Lustre

SPIRITUAL TREASURES & SENSORY PLEASURES

Medieval Texts & Images from Houston Collections

AN EXHIBITION IN THE M.D. ANDERSON LIBRARY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON, TEXAS

17 OCTOBER 2005 *through* 17 FEBRUARY 2006

aurum nec sumptus, operis mirare laborem,
nobile claret opus, sed opus quod nobile claret
clarificet mentes, ut eant per lumina vera ad
verum lumen, ubi christus janua vera. quale
sit intus in his determinat aurea porta ; mens
hebes ad verum per materialia surgit, et de-
mersa prius hac visa luce resurgit. claret enim
claris quod clar concopulatur, et quod perfundit
lux nova, claret opus nobile omnis. lapis pre-
ciosus operimentum tuum, sardius, topazius,
jaspis, crisolitus, onix et berillus, saphirus,
carbunculus et smaragdus.

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Foreword

The essays in this catalog provide more extensive background and case studies on themes that could only be touched on in the display. In some cases, they also include original research into individual manuscripts or types of manuscript. They largely speak for themselves. Therefore, I have chosen to view the Foreword as an opportunity to create a pendant for the colophon on the last page.

Medieval colophons (sometimes called explicits) often gave the scribe, and sometimes the illuminator, an opportunity to insert his or her personal voice. Most medieval books showcased either the word of God or the words and ideas of famous theologians and scholars. The scribe and illuminator were considered craftsmen, serving these higher purposes by virtue of their skill and out of their hope for salvation. Their experiences or thoughts in making a manuscript usually appear only in small and indirect glimpses, often in mistakes or pages left unfinished

for reasons we cannot know. The colophon offered essentially the only opportunity for the artisan to identify and express him or herself.

The colophon at the end of this catalog expresses, in a medieval format, the feelings of the exhibit team about the project. Here I will speak about our experiences in more modern terms. For me as curator, and I think for all of us, the process of crafting the exhibit and the accompanying catalog has been a source of special pleasure. In ways both anticipated and completely unexpected, it has been inspiring, intellectually creative, aesthetically rewarding, educational, and just plain fun. It has also posed challenges to our humility as we learned from one another, to our tolerance for sleep deprivation, and to our ability to deal with the unexpected. Above all, putting together the exhibit has been a wonderful collaborative experience, rather like the making of medieval manuscripts themselves.

Our shared goal was to make the treasures on display, and medieval book arts in general, accessible and exciting to as many viewers as possible. Rather than focus on breaking new scholarly ground, we have sought to provide the opportunity for members of the University and greater Houston communities to enjoy and learn about medieval books. We have strived particularly to evoke these luxury objects' sensuousness as well as their spirituality, aspects fundamental to the medieval idea of books but all too often lacking from our own attitude in the "information age."

Professor Judith Steinhoff
Houston, 2005

Medieval Book Production

Luke Horbey

Monk scribe
"Guyscance" Bible. Northern France, ca.1250-1300 (folio 170r)
University of Houston, Special Collections

The medieval manuscript served many functions above and beyond those of the modern book. It not only transmitted information and cultural values in a variety of fields, but it also served as a valuable *objet d'art* itself. Books could have incredible wealth and value and at one point were well beyond the means of the average person. The creation of religious books glorified the patron as well as God, whether the text was a private devotional, like a book of hours, or a text for mass display and worship services, like a psalter. Other works served a practical function and contained chronicles of rulers and medical texts. Despite their functional variety, all of these manuscripts shared a common history and origin of production.

The Western manuscript tradition descended from the earlier forms of Greek and Roman writing. The initial form of written material was the scroll or roll. These documents were written on long sheets of papyrus or parchment and often had series of illustrations and decorations interspersed with the text. The nature of the scroll limited its usefulness in referencing information. The influence of increasingly complicated Roman legal code and the growing popularity of the Christian Bible influenced the change from scrolls to the codex.

The codex, or book, had easily turned pages that could be used to scan back and forth through a document, to reference different passages[1]. Scrolls were cumbersome for this purpose because the entire work had to be unrolled. Codices could contain greater amounts of information. Long works and epics in scroll form required many scrolls gathered together in a basket, while large amounts of text could be fit into a single codex. The codex was also quickly adapted to early Christian liturgical and devotional purposes. Brilliant images of Christ and other scenes from the Bible could easily be transported in a book and displayed to congregations of worshipers. The rise of the codex accompanied that of Christianity during the first centuries CE, and the process of bookmaking was continuously refined throughout the Middle Ages.

The first people to manufacture books during the early medieval period were monks. Monasteries served as centers of learning, and their unique position within medieval society as well as their religious beliefs influenced book production. Strict vows limited the distances that the majority of monks could travel and created regionalized styles of book production[2]. Despite limited traveling opportunities, books and artisans did move around Europe, and styles of illumination and programs of decoration generally drew upon other accepted sources. Because tradition was so highly prized, early medieval artisans did not feel the stigma that modern artists feel against copying from other works. In fact copying was positively desired in many instances, such as when the model had belonged to a revered saint or the book itself was believed to have miraculous curative powers.

Nevertheless, over the course of the Middle Ages the styles of illumination used in books did change. This was partly due to a shift of the entire process of making manuscripts from a monastic one to a secularized and cosmopolitan one during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The twelfth century is known as the Romanesque period of art and the high point of monastic book production. With a rapid and widespread increase in church building, there came a drive to have a complete church or abbey library. Reading Abbey had over 300 books produced between 1121 and the late twelfth century[3]. Monastic reforms at this time also created a demand for more books, as waves of reformers built new convents and abbeys. The scriptoria of these buildings continually churned with activity, and during this time period, monks carried out almost all stages of book production, from making parchment and inks to transcribing, decorating, and illuminating, solely within the confines of the monastery.

The most common material used in the production of medieval books was parchment. Parchment was a specially treated writing material created from the prepared skins of animals. It was durable and remained relatively supple with use, unlike papyrus, the plant-based textile used by the Egyptians, Greeks, and early Romans, which tended to crack as pages turned. Paper, made from linen rags rather than wood pulp, was used with increasing frequency during the later Middle Ages, but the majority of medieval manuscripts were made of parchment.

Medieval parchmenters used a variety of different animals to ply their trade, although the term parchment is often used for all. Several different types of animal skins, ranging from cattle to sheep and goats, may have been used in the preparation of one book, especially by monasteries, which often faced choices limited by available animals and donations. The parchmenter prepared these animal skins by first soaking them in a vat of water and lime to help loosen the hair from the skin and stirring these vats several times each day. The preparers then stretched the skins out across wooden frames and removed the hair by scraping it with a crescent-shaped knife, called a *lunellum*, with a handle on either end. The scraping proved to be difficult work, since too much pressure could wreck the flesh and tear it. When the hair side of a pelt was clean, the parchmenter would flip it over and work on the flesh side, often re-immersing the skin in the lime and water mixture for several days longer.

After the animal skin was de-haired, a parchment maker would stretch the flesh in a wooden frame, tying small strings to the edges of the pelt, so that it was taut but did not tear as it dried and shrank. As the parchment stretched and dried, small cuts created during the cleaning and scraping process would enlarge into small elliptical or circular holes. Many manuscripts, especially those written by monks, show evidence of these flaws, but the parchment was too valuable to waste. The parchmenter ladled hot water over the skin and scraped it anew with a *lunellum*. The craftsman had to retighten the pegs holding the parchment to the frame continually, to ensure that it dried tight and flat, and after the work with a *lunellum*, the material was often left to dry in the sun, to make sure that it dried out as quickly as possible. After the material completely dried, the parchmenter would begin the final shaving process. Many earlier manuscripts were not shaved down as thoroughly and tended to be thicker than later manuscripts. Parchment could be quite thin and delicate if scraped carefully, and many thirteenth-century and later works achieved an almost tissue-thin quality.

Once the parchment sheets had been scraped to the proper thickness and cut into rectangular double pages, they were bound into the basic unit of the medieval book, the gathering. A gathering usually consisted of eight leaves, or four sheets of parchment folded in half, and a scribe or illuminator would work on a single gathering at a time. Medieval gatherings faced each other, hair side to hair side and flesh to flesh, with the first and last pages being the hair side. The first step in writing on these mini-booklets was to rule them, so that writing would be neat and even. Ruling was often done with a stylus or the back of a knife through sheer pressure alone, though manuscripts from the twelfth century onwards often had rulings done in lead, leaving marks much like a modern day pencil. To achieve uniformity and accelerate the process of ruling, a scribe would often poke through the left and right margins of a gathering systematically with an awl, so that they could be lined easily by connecting the points. Finally, the scribe could begin work on writing the actual text of the manuscript.

The three key materials necessary to medieval writing were the pen, knife and ink. Pens were usually quills, preferably from swans or geese, or hollow reeds. In the twelfth century, Theophilus asserted that pens from goose quills were superior[4]. A medieval scribe fashioned his own pens, often having to cut the pen numerous times to maintain a sharp angle for writing. Invaluable in this process was the knife. Medieval scribes wrote with the right hand, and kept their knives in the left hand as they worked. The blade was used not only to sharpen the quills when necessary, but also as an eraser. Medieval ink would set permanently and rather quickly, and quick blade work would allow the scribe to scrape away any mistakes before they set permanently. The knife also served as a reminder to the scribe, pointing to his spot on the line he was working upon, and the clerk could press the knife lightly to the page to ensure a smooth surface for his pen. Parchment could curl, and medieval sources widely agree that the best position for the pen was at a ninety-degree angle to the writing surface[5].

There were two major types of ink used in the production of medieval manuscripts: carbon ink and metal-gall ink. Medieval ink-makers made carbon ink from charcoal and a gum, and it seems to have been in common usage until the twelfth century. The making of metal-gall ink involved more work, but scribes preferred the substance because it soaked into parchment easily and did not have the gritty qualities of carbon ink. The manufacturer would crush up several oak galls, small round knots that form on a branch from an insect egg laid just beneath the surface of the wood, and leave them in rainwater in the sun or near a fire for several days. Sometimes wine or vinegar was substituted for rainwater, or the liquid boiled to speed up the process. This liquid was then mixed with a substance called coperas, which occurred

naturally in Spain, and was manufactured artificially by the sixteenth century by pouring sulfuric acid over old nails and mixing the liquid from that procedure with alcohol. Inks of either variety were stored in inkpots or horns, and many scribal desks had metal hoops along the side to store the vessels for the ink. Even after the scribe finished his work on individual gatherings, the manuscript was far from done.

After the scribe completed the text, illumination of the manuscript began. Throughout the gatherings the scribe would leave carefully preplanned spaces for the illuminated letters and miniatures. Initials could vary in size and coloration, although they usually were uniform within a given work. They could be decorative, with a simple visual motif; inhabited, in which the letter contained or was intertwined with a single figure; or historiated, which told a mini-narrative, sometimes relating to the text, and sometimes not. These approaches to decorating initials developed over time, and it was only in the thirteenth century that historiated initials began to be adopted widely. The surfaces for creating these designs and images had to be sufficiently prepared, however, before work could begin.

The illuminator prepared his painting surface by rubbing the surface of the parchment with pumice or a piece of bread mixed with powdered glass, to give the artist a grease-free work area. Designs for the illumination would be sketched out first in a rough but lightly done charcoal or graphite drawing. The illuminator would then go over the outline of this image in ink. A simple dark charcoal drawing was unacceptable because the granules could disrupt the painting later, so ink was necessary to have a crisp and dark sketch, yet maintain the integrity of the work. The next step in most medieval manuscripts was decoration with gold leaf.

Gilding had to be dine before the artist applied other colors, and there were three major methods of adding gold to a manuscript. Two involved the use of gold leaf, and the other powdered gold. In one of the earliest, and the simplest method used, glue would be layered in a design, and gold leaf would be placed atop the adhesive and then burnished to a gleaming finish. A more popular method of using gold leaf relied upon the use of a sticky gesso as a foundational material. Medieval gesso began as a crumbly mixture of plaster of Paris and white lead, with a little bit of sugar to draw moisture, and red clay to create a warm undercolor for the gold. When the illuminator was ready to decorate the text, he would mix this powdered mixture with egg glair, the substance that forms in the bottom of a bowl of whipped egg whites, and apply it to the image with a quill pen rather than a brush. The gesso dried overnight, and the following day, the illuminator would breathe heavily onto the gesso to dampen it slightly and make it tacky before arranging the pieces of gold with a soft brush. The artisan pressed lightly onto the leaf with a piece of silk to set it into the gesso. He would then burnish it with a tool made from a stone such as agate or hematite, or the tooth of a carnivorous animal, such as a dog. The artisan would rub the design vigorously to polish it, creating a glittering decoration that would never tarnish or fade.

