Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed: Prices and Movements of Oxford's Academic Manuscripts

Jenny Adams, University of Massachusetts

For the many manuscripts that moved into and out of Oxford's late medieval loan chests, life was spent in constant circulation. As scholars used them as securities for loans, academic volumes were often taken out circulation, returning only after the borrower repaid his debt, or after a loan default would force a sale. Yet physical movement was not the only thing in motion. With each movement into a chest, the price of a manuscript would often change as a local stationer was obligated to reappraise it and mark the new value in the book itself. In this paper I will think through the movement of books in and out of loan chests and the ways this use of books might have shaped their value.

Lost and Found: Why Fragments Matter

Marianne Ailes, University of Bristol

This paper will examine the importance of fragments through case studies examining the significance of manuscript fragments of Old French texts which I have found and/or identified over a number of years: Maugis d'Aigremont, La Chanson de Guillaume, Fouques de Candie, Le Roman de la Rose, and Fierabras. I will consider the significance of specific fragments and how some have fed into understanding of the texts, but also, conversely, how they have been ignored, either because of the way fragments are lost again, through their separation from the knowledge of other MSS or through lack of strategic advertisement of the finds at the time of identification.

Books and Bonds: The Estate Inventory of Chicart Bailly

Katherine Baker, Arkansas State University

Dying in June of 1533, Chicart Bailly left behind a multifaceted career and complex family network. An artisan who specialized in objects made of ivory, bone, and precious woods, his estate also included 122 printed Books of Hours, a bible in three volumes, and 17 works of literature, from the Roman de la Rose to Boccaccio's Des nobles malheureux. All stored in a space called the "room of ivory teeth," his estate inventory records these texts next to one ton of tusks, 1,110 pounds of imported wood, and 300 animal ribs. Likely part of his stock of professional material, the presence of so many Horae can be understood as a companion to the significant volume of religious objects that Chicart sold, such as paternosters. While most were printed on paper, three of the Hours can be singled out for their use of parchment. In addition to their special substrate, two are recorded as having decorated letters and illuminated images, probably examples of the luxury printed Hours associated with turn of the century Paris. A question must be how -- and why -- Chicart owned this significant supply of texts. One answer appears connected to the network forged between his family and the world of the book. Chicart's eldest son Burgonce, for example, appears to have been intent on marrying into this community, and when his first wife Nicole Gonnet died, he married her sister Anne, both women being the daughters of maître enlumineur Jean Gonnet. Before marrying Burgonce, moreover, Anne was the wife of Jean Leclerc, another well-known illuminator. Likely the same Leclerc who trained with Germain Hardouyn in 1500, it is interesting to note that Germain, alongside his brothers Gilles, ran a veritable empire for luxury Hour production in this period. There is even the mention of one Guillaume Hardouyn in the inventory of Bailly – was this another family member involved with the book? In addition to exploring these threads of archival evidence, this paper will propose theories for how and why Chicart possessed so many codices, hopefully filling out the story for some of these books and bonds.

Recovering the Lost Book History of Sufis in the Sixteenth Century

Sushmita Banerjee, University of Delhi

The sufis produced large number of texts in Persian as well as local languages in the fourteenth through the eighteenth century. These texts were diverse in terms of locales of production, genre of writing, languages and metaphors used and nature of circulation. Some texts became widely popular as they were copied and circulated amongst a vast audience of the Muslim population while a large number of such texts were lost and are hard to recover. In this paper I intend to focus on some of the lost texts of sufis that were cited in the latter-day texts to uncover the complex writing of the sufi masters and their disciples.
In the sixteenth century a comprehensive sufi tazkirat, Akhbar al-Akhyar was produced by Abd al-Haqq Muhaddis

Dehlawi in Delhi. This text is oft-cited for a comprehensive account of sufi biographies but besides accounts of great sufi men and women, the text is important as it contains summative accounts of several lost texts as well as texts that are extant in single or rare manuscript copies in libraries. I will discuss several such texts, Fawaid al-Fuad, an immensely popular text even today but no complete manuscript is available in libraries. I will also discuss the letters that were exchanged between Suhrawardi and Chishti sufis that are no longer extant in manuscript collections though these were cited the Akhbar al-Akhyar. Finally, I intend to discuss some of the 'inauthentic' or rhetorical texts such as Dalil al-Arifin which is considered as an unreliable text by modern historians but it was read and cited in the sixteenth century by the sufi masters. Through a study of these texts and looking at narration within narration, I intend to study how lost histories of sufi tenets and practices can be recovered by careful study of latter -day texts.

Joan Bohun and the Spread of Vernacular Religious Practice: Oxford, Trinity College 8 and London, British Library, Harley 2787

B.S.W. Barootes, Leiden University

In The Liturgy in Medieval England (2012), R.W. Pfaff identifies the two earliest English mass books that instruct priests to address their congregants in the vernacular, the manuscripts now preserved as Oxford, Trinity College 8 and London, British Library, Harley 2787. In both missals, the priest is instructed to deliver the bidding prayers to the gathered group in lingua materna, in their mother tongue. However, Pfaff does not examine the origins of these missals in any detail. This paper will investigate the social contexts that produced these two codices within just a few years of one another (c. 1383 to c. 1390). It will argue that both books were the products of a close-knit, aristocratic circle orbiting around the household of Joan Bohun, countess of Hereford. The Trinity 8 missal belonged to Lady Joan and Sir William Beauchamp, Richard II's first chamberlain, younger brother of the rebel earl of Warwick, and close associate of several Lollard knights. Joan, née FitzAlan, was a younger daughter of Richard, earl of Arundel; Arundel married Elizabeth Bohun in 1359, around the same time that his sister Joan married Humphrey Bohun, who would later become the last Bohun earl of Herefordshire and Essex. As I will demonstrate, internal evidence in the Trinity 8 manuscript suggests very close ties between Joan Beauchamp and her namesake paternal aunt: perhaps the volume was itself a gift to the newly married couple c. 1387? Harley 2787 has no such providence, concrete or implied. However, the missal originated in Essex, precisely in the region dominated by the rebel prince, the duke of Gloucester, and his formidable mother-in-law, Joan Bohun. What is more, both Harley 2787 and a slightly later missal with English bidding prayers (London, British Library Harley 4919) are linked to the Bohundependent Braybrooke and FitzWalter families. My discussion will demonstrate the extensive and multiple social strands that wove this social compact together. In so doing, it will posit that Joan Bohun's devotional interests—heretofore suggested largely by endowments and the possible inscription of her name in the Simeon manuscript (London, British Library, Add. 22283, fol. 91v)— significantly influenced the individuals and households of her affinity. Benjamin Barootes is an assistant professor of medieval English language and literature at Leiden University.

Lost, Stolen or Strayed? European Manuscript Fragments in a New Zealand Collection

Alexandra Barratt, University of Waikato

Medieval manuscripts have for centuries suffered the indignity of dismemberment. This article will discuss half a dozen or so fragments from late-medieval French, English and Flemish liturgical manuscripts, most presently in a private collection in New Zealand, though all will evcntually be re-homed in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, and the Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Public Libraries. What they have in common is that we have some degree of knowledge about the parent manuscripts from whom they were untimely ripped. In the case of two of the more spectacular and photogenic fragments (a complete Office of the Dead consisting of 30 folios and a full-page miniature of St Margaret emerging from the dragon, both from French books of hours), this enforced separation took place at least a hundred years ago, when we like to think, perhaps, collectors were less enlightened. But the remainder, it is sad to say, come from manuscripts that were still intact as recently as twenty years ago and their existence, yet again, raises questions about the ethics of the trade in manuscript fragments. This has been greatly facilitated by the Internet and the chances of regulating it are minimal, but medievalists can at least keep an eye on what comes on the market and, occasionally, rescue particularly interesting items. [I hope it will be possible to include some phoptographs.

The Findern Manuscript: Addressing Precarity in Book Bequests

Heather Blatt, Florida International University

When Elizabeth Childrey Kyngeston Findern died in 1463, she left a will notable for a possible reference to the Findern Manuscript, one of the most significant miscellanies of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Elizabeth crafted her will under precarious circumstances that also affected her bequests. Elizabeth's son Thomas by her second husband, William Findern, was at the time of his mother's death embroiled in the War of the Roses as a Lancastrian supporter, in opposition to his parents' service to Henry V. Elizabeth acknowledges this precarity in her will, stating, "I wol that in as my son Sir Thomas Fynderne subjeytte hym to our soverain lord king Edward the iiijth, and of hym purchase grace and good lord ship, that then he have of my bequest" several items including what may be the Findern manuscript or one of its fascicles, "a boke called Gower."1 Precarity of this sort is relatively rare in book bequests, in part because one social function of the will is the projection of stability. Yet, drawing on a big-data project that examines more than 1500 print and manuscript books referenced in English wills of the 15th century, I explore how book owners confronted instability as they planned the distribution of their books after their death. Indeed, I argue that women and men book owners like Elizabeth Findern, sought to address and circumvent precarity in order to ensure the stable maintenance of their memory through the books they gifted.

Borrowing Books for "a comyn profite": Legal and Commemorative Aspects of Fifteenth-Century London Common-Profit Books

Judith Bleeker, University of Groningen

Borrowing Books for "a comyn profite": Legal and Commemorative Aspects of FifteenthCentury London Common-Profit Books Only five manuscripts survive bearing a so-called common-profit colophon on their last folio, specifying a unique lay testamentary loan scheme. This London common-profit book scheme has long been a well-known phenomenon in the field, especially since Wendy Scase's influential 1992 article. 1 Furthermore, recent studies have linked the books to strategies by the mercantile elite and the city's government through the concept of "common profit". However, additional insights can be gained regarding the nature and functions of these devotional books. To this end, my paper focuses on how the books can be positioned within the "salvation market" of fifteenth-century London, which revolved around citizens' strategies and practices surrounding death. Within the context of testamentary charity and commemoration, I approach the corpus from a literary and textual perspective in order to reevaluate the approaches and strategies behind these bequests. I argue that the mechanisms behind the common-profit scheme find their origin in fifteenth-century legal culture, as the colophon's language is inspired by both testaments and legal contracts, specifically contracts relating to property. Through the imitation of such contracts, the books' commissioners aimed to safeguard the scheme from misuse and misappropriation. Moreover, the written provision serves to officialise participation in the scheme, transforming a (private) request into a contractual obligation. I argue that the use of legal inspired terms – along with the appropriation of the term "comyn profite" – indicates the books were regarded as public property and occupied the public space. As such, and as commemorative objects intended for a wide, male and female readership, the books' functions resemble that of monuments. My argument shows the multi-faceted nature of these books as textual and material objects operating in the public space, where legal inspired constructs were employed to safeguard the transactional nature of commemoration.

Whittington's Gift: Reconstructing the Lost Common Library of London's Guildhall

Natalie Calder, Queen's University Belfast / **Dr Hannah Schühle-Lewis,** University of Kent

This pair of lectures will introduce participants to the Leverhulme Trust-funded Whittington's Gift project, which aims to demonstrate that the Guildhall Library was central to the explosion of pastoral and devotional books in circulation in the fifteenth century.

Lecture 1: Contexts

In this paper, Dr Natalie Calder, postdoctoral research assistant to the project, will outline the social contexts of the Guildhall Library and the devotional-literary landscape of London in the fifteenth century. Thanks to the legacy of London's most storied mayor, Richard Whittington (d. 1423), an extraordinary resource for religious education emerged under the auspices of Whittington's innovative executor, John Carpenter, common clerk of London's Guildhall. While it has recently been claimed that the Guildhall was a centre for the copying of canonical works of Middle English literature (Mooney and Stubbs, 2013), this project argues that John Carpenter was also at the heart of the devotional-literary landscape of fifteenth-century London. Author of the Liber Albus and a key custodian of London's cultural memory, Carpenter and his cohort of mercantile elites established the now-lost common library

of London's Guildhall, providing access – we argue – to a repository of exemplars for common use. We contend that the Guildhall Library played a key role in the production and circulation of vernacular texts used for the pastoral education of London's laity, generating a specifically civic form of lay religiosity. The paper will explore the difficulties of tracing the afterlives of the library's contents following its dissolution by Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset. The lost common library at the Guildhall is a testament to a pastoral movement that was driven by London's poorer clerisy and a spiritually ambitious mercantile citizenry.

