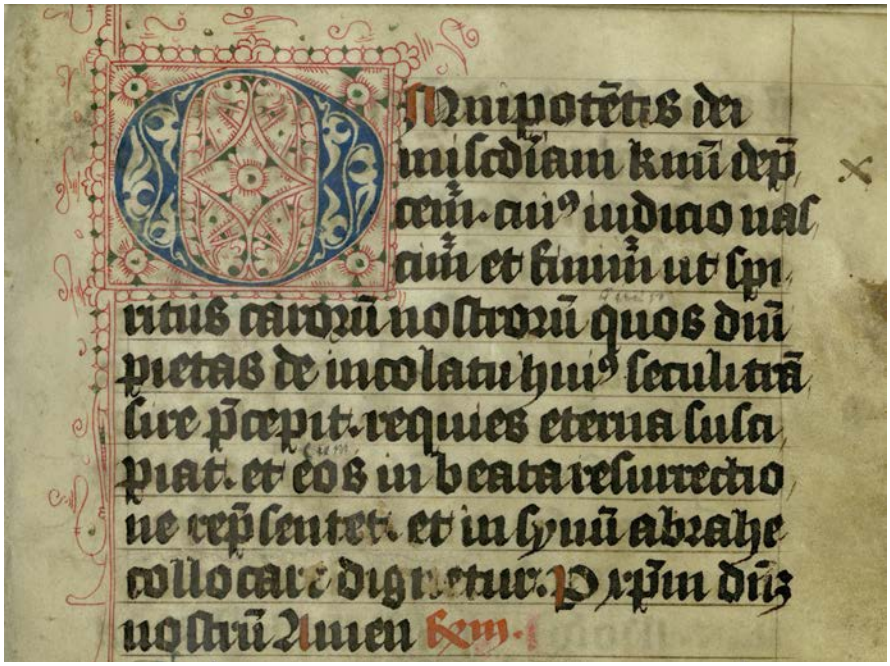
of Abraham had given rise to the idea of a resting place where those souls not immediately destined for Heaven or Hell might remain while awaiting Last Judgement and resurrection. The Bosom of Abraham is mentioned in the story of Lazarus, a poor man, and an unnamed rich man in the New Testament (Luke 16:19-26). Lazarus is described as resting in Abraham's bosom, while the rich man was tormented below. In twelfth- and thirteenth-century artistic representations, the Bosom is often depicted as a literal place, with Abraham in heavenly clouds and souls coming to rest in his bosom.[18] Between the second and fourth centuries, the Church Fathers concluded that some sinners' souls might be saved following a trial of some sort. The development of this idea over the intervening centuries eventually produced the idea of Purgatory: a place where sins could be purged by fire. This idea became formally accepted doctrine at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, and this established the responsibility of the living to pray on behalf of those whose souls resided in Purgatory.[19]

While Heaven and Hell were held to be permanent destinations, Purgatory was temporary, and most medieval Christians expected to reside there for a period of time. Only martyrs and saints were envisaged as immediately soaring to Heaven at their deaths, and only those who had committed mortal sins were presumed to go directly to Hell.[20] The majority of medieval Christians anticipated a cleansing of sins in Purgatory prior to the Last Judgement, when they would then ascend to Heaven. Records of indulgences show that people expected to spend thousands of years in Purgatory; however, this time was not fixed, and a soul's ascension to Heaven could be accelerated by the prayers and support of family and friends.[21] As historian Paul Binski notes wryly, "self-improvement opportunities ceased with death," which left this responsibility to the living.[22] Therefore, in order to lessen the time their loved ones would spend in the torment of purgatorial fires, people would pray regularly on their behalf. The Office of the Dead provided prayers that could be recited at three canonical hours: Vespers (4:30 pm), Matins (2:30 am), and Lauds (5:00 am).[23] Clergy would recite the appropriate prayers from the Office of the Dead at these times, and the laity could either recite them from their books of hours at the same time, or whenever they wished to pray for loved ones who had passed on. Additional evidence of this call to help the souls in Purgatory is found facing the donor information in the St. Kunibert Office of the Dead. Here, a prayer attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) enjoins the reader to pray for the dead in order to minimize their torment, which was one of the primary purposes in reciting this Office. Indeed, one of the marks of medieval piety was concern for the welfare of deceased members of the community.[24] Death, as historian Denis Renevy puts it, was understood as a transition "from the community of the living into the community of the dead."[25] By praying for these souls, one could lessen the time family and friends would spend in Purgatory, and thereby lessen their suffering. In this way, souls in Purgatory remained intimately connected to the living through prayer.

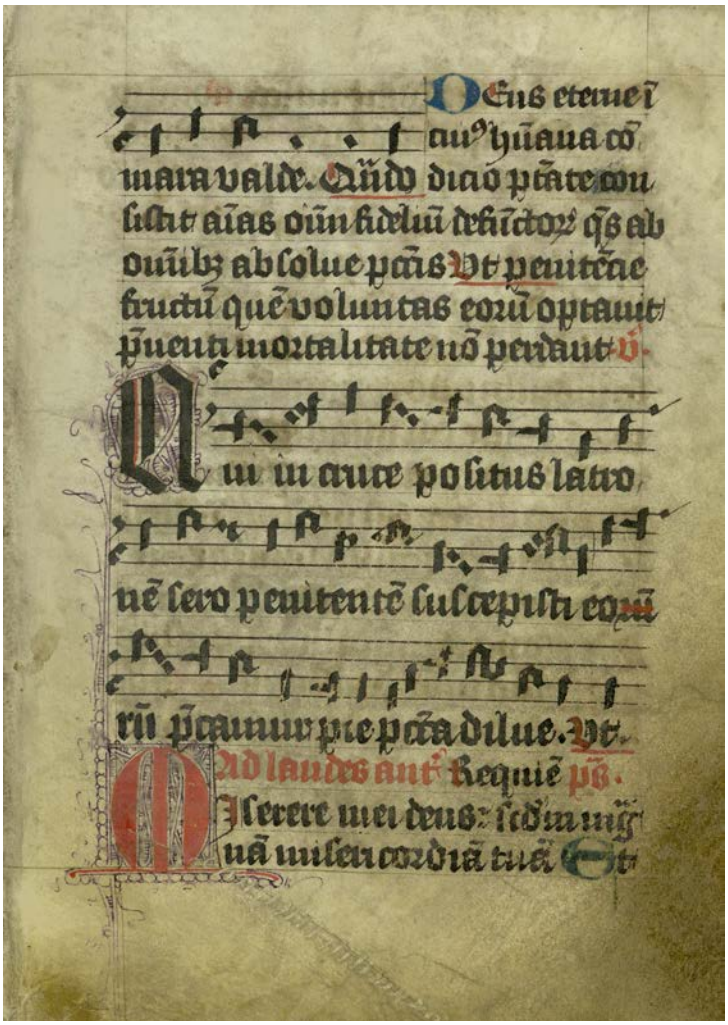
Time spent in Purgatory was far from the only concern of a dying person. Following a series of deadly plagues, medieval Christians became increasingly concerned with dying well, and the fifteenth century saw the development of a new genre of literature, the *ars moriendi* ("the art of

dying"), which were instructions for how to have a good death. These texts are optimistic; as Sister Mary Catharine O'Connor notes, "There is little stress upon hell, only hope of heaven."[26] Two forms of the *ars moriendi* survive, the *Tractatus artis bene moriendi* or *Speculum artis bene moriendi*, and the *Ars moriendi*. The former is longer and divided into six parts, while the latter is shorter and consists of woodcuts detailing the various stages of dying, including sickness, prayer, and the moment of death itself.[27] The origins of the text can be traced to Jean Charlier de Gerson (1363-1429), a chancellor at the University of Paris, and follows questions for the dying attributed (perhaps incorrectly) to St. Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109).[28] These questions were asked of the dying person in order to confirm their commitment to Christianity, contrition, piousness, forgiveness, and related subjects to ensure their soul would be at rest when the time came. O'Connor suggests that "after Gerson had brought his *De arte moriendi* to the Council of Constance (1414-1418), the [*Tractatus artis bene moriendi*], inspired by it, was written in the Constance locality."[29] From there it spread and was soon brought to Italy, France, Netherlands, England, Spain, and elsewhere, and it became a popular text in the later Middle Ages.[30]

These texts advise both the dying and those who care for the dying on how to best ensure a peaceful transition from this world to the next. They cite psalms, advise against temptation, explain how to ward against despair, and warn of the Devil's tricks in one's last moments. In ideal circumstances, prayers would be given during one's last hour before death.[31] According to the *ars moriendi*, the sick and the dying should make peace with God prior to their departure, and if the person was too ill to speak, then those who attended the dying might do so on their behalf. Prior to death, medieval Christians expected to receive their last rites, including last confession, communion, and extreme unction.[32] The person would then die peacefully at home, surrounded by family and friends and perhaps attended by clergy and a physician, with signs of divinity showing that the



Detail, folio with pen-flourished initial, a rare instance of decoration in this volume, which prioritized practical use.



Music with four-line hufnagel notation that would be sung by a priest or choir during service.

deceased's soul had been received.[33] In the woodcuts, these signs of divinity might be a heavenly light shone from above, or the ascension of the deceased person towards Heaven. Both women and men could attend to the sick and dying as well as the funeral service and demonstrate their grief and communal support. Following death, prayers would be recited from the Office of the Dead at Vespers. This would be the first stage of the ideal five-act funeral.

Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries Christian funerals became more complex, though during the Black Death these rituals were abandoned out of necessity.[34] However, following the fourth wave of the plague in 1375, there was a renewed increase in enthusiasm for the revival of more elaborate funerals; this is particularly reflected in the visual depictions of death that began to appear in literature, churches, books of hours, and other religious contexts during this period.[35]

In the twelfth century, care of the dead was incorporated into the Six Corporeal Works of Mercy.[36] These Works or Acts of Mercy were derived from the New Testament (Matthew 25:31-46). The Six Corporeal Works are feeding the hungry, supplying drink to the thirsty, providing for strangers (often interpreted as aiding pilgrims), clothing the naked, caring for the sick, and attending to those in prison. *Mortuus sepellitur* (burying the dead) was added to these, becoming a seventh Work.[37] Christian dead were normally buried in the parish of their birth, though this was not always the case. In some parishes, mortuary fees had to be paid to the parish of one's birth, even if one died and was buried elsewhere.[38]

The ideal medieval Christian funeral was an elaborate affair consisting of five parts. Following the good death described above, prayers from the Office of the Dead would be recited at home by family members and friends. The following day, a procession would take place during which the

body would be escorted by family and friends from the deceased's home to the church, where the funeral would take place.[39] Along the way, alms might be distributed to the poor in exchange for their attendance at the funeral, as stipulated in the deceased person's will or as donated by the deceased's confraternity—associations of laypeople formed with services for the dead as their primary concern—should the person have belonged to one. At the church, the priest would sing the Requiem Mass from the Office of the Dead, either from a standalone volume—such as the one created for use in St. Kunibert—or a breviary. Those in attendance might follow along with their books of hours, if they had them.

A procession to the cemetery would follow, with prayers once again said or sung along the way. A grave would have been prepared in advance for the deceased to be placed in after final prayers were said at the site (usually by the confraternity). At the burial site, wooden coffins were usually reserved for aristocrats, who occasionally had stone sarcophagi instead. Even in these cases, coffins were reused out of necessity. Instead, it was more common for Christians to be buried in the nude, wrapped in a sack or shroud, and placed directly into the ground. This was a show of humility and a demonstration of the transience of the human state.[40]

Regular commemoration of the dead was an act of piety for medieval Christians, and it was an important means by which the living could continue to honour those they cared for. The practice of reciting the Office of the Dead was a hopeful one, as the expectation was that it would ultimately help the soul reach its final destination in Heaven with God. Through prayer, the living sought to lessen the time the souls of their beloved dead spent in Purgatory. In this way, the living could keep alive the memory of those they had lost and continue to pray for a better afterlife for those they cared for.

Notes

[1] Office of the Dead (Use of St. Kunibert), Cologne, Germany: 1487 and 1727 (with later additions), MS, *Les Enluminures* TM 664. All references in this paper to the Office of the Dead (Use of St. Kunibert) refer to this text.

[2] S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints*, Volume 13 (London: John CA. Nimmo, 1895), 306.

[3] Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, 305.

[4] There is a record of this codex being sold to a collector at a Christie's auction in June 2012 (no. 5334). *Les Enluminures* has had the manuscript since at least 2019 and continues to list it at the time of this writing in March 2020 (TM 644).

[5] A.S.G. Edwards, "Journeyman Manuscript Production and Lay Piety," in *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. Graham D. Caie and Denis Renevey (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 115.

[6] John Plummer, *Liturgical Manuscripts for the Mass and the Divine Office* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1964), 32.

[7] Michael S. Driscoll, "Death, Dying, and Burial: Liturgical Considerations from the Early Middle Ages," *The Jurist*

59 (1999): 229-231. Roman usage of the Ordo defunctorum is reflected, but there are also arguments for it being of Frankish origin. Though James W. Mckinnon has traced its origins as early as the eighth century in "The Origins of the Western Office," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies*, Regional Developments, Hagiography, eds. Rebecca A. Baltzer and Margot E. Fassler, 63-72 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[8] Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1993), 31-33.

[9] Federick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 136; Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 125.

[10] Gloria K. Fiero, "Death Ritual in Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination," *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984): 272; Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 134. This exchange between clergy and lay people continued through to the fifteenth century, see Denis Renevey, "Looking for a Context: Rolle, Anchoritic Culture, and the Office of the Dead," in *Medieval Texts in Context*, eds. Graham D. Caie and Denis Renevey (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 205.

[11] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 31.

[12] Fiero, "Death Ritual," 272.

[13] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 136.

[14] Fiero, "Death Ritual," 272 and Le Geoff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 12.

[15] Aries, *Hour of Our Death*, 185.

[16] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 136.

[17] Volker Schier, "Memorials Sung and Unsung: Liturgical Remembrances and Its History," in *Care for the Here and Hereafter: Memoria, Art, and Ritual in the Middle Ages*, eds. Truus van Bueren and Andrea van Leeradam (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2005), 126.

[18] Ottosen, *Responsories and Versicles*, 45. For an analysis of visual depictions of the Bosom of Abraham, see Anca Bratu-Minott, "From the Bosom of Abraham to the Beatific Vision: On Some Medieval Images of the Soul's Journey to Heaven," in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, eds. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 189-218.

[19] Ottosen, *Responsories and Versicles*, 45-47.

[20] Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 133.

[21] Roger S. Wieck, "The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral," in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, eds. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 432; and Le Geoff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 134.

[22] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 25.

[23] Matins and Lauds may be recited together.

[24] Geoffrey Rowell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial: An Introductory Survey to the Historical Development of Christian Burial Rites* (London: The Alcuin Club, 1977), 68.

[25] Renevey, "Looking for a Context," 193.

[26] Sister Mary Catharine O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), 5.

[27] O'Connor, *Art of Dying Well*, 7. For a translation of *De arte moriendi* from Middle English to modern English, see "The Craft of Dying," in *The Book of the Craft of Dying and Other Early English Tracts Concerning Death*, ed. Frances M. M. Comper (New York: Arno Press, 1977).

[28] O'Connor, *Art of Dying Well*, 21-24, 33.

[29] O'Connor, *Art of Dying Well*, 50.

[30] O'Connor, *Art of Dying Well*, 54.

[31] Donald F. Duclow, "Dying Well: The Ars Moriendi and the Dormition of the Virgin," in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, eds. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 386.

[32] Renevey, "Looking for a Context," 193.

[33] Duclow, "Dying Well," 383.

[34] Fiero, "Death Ritual," 272.

[35] Fiero, "Death Ritual," 275-6. For a detailed description of how death and funerals appeared in books of hours, see Wieck, "The Death Desired," 431-505.

[36] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 122.

[37] Philippe Aries, *The Hour of Our Death: The Classic History of Western Attitudes toward Death Over the Last One Thousand Years* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 184-185.

[38] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 55.

[39] Aries, *Hour of Our Death*, 165.

[40] Fiero, "Death Ritual," 284.

Iuuenalis Opera.

Iuuenalis.

Emp ego auditor tãtũ: nũq̃ ne reponam
Vexatus totiens rauci theseidre codri
Impune ergo mihi recitauerit ille togatus
Hic elegos: impune diem cõsumpserit ĩgens
Thelaphus: aut summi plena iam margine libri
Scriptus & itergo nec dum finitus horestes
Nota nigis nulli domus est sua q̃ mihi lucus
Martis. & colus uicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani quid agant uenti quas torqueat umbras
Caucasus unde aliis furtiue deueat aurum
Pellicule quantas uiuleti monichus ornos
Frontonis platani conuulsa q marmora clamant
Semp: & assiduo rupte lectore columne
Expectes eadem summo minimo q poeta
Et uos ergo manum ferule subducimus & nos
Consilium dedimus sille puat ut altum
Dormiret stulta est clementia cum tot ubiq̃
Vatibus occurras pituite per ee carte
Cur tñ hoc potius libeat decurrere campo
Per quem magnus equos aruice flexit alumis
Siluacit & placidi rigoez admittis eadem
Cum tener uxorem ducat spado menia tuscii
Figat aprum & nuda teneat uenabula mãma
Patricios omnes opibus cum prouocet unus
Quo trudente grauis iuuenis mihi barba sonabat
Cum pars uilice plebis cum uerna canopi
Crispinus tirias humero reuocante lacernas

The Resurrection of Juvenal

THE GUARINO DA VERONA EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Josie Thomas

The Italian Renaissance was a highly influential movement that changed the cultural landscape of Europe.[1] Jacob Burkhardt, a renowned early art historian of the Renaissance, viewed the cultural movement as distinctive and revolutionary for its revival of antiquity and its formation of a union of influential geniuses across Europe. The Italian Renaissance gave rise to intellectuals known as humanists, individuals who gave thought to the human condition, ethical problems, and the ways of the universe.[2] These intellectuals played an active role in the revival of antiquity by providing translations of classical texts, such as Italian humanist and educator Guarino da Verona's translation of Juvenal's *Satyrae,* which was displayed in the University of Guelph's *Illuminating Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages* exhibition. This paper will contribute to medieval cultural studies by examining the Satyrae and demonstrating that

Facing page: opening page with penwork initial. Juvenal, *Satyrae* with Introductory Verses to Satires II, IV-VIII by Guarino da Verona, Northern Italy, c.1460-1480, MS. *Les Enluminures* TM 942.

Detail, penwork initial, likely later addition.

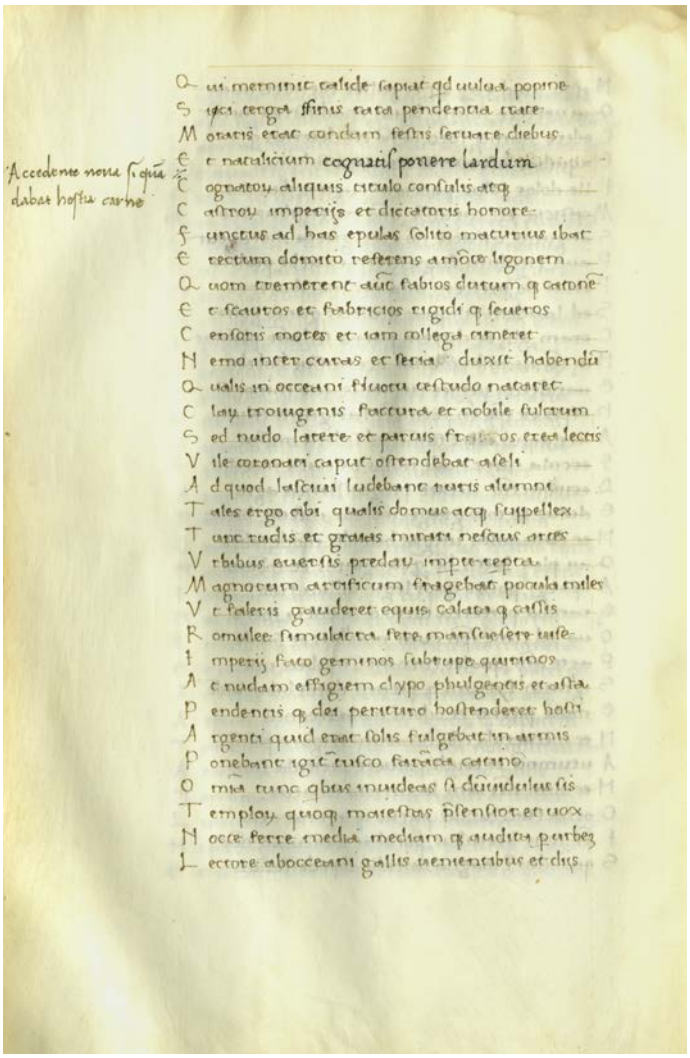
it played an important role in humanist education and, to a greater extent, the Renaissance during the fifteenth century in Italy. Since the Satyrae played a crucial role in teaching students important language skills, facilitating students' moral education, and prompting unity and group cohesion, each of this manuscript's functions worked in unison to prepare humanists to serve the interests of Renaissance Italy.

To begin, it is important to examine the historiography of the Italian Renaissance, medieval reading culture, and humanism. Historical discourse surrounding the Renaissance is concerned with the nature of the Renaissance and the ways in which it marked the end of the Middle Ages and the start of the early modern period.[3] The abundance of detail concerning Italian education during the Italian Renaissance has made it difficult for historians to create a uniform historical picture, which has resulted in a lack of clarity and understanding of the Italian Renaissance experience for students as a coherent whole.[4] Another issue in the historiography is the way in which historians have studied the sources. Scholarship on medieval and Renaissance theoretical grammar is mainly concerned with the theory and development of the Latin language and grammar, not the history of Latin education, as linguistic scholars have conducted most of the studies on this subject.[5] Thus far, scholars have overlooked many sources like Juvenal's *Satyrae* that have the potential to develop a historical picture of the Renaissance educational experience; these sources must be explored within their historical context to develop a greater understanding of humanist education during Renaissance Italy.

Historical studies on Guarino da Verona, a major humanist teacher of the early stages of the Italian Renaissance, are also limited. Historian David Rundle pointed out that historians have mainly focused on his reputation and fame rather than his work, which has prevented historians from looking beyond him as a myth.[6] His work defined the educational experience of his time period, and its oversight further contributes to a lack of clarity surrounding humanist education in Renaissance historiography. This paper will seek to fill in the historiographical gaps and create a picture of the Italian humanist educational experience by deconstructing the ways in which humanists explored and utilized the *Satyrae*. A historical picture will thus be constructed around the manuscript and its functions.

Before deconstructing Guarino's *Satyrae*, a discussion about the strengths and limitations of the manuscript is needed. The *Satyrae* manuscript is a valuable object as it can act as a gateway into

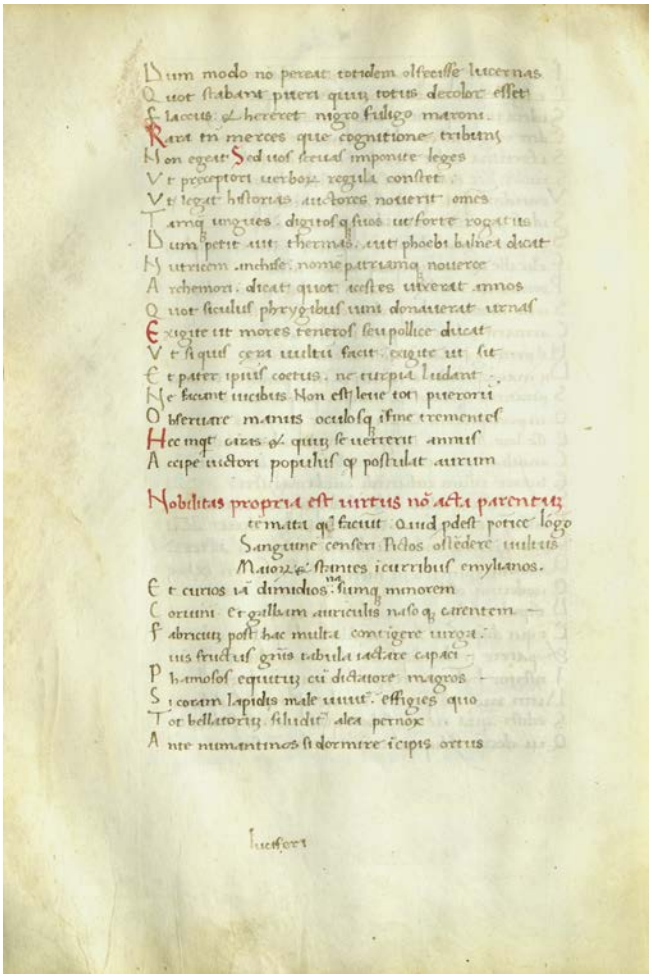
the culture of humanism and the educational experience of Renaissance Italy. It can be said that a medieval manuscript contains "cultural residue," as the material features of the object provide an insight into its intended uses.[7] In this case, through analyzing the *Satyrae* manuscript, historians can breach the mind of Guarino and learn more about humanists, as the manuscript is imbued with their culture. However, while Guarino's *Satyrae* provides valuable insight into Italian humanists, it is limited from a social perspective. Juvenal's original audience consisted of the Roman elites and Guarino's Italian elites, meaning both authors intended their work for similar demographics. While historians know little about Guarino himself, they do know that he had strong links to the major Venetian aristocratic houses and that he had social connections in Padua.[8] In sum, Guarino had close ties to and was very involved with the elite, which means that his students were most likely people from aristocratic families. Therefore, the manuscript will, for the most part, only provide an insight into the experiences of Italy's elite and not the common people. It therefore provides only a limited perspective of the humanist educational experience in terms of social class. Overall, the *Satyrae* manuscript has its strengths and limitations like all sources. The manuscript does provide rich details about humanist culture, but it mostly reveals information on the elites' experiences.



Folio featuring humanist book hand and pen trial in margin.

One of the many ways that Italian humanists utilized the *Satyrae* in an educational sense was in the art of language. An important aspect of humanist education was the learning of languages, rhetoric, grammar, and the art of expression.[9] While the majority of historians have viewed the Renaissance as, for the most part, a cultural movement, it is important to remember that it was a political event as well. Humanists saw language as a powerful political tool and practice.[10] Grammar and vocabulary were seen as necessary skills in both Classical Rome and Early Renaissance Italy, as they allowed one "to

articulate complex thoughts about morals and politics, and communicate them across thousands of miles."[11] Fifteenth-century humanists particularly valued Latin (the language in which this manuscript was written), as they believed that it possessed the ability to effectively communicate the world's complexities.[12] Language enhanced the abilities of humanists to shape culture, politics, and society. Therefore, they believed that incorporating language into the education of students was crucial to prepare them for political life in Renaissance Italy and to give them the skills necessary to transform society.



Beginning of Satire V, with red lettering to indicate a new section.

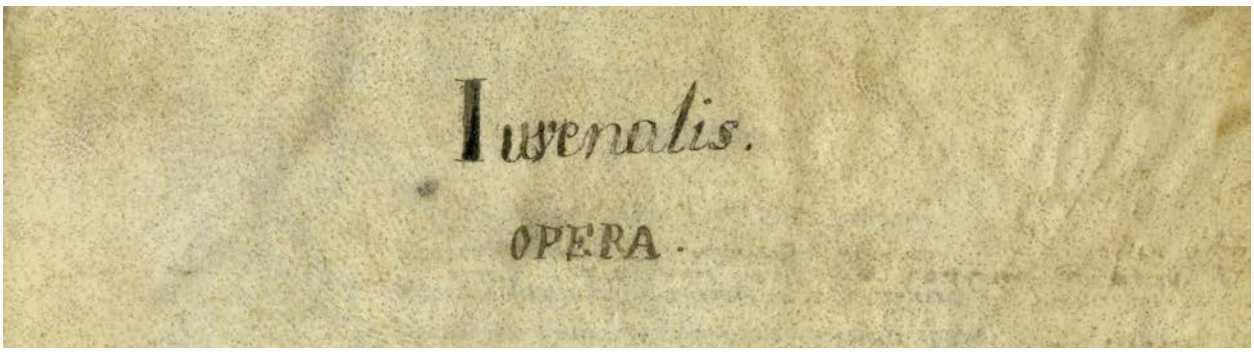
Humanists viewed educating students to become political agents as particularly crucial during this time period, as systematic economic inequality, the concentration of wealth, and social and political instability became significant issues in fifteenth-century Italy after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453. In Northern Italy, where Guarino's manuscript was produced, the emergence of a commercial economy resulted in a government that favoured the rising wealthy urban elites and a society in constant need of funding for warfare.[13] The wealth of Italy became concentrated in a few elites families, such as the Visconti, the Della Scala, the Sforza, and the Medici.[14] Furthermore, more than half of the urban population of the Italian Peninsula lived in poverty during this time period.[15] The governments of the various warring Italian states could not be relied upon, as they facilitated the unequal distribution of wealth. The dire socioeconomic conditions of the Italian states eventually came to raise concerns about morals and politics; these concerns included the lack of economic opportunities, dissatisfaction with citizenship benefits, and the distrust and conflict between patricians and *popolani* (ordinary city-dwellers).[16] Humanists wanted to rectify the socioeconomic issues in Italy and promote the high ideals of Classical Rome, and to this end they participated in politics and challenged socially-entrenched attitudes and values by writing letters to rulers and examining state archives to compile treatises.[17] There were many ways in which humanists participated in politics and fought for stability, but perhaps the most significant stage for

this participation was the classroom.