After the artisan gilded the images, the rest of the design could be painted in with color. Medieval artisans painted with quill pens and brushes made of the hairs from squirrels and ermines. They layered colors when they painted and used a series of coats of paint to highlight their work rather than a single thick one. The Gottingen Model Book describes the work as putting down a base color, then adding darker and lighter hues to highlight and create depth in the image[6]. Medieval painters used a variety of minerals to make their paints, such as azurite and the expensive lapis lazuli to make blues, and malachite for green. Plants, such as brazilwood for red, were also an important component of medieval paints. Most paints used either the yolk or the white of an egg to provide the glue necessary to hold them together. After the illuminator completed his work, the gatherings could be bound together as a full and complete manuscript.

This process of bookmaking remained the standard throughout Western Europe, even after the centers of bookmaking shifted from the monasteries to lay professionals.

The rise of the university during the late twelfth and throughout the thirteenth century revolutionized the book trade and shifted it from monastic control to secular. The students of the universities created a demand for books that could not be served by monastic book production. Scholars earning a medieval education needed many books, from important glosses by Church Fathers to a copy of the Bible. The Bible's usage in thirteenth-century universities led to its modern form of a single small, easily transportable volume made of thin paper mimicking "uterine" vellum[7]. "Uterine" vellum was an incredibly thin piece of parchment which was probably created by splitting a normal animal skin in half. Students created many of their own books through the pecia system. Under this system, students would rent sections of a book at a time and copy them into a blank manuscript, much like the exemplars used by monks and secular workshops[8]. The universities took a substantial interest in the original copies used for this system, and took pains to assure the quality and standardization of the texts used by the students. Another system created to match both the university and general secular demand was that of the private book trade and secular bookmakers.

Increased production of secular books, initially touched off by the demand for texts from the universities, increased further with the demand for private devotional texts, especially the book of hours. These works gained popularity throughout the late thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Books of hours were religious texts for individuals from all walks of life, with prayers in them that were said eight times per day. They also contained lists of prayers to popular and regional saints, as well as calendars of holy days. These books could range from humble works without any sort of illumination or miniatures to lavishly illustrated and gilded books, like the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duc de Berry. The majority of the books, though, fell somewhere between these two extremes. Many books of hours were produced in an almost assembly-line fashion. They used common patterns, and booksellers churned them out at a remarkable rate, with almost identical miniatures and schemes of decoration. Rather than having an author and a scribe working on them at the same time, the booksellers would occasionally send the finished leaves to be illuminated by an outside workshop, or in some instances, buy large single-page miniatures and bind them in between the folios of the rest of the book[9]. These devotional works were the first truly universal books of Western Europe and served as the foundation of power for the emerging wealthy booksellers. The end of the era of manuscripts also saw the rise of wealthy book collectors, building up the fortunes of merchants through their purchases of high-end works and large-scale collections.

Interest in older works and copies of older Roman texts hit a new high point during the fifteenth century as humanists in Renaissance Italy enjoyed both a wealth of source material and the funding of wealthy patrons. Men such as Cosimo de'Medici took up an interest in the past presented by the humanists and commissioned dozens of new books in addition to dealing with older manuscripts. Wealthy patrons employed men like Vespasiano da Bisticci to build up their libraries, based upon the book traders' connections with scribes, illuminators and other book dealers. Vespasiano brags in a book of his own memoirs that he helped Cosimo establish a massive library of two hundred volumes in twenty-two months, employing forty-five scribes to complete the task[10]. More information is known about these scribes as well, because they wrote their signatures and used identifying stamps to mark their books, rather than remaining anonymous as had many medieval monks and lay craftsmen. The profession of scribe was a relatively honorable one, and many young men from influential families in Italy took up the practice. This burgeoning book culture changed dramati-

cally by the end of the fifteenth century, however. The invention of the movable-type printing press in 1450 doomed the days of the scribe, but illuminators hung onto their profession even after this invention revolutionized book production.

Many bibliophiles of the time still wanted their texts to resemble manuscripts and hired illuminators to add miniatures and decorated initials to the texts. The first printing house in Rome had its own illuminators, who would work on their more luxurious works. The transition between manuscript and printed books was neither smooth nor perfect. Smaller runs of books continued to be done by hand, rather than set in movable type, and even after the use of woodcuttings replaced miniatures, many of these were colored manually by artisans. The great libraries begun by the powerful in Italy shifted to the new printing format, but the love of books as precious artifacts and as windows to the past had neither dimmed nor diminished.

That same wealth of spirit and the love of manuscripts continue into the modern day, and the powerful partisans and merchant-princes of Renaissance Italy have been replaced by modern wealthy philanthropists. *Lustre*, the current exhibit, would have been impossible without the generosity of two Houstonian patrons, Annette Finnigan and Frell Albright, who donated medieval manuscripts to the University of Houston and to other Houston organizations.

Annette Finnigan was born in 1873, and attended college at Wellesley, graduating from that institution in 1894. After her graduation, she spent a year in Europe, traveling and further developing an appreciation for the fine arts. She was active politically and organized the Houston Equal Suffrage League in 1903. Miss Finnigan participated in the suffrage movement whenever she could, stopping only to manage her father's business after his untimely death in 1909. She lobbied at the Texas state capitol for the cause of women's rights, but she contracted a paralysis in her right side in 1916, effectively ending her more active role in the suffrage movement. She continued to play a part in community service, though, by collecting materials for the Museum of Fine Arts and the Houston Public Library, as well as making donations to institutions such as The Sisters of the Incarnate Word and Blessed Sacrament, especially gifts of rare, older manuscripts. She continued to give actively and to make trips to Europe seeking new acquisitions until her death in 1940.

Frell Albright was born in 1922. He collected rare and local manuscripts from all over the world, including a sizeable collection of early Texas memorabilia and correspondence, early Egyptian artifacts, and thirteen medieval manuscripts, which he donated to the University of Houston library. He worked for the Finger Furniture company for over thirty-five years, and served as a vice-president in charge of advertising and public relations from 1978 to his death in 1987.

1 Christopher De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1997), 9.
2 Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 90.
3 De Hamel, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 85.
4 Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 27.
5 De Hamel, *Scribes*, 37.
6 De Hamel, *Scribes*, 61.
7 De Hamel, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 118.
8 De Hamel, *Scribes*, 35.
9 De Hamel, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 196.
10 De Hamel, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 242.

Secular Manuscripts

Christina Richardson

The Trial of Martha Stewart
Contemporary legal Manuscript page
Ray Ogar

The words "illuminated manuscript" conjure up images of richly and painstakingly ornamented pages of parchment devoted to God and, in particular, the Bible. Indeed, the sheer amount of effort, talent, and materials used in the creation of an illuminated manuscript was often understood as a physical demonstration of the greatness of the Almighty and the power of His Word. However, with the arrival of the High Middle Ages (the late twelfth to the early thirteenth century), the production of illuminated manuscripts ceased to be centered in the realm of the monastery and began to move into secular society. Though the decoration and production of illuminated manuscripts initially focused on the Bible and theological treatises, the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century saw the rise of secular tomes with subjects geared toward lay students and the aristocracy.

Following the sack of Rome and the massive "barbarian" invasions of the West, the earlier centers of learning and literacy in Europe fell largely into disuse. As Christianity spread, education and study re-emerged, but solely within monastic communities. It was in the monasteries that illuminated manuscripts were first produced and used. However, in the thirteenth century, society changed, and education found an audience outside of the monastery. Previously, only the aristocratic families with great wealth could afford to send their children (usually sons) to monastic schools to be educated. The High Middle Ages began to see a greater distribution of wealth. While economies were still more or less agrarian in nature, international trade was quickly becoming a major contributor to the growth of wealth in major cities. A middle class of merchants, bankers, and other professionals emerged and sought to provide education for their sons. It is at this time of change that Western Europe saw the creation of universities and the spread of educational ideals outside the realm of the monasteries and the Roman Catholic Church[1].

The founding of large universities such as the University of Paris generated a large market for the production of illuminated manuscripts. Study of theology and of the Bible remained the dominant disciplines at first. Secular subjects, however, such as law, medicine, and the liberal arts, also became important parts of the curriculum[2]. Students of all of these fields needed copies of books, often

written by their own professors, from which to study. The subjects of law and medicine gave the greatest impetus to the creation of secular illuminated manuscripts.

With the formation of the lay universities, the study of law became an important subject for students of the later medieval world. Medieval law did not merely incorporate what modern audiences think of as law today, such as civil and criminal law; but also included Church or canon law. In the sixth century, the Byzantine Emperor Justinian ordered that all civil law, both previously written and unwritten, be compiled into one complete set or code. The Code of Justinian became the basis for all law throughout the High Middle Ages. It was Justinian's law code that would be studied in the medieval university system. Manuscripts of this law code were enormous in size as they incorporated not only the laws themselves, but also commentaries by university professors[3].

The collection of canon or ecclesiastical laws was just as immense in scope and size. These laws were gathered together in a collection known as the *Decretals*, which were laws written by Catholic popes to be upheld in church courts. Because the Roman Catholic Church changed or added laws with each succeeding pope, the amount of canon law grew continually. The Church expected the universities to teach all of the decrees of previous and current papal officials[4].

At the medieval University of Bologna, the study of law was the highest priority. Indeed, Bologna became an international center for the study of law, attracting professors and students from around the world. Though ecclesiastical law held sway only over those of the Christian faith or under Christian rule, the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Roman body of civil law) dominated jurisprudence across the globe much as the Roman Empire had done in centuries past. Because of Bologna's status as the world's preeminent center of law, most illuminated legal manuscripts were produced there, and in Italy in general. The weight of importance given to law ensured that the production of legal manuscripts would warrant the same devotion, care, and consideration as the production of theological works[5].

Along with the subject of law, the High Middle Ages saw the development of the study of medicine at the university levels. As in the study of law, textbooks were needed for medical education. Medical textbooks lent themselves easily to illustration due to the necessity of detailed diagrams of anatomy, procedures, instruments, and medications. Like much of medieval knowledge and thought, many medical ideas and practices hailed from Ancient Greek and Roman sources[6]. Ancient medical treatises prized in medieval Europe included Dioscorides' *De materia medica*, Pseudo-Apuleius Platonicus' *Herbarium*, and Placitus' *Liber medicinae ex animalibus*. Not all medieval medicine derived from the Ancient Greeks and Romans, however. The Crusades and the Islamic invasions of Western Europe exposed European scholars to the vast wealth of medical knowledge in the Islamic world. Arab intellectuals preserved many classical texts lost to the West during the period of migrations and invasions. Islamic culture also had its own impressive tradition of medical treatises in the works of Avicenna and Averroes[7].

One form of medical text that found fans in both university and aristocratic settings was the herbal. The herbal was a type of text that catalogued plants in descriptions accompanied by illustrations. Useful to those practicing medicine, the herbal was also highly prized by aristocratic bibliophiles because of the intricate depictions of nature. Because students and book lovers alike sought herbals, a plethora of copies made it to market. Problems with accuracy arose because of the creation of successive copies. Often artists would merely copy what they saw in a previous text without firsthand knowledge of the plants. As a result, many illustrations strayed from the actual botanical sample. Famous examples of herbals include those of Dioscorides and Pseudo-Apuleius mentioned above[8]. A fifteenth-century herbal manuscript is shown in the exhibit.