Lecture 2: Methodologies

Following on from the 'Contexts' paper presented by Dr Natalie Calder, Dr Hannah Schühle-Lewis will discuss a number of methodological approaches by which the project hopes to reconstruct the lost common library of London's Guildhall, and test the hypothesis that the library was instrumental in the copying and dissemination of vernacular devotional compilations to the citizens of the capital in the fifteenth century.

The paper will begin by detailing how the project intends to trace volumes once held at the library. It will examine testamentary evidence related to the library, and will also present other donation evidence in the form of inscriptions in two surviving manuscripts, suggesting that more such evidence could yet be found. The second part of the paper will consider the material evidence afforded by the Middle English devotional compilations that form our corpus. This section will discuss the physical variation in the corpus, but will also note interesting similarities shared between manuscripts. The largest overlaps in the corpus, however, are not material but textual. The final section will demonstrate how the project builds on the work of Margaret Connolly, Ralph Hanna, E.A. Jones and others, using biographical tools and independent analysis to identify textual connections between manuscripts. These
connections will be visualised and explored. By working outwards from already identified groups of manuscripts (such as that discussed by Connolly in her 2003 article), and by focusing on much-copied works such as the fourteenth-century devotional text the Pore Caitif, the project will build a picture of the intricate connections between surviving manuscripts; through such analysis we hope to determine which exemplars might have been held in the Guildhall Library before its dispersal.

"One Ordinary, the Other Extraordinary:" Dual Editions of Two Printed Books in Early Sixteenth-Century Augsburg

Rachel M. Carlisle, Florida State University

The tension between printed books and manuscripts, the former mechanically reproducible and the latter highly valued for its unique qualities as a luxurious object, is apparent in both Italy and northern Europe at the turn of the sixteenth century. Florentine bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci famously reported of Federico da Montefeltro's ducal library in Urbino: "In this library all the books are superlatively good, and written by pen; had there been one printed volume it would have been ashamed in such company. They were beautifully illuminated and written on parchment." Yet, the famed library did contain a number of printed volumes; for example, a copy of Regiomontanus' Kalendarium printed by Erhard Ratdolt in Venice stood amongst its discerning shelves. In this study, I examine two books printed at Augsburg, Germany: the 1505 Romanae vetustatis fragmenta, printed by Ratdolt upon his return to the city from Venice, and the Prayer Book of Maximilian I. Through technological innovations in printing, like specially made typefaces, multicolor woodcut illustrations, and metallic inks, Augsburg's printers harnessed the power of the press while preserving the aesthetic qualities of manuscripts desired by their wealthiest patrons. In addition to small runs of luxury copies, both the Romanae vetustatis fragmenta and Prayer Book were produced in larger numbers on paper aimed at a more general readership. I argue that this production of dual editions, "one ordinary, the other extraordinary," reflects market pressures on book production during the transition from manuscript to print in early sixteenth-century Augsburg. Biography Rachel M. Carlisle is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Art History at Florida State University and holds a Master of Arts degree from the Courtauld Institute of Art (2014). She specializes in northern European art (c. 1400—1600), and her dissertation, "All'antica Augsburg: Picturing German Antiquity in the Age of Print" engages with the themes of early modern cosmopolitanism and antiquarianism, examining cross-cultural exchange and the revival of classical antiquity in early sixteenth-century Augsburg, Germany. She is a 2020-2021 Fulbright Research Award recipient and will continue dissertation research at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel as Rolf und Ursula Schneider-Stiftung Doctoral Fellow during 2021-2022.

Lost Landscapes: Albums and Scrapbooks of Medieval Manuscript Fragments

Margaret Connolly, University of St Andrews

This paper will consider the fixing of fragments of medieval manuscripts into blank books during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These assemblages pleased the aesthete and the curious, and preserved vulnerable miniatures and examples of calligraphy; their creation was an activity suitable for both sexes, and for the hobbyist as well as the serious collector. But in many cases such volumes provided only temporary accommodation and the books were subsequently disassembled to facilitate the individual sale of the fragments. Much current scholarly energy is directed towards identifying manuscript fragments in terms of their origins, and in virtually reconstructing original medieval codices. Much less attention has been paid to the pre twentieth-century albums and scrapbooks which provided their owners not just with a mechanism to preserve these fragile materials, but also with particular ways of viewing them. This lost landscape will be the focus of my paper, and I will discuss both extant and destroyed albums and scrapbooks.

Rodrigo de Lavandeira: A case study of a peripheral bookseller, printer and librarian in a fifteenth-century peripheral book world

Benito Rial Costas, Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Fifteenth-century print culture has been traditionally dominated by works on certain Italian and French book centres and related to successful private businesses and entrepreneurial endeavors given their alleged central role in Renaissance and book culture. As a consequence, the supposedly European peripheries, their books, their printers and their common peculiar nature, victims of the attraction that the paradigm of the Italian Renaissance, and the ideas of book centres and enterprise have had on the academy, have barely received scholarly attention as a whole. Book artisans, printers and works on the first decades of printing in the alleged fifteenth-century peripheries document a world in which it is difficult to separate medieval publishing mechanisms and supposedly early modern entrepreneurial ventures, to clearly divide patronage and book business, and to understand the role of authors, institutions and entrepreneurs in printing, publishing and selling printed books.
In this paper, I present an example of some of these issues through an analysis of the work of a bookseller, printer and librarian, Rodrigo de Lavandeira, who worked for the poor and isolated Spanish Cathedral Chapter of Orense between 1490 and 1511. The analysis of Lavandeira's will and codicil will allow me to present his complex relations with scribes, printers, book merchants and readers, to document some works printed by Lavandeira but today lost, and to show how patronage, promotion, economic support and cultural encouragement were often mixed in Cathedral Chapter of Orense's publishing endeavors and relations with him.

The Death and Resurrection of John Sadler's Music Books

Julia Craig-McFeely and Matthias Range, University of Oxford

While some books suffer loss due to the damage caused by time, and others languish in obscurity thanks to erroneous information about their owner, for a set of books to suffer both fates is adding insult to injury. The Sadler music partbooks in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, consist of over 700 leaves that are badly damaged by burn-through. As a result, they have had a precarious existence and by the early 20th century were in danger of disintegrating altogether. By the 1970s they were unreadable and were withdrawn from access. Although much of the music – dating from the middle years of the 16th century – was also preserved in other sources, the context and materiality of the books themselves was lost.
Their owner (believed also to have been their scribe), identified in the 1970s as a Northamptonshire country parson, gave the books a certain notoriety because of the oddity of the fact that he should have owned such items and the recusant implications thereby read into their contents.

In recent years the authors with a team of editors have digitally reconstructed the books using high-resolution digital images, showing that they were completed by 1585 at the latest. The illustrations and decoration can now be closely examined, providing evidence of access to continental books and ephemera such as playing cards. The

digital recovery in turn led to the discovery that the owner had been mis-identified and the books misdated: they belonged in fact to a wealthy Norwich merchant (who was not their copyist), some 80 miles distant from the hapless country parson, and have no recusant connections. Now that they have been recovered and returned to the canon, these books provide generous evidence for the dissemination of music, cosmopolitan urban merchant culture outside London, and music book production, that has previously been absent from Tudor music research.

'In the Grave of the Living': The Manuscript of the Cronache di Singniori di Fiandra in Late Medieval Bruges

Lisa Demets, Utrecht University

The oldest vernacular manuscript of the Excellent Chronicle of Flanders is an Italian translation of the Middle Dutch chronicle now preserved in the Public Library in Bruges (MS 685). The manuscript was written in Bruges in 1452, and is particularly famous because of the inclusion of the oldest map of the County of Flanders. Linguistic analysis of the chronicle pointed to Lucca as the origin of the author-scribe. Most probably, the writer was an Italian merchant residing in Bruges. In the prologue of the chronicle, the Italian writer expressed his dislike and aversion to the Flemish people and in particular to the city of Bruges which he macabrely called 'the grave of the living'. In this paper, I analyse the relation between the Middle Dutch and Italian manuscript versions of the chronicle and propose a new hypothesis for the identification of the author-scribe as a bankrupt member of the famous Lucchese Rapondi family spending his last days in the 'Dark Chamber' or debtors' prison in Bruges.

The Precarious Survival of the English Oeuvre of Thomas of Hales in Oxford Jesus College MS 29

Susanna Fein, Kent State University

The Owl and the Nightingale survives in only two manuscripts, and both are derived from a lost exemplar, the lineaments of which have been traced by Neil Cartlidge (in the 2005 collection *Imagining the Book*, ed. Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson). Tantalizing clues about this exemplar also survive in a catalogue of 1400 for a now-vanished library of the Premonstratensian abbey of Titchfield in Hampshire. Consequently, the study of *Owl* in Oxford Jesus College MS 29 (II) prompts an investigator to rummage among items now lost or merely fragmentary: a second manuscript with some overlapping contents; a lost yet discernible exemplar; an extinct yet recorded medieval library. Beyond these clues are some tentative signs of original purpose and provenance to be found in Jesus 29 itself. Piecing together how these ghostly phantoms might fit with observable facts can enhance knowledge of the circumstances behind *Owl*'s making. More surprisingly, it also advances what we can know about Thomas of Hales, whose recognized English oeuvre consists of just one exquisite lyric (*Love Rune*) found in Jesus 29. Even though some signs are elusive in meaning, the web they create strengthens a theory that among the anonymous poems of Jesus 29 there survive more remnants of Thomas' English oeuvre.

The Lost Exemplars that Found the Confessio Amantis

Joel Fredell, Southeastern Louisiana University

The imminent and long-awaited publication of the Catalogue of the Manuscripts of John Gower's Confessio Amantis has prompted substantial new ideas about this great poem's early history. Recent arguments by the Catalogue's two editors, Derek Pearsall and Linne Mooney, point to the need for a fundamental reconsideration of the Confessio's history during Gower's lifetime. From the time of George C. Macaulay the Fairfax and Stafford manuscripts of the Confessio have been recognized as the earliest, and as the foundation for two textual traditions entangled with the politics of two kings. Macaulay's assumptions about the lost forms of the Confessio in the 1390s are now deeply suspect, and need replacing. One path to recovering some information about these lost forms is by comparing column-by-column copying in these two manuscripts that Macaulay first admitted were very close textually. These comparisons indicate a single exemplar, not a trio of circulating versions, at the founding moments of the poem's public life.

Derek Pearsall has now renamed Macaulay's "second recension" as the "Huntington group" after Stafford (housed in the Huntington Library collection), but very little work has been done on this group. As Peter Nicholson has said, the relations among these manuscripts "are the thorniest of all the remaining problems in the text of the Confessio." Virtually all such work, including Nicholson's, has focused on the famous problems of the dedications to competing royals at the beginning and end of the poem. Although few scholars have noticed, the Huntington group follows the Fairfax group (Macaulay's third revision) in all dedications that survive except for Bodley 294, an outlier in all sorts of other respects as well. Fairfax and

Stafford are close textually in all but the sections in which Stafford has additional passages. Evidence that begins to establish a common lost exemplar can be found in parallel column for column copying, both in the early books with very similar texts and in the later books with incorporated or missing passages.

The lost woodcut(s) of the Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 1499 (but 1500-1501) edition of the Comedia de Calisto y Melibea. A temptative reconstruction.