Guarino's choice to use the *Satyrae* as an educational text provides insight into the type of language education that humanist students received and its importance within its political context. Juvenal was known as "the angry satirist" for his extreme expressions of anger and his use of lofty hyperbole, vulgar expressions, and contemptuous diminutives.[18] Guarino was most likely drawn to the text because he saw anger as a persuasive rhetoric that could be useful in the political sphere of his own day. Indeed, humanists perceived satire as having educational value as it demonstrated to students how to display wit and humour, point out absurdity, and attack an object.[19] Guarino likely would have used the text to teach his students how to express anger toward the wealthy urban elite and the governments of the Italian states. Presumably, his goal was to make them influential political agents who could utilize absurdity and humour to explain complex socioeconomic issues in their speaking and writing as Juvenal did. He taught them to be bold and blunt in their use of the Latin language, to speak honestly, and to be entertaining in order to hold the attention of their audiences. Thus, the purpose of Guarino's *Satyrae* was to shape students into charismatic political figures who could challenge and attack politicians on their lack of civic humanism through language and extreme expressions. Overall, the *Satyrae* played an important role in sharpening Guarino and his students' communication and language skills for use within the political realm of Renaissance Italy.

The *Satyrae* also served an important role in the moral education of Italian students during the Renaissance. Humanists had a genuine interest in discussions and debates regarding theological and philosophical issues.[20] They were interested in developing community, fostering people's sense of civic duty, and advocating for the common good.[21] Thus, a major aspect of humanistic culture was moral philosophy. The morals that Italian humanists advocated were meant to improve the socioeconomic conditions of society and benefit people of all walks of life. The exploration of morals, ethics, and values was the focal point of humanism; thus, it was important for students to have a guide that could help them explore and develop such concepts.

Accordingly, another reason Guarino chose the *Satyrae* as an educational text for his students was because of its moral lessons. The *Satyrae* contained important moral messages for



Detail, title page.

students that had profound meaning in the sociopolitical climate of fifteenth-century Northern Italy. Indeed, Guarino was inspired by the same dreams and goals as Juvenal; he wanted to restore the virtuous state of Italy just as the Roman poet wanted to restore the virtues of Rome and revive it from its imperial decadence. The *Les Enluminures* copy contains prefaces of introductory verse commentaries on Satires II, IV-VIII. The verse introductions indicate that they are the satires that Guarino wanted his students to focus on and study, since Guarino was concerned with teaching students about life, how to organize their own lives, and how to act and behave in situations in order to become a *vir bonus*, a "virtuous man."[22] Guarino, therefore, selected these satires with the purpose of shaping his students into virtuous beings. This study will now take a closer look at one of the selected satires to provide an understanding of the moral education that Guarino's students would have received.

Satire II was used to enhance students' awareness of gender norms and encourage conformity. It focused on the hypocrisy of Roman society and criticized homosexuality and effeminacy.[23] In his attack against those who challenged gender norms, Juvenal called people who did not dress according to gender expectations "sad-looking perverts."[24] He further attacked homosexuality through a story about Gracchus' marriage in which the married couple was criticized for not having the ability to reproduce.[25] These attacks on homosexuality and effeminacy had great significance in the sociopolitical climate of the Italian Renaissance. For example, the population of Europe had been in decline since the fourteenth-century, and this had negatively impacted the marriage market and economic opportunities.[26] Homosexuality and effeminacy were perceived as a negative factor that had contributed to the declining population, the drop in marriage rates, and the decrease in economic opportunities. To those who saw these factors as threats to the strength of the state, homosexuality and effeminacy were targets that needed to be eliminated. As the *Satyrae* facilitated prejudices and discrimination against sexual and gender minorities, Guarino would have utilized it to facilitate an acceptance of heterosexual cisgender norms among his students and discourage students from joining the sexual and gender minority in Italy. Through the second satire, Guarino's students would have learned that being virtuous meant following gender expectations. Thus, Guarino embraced and promoted conformity and heteronormative ideals through the *Satyrae* in order to pave the way for stability in the social landscape of Italy.

Finally, the *Satyrae* played a crucial role in promoting unity, a lack of which was one of the main problems in Renaissance Italy. During the fifteenth century, Italy was a region that struggled with internal political conflict. Italian politics of the time can be characterized as a power struggle between numerous individuals and factions. Historians Judith C. Brown and James S. Grubb defined Italy during this time as "the land of many would-be princes, but few actual rulers."[27] Because the politics of fifteenth-century Italy were so chaotic and disorganized, many humanists

Facing page: dog drawing by a contemporary hand on endpage, which offers evidence of student use.


Jo ouēdu uno cauallo
y uno mulo

believed that it was important for the region to develop unity through other means. They concerned themselves with the topic of unity and strove to foster community-based values in order to benefit the common good.[28] As a humanist, Guarino too would have been very interested in fostering unity and cooperation.

Guarino used the *Satyrae* to generate an enthusiasm over shared culture and heritage amongst his students and thus encourage feelings of unity. One of the ways that he achieved this was through the use of language. While Italy appeared to lack a single unifying identity, all parts of Italy shared a literary and linguistic legacy inherited from the Roman Empire, which is why humanist studies were fundamentally based on philology and developing a historical consciousness through studying classical Greek and Roman culture.[29] Juvenal's *Satyrae* was part of this cultural legacy, and students from all over Italy would gather together to listen to Guarino speak about this venerated text from antiquity. Many Italians were able to rediscover their Roman legacy together through listening to Juvenal's humorous deconstruction of Rome. Furthermore, as Latin was the language of the Church and of learning in Europe during this time, the fact that Guarino had his *Satyrae* composed in its original language indicates that he intended to reach a wider audience. Indeed, the presence of foreign students at his classes demonstrates this.[30] These foreign students were able to develop a greater understanding and appreciation for Italy's culture and heritage during Guarino's classes.

Guarino's students would have bonded with each other and developed bonds of close companionship through the act of studying the text and practicing Latin. Given the size of the manuscript (237x170 mm), Guarino's *Satyrae* was likely a textbook that he read out loud to his students: he would have held classroom discussions about the classical text, which would have sparked conversation and debate. But perhaps more importantly, the manuscript was also likely studied by students on their own. The drawing of the dog at the back of the manuscript in the *Illuminating Life* exhibition was probably drawn by one of his students, which indicates that Guarino indeed loaned the manuscript to them.[31] The loaning of manuscripts was one of the many favours that humanists did for each other, as it was a sign of moral support and usually led to intellectually stimulating conversation.[32] Indeed, Guarino's students would have practiced their Latin amongst themselves and showcased their knowledge of antiquity to each other after class by studying the *Satyrae* on their own.[33] In conclusion, the *Satyrae* acted as a gateway to the cultural heritage of Ancient Rome for Italian humanist students and thereby enhanced passion, feelings of companionship in academia, and unity among Italians.

Guarino's translation of the *Satyrae* played an important role in the education of humanists in fifteenth-century Italy. Humanists used the manuscript to help cultivate students' language and communication skills, which were necessary for participation in the public sphere. Additionally, the manuscript played a significant role in the moral education of students and directed them to behave according to social norms. Finally, it would have helped students from all over Italy form significant bonds based on a sense of cultural unity. Each of its functions thus served the greater interests of

fifteenth-century Italy, especially those concerning stability and security. By exploring the ways in which humanists used the *Satyrae*, one can gain an understanding of how central the teachings of a scholar like Guarino were to the core aims of the humanists during the Italian Renaissance. The education provided by Guarino was not limited to the classroom; indeed, it was an experience that extended beyond to the outside world.

Notes

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2 Brucker, "The Italian Renaissance," 11.

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[9] Mark A. Kishlansky, Patrick J. Geary, and Patricia O'Brien, *Civilization in the West* (New York: Pearson, 2010), 259.

[10] Nicholas Scott Baker and Brian Maxson, *After Civic Humanism: Learning and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2015), 25.

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[14] Clifford R. Backman, *The Worlds of Medieval Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 591.

[15] Kishlansky, Geary, and O'Brien, *Civilization in the West*, 250.

[16] Findlen, "Understanding the Italian Renaissance," 17.

[17] Findlen, "Understanding the Italian Renaissance," 25.

[18] Susanna Morton Braud, *Beyond Anger: A Study of Juvenal's Third Book of Satires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1-3.

[19] Edward Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (Berkeley: California Classical Studies, 2013), 16.

[20] Amos Edelheit, *Scholastic Florence: Moral Psychology in the Quattrocento* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 18.

[21] Angelo Mazzocco, *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2006), 12.

[22] Mazzocco, *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, 190.

[23] Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*, 10.

[24] Juvenal, "Satire II – Effeminate Rome," *Poetry in Translation*, accessed April 9, 2020, https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/JuvenalSatires2.php#anchor_Toc280783783.

[25] Juvenal, "Satire II – Effeminate Rome."

[26] Findlen, "Understanding the Italian Renaissance," 17.

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[28] Mazzocco, *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, 12.

[29] Edelheit, *Scholastic Florence*, 39.

[30] Rundle, "Beyond the Classroom," 1.

[31] Juvenal, *Satyrae* with Introductory Verses to Satires II, IV-VIII by Guarino Da Verona, Northern Italy: c.1460-1480, MS, *Les Enluminures* TM 942; Juvenal, "Juvenal, *Satyrae* (Satires); with introductory verses to satires II, V-VIII," *U of G Omeka*, trans. Guarino da Verona, accessed April 9, 2020, https://digex.lib.uoguelph.ca/items/show/3202.

[32] Baker and Maxson, *After Civic Humanism*, 133.

[33] Baker and Maxson, *After Civic Humanism*, 133.

mltiple uituperat q̄ p̄. et sic implet ꝓ salē ay. xij. aut ex hac ꝯiecta ordis os loq̄ bonū q̄ntū hō de bo. tñ ex. ſ. ꝓ bā. ma. at hō de ma. tñ ex. ſ. ꝓ. ma. et phs 4o. eth. 2. dr Qui⁹ bñficaz ē talia uult talia dr talia di ligit. et talia opat. Ob hanc ex phisti nudentes xo atq; ex sequaciz eiz morsibz detrhonis et mltiplicis ifamie lanciabant ne ēu appellañ seductorē ꝑpli ne negay. ē ge fili dei. ne ēu ifamañ. q̄ Belzebub nomine demoia eiceret. ut dr ay. xj. Nec potuit pfitis? ꝙ tāta miracula facē taz salutarē doctrinā eius ꝑdē. et tam iustissie et innocentissie uite. ut vitioze potuerit obloquutoze dctes et ligiuas solet. Ista ee pessima iudiza ndictis. ut oia i malā ptē ēbuit et dctent. ac de obz maledicat. Prohin luce. 7. dr. Venit iqt xp̄s Jhesus baptā nō manducans neq; bibēs. et dnt dñm het. dem fily hois manducās et bibēs. et dnt potator ē vini. Cui dctō et ifamatō ꝓximoz nō sit leue q̄n peccū grauissimū peccū eis tm plurimū ꝯtrariū existimet. ex q̄ sequi sñone sufficiet. tēptatiū. de grauī pena iuste usurpamus. rez alienaz et de obligone ad satisfaciendū p iniustis rebz male ablatis. uolens debitū ordie ꝓcedē. dicendū hodierna die sñiaz facē de pessimo detōis ifamiaq; uicio. et de maḡ obligone ad satisfaciendū ꝓbōnis iuste ifamatis. ob quaz taz p silitudiez dr thema mtuz. Cui fossi y. qui flagellū de fumelis ꝛc. Naz p oues expulsas a tēplo et bones. a salmo q̄ sacrū tēplū pmittit sñtorizabāt et uituperabāt. q̄ qdē erant malia izrationabilia. masculi et mlres sig̃ficat detōes. q̄ suis imagīnibus xpīs ponūt sñtiā falsi et mali nois sñt psonas uituosas. et laude dignas. Tres i. ptēplacōes de pessimo detōis uicio ad pmū facez quarum:

Ꝓma dr ptempla declarationis

Ez. dicit. ptempla maligmatōis.

Ez. dicit. ptēplato satisfactionis.

Ptēpla p. de pessia detōe. que dr declarāme. Jn q̄ oñdit. quid sit ēntialr ipa detractio:

Prima i. ptēpla de pessia et iniqua detōe declaranda ex q̄ oīb honor debit bona fama et opie ꝑxis mustōsse auferet. dr declarāme. Ex ē ut iqt phs p. eth. 7. et p. de aīa. sic bonū cogitū nāl ē obz diligibile. ita ēn malū cognitū nāl ē obz odibile. et abhominabile. ñ q̄ fōrte izrationabilit uiuē uelit. Jdcēw ut cognoscat q̄ graue et iniquū peccū sit detractiois. et ifamatio ꝓximoz in oia ꝓpno suaz diffinitiones ex eo. q̄ diffiniūt ut ait phs. 7. meth. et. 7. topi. e sm̄o seu ozo idicāns. qd ē ee et sba rei per sua ēntialia. Si ē qut q̄ eēph. alr sit detōes. tēdat dñr. et alr theologi irrefragabiles. ar. ptē sue sume. q. 36. dicēs. Detractio iqt ē qdā denigratio enormis alicui fame ꝓ occulta uba uarijs modis fca. Jn q̄ diffiniōe tria declaranda sñt. ℣. Primū declāndū ē uidē qd significet ꝓ. uba seu ſ. minus. detō ē denigratio enor alicui fame. ℣ 2m̄. declāndū ē uidē qd significet ꝓ illa uba q̄ sequunt ꝫ ꝓ occulta uba. ℣ 3m̄. declarandū ē uidē q̄ significet ꝓ illa uba ꝫ uarijs modis fca. sñt uidē quid

Primū ꝛ declarañ. sig̃ficet ꝑ illa uba. detō ē denigratio enormis alicui fame. Naz iuste detō ista ꝓ silitudiez bonū nōm alicui. bonaz famaz et honorem denigrat. obnubilat et obscurat

The. detractores do odibiles. uo. p. e. hēs una sñaz creaturā a deo Jo. eso. fr. ay. Jn cuctis huiāne mbris nullus ē sig̃. meli⁹ cū bñdic. et nullū pei⁹ cū maledic. hi. Ro. po. ca. 37. v. sic dr. bū neq; imitab cor. ex. q. dr. prauus ozūd. Bon⁹ ex malo. uita ex moze. ex dñāt ulozo ē assidua ligua. hi. Et salon. ꝑū. 18. mozs et uite i manb ligue q. diligūt eaz. comedēt fructū eius. hi. Ecce phūmo et dimisce. i ꝓ. ꝑme qdam dicit p. q. illi⁹ cognatoz. q. pauit linguas regi sno i. obū. sb dup̄ forma. ꝫ cū lymatis et amaris spebus. et cū dulcibz et suauissīs spebus ꝛc.

The Friar Amongst His Flock

THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF THE FRANCISCAN SERMONS OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

Alex Wall

In 1448 in Perugia, a crowd of approximately fifteen hundred people assembled for one of Franciscan preacher Roberto Caracciolo's Lenten sermons, gathering two hours before the esteemed preacher's arrival in eager anticipation. Caracciolo's impassioned sermon on "Holy Peace" included a procession that involved "the whole town," and upon its conclusion the crowd "[cried] and [shouted] for about half an hour: 'Jesus, have mercy.'"[1] This episode sheds light on the fundamental characteristics of late medieval Franciscan sermons, as it demonstrates not only their ritualistic and moralizing nature but also their popular, communal aspect.

Facing page: folio with rubrication and contemporary annotations added in lower margin. *Quadragesimale De Aeternis Fructibus Spiritus Sancti* by Antonius Da Vercelli, Northern Italy (Possibly Milan), c.1460-1475, MS. *Les Enluminures* TM 683.

Among the primary concerns of the mendicant friars of late medieval Europe were spreading the word of God and instructing the laity in proper Christian doctrine, with sermons being one of the most valuable tools at their disposal for achieving these goals.[2] Mendicant sermons were especially prominent in late medieval Italy, particularly during the fifteenth century when Bernardino da Siena and the Observant Franciscans headed a "renaissance" of preaching.[3] It is important to note that sermons were more than just an important method of religious indoctrination; they were two-way social exchanges whereby the community had a profound influence on the nature of the sermon and the sermon, in turn, influenced the community and facilitated various forms of social interaction. This paper will analyze the role of Franciscan sermons in fifteenth-century Italian communities to demonstrate that these sermons were fundamentally social events embedded within the fabric of said communities, as the 1448 Caracciolo sermon demonstrates.

The primary body of sermons that will be looked at in this analysis is the *Quadragesimale de Aeternis Fructibus Spiritus Sancti* (or the *Quadragesimal Sermons*) of Observant Franciscan Antonio da Vercelli. This was a model sermon collection, which were collections of written sermons left behind by the most distinguished preachers of the mendicant orders.[4] It is important to note that model sermon collections can generally be assumed to be close reflections of what was actually preached at the time.[5] As a final note, it must be said that both da Vercelli's sermons and preaching career are critically understudied.[6] This study thus also aims to shed light on one of the lesser-known preachers of the late medieval resurgence of Italian preaching and demonstrate that his work illuminates the fundamentally social nature of the medieval sermon.

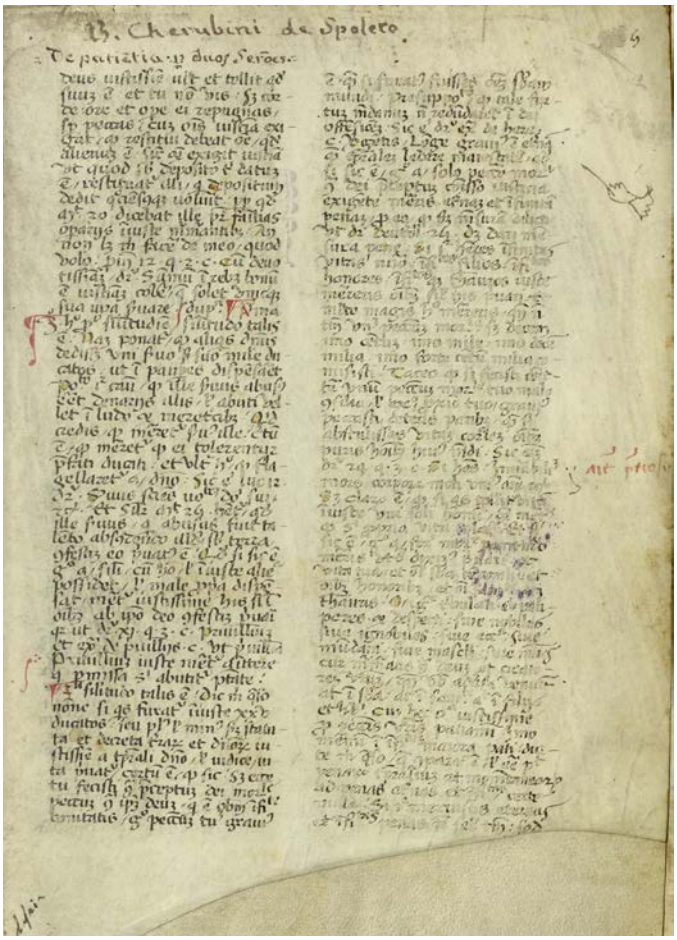
Visual Drama and Entertainment in Italian Franciscan Sermons

This paper will begin by looking at the ways in which Italian Franciscan preachers modified their sermons, their messages, and their language to ensure that they were more accessible and acceptable to their audiences. Indifference and boredom had always stood as formidable foes for preachers, and thus, during this point in history, many preachers conceded the necessity of making sermons entertaining.[7] This was despite that earlier medieval theologians and Church doctors had condemned such methods, as they perceived any degree of entertainment a debasement to the sermon and the preacher's mission.[8] Essentially, it can be said that the demands of the audience forced late medieval preachers to contradict this precedent and imbue their sermons with an element of spectacle or entertainment. This was especially true of Franciscan sermons in fifteenth-century Italy, where a culture of ritual drama came to dominate the preaching scene.[9] Indeed, many mendicant religious figures in fifteenth-century Italy believed that the performance of the sermon should have a level of spectacle, visual drama, and theatricality to it. Thus, they utilized various rhetorical and performative techniques in an active attempt to engage the community at a level beyond mere indoctrination.[10]

This performative or dramatic aspect is seen first and foremost in the written content of

many sermon collections. Proverbs, popular tales, songs, and jokes are found in many sermon collections, which writers added to "season the meat of their sermons" and attract and maintain audience interest.[11] Moreover, *reportationes* (contemporary written reports of sermons as they were delivered by preachers) reveal that certain Franciscan preachers would deliver their sermons while wearing chains or carrying a cross, while others would flagellate themselves before or during their sermons; this demonstrates a theatrical element to Franciscan sermons.[12] In terms of the use of dramatic visuals, some Franciscan preachers incorporated local art into their sermons; the renowned Franciscan preacher Bernardino da Siena, for example, sometimes guided his audience through churches or palaces in an elaborate form of community engagement.[13] The awe-inspiring works of art included in these sermons would have likely left a lasting impression on the audience and thus drove Bernardino's points home. It was this sort of spectacle that made sermons such popular events in Italian communities. Thus, the Franciscan preachers' deliberate use of spectacle and dramatic visuals to draw crowds demonstrates how preachers needed to compromise between the religious message they wanted to impart and the crowd's desire to be entertained. This reveals how, in many regards, sermons were shaped by the very communities they sought to influence.

The Influence of Cultural Conventions on Exempla

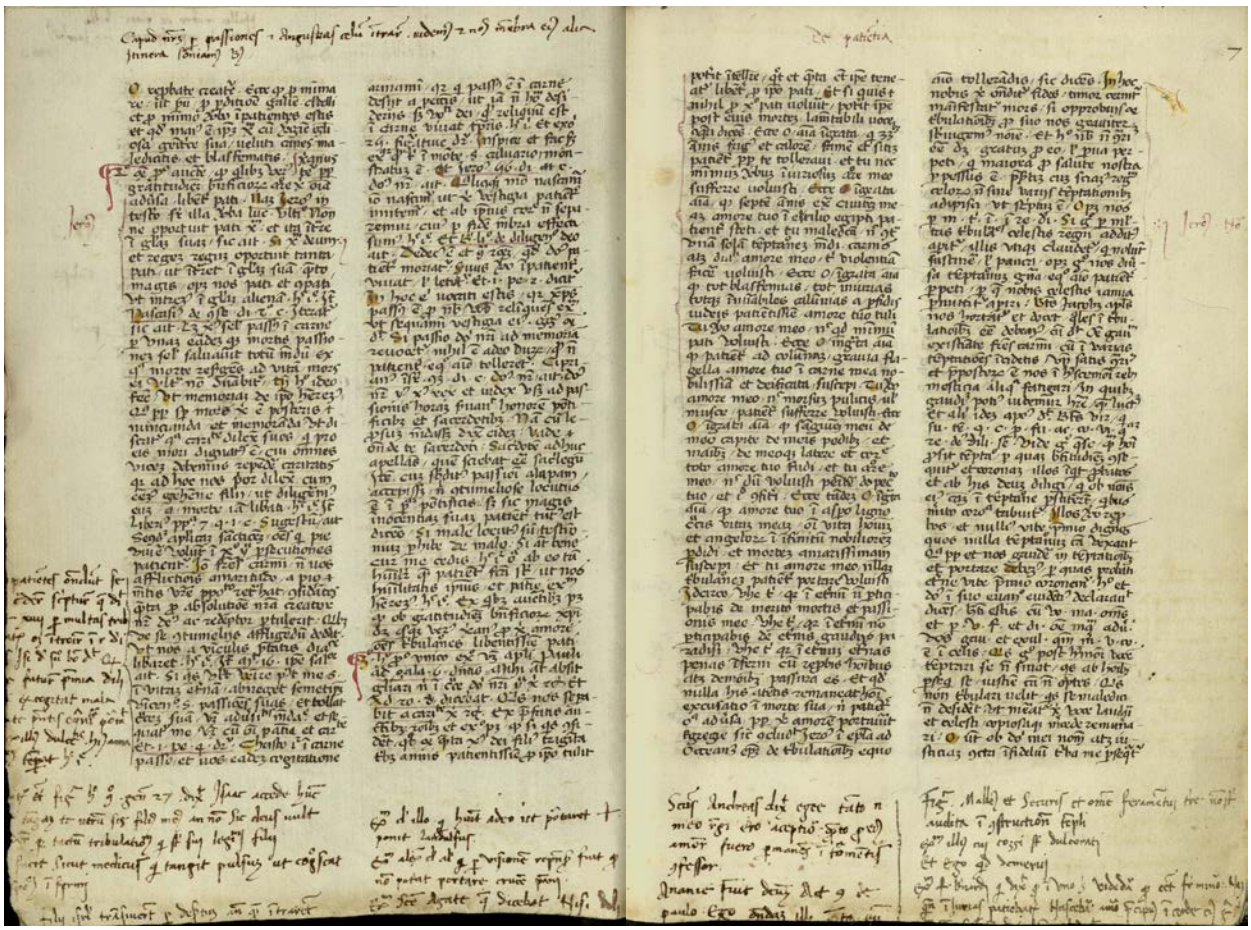


Opening page of the *Quadragesimal Sermons.*

It is also important to note that mendicant friars deviated from exclusively using Biblical exempla during the later medieval period with the rise of a new style of sermons: the *sermo modernus*.[14] According to this new style, preachers increasingly drew their exempla from the cultural and intellectual mores of late medieval communities. For instance, exempla during this period were often taken from popular myths and folktales; these were cultural conventions that communities would be familiar with, which made them more likely to capture the audience's attention.[15] The fact that fifteenth-century Franciscan preachers selected specific exempla that resonated with contemporary audiences on a

cultural level demonstrates another way in which sermons were influenced by the communities around them.

The aforementioned implementation of art into Franciscan sermons can also serve as an interesting example of this trend. Many late medieval Franciscan preachers in Italy used descriptions of the artwork housed in the famous buildings of the communities they preached in as exempla in their sermons.[16] Bernardino da Siena was one such preacher; while he was known to guide his audience through certain buildings, he would also use references to famous Sienese art as exempla that supported his points. For example, one of his most well-known sermons focused on the famous *Allegory of Good and Bad Government* fresco in Siena's Palazzo Publico.[17] These preachers intended the references to works of art to serve as rhetorical devices that would ensnare the attention of their audiences.[18] Indeed, such works of art were objects that Italian citizens would have known and most likely had some sort of appreciation for. By appealing to these sentiments and discussing familiar pieces of local artwork, these preachers demonstrated the trend for late medieval Italian Franciscans to utilize exempla that were drawn from cultural mores.



Folio spread, Sermon 42 with running head "*De Patientia*" and marginal commentary.

The use of classical references as exempla is another interesting case of this trend that is specific to late medieval Italy. During the fifteenth-century, the cultural and religious climate of Italy was deeply influenced by the novel school of thought known as humanism, which balanced Christianity with a "classical background."[19] Contrary to popular belief, humanism was not restricted to intellectual spheres; indeed, a form of humanism quickly became a "popular theology" amongst the laity as it was simpler than traditional Church doctrine and easier to grasp.[20] This cultural and intellectual trend was duly reflected in the Franciscan sermons of the time, as these preachers had come to give pre-eminence to Greek and Roman authors and stories in their references.[21] This is demonstrated in da Vercelli's book of sermons, as he includes several exempla based on classical references and cites classical authors on several occasions. For example, he references Socrates' imprisonment as an exemplum on patience, while elsewhere he quotes five classical authors—Priscianus, Galen, Ptolomy, Aristotle and Cicero—in quick succession.[22] Da Vercelli's inclusion of such classical references and exempla in his sermons reflects how the cultural mores of Italian society influenced Franciscan preachers in their effort to appeal to the interests of the communities they worked in.

Economic Discourse in Italian Franciscan Sermons

The social influence on sermons is also seen in the choice and development of the arguments and doctrine that Italian Franciscans put forward in their sermons.[23] Many preachers during this period did not strictly adhere to traditional Church dogma on all matters that they preached on and instead adjusted their messages to fit the general climate of the communities that they preached in. In an age when commerce and banking were becoming increasingly prominent in Italian communes and moral questions about how to reconcile finance and wealth with the traditional Christian perception of community abounded, the mendicant preachers—who themselves participated in various facets of urban life—focused considerably on economic matters in their sermons, which became steeped in the mores of the marketplace.[24] Indeed, many mendicants' sermons reflected the "influence of a capitalistic society."[25] Importantly, Franciscan preachers did not roundly condemn such economic activity or take a severe stance on it in their sermons, as earlier religious figures might have done. As they were more in touch with urban society and the realities and sensibilities of their communities, they were less rigid in their outlook than earlier preachers. Thus, mendicant preachers often accommodated or took a more lenient approach towards certain economic practices prevalent in Italian society as long as they were not deemed overtly detrimental to the common good.[26]

Regarding this leniency, historian Daniel R. Lesnick went so far as to claim that the Italian mendicants were, in effect, "officials of the business elite," as they catered their sermons to the desires and inclinations of their typically mercantile audience.[27] For example, Italian Franciscan preachers specified the acceptable commercial activities of merchants and bankers in their sermons

and focused on establishing proper conduct for such men; they also instructed Italians on how to use their wealth beneficently.[28] Da Vercelli's collection demonstrates this trend: one of his sermons is addressed to merchants and explains the proper conduct for their business.[29] In this way, mendicant preachers eased the anxiety of the Italian merchant class and provided a morally-acceptable way for them to carry out their business.[30] Thus, fifteenth-century Italian mendicant preachers did not always force communities to conform to a strict moral protocol and often shaped their arguments and doctrines to conform to the values and norms of the community.