While students created a vast market for the sale of illuminated manuscripts in a number of secular disciplines, the wealthy aristocracy also constituted a considerable market in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A typical university student collected books in order to further his own knowledge; however, the aristocrat saw books not only as sources of knowledge, but also as investments and symbols of wealth[8]. Commissioned by the affluent to serve as testaments to their own status, manuscripts created for the aristocracy were typically written either in the vernacular (the local spoken language) or in French, the language considered by many European aristocrats to symbolize wealth and social status best[10]. Though manuscripts created for the higher echelon of society encompassed many subjects, the most sought after were romances, histories, travel or adventures, scientific works (such as the herbals mentioned previously), and the Greek and Roman classics[11].

One of the most well known of these topics today is the medieval romance. Based upon the ideas of chivalry and courtly love, romances were initially tales spun by traveling minstrels and *troubadours* who entertained aristocratic courts with their recitation of romantic poems and stories. These wandering oral poets, whose stories could be altered over and over again, were replaced by entertainers with written manuscripts, thus ensuring that the story would remain the same with each telling. Possibly the most well known romance of the Middle Ages was the *Roman de la Rose*. This tale of love, morality, and philosophy is thought to have been one of the most widespread and popular stories for approximately three hundred years after its initial introduction. Over three hundred original illuminated manuscripts are still in existence today testifying to the *Roman de la Rose*'s popularity in and influence on medieval society[12].

Many of those who participated in the Crusades had heard heroic tales during their journeys. They felt a special kinship with tales starring King Arthur and Alexander the Great. Illuminated manuscripts of those stories made it possible to share these tales with family and friends, as well as to impress those around them. Manuscripts about King Arthur and his knights also served as models of behavior and action for young knights and ladies[13].

Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (represented in the exhibit by a photograph of a page from the famous Ellesmere manuscript) reflects another type of medieval secular literature. Chaucer wrote it as if it were a collection of stories recounted by pilgrims to one another as they went on the pilgrimage route to Santiago da Compostela in the fourteenth century.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the High Middle Ages saw a shift in education and the creation of manuscripts from the Catholic Church and its monasteries to the aristocracy and the laity. The advent of universities and the spread of education opened the way for the production of secular tomes and treatises. Though the creation of illuminated copies of the Bible and theological works would remain necessary and popular, books devoted to other subjects such as law, medicine, history, and literature became important and prized possessions.

1 Janet Backhouse, *The Illuminated Manuscript* (New York: Phaidon Press, 1979), 8.
2 Christopher De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Hong Kong: Phaidon Press, 2003), 127-8.
3 De Hamel, 138.
4 De Hamel, 138.
5 "Illuminating the Law: Legal Manuscripts at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge," Fitzwilliam Museum http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/intro.htm
6 Backhouse, 33.
7 "Medical Manuscripts," Glossary, Digital Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts, The British Library http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/GlossM.asp.
8 Werner Telesko, *The Wisdom of Nature: The Healing Powers and Symbolism of Plants and Animals in the Middle Ages* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), 10-11.
9 Brigitte Buettner, "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society," *Art Bulletin*, 74/1 (1994): 76.
10 Backhouse, 54.
11 John Harthan, *An Introduction to Illuminated Manuscripts* (Owings Mills, MD: Stemmer House, 1983), 13.
12 Pamela Porter, *Courtly Love in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 28-29.
13 De Hamel, 145.

Embodying the Word

PHYSICAL FORMS OF THE MEDIEVAL BIBLE

Elizabeth Walen Walunas

The University of Houston's manuscript collection boasts a thirteenth-century Northern French "pocket" Bible known as the Gwysaney Bible[1]. This little gem displays the main attributes of nearly every portable Bible produced in Western Europe during its century, making it an excellent example of the changes in Bible production that took place in that period.

Before the changes of the thirteenth century, Bibles were large, multi-volume affairs, the individual volumes being meant to sit on lecterns, altars, or refectory tables[2]. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in some places into the thirteenth century, largeness was a favored characteristic, as a volume's physical presence lent it an aura of dignity, holiness, and credibility. Ceremonial uses of the Bible, such as taking it on processions on feast days, reinforced the physicality of its power. Before reading the sacred text, the reader (usually a priest or a monk) would kiss the volume and show his audience the opened pages. With the pages measuring about fifteen and a half inches by ten and a half inches, these lectern Bibles were intended to be read aloud for teaching, liturgical purposes, or communal devotion (as in the refectory of a monastery, where passages were read aloud while the monks ate), not employed in private devotion or study. The decoration was carefully executed with wide audiences in mind.

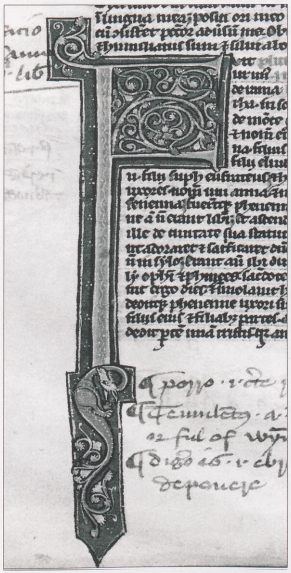
The different books within the Bible could be read in any order, and twelfth-century audiences saw Scripture as a collection of texts, not a single work. One lectern Bible, with its several (usually four to five) volumes, could include a complete collection, known as a pandect. Components of a complete collection were the prologues to the books, attributed to St. Jerome; the Hebrew Bible; the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles; two or even three different versions of the Psalms; the books known as the Apocrypha; the Epistles; and the Book of Revelation. While Bible producers made efforts to ensure the accuracy of copies before the volumes left the site (usually a monastery or cathedral chapter house), they did not employ a standardized format until the development of the portable Bible industry, beginning in thirteenth-century Paris[3].

From the turn of the thirteenth century, Bible production in Paris changed, probably due to the increased use of the Bible as a university text and to the demand for Bibles, especially portable ones, from the newly founded Dominican and Franciscan preaching orders (also called mendicant orders). For the first time, producers firmly established the names and order of the books and collected the books into one volume. Single-volume Bibles produced before the early 1200s are extremely rare. Division into numbered chapters appeared in the early thirteenth century as well (numbered verses were introduced in the sixteenth century), and this division is attributed to Stephen Langton, who lectured on the Bible in Paris before he drafted the Magna Carta in England.

Scholarship was the primary motivation behind these developments. University students enjoyed a more efficient learning experience with their own Bibles close at hand during lectures, and they did not hesitate to add their own commentaries, or glosses, in the margins of their pages. The Gwysaney Bible in the University of Houston's exhibit belonged to one such student or

scholar. Interestingly, the Gwysaney Bible's original commentaries have been largely removed by the trimming of the pages' bottom margins. Their replacement by attached strips of vellum bearing other commentaries suggests a subsequent owner's censorship of the original student's ideas. Later corrections and glosses, in hands dating from the late thirteenth to the seventeenth century, remain in the other margins.

Censorship through standardization of the Biblical text was a priority of the Dominican masters at the university and the theological school (opened in 1229) in Paris. The Dominicans' educational goal was to combat heresy, especially among future ecclesiastical and civic leaders. Bible scholarship was, therefore, of great importance to the Dominican universities not only in Paris but also in Bologna and Oxford. In addition, the size of the new Bibles made them easy for preaching friars to transport and read to their wide audiences. Presumably to meet this demand, Paris masters and stationers began producing portable Bibles around the same time as the opening of the theological school.



'Gwysaney' Bible. Northern France, ca 1250-1300
University of Houston, Special Collections

By the mid- to late thirteenth century, the portable Bible had become a bestseller, and these manuscripts are the most common surviving books from their century. While some artists and scribes worked at home, many Parisian artisans established workshops to produce Bibles and other books for students, such as liturgies, law books, and copies of the Decretals (a commentary on canon, or church, law). Production of thirteenth-century Bibles by religious orders was limited, and it is likely that only some Dominican friars and very few Franciscans created them. Franciscans were expressly forbidden to sell books that they produced. In Paris, booksellers commissioned new Bible manuscripts and subcontracted scribes to write them and professional illuminators to decorate them.

While the largeness and impressive physicality of the lectern Bible had ceremonial importance, practical concerns were paramount in the minds of portable Bible producers. To have a single-volume complete Bible, the pages had to be tissue-thin and were often made of the super-fine vellum, or calfskin, known as "uterine vellum" (due to the false notion that this skin was obtained from aborted calves). Additionally, the format of the text allowed for maximum use of space, with two columns of minute black script on each page. Page headings and red or blue initials marking chapters helped the reader to locate sections of the tiny text[1].

The Gwysaney Bible, created in Northern France between about 1250 and 1300, consists of

uterine vellum, adheres to the two-column format, and displays red and blue numbers at chapter divisions. It is written, like other pre-Reformation Bibles, in the Vulgate translation attributed to the fourth-century St. Jerome. In its current binding, however, it is not a complete collection, containing only the prologues and most of the Old Testament. It lacks the last part of the Book of Job; the Psalms of David 1-9a, 149, and 150; and the entire New Testament, except for the prologue and first lines of St. Matthew's Gospel, which appear on the last leaf.

The decoration of the Gwysaney Bible conforms to the common practice of its day as well. Miniatures appear in white, red, and blue, with black outlines. Gilded initials consist of gold leaf overlying built-up gesso (plaster of Paris), a practice developed in the thirteenth century. While the original student must have appreciated the efficiency and practicality of his portable Bible's format, he surely enjoyed the interest and beauty of the thirty-four historiated, twelve zoomorphic, and many decorated initials. In the exhibit, the Bible is open to display one of these initials, decorated with a lively, colorful dragon in the customary palette of red and blue. This dragon is one of many romping through the manuscript's pages, making it clear that there was no theological problem with these otherwise infamous creatures inhabiting Bibles.

The owners' consistent enjoyment of the Gwysaney Bible was, unfortunately, one of the causes of its current disrepair. While the beauty of the decoration still shines, the observer cannot help but notice that generations of handling have left the manuscript in dangerously poor condition. The exhibit is one of the rare times that this Bible, like a delicate treasure guarded in a vault, is permitted to be opened and viewed.[5]

As an example of the ways in which Bible production shifted to include non-ceremonial physical attributes, the Gwysaney Bible demonstrates the practical as well as intellectual and spiritual concerns of the key patrons and purchasers of thirteenth-century portable Bibles. Its beauty exemplifies the medieval aesthetic tradition of lavishly decorated Bibles, a tradition that modern producers sadly have had to leave behind. Nonetheless, we need only look at any modern Bible's format to see how the physical form of this sacred text remains largely unchanged.

1 Bible, Vulgate version. Northern France, ca. 1250-1300 (University of Houston Special Collections, Gift of Frell Albright). The Bible is familiarly called the Gwysaney Bible because the second recorded owner of the manuscript, Robert Davies of Lannerch (1658-1710), was master of the Gwysaney estate and placed the Bible in the Gwysaney Library. His descendants sold the Bible to Mr. Frell Albright in 1969.

2 The University of Houston exhibit includes an excellent example of the style used for lectern Bibles, a facsimile of the Bury Bible (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 2).

3 Information about lectern Bibles can be found in Barbara A. Shailor, *The Medieval Book* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 75; Claire Donovan, *The Winchester Bible* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 10-11; and Christopher De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1994), 118.

4 Information about portable Bibles can be found in Shailor, 79-80; Donovan, 11-13; and De Hamel, 118-127.

5 One of the exhibit's goals is to raise awareness of the Gwysaney Bible's need of a repair project. Those interested in learning more may contact the University of Houston Library's Special Collections department.

Books of Hours

DEVOTION AND DECORATION

Amy O'Neal

The Annunciation
Book of hours. Flanders, ca 1500
On loan from Houston Public Library
Houston Metropolitan Research Center
Special Collections Department
Gift of Annette Finnigan

Devotional texts were a common type of manuscript throughout the Middle Ages that included breviaries, psalters, and books of hours. Books of hours were perhaps the most popular, and because of this many splendid examples have survived over the centuries. Devotional texts were intended to aid worshipers during both the Catholic Mass and their own private devotion. In the High Middle Ages, lay persons tried to copy the religious devotion of the spiritual community. Beginning in the twelfth century, there was a new stress on lay piety as well as a revival of monasticism. By the thirteenth century, books of hours had become the most popular devotional texts.

The books of hours allowed the reader to observe the canonical hours. Every three hours throughout a twenty-four-hour period, the monks, canons, or nuns would recite the Psalms and various prayers that were organized around the time of day as well as holy holidays and saints' days. These eight canonical hours included Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline.