Amaranta Saguar García, Universidad Complutense de Madrid

One of the most discussed issues in the scholarship surrounding the Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 1499 (but 1500-1501) edition of the Comedia de Calisto y Melibea is how many leaves are missing from the beginning of the only surviving copy, kept at the Hispanic Society of America under the shelfmark Inc. 75. However, one of the few points in which celestinesque scholars agree is that the now lost title page was illustrated. In this paper, I will discuss how the woodcut of the lost title page might have looked like. With this purpose, I will examine the title page woodcuts of the other two known editions of the Comedia de Calisto y Melibea (Toledo: Pedro Hagenbach, 1500 and Sevilla: Estanislao Polono, 1501), which I consider to be further versions of the same woodcut that once illustrated the title page of the Burgos Comedia. Moreover, I will evidence that, in last instance, the inspiration for all three woodcuts of the three editions of the Comedia is to be found in the early prints by Albrecht Dürer, more concretely those he produced during his stay in Basel between 1492 and 1494. Furthermore, I will propose that the designs for Johannes Amerbach's unpublished edition of Terence's Comoediae, customarily attributed to Dürer as well, are as influential to the illustrations of the Burgos Comedia as the illustrations of the Strasbourg: Johannes Grüninger, 1496 edition of Terence's Comoediae. Finally, I will suggest that there might have existed an additional full page woodcut in the lost initial leaves of the Burgos Comedia, as in the Augsburg: Sigismund Grimm and Max Wirsung, 1520 illustrated edition of the German translation and at the beginning of each play in Grüninger's edition of Terence.1 If this were the case, the title page illustration of the Burgos Comedia might have been that of a theatre, instead of a further version of the woodcut of the Toledo and Sevilla editions, in line with the iconographic tradition of Terence's illustrated incunabula.

"Sklendere eyris": material and biological survival in the Monk's verbal and visual portrayals

Anamaria Ramona Gellert, British Institute, Padua

I will discuss the verbal and pictorial portrayals of the Monk in Huntington Library, MS El 26 C 9 and in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.4.27 as well as in William Caxton's 1483 illustrated edition of the Canterbury Tales. In MS Gg.4.27, the Monk's miniature is one of the six representing the pilgrims on horseback which have survived the sixteenth-century deliberate mutilation of the volume. My paper analyses the Monk's transformation from unruly storyteller into righteous pilgrim in fifteenth-century iconography. I will also touch upon issues of ownership and their bearing on the reception and material rendering of Chaucer's text.

The symbolism of the love-knot pin as a secular love token and of hunting as sexual pursuit present in the GP portrayal of the Monk is corroborated by the Host's words in the prologue to The Monk's Tale, where he is humorously described as a man of good breeding stock, an excellent "tredefowel" who could have put his stamina to good use in "engendrure" if he had not made a vote of chastity. Unlike those puny laymen who are incapable of having healthy robust heirs and whose wives are driven to "assay" religious folk, he would have been good at paying Venus' debt (ll. 1954-1961). Fred Robinson has pointed out that while the Host's banter is a variation on the goliardic theme of the "clerus scit diligere virginem plus milite", the Host's reference to the negative effect of the withdrawal of the clergy from parenthood on the stamina and robustness of the offspring represents a peculiar treatment of the theme. What is more, in the passage dealing with the issue of engendering heirs, Huntington Library, MS El 26 C 9 and in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.4.27 present different readings.

Since both manuscripts belong to the A group of the stemma codicum and therefore share the same affiliation, I will discuss the implications of the presence of two lines in the "heir passage" in MS Gg.4.27, which are not found in Ellesmere.

The Unknown Manuscript of the Hebrew Chumash: the Lailashi Codex

Thea Gomelauri, University of Oxford

The Lailashi Codex is the most neglected Hebrew Pentateuch ever known to biblical scholarship. The manuscript exhibits more meticulous layout of biblical text than the famous Aleppo, Leningrad, and the British Museum codices. This is especially evident in the portions of Song of the Sea (Shirat Ha-Yam) and Haazinu. It points to the work of highly-skilled scribes. My paper will focus on a peculiar feature, which has been misidentified. The Lailashi

Codex has been examined, for the first and last time, about 50 years ago. Professor G. E. Weil, a French Hebraist, paid visit to Georgia in order to study the manuscript at the invitation of Professor George Tsereteli, Founder of the School of Oriental Studies in Georgia. Weil noted distinct parshiyot signs, which appear thrice in the Codex. He read these signs as the combination of two Hebrew letters (Phe and Tav) and suggested their possible interpretation. My paper will focus on Weil's misreading of three parshiyot signs and will propose new explanation of these meticulously designed features.

Undercover Bindings - finding pieces of books inside other books

Daryl Green, University of Edinburgh

We have all experienced that exhilaration of opening up a book and marveling at the endpapers, whether they are marbled or block-printed or gilt; and anyone who regularly works with manuscripts and early printed books in their contemporary bindings will be familiar with finding cut up leaves of parchment and paper, manuscript and printed waste used as endpapers, spine linings and just about everything else. My work over the past seven years has uncovered an allied practice which has to-date only been recorded in a few passing footnotes and left in the darker corners of material bibliography. My paper, Undercover Bindings, will detail the practice of binders re-using older leather covering material as functional, and potentially decorative, end"papers" (illustrated by the image from Oriel above, and St Andrews left). This study spans from the late 15th century to the turn of the 18th century, and my corpus of now over 40 examples can largely be geographically and chronologically sorted into three main instances of this odd binding practice (London, Oxford and St Andrews). However, the emergence of this phenomena raises interesting questions of functionality, aesthetics, antiquarianism and recycling which are all familiar discourses to the more traditional study of fragments in bindings. My aim in putting this topic in front of the EBS delegation is to both incite discussion and to potentially raise further examples of this practice (a regular occurrence).

"Caxton Fragments in Irish Libraries: An Update"

Carrie Griffin, University of Limerick

In recent years, two Irish cathedral libraries have been rehomed in Irish universities for conservation and cataloguing. I spoke about the Bolton Collection, also known as the Cashel Cathedral library collection, which is now held at the Glucksman Library, University of Limerick. At the conference of the EBS in Dublin in 2019 I shared some new findings on the two fragments of William Caxton's edition of Chaucer's Book of Fame that are held in the Bolton Collection. The recently-rehoused Otway-Maurice Collection, formerly at St Canice's Cathedral Library also boasts a Caxton fragment, this one from his edition of John Gower's Confessio Amantis, that was preseved and presented in a similar way to the Bolton Caxtons. This collection is currently held at Maynooth University Library. In this short paper I will give an update on the fragments in both libraries, sharing what is known about them as well as discussing the opportunities for research and scholarly collaboration that might be offered by greater attention to the identification and curation of fragments.

Four medieval copies of the Buchedd Beuno

Anna Gusakova, Lomonosov Moscow State University

Buchedd Beuno is one of the few surviving Lives of medieval Welsh saints written in Welsh. It is believed to be a translation from a lost Latin original dating from around the 12th century. There are four medieval copies of the Buchedd Beuno: Oxford Jesus College MS 119 ("Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi"), NLW Peniarth MS 15, NLW Llanstephan MS 27, and NLW Llanstephan MS 4. All of them were created between the mid-14th and early 15th centuries and took the origin from South Wales. The report will also provide some insight into the possible connection of the earliest copy, the "Book of Anchorite", to the Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida in Ceredigion. In all manuscripts Buchedd Beuno is adjacent to the Welsh Life of St. David - Buchedd Dewi.
The Life of St. Beuno is associated with three historical realities: the era of the clashes between the Welsh and the Anglo-Saxons (according to legend, St. Beuno lived in the 7th century), the era of the struggle against the Norman conquerors, when they had not yet consolidated themselves on the island, and the end of the Middle Ages, when the rule of the Norman dynasty had already become a given. In addition to the usual goals of creating hagiographic literature (to save the soul and increase the level of education), Buchedd Beuno was intended to confirm the saint's rights to certain land holdings. But not only to individual churches and parishes, which were mentioned in the text of the Life, but also to the lands of Wales as a whole. This opposition of primordial Welsh and alien power (depending on the era - Anglo-Saxon or Norman) makes Buchedd Beuno related to Buchedd Dewi. Based on this,

the circumstances of the creation and transfer of manuscripts containing a copy of the Life of St. Beuno seem to be extremely interesting.

'Lost Libraries: Another Approach'

Ralph Hanna, University of Oxford

The other approach, in which I'm inspired by my colleagues Traugott Lawler and Anne Hudson, concerns authorial citation, rather than wills. Not only does this indicate, as wills do not, books in use, but it has a significant interface with where the rubber meets the road, since the only goal of this discipline is imagining culture. EBS only allows a brief sampling, so I'm limited to two pretty familiar but rather overlooked examples. (a) Tracing a line in Chaucer back to where it started (in Avicenna), which probably uncovers eight unrecognised books from a single institutional library, s. xiv med. (b) Looking at two familiar passages in Piers Plowman, which directs attention to books not generally associated with the poet (and pretty much uninvestigated).

Wayward Maidens and Cuckold-Makers: Multilingual Female Lyric Voices in BL MS Egerton 3537

Carissa M. Harris, Temple University

Fol. 59r of the early sixteenth-century commonplace book BL MS Egerton 3537 opens with two lyric fragments in women's voices, both copied in English as well as Latin versions. The first, "And I war a madyn," directs its expression of sexual regret to an audience of "moni" maidens. The second lyric ("Mi love is gone to London"), which is not listed in the Digital Index of Middle English Verse, articulates a young woman's anger over her lover's departure to London and her vengeful intention to "make him cocold" in his absence. This paper recovers these two critically overlooked English lyrics and analyzes them in conversation with their Latin counterparts as well as with each other, focusing particularly on how they portray feminine sexual transgression, female voice, and gendered community and analyzing them in their multilingual manuscript contexts.

Survival and Resilience: Manuscripts Produced in Late-Medieval Scotland in the National Library of Scotland's Collection

Marlene V. Hennessy, Hunter College, CUNY

The material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation of 1560 had a profound and devastating impact on the survival of medieval manuscripts in Scotland, as did the earlier Wars of Independence with England, during which castles and monasteries were burned and libraries plundered, and documentary and legal texts were systematically destroyed. John Higgitt's volume on Scottish libraries for the Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues notes that sadly, 'No medieval Scottish library is represented by more than a handful of extant manuscripts or printed books.' That said, the subject of Scottish manuscripts, and especially of the scribes and artists who made them, and readers who owned them, still holds great promise for future research. Generally speaking we have much more abundant manuscript evidence for late medieval England. It is estimated that only one percent of all Scottish medieval liturgical manuscripts remain. This number has been calculated based upon the number of texts the clergy and monastic orders would have needed to celebrate Mass and to recite and sing the liturgical hours. Some of these service books were simply worn down or even obliterated by heavy use over the centuries, but many others were systematically destroyed during the Reformation. The vast scale of bibliographical destruction makes all the more urgent the need for a coherent picture of both book production and the book trade in late medieval Scotland. The history of indigenous manuscript decoration and illustration in Scotland has yet to be written and little attention hitherto has been given to visual images of any kind in Scottish manuscripts from the late medieval period. This brief talk aims to survey several lesser-known items in the collection of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, which contain unique evidence of manuscript production and visual culture in late medieval Scotland. Many of these items tell a remarkable story of destruction, survival, and resilience—a story very much tied to the history of the nation.

Unreadable Exemplars in Middle English Literature

Katherine Hindley, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

In various medieval literary texts, authors draw attention to the illegibility or inaccessibility of their sources. *Amoryus and Cleopes* is said to have been translated from a marvellous book, written in letters of gold, that no-one could understand until a passing Greek scholar turned it into Latin. *The Book of Margery Kempe* describes the original copy of its own text, written in such a combination of English and German that it could

be read 'only be specyal grace'. Hoccleve's *Series* refers to allegedly deficient or absent exemplars to explain the state of its poems. The rubric to a prayer found in the Takamiya and Wellcome birth girdles states that it was copied from an original, written in gold, that was given to a hermit by the archangel Michael and subsequently stolen by the fiend. In all these examples, the text available to the reader is defined and judged in relation to a real or imagined original that cannot be read.
In this talk, I will consider the use to which authors put the idea of the unreadable or inaccessible exemplar. On the one hand, a description of lavish golden text or elaborate decoration can serve as a guarantee of divine provenance or religious value – a trope Kempe subverts when she guarantees the value of her text through the poor quality of its original. On the other, claims about inaccurate and unavailable exemplars allow Hoccleve to assign multiple meanings to the same text, undermining the stability of textual meaning more broadly.