The Unifying Effect of Franciscan Sermons

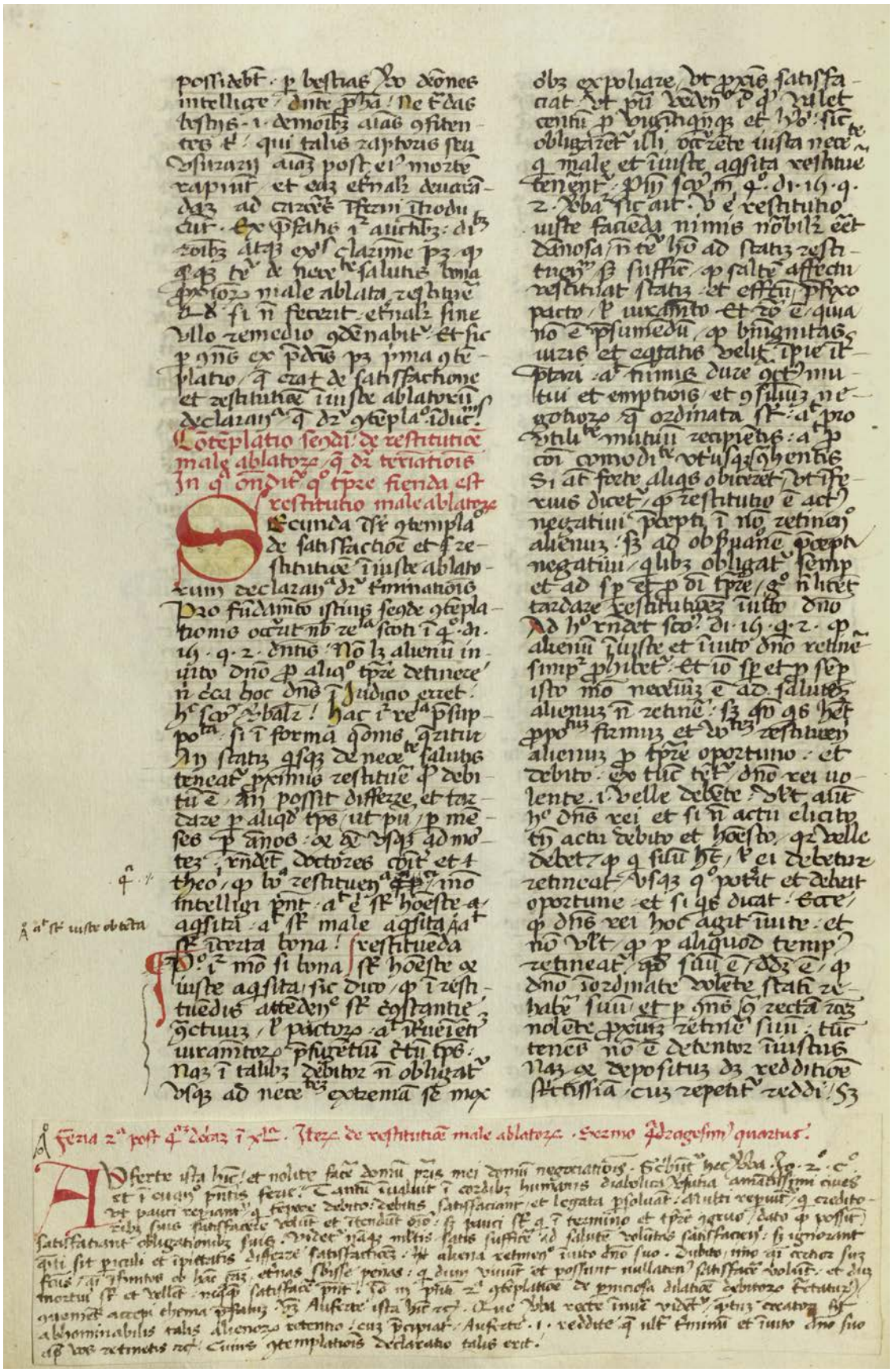
As this paper has now analyzed how Franciscan sermons were often influenced by fifteenth-century Italian communities, it will now examine the other side of the coin and explore the considerable social influence these sermons exerted on the communities they were presented in. This is demonstrated first and foremost by the fact that the preaching of a sermon facilitated a community gathering in which laypeople were given the chance to come together in an affair that was not only religious but also fundamentally social.[31] These events afforded laypeople the opportunity to chat or catch up on local gossip, regardless of whether they were monumental sermons of famous preachers like Bernardino da Siena and Roberto Caracciolo or regular Sunday sermons.[32] Moreover, the preaching of sermons involved the entire community, as members from each of the disparate social classes that comprised the highly stratified medieval Italian society congregated together in common ritual practice.[33] Even peasants who lived outside of the towns where the friars typically preached would flock within the town walls for a sermon.[34]

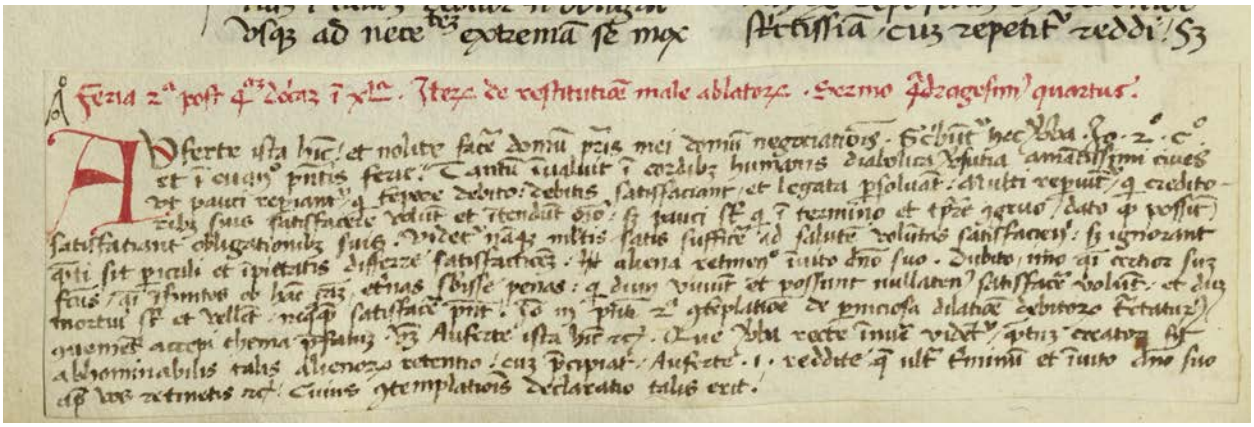
The existence of *ad status* sermons—sermons addressed to specific estates or occupations—demonstrates this phenomenon.[35] These types of sermons became increasingly common in the later medieval period, particularly among the mendicants in their mission to reach the diverse strata of medieval communities.[36] Da Vercelli's book of sermons contains such *ad status* sermons; one addresses judges and rectors while, as mentioned previously, merchants were the target audience of others.[37] These sermons indicate that higher officials, merchants, craftsmen, and the poor alike would be given the chance to come together in communal interaction while they received the word of God. This demonstrates the sermon's potential to introduce some harmony into a society that was typically highly stratified and inclined towards segregation.

Franciscan Sermons and the Inclusion of Marginal Groups

It was not, however, just the major social groups that congregated during the preaching of late medieval sermons; they also presented marginalized groups the opportunity to interact with

Facing page: folio with additional sermon content on a separate strip of paper pasted in the bottom margin.





Detail, pasted addition.

the larger community. This was the case for Italian women during the fifteenth century. It is first necessary to acknowledge that mendicant preachers indeed often spoke negatively about women in general during their sermons; the tension between the lower social status of women (as well as the often negative connotations of femininity within the context of Christianity) and their presence in social spaces during sermons often manifested in discrimination. For example, women were often forced to occupy the back of the church during sermons, as some preachers saw them as a distraction to male audience members.[38] However, while mendicant sermons often perpetuated the types of discrimination that were commonplace in medieval societies, they more importantly frequently served to facilitate inclusivity. Indeed, attending a sermon was one of the few acceptable opportunities for women to enter the public space during the late medieval period.[39]

An analysis of fifteenth-century Franciscan sermons and *reportationes* reveals that Italian women not only frequented sermons but used such events to engage in various social activities.[40] For example, certain Italian preachers would complain about women who merely attended their sermons as an excuse to dress up, gossip with their friends, or show off their daughters for potential marriages.[41] These complaints indicate how the attendance of women at sermons was accepted in its own right, as these preachers did not criticize their presence itself but rather their behaviour. But more importantly, they illustrate how sermons had the potential to grant late medieval Italian women a degree of agency, as these women could use sermons as an opportunity to engage in specific forms of social interaction within the public sphere and pursue interests that were independent of spirituality.

There were other ways in which sermons provided women the opportunity to engage with their communities. For instance, there is much evidence to suggest that women played a prominent role in the transmission of Italian religious manuscripts of vernacular theology; historian Francesco Corbari has described the existence of educated circles of Italian women learned in both Latin and the vernacular who compiled and translated various religious texts.[42] In this case, the compilation of written sermons, as opposed to the preaching of sermons, enabled women to contribute towards

the community. But the (albeit rare) cases of female preachers are perhaps the most remarkable examples of how sermons enabled women to engage with the wider community. The frequent depictions of female preachers in late medieval Italian art and popular devotional literature indicate that such a practice was likely "officially recognized, or at least tolerated" by Church officials.[43] Moreover, several famous women preachers were well-documented in medieval Italy, such as Catherine of Siena.[44] Such examples represent the ultimate example of peripheral figures emerging at the forefront of the community.

The Jews were another marginalized group that Franciscan sermons impacted. This influence was often negative in nature, as Italian Jews were frequently the target of antisemitic sermons by Franciscan preachers who labelled them as enemies of the Church.[45] Indeed, sermons often fostered strained relationships between Christian and Jewish communities in fifteenth-century Italy and elsewhere. For example, in many mendicant sermons, notably those of Bernardino da Siena, any association between Christians and Jews was expressly forbidden.[46] These kinds of sermons had an observable impact on fifteenth-century Italian society, as violence towards Italian Jews increased markedly during Lent, which was traditionally the most active period of preaching for Franciscan preachers.[47]

However, Jews were not merely subjects or targets of abuse when it came to sermons: occasionally, they made up part of the audience. Most often, this was the result of compulsion, as certain preachers coerced Jews to attend sermons or disputations in an attempt to convert them.[48] Giovanni da Capistrano, for example, frequently preached to Jews during his preaching tours with the aim of making them see the "error of their ways."[49] Moreover, there is evidence that Jews would be present at fifteenth-century Italian sermons in da Vercelli's book of sermons, which includes passages addressing members of the Jewish faith, encouraging them to convert.[50] In these passages, da Vercelli provides exempla of historical cases of non-Christian figures who converted, such as St. Helena, in an attempt to urge the Jews to convert.[51] Moreover, the presence of Jews at sermons was not necessarily always the result of compulsion. Members of the Jewish educated elite in medieval communities sometimes elected to attend the sermons of particularly notable preachers of their own volition, seeing them as an opportunity to learn more about their Christian neighbours.[52] In this case, sermons provided members of a religious minority that faced deeply-embedded social stigmatization an opportunity to interact with the wider community, sometimes even in a relatively liberal manner.

Thus, these findings indicate that even those groups that were typically marginalized in fifteenth-century Italian society—women and Jews specifically—could interact with the larger community during the preaching of sermons, even if these sermons sometimes facilitated the same kind of discrimination that they would typically have faced during their daily lives. Thus, while it cannot be definitively said that fifteenth-century sermons had a wholly positive or negative effect on marginal groups, these findings do illustrate the social element of sermons and indicate that they could have a profound influence on those who were on the fringes of the late medieval community.

Conclusion

This analysis has demonstrated that the sermons of Franciscan preachers were not merely the tools of an outside force that sought to impose its beliefs upon fifteenth-century communities in an entirely rigid manner, nor were they merely empty words that left no impact upon the communities they addressed. Rather, they were fundamentally embedded within the communities they sought to influence, capable of both transforming society and being transformed by society. These findings demonstrate that preaching was at the forefront of Italian devotional culture; moreover, they illuminate the interconnectedness of religion, community, and culture in the late medieval world by revealing that sermons served as a link between these three elements in the deeply spiritual societies of the fifteenth-century Italian peninsula.[53] Finally, this analysis can hopefully offer a solid foundation for further studies of da Vercelli to build upon, as da Vercelli's sermons were no less a part of the social fabric of fifteenth-century Italy than Bernardino da Siena's, and no less potent and meaningful to the Italian devout than Roberto Caracciolo's awe-inspiring 1448 Lenten sermon.

Notes

[1] Corrie E. Norman, "The Social History of Preaching: Italy," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 158-159.

[2] Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1. Roest, Franciscan Literature, 52.

[3] Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c.1210-1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 309, and Bert Roest, "'Ne Effluat in Multiloquim et Habeatur Honerosus': The Art of Preaching in the Franciscan Tradition," in *Franciscans and Preaching: Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World Came about through Words*, ed. Timothy J. Johnson (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 387.

[4] Jussi Hanska, "Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching: A Method and Its Limits: An Analysis of Sunday Sermons," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 299. Comparisons between model sermons and reportationes indicate that the differences between what was written and what was preached in the pulpit were typically minimal.

[5] "Antonius Vercellensis (Da Vercelli), *Quadragesimale de Aeternis Fructibus Spiritus Sancti* (Sermons 41 to 61) (Quadrgesimal Sermons, i.e. Sermons for Lent)," *Textmanuscripts*, accessed February 20, 2020, http://www.textmanuscripts.com/medieval/antonius-vercellensis-60935.

[6] Sophia Menache and Jeannine Horowitz, "Rhetoric and its Practice in Medieval Sermons," *Historical Reflections* 22, no. 2 (1996): 328.

[7] Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 92-93.

[8] Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and their Performance, 92-93.

[9] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 156.

[10] Menache and Horowitz, "Rhetoric and its Practice," 344.

[11] Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 17, and Siegfried Wenzel, *Of Sins and Sermons* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 227.

[12] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 160.

[13] Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, "The Preacher as Goldsmith: The Italian Preachers' Use of the Visual Arts," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 139.

[14] Amos Edelheit, *Ficino, Pico and Savonarola: The Evolution of Humanist Theology*, 1461/2-1498 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 123.

[15] Menache and Horowitz, "Rhetoric and its Practice," 336.

16 Carolyn Muessig, "Sermon, Preacher and Society in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval History* 28, no. 1 (2002): 85.

[17] Debby, "The Preacher as Goldsmith," 139.

[18] Debby, "The Preacher as Goldsmith," 140.

[19] Edelheit, *Ficino, Pico and Savonarola*, 129.

[20] Edelheit, *Ficino, Pico and Savonarola*, 129.

[21] Edelheit, *Ficino, Pico and Savonarola,* 123, 129.

[22] Antonio da Vercelli, *Quadragesimale de Aeternis Fructibus Spiritus Sancti*, Milan: c.1460-1475, MS, *Les Enluminures* TM 683, fol.34r., fol.117v.

[23] Alessio Alonso Alves, "Sermons, Preaching, and Liturgy: Practices, Research Methods, and the Case of Giordano da Pisa," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 62, no.1 (2018): 7.

[24] Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 41.

[25] Alves, "Sermons, Preaching, and Liturgy," 7.

[26] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 172.

[27] Alves, "Sermons, Preaching, and Liturgy," 6.

[28] D. L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 214.

[29] Da Vercelli, *Quadragesimale de Aeternis Fructibus Spiritus Sancti*, fol.322v.

[30] Alves, "Sermons, Preaching, and Liturgy," 6.

[31] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 156.

[32] Menache and Horowitz, "Rhetoric and its Practice," 328.

[33] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 158, 130.

[34] D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 41.

[35] Carolyn Muessig, "Audience and Preacher: ad Status Sermons and Social Classification," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 255.

[36] Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 291.

[37] "Antonius Vercellensis," *Textmanuscripts*; Da Vercelli, *Quadragesimale de Aeternis Fructibus Spiritus Sancti*, fol.322v, fol.268.

[38] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 181.

[39] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 181.

[40] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 181.

[41] Muessig, "Sermon, Preacher and Society," 88-89; Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 181.

[42] Francesco Corbari, "Lost and Found in Translation: The Heart of Vernacular Theology in Late Medieval Italy," *Franciscan Studies* 71 (2013): 270.

[43] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 184.

[44] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 184.

[45] Giacomo Todeschini, "Franciscan Economics and Jews in the Middle Ages: From a Theological to an Economic Lexicon," in *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Susan E. Myers and Steven J. McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 104.

[46] Amanda D. Quantz, "Focus on the Family: Bernardino da Siena on the Common Good and the Nefarious Other," in *Franciscans and Preaching: Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World Came about through Words*, ed. Timothy J. Johnson (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 320.

[47] Quantz, "Bernardino da Siena on the Common Good," 320.

[48] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 180; Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 226.

[49] Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 65.

[50] Da Vercelli, *Quadragesimale de Aeternis Fructibus Spiritus Sancti*, fol.151r.

[51] Da Vercelli, *Quadragesimale de Aeternis Fructibus Spiritus Sancti*, fol.151r.

[52] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 180.

[53] Norman, "Social History of Preaching," 126.

Clariſſimi viri Juriūq; doctoris Felicis hemmerlin cantoris quondā Thuricen. varie oblectationis opuſcula et tractat⁹.

Felicis ſi te iuuat indulſiſſe libellis.
Malleoli: preſens dilige lector opus.
Illius ingenium varijs ſcabronibus actum
Perſpicis: et ſtimulos fuſtinuiſſe graues.
Caſibus aduerſis (aurum velut igne) probatus:
Hoſtibus vſq; ſuis malleus acer erat.
Hinc ſibi cōueniens ſortitus nomen: vt eſſet:
Hemmerlin dictus: nomine: req; ſtatu.
At felix tandem: vicioq; illeſus ab omni
Carceris e tenebris ſydera clara ſubit.

Burn the Beggars!

FELIX HEMMERLIN ON HERESY, MAGIC, AND MENDICANCY IN A PRE-REFORMATION CONTEXT

Brittney A. Payer

In 1497, a printer from Strasbourg released an early incunable— then bound in calfskin-covered wooden boards and fastened with metal clasps—of an anthology of works collectively titled *Opuscula et tractatus*.[1] Written by Felix Hemmerlin (1388-1460) in the early fifteenth century, the tracts have gained most interest for Hemmerlin's commentary on magic, specifically his views on demonology, superstition, and witchcraft. Though scholars have yet to focus principally on Hemmerlin, his *Tractatus de exorcismis* and *De credulitate demonibus exhibenda* in particular have been cited in major works on the German Witch Hunt and late medieval superstition, with attention drawn to Hemmerlin's surprising tolerance for magic during

Facing page: woodcut author portrait of Felix Hemmerlin, or *Felicis Malleolus* (Lt.). The small hammer references his surname, which translates to "little hammer," while the book likely represents his intellectual works. The nature and significance of the insects is unknown. Felix Hemmerlin, *Opuscula et Tractatus*, Strasbourg, c.1497, Incunable. University of Guelph Archival & Special Collections, s0573Ab028.

a period of widespread persecution. This also was the intended focus of Hemmerlin's incunable for the University of Guelph's *Illuminating Life* exhibition: it was displayed as a book about the spells of common folk, the sorcery of intellectuals, and the popular beliefs of a "superstitious" religious society.

This selective focus on the realms of demonology and superstition in Hemmerlin's works, however, neglects the *Opuscula et tractatus* as a legitimate source for pre-Reformation religious belief. Contained in this same collection alongside tracts on witches and exorcisms are tracts like *Contra validos mendicantes* that highlight Hemmerlin's opposition to contemporary Church function, particularly the hypocrisy of the "begging" Dominican and Franciscan friars. The *Opuscula et tractatus* as such highlights a contradiction when considered in its context: during a time of widespread anxiety about the presence of evil and the Church's role in Christian society—a period that, as a result, saw folk practices condemned as the heretical acts of demonic witches—Hemmerlin accepted the usefulness of some spells and instead condemned the state of the Church.

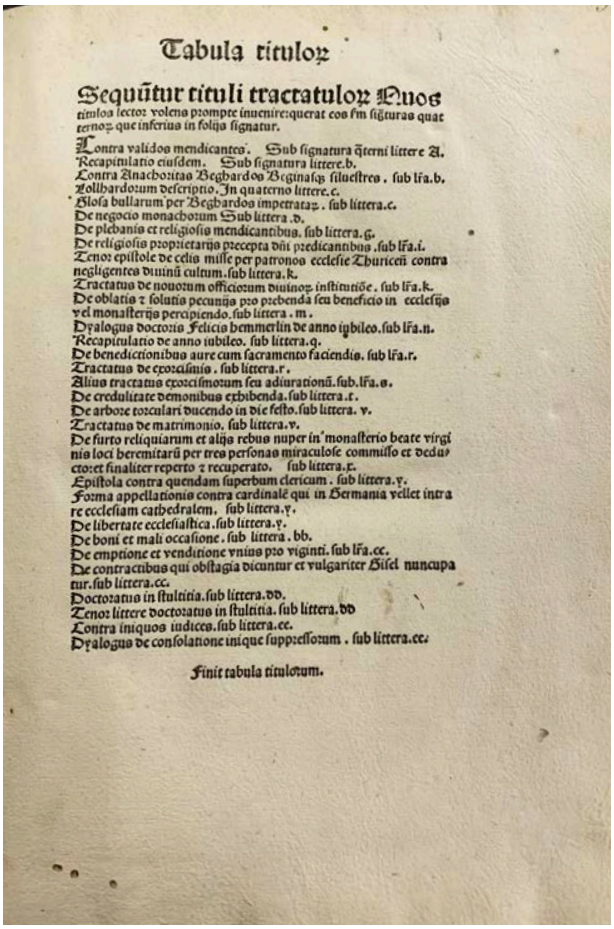
It is crucial in such discussions to acknowledge the variability of belief in the Middle Ages, both in the Catholic Church itself and in religious intellectual discourse. Interpretations and practices varied greatly, which resulted in a plethora of smaller religious groups—both sanctioned and heretical—that repurposed different aspects of Catholic belief. The reactions of contemporary theologians to this variability were similarly diverse, a point that historians frequently overlook in favour of presenting a more homogenous view of religious criticisms. The following study will further examine Hemmerlin's *Opuscula et tractatus* in the temporal context of both its creation and its printed publication, and in the theoretical context of contemporaneous theologians and their thoughts on magic, religion, and reform. Since Hemmerlin has hitherto been unexplored as a principally heretical and reformist source rather than a demonological one, situating his views within a wider context of religious belief with an emphasis on the contrast therein will deepen one's understanding of the diversity of fifteenth-century thought and the value of Hemmerlin as a pre-Reformation historical source.

The Rise and Fall of Mendicancy

Hemmerlin is a largely elusive figure, as little is known regarding his life beyond his status as a Swiss cantor and active Church reformer based in Zurich.[2] Writing from an independent city state then part of the Southern German territories, Hemmerlin would have been at the centre of the major fifteenth- and sixteenth-century religious and superstitious upheavals in western Christendom, as Germany was both the principal site of witchcraft persecutions and the birthplace of the Reformation in 1517.[3] Due to constant conflict over spiritual control of the German territories, the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire had always been strained, but it was worsened by the growth of medieval military orders and politically-driven religious conquests in the thirteenth century. In the war against heresy, the Hohenstaufen dynasty's resistance of the

Catholic Church's supremacy provided papal justification for attacks against the "heretic" German power, whose religious authority challenged the papacy's superiority.[4] The already non-centralized power structure in Germany fractured further under this religious pressure, leading to increasingly independent cities that, when combined with rapid urbanization, gave rise to mendicant popularity.

The technical advancements and improved economic distribution of the century prior gave way to major population growth accompanied by rising poverty rates in urban areas no longer able to accommodate their populace.[5] The existing religious antagonism between the Holy Roman Empire and Catholic Church worsened as a result of the persistent criticism from the largely independent German cities of the Church's failure to adapt to the new urbanized landscape.[6] The mendicant "begging" orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans emerged as a result of this changing landscape and established themselves within the progressive urban centres of Southern Germany, thereby offering a bridge between traditional Catholic practice and new metropolitan cultures.[7] Both groups emphasized preaching, teaching, and pastoral care, but while the Dominicans focused more on Biblical learning, the Franciscans embraced apostolic poverty to achieve closeness to God.[8]



Tabula tituloꝝ

Sequũtur tituli tractatuloꝝ Quos

timlos lector volens prompte inuenire:querat eos ſm ſigturas quat ternoꝝ que inferius in folijs ſignatur.

Contra validos mendicantes. Sub ſignatura ſterni littere A.
Recapitulatio eiuſdem. Sub ſignatura littere.b.
Contra Anachoritas Begbardos Beginaſqꝫ ſilueſtres. ſub lſa.b.
Follbardorum deſcriptio. In qua terno littere.c.
Bloſa bullarum per Begbardos impetratarꝫ. ſub littera.c.
De negocio monachorum Sub littera .d.
De plebanis et religioſis mendicantibus. ſub littera.g.
De religioſis proprietariis precepta dñi predicantibus .ſub lſa.i.
Tenoꝝ epiſtole de celis miſſe per patronos eccleſie Thuricen contra negligentes diuinũ cultum.ſub littera.k.
Tractatus de nouorum officiorum diuinoꝝ inſtitutiõe. ſub lſa.k.
De oblatis ꝛ ſolutis pecunijs pro prebenda ſeu beneficio in eccleſijs vel monaſterijs percipiendo.ſub littera .m.
Dyalogus doctoris Felicis hemmerlin de anno iubileo.ſub lſa.n.
Recapitulatio de anno iubileo. ſub littera.q.
De benedictionibus aure cum ſacramento faciendis. ſub lſa.r.
Tractatus de exorciſmis. ſub littera.r.
Alius tractatus exorciſmorum ſeu adiurationũ.ſub.lſa.s.
De credulitate demonibus exhibenda.ſub littera.t.
De arbore exorciari ducendo in die feſto.ſub littera. v.
Tractatus de matrimonio. ſub littera.v.
De furto reliquiarum et alijs rebus nuper in monaſterio beate virginis loci heremitarũ per treꝫ perſonas miraculoſe commiſſo et deductoꝝ et finaliter reperto ꝛ recuperato. ſub littera.x.
Epiſtola contra quendam ſuperbum clericum. ſub littera.y.
Forma appellationis contra cardinalẽ qui in Bermania vellet intrare eccleſiam cathedralem. ſub littera.y.
De libertate eccleſiaſtica.ſub littera.y.
De boni et mali occaſione. ſub littera. bb.
De emptione et venditione vnius pro viginti. ſub lſa.cc.
De contractibus qui obſtagia dicantur et vulgariter Biſch nuncupantur.ſub littera.cc.
Doctoratus in ſtulticia.ſub littera.dd.
Tenoꝝ littere doctoratus in ſtulticia. ſub littera.dd
Contra iniquos iudices.ſub littera.ee.
Dyalogus de conſolatione iniquo ſuppreſſorum . ſub littera.ee.

Finit tabula titulorum.

Opuscula et tractatus table of contents.

The mendicant friars' popularity was a largely urban phenomenon as they emerged specifically in response to the high population density and the resultant high poverty rates of medieval cities that grew too quickly to sustain themselves. However, the mendicants' principles of apostolic poverty and asceticism were incompatible with the urban and economic growth of Renaissance Germany, as the increased wealth made a begging lifestyle difficult to maintain and largely unnecessary in now-established city centres.[9] Additionally, the Renaissance saw a decrease in Church power due to widespread criticism against traditional religious practice that arose primarily as a reaction to the ineffectiveness of the Church during the Black Death (1347), a situation that was severely worsened by the Papal Schism (1378-1418), during which Rome, Avignon, and Pisa housed three separate papal succession lines simultaneously.[10] Meanwhile, Catholic authority was

further challenged by a growth in heretical movements like the Bohemian Hussites, who threatened to further divide the already divided Church.

It was these issues that the reformists at the Council of Constance (1414-1418)—which Hemmerlin attended—aimed to address: mendicant hypocrisy, heretic threats, and the fractured papal authority. The fifteenth century, as a result, became a period of transition and redefinition, during which the Church desperately tried to maintain its dominance in the face of growing lay pressure for clerical reform and fears of further divisiveness by groups that challenged the Papacy's sovereignty. Heresy, thus, was pushed to the forefront of theological and intellectual discourse during this time, with a focused attack on pre-existing magic and superstition.