Books of hours began with a calendar to keep track of important feasts and saints' days.

Calendars were important because they directed the reader to the appropriate set of Psalms and prayers that corresponded with the particular saint or festival for that day of the liturgical year. Because calendars included saints who were important to all Christendom as well as local saints, these calendars help scholars to figure out the times and places in which the manuscripts were produced. The popularity of saints changed over time, and many saints had only local importance, making the calendar a way of figuring out the approximate date and place of production for particular books of hours.

Books of hours also included various offices, such as the Office of the Dead, which was made up of prayers and other worship material for use in funeral masses and for remembrance of the dead. At the end of the eleventh century, Pope Urban II approved the creation and use of the Little Office of Our Lady, or the Hours of the Virgin, in which the prayers and readings for each of the eight hours revolved around the Virgin Mary. The Hours of the Virgin were nearly always included in books of hours. Commonly, each hour was illustrated with an image representing a story from the Virgin's life that stressed her role as mother of Jesus Christ. These stories and images became standardized so that the same scenes illustrate the same hours in most books of hours: the Annunciation (Matins), the Visitation (Lauds), the Nativity (Prime), the Announcement to the Shepherds (Terce), the Adoration of the Magi (Sext), the Presentation in the Temple (Nones), the Flight into Egypt (Vespers), and the Coronation of the Virgin (Compline).

In this exhibit, the book of hours belonging to the Houston Public Library includes a beautiful image of the Annunciation (Matins) from the Hours of the Virgin. Here the angel appears to Mary as she sits in devotion and announces to her that she is to bear the son of God. The image mirrors the expected behaviors of pious medieval women. Not only is Mary quietly meditating on a book, most likely a book of hours, but there is a second book behind her. This reflects the growing importance of book ownership as the Middle Ages progressed. The angel is accompanied by a white dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, which is commonly depicted in Annunciation scenes. The angel's words are captured in yellow-gold ink, a far rarer practice for illustrators.

The Hours of the Virgin were not the only offices in the books of hours. Other popular choices for inclusion were the Hours of the Holy Cross, the Hours of Eternal Wisdom, and the Hours of the Holy Ghost. There are examples of all of these in the Houston manuscripts on display. The books of hours also came to include two special prayers to the Virgin Mary entitled *Obsecro Te* and *O Intermerata*, which venerated Mary and asked for her intercession. The books often had litanies of prayers to various saints who might also be called upon to protect the reader. The rest of the material in the books of hours usually included some of the materials previously found in breviaries, a type of manuscript that contained all of the texts needed for the celebration of the Divine Office and the Catholic Mass.

Just as the Hours of the Virgin had thematic illustrations, many of the other parts of the books of hours had common types of illustrations. The calendar pages were frequently illustrated to show the types of activities or labors usual to that month, such as harvesting. The Psalms were often accompanied by a depiction of King David, who wrote the Psalms. The Office of the Dead often had macabre figures or portrayals of the trials of Job as the office includes readings from the Book of Job.

The patrons who commissioned the books of hours chose what to include from among the various offices, prayers, and other texts. The quality of the books of hours depended on how much money the patron had to spend. Cheaper versions had fewer inclusions and less decoration. Because of these choices, books of hours were very personal. No two were exactly alike. Most of the books of hours in this exhibition were produced for people of some, but not great, wealth.

The first books of hours were made in the early thirteenth century by appending various offices, such as the Office of the Dead, to psalters. Royalty were the first to have books of hours made, but quickly the upper classes and merchants copied their social betters. Originally only the wealthiest of aristocratic women would have been able to patronize book production. By the fifteenth century, the cost of book production had dropped so that even members of the lower bourgeoisie could own books of hours[1].

Illuminations and book covers made the books of hours symbols of wealth and status. By the early fourteenth century, books of hours were well on their way to becoming wildly popular and incredibly fashionable. Women, especially, carried lavishly decorated and personalized books of hours. Some books of hours were girdle books that were worn as fashion accessories. Girdle books were very small and worn at the waist attached to girdles, sashes, or belts. The covers were usually metal and quite ornate, like oversized lockets. Since books of hours were tailored for individuals and were not meant for shared use, rich households often had several copies. Some of these texts were wildly lavish on both the inside and the outside. As the demand for books of hours rose, there was an increase in both literacy and book production.

Women frequently commissioned or owned various works of devotion, especially books of hours. Queens were among some of the first owners of books of hours. In this exhibition, there is a facsimile of the book of hours belonging to Jeanne d'Evreux, the queen of Charles IV of France. It appears to have been a wedding present from Charles made around 1324. In addition to being a book of devotion, this book was also a treasure. Jeanne d'Evreux bequeathed the book to her nephew, Charles V, who catalogued the book amongst his jewels and not as part of his library. The book eventually came into the collection of Charles V's brother, Jean Duc de Berry. The size of the book, as well as the use of *grisaille*, or gray tones, in its decoration, makes this book of hours very unusual[2].

It is sometimes very difficult to determine the identity of patrons. While dedications alone are not enough to determine that a woman encouraged or commissioned a work, "dedications would scarcely have been made lightly, and works were certainly dedicated to either current or prospective patrons, in hope of continued patronage or in an effort to curry favor or honor a benefactor[3]." A dedication could reflect, however, a work that someone else had made as a gift to the dedicatee. Sometimes when a man and a woman are mentioned together as patrons, the woman may have actually played little or no role in commissioning the book. In some cases, husbands or fathers commissioned books of hours for the women in their lives, thereby promoting the women's traditional roles and behaviors as those responsible for the piety of the family and the education of the children. In other cases, men who had little to do with the commissions were mentioned in connection with their wives and daughters who were the actual patrons.

Many wealthy and powerful women commissioned devotional works in this period. Marguerite de Bar, abbess of St. Maur at Verdun, commissioned a breviary for her brother Renaud around 1302. The breviary had illustrations of the brother and sister as well as several family coats of arms[4]. It is extremely difficult with books of hours in particular to tell if they were made at the request of women or if they were merely meant as gifts for women. At the very least, it is very clear that women created a high demand for these manuscripts. Matilda of Artois owned three separate books of hours; Isabelle of Bavaria had nine[5].

Women were also interested in manuscripts that could be used not only for devotion but also for teaching their children. Many noblewomen commissioned copies of Psalters or other books that could be used in learning to read. Alphabet psalters were books of Psalms that were specifically

designed for teaching reading. In the thirteenth century, Blanche of Castile commissioned a psalter for her young son, the future Louis IX[6]. Isabelle of Bavaria commissioned a book of hours for her seven-year-old daughter Jeanne in 1398 and an alphabet psalter for another daughter, Michelle, in 1403. Michelle was eight or younger at the time it was presented to her[7]. Anne of Brittany had a primer copied for her daughter Claudia in 1505[8]. Aristocratic women were also interested in bestiaries as tools for moral lessons. Bestiaries were descriptions of animals, real or imagined, that included Christian symbolism and moral instruction.

The increased number of books of private devotion and the drop in the prices of books coincided with increased literacy. From the earliest periods, royal or highborn women as well as nuns were literate. In the early Middle Ages, nearly all written material was in Latin, which meant that literacy included learning a foreign language. While education was indispensable to highborn families, girls whose parents did not have money for books or tutors, nor the spare time for learning, simply remained illiterate. Just because someone owned or had commissioned the making of a book did not necessarily mean that the owner or patron could read. Illustrations helped even the illiterate find the correct prayers in their books of hours, and many of these prayers had been memorized from early childhood.

Women were often the first to commission translations of important works. For example, Marie de Champagne, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Louis VII of France, commissioned the translation of the Psalms into the vernacular[9]. Matilda of Artois had a number of Biblical translations done as well[10]. By patronizing translations from Latin into the vernacular, women increased the audience for devotional texts and could ease the acquisition of new languages, which was very important for brides who had to move to other lands. The importance of the vernacular increased, Latin's importance decreased.

More women became literate as the number of writings in the vernacular multiplied during the High Middle Ages. The twelfth-century abbess Herrad commissioned a copy of the book *Garden of Delights*, written in both German and Latin. It was intended to teach novices Latin and assumed that they had been taught already to read German at home[11]. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there were more and more translations made. Later books of hours were more likely to be in the vernacular than in Latin. In this exhibition, the earliest books of hours are all in Latin while the later ones are in French and Middle Dutch.

Devotional books were important to many during the Middle Ages, but it was the books of hours that became increasingly popular especially with women. The books of hours were treasured possessions for their devotional text, their lustrous images, and their outer decorations. They were a sign of both piety and fashion.

1 Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Erler and Kowaleski (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 154.
2 http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/arth214_folder/jeanne_d_evreux.html
3 June McCash, "The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June McCash (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1966), 3.
4 McCash, 8-9.
5 Bell, 157.
6 McCash, 22; Bell, 163.
7 McCash, 22-3.
8 McCash, 22.
9 Theodore Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Cham-pagne," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 79.
10 McCash, 21.
11 Bell, 165.

The Psalter & Commentary

Medieval Devotional Texts for Prayer, Meditation, and Study

Holle Canatella

Moses with the Tablets of the Law
Commentary on the Ten Commandments
Netherlands, ca 1480 (frontispiece)
On loan from Houston Public Library
Houston Metropolitan Research Center
Special Collections Department

While manuscripts such as Bibles, certain liturgical books, and books of hours were widely used for spiritual purposes in the Middle Ages, there were other texts of a devotional nature that fulfilled specific intellectual and spiritual needs of religious men and women. Books such as psalters and commentaries served this purpose, and both served as teaching tools.

The psalter is the Book of Psalms, and it is often prefaced by a calendar and other auxiliary texts such as canticles, creeds, the litany of the saints, and prayers[1]. Psalters often belonged to individuals, who used them for personal meditation and study, but they might also be used for liturgical purposes, and many belonged to priests[2]. In the thirteenth century, the book of hours began to replace the psalter as a book of private devotion. Production and use of psalters continued well into the late Middle Ages and their role as private devotional texts was not entirely usurped by the rise of the book of hours. Some famous examples of psalters used for private devotion include the St. Albans Psalter, produced in the twelfth century for the Anglo-Saxon recluse and mystic Christina of Markyate[3]; the twelfth-century psalter belonging to Henry of Blois, the bishop of Winchester and known patron of the arts[4]; and the Dagulf Psalter,

which Charlemagne commissioned as a gift for Pope Hadrian, with many pages written in gold or silver[5]. These are but a few of the many well-known extant medieval psalters whose owners are identified.

Quite often King David, composer of the Psalms, appears in the illustrations in these manuscripts, frequently in an inhabited *Beatus* initial[6]. One of the most famous examples of this kind of initial appears in the St. Albans Psalter. David appears inside a large and ornate initial B. He sits on a throne, while a dove, a symbol of David's divine inspiration, hovers above him, and he also holds a book. David often appears in other types of devotional books, especially books of hours. Because he composed the Psalms (prayers originally meant to be sung), David is often depicted singing and playing a harp, as he is in the University of Houston's Flemish book of hours.

Psalters often began with a series of prefatory miniatures, some of which introduce a text, while others stand on their own, having no relationship to the text that follows[7]. The St. Albans Psalter, for example, contains a group of scenes from the life of Christ, which are not accompanied by any related text. Such prefatory cycles reached their most developed form in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the mid-eleventh century[8].

A variety of texts were also often added to psalters. For example, the romantic Old French *Vie de Saint Alexis* (*Life of St. Alexis*) appears in the St. Albans Psalter, and the Peterborough Psalter is combined with a bestiary. The medieval bestiary was based on a text called the *Physiologus* that was probably written around 200 CE in Alexandria. The word *physiologus* may be translated as someone knowledgeable in Nature. The bestiary, however, even more than the *Physiologus*, included fantastic as well as real animals. Furthermore, its descriptions of animal characteristics and behavior were rendered as moralizing metaphors that taught religious faith and good Christian behavior. The Peterborough Psalter, which dates to the early fourteenth century, was a collaborative production, with two different identifiable styles found in the manuscripts' Gothic miniatures[9]. The book includes over one hundred moralizing descriptions and images of animals. Like the St. Albans Psalter, the Peterborough book also contains a *Beatus* initial. The initial is historiated, with David playing the psaltery, accompanied by two other musicians and a dog on a detailed decorated background[10]. The extensive decoration, like that found in the ornate *Beatus* initial, and the unusual combination of the two books in the Peterborough manuscript suggest that the text was intended for private rather than for monastic use.