"Blood-Stained Manuscripts in Renaissance Sicily: Matteo Barresi and His Books"
Laura Ingallinella, Wellesley College

Matteo Barresi (d. 1531), marquis of Pietraperzia, belonged to one of the oldest families in the aristocracy of central Sicily. In the course of two decades, he built his family's fortune through deft negotiations with the crown of Spain and the viceré of Palermo, and he became a committed patron of intellectuals and artists. Barresi was also a collector of manuscripts. In this paper, I will reconstruct his library. Manuscripts now scattered in libraries across different continents bear Barresi's ex-libris along with the date in which he created a dedicated space for his collection. Far from being an isolated actor from a peripheral geographical background, Barresi shows through his library how he reached beyond local patterns of acquisition. He acquired manuscripts that originally belonged to the now-lost manuscript collections of ancient families from northeastern Sicily, but he also, most notably, collected manuscripts that he likely acquired during his missions in the Italian peninsula. Some of these manuscripts are of particular interest because they preserve very important texts for our understanding of medieval Italian literary culture (e.g., translation of Livy's Ab urbe condita into medieval Italian).

Barresi's library is not only relevant from the point of view of its creation, but also from that of its dissolution. In 1531, Barresi was murdered in his own bed, a few feet from his manuscript collection. His killer, as it soon became clear, was his son, Girolamo. Barresi's murder resulted in a decade-long trial that concluded with Girolamo's sentence to death. During the years between Girolamo's arrest and his death, Barresi's library dissolved into thin air. As I will demonstrate, Barresi's manuscripts were likely sold or donated by Girolamo and his family, when Girolamo was still in the hopes of being pardoned by means of bribery, and he sold most of the possessions he had inherited from his father. It is through these patterns of dispersal that manuscripts originally belonging to Barresi found their way to members of the Spanish aristocracy, and in the hands of other bibliophiles tied to the vice-royal library.

The Aulo Gellio's Noctes Atticae (1472, Venice, Nicolas Jenson) owned by Regional University Library in Catania: printing, illumination, ownership
Simona Inserra, University of Catania

During the cataloging activities of the incunabula held at Regional University Library in Catania, a remarkable iconographic setting was discovered in a copy of the Aulo Gellio Noctes Atticae (1472, Venice, Nicolas Jenson). Therefore the aim of this paper is to describe the complex iconography of the book (with shelfmark U. Rari Inc. 51) which consists of an hand-illuminated architectural frontpage with a coat of arms, historiated and bianchi girari initials (the white vine-stem motif), and simple red and blue initials; according to Lilian Armstrong, this is certainly a decorative work by the Renaissance miniaturist known as "the Master of the Putti", active in Northern Italy in the 1470s.

This unexpected finding was possible thanks to the cataloging project "Incunaboli a Catania II: Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria", which is carried according to the standards normally used for manuscripts, that allows to describe accurately each copy paying attention to the incunabula's materiality and provenance marks: patrons and ownership notes, decorations, binding, readership signs and shelfmark patterns, booksellers notes.
This discovery could work as a brilliant example of how significant details, which otherwise would have remained hidden, can be brought to light through the accurate study of every single copy of incunabula stored in the library.

Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea: a mixed-woodcut testimony

Ana-Milagros Jiménez-Ruiz, University of Zaragoza

The Comedy and Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea, mostly known after 19th century as La Celestina, was a bestselling play during the 16th century. The number of editions (88 well identified editions1) that were published during the Golden Age period can be only compare with The Quijote, in the field of fictional Spanish literature. During the last decades lots of new editions have been discovered and studied by analytical bibliographers. On the basis of Textual iconography (Tanselle, Fernández Valladares), the current communication analyses an interesting manipulated testimony linked with [Rome: Marcellus Silber, 1515-1516]. Focusing on its woodcuts (Griffin, Albalá-Pelegrín), the combination of different iconographical programs in this printed testimony allows us to consider the diffusion of some Celestina's editions in Italy.

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'Preserving and Perfecting Chaucer'

Hope Johnston, Baylor University

Chaucer's fame guaranteed the survival of copies printed c.1477-1602 that might otherwise be cast aside but were mended instead, their utility extended through carefully-copied manuscript additions and various creative amateur interventions. This paper proposes to share examples of these approaches from books housed in collections large and small, from the Beinecke and the British Library to less-frequented university libraries in Illinois and upstate New York.

Copies in the Shropshire Archives and Carlisle Cathedral that have remained off the beaten path in the same locality for many generations; on the other hand, copies in library of Canterbury Cathedral owe their presence there to donations in the nineteenth century. The dispersal of books through duplicate sales is a well-known phenomenon among book historians; a census of extant Chaucer copies shows the other side of the equation, which might potentially of interest within the aegis of the conference theme. Current library catalogs of US universities, large and small, document old Chaucer editions donated by alumni. A 1602 copy in the University of Indiana Lilly Library contains dozens of auction catalog notices from the 1960s-70s tipped-in across the endpapers: the combination of Chaucer's perceived prestige, with the availability of copies, leads one to find interesting books in overlooked places.

Chaucer's fame may have preserved copies long after they looked their best, but by the late nineteenth century, the fashion for "perfected" copies made the survival of individual copies exceedingly perilous. Made-up copies present a curious case study of loss *and* survival, adding to the potential interest in findings recovered through a census of early printed Chaucer editions.

A Library of Lost Works: The Importance of Tracking Non-Extant Books

S.C. Kaplan, Independent Scholar

Gabrielle de la Tour d'Auvergne, countess of Montpensier, is celebrated among medieval French woman book owners for the size of her library. At her death in 1474, her executors recorded over 200 books in her posthumous inventory. Gabrielle might or might not have read all of them--at least forty belonged to her husband, Louis I of Bourbon-Montpensier--but their presence in her inventory confirms Gabrielle's bibliophilia. Of the remaining 165

books, only nine have been identified with extant manuscripts, due in part to the laconic nature of how each item was recorded in the inventory. And yet Gabrielle's library testifies to an intricate web of familial and intellectual connections to other women of the French aristocracy that would be completely obscured if we limited ourselves to studying only those manuscripts known to still exist today.
According to the information on women's libraries currently collected in the Books of Duchesses project headed by myself and Sarah Wilma Watson, the first dozen non-extant non-paraliturgical books in Gabrielle's library connect her to twenty different women on the continent and in England, many of whose copies of these works are non-extant as well. These are popular works--the French translation of Titus Livius' Decades, of St. Augustine's City of God, of the Four Sons of Heymond. Yet other of Gabrielle's non-extant books contained copies of texts very recently produced for certain of her female relatives, such as the Pas de la mort, a poem composed between 1460 and 1465 for one of her nieces, Isabelle de Bourbon, countess of Charolais. These non-extant manuscripts demonstrate that the connections to other female aristocrats are not accidental; rather, they indicate a deliberate strategy for strengthening familial ties, quite possibly to political ends. Further, they offer a wealth of information about rates of transmission of literary works within these familial networks. This paper's presentation of the multilayered literary networks connecting the women of the medieval French aristocracy in the example of Gabrielle de la Tour d'Auvergne will thus demonstrate the necessity of taking non-extant books into account in discussions of women's libraries and their roles in literary and cultural transmission.

'A Fragment from the Montbaston Atelier (c. 1330-1360): BnF MS. fr. 2170 (Le Roman de Brun de la Montaigne)'
Melek Karatas, King's College London

Paris, BnF MS fr. 2170 contains the only (known) surviving fragment of the little-studied verse romance, Le Roman de Brun de la Montaigne, produced in Paris in the mid-fourteenth century and illustrated in the Montbaston Atelier (active c. 1330-c.1360). This paper discusses the hermeneutic challenges faced by scholars dealing with 'lost texts' (ie. the missing part(s) of Brun de la Montaigne as well as other copies of it that might have existed), and what can be learned about the text through the Montbaston illuminators' engagement with it. In particular it considers the role of Jeanne de Montbaston, as one of the illuminators, in the production and reception of the manuscript.

Lost, Burned and Recovered: Tracing the Provenance History of a Copy of Caxton's Golden Legend
Takako Kato, De Montfort University

On 29 June 1865, a fire at Sotheby's in London destroyed extensive libraries prior to their sales. Among them was Important and Valuable Library of the Late George Offor, Esq, including a copy of William Caxton's Golden Legend (1483). This paper demonstrates that this copy, hitherto believed to be lost, managed to survive the fire and now is Incunable Collection R4591 in the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester. Further evidence confirms that before it was put on sale in 1865, Offor used it as 'a hospital copy' in order to 'sophisticate' other copies of the Golden Legend. This paper also argues that prior to Offor's ownership the copy was in the hands of a publisher and bookseller William Pickering, and he too removed several leaves from it and repurposed them. By analysing the patterns of the rubrication added in this edition, I have also identified that the surviving leaves that originally derived from this copy are now scattered all over the world: one leaf in Boston, one leaf in Washington, eleven leaves in New York and one leaf in Uppsala. By filling the gap in the provenance history of this copy now in Manchester, this paper throws further light on the thriving antiquarian book trade in the nineteenth century.

RECONSTRUCTING THE LOST ARCHETYPE OF THE *EPISTOLA LENTULI*
Michael P. Kuczynski, Tulane University, New Orleans

The *Epistola Lentuli* ("Letter of Lentulus") is a short apocryphal text, in Latin, that purports to describe the physical appearance and demeanor of Jesus Christ. It was translated into all the medieval vernaculars, including Middle English and Anglo-French, and became widely popular in the Middle Ages. Scholars are divided concerning the text's historicity, which purports to derive from a letter sent to the Roman Senate by an associate of Pontius Pilate, one Publius Lentulus. That is, the fiction of the letter is that it is an eyewitness account of Jesus. In this paper, I reconsider the origins of the *Epistola Lentuli,* arguing that it began as an imaginative, meditative gloss to Psalm 44:3 ("Thou art beautiful above the sons of men") and that it was probably composed by Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109) or one of his circle, under the influence of his philosophical treatise, *Cur Deus Homo* ("Why God became human"). I also propose a reconstruction or restoration of the original Latin text, now lost, based on the 75-odd surviving manuscripts.

"As longe as þe booke endureth": Loss, Survival, and Late Medieval Common-Profit Book"

David Lavinsky, Yeshiva University

This talk will examine the handful of surviving common-profit books. Dating to the second quarter or middle of the fifteenth century, these volumes, as their closing inscriptions often explained, circulated for the common profit, or collective spiritual edification, of their successive users. Under this charitable system, not only could the book be lent "for a tyme to sum oþer persoone"; it also obliged the person to whom it was initially committed to transfer the book at the time of his death to another user, and to repeat this process, going from person to person, for as long as the volume itself endured. In other words, its very purpose as a book provided for its continual transmission, stretching to the end of its material life. But while their compilers envisioned the eventual disintegration of such books, several survive, including my central example, CUL MS Ff.6.31, a common-profit book made from the goods of John Colop, a London merchant with ties to the book trade. Looking closely at this volume, my talk will build on what we know about the origins, purposes, circulation, and paradoxical survival of manuscripts associated with the common-profit system. Although common-profit books anticipated the limits of their own survival as material objects, they functioned, I argue, as important vehicles for the dissemination and lasting significance of a wide range of religious and devotional writing in the period, including extracts from the Wycliffite Glossed Gospels, selections from Walter Hilton, and material (somewhat spuriously) attributed to Rolle. Through their intended use and intentional versatility, common-profit books forged a hybrid vernacularity that crossed formal, material, and chronological boundaries.