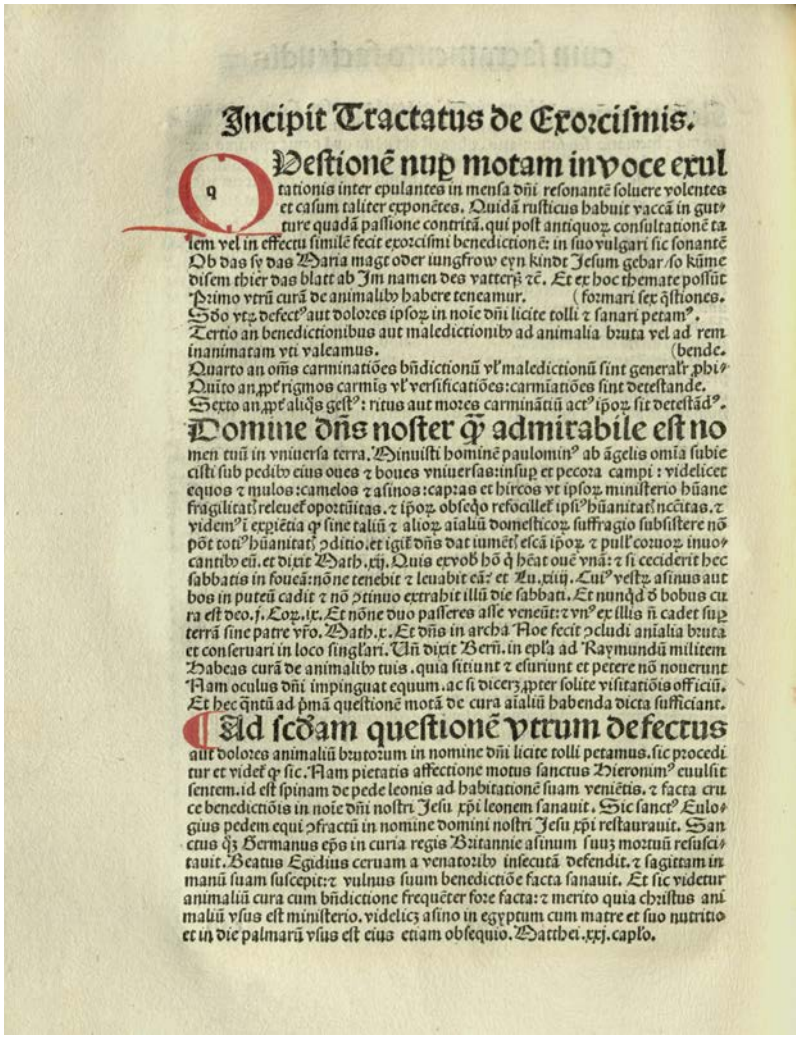
Defining and Redefining Superstition

The early fifteenth century saw a wave of texts published on the nature of magic, specifically its reclassification as superstition—itself a form of heresy. Both concepts were highly flexible and difficult to define concretely. Heresy was constructed as a binary for the Church to define orthodox versus unorthodox practices and thus depended on an abstract notion of "proper" religion for its application.[11] The fluidity of the term meant that officials could attach it to any transgressions with little justification beyond a group's neglect of the sanctioned Church practice. Superstition was similarly elusive, and defined principally through Augustine's and Aquinas' ideas of "'religion observed in an excessive way,'"[12] which historians Michael D. Bailey and Hans Broedel simplify as "an excess of religion,"[13] or "bad religion."[14] Superstition, then, could be the use of Christian words or ritual in a non-religious manner or, conversely, the use of pagan rituals like sacrifice in a religious manner.[15] The fundamental defining factor here was whether the intent was religious or heretical, but the impossibility of proving one's intent for certain was key to the almost universal application of both terms.[16]

The already loose boundaries defining superstition blur further when one considers the close relationship between religion and magic, which for the duration of the Middle Ages were inextricably entwined. The Church's attack on these themes that previously had been an accepted part of daily life was a product of its concentrated efforts to maintain dominance over Christendom while post-Plague concerns over mortality and evil were deepening across the continent.[17] Felix Hemmerlin, himself an early fifteenth-century theologian, was one of the many intellectuals of this period to publish on the nature and prescribed limitations of common magic, his principal focus being on spells, charms, and divination.[18] Of primary concern to such theologians was folk healing and exorcism, specifically concerning the laity's invocation of saints' names and Latin phrases.[19] By using religious figures in non-religious rituals, healing spells in particular pushed the boundaries of superstition and acceptability.

It is here especially that Hemmerlin's condonement of magic and outright acknowledgement of its usefulness comes at odds with the majority of the theological discourse of the time; this is

exemplified by his discussion of a healing spell in his *Alius tractatus exorcismorum seu adiurationum*. The spell required a vernacular recitation of "'Christ was born, Christ was lost, Christ was found again; may he bless these wounds, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.'"[20] By invoking Christ and the Holy Trinity—presumably alongside the sign of the cross—the spell might have been categorized as "superstition" for its use of holy names and religious ritual elements for non-religious purposes. As Bailey points out, the spell had previously been used by Werner of Friedberg, another theologian, but was in 1405 condemned by Heidelberg University.[21] Hemmerlin devotes the majority of his *Alius tractatus exorcismorum seu adiuratonum* arguing against the Heidelberg faculty and asserting that the spell should be considered legitimate due to Werner's good intention of healing.[22] His support of common magic is reiterated in *Tractatus de exorcismis*, where he includes a spell to heal ailing cows and an "exorcism" to rid fields of pests, then again in *De benedictionibus aure cum sacramento faciendis*, where he encourages the use of the Eucharist—arguably the holiest of religious items—to protect one's fields and to "bless the airs" for good weather.[23]



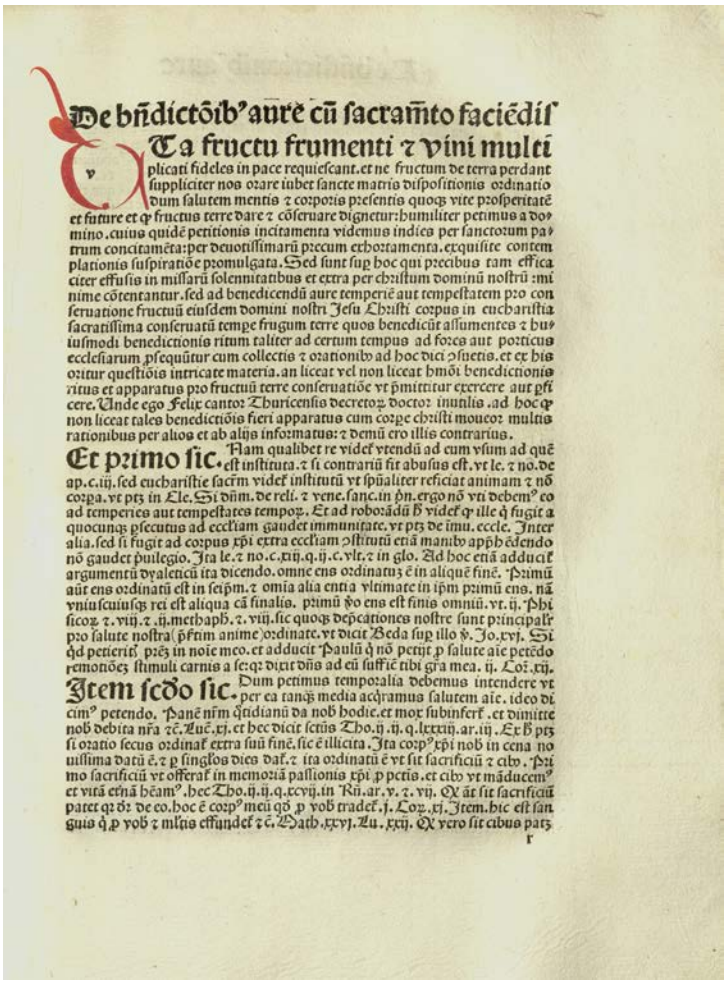
Incipit Tractatus de Exorcismis.

Questionē nup motam in voce exul
tationis inter epulantes in mensa dñi resonantē soluere volentes
et casum taliter exponētes. Quidā rusticus habuit vaccā in gut
ture quadā passione contritā. qui post antiquoz consultationē ta
lem vel in effectu simile fecit exorcismi benedictionē: in suo vulgari sic sonantē
Ob das sy das Maria magt oder iungfrow eyn kindt Jesum gebar/so küme
disem thier das blatt ab Im namen des vatters ꝛc. Et ex hoc themate possūt
Primo vtrū curā de animalibꝫ habere teneamur. (formari sex ōnes.
Sēo vtz defectꝰ aut dolores ipsoz in noie dñi licite tolli ꝛ sanari petam⁹.
Tertio an benedictionibus aut maledictionibꝫ ad animalia bruta vel ad rem
inanimatam vti valeamus. (bende.
Quarto an oīs carminationes bñdictionū vl maledictionū sint generaliꝛ phi
Quīto an ꝑt rigmos carmis vl versificatiōes: carmiationes sint detestande.
Sexto an ꝑt aliqs gestꝰ: ritus aut motes carminātū actꝰ ipoz sit detestād⁹.

Domine dñs noster q̄ admirabile est no
men tuū in vniuersa terra. Minuisti hominē paulomin⁹ ab āgelis omia subie
cisti sub pedib⁹ eius oues ꝛ boues vniuersas: insup et pecora campi: videlicet
equos ꝛ mulos: camelos ꝛ asinos: capras et hircos vt ipsoz ministerio hūane
fragilitaꝭ releuet opportūitas. ꝛ ipoz obsequio refocillet ipsi⁹ hūanitaꝭ nccitas. ꝛ
videm⁹ i expietia q̄ sine taliū ꝛ alioz animaliū domesticoz suffragio subsistere nō
pōt tot⁹ hūanitaꝭ ꝓditio. et igit dñs dat iumēti escā ipoz ꝛ pull⁹ coruoz inuo
cantib⁹ eū. et dixit Bath. xxj. Quis ex vob hō q̄ hēat ouē vnā: ꝛ si ceciderit hec
sabbatis in foueā: nōne tenebit ꝛ leuabit eā: et Lu. xiij. Cui⁹ vestꝝ asinus aut
bos in puteū cadit ꝛ nō ꝓtinuo extrahit illū die sabbati. Et nunq̄d ō bobus cu
ra est deo. ſ. Cor. ix. Et nōne duo passeres asse veneūt: ꝛ vn⁹ ex illis ñ cadet sup
terrā sine patre vro. Bath. x. Et dñs in archa Noe fecit ꝓcludi aīalia bruta
et conseruari in loco singlari. Vñ dixit Bern. in epla ad Raymundū militem
Habeas curā de animalibꝫ tuis. quia sitiunt ꝛ esuriunt et petere nō nouerunt
Nam oculus dñi impinguat equum. ac si dicerꝫ ꝓter solite visitatiōis officiū.
Et hec q̄ntū ad ꝑmā questionē motā de cura aialiū habenda dicta sufficiant.

Ad scdam questionē vtrum defectus
aut dolores animaliū brutorum in nomine dñi licite tolli petamus. sic procedi
tur et videt q̄ sic. Nam pietatis affectione motus sanctus Hieronim⁹ cuulsit
sentem. id est spinam de pede leonis ad habitationē suam veniētis. ꝛ facta cru
ce benedictiōis in noie dñi nostri Jesu xpi leonem sanauit. Sic sanct⁹ Eulo
gius pedem equi ꝓfractū in nomine domini nostri Jesu xpi restauravit. San
ctus q̄z Germanus epūs in curia regis Britannie asinum suuz mortuū resusci
tauit. Beatus Egidius ceruam a venatoribꝫ insecutā defendit. ꝛ sagittam in
manū suam suscepit: ꝛ vulnus suum benedictiōe facta sanauit. Et sic videtur
animaliū cura cum bñdictione frequēter fore facta: ꝛ merito quia christus ani
maliū vsus est ministerio. videlicz asino in egyptum cum matre et suo nutritio
et in die palmarū vsus est eius etiam obsequio. Matthei. xxj. capło.

Beginning of the tract concerning exorcisms, in which Hemmerlin supports the use of magic to heal livestock and eliminate pests from one's field.



De bñdictõib' aute cũ sacramto faciẽdis

Ta fructu frumenti z vini multi

Beginning of one of Hemmerlin's key tracts about magic.

As discussed, Church theologians identified superstition closely with heresy, but it was heresy that drove theological inquiry into magic. With mounting accusations of corruption being leveled against the Catholic authority, redirecting these concerns toward heresy made improper religion an internal threat to the sanctity and supremacy of the Church; thus, critics of superstition were largely motivated by fear that the misuse of religion could result in greater corruption of Catholic society.[24] It is interesting, then, that Hemmerlin does not appear to have been overly concerned with these more traditional, Church-defined conceptualizations of heresy and was so permissive of the common spells and rituals that his contemporaries condemned. Also interesting is his emphasis on the use of the vernacular in magic, even for religious invocations traditionally recited in Latin, as was the case with the aforementioned healing spell used by Werner of Friedberg. While it is possible that the absence of Latin may have lessened concerns of religious misappropriation, the idea of vernacular religious practice—a practice that would decrease the need for a spiritual intermediary like a mendicant friar—was a key feature of both Protestantism and the push for Catholic reform. These ideals, then, when looked at in the greater context of Hemmerlin's work, are indicative of his general reformist stance. While his acceptance of magic might suggest a maintenance of medieval tradition, careful evaluation reveals the more progressive, reformist attitudes that characterize Hemmerlin's tracts.

Hemmerlin as a Demonological Source

In addition to general superstition and lay magic, Hemmerlin's works have been used for the study of fifteenth-century demonology. While the aforementioned debate regarding charms

and spells gripped theologians of the early 1400s, by mid-century the focus had shifted to a greater conceptualization of evil, with demonological theories emerging to elaborate on the boundaries and nature of diabolic power.[25] Perhaps the most influential of these theories was put forth in Heinrich Krämer's witch-hunting handbook, *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487), or "The Hammer of Witches." Though published at the end of the century and fifty years after Hemmerlin's time of writing, the *Malleus* is a vital text for comparison because, rather than propose novel demonological theories, it compiled contemporary ideas into a single, clear definition.[26] Krämer's Devil marked a departure from earlier medieval ideas of diabolic power, as he removed much of the Devil's agency and introduced the concept of a human mediator. Unlike Augustine's and Aquinas' Devil, who existed as a metaphysical superior to humankind and only affected humans through temptation and according to God's will, this Devil was a powerful, invisible abstract whose impact on Earth was carried out through demons who attended to human witches.[27] The insertion of the witch as a go-between for the spiritual and secular worlds also acted as a bridge to two dichotomous understandings of diabolic power—the aforementioned abstract and the more tangible Devil of medieval thought—by providing metaphysical power to a physical agent while giving contemporaries a figure to blame. It was not the Devil, then, but the witches who were morally culpable for evil in the world, which thereby justified inquisitors' prosecution of these immoral heretical threats.[28]

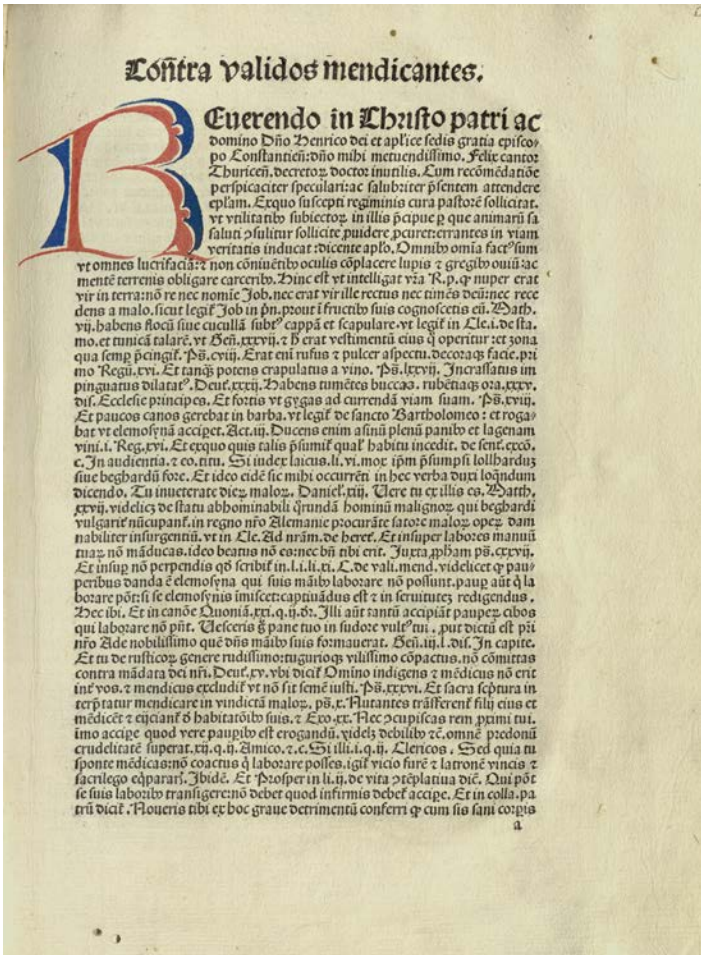
Hemmerlin's ideas oppose those of the *Malleus*. As discussed in his *De credulitate daemonibus adhibenda*, Hemmerlin's Devil is a more traditionally medieval character capable of enacting real force on the Earth without a witch intermediary.[29] As historian Peter Hans Broedel notes, for Hemmerlin, the Devil and demons were more tangible forces that operated according to a conventional moral order to punish bad Christians.[30] Furthermore, whereas for Krämer the witch was responsible for *maleficium* and misfortune, Hemmerlin maintained that the Devil and his demons were to blame and paid minimal attention to the sins of so-called witches.[31] In both superstition and demonology, then, Hemmerlin's ideas fell more in line with the earlier medieval acceptance of both magic and diabolic power as forces that existed in daily life.

Antifraternalism and Mendicant Heresy

Despite widespread mounting fears regarding heresy and superstition, as well as the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* and the beginning of a major continental witch hunt, the German territories did not face heresy in its less supernatural, traditional conceptualization to the extent of other regions.[32] Despite the fact that their activity was relatively concentrated in Bohemia, the threat of the Hussite heretical group to religious order was felt throughout the Holy Roman Empire, and it drew numerous theologians and reformers to the Council of Constance.[33] The formal purpose of the Council was to repair the Great Schism of 1378, when Church centralization had fractured due to numerous competing claims for papal authority, but it is perhaps more famously known for the trial and execution of Hussite leader Jan Hus, whose outspokenness on the clergy's

immorality was perceived as a direct attack on Catholic superiority.[34] Hemmerlin was himself present at the Council, alongside another Church reformer from the neighbouring German territory of Swabia, Johannes Nider (1380-1438), who like Hemmerlin published numerous works on witchcraft, heresy, and Church reform, principally regarding apostolic poverty and lay mendicancy. While Nider was similar to Hemmerlin in the subjects of his writing, the two were fundamentally at odds; as such, a comparison of Nider's and Hemmerlin's ideas further underscores the significance of Hemmerlin's works, especially as a source for the study of pre-Reformation religious mentality.

While some of Hemmerlin's writings in the *Opuscula et tractatus* do focus on magic and witchcraft, Hemmerlin's principal interest was the heresy within existing religious orders. While not plagued by traditional heretical groups, the independent urban centres of the Southern German territories concerned themselves with a different type of heresy: mendicant poverty. As noted in the previous discussion of the mendicants' rise to popularity, the Dominican and Franciscan friars relied on an urban landscape, a factor that was especially important for the Franciscans whose *vita apostolica* necessitated and perpetuated poverty. By the fifteenth century, though, the poorly trained clergy, relaxed discipline, and increase in Church wealth led to the gradual abandonment of original Franciscan doctrine and a growing hypocrisy within the mendicant orders.[35] Devout members were outnumbered by ambitious laymen, and as a result, while the order still called for apostolic poverty from its followers, those within the order regularly broke their own rules.[36] This was worsened by a rising concern from German intellectuals that poverty was "a social evil rather than an apostolic virtue," which altogether fostered a strong anticlerical and antifraternal sentiment in major cities like Augsburg, Strasbourg, and Zurich.[37]



Contra validos mendicantes.

Beatissimo in Christo patri ac domino Dño Henrico dei et ap'lice sedis gratia episcopo Constantiensi: dño mihi merito reuerendissimo. Felix cantor Thuricensis, decretor doctor: inutilis. Cum recolende memorie perspicaciter speculari: ac salubriter presentem attendere ep'lam. Ex quo suscepti regiminis cura pastorē sollicitat. vt vtilitatibus subiector. in illis precipue q̄ que animarū saluti p̄fulgent sollicite puidere pcuret: errantes in viam veritatis inducat: dicente ap'lo. Omnibus omia factus sum vt omnes lucrifaciā: ꝛ non cōuenientibus oculis cōplacere lupis ꝛ gregibus ouiū: ac mentē terrenis obligare carceribus. Hinc est vt intelligat via R.p. q̄ nuper erat vir in terra: nō re nec nomine Job. nec erat vir ille rectus nec timēs deū: nec recedens a malo. sicut legit Job in p̄n. prout i fructibus suis cognoscens eū. Bath. vij. habens flocū siue cucullā subtus cappā et scapulare. vt legit in Le. i. de sta. mo. et tunicā talarē. vt Exō. xxviij. ꝛ b erat vestimentū eius q̄ operitur: et zona qua semp̄ cingit. Pſ. cviij. Erat eni rufus ꝛ pulcer aspectu. decoraq̄ facie. primo Regū. vi. Et tanq̄ potens crapulatus a vino. Pſ. lxxvij. Incrassatus impinguatus dilatat⁹. Deut. xxxij. Habens tumētes buccas. rubēnaq̄ ora. xxxv. dis. Ecclesie principes. Et fortis vt gygas ad currendā viam suam. Pſ. cviij. Et paucos canos gerebat in barba. vt legit de sancto Bartholomeo: et rogabat vt elemosynā acciper. Act. iij. Ducens enim asinū plenū panibus et lagenam vini. i. Reg. xvi. Et ex quo quis talis p̄sumit qual' habitu incedit. de sent. excō. c. In audientia. ꝛ eo. titu. Si iuder laicus. li. vi. mor. ipm p̄sumpsi lollhardus siue beghardū fore. Et ideo cidē sic mihi occurrēn. in hec verba duxi loq̄ndum dicendo. Tu inueterate dierū malorū. Daniel. xiij. Vere tu es illius es. Bath. xxvij. videlicet de statu abhominabili q̄rundā hominū malignor. qui beghardi vulgariter nūcupant. in regno nro Alemanie p̄ocurāte satore malor. operū dampnabiliter insurgentiū. vt in Le. Ad nrām. de heret. Et insuper labores manuū tuar. nō māducas. ideo beatus nō es: nec bñ tibi erit. Jxta ꝓpham p̄s. cxxvij. Et insup nō perpendis qđ scribit in. i. i. ii. xi. C. de vali. mend. videlicet q̄ pauperibus danda ē elemosyna qui suis mānibus laborare nō possunt. pauꝑ aūt q̄ laborare p̄t: si se elemosynis imiscet: captiuādus est ꝛ in seruitutē redigendus. Hec ibi. Et in canōe Quoniā. xxi. q. ij. ō. Illi aūt tantū accipiāt pauperes. quos qui laborare nō p̄nt. Vescetis ē pane tuo in sudore vultus tui. put dictū est p̄ri nro Aide nobilissimo quē dñs mānibus suis formauerat. Dei. iij. i. dis. In capite. Et tu de rusticor genere rudissimo: tugurioq̄ vilissimo cōpactus. nō cōmittas contra mādata dei nri. Deut. xv. vbi dicit Omino indigens ꝛ mēdicus nō erit int' vos. ꝛ mendicus excludit vt nō sit semē iusti. Pſ. xxxvi. Et sacra scḡtura interp̄tatur mendicare in vindictā malor. pſ. e. Murantes trāsferent filij eius et mēdicē ꝛ ejciant ō habitatoribus suis. ꝛ Exo. xx. Nec accipiscas rem primi tui. imo accipe quod vere paupibus est erogandū. videlicet debilibus ꝛc. omnē predonū crudelitatē superat. xij. q. ij. Amico. ꝛ. c. Si illi. i. q. ij. Clericos. Sed quia tu sponte mēdicas: nō coactus q̄ laborare posses. igit vicio furē ꝛ latronē vincis ꝛ sacrilego cōparari. Ibidē. Et Prosper in li. ij. de vita p̄platiua dic. Qui p̄t se suis laboribus transigere: nō debet quod infirmis debet accipe. Et in colla. patrū dicit. Noueris tibi ex hoc graue detrimentū conferri q̄ cum sis sani corpis

Beginning of the tract "*Contra validos mendicantes*," one of two focusing on apostolic poverty.

part with another group that Hemmerlin opposed: the Beguines and Beghards associated with the Heresy of the Free Spirit.[38] The focus of Hemmerlin's *Contra anachoritas, beghardos, beguinasque silvestres*, the Beguines and their male counterparts also practiced apostolic poverty, but in small, personal groups existing fully outside of the religious orders.[39] While the actions of the Franciscans and the Beguines were of paramount concern for Hemmerlin, Nider, who also published reformist works on these groups, emphasized Church reform at all levels, including the laity, and instead commended the Beguines for their voluntary poverty.[40] In this case, it is Nider, rather than Hemmerlin, who is at odds with his contemporaries; this marks an interesting contrast, since Nider's writings on witchcraft were aligned with other theologians' and instrumental to the development of the *Malleus* while Hemmerlin contradicted them. In light of their differing focuses and opinions, a comparison of these two intellectuals offers historians a view of two different sides of the same two fields, thereby providing historians with a fuller understanding of the various late fifteenth-century interpretations of heresy, religion, and reform within the wider context of religious change in late medieval Germany.

The *Opuscula et tractatus* and its Historical Value

When one only considers the content on superstition and magic in the *Opuscula et tractatus*, it is interesting to note that the republication of tracts so at odds with late fifteenth-century discourse occurred a decade after the *Malleus* was published. The release of a book requires an existing consumer base, so the *Opuscula et tractatus*' 1497 publication may suggest a maintenance or renewal of interest in superstition and demonology. This was possibly due to the emergence of the witch hunt at the end of the century, which, according to historian Robert W. Thurston, was centred in Southern Germany, particularly Strasbourg (the incunable's place of printing) and the northern Swiss territories like Zurich (its place of writing).[41] Still, Hemmerlin's interest in such ideas would have been a sharp diversion from notions of an abstract Devil, evil witches, and bad magic held by those of the time. This raises the question of why Hemmerlin's work was republished so many years after its contemporary relevance.

Though not a certainty, the answer may become clearer when one considers also the tracts on heresy, mendicancy, and Church reform. They were, as noted above, largely aligned with his contemporaries, and such work calling for reform in the Catholic Church would have fit with the discourse at the time of publication due to the growing religious unrest leading up to the Protestant Reformation. The tracts on religious issues in this collection outnumber those that discuss superstition, which may signify this potential motivation for its republication. But beyond even speculation as to why and when Hemmerlin's ideas were released, this contextualization of Hemmerlin's ideas collectively points to the historical value of the *Opuscula et tractatus* as a cohesive entity. Without considering the reformist works Hemmerlin wrote, the late publication is puzzling; similarly, the present scholarly trend of focusing on Hemmerlin primarily as a resource

for medieval views on superstition and magic obscures the greater implications that may be drawn from the book as a source on heresy and from Hemmerlin as a reformist figure.

The availability of the *Opuscula et tractatus* at the University of Guelph offers a unique opportunity for scholars to evaluate these tracts together, a point that has until now been largely neglected by historians. The five tracts discussed in this essay—two on exorcisms, one on magic, and two on apostolic poverty—form the principal source base used by scholars engaging with Hemmerlin, which usually results in his relegation to a footnote or brief remark in research on other figures. However, as has here been demonstrated, the situation of the Hemmerlin incunable in its greater temporal and theoretical contexts, as well as the evaluation of the tracts as a collective whole, are crucial to understanding the value of both the incunable and the author. In this way, the *Opuscula et tractatus* can provide the starting point for a greater analysis of Felix Hemmerlin and his ideas, which would allow for a fuller understanding of pre-Reformation religious and intellectual history on a larger scale. Perhaps, then, our collective understanding of late medieval society may be enriched by the same magical and religious plurality as the period that we study.

Notes

[1] Felix Hemmerlin, *Opuscula et Tractatus*, Strasbourg: 1497, Incunable, University of Guelph Archival & Special Collections, Acc. Sob35bo34.

[2] Michael D. Bailey, "A Late Medieval Crisis of Superstition?" *Speculum*, vol. 84 (2009), 636. The principal source for information on Hemmerlin's life and work is Joseph Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (1901; reprint Hildesheim, 1963), though the text is now dated and is untranslated, rendering it largely inaccessible to English scholarship.

[3] Thomas A. Brady, *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450-1550* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1, 9; Wolfgang Behringer, *Witchcraft Persecutions in Bavaria: Popular Magic, Religious Zealotry, and Reason of State in Early Modern Europe*, trans. J.C. Grayson and David Lederer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5.

[4] Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056-1273: Second Edition*, trans. Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 20, 27.

[5] Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany,* 40.

[6] Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany*, 63, 50.

[7] Thomas A. Brady Jr., "The Church and the Faith," in *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400-1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 52. Also Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany*, 68.

[8] Eyal Poleg, "'A Ladder Set Up on Earth,'" in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, eds. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 212.

[9] Geoffrey Dipple, *Anticlericalism and Antifraternalism in the German Reformation: Johann Eberlin von Günzburg and the Campaign against the Friars* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 19.

[10] Robert W. Thurston, *Witch, Wicce, and Mother Goose: The Rise and Fall of the Witch Hunts in Europe and North America* (London: Pearson Education Limited – Longbow, 2001), 25; Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 22.

[11] Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011), 2.

[12] Heinrich Krämer and Institoris Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, pt. 2, qu. 2, ch. 6, p. 172. Quoted in Hans Peter Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft: Theology and Popular Belief*, (New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), 147.

[13] Bailey, "A Late Medieval Crisis of Superstition?" 633.

[14] Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 147.

[15] Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 147.

[16] Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 66.

[17] Thurston, *Witch, Wicce, and Mother Goose*, 25.

[18] Bailey, "A Late Medieval Crisis of Superstition?" 634.

[19] Bailey, "A Late Medieval Crisis of Superstition?" 650.

[20] Quoted in Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Age*s (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), 186.

[21] Bailey, "A Late Medieval Crisis of Superstition?" 651.

[22] Bailey, "A Late Medieval Crisis of Superstition?" 652.

[23] Felix Hemmerlin, *Tractatus de exorcismus*, fol. 104, trans. by Richard Griffin. See also Bailey, "A Late Medieval Crisis of Superstition?" 653; Charles Zika, *Exorcising our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 164-4.

[24] Bailey, "A Late Medieval Crisis of Superstition?" 653.

[25] Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, 10.

[26] Thurston, *Witch, Wicce, and Mother Goose*, 51.

[27] Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 41, 43-4.

[28] Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 45.

[29] Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 45.

[30] Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 45.

[31] Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 45.

[32] Michael D. Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 56.

[33] Bailey, *Battling Demons*, 16.

[34] Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition*, 267.

[35] Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition*, 11; Dipple, *Antifraternalism and Anticlericalism*, 18.

[36] Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition*, 146.

[37] Dipple, *Antifraternalism and Anticlericalism*, 19.

[38] Bailey, *Battling Demons*, 69.

[39] Bailey, *Battling Demons*, 56.

[40] Bailey, *Battling Demons*, 69.

[41] Thurston, *Witch, Wicce, and Mother Goose*, 4-5.