In this exhibit, the illustrated Cistercian psalter now in the Houston Public Library represents an example of a traditional psalter and dates from between 1444 and 1445. The book was written by Frater Wilhelmus Kechellerus Hechingen, deacon in the Cistercian monastery of Herrenhalb, near Speyer in Germany. The large colored drawing of the Madonna and Child seated on the ground, an image known as the "Madonna of Humility," has been attributed to the anonymous painter known as "The Master of the Ortenberg Altar," whose most well known work is in Darmstadt[11].

The Cistercians were founded in 1120 at the French abbey of Citeaux (Cistercium in Latin), and the order dispersed throughout Western Europe. Their high point of influence was in the twelfth century under the direction of Bernard of Clairvaux. The order also encouraged the formation of chivalric orders such as the infamous Knights Templar, the Knights of Calatrava, and the Knights of St. Lazarus, among others. Cistercian artwork is characterized by an austere Gothic style such as that which characterizes the drawing of the Madonna, with its simple red and blue decoration.

Sometimes the illustrations that appear in a manuscript may provide significant visual information regarding the identities of the book's owner and the patron who commissioned the work. For example, in addition to the text, illustrations in the St. Albans Psalter provide historians and

art historians alike with knowledge about the text's presumed owner, Christina of Markyate. The images also identify the manuscript's patron, Geoffrey de Gorran, abbot of St. Albans. Several of the manuscript's miniatures correspond to events discussed in Christina of Markyate's *vita*, which was composed by an anonymous monk at St. Albans Abbey during her lifetime. The most famous illustration from this manuscript is an initial "C," which shows a nun, presumably Christina, leading a group of monks to Christ. Christina reaches from the earthly sphere and into the heavenly realm to touch Christ. Therefore, she appears as an intercessor on behalf of the monks, likely the monks of St. Albans as this was the abbey with which Christina was closely associated and the abbey whose scriptorium produced the manuscript. The rubric reads, "Spare your monks I beseech you[12]." In her *vita* Christina acts as a conduit to God for Abbot Geoffrey, and he does the same for her. The initial is a visual representation of the spiritual friendship that Christina and Geoffrey shared.

Manuscript commentaries developed out of the tradition of commentaries, or glosses, on important texts made by well-respected churchmen or scholars. Texts might be of a biblical, patristic, or legal nature. Churchmen often wrote notes between the lines or in the margins that commented on, explained, or translated the main text[13]. Eventually, these comments evolved into a kind of text on their own, the *glossa ordinaria*, more simply known as a gloss. Like psalters, these manuscripts were often objects of intense study by monastic men and women. Glosses on Roman law and canon law are particularly well known, and the phenomenon can be connected with the rise of medieval universities. One of the most famous examples is the gloss of Gratian's *Decretum*; however, glosses on particular Biblical passages were also popular.

The fifteenth-century Dutch commentary on the Ten Commandments in the Houston Public Library's collection is an example of such a manuscript. The style of the border decoration supports a date of approximately 1470-1480. The frontispiece of Moses with the tablets of the law, once thought to be by the Flemish master, Gerard David himself, is now described as "in the manner of David[14]." Moses appears with horns and a gold leaf halo while holding the Ten Commandments, which are written in Dutch on two blue tablets. The border is a characteristically Flemish floral design, similar to that so often found in books of hours dating to the same general time period.

The earliest known artistic representation of the horned Moses first appeared during the eleventh century in England. The image appears in the Aelfric Paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Joshua[15]. Scholars have explained this depiction of Moses as having its origin in a problematic interpretation of the original Hebrew word *qeren*. When St. Jerome (ca 340-420 CE) translated the Bible into Latin, instead of describing Moses as descending Mount Sinai with "rays of light" coming from his head, he chose the word "horned" (in Latin, *cornuta*), which is the other meaning of the Hebrew term used[16]. In her study, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*, Ruth Melinkoff argues that Jerome deliberately chose the word "horned" because it was a metaphor in ancient Hebrew signifying that divinity or power had been transferred to Moses through contact with God. In other words, the use of the word *cornuta* in Jerome's translation continued the ancient practice (which, it should be noted, is a universal motif) of using horns as symbols of honor and power, and Melinkoff argues that during Jerome's time this translation would not have seemed strange[17].

Medieval psalters and commentaries are both unique types of books, each serving a dual purpose: as a devotional aid and as a teaching instrument. Furthermore, the illustrations found in manuscripts such as the Houston Public Library's Cistercian psalter and commentary on the Ten Commandments supply the modern scholar with information about the way in which those who produced them viewed these texts as objects of

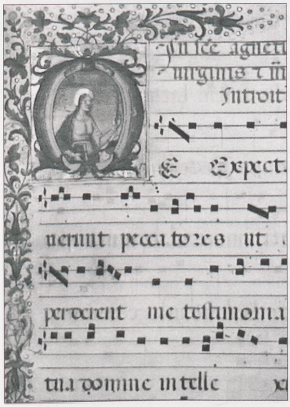
devotion. The care put into the production of the artwork in these manuscripts was an act of devotion itself.

1 Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum in association with the British Library, 1994), 103.
2 Christopher De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd ed. (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1994), 13.
3 Jane Geddes, "The St. Albans Psalter: The abbot and the anchoress," in *Christina of Markyate: A twelfth-century holy woman*, ed. Samuel Fanous and Henrietta Leyser (New York: Routledge, 2004), 197.
4 Janet Backhouse, *The Illuminated Manuscript* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1979), 26.
5 De Hamel, 44-46.
6 Brown, 104.
7 Brown, 101.
8 Brown, 101-102.
9 Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts* (London: Harvey Miller, 1974), 1.
10 Sandler, 25.
11 Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, vol. 2 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1961), 2164-2165.
12 "Parce tuis queso monachis clementia Jesu."
13 Brown, 59.
14 de Ricci, 2164.
15 Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 13.
16 Mellinkoff, 1.
17 Mellinkoff, 4-5.

Medieval Music Manuscripts

TREASURES OF SIGHT AND SOUND

Sarah J. Pruett



St. Agnes
Choral Service Book. Italy (Rome), 1440-99 (folio 1r)
University of Houston, Special Collections
Gift of Prell Albright

The modern musical notation system developed over many centuries, but its roots lie in the medieval world.

Medieval music began as a part of the Catholic Church and flourished as the power of the Church grew. Eventually, music spread into the secular world as a burgeoning art form. Like other forms of medieval manuscripts, those containing music provided an opportunity for artists (other than the composer, author, or poet) to express themselves through the decoration of the manuscript. The medieval musical manuscripts that remain hold insights not only into the music of the past, but also into the artistic practices of the past.

Written music did not appear in the Middle Ages until the reign of Charlemagne (768-814) and the "Carolingian renaissance." Charlemagne encouraged and fostered learning and the arts during his reign, hoping to re-establish the traditions and achievements of Classical Rome, including a system to write music that derived from a lost Greek system. The system of notation that developed during Charlemagne's reign aided the oral tradition of music that existed prior to the Carolingians.

Music played a central role in the liturgy of the Catholic Church. The Church developed many different types of liturgical manuscripts to complement the extensive liturgy and quickly became one of the largest manufacturers of musical manuscripts. Worship for the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages fell into two main sections: the Mass and the Divine Office. The Mass is a

symbolic re-enactment of the Last Supper of Christ. The central events are the consecration of and consumption of the bread (Eucharist) and wine. The form of the Mass became fairly standardized by the tenth century, although some regional variations did prevail. Some parts of the Mass remain constant from day to day and are called "common." Other parts changed from week to week or even service to service, depending on the feast day or season being celebrated, and are called "proper[1]."

The Divine Office was a series of services that took place at certain times of the day, and its main function was to allow for the recitation of the Psalms. These services are called the canonical hours: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline. During the Middle Ages, each of these services was performed daily by monks and the clergy. Matins, the longest of the canonical hours, was the first performed each day, usually beginning around two or three o'clock in the morning, with the other services following every three hours, ending with Compline. When private devotional books of hours became popular in Europe around the thirteenth century, lay people began observing parts of the Divine Office[2].

The musical manuscripts used by the medieval Catholic Church (also called liturgical manuscripts) were divided by use for either the Mass or Divine Office. For each service, there was a book that contained only the texts used usually by the priest or person conducting the service, and a book containing the text and the music for those performing the musical parts of the service[3]. A gradual is the main musical book used in the performance of the Mass, taking its name from one musical element in the Mass.d Antiphonaries or antiphonals contain text and music for the Divine Office and are named for the antiphon, a melody that frames the singing of a Psalm verse that was integral to the performance of the Divine Office[5]. Liturgical manuscripts are several volumes long because of the length of the liturgy.

Most of the liturgical books, especially the graduals and antiphonaries, are arranged according to the liturgical year, divided into sections for the Temporale, Sanctorale, and the Common of Saints. The Temporale or temporal encompasses the "proper" Christological feasts, such as Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, that are celebrated universally across the Catholic Church[6]. The Sanctorale is the celebration of the saints' feasts, with the exception of the feasts that fall between December 24 and January 13, which are included in the Temporale. The Common of Saints includes the feasts for the saints who do not have a separate feast. These were feasts for general groupings of saints like bishop confessors and virgin martyrs[7]. The contents of the Sanctorale are variable depending on the monastic order and region of the manuscript.

The University of Houston Italian Choral Service Book in this exhibit contains the Sanctorale for St. Agnes; St. Lawrence and the Finding of the Holy Cross; the Temporale for the entire year, beginning with the Vespers before Pentecost; the Office of the Virgin; the Office of the Dead; and the Common of Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins. Also included is a portion of the service for the dedication of a church. Material for the Mass on Holy Saturday and part of the services for Easter Sunday were added later, a common practice as the liturgy changed. Because books were so expensive, when changes were made to parts of the liturgy, material was either added to the end of a manuscript or inserted within the existing manuscript.

The actual size of liturgical manuscripts varied depending on their function. Usually missals and breviaries are smaller in size, because they were generally used by only the one person officiating at the service. Graduals, antiphonaries, and choir books were often much larger, depending on the size of the group using them[8]. Unlike modern choirs in which each performer often has his or her own copy of the music, medieval choirs often read from the same book, propped up in front of the group. If the choir was very large, the choir

book would need to be extremely large, so that everyone could see it. The University of Houston's fifteenth-century breviary page in this exhibit (which measures 5.75 inches by 8.25 inches) was made for use by one person, while Rice University's musical manuscript leaf, probably from a gradual (which measures 14.5 inches by 20.5 inches), was probably used by a large medieval choir.

As with most manuscripts, the amount of decoration depended largely on the wealth of the patron and the book's intended function. Musical manuscripts made for daily use in a monastery or smaller church would have very little superfluous decoration in the margins. A manuscript for display in a cathedral might have a very elaborate decoration scheme with rich borders and miniatures. Because choir books and other musical manuscripts became sources of pride for communities, they became more elaborate[9]. The time period in which a manuscript was produced could also influence the level of decoration; the later Gothic and Renaissance styles were much more ornate than earlier decoration styles.

One decorative element common to almost all musical liturgical manuscripts is the initial or large letter. The initial could be decorated simply with a variety of motifs or it could be historiated or inhabited[10]. Initials were also used as visual place markers, to indicate a new verse, service, or day. There is a definite hierarchy of size and decoration according to the function of that initial. The first pages for the most important feasts have the largest and most elaborately decorated initials within the manuscript (in a gradual, it is usually the introit for the first Sunday in Advent; in an antiphonary it is usually the first responsary of Matins).