New Copies of a Thomas Wyatt Lyric

Conor Leahy, University of East Anglia

The poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt is chiefly attested in five manuscript miscellanies, commonly known as the Egerton MS, the Devonshire MS, the Blage MS, the Arundel Harington MS, and the Park-Hill MS. Ninety-seven poems ascribed to Wyatt were also printed in the first edition of Richard Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (1557), many of which appear in no other source. When taken together, these manuscript and print sources form the basis for any modern edition of Wyatt's verse, but they contain fundamental ambiguities as to which poems Wyatt actually wrote, and which versions he may have considered definitive.

Beyond these witnesses, there is evidence of a broader, more ephemeral circulation of Wyatt's verse in a range of commonplace books and other manuscripts. This paper adds to that body of evidence by introducing two manuscript copies of Wyatt's 'Mystrustfull mindes be moved', a poem previously attested only in *Songes and Sonettes*. The first witness is a scribal copy of the poem that was identified by a cataloguer at the Folger Shakespeare Library, but which has not come to the attention of Wyatt scholars. This copy is preserved on the verso of the title page of *The courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio*, trans. Thomas Hoby (1561). The second witness is a newly discovered manuscript copy of the same poem, preserved at the back of a sixteenth-century legal precedent book at The National Archives, Kew (E 36/194). The first four lines of Wyatt's poem are copied in a sixteenth-century secretary hand alongside a selection of verses in Latin, Italian, and English. This paper describes and contextualises both witnesses; when taken together, they offer a fresh case study in the early circulation of Wyatt's verse, and reveal some of the literary and legal contexts in which the poet's words were read and remembered a generation after his death.

'Anne de Graville and a Doubly-Lost Manuscript of her Rondeaux'

Elizabeth L'Estrange, University of Birmingham

This paper is drawn from recent research that reconstructs the library of Anne de Graville (c. 1490-1540), writer and bibliophile at the court of Claude of France in France. In particular it focuses on a 'doubly lost' frontispiece showing Anne presenting her Rondeaux, a reworking of Chartier's Belle dame sans mercy to a high-ranking court lady: the frontispiece survived as a single leaf insert in another manuscript that has itself been lost since the 1970s. The paper thus explores the difficulties – and sometimes surprises – in piecing together women's collections, proposes a new date for the composition of the Rondeaux, and sheds new light on Anne's connections at the French court.

The manuscript of the Chester abbey annals

Julian Luxford, University of St Andrews

A set of annals from the birth of Christ to 1297, composed at St Werburgh's abbey, Chester, survives in a single manuscript now in the Cheshire Archives and Local Studies centre at Chester. This book is not monastic, but rather, a copy of a medieval manuscript made after the dissolution of the abbey, probably around 1600. It was described when its annals were edited for the Lancashire and Cheshire records society in the 1880s but does not appear to have had much attention since then. However, it has features that should interest current book-historians. Its scribes evidently tried to preserve the layout and palaeographical style of a medieval manuscript, presumably at the request of some employer. They were not very consistent in their attempts (which is interesting in itself), but the desire to make something that looked like an artefact of the past is clear enough, and perhaps conditioned the choice of medieval fragments for guard-leaves fore and aft. These guard-leaves are from two sources, one a fourteenth-century breviary, the other a fifteenth-century illuminator's workshop. The latter contains elaborate drawings of the Crucifixion and Man of Sorrows. The manuscript as a whole is thus a confection that raises questions about how its makers understood their relation to a period we call 'medieval' but which to them was relatively recent. Quite possibly, they wanted to recall a cultural association – e.g. of 'monkishness', or simply Catholic religion – rather than oldness for its own sake. Imitating Gothic script and inserting scraps of pre-Reformation liturgy and imagery would have served this end.

The manuscript is well-suited to the theme of the conference. Through it, a medieval book survives as a kind of shadow, rather than just a transcript of a text. The effort to make it thus caused the survival of the guard-leaves. The topic is, moreover, sympathetic to the aspirations of the EBS Bangor conference as originally planned, for this has always been a local manuscript, written by two Welsh-literate scribes and kept for many years at Mostyn Hall, between Bangor and Chester. Indeed, I had hoped to speak about it in the Archives on the EBS excursion: a short online presentation seems a doubtful compensation for loss of that opportunity, but I still hope to be able to show the interest and possible value of this thought-provoking object.

The loss, recovery and survival of a Flemish Psalter made for a Scottish patron and its later life in Paris.

Suzanne Lyle, Arts Council of Northern Ireland

The focus of the paper is an illuminated manuscript of the so-called Ghent/ Bruges School of c. 1505-1515, Ms E 1, the Flemish Psalter, and the Collection in which it is held at the Centre Culturel Irlandais in Paris.
This paper would discuss the life of the manuscript, its loss from one collection, most probably in the time of Napoleon and then it then becoming part of another collection under the same regime. It was spirited away from Paris as the Second World War began to try to ensure its survival and it spent sixty years in a bank vault in Dublin before being returned to Paris and its home in the Old Library Collection of the Centre Culturel Irlandais in Paris, previously the Irish College.

The Old Library Collection at CCI contains 8,000 items, almost half of which date from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The collection largely consists of books and manuscripts from suppressed religious establishments and later works of Irish interest acquired in the nineteenth century. Three illuminated manuscripts are amongst the treasures. I would give a brief overview of the formation of the Collection and then discuss the life of the Flemish Psalter.

The Psalter contains texts in addition to the psalms and its richly illuminated folios display some Scottish iconography and a visual indication of ownership. It is not a manuscript which has been much explored until now and my current research concentrates on the content, the illuminations and the patronage and later ownership of the manuscript.
The artists involved in this manuscript were part of a larger group who produced some of the finest painting in manuscripts in Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The use of at least one image in the margins of this manuscript shows that it is very much a part of that bigger picture and part of a tradition producing manuscripts for the wealthiest of patrons in Europe at that time.

Demetrios Angelos' two volumes of Airstotle's Organon

José Maksimczuk, Hamburg University

To present scholarship identified around fifty manuscripts copied or annotated by the Byzantine physician Demetrios Angelos (already active as a copyist of Greek manuscripts in 1447 in Constantinople). One of those volumes is the codex Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 87 (ca. 1450-1480), which contains Aristotle's collection of six treatises on logic, the Organon, in its entirety. That paper manuscript of 356 folios was copied by Angelos (folios 95-356) and two other anonymous scribes (folios 1-94). In my talk I aim to prove: i) that Angelos and the two anonymous copyists worked independently; ii) that the current Barocci 87 was organized by Angelos, i.e. that Angelos joined the disparate codicological units under one cover, forming the structure of today's Barocci 87; iii) that the codicological unit of Barocci 87 copied by Angelos is in reality a 'dependent unit' made ad hoc to complement the current manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.4.23, which also belonged to Angelos and contains a shorter version of the Organon; iii) that in its pristine form the section of Barocci 87 copied by Angelos made out a book in toto; iv) that the portions of Barocci 87 that were copied by the two anonymous scribes had a life together before being part of the Baroccianus and represent fascicoli disligati of an older manuscript.

The Princess of Wales and the Translator: Catherine of Aragon's trailblazing commission of the translation of Cronycle of Englonde with the Fruyte of Tyme into Spanish

Emma Luisa Cahill Marrón, Universidad de Murcia

The libraries of the Royal Site of San Lorenzo de El Escorial and the University of Salamanca hold copies of a translation into Spanish of the Cronycle of Englonde with the Fruyte of Tyme commissioned by Catherine of Aragon while she was Princess of Wales. The translator, her servant Rodrigo de Cuero, was commanded by his patron to transform this chronicle of the history of the kings of England from English into Spanish. This is the first documented reference to a commission of this nature in the history of translation. But Catherine's command also included completing the chronicle, culminating in her and Henry VIII's joint coronation on 24 June 1509. Concurrently, Catherine was also serving as the first ambassadress of the Spanish Monarchy. These two examples prove the ground-breaking work she carried out as a royal princess in England. This paper explores this trailblazing translation commissioned by the Spanish princess. To do so, the relationship between patron and translator will be analysed. Rodrigo de Cuero's family ties and cursus honorum will examined by gathering the sources where he is mentioned. His disappearance for the English sources after the completion of this commission might be explained by his returned to Spain. This hypothesis will be explored and would explain the presence of both copies of his work in El Escorial and Salamanca. These are two of the most important Spanish book collections of the time and have deep connections to royal patronage. This outstanding example of cultural patronage by a Princess of Wales in England is deeply connected to Catherine's education in Spain under her mother's rule. Queen Isabella of Castile taught her daughter important lessons on the use of dynastic propaganda and her daughter was both a witness and a beneficiary of Isabella's extensive patronage of the humanities. She understood the increasing importance of vernacular languages in the dissemination of propaganda and was a role model for Catherine's later interest in following her footsteps as a patron of translation.

'Finding the Manuscript Source for Anne de Graville's Rondeaux'

Joan E. McRae, Middle Tennessee State University

Renewed interest in the works of Anne de Graville (c. 1490-1540), prompts further inquiry into the manuscripts that convey her poetry. This paper will focus on her 'translation' into rondeaux of one of the masterpieces of the previous century: Alain Chartier's Belle dame sans mercy (1424-5). The Rondeaux are extant in a single manuscript, Paris, BnF, f. fr. 2235. The parchment manuscript is beautifully written and presents the rondeaux in the main textual space while a version of Chartiers' original poem is copied in the left margin. Questions to be considered include the identification of the (lost?) manuscript source for the Chartier verses, as well as the translation process of rendering the medieval octosyllabic octaves into Renaissance decasyllabic rondeaux.

The Naked Text. Or, why are so few Middle English romances illustrated?

Carol M. Meale, University of Bristol

Middle English romance, perhaps more than any other genre, has unarguable claims to be regarded as popular, in the specialised sense that it appealed to, and was read, or listened to, by members of the population from the lower gentry, to merchants, to individuals associated with the royal court. This much can be deduced from surviving manuscripts. Yet, as I suggested, in an essay published three years ago, 'secular manuscript illustration, it

may be concluded, was simply not part of an English manuscript production system'. But this statement needs unpacking. Although there are only six professionally-illustrated romance codices surviving in the two hundred odd years of non-antiquarian romance copying, which ended in the 1520s, other factors underlying this situation require exploration. The survival of images in two of these manuscripts defies the odds, in that in one codex, the Auchinleck, miniature collectors did their best to denude it of illustration; whereas in the fifteenth century Pierpont Morgan MS M 876, containing the couplet romance of Generides, many of the pictures, surviving only in outline and never coloured in, have nearly faded beyond recovery. This evidence must be seen in the context of a thriving tradition of illustration in books of hours and psalters which, I suggest, are potentially of great importance in this discussion. The so-called Taymouth Hours, for instance, London, British Library MS Yates-Thompson 13, has bas de page scenes depicting events from Bevis of Hampton and Guy of Warwick, while misericords from churches and cathedrals throughout the country bear witness either to woodcarvers' ingenuity in devising scenes from romances or testify to the sometime existence of models from which they worked. However, in the seeming absence (?or loss) of specific model books of drawings which would direct an artist towards illustrating romance, a survey of the kinds of religious books which were certainly widely owned, can modify the commonly-held critical stance that there simply were no precedents or models for romance texts for artists to utilise. If this suggestion can be seen to have validity, then the discussion, rather than being closed down, can be opened and other avenues of enquiry pursued.

The Production of TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE MS. R.3.2 Revisited

Linne Mooney, University of York

After close analysis of the manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.2 (the central manuscript in a well-known article by A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes published in 1978), Linne Mooney found several minor anomalies in the production of this manuscript beyond the three major ones described by Doyle and Parkes. She argues that these new anomalies show that the Trinity manuscript was directly copied from Princeton, University Library, Taylor Collection MS 5, its direct exemplar. Mooney further argues that the scribe of all but one quire of the Princeton Taylor 5 manuscript, Doyle and Parkes's "Scribe D," who was also a major contributor to writing the Trinity R.3.2 manuscript, was the supervisor for the production of Trinity, doling out quires of his newly copied Taylor 5 manuscript to scribes who were available to copy Trinity in close sequence to his own copying of Taylor, while the exemplar for Taylor was still in his possession and before the Taylor manuscript had to be turned over to the limner for decoration. She then reviews Doyle and Parkes's conclusions based on this new information, accepting some and offering different conclusions in a few instances.