3 Between 1350 & 1353

Charter of Richard Earl of Richmond & Lord of Richmond to the Hundred of Gilling & the Liberty of Richmond

1350

Charter of Duncan Earl of Fife and Sir Robert Erksine Concerning the Land of Cults

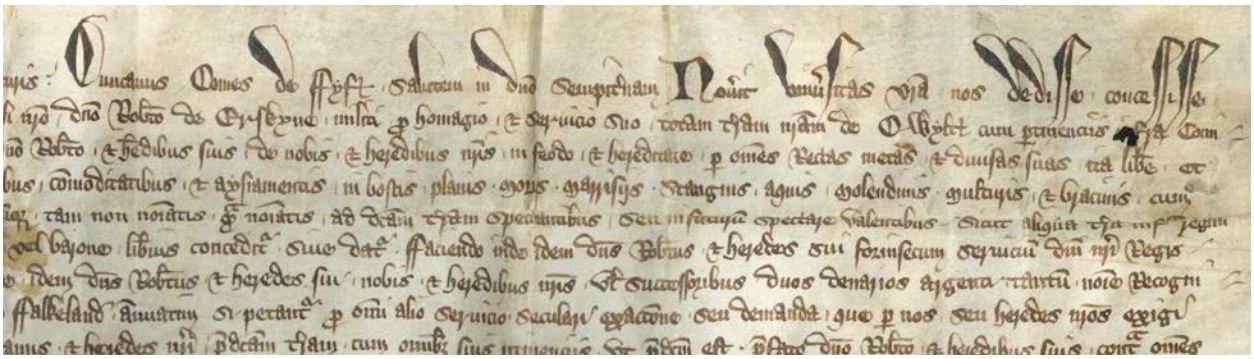
Richard Griffin

This work is both a transcription and translation of a hitherto largely-unknown document of Duncan IV Earl of Fife to Sir Robert Erskine that previously no one had translated nor dated. It began as an exercise for Scottish Studies I HIST6190 at the University of Guelph. As the work progressed, I realized the significance of the dating and the individuals involved. This charter and the translation were on display during the *Illuminating Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages* exhibition, both in-person and via Omeka. We agreed that the charter should be made more accessible for scholars, which this work aims to accomplish by providing a Latin transcription and English translation of the charter with an introduction to the source in its context.

Facing page: front and back of charter with wax seal. Land Charter of Duncan, Earl of Fife to Robert de Erskine, Scotland, c.1343-1344, MS. University of Guelph Archival & Special Collections, XS1 MS A313.

Transcription[1]

Omnibus hanc Cartam visurus vel audituris, Duncanus Comes de Fyft salutem in domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilecto et fideli nostro domino Roberto de Erskynne milite pro homagio et servio suo, totam terram nostram de Qwylts (Cults) cum pertinentiis infra comitatum nostrum de Fyft. Tenendam et habendam predicto domino Roberto / et heredibus suis / de nobis et heredibus nostris in feodo 7 hereditate per omnes Rectas metas et divisas suas ita libere et quiete plenarie/ et honorifice / cum omnimodis suis liberatibus / commodatibus / et aysiamentis in boscis planiis moris maresiis stangnis / et aquis / molendinis multuriis / et bracinis cum venaciome / et aucupatlone / ac ceteris pertinenciis quibuscumque[2] / tam non nominatiis / quam nominatiis ad dictam terram spectantibus seu in futurum spectare valentibus sicut aliqua terra infram regnum Scocie alicui per bono servico suo / ab aliquo Comite vel barone liberius conceditur sive datur faciendo inde idem dominus Robertus et heredes sui forinsecum servicium domini nostri Regis quantum pertinent ad 7 dictam terram. Et Reddendo inde / idem dominus Robertus et heredes sui nobis et heredibus nostris vt successoribus duos denarios argenti tantum nomine Recogni-cionis ad festum pentecostem / apud manerium nostrum de Falkelandum annuatu si petantur per omni alio servicio seculari exaciomne seu demanda / que per nos seu heredis nostros exigi poterunt seu demandari. Et nos vero predictus Duncanus et heredes nostri predictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinentiis vt predictum est / prefato domino Roberto et heredibus suis contra omnes mortales. Warantizabimus / acqui et abimus et in perpetuum defendemus. In Cuius rei testimonium presenti Carte nostre sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Hiis testibus / venerabilibus in Christo Patribus dominis Willelmo et Thomas Sancti Andree et Cathanens ecclesiarum dei gratia Episcopis Willelmo dei gratia Priore Sancti Andree. Dominis, David de Lyndessay domino de Crauforde, David de Berclay domino de Carny et Andrea de Valens militibus domino Bricias rectore ecclesie de Crech tum Camerario nostro Michaele de Balfoure / Johanne de Mala Villla 7 multis alijs.



Detail, front of charter in contracted court hand. Note the long, looping, tightly-written font here, in contrast to the gothic and humanist book hands of other the exhibited manuscripts.

Translation

To all who see or hear this charter: Duncan Earl of Fife greets in God everlasting. Be it known universally among you, to have given and conceded and through this our present charter confirmed to our loyal and beloved lord Robert de Erskine a knight, for his homage in his service, our whole land of Cults with its appurtenances under our county of Fife. To be held and had by the aforementioned Robert, and his heirs, from us and our heirs in feu and heritage by all Rights boundaries grazing and pasture as freely, and honourably, through all means, by rent given, and as an easement, including woods flats peat mills ponds, and waterwheels, many mills, and deer hunting and hawking rights, and other accompanying appurtenances, such things not named or named, concerning the said land being seen to or to seem to hold this or other land at the same time under from the king of the Scots or another lord, and by good service, by another Count or baron to be surrendered or if given freely or through duress that same Robert and his heirs as forinsec service to our lord king with appurtenances to the said land. And that same lord Robert and his heirs will, repay thence to us and to our heirs and successors two such named silver pennies (denari), celebrating the feast of Pentecost at our manor in Falkeland yearly if asked, place of all other secular service or extracting tax demanded, for which we or our heirs are able to extract. And verily, we the aforementioned Duncan and his heirs give the aforementioned land with all its appurtenances as was stated, to lord Robert and his heirs, to hold against all mortals. We will warrant, however and we should go, we will defend it in perpetuity. In agreement as witness we affix our seal on the present Charter. These witnesses, venerable in Christ, the lords father Willelmo and Thomas of St Andrews and Cathenes priests by the grace of god, Bishops Willelmo through the grace of god prior of St Andrews. Lords, David de Lyndessay lord of Crawford, David de Berclay lord of Cairnie and Andrew de Valence, knights lord Brice rector for the church de Creich at that time our chamberlain Michael de Balfour, John Melville, and many others.

Analysis

This document provided above is a land charter between Duncan Earl of Fife and Robert Erskine for the land of Cults. The charter itself does not list a date; however, an examination of the witness list provides clear internal evidence since it names William Prior of St. Andrews and Thomas of Caithness as bishops. William and Thomas were both elected to their respective sees in 1342, which provides the earliest possible year for the document's creation.[3] Moreover, William of St. Andrews was not confirmed by the Pope until 1343, and although he could administer the diocese in the interim, he could not legally sign himself as bishop.[4] The other witness who is significant for dating the document is Michael Balfour, who died in 1344; therefore, there is strong internal evidence that the document dates precisely to a single event between 1343 and 1344.[5] Interestingly, witness Andrew de Valence was a prominent fourteenth-century Scottish knight and was later one

of the hostages given to England for King David's release in 1355.[6] Paleographic historian Dauvit Broun notes that witness lists occasionally included witnesses who were not present but signed *in absentia* and agreed to place their honour upon the agreement and maintain it.[7] The last name in a witness list is typically the scribe, who in this case was probably Michael Balfour.[8]

This manuscript has clear and identifiable features that warrant further examination. The manuscript is written in contracted court hand and has the Seal of Fife attached. The seal is large, made of wax, and depicts a mounted figure that wields a sword in his right hand and bears a shield with a rampant lion in his left. The lion is repeated on the caparisons on the horse, which matches the description of the Seal of Fife on record in the database *People of Medieval Scotland*.[9] There is a copy of this charter with a damaged seal in the National Records of Scotland archives, but it is noted that the wax seal was from Robert Erskine's signet, as he did not have a personal seal.[10] In terms of its provenance, there are also notarial marks on the dorse in a later hand, indicating that the document was held previously in a collection before. It was given to the University of Guelph by a local grandmother who had it framed on her wall. Although the manuscript is mentioned in an appendix in the *Register of the Great Seal*, the register contains only an abridged entry confirming record of the charter.[11] These physical properties of this manuscript meet the typical expectations for a document of this kind.

Top: detail, front of seal depicting a mounted figure.
Bottom: detail, back of seal.

This document, however, is atypical in several ways in its content. First, it provides the name of the people before the name of the lands, which is an unusual formula for fourteenth-century charters. Second, the document starts with the phrase "to all who see or hear this charter." This format is different from other fourteenth-century Scottish charters because it is more archaic and formal, but the placement of the owner's name in the first phrase is typical.[12] Charters also tended to start with "*universis* / be it universally known" in the early thirteenth century rather than "*omnibus*." The usage of "*omnibus hanc Cartam visurus vel audituris* / To all who see or hear this charter" to address the audience directly only came into practice during the late thirteenth century.[13] This type of manuscript usually began with the description of the lands, then the names of the relevant parties, and then the rights and responsibilities. This change in order could indicate

the importance of the addressees, which were perhaps rephrased for emphasis.

In addition to its textual anomalies, this document is significant because through it, Duncan of Fife proved his loyalty to King David and to Robert Erskine. This document was written after David II returned to Scotland in 1341, but before his final capture by the English in 1346.[14] Duncan had previously rebelled and had been pardoned by David for his alliance with England. Robert Erskine was a hero in the Wars of Independence, and this land grant forged a connection between the two lords that bound Duncan back to Scotland and proved his loyalty. Furthermore, there is a clause in the charter, "*terra infra regium Scotie*," that states that the land was held in fief under the king of Scotland, which means that if Duncan did join the English cause, he would lose the land of Cults. Furthermore, the Earl of Fife traditionally held the right to crown the king, and as a result this confirmation of his loyalties is crucial for any discussion of his involvement in the Wars of Independence. The Annals of Scotland mention that Duncan assisted in the coronation, likely meaning that he crowned the usurper Balliol in the First War of Independence.[15] Thus, it is apparent that Duncan needed to associate himself with Erskine in order to prove his loyalty to David and Scotland after his earlier betrayal.

In addition, part of the rent for the land of Cults was that Robert Erskine would spend Pentecost with Duncan. This inclusion fits the typical description of a *blench-ferme*.[16] The price of a silver penny at Pentecost matches another charter of Robert Erskine.[17] In that charter, historian Cynthia Neville notes, the other party is to stay with Robert for the duration of the liturgical feast. Also unusual is the "*contra omnes mortales …defendemus* / defend against all others" that occurs alongside the very unusual term "*warantizabimus* / we will warrant."[18] These two terms make the owner of the land exceptionally clear and their protection therefore direct and enforceable.[19] This land changed hands from a former traitor to a well-renowned loyalist; this situation could perhaps indicate a renewal of trust or that Duncan both made visible and assured his loyalty. Therefore, this document provides valuable evidence that concerns two key lords during the Scottish Wars of Independence, namely Duncan of Fife and Robert Erskine.

This document contains a valuable contribution to the understanding of the status of both Duncan and Erskine during the Wars of Independence since it presented a major shift in the loyalties of Duncan and directly added legitimacy to David II. The contract bound Duncan to Robert Erskine and represents a major shift in his loyalties and activity between the First and Second Wars of Independence. An examination of the witness list dates this manuscript to 1343-44. The irregular word choice and phrasing suggests a crystal-clear image of the rights and expectations of both parties. The price was a *blenche-ferme*, but the land would be defended with force. This manuscript therefore sheds light onto the border situations during a critical period of Scottish history. Hopefully, further analyses will benefit from the transcription and translation I have provided here so that this source may reach a wider audience among modern historians.

Notes

[1] For the introductory work on Latin manuscript contractions see A. Capelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature latine ed italiane sesta edizione* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli Editore S.p.A, 1973). See also the more specific Grant G. Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting, 1150-1650 : an Introduction to the Reading of Documents* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1977).

[2] For this list of appurtenances, I used R. E. Lathan, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

[3] William Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (London: Macmillan and Co Ltd 1912) Thomas of Caithness 242 and William of St Andrews 24-25.

[4] Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, 25.

[5] William Anderson, "The Scottish Nation, Balfour," http://www.electricscotland.com/history/nation/balfour.htm

[6] Michael A Penman, *David II* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press Ltd 2004), 179.

[7] Dauvit Broun, "The Presence of Witnesses and the Writing of Charters," in *The Reality behind Charter Diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain*, ed. Dauvit Broun (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2011): 235-290.

[8] D.E.R. Watt, *A Bibliogrpahic Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1977).

[9] "Seal Matrix: Duncan (IV), earl of Fife," *People of Medieval Scotland*, http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/matrix/9456/. There is also a small mark on the reverse of the seal, indicating a double-sided press or further marking. "image description obverse: On horseback to sinister in armour: hauberk, surcoat, with [sword] in right hand, and on left arm shield bearing arms : A lion rampant. These arms are repeated on the caparisons of his horse."

[10] "Gd 124, Papers of the Erskine Family, Earls of Mar and Kellie," *National Records of Scotland*, last updated December 15, 2015.

[11] John Maitland Thomson ed., *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland A.D. 1306-1424* (Edinburgh: H.M General Register House 1912), app ij, 1288 page 599.

[12] Cynthia J. Neville, "The Earls of Strathearn From the Twelfth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century, With an Edition of Their Written Acts." (PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 1983), vol. 2, 12.

[13] Neville, "The Earls of Strathearn," vol. 2, 12. The first two sentences match the 1330 document ibid., 193-199, which was typical.

[14] Penman, *David II*, 84.

[15] David Dalrymple, ed., *The Annals of Scotland: Annals of Scotland: From the Accession of Malcolm III. in the Year M.LVII. to the Accession of the House of Stewart in the Year M.CCC.LXXI. To which are Added, Tracts Relative to the History & Antiquities of Scotland* vol 2. (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co 1819), 190 (1332).

[16] A blanche-ferme is a nominal payment in a charter so that the land is not given for free, although, it essentially is. Often for the price of a single silver penny on a feast day.

[17] Neville, "The Earls of Strathearn," vol. 2, 196. Charter between Joanna of Menteith, Countess of Strathearn and Sir Robert Erskine, concerning the lands of Kintillo in Fife.

[18] "Warantizabimus," *Whitaker's Words*, http://archives.nd.edu/cgi-bin/wordz.pl?keyword=Warantizabimus very rare usage.

[19] Neville, "The Earls of Strathearn," vol. 2, 196.

18.

Sr Wm Sinclar Knt
Erle of the Landis
of Pentland.

25. Augt 1542.

W 1 17 1 1 Grade.
V. 16

Right to Rule

THE POWER OF SYMBOLISM AND THE GREAT SEAL OF JAMES V, KING OF SCOTS

Brenna Clark

Ruling a medieval kingdom was often a nasty business. Wars, disease, plots, and self-inflicted peril could all work to bring down even the most powerful or well-loved ruler. Despite the many problems that could threaten a monarch's reign, they had access to numerous strategies to maintain power and order. A carefully crafted public image could help ensure a long, uneventful reign, or at the very least assure a monarch of ready support when the going got tough. An early manifestation of this medieval public relations campaign was the royal seal. The term "seal" refers to both the wax medallion that was adhered to official royal documents and the metal or ivory matrix that impressed the wax with an image of royal grandeur. Only the wax

Facing page: folded charter with seal of King James V, front view. Charter from James V to William Sinclair (d. 1602), confirming him in the Barony of Pentland, Scotland, August 25, 1542. MS and wax seal. University of Guelph Archival & Special Collections, XS5 MS A002.

medallion is of interest in this essay, as the University of Guelph library holds a fifteenth-century wax seal of James V, King of Scots (r. 1513-1542) that was displayed as part of the manuscript exhibition *Illuminating Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages*.

Royal seals were in use in Scotland from the late eleventh century during the reign of King Duncan II (r. 1094) whence the oldest extant seal has survived, though this is not to suggest that they were not employed earlier.[1] Seals became representative of royal power and their designs were laden with symbolic imagery that asserted a monarch's right to rule. When a ruler's seal was affixed to royal charters, it became a physical representation of their personal authority, providing the charter's recipient with a tangible reminder of royal influence and control. Men of significance endowed seals with the power to symbolically communicate their social status and legal personhood, but women also used seals to assert their authority as independent persons. Women at various levels of Scottish society authenticated land grants and religious endowments with personal seals, and townswomen used them to conduct business. Regardless of who utilized them, seals like that of James V were a conscious and physical embodiment of their owners' power and status within medieval society and were employed to reinforce their owner's right to exercise their personal authority.

Description of the Royal Seal

Personal seals conveyed their owners' importance, and a king's seal in particular could be expected to command attention. The seal of King James V is made of light brown wax, moulded into a circular medallion roughly the size of a large fist.[2] It is double-sided, with the back depicting the king on horseback and the front displaying him enthroned, the latter of which is the focus of this description. It has sustained some superficial wear over the years, but the motif on the front of the seal is still readily discernible. James sits the throne wearing a crown and holding a sceptre in his right hand, his left hand covering his heart. At his feet, two lions crouch beside the throne, and to either side of James' likeness is a shield. The faces of the shields are badly worn, but it is possible that they once displayed a lion rampant, echoing the red lion rampant on the Royal Banner of the Kingdom of Scotland. Encircling the motif around the edge of the seal is a legend written in Latin, although it is partially worn away around the bottom. When translated into English, the legible words read: IACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX SCOTORVM ("James, by the grace of God, King of Scots"). The king's seal was an intricate and weighty testament to his royal person that allowed him to extend his authority through any document to which his seal was affixed.

Expressing Royal Power

The design of the seal motif itself was essential to the effective symbolic communication of the monarch's pre-eminence. The motif took up the most room on a seal, so its imagery was carefully chosen to express a central message about its owner.[3] When considering the image of the king, his

Front view, wax seal of King James V of Scotland, depicting the King-in-Majesty motif to convey royal authority.

face is angled towards the observer, gazing intently outwards; this was a common design feature of seals meant to command the observer's attention and give the sense that the king himself was near at hand.[4] The king-in-majesty motif on the front of the seal is a singular depiction of monarchic authority that also makes a deliberate allusion to Christ.[5] This depiction of the king invokes the biblical image of Christ enthroned in Heaven to unequivocally signify James' authority as a ruler, appealing to the theory of the divine right of kings to affirm the political legitimacy of his regime.[6] The wording used in the legend around the seal's circumference reinforces this connection with the divine (DEI GRACIA) and makes deliberate reference to the Scots (SCOTORUM), the people over whom James wielded power, thereby underlining his hierarchical relationship to his subjects.[7] The seal's leonine imagery further emphasized this inequality; as the king of beasts, the lion was deemed an apt allusion to James' innate supremacy over all other Scots.[8] Additionally, the size of a person's seal was significant throughout northern Europe and the British Isles, as it also denoted one's rank and social status.[9] The seal of James V measures 110 mm across, a conspicuous representation of kingly power that embodied the might of the royal personage and his unparalleled status within the realm.[10] Thus, every element of the royal seal was symbolically charged and worked to legitimize the king's rule, and the presence of the seal itself on the king's charters furthered the expansion of his dominion.

Seals were inextricably tied to the exercise of power. From the mid-twelfth century in Scotland, a new trust in the potency of symbols and objects to communicate one's social status reflected a widespread shift in European material culture that saw an increase in the use of objects for

Reverse view, wax seal of King James V of Scotland depicting the king on horseback.

personal expression.[11] During this period, the seals of Scottish kings followed sigillographic trends seen throughout northern Europe and Britain, and royal dynasties throughout these regions used seals to reinforce their claims to power.[12] The seal matrices (dies used to stamp the wax) of influential ancestors were reused by successive generations—often with few or no alterations—to underline the current leader's continuity with a glorious past.[13] The seal of James V exemplifies this practice; the motif was originally created around 1414 for the seal of James I (r. 1406-1437) and was used by all his successors down to James V, each king making only slight additions to the original design to mark their individual reign and identity.[14]

How Seals Functioned in Society

As the written word began to gain acceptance as a viable form of communication and exchange, Scottish kings started to use this novel medium to extend their influence throughout the kingdom. Parchment, wax, and ink were light and portable, meaning monarchs were now able to send their royal commandments into areas where their power was yet disputed without having to uproot themselves to do so.[15] Land grants were symbolized by official royal charters, complete with a royal seal, which served as potent displays of the crown's ever-growing reach into previously intractable territories.[16] When such gifts of land were given, the charter was created to embody a confirmation of the events that transpired during the ceremony where the terms of the agreement were established and affirmed.[17] Charters faithfully reproduced the words and intentions of the persons who participated in the exchange, and the seal was affixed to indicate the giver's personal authority in lieu of their physical presence.[18] Thus, the king's personal seal, as a symbolic manifestation of his physical presence, authenticated his charters and corroborated their contents, providing an enduring reminder of the king's desire to maintain the provisions of those orders.[19]

Women, Power, and Seals

Kings were far from the only members of medieval Scottish society to embrace the seal as a new medium of communication. Long before James V came into his throne, women in medieval

Scotland had been using seals to articulate their social standing, agency, and identity. Medieval Scotland was a society in which personal power derived from landownership and kinship, and aristocratic families often attempted to keep land possessions within the male line to preserve the influence of successive generations.[20] Even so, it was not uncommon for women to become the owners of large swaths of land by outliving their husbands or inheriting the family holdings following the extinction of the male line.[21] As legal documents began to buttress exchanges of land and commerce, seals communicated their bearers' right to participate in this new literate community of exchange, and women used seals to assert their right to engage independently as legal actors.[22]

Scottish women's use of seals began to increase notably in the twelfth century, reaching its peak in the thirteenth.[23] The women most likely to use personal seals were heiresses and widows, presumably due to landowning women's efforts to obtain legal protection for their claims to the dower lands they brought into their marriages.[24] Townswomen were more involved in commerce than their rural counterparts and thus were also more likely to use seals. They lived and worked in Scottish burghs as traders and proprietors, which meant these women used seals to express their legal authority in professional dealings.[25] Some women also used personal seals, and the legal authority they embodied, to represent the interests of their children. For example, Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus and Mar, used her seal on her son's behalf to secure an endowment of land in his name.[26]

Evidence for seal usage amongst women in Scotland suggests that it was mostly confined to nobles and well-off townswomen. There are, however, some records of Scottish women of lower social standing who granted lands, tenements, and privileges in sealed charters to the abbeys at Kelso and Dunfermline, indicating that sealing was not an exclusive practice.[27] A more illustrative example from England shows that some women of modest social standing did indeed possess their own seals. Around the year 1230, a widow named Emma used her personal seal to enter into a contract with Gloucester abbey for the rendering of certain work duties along with a rent paid in

Additional Scottish seals in the University of Guelph Archival & Special Collections, XS5MSA002.

Left: Seal from Instrument of Sasine, 1542.
Right: Seal from Precept of Resignation by William Sinclair, 1574.

cash.[28] Some of those duties would have regularly been carried out by a person of servile status; thus, while her exact class is unknown, she was likely not an aristocratic woman.[29] This example speaks to women's broad usage of seals throughout medieval British society and the relative autonomy women of differing social ranks exercised over their assets and in their business transactions. Women of lower status could affix their seals to deeds independently, without the backing of a male relative or spouse.[30]

Seal matrices (engraved metal or ivory dies) were meant to be displayed in medieval Scottish society. Much like brooches or rings, they were often worn conspicuously about the body, which spoke to the wearer's social status.[31] That seal matrices were seen as representative of the self within medieval society suggests that Scottish women's seals were endowed with symbols that unambiguously signified their identity and rank. Some women took a variant of their husband's seal for their own, while others used their own family's motif or combined the motifs of husband and natal family to create an entirely new design.[32] On occasion, the motif of a high ranking woman was incorporated into her husband's seal, an unequivocal statement of her superior social standing.[33] While the design of women's seals did vary, a study looking into women's seal motifs in northern France found that secular women were represented by a comparatively narrow number of symbols, which included family heraldry and specifically feminine imagery like the fleur-de-lis and the hawk.[34] Those motifs that were available to women expressed a limited, gendered view of a woman's identity and status in relation to her male relatives. They reflected the medieval understanding that a woman's economic and biological significance to her kindred—her ability to make a good marriage and produce preferably male heirs—was the primary aspect of her identity.[35] While this may have also been the case in Scotland, from the mid-thirteenth century onwards it does not appear that an association with specific gendered dynastic or familial roles prevented Scottish women from freely participating in different spheres of society.[36] When women engaged in urban commerce, landholding, and property exchange or alienation, they did so under their own authority, with seal in hand. Women's seals communicated their identities as scions of powerful landholding families and founders of new dynastic extensions after marriage who were not reliant on male relatives to sanction their participation in legal exchanges.[37]

Conclusion

Seals laden with symbolic imagery like that of James V were a potent and effective way for a ruler to make their power manifest. Each visual element of James' seal expressed the king's understanding of his position at the apex of Scottish society and his unassailable right to rule, as did those of his forebears. As trust in writing grew, seals gained significance as expressive personal objects, and Scots of various social classes and sexes employed seals to authenticate the written records of their legal transactions. Elite and common women alike used seals to signify their social status, conduct business, and enter into contracts independently. Women's use of seals is as yet

an understudied topic in Scottish history, and further analyses of the symbolism of women's seal motifs are needed to fill that research gap.

It has been demonstrated that women felt empowered to use their seals independently of male relatives, but it is worth contemplating how much autonomy both women and men had over the design of their seals. There is no doubt that men were also restricted to certain recognizable visual elements, but there is some indication that women's motifs had even less variety. It is also worth suggesting that women of lower socioeconomic status might have had limited variation in their seal imagery due to the use of prefabricated seals, potentially reflecting widespread popular usage. Additionally, an investigation into popular seal imagery could shed light on the visual representations of women in medieval Scotland. Much work has also been done on the symbolism of women's seals in northern France, so a comparative study of Scottish and French women's motifs could illuminate the meaning of symbols and what they expressed about women's roles in Scottish society. Personal seals are an evocative testament to their medieval bearers precisely because they convey contemporary understandings of social identity. King James' seal was created to represent the majesty of his royal person, and his seal continues to help us reflect on the complex social relations that undergirded medieval Scottish society.

Notes

[1] Cynthia Neville, "Making a Manly Impression: The Image of Kingship on Scottish Royal Seals of the High Middle Ages," in *Nine Centuries of Man: Manhood and Masculinity in Scottish History*, eds. Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth Ewan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 102-103; M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 310.

[2] Charter from James V to William Sinclair (D.1602), confirming him in the Barony of Pentland, Scotland: August 25, 1542, MS and wax seal. University of Guelph Library Archival & Special Collections, Acc. XS5 MS A002.

[3] Jörg Peltzer, "Making an impression: Seals as signifiers of individual and collective rank in the upper aristocracy in England and the Empire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," in *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*, ed. Phillipp Schofield (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), 65.

[4] Peter Worm, "From Subscription to Seal: The Growing Importance of Seals as Signs of Authenticity in Early Medieval Royal Charters," in *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages*, eds. Petra Schulte, Marco Mostert, and Irene van Renswoude (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 72.

[5] Peltzer, "Making an impression," 67.

[6] Neville, "Making a Manly Impression," 104.

[7] Neville, "Making a Manly Impression," 104.

[8] Nicholas Vincent, "The seals of King Henry II and his court," in *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*, ed. Phillipp Schofield (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), 17-18.

[9] Peltzer, "Making an impression," 64, 70.

[10] Peltzer, "Making an impression," 70.

[11] Stuart D. Campbell, "The Language of Objects: Material Culture in Medieval Scotland," in *New Perspectives on*

Medieval Scotland 1093-1286, ed. Matthew Hammond (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 184, 187-188, 198-199.

[12] Neville, "Making a Manly Impression," 104.

[13] Vincent, "The seals of King Henry II," 8, 19.

[14] Walter de Gray Birch, *Seals* (London: Methuen, 1907), 204-205.

[15] Cynthia Neville, *Land, Law and People in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 76.

[16] Neville, *Land, Law and People*, 76.

[17] Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 5 (2000): 1509.

[18] Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity," 1509-1510.

[19] Worm, "From Subscription to Seal," 71, 74.

[20] Alice Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland 1124-1290* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 74-76, 80; Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Women in French Sigillographic Sources," in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, ed. Joel Rosenthal (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 5; Steve Boardman, "Lords and Women, Women as Lords: The Career of Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus and Mar, c.1354-c.1418," in *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625: Essays in Honour of Jenny Wormald*, eds. Steve Boardman and Julian Goodare (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 37-38.

[21] Boardman, "Lords and Women, Women as Lords," 41.

[22] Campbell, "The Language of Objects," 192.

[23] Cynthia Neville, "Women, Charters and Land Ownership in Scotland, 1150-1350," *The Journal of Legal History* 26, no. 1 (2005): 44.

[24] Neville, "Women, Charters and Land," 45-46.

[25] Neville, "Women, Charters and Land," 45.

[26] Boardman, "Lords and Women, Women as Lords," 54.

[27] Neville, "Women, Charters and Land," 44.

[28] Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 52-53.

[29] Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 52.

[30] Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 53.

[31] Campbell, "The Language of Objects," 186, 192.

[32] Neville, "Women, Charters and Land," 46-47.

[33] Neville, "Women, Charters and Land," 47.

[34] Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Women in French Sources," 7.

[35] Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Women in French Sources," 4-5.

[36] Neville, "Women, Charters and Land," 49.

[37] Neville, "Women, Charters and Land," 48.