This hierarchy of initials is apparent on the Rice University manuscript leaf. This page contains the introit, gradual, and gradual verse for the first Sunday in Advent. The first initial for this feast, the "A" in the introit, is very large and much more elaborately decorated than the rest of the initials on the page. There is no doubt that this marks the beginning of a new and important feast within this manuscript. On the same page there are other initials that stand out. The large blue "U" at the bottom of the page marks the beginning of the gradual for the feast, and the red and black "V"s mark the beginning of the verses for the gradual. These other initials are larger than the other letters around them, but are much smaller than the "A" that marks the introit. Nevertheless, when a performer was following along as a member of a large group, these initials would provide a quick reference to help him keep his place.

The Rice manuscript page dates from the fifteenth century, and its decoration offers clues to the function of the entire book as well as to the community that originally owned that book. Analysis is limited because there is only one leaf and not the entire manuscript. The large size of the leaf indicates that it came from an equally large manuscript. This suggests that the book might have been made for a sizeable religious community or church with a substantial choir. The decorative scheme leads us to consider two further possibilities concerning its use. The flower pattern inside the "A" marking the beginning of the introit is very elaborate and certainly eye-catching. While the decoration is lovely, the lack of gold leaf and the simple hierarchy of the design are neither the richest nor the most ornate produced in the fifteenth century. Thus, it is equally possible that the manuscript was made for use by a choir on a daily basis or was instead intended to be displayed in a middle class or poorer community of some size.

The University of Houston's choral service book, on the other hand, contains more elaborate decoration on its first page. The size of this manuscript indicates that it was used by a small to medium-sized community. The first service in this manuscript is the Sanctorale for the feast of St. Agnes, and it is the martyred Agnes who appears in the initial. The illustrations are drawn and painted in detail. Gold leaf is employed both within the illustrations and as part of the ornamental border. Later in the manuscript there is another highly

decorated page, with St. Helen holding the True Cross, although it is not as elaborately ornamented as the first page. For a small or medium-sized community, this choral service book could have been a treasured display copy. Indeed, there is some speculation that this manuscript originally belonged to a small seminary in Rome. The manuscript is also in excellent condition, which speaks to the care with which it was treated. Thus we may conclude that the University of Houston choral service book was either a luxury book for display or was very infrequently or carefully used, allowing it to remain in such excellent condition today.

Although most medieval musical manuscripts contained the Catholic liturgy, not all manuscripts from this time period dealt with the celebration of the sacred. The Middle Ages sustained several vernacular traditions. There were numerous poets and musicians who wrote and composed during the Middle Ages, often in their own tongues (as opposed to the Latin of the Catholic Church). Musical entertainment was very popular in medieval courts, and from the eleventh to the thirteenth century a new musical tradition developed in southern France, that of the *troubadours*. The *troubadours* were professional poets and sometimes nobles who wrote poems with accompanying melodies that dealt with topics of courtly love, service to a noble lord, travel, treason, and loyalty. The *troubadours* were often commissioned by a nobleman or prince to write works for entertainment at banquets or elsewhere, but they usually did not perform their own works. *Jongleurs* (or minstrels) were professional singers and musicians who performed these works and were usually of a lower class than the *troubadour* composers. Although the melodies have not all survived, there is strong contemporary evidence that indicates that these poems were performed to music[11]. This tradition moved into northern France and eventually to Germany, with each region developing and adding its own elements to the tradition.

In Germany this tradition became known as *Minnesang* (love song), and began in the late twelfth century. These works were written in Middle High German and took many forms. In addition to the traditional courtly love songs, there were songs written from the perspective of both men and women, dancing songs and songs about the Crusades[12]. In this exhibit, the facsimile of the Manesse Codex represents the *Minnesinger* tradition and depicts Otto IV playing chess. This collection of songs was written between 1300 and 1340 in Zurich and contains 137 portraits of *Minnesangers* and their poems[13]. It is one of the largest collections of vernacular poems surviving, although the music is not included in this work. Most of the miniatures in this work depict the composers of the poems in everyday scenes or in scenes from their works.

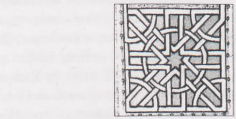
There was a vast musical tradition in the Middle Ages that developed from the simple and beautiful plainchant, most containing the Catholic liturgy. Others contained vernacular songs composed for the entertainment of princes at court and banquets. These manuscripts provide not only a link to the music and art of the past, but also insights into the worship and entertainment of the Middle Ages.

1 Jeremy Yudkin, *Music in the Early Medieval World* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 87-88.
2 Yudkin, 146-199.
3 Consuelo W. Dutschke, "Liturgical Manuscripts," in *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, ed. James R. Tanis and Jennifer A Thompson (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), 130.
4 Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum in association with The British Library, 1994), 62.
5 Yudkin, 146-147.
6 Brown, 120.
7 Brown, 113.
8 Dutschke, 130-131.
9 Dutschke, 131.
10 Robert G. Calkins, "Choir-book," in *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online* (Oxford Universtiy Press, accessed 10 November 2003), http://www.groveart.com.
11 Yudkin, 252-255.
12 Yudkin, 314.
13 "Documentation for the Miniature 'German Minnesang'" (Accessed 17 July 2005), http://home.arcor.de/mustangace/sca_arts_illudacu2.htm

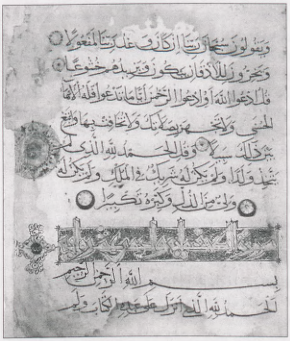
People of the Book

By Susan Khan

"People of the book" is what Muslims call Christians and Jews, meaning that they adhere to a revealed religion. In fact, not only do these three major monotheistic religions worship the same God (called by a different name), they all also believe in the sanctity of the written Word of God. All three of the Abrahamic faiths focus special attention on the writing of the Word in their particular book, called a Bible, a Gospel, or a Qur'an. Among the



Gold Star Pattern
Kennicot Bible (facsimile)
On loan from Schachtel Library,
Congregation Beth Israel
Gift of Aron and Anaruth Gordon



Qur'an page. 11th century
University of Houston, Special Collections
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Marcus

major characteristics of these religions, the book is one of the most distinctive.

Judaism, the oldest of the three religions (dating from Moses in the thirteenth century BCE), was homeless for thousands of years. The Jews have been dispersed time after time, their lands taken, their property destroyed, their culture absorbed or diluted. Because Jewish culture has relied upon host countries, there is no uniquely Jewish artistic style. The arts of the Jews have instead been influenced by the arts and cultures of their various host societies and developed within multiple societies, cultures, and civilizations. The hosts' art has been influenced by Jewish tradition as well. Thus, Jewish art is not an "isolated, separate thread, but, on the contrary, a multicolored thread woven into the fabric of Jewish involvement in the larger non-Jewish society[1]."

The word Torah usually refers to the scripture in scroll form used for liturgical purposes, containing the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. Across the Diasporas, it has been the unchanging nature of the Torah that binds all Jews together wherever they may be. Because the Torah is always in scroll form and never decorated or illustrated, we will use the Jewish Bible (the body of scripture non-Jews call the Old Testament) for comparative purposes. The Diaspora in 135 CE resulted in the establishment of Jewish communities in Babylonia, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Italy, Cologne, Constantinople, and the Levant. These communities assimilated into their host countries and cultures, learning the vernacular language and adapting to local customs. The diverse geographical regions where Jewish communities settled would eventually become Christian under the Roman Emperor Constantine. In Alexandria, Egypt, the Jews became so assimilated into their new homeland that they no longer could read Hebrew, and the Torah was translated into Greek[2]. After the spread of Islam, many of the Jewish communities found themselves in Muslim host countries and were therefore influenced by the developing Islamic arts.

Parchment for Hebrew Bibles was prepared from kosher animals by the same method used by the local Christian parchment makers. The Jewish scribe used tools similar to non-Jewish scribes. Unlike a Christian scribe, however, he was not a member of a holy order, nor did he work in a scriptorium; rather, he worked in isolation in his own home[3]. An average medieval Near Eastern scribe would earn three gold dinars for about 570 large text pages. (In comparison, the average monthly income for a lower middle class family might be two gold dinars, and the cost of a garment would be about one dinar[4].) It was considered a virtue for a scribe to copy his master's hand so perfectly that it became difficult to distinguish the student's work from the master's. Although scribes were a professional class, it is known from colophons that about a third of them were also doctors, goldsmiths, seal makers, cantors, butchers, teachers, and students. Along with his main profession, the scribe would include in the colophon not only his own name, but also the name of his father, perhaps his grandfather, the name of his patron or that it was written for himself. Colophons also included the city and date of completion. Hebrew manuscripts were often dated from the time of the Second Temple's destruction, ca. 68 CE, or from the Era of Dating Documents, ca. 312 BCE. In Europe, after the twelfth century, it became common practice to date from the Jewish traditional date of creation, 3761 BCE.

By the Middle Ages, Hebrew Bibles began to be illuminated, reflecting the style of the host country: figurative in Christian countries, non-figurative in Islamic countries. The scribes were almost certainly Jewish because in those countries where the Jews had adopted the vernacular, it was often written using the Hebrew alphabet. Occasional Hebrew instructions for illustrators indicate that there were also some Jewish artists. In Islamic countries, including medieval Spain, artists did not form rigid guilds, which would have limited membership in the profession, so Jews were able to become artists.

Regardless of whether the artist was Jewish or Muslim, in Islamic countries the decoration and illumination of Hebrew Bibles followed the Islamic style of decoration. It avoided the use of human or animal figures and relied instead upon abstract, vegetal, geometric, and architectural designs. The earliest dated illuminated Hebrew manuscript is from 895 CE and employs nearly identical decoration to that of Qur'ans from the same or a slightly earlier period[5]. Bibles were often decorated with carpet pages similar to Qur'anic decoration and had sectional headings similar to sura headings, reflecting knowledge and influence of the Islamic style or perhaps even the work of an Islamic artist[6]. Hebrew Bible carpet pages were often inspired by decorations on Islamic buildings, particularly tile patterns, as illustrated by the facsimile of the Kennicott Bible on display in this exhibit.

In Christian Europe, however, local trade and craft guilds were closed to Jewish artists[7] and there were no major Jewish workshops[8]. Therefore, it was not unusual to find Christian illuminators working on Hebrew manuscripts. In spite of the misconception that Judaism is aniconic (prohibits figurative imagery), figural art was permitted as long as there was no danger of it being idolized, according to Maimonides' Code of Jewish Law. However, the depiction of God is always strictly prohibited. Thus, from European Christian influence, the Biblical picture cycle was introduced into Jewish book illustration[9].

The most original and traditional decorative element of the Hebrew Bible was micrography. Minute Hebrew script formed shapes and pictures that seldom related to the text. The shapes reflected the host culture: geometric, vegetal, and architectural in Islamic countries, including Spain; symbolic or figurative in European Christian countries; and grotesques specifically in Ashkenazi (eastern European Jewish) texts[10]. The earliest dated examples are from the Moshe Ben-Asher Codex of the Prophets, ca. 895 CE. Micrographically decorated marriage contracts, *ketubbot*, date from the twelfth century[11]. Medieval micrographers usually did not sign their work, but detailed study can help ascribe works to particular hands.

The youngest of the major monotheistic religions is Islam. Uniquely, Islam is a religion without intermediaries of any nature: no clergy, no icons, no communion, and no confession. Like Christianity and Judaism, Islam recognizes the existence of heaven and hell, a day of resurrection, angels, the devil, and God's or Allah's boundless salvation. The written record of Allah's revelations to the Prophet Muhammad is the Qur'an, dating from the seventh century CE. From its origins on the Arabian Peninsula, Islam spread rapidly to encompass the areas west across North Africa during the seventh and eighth centuries and into Spain by the beginning of the ninth century, thereby coming into contact with and controlling many Jewish and Christian communities.

Arabs learned the craft of bookmaking from their Coptic, Byzantine, and Jewish predecessors. Islamic society was very active in commerce and highly literate, requiring many documents. Moslems used papyrus first, then added parchment and, in the ninth century, began manufacturing paper to replace papyrus. They often combined paper and parchment in a single text. However, animals killed to make parchment had to be slaughtered according to religious ritual requirements. Parchment was considered a luxury material, and the Arabs had methods for making especially fine vellum. They noticed that lime curing made tough parchment. By using dates in the soaking water, they achieved a particularly soft parchment[12].