Castilian bibliophilia. The libraries of the last Trastamara women.

Melania Soler Moratón, University of Murcia

On November 22, 1502, the translation of Ludolfo of Sajonia's Vita Christi was published for the first time in Castile. The work had been carried out by royal mandate in 1499, the year in which Queen Isabel I of Castile had ordered the translation of the Latin work to Ambrosio de Montesinos. The translation of the devotional copy is one of the most outstanding examples of the literary development carried out in the Castilian territory thanks to the royal intercession. This question has been extensively dealt in the study of the Catholic Monarchs' libraries, as well as various characters of their court. However, the libraries of their descendants have not suffered the same fate: the infantas of Castile and Aragon. This contribution aims at the comparative study of the libraries of Isabel of Aragon (1470-1498), Joanna I of Castile (1478-1555), María of Aragón (1482-1517) and Katherine of Aragon (1485-1536). Considered by the humanist Juan Luis Vives "the four erudite daughters of Queen Isabel", the reconstruction of the libraries owned by these women will provide relevant information about their personal taste and the socio-religious novelties developed in 15th century Europe. In this way, this study will propose as main sources the manuals chosen by the Catholic Queen for the education of her daughters, the purchases made for them as infantas of the territory and the manuscripts that will be part of their trousseau once promised to the most important courts of Europe. This will allow us to know the beginnings of a bibliophile taste that the queen consorts and archduchesses would dedicate themselves to cultivate either through the purchase of copies, the own promotion of literary works, the dedication of volumes and family and court gifts. All of this will allow us to reconstruct a manuscript legacy that will be perpetuated beyond the deaths of our protagonists, establishing a matrilineal heritage that will endure through their Habsburg female descendants.

"Books, Nooks, and Caches in Medieval Florence"

Laura Morreale, Independent Scholar

In the throes of the fourteenth-century plagues that ravaged Florence, the town's citizens implored their town's officials to manage the wealth that numerous newly rich orphans inherited from their dying relations. To do so, municipal authorities inventoried decedents' movable goods, making their way through each home to enumerate material possessions in documents called "household inventories." Hundreds of household inventories survive in the Magistrato dei Pupilli avanti il Principato (MPAP) documents at the Florentine State Archives; among the items listed are the books and reading materials that made up the private libraries of the Florentine well-to-do. Previous scholarship on late medieval Florentine book ownership has relied upon the examination of library catalogues prepared by professional keepers of books, meaning that our understanding of reading materials has focused principally on famous Florentine individuals or on institutions. Although household inventories are an indirect means to assess personal library holdings, they do uncover the collecting (and presumably the reading) habits of a different class of Florentine reader. This paper will survey more than fifty household inventories collected between 1381 and 1393 to see how frequently books and written materials were included among the lists, the types of writings found there, where books and other graphic products were located within the home, and the patterns of book holdings that emerge from the inventories as a whole.

At first glance, we see how diverse the reading materials of the Florentine merchant classes were. From account books, to spiritual works, to multimedia items such as maps or choir books, Florentines consumed written materials in many ways. While many kinds of writings were mentioned only generically ("two books kept in a large coffret"), some were more fully described, in terms of contents ("a book on the gospels"), language ("a book in the vernacular"), or title ("The Letters of St. Paul"). Books are found in desks, chests, coffers, and elsewhere. Although books in the household inventories offer only a small snapshot into the reading lives of wealthy Florentines, this study presents a new way of learning about what they read, owned, produced and collected in the late fourteenth century.

Fragments of a Lost Lydgatean Anthology? Parchment Leaves in London, British Library, MS Sloane 1212

Tatsuya Nii, Queen Mary University of London

London, British Library, MS Sloane 1212 is a fifteenth-century manuscript, probably made by a single scribe. While its main content, Thomas Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes, is copied on paper leaves (fols 5–100), seven Middle English poems are also found in six parchment leaves (fols 1–4, 101–02) enclosing the interior paper section. Before being thus reused as protective flyleaves, the parchment leaves seem to have been parts of another manuscript. Because all texts in the parchment sections are Lydgate's poems or those influenced by his style, the lost manuscript was likely a Lydgatean anthology. As such, although Sloane 1212 has not attracted much critical attention in the last few decades, a close look at the parchment leaves may reveal hitherto unnoticed aspects of the late-fifteenth-century transmission and reception of Lydgatean poems.

In the first part of this paper, I will consider the production of the manuscript that originally included the parchment leaves. As some scholars have pointed out, Sloane 1212 is closely connected with East Anglia: the scribe of Sloane 1212 is probably Thomas Lucas of Little Saxham, Suffolk (d. 1531), and three names inscribed on fol. 1r seem to indicate late-fifteenth-century East Anglian nobles.1 This paper reconsiders the provenance of Sloane 1212 by examining textual features of its contents. In particular, fragments of Lydgate's Temple of Glass (NIMEV 851; fol. 2r–v) and its sequel, Supplicatio amantis (NIMEV 147; fol. 4r–v), are not collated in modern editions, but their texts seem worth comparing with their other extant witnesses, one of which, Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.4.27 is thought to have been produced at an East Anglian scriptorium.

The second part of this paper will be devoted to an analysis of mise-en-page of the two Lydgatean lyrics in fol. 1r–v, 'Mercy me grant all that I me complain' (NIMEV 851/11) and 'Pur ma soveraigne' (NIMEV 2188). Both are written in irregular and complicated rhyme schemes, and rhyme bracings drawn in the margin demonstrate the scribe's or an early reader's interest in their poetic forms. Moreover, considering Lydgate's notoriety for his 'uneasy' syntax and 'broken-backed' metre, these irregular rhymes and their mise-en-page may be regarded as contemporary readerly responses to such alienating quality of his poetics.

Jehan Hibler's Book of Hours

Alexander Okhrimenko, Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine

Only a small part of the manuscript collection at the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine in Kyiv belongs to the medieval European codices (around 30), but behind each item – the stories of persons who owned them.
The Book of Hours (MS 1670), dated as 14th century, use of Troyes, registered at the Vernadsky Library in 1930. The origin and migration of the codex are uncertain. This paper deals with the early modern period of this medieval manuscript.

The MS 1670 contains the name of its possessor of the 16/17th centuries – Jehan Hibler, and the several marginal notes by the same hand. This study of the codex's preservation conditions and (re)binding reconstructs the damages (by fire and water), lost (around one quire), and using by early modern owner.
The research proposes three hypotheses on the biography of the owner: Jehan Hibler called himself a 'paumier' – (a) person, who made balls or some sort of tennis player of the 16-17th centuries; (b) 'paumier' also may identify him as a religious person; (c) associations with other owners and scribes of the period.

Intersections between Print and Manuscript: A Recusant, the printed press and his notebook.

Niamh Pattwell, University College Dublin

In recent years, the importance of the printing press to the English Recusants has been fairly well established by critics such as Alexandra Walsham, Lucy Wooding et al. Walsham speaks of the role of the printed book as a substitute for preaching, at at time when access to the pulpit and public preaching was forbidden, making the point that printing productivity was at a premium for whichever side was out of favour during the Tudor religious conflicts. The profound relevance of the printing press is made clear in one common place notebook found in Trinity College Dublin. TCD 352 is a small paper manuscript, into which the owner, Edmund Horde has copied quotations, in Latin and English, from a wide range of material: Church Fathers, Medieval Mystics, Sixteenth-Century pious writings, and polemical material from the exiles of Louvain. Much of the writing, if not all, has been copied from print sources. In this paper, I will briefly outline the range of material which has been copied but, more interestingly, I want to demonstrate how the mise-en-page of the printed book has influenced the mise-en-page of this Recusant writer's private notebook. In the process, I want to reinforce the importance of the printing press to the religious debates of the sixteenth century and contribute to the discussion, led by Julia Boffey and others, on the fluid relationship between print and manuscript during that same period.

'Farwell frendys . . .'. Two fifteenth-century epitaphs and possible pre-existing written sources: hypotheses and arguments.

Helen Phillips, Cardiff University

This paper examines arguments for conjecturing that a longer, written, poetic text preceded, and was the source for, a short verse that is either extant or recorded as an inscription on seven memorials, most of which date from, or may date from, the fifteenth century. (There are certainly examples of epitaphs derived from known written texts: an obvious one is the Black Prince's French epitaph in Canterbury Cathedral.) The paper also looks briefly at a possible Chaucerian source for lines in a different, early fifteenth-century, epitaph. In each case the hypothesis of a written and poetic precursor brings an additional perspective to the epitaphs on brass and stone. For the first, short verse, epitaph text, a longer poem, in some way clearly related, is extant, in two manuscripts (incomplete in one), but these seem later than the short verse epitaph's earliest appearances. If we hypothesize a lost longer written source, what arguments can we use to investigate that hypothesis?

The genre of epitaph presents far more variety, complex relationships, and changes during the Early Book Society's key period, 1350-1550, than any other period. The genre raises its own questions. The arguments used investigating these two cases, about hypothetical lost written sources, involve questions about relationships between texts on the page and texts on brass and stone, about the 'literary' text and epitaphs. They inevitably also point towards wider contexts: the variety of modes, purposes, beliefs and cultural attitudes associated with epitaph texts, and changes over the fifteenth and early sixteenth century reflect major historical changes. This short presentation is not the place to spell out those contexts and issues in their relation to the two epitaphs, but the discussion does open up thoughts about some of them.
This subject is additionally 'precarious', in that almost all the church epitaphs have themselves disappeared, in the

wake of the Reformation, the Great Fire of London, and Victorian demolition; they survive on the page, printed or written, of early-modern antiquarian pursuit and preservation.

Recovering a Lost Late Medieval Devotional Roll from an Early Nineteenth-Century Reproduction

Johanna Pollick, University of Glasgow

The Five Wounds of Christ. A Poem. From An Ancient Parchment Roll by William Billyng is an early nineteenth-century codex reproduction of an illuminated fifteenth-century roll, containing a number of Middle English devotional works in verse. It was published in 1814 by the antiquary and collector William Bateman (1787-1835).1 Around forty copies of Bateman's reproduction of the roll were made, exclusively for private distribution. At least one copy on vellum, and one copy on satin were produced.2 Bateman was an antiquary and collector, the son of a Manchester cotton merchant, and the father of the antiquary and archaeologist Thomas Bateman (1821-1861). Among the texts in the roll was the fifteen-stanza devotional poem on the Five Wounds of Christ that gives the 1814 reproduction its name. At the time of publication, the roll was – according to Bateman – in the collection of William Yates of Manchester, but it has since been lost.
This paper will consider how – and, indeed, whether - this reproduction can be used as evidence for the lost medieval roll that it reproduces, and will explore the possibilities and the challenges of interpreting lost medieval manuscripts via later reproductions. The reproduction of the roll is described by Bateman in the preface as a 'theological poem, with fac-similes.' Attention here will be given to the meaning of 'facsimile' in the early nineteenth century, and its implications for interpretation of the reproduction. Moreover, I will consider possible ways of understanding how the roll may originally have looked, for example by comparing the images and texts in Bateman's work with surviving medieval rolls with similar textual and pictorial content. My paper will examine Bateman's reproduction both as a document of early nineteenth-century collecting of medieval manuscripts, and as evidence for the lost roll that it purports to preserve.

Precarious pieces: reconstructing the Paris pecia system of university book production and dissemination

Alison Ray, Trinity College Dublin Library

Paris became the leading centre of the university book trade in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and this paper examines the surviving evidence for the production and use of manuscripts copied through the city's pecia system. The first part of this talk considers the operation of the pecia system through the stages of production, including methods of copying, importing, and correcting exemplar texts, using codicological evidence of manuscripts as well as archival sources such as university statutes and the bookseller lists of the Sens family of stationers.