Preserved in Parchment

UNCOVERING A SECRET PAST THROUGH THE DNA TESTING OF SCOTTISH PARCHMENT AND VELLUM CHARTERS

Brenna Clark

The largest collection of Scottish academic materials outside the United Kingdom is housed at the University of Guelph library, which includes many rare medieval charters.[1] Charters had proliferated in Scotland by the beginning of the fourteenth century as the written word became integral to the structure of formal agreements, complementing existing practices that involved symbolic ritual and oral attestation. Many of the library's charters, including several that date from as early as the mid-fourteenth century, are scribed on writing surfaces made of animal skin known as parchment or vellum. These writing materials were widely used in the production of both religious and secular texts throughout Western Europe from the fourth century CE.[2] The written contents of these documents convey invaluable details about the social, economic,

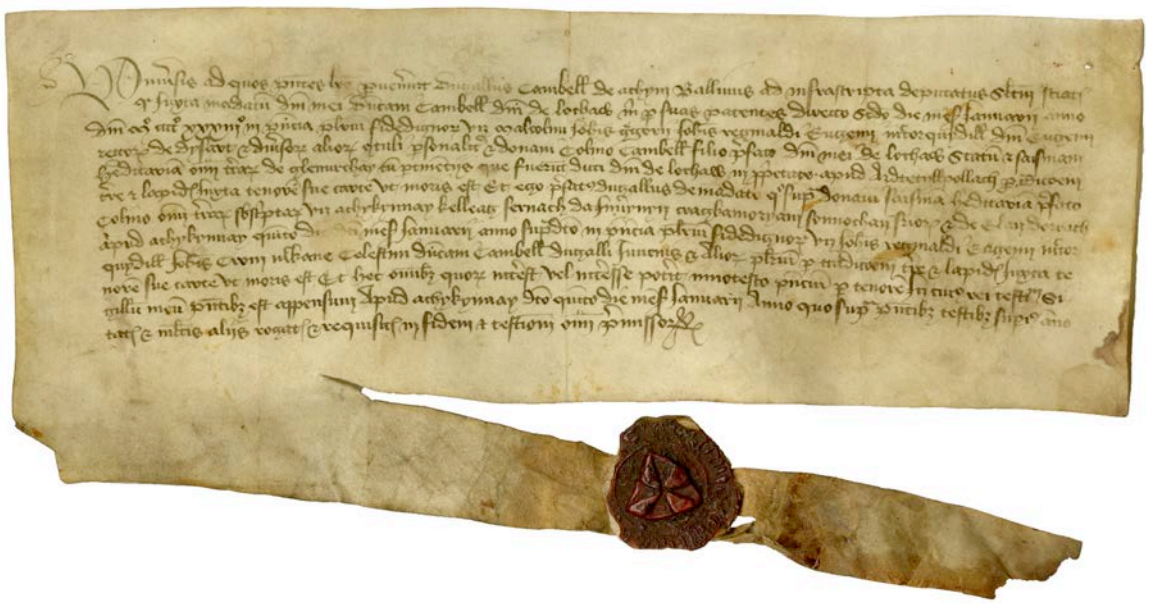
Facing page: sixteenth-century Scottish charter that could be used for DNA Testing.
Bond of Manrent between Alexander Menzies of Rannoch Fiar of Weyme and John Campbell, April 1536.
MS and partial seal of William Ramsay. University of Guelph Archival & Special Collections.
XS5 MS A001

and political realities faced by medieval Scots, but the parchment itself can also provide once-unfathomed insights.

A new interdisciplinary project that combines the resources of historians and geneticists at the University of Guelph proposes to test the animal DNA preserved in the medieval charters housed in the University's archival holdings. Cells found in animal skin—even skin that is hundreds of years old—contain the genetic code specific to that organism, which can be accessed through DNA testing.[3] For this study, samples from the charters will be tested for specific genetic markers that will reveal the species and breed of the animal used to make the parchment, which in turn will indicate its geographic origin, allowing researchers to place the animal in its historical context. The ample number of charters in the University's collection provides the opportunity to trace the evolution of parchment-making practice in Scotland from the Middle Ages into the early modern period. Examining the changes in charter production at the molecular level could illuminate the impact of the Black Death on specific animal populations and the people who worked in close proximity to them. It would show how medieval Scots used animals to meet their dietary needs and how animal products supported Scotland's internal and external trading networks. A rich body of historical and archaeological evidence exists for medieval economic activity and the development of literacy in Scotland, which will allow the findings of this study to be situated in their appropriate context. Testing the genetic makeup of the parchment and vellum manuscripts in the University of Guelph's Scottish Studies collection will reveal the impact of disease on premodern human and animal populations, erstwhile breeding practices, and the relationship between humans, animals, and the economy.

The Scottish Studies Collection

The Scottish Studies collection contains thousands of rare historical documents that date from the fourteenth to the twenty-first centuries. The oldest charters record important exchanges like land transfers between Scottish kings, nobles, and their servitors, such as a charter of King Robert III (r. 1390-1406) from 1400 granting lands in the eastern reaches of his kingdom.[4] Another land charter created in the 1340s during the Second War of Scottish Independence records a land grant made by Duncan, the powerful Earl of Fife, to Robert Erskine, a knight in his service.[5] Marriage contracts record the transfer of land and property between noble families that was crucial for securing medieval and early modern nuptial agreements, while other records reveal fascinating details of family business operations, land disputes, personal letters, and laws of the Kingdom of Scotland.[6] These documents preserve ancient ways of ordering society, kinship and familial obligations, rights and wrongs enshrined in feudal law, and royal decrees handed down by Scottish monarchs. The present project seeks to expand on this vast wealth of knowledge by mining for subcutaneous historical information stored in the DNA within the parchment or vellum of these documents.



Charter of sasine from Douglas Campbell of Achym, brother to Duncan Campbell, Lord of Lochaw, to Colin Campbell, son of Duncan, January 2, 1433, MS. University of Guelph Archival & Special Collections, XS5 MS A001

Trust in Writing

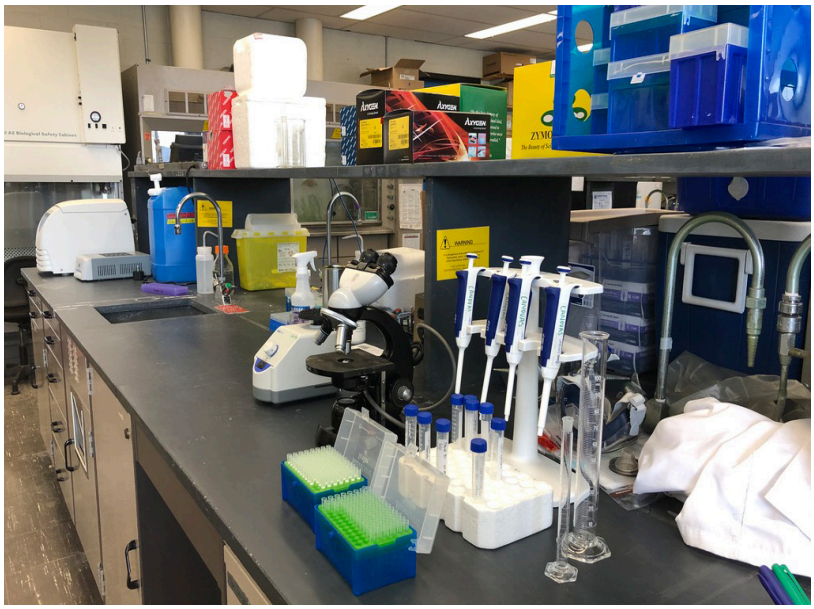
Over the course of the medieval period in Scotland, the written word gained prominence as a crucial component of concluding formal agreements like land transfers.[7] Oral testimony, ritual, and memory continued to be vital aspects of medieval culture and exchange, but many Scots had begun to develop what has been called a "familiarity with documents."[8] By the twelfth century, early Scottish kings had noted the authority that clerics invested in writing and transformed it into a tool to expand and shore up royal power.[9] Clerical and lay elites were also early proponents of written contracts; not only did the documents add legitimacy to and physically preserve their right to own certain lands, but they also provided an official record to guard against potential property disputes.[10] Charters became instrumental in the acquisition of land and the defence of property rights, which were inextricably tied to social status in medieval Scotland.[11] So important were these land charters to the defence of property and status that their owners took pains to preserve the documents to protect their family's hold on lands, power, and influence, thereby inadvertently aiding their survival to the present day.[12]

The Science Behind the Project

Biocodicology is a nascent discipline that analyzes DNA samples from manuscripts made of animal skin to gain information about their biological origin and historical context.[13] Parchment and vellum manuscripts are reliable sources of historical DNA, partly due to the value they were

ascribed as legal records at the time of their creation. Presently, they are also protected from heat and humidity in archival collections as prized historical objects, further ensuring a higher chance of DNA survival.[14] Researchers engaged in the analysis of ancient and historical DNA have already examined precious manuscripts like the Dead Sea Scrolls and the York Gospels, investigations that have set important methodological precedents for the present study.[15] To access the DNA contained within the Scottish manuscripts, researchers can either cut a miniscule sample from an outer edge of the document or rub its surface with a simple white eraser to collect superficial DNA in the eraser shavings.[16] Each procedure has its benefits and costs: the eraser technique would keep the manuscript intact, but surface DNA may be less well-preserved than DNA contained within the animal skin, which the aforementioned strategy of cutting the document could access.

Once the sample is obtained through either method, it would then be processed in a laboratory where DNA is extracted. After DNA is harvested from the sample, it would undergo a polymerase chain reaction, which produces copies of fragmentary DNA samples. This process is necessary to render historical DNA usable, since it is typically found in incomplete strands due to degrading factors like time, environment, and the use of corrosive materials in the parchment making process.[17] This would allow larger samples of DNA to be created from fragmentary or damaged strands, enabling researchers to develop a genetic profile that can be compared with other DNA specimens from historical and modern animals.[18] Comparison of the genetic markers found within the DNA would allow the species of animal and even the individual animal itself to be precisely identified, which would indicate the geographic region and environment in which that animal roamed during its life.[19] With an enhanced genetic profile of the animal used in the making of the charter parchment, researchers would then consult Scotland's archaeological and historical records to contextualize the laboratory results.



Laboratory space for DNA testing of pre-modern Scottish charters. University of Gueph, Ontario Veterinary College, Department of Animal Biosciences

Fitting our Project into Existing Research

Additional laboratory space and supplies for DNA testing. University of Gueph, Ontario Veterinary College, Department of Animal Biosciences

Archaeological excavations have provided evidence of medieval craftsmanship and literacy in Scotland, two necessary preconditions for parchment production. Much of this evidence is associated with sites that once housed religious communities. Portmahomack, located on what is now called the Tarbat Peninsula in northeastern Scotland, was the location of a monastery until the tenth century CE.[20] At Portmahomack, a significant quantity of cow foot bones and a curved iron blade for scraping hide were discovered in an area that was eventually identified as a vellum-producing workshop within the monastic settlement.[21] Other nearby workshops were also unearthed; the exhumed remnants of leather preparation and animal slaughter suggest the one-time existence of a sophisticated and active centre of animal processing and product manufacturing at Portmahomack.[22]

Many extant Scottish charters have survived to the present because they were preserved in the muniments of abbeys and cathedrals throughout Britain, which were important centres of parchment production throughout the Middle Ages. The written word was crucial to the spread of Christianity and its adherents endowed Christian literature with great authority, taking care to preserve religious doctrine in writing.[23] These sacred texts accompanied Christian missionaries as they moved across Scotland from west and south, converting local populations from a pre-Christian religion beginning in the sixth century CE.[24] Knowledge of book construction likely came to Scotland from the Continent with Christianity, and local peoples adapted the production process to suit the resources peculiar to Scotland's environment.[25] Consequently, the Church's clerics were active in the manufacture of devotional manuscripts and controlled the contents of early texts written throughout the British Isles.[26] When charters began to proliferate in Scotland in the twelfth century, monastic scribes took on the responsibility of producing a majority of secular documents, including royal charters.[27] That monasteries were known to keep large animal herds—a steady supply of materials for parchment production—supports the notion that monastic scribes possessed the means to produce parchment domestically.[28] The animal bones and specialized tools found at religious sites like Portmahomack further corroborate the clerical elite's involvement in manuscript production in Scotland. This archaeological and historical evidence indicates that some inhabitants of medieval Scotland possessed the motivation and specialized knowledge to process animal skins into writing surfaces.

Research Areas

Some initial lines of inquiry can anticipate areas of historical research that parchment DNA testing would enhance and support. One of the most compelling aspects of the earliest Scottish charters is their dates of creation; evidence within the text of the aforementioned charter from Duncan, Earl of Fife, indicates that it was drawn up between 1343 and 1344, at most six years before the Black Death ravaged Scotland.[29] Other charters in the Scottish Studies collection were also created during the fourteenth century in the years surrounding the severe outbreak of plague that raged from around 1349 to 1350. The dates of these charters, therefore, have implications for assessing the effects of the Black Death on animal and human populations alike.

Identifying the species, breed, and origin of the animals used to make the charters before and after the initial onset of the Black Death could allow researchers to determine whether the type of parchment changed in the years following the outbreak. If a change is detected, this might suggest that the Plague devastated with particular severity an area central to the production of parchment in Scotland. A decrease in the quality of parchment might also indicate that the Black Death shrank Scotland's population of skilled parchmenters, perhaps due to their close proximity to affected animals. Another potential cause for a decrease in parchment quality might have been the destruction of animal herds en masse, which would have limited the pool of hides from which to draw. These scenarios might help researchers conceptualize how the Plague was transmitted once it reached Scotland, whether from humans to animals or vice versa. Animals were susceptible to infection by plague, and if a notable shift in the type of species used for parchment is detected, it could suggest that the Plague impacted certain animals more than others. Widespread DNA testing could lead to a fuller understanding of how the Black Death impacted different human and animal populations, and whether some were worse off than others or only mildly affected.

If it is determined that all or most of the Guelph parchment samples are of Scottish origin and made from the same species, it would be possible to track the evolution of native breeding practices from the Middle Ages to the present. Testing DNA from multiple charters spanning a period of hundreds of years could reveal how human preferences impacted the diversity of a species through selective breeding and whether some traits have become extinct.[30] Such an inquiry would add to existing studies that have used animal bone collagen to illuminate medieval animal husbandry practices and ecologies on Scotland's western and northern isles.[31] Sampling as many parchment and bone DNA specimens as possible would help refine our understanding of the genetic divergences or similarities between animals within a species, and how different ecologies might have affected animal characteristics throughout the country.[32]

Identifying selectively bred traits might also reflect the economic and dietary concerns of historic communities. Animal bone deposits at premodern hillforts such as those located at Dundurn and Dunollie suggest that cow, pig, sheep, and goat meat comprised part of the medieval Scottish diet. Further evidence from Portmahomack indicates that the monks raised cattle not

only to provide hides for parchment production but also to supply them with food and clothing.[33] These findings suggest that animals were not raised to exclusively produce either parchment or sustenance, and further consideration of human and animal relationships could show researchers how early Scots made the most efficient use of the resources at their disposal.[34]

An investigation into medieval Scottish ecologies could best be facilitated by bringing together DNA extracted from the University's parchment charters and the animal bones found at sites like Portmahomack, Dundurn, and Dunollie to create a historical animal DNA map of Scotland. A diverse range of animal bones has been unearthed at other medieval sites from Edinburgh to Iona, including those of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, red and roe deer, grey seals, and otters.[35] Such a database would render a more complete picture of the distribution of Scotland's medieval animal populations. Those locations with high concentrations of animals could then be contextualized by the historical and archeological records, as at Portmahomack, to determine former loci of parchment production. This could potentially reveal whether workshops were localized to specific

Charter of sasine from David de Strathbogie to Robert Menzies, 1332, MS. University of Guelph Archival & Special Collections, XS5 MS A001.

regions with a history of parchment-making or if centres of production moved about the country over the centuries, perhaps even following major demographic events like the Black Death. This map could also allow researchers to conceptualize local parchment trade networks, which would be particularly significant if Scotland's parchment trade was mostly internal.

Testing for genetic markers associated with both domestic and foreign breeds could illuminate Scotland's medieval and early modern trading networks. Scotland's Exchequer Rolls provide a detailed record of customs enforcement and trade activity in Scottish towns from the thirteenth century onwards, and the fourteenth-century accounts for Berwick-upon-Tweed are particularly well-studied. The Berwick records show that Scotland exported substantial quantities of shorn wool, leather, and woolfells (sheepskin with fleece attached), the latter of which could be used in the production of parchment.[36] Scotland traded extensively with the Low Countries, so further research into the premodern economies of the North Sea might suggest whether Scotland's trading partners sought raw materials to produce their own parchment.[37] Additionally, the sheer number of sheep likely husbanded in Scotland, as suggested by the country's lively wool trade, provides an initial indication that its parchment-making industry may have been self-reliant by the fourteenth century. Testing the DNA from Guelph's range of charters could support this hypothesis or, alternatively, reveal changes in the source of parchment if genetic profiles associated with foreign breeds are detected. An increase in the number of charters with foreign animal genes could indicate a shift in preference towards certain traits that had become desirable but were uncommon amongst domestic animals, potentially hinting at the economic motivations of some Scottish herdsmen.[38]

This project even has the potential to expand beyond the University of Guelph to other institutions with repositories of medieval manuscripts. The stage is set for future collaborations with organizations around the world that would be willing to send in unusable or otherwise damaged parchment fragments that are presently languishing in archival storage. Collecting DNA samples from compromised historical manuscripts could give these items new purpose by using their genetic information to create a database of medieval animal DNA. This would complement the repository of modern animal DNA specimens that Guelph's Centre for Biodiversity Genomics houses in its DNA archive. DNA testing might also detect the presence of harmful bacteria or fungi on the surface of intact documents, potentially improving future preservation strategies.[39] The interdisciplinarity of the project showcases the additional value of these documents by demonstrating new and innovative ways that they can be used to learn about the past as well as the present. Showcasing this versatility could attract important funding for their future maintenance and upkeep, allowing students to continue to work with these invaluable historical items for years to come.

Conclusion

History is never static, and our understanding of the past changes as contemporary cultural influences emerge and shape new interpretations. The technological refinement of DNA testing over the past thirty years has pushed the study of history forwards in an unexpected, though not unwelcome, direction. Collaboration between the humanities and biological sciences is a new, inventive approach to studying the past, which underscores the vitality and dynamism of both disciplines. The medieval Scottish charters in the University of Guelph's collection have been translated, read, and admired, but they have never undergone a genetic analysis. With access to the molecular makeup of these historical documents, a profile of the medieval animals used in the production process will be created. From there, the historical world the animals inhabited will be reconstructed from the presence of certain genetic markers, which are associated with specific environmental conditions and adaptations. Existing historical and archaeological scholarship on the socioeconomic and cultural milieus of medieval Scotland, including areas like animal husbandry, craftwork, and disease, will aid the interpretation of study results. These discoveries will in turn augment our understanding of these areas of medieval Scottish life, contributing new perspectives and evidence to the historical record.

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Digital Scholarship and Medieval Manuscripts

ACCESS, TECHNOLOGIES, AND POTENTIAL

Rosalie Engels

Background: Limits to Direct Interactions with Manuscripts

Engaging face-to-face with medieval manuscripts is an astonishing experience. Those who have the opportunity to directly view or hold a medieval manuscript—a text that has survived more than five hundred years, has been touched by hundreds of people, and most likely travelled far across the globe during its history—can count themselves truly fortunate. The albeit short-lived success of the *Illuminating Life: Manuscript Pages of the Middle Ages* exhibition organized by the University of Guelph in the spring of 2020 reveals the widespread interest medieval manuscripts can arouse among the staff and student body of a university, in addition to the general public. However,

Facing page: illumination in a fifteenth-century confessional, one such text that would benefit from digitization and online access. *Confessionale Bartholomei* by Bathomolaeus de Chaimis, Northern Italy, 1468, MS. *Les Enluminures* TM 976.

it is clear that the majority of people are not privileged enough to directly engage with medieval manuscripts on a regular basis. Even professionals in academia, libraries, and museums often have a hard time directly consulting the manuscripts necessary for their research due to financial and geographic barriers. The outbreak of the 2019-2020 SARS-CoV-2 pandemic and the associated disruption of global travel has made it more obvious than ever that accessing manuscripts in person cannot be the only way to engage with them, both for experts and those simply interested in them. Digitally enhanced research could offer a solution to this problem and several others. The idea behind this type of research is that newly developed, innovative, digital technologies can be applied to the study of medieval manuscripts. Such new tools and methods can take medieval scholarship to previously unknown spheres and have the potential to uncover a range of new findings. This paper will highlight recent developments in the field of digital humanities scholarship and medieval manuscripts, starting with a look at the simplest approach: the digitization of manuscripts and associated questions of open access.

Open Access and the Building of Databases

There are several websites that provide an overview of the different institutions which have made their digitized collections of medieval manuscripts open to the public. *Digitized Medieval Manuscripts* App, a website designed and created by Giulo Menna and Marjolein de Vos of Leiden University, is perhaps the largest of these compendiums, providing links to over five hundred libraries that have digitized manuscripts in their possession.[1] These libraries house anywhere from a handful to several thousand digitized manuscripts, all of which can be accessed online and free of charge.

William Noel, Associate University Librarian for Special Collections at Princeton University and speaker at the March 2020 *From Parchment to Pixels* colloquium that celebrated the opening of *Illuminating Life*, emphasized the importance of making such collections available to researchers and the public: "It's all about access [...] Any data that you capture should be available to be the public. For our manuscripts, that's what we've done."[2] In regards to the feasibility of such projects he states: "I'm not in a position to speak for other institutions, but sometimes you can't digitize your collections because you don't have the money, and that's fair enough."[3] An avid advocate of open manuscript data, Noel believes that increased knowledge through research is not the only advantage of making digitized manuscripts available online. Rather, he perceives there to be tangible benefits for the institutions themselves, especially museums: "People go to museums because they go and see what they already know, so you've got to make your collections known. […] the best thing you can do is to put out free images of it. This is not something you do out of generosity, this is something you do because it makes branding sense, and it even makes business sense."[4]

Despite the undeniable benefits for all parties involved, there are also a number of systemic barriers to the digitiazation of collections. Claudia Fabian and Carolin Schreiber from the Bavarian

State Library in Munich deal with some of these issues in their "masterplan" for the digitization of medieval manuscripts in German collections. They estimate that the digitization of the average medieval book costs its institution between 393 and 879 Euro, depending on the number of people required and the state of preservation and value of the book.[5] Adding together the expenditure for all 48,800 manuscripts in German collections that require digitization, this would mean a total price tag of at least twenty-one million Euro—a substantial sum regardless of whether this money is provided by the government or the institutions themselves.[6]

However, financial barriers are not the only considerations at play. Due to the fragile nature of medieval manuscripts, adequate training on how to best handle these objects without damaging them is of utmost importance, especially since scanners can be particularly harmful to manuscript parchment. Many institutions do not currently have staff members who are familiar with the different types of risks associated with the digitization process itself, which causes an additional burden on these libraries, museums, or universities.[7] Moreover, there is also a necessity for staff members to be trained in the process of uploading the scans and the relevant metadata to a centralized data bank, which in turn needs to be regularly updated and maintained; this is a process that would require at least some degree of familiarity with digital programming.[8]

Making the Invisible Visible: Advanced Imaging Technologies

Many medieval manuscripts contain writings or illuminations that are not discernible to the naked eye. As was the case with the famous Archimedes Palimpsest, these writings can sometimes turn out to be extremely scientifically valuable texts that were previously unknown.[9] In other cases, they are simply marginalia or scribbles that have been water-damaged or rubbed off by excessive use or on purpose. Either way, endeavours to reveal what is invisible to the naked eye are always worth attempting, as increased knowledge always has the potential to further research.

So-called "advanced imaging techniques"—that is, technologies that use different wavelengths of light to show traces of ink or paint on parchment—can be employed to render these hidden parts visible. It is important to remember, however, that there is no one-size-fits-all solution, as different materials respond differently to particular techniques. Similarly, the degree to which the manuscript has been preserved and the underlying cause of any damage it has sustained are essential considerations that need to be taken into account when deciding which imaging technique to apply.

Image scientist Alejandro Giacometti et al. have identified the twenty most common causes for parchment degradation in a 2017 study which sought to identify the most efficient advanced imaging techniques for each type of damage.[10] Their list includes improper storage (exposure to too much light or humidity), mishandling (including scrapping and bleaching), a number of accidents (such as spillage of substances like water, blood, or red wine), repairs, and rebinding among the most common reasons for the degradation of parchment.[11] By measuring the "maximum mutual

information"[12] between pictures taken of a manuscript page pre-damage and the same page taken post-damage, and through a variety of different imaging technologies, Giacometti et al. were able to determine that advanced imaging was successful in rendering invisible text visible in most cases.[13] Comparing the three most common image-processing tools, namely Principal Components Analysis (PCA), Independent Components Analysis (ICA), and Linear Spectral Mixture Analysis (LSMA), Giacometti et al. found PCA—a mathematical method which decomposes the different components on the page and displays them in decreasing order of importance—to be the most effective.[14] Other studies, such as one conducted on the eighth-century St. Chad Gospels, found that different wavelengths can recover different types of ink, with infrared being best suited for carbon-based inks and lightwaves in the ultraviolet realm being most appropriate for the recovery of iron gall.[15]

A 2008 study on the immensely scientifically and culturally important Dead Sea Scrolls yielded other interesting results. This study found that in some cases even the relatively simple method of contrast stretching colour photographs (that is, enhancing the contrast of the image) can bring to light hidden characters. In the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the process of contrast stretching uncovered letters from a different part of the manuscript which had stuck to the back of the section in question, thus unveiling part of a text which would have otherwise remained unknown.[16] Despite the subject documents not being medieval, the methods utilized in this study can be applied to manuscripts ancient and medieval alike.

Computational Analysis of Medieval Texts

MANUSCRIPT LATIN-A

BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, MS. 7917, FOL. 147R–148R. 14--?

Conversio beate Marie Magdalene. Ex Ysidero de vita et obitu sanctorum. Fuit in Iherusalem nobilis quidam de stirpe regia nomine Lazarus, habens duas sorores, scilicet Martham virgine, vita et moribus religiosam, sed Mariam, lascivam puellam, ad mundi pompam totaliter deditam. Martha autem germanum, scilicet Lazarum, armis militaribus videns implicatum, Mariam quoque sororem suam prodigam, velut fidelissima mater redditus et temporalia prudenter conseruabat, sagaci tuitione reipublice praefuit, Castrum Magdalum nomine sorori pro dote deputatum, et Bethaniam cum parte ciuitatis Iherusalem perspicaci regimine gubernauit, cum celi regina matre Christi affectuose verba Christi conseruabat lasciuam, autem sororem suam nunc blandis sermonibus nunc duris correptionibus redarguens. Quam cum una dierum vultu non tamen sereno ad Deum colendum alliceret, inter multa que locuta est ait: Soror mea praedilectam, stature tue elegancia, faciei tue pulchritudo corporalis, uniuerse terre omnium mulierum decorem excellit. Unde tamen corpori tantus decor, nisi ab illo qui fons pulchritudinis est? Hoc corpus vermibus deuorandum auro et margaritis ornas, animam vero sole choruscante clariorem, cunctis astris pulchriorem, turpiter moribus lasciuis et vita reprehensibi omni puritate priuas. Hec et hiis similia sancta Martha sorori sue dixit. Respondit Magdalena: Soror mea dilecta, quia me tam pulchram asseris,| et ego vt video a mundi flosculis iunioribus militibus amor, deliciis habunde dies meos cum paternali hereditate mente letissima consumam. Hiis et aliis dictis, contigit illam vna dierum de Iherusalem, vbi illa die mundi vanitatibus occupata institerat, et sine fatigatione choream duxerat, ad sororem suam Martham redire, cum saltibus edem ingrediens, sorori occurrens ait: Ego hodie corda omnium Iherosolomitarum leta feci, et ipsa magis quam in vita mea umquam habui gaudium sum consecuta, et credo non in ane fore gaudium, quam hominem vitam suam in leticia et gaudio consummare. Cui Martha: Numquid, soror mea praedilecta, iocundissimum et pulcherrimum regem omnium corda letificantem vidisti in tua iocunditate? At illa: Reges nobis cum non fuerunt. Martha respondit: Num quid regem illum nosti, cuius vultus omnem

MANUSCRIPT B2

BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, MS GERM. QUART. 524, FOL. 159R–163R 15TH CENTURY, MIDDLE LOW GERMAN

Hijr beghijnt de bekeringhe SunteMarien Magdalenen

Maria Magdalena was gheboren van enen edelen stamme vnd eerliken gheslechte. Eer vader hette Cirus vnd eer moder hette Eucharia vnd se hadden twe dochtere vnde enen sone. De ene dochter hette Martha, de ander hette Maria, de sone hette Lazarus vnd was de, den vnse here vpweckede van der doet, do he veer daghe in den graue hadde ghewesen. Vnd na den dode erre olders deelden de kynder er vaderlike erue. Lazarus nam en groet deel in der stat von Jherusalem vnd oeffende em in ridderschap, wante he was eyn ridder. Martha louede den heren to deynen in reynicheit vnd plach de pelegrime to herberghen, vnd sunderlinghe vmme eres hillighen leuens willen was se werdich to herberghen vnsen leuen heren Jhesum Cristum vnd syne leue moder Marien vnd alle de hillighen Apostele. Vnd eer ander deel was dat stedeken van Bethanien gheleghen na bij Jherusalem. Vnd wat er ouer quam van eren renthen, dat ghaff se den armen vmme godes willen. Maria nam to eren deel dat slot gheheiten Magdalon, vnd dar wart eer de name Maria Magdalena aff ghegeuen. Vnd al eer guet brachte se to in groten swaren sunden myt boeser gheselschap vnd de bose gheest brachte se to valle vnd eer quade eghene wille in manighe sunde. Zen ersten male in houerdien, wante se so houerdich van herten was, dat eer duchte, dat nymant eer ghelijck en was in schoenheit, in edelheit vnd in rijcheiden. Ock so was se houerdich in worden vnd in werken myt clederen, myt cijrheit eres lichames. Se was ock gijrijch van dynghen desser werlt als in gude meer vnd in wallust. Ock was se vnreyne myt worden vnd myt werken, also dat se eer gude gheruchte vnd eren guden namen vor loes vnd eren eghenen namen also swaerlike vorloren hadde, dat se ene openbare sundersche wart gheheiten, als vns de ewangelista Sante Lucas secht, wante se sundighede swaerlike myt eren ghesichte vnd handelinghe der vngheliker personen. Eer suster Martha claghede dat leuen erre suster der moder Cristi myt schreyenden oghen vnd bad eer, dat se wolde Cristum vor eer bidden. De lerre Ysidorus, de dijt leuen beschreuen heuet in den boeke, dat dar gheheiten is dat boeck van den dode der hillighen, sprack voert

Example of textual comparisons on *Exploring Medieval Mary Magdalene* website.