The scribe's tools were naturally similar to those used by Jewish and Christian scribes. Muslim scribes, however, preferred their reed pens to be grown in the Nile or Tigris River, to be perfectly straight, and to have the length of one hand's width. They used two kinds of ink: soot based and tannin based. With soot, they used egg white as the adhesive to add luster. With tannin, they mixed pomegranate rind and egg white. Pure black ink was considered the finest, and yogurt or vinegar was added to it to retard the growth of mold. Arab

scribes had recipes for invisible ink and glow-in-the-dark ink, as well as erasure solutions[12].

Qur'ans were never illustrated, but lavishly decorated with colored inks, gold leaf, and genuine lapis lazuli, as observers will note from the Qur'ans and Qur'an leaves on display. To affix the gold to parchment, they used fish and snail glue or honey mixed with gum. Brushes were made with very fine hairs from squirrels, kittens, mongooses, and the under-bellies of goats[14].

Calligraphy was admired above all the arts of Islam, and calligraphers were highly respected. It was believed that nothing could be worthier than to write the Word of God. Fine calligraphy was an art unto itself with the letters taking on the role of images, whether they were written simply or elaborately intertwined and decorated. There were no calligrapher guilds, but books were published for scribes' education: *Craft of the Scribes* (tenth century), *Staff of the Scribes* and *Implements of the Discerning* (eleventh century), and *Writers' Aids and Intelligent People's Tools* (ca.1200)[15]. Scribes were often publishers, sellers, and authors as well as copyists. Students of great masters sometimes signed their masters' names instead of their own in the colophon, as a sign of respect. An Islamic colophon typically included the scribe's name, the date and place of completion, and blessings, or sometimes a curse against those who would destroy the book[16].

It is a misconception that Islamic art is strictly aniconic. Figurative art does exist, but not in religious buildings or Qur'ans. Instead, in Qur'ans, decoration is vegetal, floral, and geometric. The twining of leaves and tendrils into a geometric repeating form is called arabesque because it is an invention of the Arabs. Designs are interlaced, infinite, intricate patterns. Qur'ans often contain lavish carpet pages or frontispieces and finispieces, and *sura* and verse headings. Marginal designs include palmates and medallions, as illustrated in the Qur'an leaf from the eleventh century on display. These marginal designs often include the name of Allah and were often used as visual reminders for the reader to perform prostration. The earliest Qur'ans were in horizontal format; the change to vertical format occurred around the year 1000[17]. Blue and gold, as seen in the eleventh-century leaf, were favored colors in Qur'ans because they were said to represent the heavens and the stars.

Consider the Qur'an leaf illustrated with this essay, from the eleventh century. It contains the verse markings, medallions and palmates commonly used in medieval Qur'ans. Additionally, it shows beautiful use of the favored colors of gold and blue in the elaborate *sura* heading near the bottom of the page. The gold and ivory star detail, also illustrated here, seems like it should fit within this same text. The pattern is clearly reminiscent of Islamic tiles, centered on the eight-pointed star, with its intertwined gold design. In fact, this is a marginal detail from the Kennicott Bible, the fifteenth-century Spanish Sephardic (Jewish) manuscript exhibited here in facsimile. The Kennicott Bible has many details of Islamic influence, underscoring the cross-cultural influences.

When Judaism, Christianity and Islam bumped up against each other, cultures collided and coalesced. The art resulting from these coexisting cultures is a wonderful blend of East and West.

1 Joseph Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting* (New York: George Braziller, 1978), 12-13.
2 Leila Avrin, *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (London: The British Library, 1991), 105.
3 Avrin, 112-115.
4 Avrin, 126.
5 Gutmann, 15.
6 Avrin, 130-132.
7 Gutmann, 13.
8 Therese and Mendel Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (Secaucus: Chartwell Books, 1982), 151.
9 Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Hebrew Manuscript Painting in Late Medieval Spain: Signs of a Culture in Transition," *Art Bulletin* (June 2002): 247.
10 Avrin, 136.
11 "Micrography," *Groveart* 7 (Nov. 2003). Reproduction of micrography: http://www.almaleh.com/micro10-e.htm.
12 Avrin, 261-264.
13 Avrin, 264-266.
14 Avrin, 266.
15 Avrin, 270-271.
16 Avrin, 272.
17 Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture 650-1250* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 76.

On the Margins

IMAGINATION IN GOTHIC ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

by Dolly Jørgensen

Ape physician (folio 64r)
Book of Hours, use of Reims
Northern France, ca 1400-1499
University of Houston, Special Collections
Gift of the Rockwell Fund in memory of James Wade Rockwell

The Gothic Period (ca 1250 to 1375) in Northern Europe was one of the high points of medieval manuscript illumination. In that period, there was an increasing demand for books by the lay audience, which can be attributed to the rise of prosperous upper-middle-class merchants and growth of interest in personal books of hours. As a result, there was an increase in the number of professional illuminators, and book production was systematized. Along with these changes, an increase in marginalia is noticeable.

Marginalia are the "extra" images occupying the marginal space between the block of script and the page limits. They exist in conjunction with the more prominent decorated or historiated initials and miniature illustrations that often relate directly to the page's text. The marginal figures can inhabit the borders, weave in and out of the text, or dance gleefully at the bottom of a page.

The variety of marginal figures in Gothic manuscripts is vast. Depictions from real life, such as animal hunts or daily agricultural tasks, sometimes predominate. The Luttrell Psalter (British Library, MS Add. 42.130), for example, is well known for its scenes of plowing, sowing grain, and cooking. Marginal portraits of the patron in a book

of hours are usually close to the main illustration and show the owner in prayer. Other, anonymous individuals (including clerics) engage in card or other games, or in sexual or other socially "unsuitable" escapades. The most well-known as well as most pervasive marginal motifs are fantasy creations of hybrids and grotesques, creatures whose bodies are composed of various elements from multiple creatures. Even natural animals such as apes and owls participate in unnatural activities including religious ceremonies, student instruction, and medical examinations. St. Bernard of Clairvaux complained about these marginal images in the monasteries:

> "What excuse can there be for these ridiculous monstrosities in the cloisters…? Here we find the filthy monkeys and fierce lions, fearful centaurs, harpies, and striped tigers… Here is one head with many bodies, there is a body with many heads. Over there is a beast with a serpent for its tail, a fish with an animal's head, and a creature that is horse in front and goat behind, and a second beast with horns and the rear of a horse[1]."

Bernard's question about marginalia is still relevant for viewers of Gothic manuscripts. What function did these images serve? Scholars have identified multiple functions: pictorial footnotes that provide additional commentary directly on the text; exempla or religious stories that provide models of good or bad behavior; and social commentaries that provide insight into contemporary issues of the medieval period[2]. Marginal images sometimes relate directly or indirectly to the text on a specific page, but sometimes they bear no relation to it.

One of the most intriguing ways of looking at marginalia is as visual proverbs[3]. Many marginal images may have functioned as proverbs do in speech, as supplementary information. Scholar Michael Camille noted that marginalia exist next to a text which could be supposed complete but is revealed by their addition to be in fact incomplete, just as a proverb can codify the meaning of an unclear text or statement[4]. They are also mental aids to apprehension, as pointers or visual triggers. "Like proverbs, they are not meaningless, or merely entertaining, but by themselves they do not contain complete meaning. Like the proverb, they are 'activated' by their association with a text[5]." Even seemingly unrelated images in the margins of manuscripts may have been creatively associated with the written words on the page.

The University of Houston owns a Gothic Northern French book of hours (BX2080.A2 1400z) with three interesting types of marginal images: dragons, apes, and musicians. This manuscript, written in the fourteenth century for lay use, contains the standard Latin texts for books of hours, including lessons from the Gospel, the Office of the Virgin, and the Hours of the Passion, as well as a calendar and introduction to the hours in Old French. As a book for a lay reader, the marginalia appearing in the text would have served many of the purposes discussed above.

The dragons inhabit the border scroll work on several pages, including folios 17r, 39r, 52v, 57r, and 115v. Dragons are common animals included in medieval bestiaries, which are moralized medieval zoological treatises based largely on the *Physiologus*, a Greek treatise probably written in Alexandria in the fourth century. Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, written in the seventh century, includes a description of the dragon used in bestiary texts:

> "The dragon is the largest serpent, and in fact the largest animal on earth. Its name in Latin is *draco*, derived from the Greek name drakon. When it comes out of its cave, it disturbs the air. It has a crest, a small mouth, and a narrow throat. Its strength is in its tail rather than its teeth; it does harm by beating, not by biting. It has no poison and needs none to kill, because it kills by entangling[6]."

Dragons are usually depicted with two or four feet, long tails, and wings. The dragon images in the UH manuscript conform to this general description. Dragons were not simply depicted for

pleasure. According to the scribe of the Aberdeen Bestiary, the animal illustrations were justified as a didactic tool "to improve the minds of ordinary people, in such a way that the soul will at least perceive physically things which it has difficulty grasping mentally: that what they have difficulty comprehending with their ears, they will perceive with their eyes[7]." The dragon thus had an allegorical and moral role as well. It was most closely associated with the Devil, who was also the greatest of serpents. Just as the dragon's strength was not in its teeth but in its tail, the Devil, deprived of his strength, was said to deceive with lies[8].

Apes are found in the UH manuscript on folios 52v and 64r. On the first, two apes tumble

Hybrid musician, ape, and dragon (folios 52v)

next to a blue dog. On the second, an ape acts as a physician examining a urinal flask, a common medieval medical practice to aid diagnosis. These are not uncommon images. In medieval illuminations, the ape has "pseudo-human mentality, which enables him to imitate the outward appearance of piety and learning even though he can boast only *a similtudo rationis humanae* (likeness of human rationality), not true ratio (rationality)[9]." The *Dialogus creaturarum*, written by a mid-fourteenth-century physician, tells of an ape who wrote beautiful books, but instead of writing with conviction he only copied down what he heard others say, so that he was despised as an author and finally admitted: "*nihil scriptor operatur, corde si non meditatur* (The writer labors for nothing if the intellect does not ponder upon it)[10]."

Apes appear in many guises. In a book of hours owned by the Pierpont Morgan library (M754), apes are shown as bakers carrying loaves and even poking a man's rear that is sticking out of an oven. The ape as physician inspecting urinals or applying ointments became a common motif in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Additionally, apes are depicted as knights, kings, and noble hunters. Apes even perform religious duties by administering baptisms with holy-water vessels, leading funeral processions, investing owls with episcopal insignia, and celebrating Mass. The ape, then, often serves as a parody of human behavior for people who act without thinking or those who think too highly of themselves.

Three musicians are also found in the UH book of hours: a hybrid with green animal legs playing the violin on folio 52v, a bagpiper piping in the lower left corner of 174v, and a man blowing a straight trumpet in the upper left margin of another page. Musical instruments such as hurdy-gurdies, organs, and bagpipes are often put into the hands of hybrids and animals in Gothic manuscripts. This may relate to the fact that music for entertainment was an occupation of the lower class, but it may have deeper symbolic meaning. In her study of the Luttrell Psalter (ca1325-1345),

Rosina Buckland analyzed the many representations of people and hybrid creatures engaged in music-making. She argued that because psalters were read or sung aloud, the appearance of the text and musical iconography of the illumination reflect that practice. This would apply as well to books of hours, which mimic the spoken and sung liturgical texts. The use of musicians in this type of text served as a physical reminder and a sign of the performance of the text. Buckland also noted that music was played in both liturgical (holy) and profane (secular) settings in the Middle Ages. By showing hybrids playing instruments in a liturgical manuscript, the illustrator insinuated that there were other links between secular and sacred music[11]. The marginal musicians, then, served not only a decorative or entertaining function, but also a symbolic one.

So what do margins mean? There is no single answer to this question. First, the images may have shown the devotion of the owner or the illustrator. Even seemingly non-devotional images may have been drawn to model behavior that should be avoided by the devout Christian. Second, the images may have provided social commentary, as revealed in many of the ape images. Third, the marginal illustrations may have served to incite illicit laughter and display artistic skill. Regardless of meaning, the marginal images show the active creativity of the medieval artist and his audience. The medieval imagination is clear in the creation of grotesques, application of parody, and bizarre combinations found only on the margins.