A wide range of user-added marginalia and manuscript decoration in pecia manuscripts demonstrate how an international network of academic and religious institutions engaged with Paris intellectual life. The second part of this talk looks at the audiences of the system through user notes relating to the three main university activities of classroom learning, disputation and preaching. Further evidence of scribal notes and ownership marks in pecia works show that provincial centres in France, England and Germany outside the immediate university milieu also benefitted from the system, reflecting the mobile and adaptive nature of medieval intellectual communities and the vital role of the pecia system as a form of mass-communication in the High Middle Ages.

Precarious Lives as Revealed Through Hospital Books

Nicole R. Rice, St John's University

London's Hospital of St. Bartholomew, founded in 1123, was known throughout the middle ages as a haven for a range of ill and poor people, including unmarried pregnant women, who could come to the hospital to give birth and receive care until their purifications forty days later. The Hospital succumbed to dissolution under King Henry VIII in the 1530s, but after loud civic outcry the King re-established it as a newly medicalized, religiously reformed institution in 1546. In this paper I show how two of the major surviving records from the re-founded hospital demonstrate changes in its treatment of the most precarious lives: those of labouring women and their infants. Looking selectively at the Hospital's Account Book and Journal from the early 1550s, I suggest that in the charged atmosphere of this period, the leaders of the "reformed" hospital demonstrate both concern for and anxiety about childbearing women, an ambivalence constantly informed by the fear of slander. As the hospital closes its doors to pregnant and postpartum women (and sends away residents including poor and sisters who become pregnant), it continues to care for them indirectly by paying a network of local women to shelter and care for them. In the few remaining records of the re-founded hospital, we find traces of London's most precarious lives.

The Precarious Life of the Great Bible: Part 2 – Analyses

Paola Ricciardi, The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge

The Great Bible is often seen as a monument of English reform. Initially printed in 1538/9, its large size and meticulous printing ushered in the English parish Bible. Its iconic appearance is most evident in two unique presentation copies, made for Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell. Printed on vellum and hand-coloured by highly skilled illuminators, the two volumes are currently in the collections of the National Library of Wales and St John's College, Cambridge. Close observation of the precarious lives of surviving copies of the Bible reveals hesitation and early transformations, moving us away from a unidirectional view of English religion and book production. This paper, alongside the paper of Eyal Poleg, will present the context and initial results of the scientific analysis of the two presentation copies.

A well-planned combination of non-invasive spectroscopic analysis and microscopic imaging has enabled us to understand the materiality of, and reveal modifications to, the volumes' title pages, painted woodcuts and text. The iconography of the main title page on the St John's copy was significantly altered by the carefully inserting portraits of key figures, in such a professional way that the change is hardly visible to the naked eye and had gone completely undetected until now. Most likely instigated by Thomas Cromwell himself, who sought to change the balance of power on the Bible's title page, this modification suggests acute awareness of the political factors, which ultimately culminated in his downfall. This and other changes shed light on the delicate political and religious climate at the English court in the late 1530s, and reveal how Thomas Cromwell was anticipating Henry's ambivalence towards lay access to Scripture. Additionally, the identification of pigments and mixtures used to paint hundreds of woodcuts helps shed light on the production process of these two lavish presentation copies. Showcasing a range of styles, and varying levels of artistic accomplishment, the books are portable galleries displaying mid-16th century painting practice in Paris and possibly London. Our initial study of painting materials and techniques has laid the groundwork for in-depth research on the numerous artists who must have contributed to such an ambitious and high-profile project, none of whom has so far been identified.

History and Historians: Antonio de Nebrija and Fernando de Pulgar's Crónica de los reyes Católicos

Bretton Rodriguez, University of Nevada, Reno

Composed in the late fifteenth century, Fernando de Pulgar's Crónica de los reyes Católicos offered an authoritative account of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. However, despite Pulgar's position and importance at court, his account—unlike those composed by many of his contemporaries—was neither printed nor widely disseminated during his lifetime.

Shortly after Pulgar's death, Fernando II of Aragon tasked Antonio de Nebrija, who was one of the leading humanists of the period, to translate Pulgar's history from Spanish into Latin. This translation was printed and widely disseminated in 1545 without any mention that it was based on Pulgar's earlier history. Then, in 1565, Pulgar's original chronicle was finally printed. However, it was falsely described as an original work by Nebrija. It would not be until two years later, in 1567—more than 75 years after its initial composition—that the Crónica de los reyes Católicos would finally be printed and widely disseminated with Pulgar listed as its author.
In this talk, I examine the reception and survival of Pulgar's text from the time of its original composition in the late fifteenth century until it was finally printed in his own name in 1567. I argue that Pulgar's status as a converso (a convert, or the descendant of a convert, from Judaism to Christianity)—as well as his implicit criticisms of the Inquisition—led to the suppression of the original history and the erasure of its author. In addition, I claim that Nebrija's translation transformed Pulgar's history from a complex and subversive historical narrative into a more traditional work of political propaganda that celebrated the Catholic Monarchs as the foundation of Spain's European and American empires.

Signs of Book-borrowing and Text Transmission in Late-Medieval Derbyshire

Cynthia A. Rogers, Oklahoma State University

Similar to John Paston III, who wrote asking his brother to send him some Lydgate so that he could go courting, the gentry creators of the Findern MS seem to have also valued love poetry. In order to create their scrapbook of love literature, these gentry families borrowed, read, sorted, and copied excerpts from longer works (Chaucer, Gower,

Hoccleve, and Lydgate), as well as selections of well-circulated and unique lyrics. Although these families' country houses and libraries are no longer extant, it is possible to reconstruct some of the circulation of the works they came in contact with and borrowed. My research and analysis of the Findern and its sister manuscripts show that the Derbyshire gentry seem to have borrowed, among other things, Chaucerian miscellanies, some of the books of Gower's Confessio, Hoccleve in booklet form, and read or heard song forms used by Thomas Wyatt.

Endangered Waters: Following the Rivers of Paradise in Images of the Wounds of Christ

Martha Rust, New York University

Beginning in the early fifteenth century a set of prayers to the wounds of Christ appears frequently in Books of Hours as part of a larger cycle of prayers with the manuscript rubric Ad Imagem dominum nostrum ihus Christi. Falling in the middle of that cycle, the prayers address the wounds in Christ's hands, feet, and side, by comparing them to the river flowing through Eden and the four rivers into which it divided (as described in Genesis 2.10-14). Miniature paintings accompanying these prayers usually depict each wounded body part encircled in some fashion by blue, representing the rivers mentioned in the prayer. That representation varies significantly, however, in some cases obscuring the river-wound connection articulated in the text. Modern manuscript descriptions muddy this connection as well, effectively channelling the rivers of Paradise underground. This paper resurfaces the rivers and puts them into the context of other visual and textual contexts as well, from the devotional to the geographic and cartographic.

Catherine of Aragon's Spanish books in England

Ana Sáez-Hidalgo, Universidad de Valladolid

If there is one thing that is well known about Catherine of Aragon –beyond her ill-fated marriages– is that she was "well read… and as admirable for piety as she [was] for learning," in Erasmus's words. In fact, during her time as Queen of England, her relationship with humanists earned her the dedication of a significant number of books. However, not so much is known about her books during precarious times. On her death, not long after her marriage to Henry VIII was annulled, only a handful of unnamed volumes were listed –"three bookes covered with red leather, garnysshid with golde foyle, and tied with grene reabande," and "seevyntene other bookys, smalle and greate, lockid in a cheste," some of which have been identified by James Carley.

Much more enigmatic is Catherine's book collection during her first period of precarity in England, when, a few months after her marriage to prince Arthur, she was widowed, and found herself spending years in a bleak uncertainty about her present and her future. Did Catherine have books to accompany and comfort her under those circumstances? Given the humanist education that her mother Isabella established for her a young princess in Castile, it can be rightly assumed that her love of learning and books started before her arrival in England. The purpose of this paper is to explore the Spanish books that Catherine of Aragon had before she became Queen of England in 1509, not only the ones she brought with her from Spain, but also what she commissioned for herself during that period of precariousness and uncertainty.

Hoccleve's Lost Manuscript: Copies of the Gesta Romanorum and the Making of the Series

Sebastian Sobecki, University of Groningen

My paper will concentrate on the manuscripts that Thomas Hoccleve used in the Series for his translations of the two tales from the Gesta and demonstrate that the account of assembling The Series that Thomas recounts in the framework narrative is corroborated by the surviving manuscript evidence. This, in turn, not only strengthens the reliability of Thomas's persona and the credibility of the Friend, but it also requires a reassessment of current notions of late-medieval authorship in autobiographical settings.
I will establish a firm terminus ante quem for London, British Library, MS Harley 219 and show that it preceded the composition of Hoccleve's Series. Furthermore, I argue that a collation of Harley 219 with the recently published edition of the Anglo-Latin Gesta Romanorum and with Hoccleve's translation of the tales from the Gesta demonstrates that Harley 219 was the source text for Hoccleve's translations.
Finally, I will identify the actual 'lost' manuscript Hoccleve's persona claims to have been using for the Gesta translations in the Series.

The Textual Afterlives of Gerald of Wales: A Social History of the Manuscripts

Sarah J. Sprouse, The University of Alabama

Of the manuscripts containing the Itinerarium Kambriae and the Descriptio Kambriae, James F. Dimock writes: "A large number of the manuscripts, moreover, are late, and some of these very worthless."1 This comment presents both a problem and an opportunity. Dimock's objective is the preparation of a complete and representative edition of these two texts, and thus he sees a problem in the dearth of early and complete manuscript copies. However, the later manuscript copies present an opportunity in their incomplete, excerpted, summarized, and translated forms for the study of how Gerald's works were used by late medieval and early modern readers. In total, thirty-one manuscript copies survive, of which six are from the thirteenth century, three from the fourteenth century, and twenty-two from the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. For this presentation, I propose a study of the textual afterlives of the fourteenth-century manuscript National Library of Wales MS 3024C, which contains copies of both Itinerarium and Descriptio. This manuscript has a complicated history as an exemplar for numerous other copies, including the two early modern printed editions of Gerald's works, which then also served as an exemplar for yet another manuscript. The marginal annotations in NLW MS 3024C, which are in at least six distinct hands (and three languages), function as the basis for the marginal notes in the printed edition as well as the subsequent manuscript copy. Further, the manuscript serves as an
exemplar for at least four other manuscripts. (I plan to propose one additional stemmatic descendant that now survives only in fragments.) All of this work suggests the renewed interest in Gerald's works as well as Wales itself. A study of NLW MS 3024C is simply one pathway for better understanding antiquarian transmission networks and the considerable early modern interest in these works, but such study offers clues to the reception and social history of Gerald's manuscripts more broadly.

Precarious reimagining's of the British history: sixteenth-century and later readers and owners of the manuscripts and prints of Middle English prose Brut versions

John J Thompson, Queen's University, Belfast and University of Glasgow

It goes without saying that a view of British origins that follows Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie* and clings to the Brutus foundation myth and the story of Arthur (in the absence of any other more ancient British sources to substantiate such myths of origin) is best characterised nowadays as a 'precarious reimagining' of British history. And it has long seemed such. Polydore Vergil (1470-1555) can be said to have led the charge in this respect with his 1525 edition of Gildas' 6th-century history *De Excidio et Conquestu Brittaniae* - rightly claimed as the first critical edition of a British historical text- and his much-anticipated *Anglica Historia*. This latter was a work which promised a new and unfamiliar kind of English history based on sources and evidence that effectively undermined and discredited the Galfridian version. Vergil's work had been commenced at the instigation of Henry VII in 1505, with a first version of the *Anglica Historia* completed in manuscript by 1512-13 but a rewritten version of the work not published until 1534, and subsequent editions substantially revised and updated to lay particular emphasis on the civic history of London and in view of not only changing political circumstances in England but also the new and developing interests of Vergil's continental readership.