Compared to the two rather straightforward digital tools introduced thus far, the next type of method examined in this paper encompasses a range of different applications and uses. This study has broadly deemed it "computational analysis," and it refers to all types of analysis which use computer programs to make sense of medieval texts to an extent impossible to achieve without the help of such automated tools. One such project that employed computational analysis as its main research method is *Exploring Medieval Mary Magdalene*, developed by Racha Kirakosian of Harvard University. This project brought together eleven editions of the late medieval legend of the conversion of Mary Magdalene in different Latin and German vernacular editions, annotated extensively in the coding language XML using the parameters of the *Text Encoding Initiative* (TEI).[17] This enabled users—whether scholars or those simply interested in the topic—to browse the different editions side-by-side, choosing whether they wanted to expand abbreviations or enable editor capitalizations and punctuations as well as line beginnings and scribal corrections, among other things.[18] It is hard to imagine all these features being possible with standard printed editions of the eleven manuscripts, at least not without extensive annotations. Describing the reasoning behind choosing digital editing over analog editing, Rasha Kirakosian explains: "[Creating a printed edition] would be possible with a lot of intervention. And as an editor, you make those interventions transparent. But in the end, you only have one version on the paper. You might have what we call a critical apparatus; but I found that my critical apparatus was longer than the actual text."[19]

Exploring Medieval Mary Magdalene produced this digital edition by assigning graduate students the task of transcribing the medieval text directly from scans of the manuscripts, which were displayed in the open-source image viewing platform *Mirador*.[20] In a second step, they marked up the distinct features of each manuscript—that is, the line beginnings, rubrications, abbreviations, etcetera—using XML and following the guidelines of TEI.[21] Special characters in the manuscript (for example, those underlined or otherwise highlighted) would be tagged using **<hi>**, while line beginnings would be marked up with the tag **<lb/>**.[22] Coded like this, the finished digitally-edited manuscripts are fully searchable for these features, and the user has the potential to decide whether they want to turn them on or off.

A project that relies essentially on the same tools to create a digital database of thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and early fifteenth-century Spanish manuscripts is described by Aitor Arronte Alvarez in the study "Enriching Digitized Medieval Manuscripts." In a similar fashion to the process employed by *Exploring Medieval Mary Magdalene*, the manuscripts are first transcribed before their particular features—for example, phonetic changes amongst different Spanish dialects and different visual representations of certain letters—are marked up using TEI.[23] In this manner, significant changes in the usage of the Spanish languages in the Middle Ages can be mapped and linked to external lexical resources which match the historical form of the word to its modern standard.[24] The end-goal of the project is to make all the relevant data available on a fully-searchable web-interface.[25]

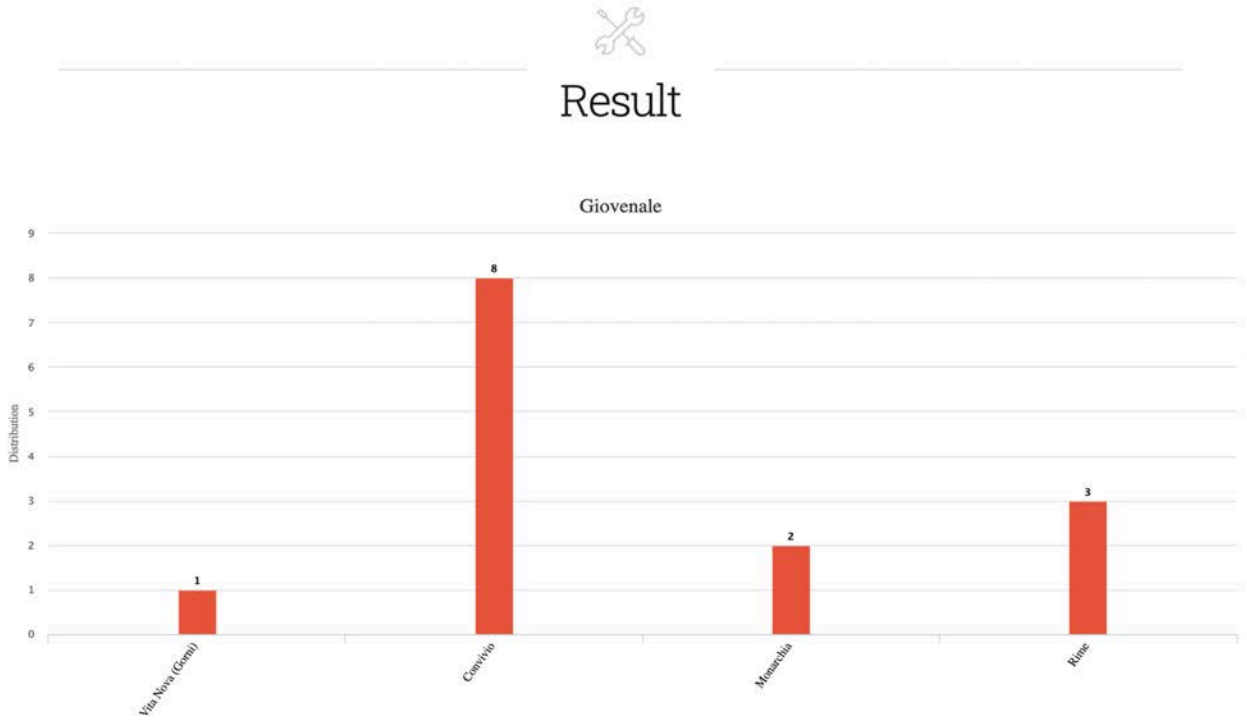
Another project which uses computational analysis for the study of medieval manuscripts is *CodiHub*, a programme proposed by statistician Swati Chandna et al. at the Symposium on Large Data Analysis and Visualization in Maryland in 2016. This project relies on quantitative digital exploration of manuscript pages to gain insight into research questions, such as "In which centuries did books have the biggest text size?" and "At what times have manuscripts been put together on two different materials?"[26] In essence, their program is able to automatically detect four main layout features of scanned pages of medieval manuscripts: the pages' measurements, the measurements of the written spaces on the individual page, the measurements of the pictorial spaces of the page, and the relative measurements among the three aforementioned features.[27] Moreover, each scanned page is assigned the relevant bibliographic metadata relating to the year and place of creation and the material of the manuscript; this information would have been extracted from TEI files stored together with the manuscript.[28]

While this type of exploration is theoretically possible to achieve with manual techniques alone, the application of digital tools doubtlessly renders the process much more efficient and less tedious. In a first practice run of the programme, the developers were able to analyze 440 digitized manuscripts with over 170,000 pages in four months, with an average processing time of three to four minutes per page; this is significantly faster than any human could manually achieve.[29]

Mapping and Data Visualization

The last type of digital scholarship in relation to medieval manuscripts that shall be introduced in this paper can broadly be deemed "mapping and data visualization." Several projects have emerged in recent years that have aimed to visualize connections amongst manuscripts with the help of digital tools, two of which will be introduced in this section. The first project of interest is the *Mapping Manuscript Migrations* (MMM) project, a collaborative enterprise organized by three European universities (University of Oxford, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT) in Paris, and Aalto University in Helsinki) and one North American university (University of Pennsylvania). The goal of the MMM web-platform is to show temporal and geographical networks of the over 450,000 manuscripts housed or formerly owned by the four institutes working on the project.[30] This is done by first aggregating and harmonizing the different manuscript datasets used by the four universities into one homogenous platform. The individual migrations of each manuscript across time and space are then visualized on a global map using *Node.js* as the runtime environment.[31] Wherever possible, historical maps are overlaid on top of the global map with the help of a program called *MapWarper*.[32]

Scholars using this platform can choose to either search for the provenance or geographical information relating to a specific manuscript or trace manuscript migrations between different places of production across time. Testing out the program, it was possible to trace how three manuscripts produced in Tegernsee (the author of this essay's hometown) in the twelfth century



Graph depicting results for search by cited author for Giovenale, or Juvenal, in all of Dante's works using the *DanteSources* website.

made their way into the libraries of the University of Oxford and the University of Cambridge. A second discovery facilitated by this program was that a manuscript produced in sixteenth-century Tegernsee is currently housed in the Beinecke Rare Books library at Yale University in New Haven.

Another digital project which uses maps and data visualization to allow researchers to gain more information about medieval manuscripts is *DanteSources*, a web-application which grew out of the Italian research project *Per una Enciclopedia Dantesca Digitale* (PRIN) and is supported by the *European Association for Digital Humanities* (EADH). The idea behind *DanteSources* is to track and visualize data about Dante Alighieri's usage of primary sources and their thematic areas, the authors cited by Dante, and the data related to his different types of references.[33] *DanteSources* claims to be the first web-application of its kind to create an ontology of Dante's primary sources using digital tools, namely the *Resource Description Framework Schema* (RDF/S), a type of *Semantic Web* technology.[34] Remarkably, not only is the website itself freely available on the internet, but even the methodology and the tools underlying the software development of the digital project can be accessed by merely emailing the creators of the project.[35]

Scholars interested in the works of Dante Alighieri can search for the different features outlined above and will receive real-time information in the form of graphs. These graphs show which of the author's works make mention of a specific theme and how this theme developed over time, for example. Using this program, one can find that Dante makes mention of the Latin poet

Juvenal (Giovenale in Italian) fourteen times throughout all of his works, eight of these mentions being made in his lesser-known *Convivio*.[36] It is easy to see how this kind of visualization of links between authors and themes could prove extremely beneficial for scholars and students alike, and how it would be extremely difficult to replicate in an analog format.

Conclusion: Collaboration not Competition

While this paper has introduced a number of different digital tools used for the study of medieval manuscripts, it should be made clear that the aim of this essay was not to advocate for the adoption of digital humanities methods over the usage of more traditional methodologies. A competition between digitally-enhanced scholarship and established forms of research is neither desirable nor particularly fruitful for the advancement of knowledge. Instead, the purpose of this short introduction into the world of digital scholarship was to show how, in certain instances, traditional methods of scholarship can be integrated into newer forms of research. These innovative forms of research can sometimes create astonishing results that have a lot of potential to bring forth new knowledge and understanding about not only the Middle Ages but the world around us.

Notes

[1] "DMMapp - Digitized Medieval Manuscripts App," accessed May 2, 2020, https://digitizedmedievalmanuscripts.org/.

[2] "The Wide Open Future of the Art Museum: Q&A with William Noel," *TED Blog*, accessed May 2, 2020, https://blog.ted.com/the-wide-open-future-of-the-art-museum-qa-with-william-noel/

[3] TED Blog, "The Wide Open Future."

[4] TED Blog, "The Wide Open Future."

[5] Carolin Schreiber and Claudia Fabian, "Digitalisierung Mittelalterlicher Handschriften in Deutschen Bibliotheken Masterplan." *Durchführung Einer Pilotphase Zur Digitalisierung MittelalterlicherHandschriften an Den Deutschen Handschriftenzentren Und Entwicklung Eines Masterplans Zur Koordinierten Digitalisierung Mittelalterlicher Handschriften in Deutschen Bibliotheken* (2015), 11.

[6] Schreiber and Fabian, "Digitalisierung Mittelalterlicher," 11.

[7] Schreiber and Fabian, "Digitalisierung Mittelalterlicher," 10.

[8] Claudia Fabian, "Der Masterplan: Digitalisierung Mittelalterlicher Handschriften," *Zeitschrift Fur Bibliothekswesen Und Bibliographie* 63, no. 3 (2016): 118.

[9] William Noel, "Archimedes in Bits: The Digital Presentation of a Write-Off," *On the Nature of Things: Modern Perspectives on Scientific Manuscripts* 1, no. 1 (2009).

[10] Alejandro Giacometti, Alberto Campagnolo, Lindsay MacDonald, Simon Mahony, Stuart Robson, Tim Weyrich, Melissa Terras, and Adam Gibson, "The Value of Critical Destruction: Evaluating Multispectral Image Processing Methods for the Analysis of Primary Historical Texts," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 32, no. 1 (2017): 106.

[11] Giacometti et al., "Value of Critical Destruction," 107.

[12] Giacometti et al., "Value of Critical Destruction," 122. "Maximum mutual information" refers to the biggest possible overlap between the undamaged page and the damaged page after it has undergone extensive post-processing.

[13] Giacometti et al., "Value of Critical Destruction," 112.

[14] Giacometti et al., "Value of Critical Destruction," 122, 114.

[15] Bill Endres, Digitizing Medieval Manuscripts: *The St. Chad Gospels, Materiality, Recoveries, and Representations* (Leeds, UK: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), 9.

[16] Keith T. Knox, Roger L. Easton, and William Christens-Barry, "Image Restoration of Damaged or Erased Manuscripts," *European Signal Processing Conference*, no. January 2008 (2008), 2.

[17] Knox, Easton, and Christens-Barry, "Image Restoration," 2. TEI is the standard text encoding programme used in the humanities used to store information about textual data.

[18] "Exploring Medieval Mary Magdalene," accessed May 3, 2020, https://digital-editing.fas.harvard.edu/.

[19] Racha Kirakosian, "2.2 Digital Humanities Projects and Tools: Exploring Medieval Mary Magdalene," *HarvardX: Introduction to Digital Humanities*, 2020.

[20] Kirakosian, "2.2 Digital Humanities."

[21] "Exploring Medieval Mary Magdalene," accessed May 3, 2020, https://digital-editing.fas.harvard.edu/.

[22] "Exploring Medieval Mary Magdalene."

[23] Aitor Arronte Alvarez, "Enriching Digitized Medieval Manuscripts: Linking Image, Text and Lexical Knowledge," *Association for Computational Linguistics and The Asian Federation of Natural Language Processing* (2015), 74.

[24] Alvarez, "Enriching Digitized Medieval Manuscripts," 75.

[25] Alvarez, "Enriching Digitized Medieval Manuscripts," 76f.

[26] Swati Chandna, Francesca Rindone, Carsten Dachsbacher, and Rainer Stotzka, "Quantitative Exploration of Large Medieval Manuscripts Data for the Codicological Research," *IEEE So, LDAV 2016 - Proceedings* (2017), 27.

[27] Chandna et al., "Quantitative Exploration," 22f.

[28] Chandna et al., "Quantitative Exploration," 22.

[29] Chandna et al., "Quantitative Exploration," 22.

[30] Toby Burrows, Eero Hyvönen, Lynn Ransom, and Hanno Wijsman, "Mapping Manuscript Migrations: Digging into Data for the History and Provenance of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts," *Manuscript Studies* 3, no. 1 (2018): 249f.

[31] Eero Hyvönen, Esko Ikkala, Jouni Tuominen, Mikko Koho, Toby Burrows, Lynn Ransom, and Hanno Wijsman, "A Linked Open Data Service and Portal for Pre-Modern Manuscript Research," *CEUR Workshop Proceedings* 2364 (2019): 222f.

[32] Hyvönen et al., "Linked Open Data Service," 226.

[33] "Per Una Enciclopedia Dantesca Digitale," *DanteSources*, 2020, http://perunaenciclopediadantescadigitale.eu/dantesources/progetto.html.

[34] Valentina Bartalesi, Carlo Meghini, Daniele Metilli, Mirko Tavoni, and Paola Andriani, "A Web Application for Exploring Primary Sources: The DanteSources Case Study," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 33, no. 4 (2018): 706.

[35] Bartalesi et al., "A Web Application for Exploring," 707.

[36] "Per Una Enciclopedia Dantesca Digitale," *DanteSources*.

Exhibition Catalogue

Illuminating Life

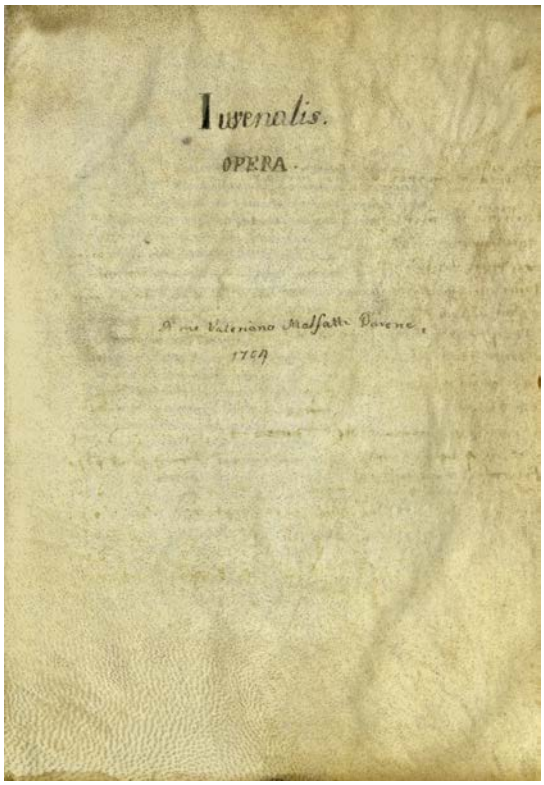
JUVENAL, *SATYRAE* WITH INTRODUCTORY VERSES TO SATIRES II, IV–VIII BY GUARINO DA VERONA

Northern Italy, c.1460-1480.
In Latin. Ink on parchment, contemporary binding, 196 x 145 mm.
Loan courtesy of Les Enluminures, *TM 942.*

This manuscript is a fifteenth-century edition of the *Satyrae*, or Satires, of the Roman poet Juvenal (born in the first century and active mainly in the second). The *Satyrae* were part of a Roman literary tradition which criticized and caricatured in verse the decadence of Roman life and the perceived decay of social mores.

Their original audience consisted primarily of the Roman elite, and they criticized everything from hypocrisy to homosexuality, and from the degradation of urban life to the decay of feminine virtue. In the Middle Ages, copies of the *Satyrae* furnished a ready critique of a decadent, pagan Rome.

During the Italian Renaissance, the *Satyrae* were the subject of renewed interest among fifteenth-century humanist scholars, and to this renewed interest we owe a great many of our surviving manuscript copies.

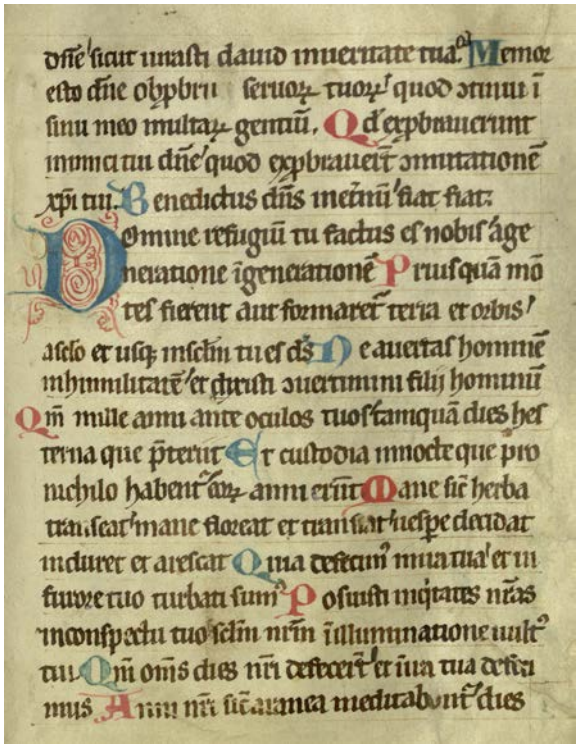


PSALTER

Southern Germany, c.1240-1260.
In Latin. Ink and paint on parchment, early binding, 172 x 123 mm.
Loan courtesy of Les Enluminures, *TM 789.*

Psalters were devotional books containing the 150 sacred songs of the Old Testament's Book of Psalms. These songs, hymns, and chants were a main component of the Christian liturgy and thus central to medieval religious practice. This convenient collection of the Psalms separate from the Bible made Psalters exceptionally popular in both lay elite and monastic use.

The centrality of the psalms meant psalters were among the first Latin texts introduced to many children in the Middle Ages. For this reason, psalters also had important educational functions. They were frequently used to teach children Latin, a fact emphasized by annotations added by those studying the text. The psalms also provided important moral instruction with messages of righteousness and virtue that were highlighted by illustrations, such as that of St. Michael slaying a dragon from the Book of Revelation. This potent vision of virtuous heroism provided an aspirational model for the Psalter's reader.

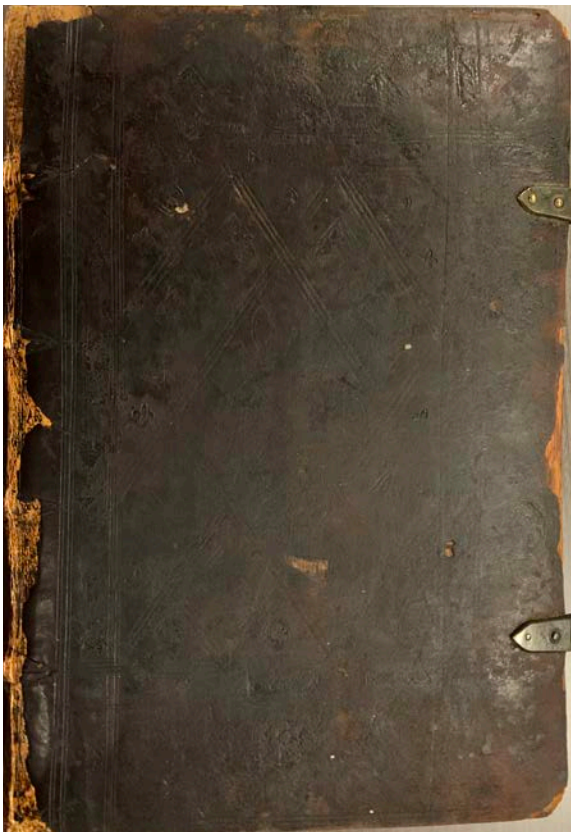


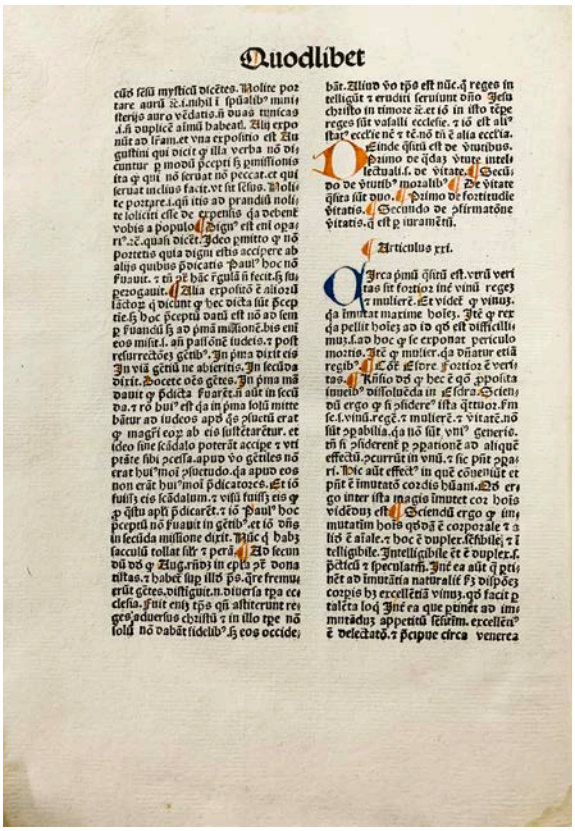
THOMAS AQUINAS, SAINT *QUODLIBET SANCTI THOME*, PRINTED BY JOHANN KOELHOFF (1493)

Cologne, 1485.
In Latin. Printed on paper, with decorated initials, 295 x 195 mm.
University of Guelph, Archival & Special Collections (s0109b12).

Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) was a Roman Catholic theologian, philosopher and scholastic university professor. His teachings and writings were immensely influential during his lifetime and continue to be read to this day.

The incunable in our collection contains Thomas Aquinas' discussion and response to twelve so-called Quodlibets or quodlibetal questions, a type of medieval disputation held at European universities at the time. The question on the page on display deals with the question "Is truth stronger than wine, kings and women?" (QL 12, question 13, article 1) to which Thomas Aquinas responds emphatically that yes, truth is the strongest since it affects the human soul instead of the body. Women come in a clear second position though, since they can control even the strongest amongst men with their sensual powers.





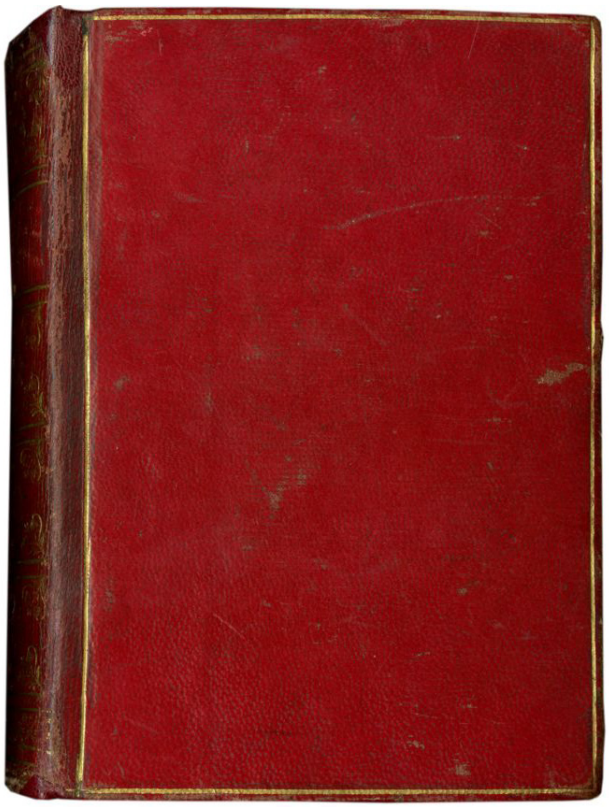
Quodlibet

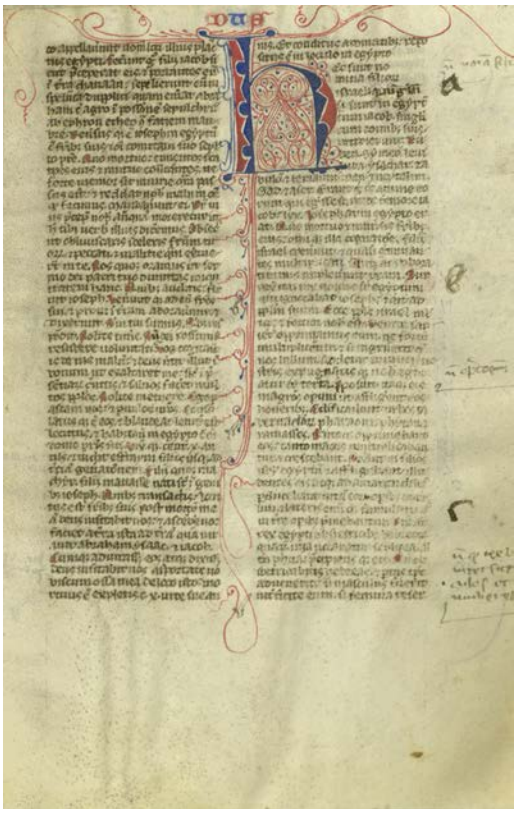
VULGATE BIBLE

England c.1260-1275.
In Latin. Ink and paint on parchment, 230 x 158 mm.
Loan courtesy of Les Enluminures, *TM 892.*

The Bible was at the centre of medieval life in Latin Christendom. The standard version of the Biblical text was the Vulgate (the *editio vulgata*, or "common version"), a Latin translation undertaken by St. Jerome in the late fourth century. Small Bibles (or "pocket Bibles"), such as this English example, were extremely popular from the thirteenth century onward. The single-volume format and the development of thinner, tissue paper-like parchment allowed for much greater portability.

The thirteenth century saw the emergence of mendicant religious orders, namely the Franciscans and Dominicans, whose members, called friars, renounced personal property and led itinerant (or roaming) lives devoted to preaching. Small, portable Bibles such as this one were the mendicant orders' greatest tool in emulating the example of the Apostles and exhorting their listeners to live pious, moral lives. Internal evidence suggests that this particular manuscript may have been used by members of both orders.