1 Bernard's letter to William of St. Thierry in Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art 300-1150* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 168-70.

2 The most complete treatments of medieval marginalia are found in works by Lillian Randall and Michael Camille. Lillian Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966) and "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination," *Art Bulletin* XXXIX, no. 2 (June 1957). Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); "The Book of Signs: Writing and Visual Difference in Gothic Manuscript Illumination," *Word & Image 1*, no. 2 (April-June 1985); and "Laboring for the Lord: The Ploughman and the Social Order in the Luttrell Psalter," *Art History X*, no. 4 (1987). See also Sylvia Huot, "Visualization and Memory: The Illustration of Troubadour Lyric in a Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," *Gesta* XXXI, no. 1 (1992).

3 This is suggested in a scholarly article by Andrew Orwell, "Medieval Manuscript Marginalia and Proverbs," published online at http://www.heyorwell.com/work/arthistory/marginalia.html.

4 Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 67.

5 Orwell, "Medieval Manuscript Marginalia and Proverbs."

6 Isidore of Seville, Etymologies, Book 12, 4:4-5.

7 Aberdeen MS 24, f25v, quoted on the Aberdeen Bestiary Project website.

8 "The Medieval Bestiary" website compiled by David Badke, published online at http://bestiary.ca/.

9 H.W. Janson, Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (London: Warburg Institute, 1952), 167.

10 Dialogus creaturarum, dialogue 97, "De simia quae scribebat libros."

11 Rosina Buckland, "Sounds of the psalter: Orality and musical symbolism in the Luttrell psalter," Music in Art (International Journal for Music Iconography) XXVIII, no. 1-2 (2003).

Index of Manuscripts

Secular Manuscripts

Herbal. 15th century
University of Houston, Special Collections

Contemporary Legal Manuscript Page, 2004
The Trial of Martha Stewart
Ray Ogar
Materials : goatskin, digital collage, gold leaf, india ink,
red thread, hot iron, water mist, sand paper, awl for pin holes

Books for Scholars

Bible, Vulgate version (called the "Gwysaney" Bible)
Decorated initial
Northern France, ca.1250-1300
University of Houston, Special Collections
Gift of Frell Albright

Commentary on the Ten Commandments
Moses with the Tablets of the Law (manner of Gerard David)
Netherlands, ca. 1480
On loan from Houston Public Library,
Houston Metropolitan Research Center,
Special Collections Dept.

Devotional Books

Book of Hours, use of Amiens
The Annunciation
Northern France, 15th century
On loan from the Heritage Collection,
Congregation of the Incarnate Word
and Blessed Sacrament
Gift of Annette Finnigan

Book of Hours, use of Reims
Musician in the margin
Northern France, ca. 1400-1499
University of Houston, Special Collections
Gift of the Rockwell Fund in memory
of James Wade Rockwell

Book of hours.
The Annunciation
Flanders, ca.1500
On loan from Houston Public Library,
Houston Metropolitan Research Center,
Special Collections Dept.
Gift of Annette Finnigan

Book of Hours, use of Sarum
St. Jerome in his study (f. 64v)
Franco-Flemish, ca.1350-1425
University of Houston, Special Collections
Gift of Frell Albright

Book of Hours, use of Utrecht
King David kneeling in prayer (fol. 39v)
Netherlands, 1450-1499
University of Houston, Special Collections
Gift of Frell Albright

Qur'an
Baghdad, 14th century
On loan from Houston Public Library,
Houston Metropolitan Research Center,
Special Collections Dept.
Gift of Annette Finnigan

Qur'an page
14th century
On loan from a private collection, Houston

Psalter, Cistercian
The Madonna of Humility with the Christ Child
Germany, 1444-45
From the monastery of Herrenhalb
On loan from Houston Public Library,
Houston Metropolitan Research Center,
Special Collections Dept.

Liturgical Books

Antiphonary
Introit, Gradual, and Gradual Verse, first Sunday in Advent
15th century
Courtesy of Fondren Library, Rice University
Also available online at www.rice.edu/fondren/hyperion

Kennicot Bible (facsimile)
Tablets of the Law
On loan from Schachtel Library,
Congregation Beth Israel
Gift of Aron and Anaruth Gordon

Megillah scroll
On loan from Schachtel Library, Congregation Beth Israel

Choral Service Book
St. Agnes
Italy (Rome), 1440-99
University of Houston, Special Collections
Gift of Frell Albright
(located in Table Case 1)

Text as Image

Koran page
11th century
University of Houston, Special Collections
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Marcus

Books as Treasure

Contemporary Carpet Page (from an Insular Gospel Book), 2005
Amanda J. Pool
Materials : parchment paper, pencil, ink,
prisma color pencils, turpenoid

Illuminated Manuscript Treasure Binding, 2004
Rachel M. Clark
Materials : wood, leather, gold-plated brass and sterling silver
worked with chasing and repoussé, pure silver, garnet, carnelian

Islamic Prayerbook in lacquered case
On loan from Houston Public Library,
Houston Metropolitan Research Center,
Special Collections Dept.

Making of Manuscripts

Papyrus fragment
Ptolemaic (100-200 BCE)
University of Houston, Special Collections
Gift of Frell Albright

Coptic scroll
University of Houston, Special Collections

Handcolored woodcut from a Dutch manuscript prayer book
The Holy Trinity
Anonymous artist, Netherlands, early 16th century
On loan from a private collection, Houston

Medieval Scribe's Desk, 2005
Kevin Stone
Materials : ash, iron, gold leaf

Selected Readings

General

Avrin, Leila, *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (London: The British Library, 1991)

Backhouse, Janet, *The Illuminated Manuscript* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1979)

Backhouse, Janet, *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997)

Brown, Michelle P., *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Los Angeles: J Paul Getty Museum, 1996)

Camille, Michael, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992)

De Hamel, Christopher, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1997)

Janson, H.W., *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1952)

Randall, Lillian, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966)

Islamic and Jewish Manuscripts

Bloom, Jonathan and Sheila Blair, *Islamic Arts* (London: Phaidon, 1997)

Kogman-Appel, Katrin, *Jewish Book Art Between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Brill, 2004)

Dobbs, Jerrilynn D, ed., *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992)

Making of Manuscripts

Alexander, Jonathan, J.G., *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992)

De Hamel, Christopher, *Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002)

Psalters

Geddes, Jane, "The St. Albans Psalter: The abbot and the anchoress," in *Christina of Markyate: A twelfth-century holy woman*, ed. Samuel Fanous & Henrietta Leyser (New York: Routledge, 2004)

Sandler, Lucy Freeman, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts* (London: Harvey Miller, 1974)

Mellinkoff, Ruth, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Los Angelos: University of California Press, 1970)

Women and the Book

Erler & Kowaleski, eds., *Women and Power in the Middle* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988)

McCash, June, ed., *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens, GA: London, 1966)

Contributors to the Exhibit

Professor Judith Steinhoff is an Associate Professor of Art History in the School of Art at the University of Houston. She received her PhD. from Princeton University and has been teaching medieval art history at the University of Houston since 1996. Her main research area is Italian Gothic painting; however, she also has a strong interest in medieval manuscripts and teaches a seminar on that subject. The seminars helped inspire her to curate the current exhibition.

Sherri Burns graduated from the University of Houston with bachelor's degrees in art history and Italian studies. She is currently working on her master's degree in second language education.

Holle Canatella is a PhD student at the University of Houston. Her dissertation is on male-female spiritual friendship in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. She received her master's degree in history at the University of Houston in 2005, and her BA in history from Texas A&M University in 2002.

Rachel Clark has been working with metal for seven years. She works mainly in jewelry and metalsmithing. In December 2005, she will graduate from the University of Houston with a Bachelor of Fine Arts in sculpture and is currently considering graduate programs.

Fiona Lim Eversberg has a BA in communication from Trinity University, and in May 2005, she completed a BA in art history with a minor in Spanish from the University of Houston. She is currently a secondary reading teacher with Pasadena ISD.

Rebecca García-Franco is currently enrolled at the School of Art at the University of Houston, working towards a Bachelor of Arts degree in art history.

Luke Horbey is currently a graduate student in medieval history at the University of Houston. His master's thesis focuses on relationships between Byzantium and the knights of the First Crusade.

Susan Khan graduated from UH in 2004 with a BA in history and a minor in art history and has been accepted to the MA program in history. Her main areas of interest are the mosaic communities of the medieval Levant where Christians, Jews and Muslims lived together, and the resultant remarkable artistic products.

Dolly Jørgensen is a PhD candidate in medieval history at the University of Virginia. She is writing a dissertation on urban sanitation infrastructure in medieval cities. She received her master's degree in history at the University of Houston in 2003.

Heidi Mullins is a lecturer in the art education department at the University of Houston and a candidate for a doctorate in education. Her work focuses on visual ethnography and visual culture in art education practices, as well as using visual methods in research. She will receive her degree in May of 2006.

Amy O'Neal received her master's degree in medieval history from the University of Houston in 2000. She is currently working on her PhD, and is ABD (all but dissertation). Her dissertation analyzes women before and after the Conquest of England.

Ray Ogar is currently a graduate student at the University of Houston studying graphic communication. His previous degrees include a BS in mathematics and a BA in graphic design. He is a published writer, artist and musician and his main interests include science, art and bookmaking. He designed and executed all of the graphics for the exhibition.

Amanda J. Pool is currently a senior sculpture major at the University of Houston, concentrating in jewelry arts. She plans to become a free-lance jewelry maker.

Sarah Pruett is a master's student in medieval history at the University of Houston. She is currently writing her thesis on Countess Matilda of Tuscany's relationship with the Church and politics in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. She graduated from Rhodes College in 2002 with a BA in history and Greek & Roman studies.

Christina Richardson is currently a senior at the University of Houston studying art history and history and will graduate in Spring 2006. She expects to attend law school in the fall of 2006.

Kevin Stone has a master's degree in history from the University of Houston. (His thesis topic was "Norman Adaptability In Woodworking Technology 500-1200 BCE") He is also a German trained Journeyman Furniture Maker. Currently, he is affiliated with Brochsteins Inc. Architectural Woodwork and Furniture as a furniture maker, designer and draftsman. He also teaches college level classes in history and traditional woodworking classes.

Elizabeth Walen Walunas is a PhD candidate in medieval European history under Dr. Sally N. Vaughn at the University of Houston. Her field of specialization is religious history of the early and high Middle Ages, with an emphasis on the physical roots of ritual power. She holds bachelor's degrees in history and drama from the University of Michigan and a master's degree in history from the University of Houston.

Additional citations

Adaptation of Colophon figure (inside, back cover)
portrait of the author as Hildegard von Bingen
from Scivias ("Know the Ways of the Lord")

Adaptation of Monk (outside, front cover)
Guyuaney Bible (detail)
Special Collections
University of Houston Libraries

Colophon

Here ends the catalogue of the exhibition,

Lustre: Spiritual Treasures & Sensory Pleasures (Medieval Texts & Images from Houston Collections)

in the year of our Lord two thousand and five.

Thank God, thank God, and once again thank God it is finally over.

May God have mercy on the souls of those who contributed to those who spent many long and arduous hours organizing the exhibit, and may the Almighty in His infinite wisdom protect the writer of this colophon and also the writers of all essays and materials contained herein.

And may God bless all, and bless the reader who by reading keeps these words alive…oh my aching hand!

To whoever purchases this book in good faith, may you good scholar take great pleasure in its contents and enjoy the laboriously researched and excellently written essays provided for your gratification and cultural enrichment.

To whoever steals this book, may a scourge of red, itchy, leaky boils breakout on your body, and if not the red, itchy, leaky boils then something completely different, but equally unpleasant befall you.

Stealing this book would be a very bad idea indeed, and I cautiously warn against it.

Now that our work is done, it's time to kick back and take delight in the fruits of our labor, maybe pop down to the pub and throw back a frothy libation or two.

May God bless and keep, and may the words written here live on in the heart and mind of the reader.

For video presentations and additional material related to the exhibit, please visit ***www.coe.uh.edu/manuscripts***