In the proposed paper I shall examine aspects of the adverse English reaction to Vergil's scepticism regarding the Galfridian version of the British history. Such a reaction cannot simply be caricatured as the 'precarious' imaginings of gullible English readers - those of 'the common sorte' whom Vergil describes dismissively as having 'ascribid the fownteine of theire genialogie to Brutus'. I shall argue instead that it is through an identification and understanding of the likely codicological contexts in which such an adverse English reaction to Vergil took place that we can most readily account for the obvious and continuing fascination with the manuscripts and prints of the Middle English prose Brut versions by so many different sixteenth-century and later readers, owners and institutions.

Classical Verse in Middle English

Ronald Waldron, King's College London

Higden's Polychronicon contains a number of obituaries or elegies, usually of one or two lines of Latin verse but occasionally longer. These are translated by John Trevisa into Middle English and the universal assumption has been that Trevisa's translations are, like the rest of the Polychronicon, in prose, since he evidently is not recasting these bits of Latin verse in any common Middle English metre, like rhymed quatrains or the alliterative long line. In this paper, I hope to demonstrate, on the contrary, that Trevisa is attempting a form of English verse in a quasi-

Latin metre.

We need to query, however, what exactly Trevisa understood by an English form of Latin verse, e.g., whether he is attempting a quantitative or an accentual correspondence, and I do this by trying to scan one or two of the two-line obituaries and the two longer elegies, of Alfred the Great and his daughter Ethelfleda, or Elfleda, known as Lady (or even Queen) of Mercia.

I find another, much later, point of reference for Latinate verse in English in the more sustained attempts made by certain poets of the nineteenth century. Comparison with the latter group makes conspicuous the greater difficulties facing Trevisa in consequence of writing within a manuscript culture in which the spelling of the English language had not yet been standardized and was to some extent subject to the vagaries of dialectal and individual scribal practice, let alone the possible ignorance, on the part of some scribes, of Latin prosody.

Technologies of Recovery: Using Digital Tools to Trace and Visualize Lost Literary Networks

Sarah Wilma Watson, Haverford College & **Andy Janco**, Haverford College

From medieval inventories to modern Excel spreadsheets, individuals have used technologies of record to collect and quantify information. In the case of many medieval book inventories, a technology of record becomes a technology of recovery by providing information about books that were valued by medieval readers but no longer survive in physical form. Although non-extant books are more difficult to trace than surviving codices, these data points are essential to developing a full understanding of late-medieval literary culture.
In this paper, co-presented by Sarah Watson and Andy Janco, we will consider how digital tools can be used to trace and visualize lost literary networks. We will begin by describing the process of creating a bespoke multi-relational database to catalog women's book ownership in latemedieval Francophone Europe. This database, which serves as the basis for our ongoing digital project Books of Duchesses (booksofduchesses.com), allows us to track multifaceted relationships between people, books, texts, locations, and dates. In the second half of the paper, we will consider how digital technologies such as interactive maps and network analysis tools like Palladio and Gephi can be used to visualize and examine the data collected by the project.

These diverse approaches to organizing and visualizing the data--drawing up lists, associating data points with modern and medieval maps, and applying various aspects of network theory--localize extant data in a way that helps us to locate and delimit the lacuna left by lost data. With the help of digital tools, we can begin to see how physical books, literary texts, and genre preferences travelled through social networks in the later Middle Ages and how medieval women played a crucial but often invisible role in this circulation.

The Glorious Life, Tragic Destruction, and Miraculous Resurrection of the Savoy Hours

Roger S. Wieck, The Morgan Library & Museum, New York

In the 1330s, Blanche of Burgundy, granddaughter of St. Louis IX, commissioned a colossal Book of Hours with 280 folios containing some 187 miniatures illuminated by a follower of Jean Pucelle, fourteenth-century France's most influential illuminator. In the 1370s it was acquired by Charles V who added sixty leaves with as many miniatures by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, fourteenth-century France's second most important illuminator. He had it rebound in pearl-encrusted covers. The king's brother Jean, duc de Berry, was so envious of the manuscript that he commissioned his own Petites Heures in imitation, the first in a string of increasingly ambitious Books of Hours. The Savoy Hours reemerges in the eighteenth century, one of the volumes belonging to the house of Savoy that Count Victor-Amadeus II donates to the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin. In 1904 a fire at the Biblioteca Nazionale destroys the Savoy Hours.
The manuscript was thought to be totally lost until twenty-six leaves were discovered in 1910 in the Catholic Episcopal Library of Portsmouth Cathedral. Later vicissitudes include a library transfer, a theft, a recovery, a deaccessioning, a sale, a purchase by twentieth century's most famous bookseller, another purchase, and, finally, a donation to the Beinecke Library of Yale University, where it rests as their MS 390.

Accidental Survivals?: Memory and Preservation in Medieval Copyings of Flyleaf, Marginal and Added Verse
Rowan Wilson, University of Oxford

On the surface, flyleaf, marginal and added verses - 'flyleaf lyrics'—are some of the most precarious texts that survive from the Middle Ages. Their location at the edges of books renders them liable to be torn, erased, or simply ignored. Their seeming precarity has dominated assessments by modern critics: they are presented as mere 'scraps' and 'scribbles', copied without care and preserved only 'accidentally'. What might it mean, however, to examine such 'precarious' texts as evidence for the deliberate workings-out of memory on the page, even for a will towards textual preservation? I have gathered 489 DIMEV records—around 7.1% of the total records—that contain at least one witness of a text appearing as a flyleaf lyric, and intend to use these as the basis for an exploration of the impetuses behind flyleaf and marginal copying.

I want to suggest that, far from being products of lapses in readerly attention, the copying of flyleaf lyrics often facilitated the preservation of texts that hung, precariously, between 'on-page' and 'off-page' space. Whether this was by providing a physical context for storing texts, allowing readers to create a 'counter-archive' of personal references within the larger body of the book, or by impressing texts on the memory through the very act of inscription, flyleaf copying could function as a defence against the precarity of short, primarily orally-circulated verse.

I will also examine the ways in which flyleaf lyrics reflect a will to preserve the books they are copied in. Many of these verses are warnings against book theft. Though an ownership lyric is no guarantee against precarity—as the evidence of erased verses testifies—it does indicate a conscious effort to secure the book as property. Moreover, I believe that, just as quoting popular lyrics in sermons could 'memorialise' their content for medieval listeners, copying lyrics in margins could help to fix text in readers' minds by associating it with memorable chunks of verse. Through considering the intersections of memorial and manuscript preservation and exploring alternate spaces in which texts might be 'fixed', this paper will challenge notions of flyleaf lyrics' inherent precarity.

'The Lost Reading and Writing of Scotland's Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century Queens and Princesses'
Emily Wingfield, University of Birmingham

This paper derives from my thinking through the final stages of my latest monograph: Books Beyond the Border: Scotland's Royal Women and European Literary Culture 1424-1587. In it I reflect on the various ways in which the reading and writing of some of Scotland's royal women has been lost but not entirely erased. I also examine the books owned by Scotland's royal women which have come to
light in recent years. I first consider Princess Margaret, daughter of James I, whose writings were most probably lost when her husband ordered the destruction of her papers after her death and I interrogate what this reveals about attitudes towards women's creativity. I then examine the lost books of Margaret of Denmark and recently recovered volumes owned by Margaret Tudor and Mary Queen of Scots. I show how re-examination of these allows us to position Scotland's royal women within much broader networks of European artistic culture. I end by reflecting on Joan Beaufort, wife of James I, and the only woman in my study who appears not to have written or read. I explore the literary connections of her wider family and question to what extent Joan should be seen as an anomaly.

"The Rediscovery of Manuscripts and the Reconstruction of Libraries Lost"
N. Kıvılcım Yavuz, Kenneth Spencer Research Library

Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539), son of Christopher Columbus, had one of the most significant book collections in history, estimated to contain over 15,000 manuscripts and printed books. Yet the provisions he put in place in his will for the maintenance and continuance of the library failed, like many collectors before and after him. When Columbus's collection was finally handed over to the Cathedral of Seville in 1552, about half was already dispersed. Today, an estimated 3,000 items from the original library remain in the care of the Institución Colombina in Seville. The whereabouts of the rest of the collection is mostly unknown and these manuscripts and books usually have been presumed lost. In this respect, the fate of Columbus's library is not much different than other noteworthy collections from that of Francesco Petrarca to Sir Thomas Phillipps, which scholars strive to piece back together. Known in literature as El libro de los epitomes, Columbus's inventory of summaries of books in his library was one of these manuscripts presumed lost. In early 2019, the Arnamagnæan Institute at the University of Copenhagen

announced that a manuscript in their collection, AM 377 fol., was identified as this lost Book of Epitomes. Considered a significant development in book history, the news travelled beyond academia (for the preliminary study and initial reactions in the press, see Yavuz, "Hernando Colón's Book of Books,"

https://manuscript.ku.dk/motm/hernando-colons-book-of-books/, for the ongoing project on the Book of Epitomes, see https://nors.ku.dk/english/research/arnamagnaean/the-book-of-books/).
While scholars working on Columbus's library thought the manuscript was lost forever, it has been in Denmark for the past three hundred and fifty years, most recently part of the collection of Árni Magnússon (1663–1730), cared by the University of Copenhagen since Árni's death. By all accounts, that the manuscript had originated from Columbus's library was not known to the several previous owners of the manuscript; yet the manuscript was valued, kept and cared for to this day as part of other prominent collections. Through the example of the Book of Epitomes, the paper will discuss loss, survival and discovery of manuscripts that were once part of famous libraries.

All Your Perfect Imperfections: Valentine and Orson and a European Romance Tradition Marked by Loss

Lydia Zeldenrust, University of York

Like so many romances from the early period of print, the earliest edition of the English Valentine and Orson, published by Wynkyn de Worde around 1508-10, survives only in fragments. It is a typical story of loss and recovery, common to a surprising number of early printed English romances, with leaves rescued from attics and bindings. In this paper, I seek to make a recovery of my own, by putting the English Valentine fragments in dialogue with their continental counterparts, to show that this version is not unique. Valentin et Orson's international textual history is marked by gaps, losses, and fragmentary evidence. The narrative has an awkward, uncomfortable history filled with absences and unknowns, which may explain why it has received relatively little scholarly attention.

There are many fragments, including the earliest surviving texts – which are in Dutch, rather curious for a tradition presumed to be French. There are also gaps: many editions of the second Dutch translation were lost, for instance, and one Middle High German manuscript is 'Kriegsverlust'. The Breslau manuscript is known only from an antiquarian's detailed description, raising the issue of how much scholars today are indebted to nineteenth-century book nerds. I will discuss how library inventories and lists of prohibited books help fill in the blanks of how this romance spread across Europe. But forgetting plays an important role too: the women who owned the Swedish manuscripts were long overlooked by scholars, and the constant reissuing of earlier printed texts (e.g. Copland reprinted De Worde's text in 1555 and 1565) shows that there was also money to be made in forgetting.
I will use the case of Valentine as a springboard to think about the incomplete records medievalists often deal with, and the opportunities for sleuthing that many of us find so rewarding. But this paper will also consider the dangers of filling in blanks, and how a search for, or attempted reconstruction of, lost originals often overshadows what amazing findings can be unearthed from the material that does survive – even if it is marked 'imperfect'.

Fragmented Illuminations: Manuscript Cuttings at the Victoria & Albert Museum

Catherine Yvard, National Art Library at the Victoria & Albert Museum

The Victoria & Albert Museum has in its collections over 2000 manuscript cuttings dating from the 12th to the 17th century. Ranging from snippets of border ornament to full leaves, they were largely purchased in the first 60 years of the museum's existence, often in batches and portfolios, to provide examples of decoration, miniature painting and script from different periods and geographical areas. They were meant to inspire and educate artists, craftsmen and designers who could consult them in the museum's study room. While a few have been well researched and published, others have gone unnoticed. This paper will present some of the discoveries made in the process of preparing for a small exhibition called 'Fragmented Illuminations: The Lives of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Cuttings', and due to open in autumn 2021 at the V&A.