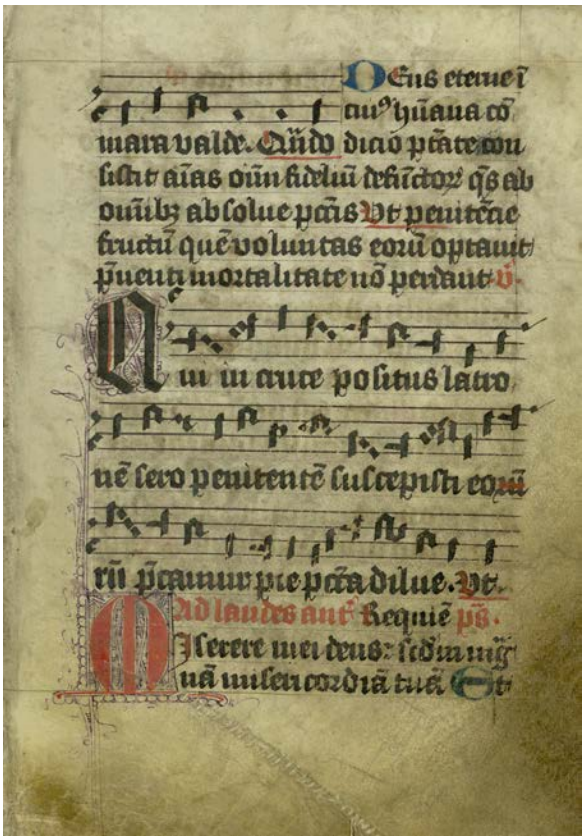


OFFICE OF THE DEAD (USE OF ST KUNIBERT)

Cologne, 1487, and 1727, with later additions.
In Latin. Ink and paint on parchment, 230 x 158 mm.
Loan courtesy of Les Enluminures, *TM 644.*

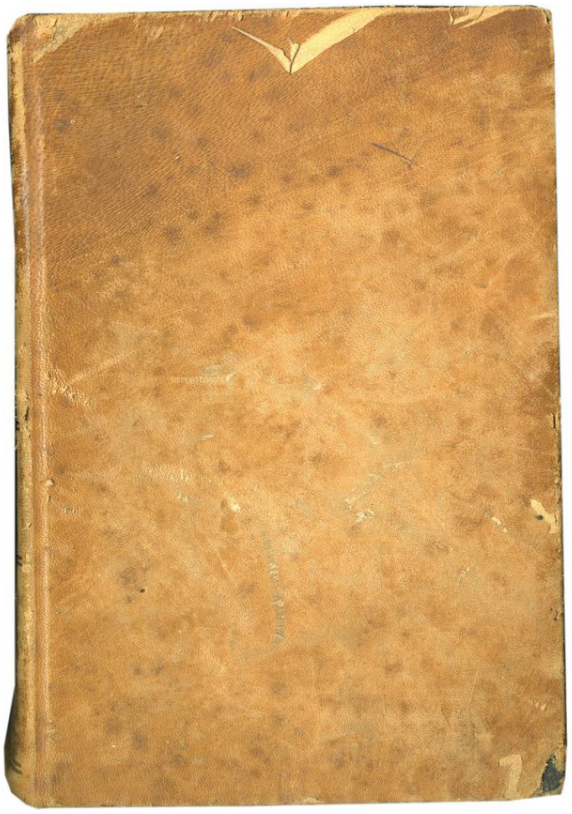
The Office of the Dead consists of prayers and orations that were to be recited for those who had recently died, and used for regular commemoration of deceased members of the local community. Dying well was an important concern for medieval Christians, and the ideal medieval funeral was an elaborate affair that consisted of several stages, including the recitation of the Office of the Dead at the funeral service at the church.

The large size of the gothic script used in the St Kunibert Office of the Dead suggests it was intended for use within the church, likely by the priest officiating the service. The soiling to the book's pages attest to its extensive usage over ensuing years. An eighteenth century necrology lists the dates of death for those associated with the church of St Kunibert and the local community.



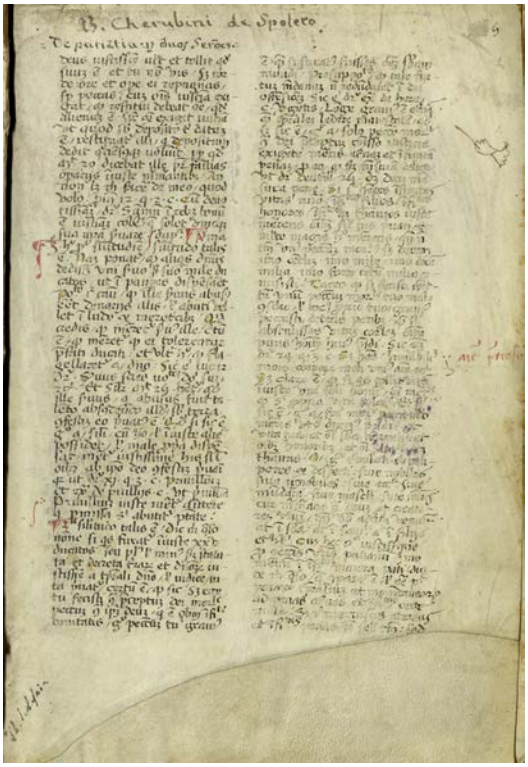
QUADRAGESIMALE DE AETERNIS FRUCTIBUS SPIRITUS SANCTI BY ANTONIUS DA VERCELLI

Northern Italy (possibly Milan), c.1460-1475.
In Latin with a few notes in Italian.
Ink on parchment, 220 x 150 mm.
Loan courtesy of Les Enluminures, *TM 683.*



Sermons were not just a tool used by the Church to indoctrinate the laity; they played a central part in medieval social life. They drew community gatherings attended by people from all walks of life who would socialize in addition to receive the word of God.

Priests utilized various techniques to engage their audience, a degree of entertainment being an accepted element of medieval sermons. They incorporated jokes, proverbs, and exempla taken from local culture into their sermons. For example, this book of sermons contains many exempla drawn from classical sources—it references Socrates' imprisonment as an exemplum for patience, to name one. This reflects the humanistic education of many of the mendicants and laypeople of late medieval Italy.



Moreover, this manuscript includes a passage that addresses the Jews, encouraging them to convert by providing exempla of non-Christians who converted, such as St. Helena. This reflects how Jews were sometimes compelled to attend medieval sermons.

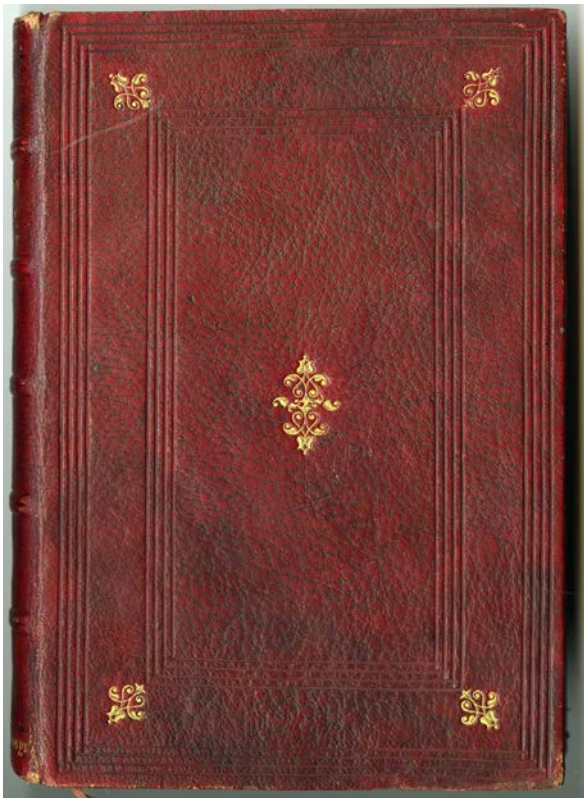
BOOK OF HOURS (USE OF ROME)

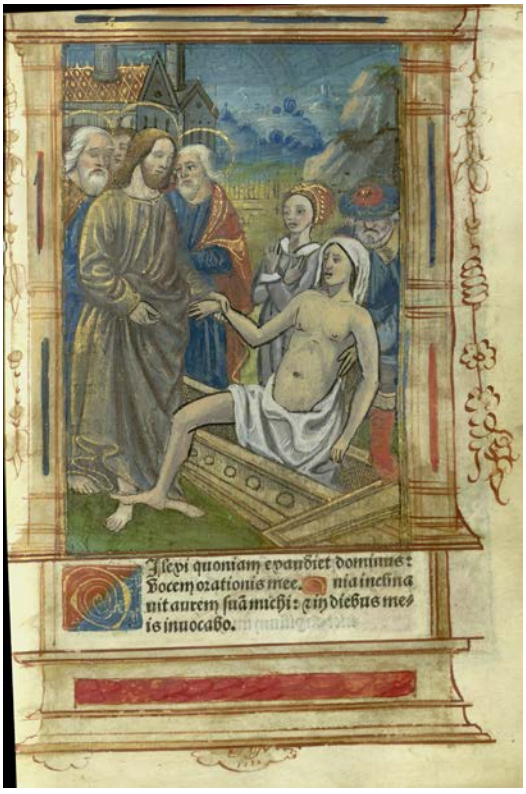
Paris, c.1526.
Printed and illuminated in the workshop of Germain Hardouyn, metalcut designs by Jean Pichore.
In Latin and French. Ink and paint on parchment, 188 x 128 mm.
Loan courtesy of Les Enluminures.

Books of hours offered a way for lay people to imbue their daily lives with religious significance by reading and reciting prayers throughout the day, noting and celebrating feast days, and finding spiritual guidance for a variety of concerns.

They could be read at home or taken into church, where practitioners could follow along, and could form an integral part of medieval person's daily religious practice. They were the most widely produced manuscripts in the medieval period, and continued to be so for the next two hundred and fifty years—even out-selling the Bible.

This book of hours produced by Germain Hardouyn is a lovely example of a printed prayer book that was also lushly illustrated, providing a luxury item that was also accessible and affordable.

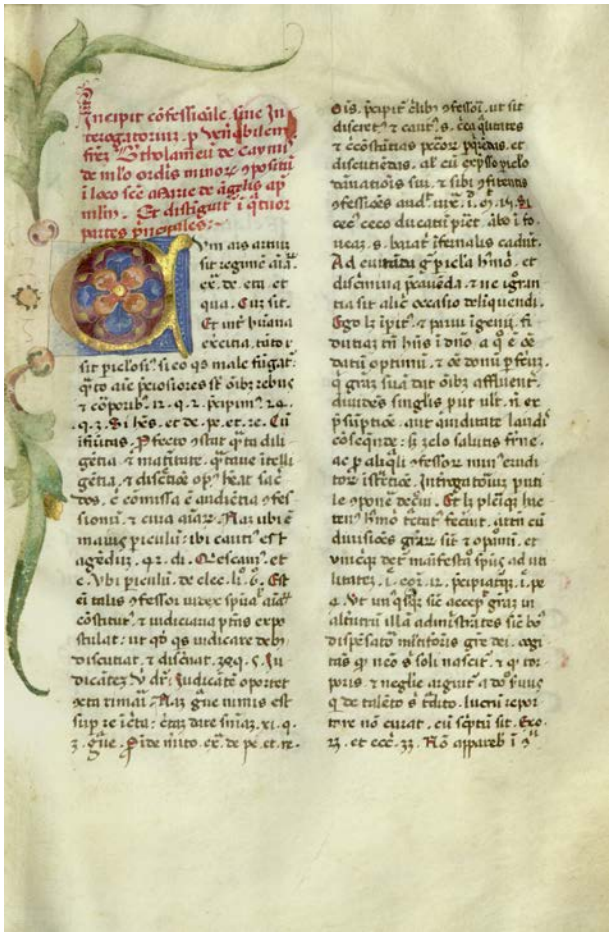




CONFESSIONALE BARTHOLOMEI BY BARTHOLOMAEUS DE CHAIMIS; *CONFESSIONALE DEFECERUNT* AND *DE MATRIMONIO* BY ST. ANTONINUS FLORENTINUS; *AD EVITANDA SCANDALA* BY POPE MARTIN V; *SPIRITO SANTO* AND *AMORE* BY LEONARDO GIUSTINIAN; *BALSEMUS AC MUNDA CERA* BY GUILLAUME DUFAY; *BENE MORRÒ D'AMORE*, *AMOR JESÙ DILETTO VEN DENTRA DEL MIO CORE*, AND *O DOLCE AMOR, JESÙ, CH'AMATO M'HAI SANZA AMAR TE*, BY JACOPONE TODI

Santa Maria degli Angeli, Milan, c.1468.
In Latin and Italian. Ink on parchment, 145 x 105 mm.
Loan courtesy of Les Enluminures, *TM 976.*

The centrepiece of this fifteenth-century manuscript is the oldest known copy of the Confessionale of Bartholomaeus de Chaimis, a popular Franciscan confessional text. Its date, place of origin, and its opening lines indicate that it may have been produced under Bartholomaeus' direct supervision. Confession was a powerful tool for regulating the beliefs and behaviors of medieval communities, and by 1215 the Church had mandated that all Christians were to confess their sins at least once each year. Confessional manuals provided instruction to confessors and prescribed appropriate forms of penance for a wide variety of sins. This manuscript's small size and its assortment of texts likely reflect its use by itinerant Franciscans in an urban setting. Its focus on commerce and economic conduct speaks to the increasingly mercantile and commercialized character of fifteenth-century Italy, and its list of occupation-specific sins indicates some of the unscrupulous practices merchants were prone to employ.

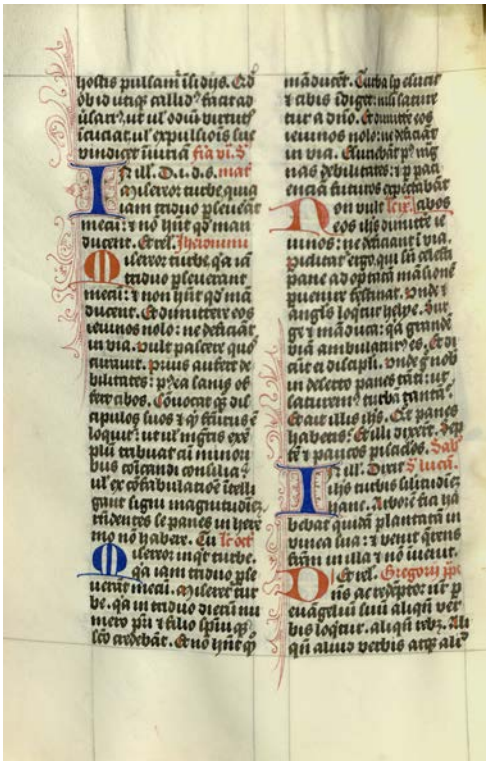


BREVIARY FOR THE NIGHT OFFICE IN TWO VOLUMES (USE OF UTRECHT) – HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Netherlands (South Holland), c.1450-1475.
Vol. 1. In Latin with decoration. Ink on parchment, contemporary binding, 245 x 180 mm.
Loan courtesy of Les Enluminures, *TM 940.*

A breviary is a type of religious text used in the practice of Christianity. It is a compilation of shorter texts necessary for the celebration of the Divine Office, a cycle of prayers that are spoken or sung by religious personnel throughout the day and night. This breviary contains the Night Office, and the devotions contained within were to be performed at specific times during the night throughout the year. It would have been accompanied by another book or set of texts used for performing the daytime devotions.

As was common practice, this breviary is divided into two volumes, one containing the services used during the winter season and the other containing services for summer. Saint Augustine appears frequently in passages throughout both volumes of this breviary, indicating that these texts were likely associated with a community of Augustinian Canons who employed them in their daily observance of religious rituals.

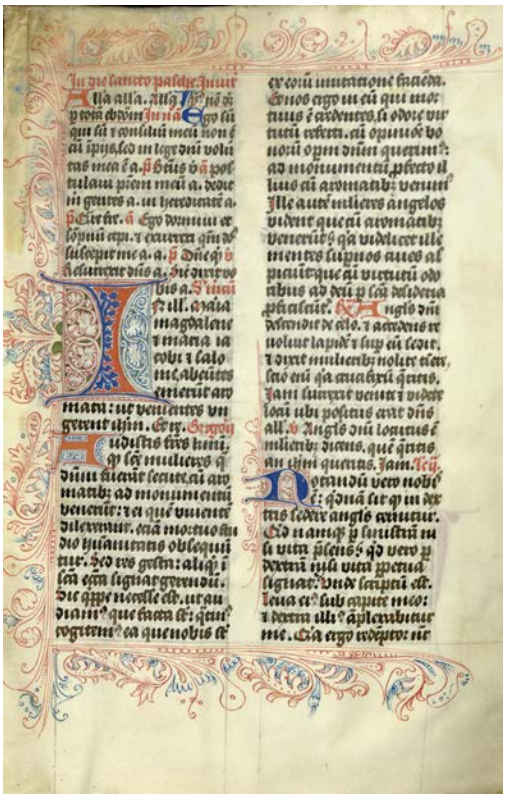


BREVIARY FOR THE NIGHT OFFICE IN TWO VOLUMES (USE OF UTRECHT) – STYLE AND FORM

The Netherlands (South Holland), c.1450-1475.
Vol. 2. In Latin with decoration. Ink on parchment, contemporary binding, 245 x 180 mm.
Loan courtesy of Les Enluminures, *TM 940.*

Intricately decorated initials, known as pen-flourished initials, display elaborate penwork. Red and blue ink dominate the composition of these initials, following the highly developed littera duplex style. The body of a littera duplex initial is red and blue, with the colours weaving around each other but never touching. The delicate penwork that extends outwards from the initials along the margins of the pages incorporates tiny drawings of eggplants; this "aubergine" style is based on another decorative style that incorporates drawings of radishes.

Bound in brown leather, the front and back covers of both volumes are embellished with imprints of flowers, acanthus leaves, and fleurs de lys medallions. Both manuscripts have their original heavy wooden bindings, and the parchment tabs attached to some of the pages mark the services that were performed on Sundays throughout the year.

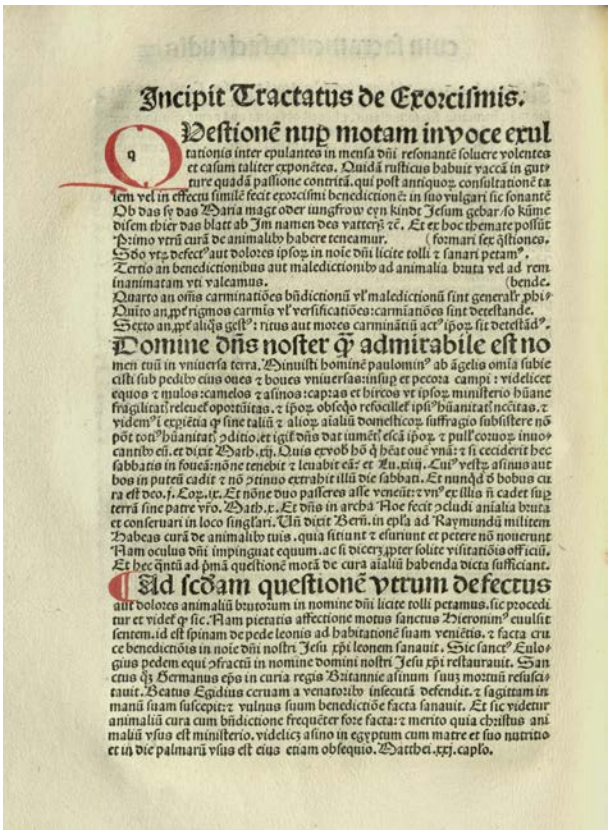


FELIX HEMMERLIN, *OPUSCULA ET TRACTATUS*

Printed in Strasbourg, c.1497.
In Latin.Contemporary Nuremberg binding, woodcut portrait, 270 x 195 mm.
University of Guelph, Archival & Special Collections (s0573Ab028)

Felix Hemmerlin (1388-1460), who authored the works in this posthumously published collection, was a Swiss canon and church reformer. His Opuscula et Tractatus deals with demonology and witchcraft with surprising tolerance for the period; while others attacked witches as evil beings working on the devil's behalf, Hemmerlin acknowledged the usefulness of certain forms of magic.

This book in particular contains tracts that deal with witchcraft and demonology based on the idea that it was the devil, not the witches working for him, who was responsible for misfortune. Common blessings, charms, and spells, according to Hemmerlin, were often harmless and could even be beneficial, like a cure for sick cows and exorcism for pests both contained in this volume. The image below features the introduction to Hemmerlin's "*Incipit Tractatus de Exorcismis*," or "Here Begins the Tract Concerning Exorcisms," where he discusses such views on possession and casting spells.



Incipit Tractatus de Exorcismis.

Questionē nup motam in voce exul

tationis inter epulantes in mensa dñi resonante soluere volentes et casum taliter exponētes. Quidā rusticus habuit vaccā in gut ture quadā passione contritā. qui post antiquoꝝ consultationē ta lem vel in effectu similē fecit exorcismi benedictionē: in suo vulgari sic sonantē Ob das sy das Maria magt oder iungfrow eyn kindt Jesum gebar. so küme disem thier das blatt ab Jm namen des vatters ꝛc. Et ex hoc themate possūt Primo vtrū curā de animalibꝫ habere teneamur. (formari sex ẽstiones. Sēo vtꝝ defectꝰ aut dolores ipsoꝝ in noīe dñi licite tolli ꝛ sanari petam⁹. Tertio an benedictionibus aut maledictionibꝫ ad animalia bruta vel ad rem inanimatam vti valeamus. (bende. Quarto an oīa carminationes bñdictionū vl maledictionū sint generaliꝫ phi Quinto an ꝑ rigmos carmis vl versificationes: carmiationes sint detestande. Sexto an ꝑ aliqꝫ gestꝰ: ritus aut mores carminātū act⁹ ipsoꝝ sit detestād⁹.

Domine dñs noster q̄ admirabile est no

men tuū in vniuersa terra. Qui posuisti hominē paulomin⁹ ab ãgelis oīa subie cisti sub pedibꝫ eius oues ꝛ boues vniuersas: insup et pecora campi: videlicet equos ꝛ mulos: camelos ꝛ asinos: capras et hircos vt ipsoꝝ ministerio hũane fragilitati releuet opportunitas. ꝛ ipsoꝝ obsequio refocillet ipsi⁹ hũanitati necitas. ꝛ videm⁹ i experiẽtia q̄ sine taliū ꝛ aliorꝝ animaliū domesticorꝝ suffragio subsistere nō pōt tot⁹ hũanitas, additio. et igit deus dat iumẽti escā ipsoꝝ. ꝛ psal cxxxvi. inuo cauit eū. et dixit Bath. xij. Quis ex vob hō q̄ hēat ouē vnā: ꝛ si ceciderit hec sabbatis in foueā: nōne tenebit ꝛ leuabit eā: et Lu. xiij. Cuiꝰ vestꝝ asinus aut bos in puteū cadit ꝛ nō protinus extrahit illā die sabbati. Et nunq̄d ō bobus cu ra est deo. ſ. Cor. ix. Et nōne duo passeres asse veneūt: ꝛ vnꝰ ex illis ñ cadet sup terrā sine patre vro. Bath. x. Et dñs in archa Noe fecit ꝓcludi animalia bruta et conseruari in loco singulari. Vñ dixit Bern. in epla ad Raymundū militem Habeas curā de animalibꝫ tuis, quia sitiunt ꝛ esuriunt et petere nō noverunt Nam oculus dñi impinguat equum. ac si diceret ꝓpter solite visitationis officiū. Et hec ꝯtū ad ꝑmā questionē motā de cura aliorū habenda dicta sufficiant.

Ad scdam questionē vtrum defectus

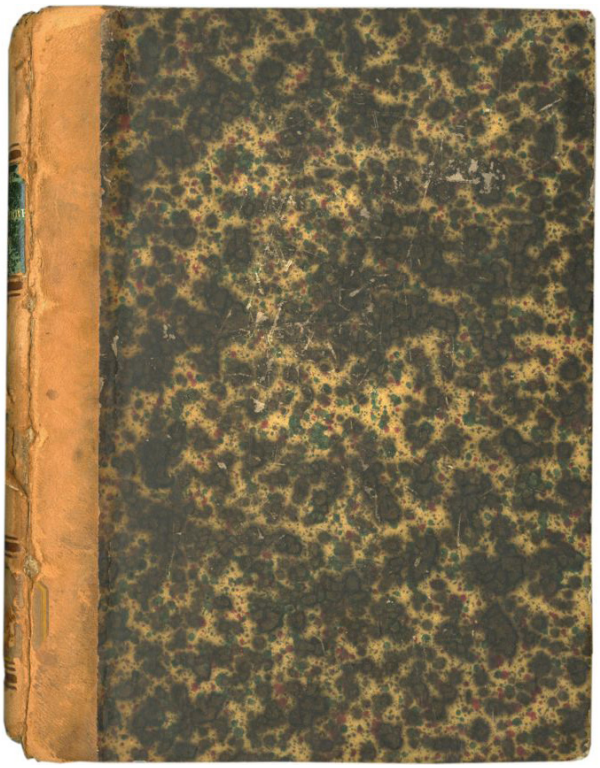
aut dolores animaliū brutorum in nomine dñi licite tolli petamus. sic procedi tur et videt q̄ sic. Nam pietatis affectione motus sanctus Hieronim⁹ euulsit sentem. id est spinam de pede leonis ad habitationē suam veniēs. ꝛ facta cru ce benedictiōis in noīe dñi nostri Jesu xpi leonem sanauit. Sic sanctꝰ Eulo gius pedem equi ꝛfractū in nomine domini nostri Jesu xpi restauraut. San ctus ꝙz Germanus epūs in curia regis Britannie asinum suum mortuū resusca tauit. Beatus Egidius ceruam a venatorib⁹ insecutā defendit. ꝛ sagittam in manū suam suscepit: ꝛ vulnus suum benedictiōe facta sanauit. Et sic videtur animaliū cura cum bñdictione frequēter fore facta: ꝛ merito quia christus ani maliū vsus est ministerio. videlicz asino in egyptum cum matre et suo nutritio et in die palmarū vsus est eius etiam obsequio. Matthei. xxj. caplo.

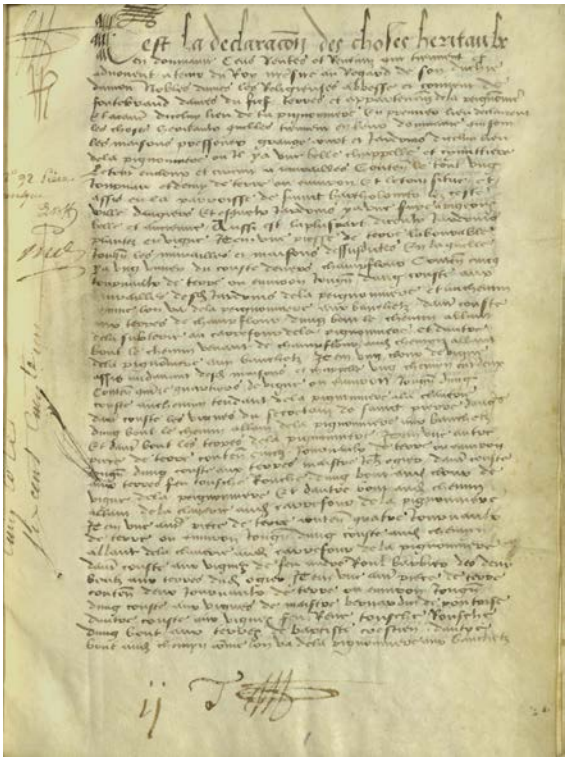
JEAN BODIN, *C'EST LA DECLARAC[I]ON DES CHOSES HERITAULX* (DECLARATION OF FEUDAL HOLDINGS, OR "AVEU ET DÉNOMBREMENTS")

Western France, dated March 30, 1511.
In French. Ink on parchment, 217 x 160 mm.
Loan courtesy of Les Enluminures, *TM 869.*

The Declaration of Feudal Holdings is an early sixteenth-century record of tenancy agreements and rent dues for the Abbey of Fontevraud in the fiefdom of Pignonniere. The manuscript is hand-written by Jean Bodin, and was completed in a short period of thirty-eight days. This type of record is vital to historical understanding of systems of administration in medieval France, and can provide interesting social commentary about the people in Pignonniere under Fontevraud sovereignty.

Fontevraud Abbey in 1511 was under the jurisdiction of Renée de Bourbon, who took power of the Abbey in 1491. The Fontevraud Abbey stands out in history as the largest pre-modern order under female leadership in Europe. It is also the resting place of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204), wife of Henry II of England (r. 1154-1189). The Declaration shows connections between vassals, the Abbey, and the King within a wider system of governance. The meticulous recording of debts, payments, and trades of the tenants, among other information, paint a clear picture about medieval French daily life.





LAND CHARTER OF DUNCAN, EARL OF FIFE TO ROBERT DE ERSKINE

Scotland, c.1343-1344.
In Latin. Ink on parchment and wax seal, 120 (245 with seal) x 350 mm.
University of Guelph, Archival & Special Collections (XS1 MS A313 1331-2).

A charter is a legal document that records the transfer of property. This document is a rare example of a mid-fourteenth century single-sheet Scottish land charter. Prior to the prominence of written records, a symbolic act had to be performed to validate the exchange. If the former owner gave a bit of soil from the piece of land to the new owner, that action provided visual proof of the changing of ownership and authorized the agreement.

A few years after the charter's creation, the Black Death reached Scotland in 1349, killing up to one-third of the population. Though the plague was less widespread than in other European areas, the balance of power still shifted in favour of the peasant over the landowner. There were fewer people to farm the land, so landowners like the newly-propertied Robert Erskine had to pay peasant workers higher wages to retain their labour, leading to the impoverishment of noble households.

CHARTER FROM JAMES V TO WILLIAM SINCLAIR (D.1602), CONFIRMING HIM IN THE BARONY OF PENTLAND

Scotland, August 25, 1542.
In Latin. Parchment and wax seal of James V, seal diameter 110 mm.
University of Guelph, Archival & Special Collections (Sinclair Family Seal Collection, XS5 MS A002)

This seal and land charter were issued by King James V (1512-1542) of Scotland confirming the nobleman William Sinclair in the lands of Pentland. Seals were created when a carved matrix, often made of ivory or metal, was pressed into warm wax, stamping an image into the wax. The specific imagery of this seal uniquely represented the king and his authority, physically embodying the force of his will and authenticating the deed.

The figure of the king is seated on his throne in the middle of the seal and a crown rests atop his head. He holds a sceptre in his right hand, while his left hand covers his heart. Two lions sit beside the king's feet and he is flanked by two shields. The legend encircling the enthroned king has worn away, but the Latin version of his name, JACOBUS, can still be glimpsed at the top of the seal.