

THE RENAISSANCE REFORM OF THE BOOK AND BRITAIN

What has fifteenth-century England to do with the Renaissance? By challenging accepted notions of ‘medieval’ and ‘early modern’, David Rundle proposes a new understanding of English engagement with the Renaissance. He does so by focusing on one central element of the humanist agenda—the reform of the script and of the book more generally—to demonstrate a tradition of engagement from the 1430s into the early sixteenth century. Introducing a cast-list of scribes and collectors who are not only English and Italian but also Scottish, Dutch and German, this study sheds light on the cosmopolitanism central to the success of the humanist agenda. Questioning accepted narratives of the slow spread of the Renaissance from Italy to other parts of Europe, Rundle suggests new possibilities for the fields of manuscript studies and the study of Renaissance humanism.

David Rundle is Lecturer in Latin and Manuscript Studies at the Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies at the University of Kent. His previous publications include, as co-author with Ralph Hanna, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts, up to c.1600, in Christ Church, Oxford* (2017).

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THE RENAISSANCE
REFORM OF THE BOOK
AND BRITAIN
The English Quattrocento

DAVID RUNDLE

University of Kent



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- s: = scribe
- i: = illuminator
- p: = possessor

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Palaeography is a hard task-master, demanding not years but decades of apprenticeship. It requires both time and financial support to be able to travel to the libraries, scattered across Europe and beyond, to join together the pieces of evidence that history has put asunder. This has its countervailing advantages, not least the opportunity on an occasion like this to express gratitude for the generous assistance provided by numerous institutions and organisations. The Paul Mellon Centre has funded this work on more than one occasion; one of those was in providing a Rome Scholarship, joint with the British School at Rome which has been to me a haven and a source of inspiration over many years. Other visits to Rome were supported by the Bodleian and Vatican Libraries, while research in Paris was funded by a grant from the British Academy's Neil Ker Fund. In addition, the J. P. R. Lyell Fund of the University of Oxford has been a munificent supporter, including providing the opportunity for the set of lectures which were the most recent iteration of the central chapters presented here. Visits to the States were made possible by the institutions that invited me to lecture: Princeton University, the University of Pennsylvania and Bryn Mawr College. Harvard's Houghton Library kindly elected me to an Eleanor M. Garvey Fellowship, which was undertaken after the completion of this text, but one discovery there has become a late addition to Chapter 5. Such a list does not give a sense of the human faces that make these organisations breathe. At the Paul Mellon Centre, I was lucky to be in contact with Mary Smith. The BSR has a habit of creating enduring friendships; I was there in the days when the Director was Christopher Smith and 'la Vice' was Sue Russell, to whom I owe so much; I would like to thank all the staff there, including Sue's successor, Joanna Kostylo, and the library staff, so deftly led by Valerie Scott. I also remember with deep fondness the late Geraldine Wellington, who looked after us all.

Alongside the funders, thanks must go to all the library staff who have endured my visits, and dealt with my requests, most often with remarkable good grace. The Index of Manuscripts lists their institutions. When you read those names, think of all the curators, the desk staff, the janitors, the photographers, the administrators. If I were able to list every one of them, perhaps the world itself could not contain the pages that would be required. I will confine myself by saying

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My formation as a scholar of manuscripts was moulded by three figures who are no longer with us: A. C. (Tilly) de la Mare, Malcolm Parkes and Andrew Watson. I would like to think that, even if they did not agree with everything they read here, they would have enjoyed at least some of what follows. Tilly had a long-standing plan to publish a catalogue of English humanist scribes, and Christopher de Hamel and the late Anthony Hobson encouraged me to do something similar. This book has grown out of that research and superseded that project but it is one to which I still harbour a hope of returning. More recently, I have been grateful for the encouragement and acute eye provided by the editors of the series in which this appears. In addition, I wish to acknowledge a particular debt to Dan Wakelin, who read and commented in a thoughtful and supportive manner on a draft, gently coaxing me towards a more urbane style. Many more scholars have assisted my work, among whom are Stefano Baldassarri, James Carley, Jeremy Catto (may he rest in peace), Julia Crick, Nick Davidson, Teresa De Robertis, Richard Gameson, Daniela Gionta, James Hankins, Marie-Pierre Lafitte, Kate Lowe, Holly James-Maddocks, Antonio Manfredi, Oren Margolis, Charles de Miramon, Antonio Pineda (who took the photos reproduced in Chapter 6 of the record books of the English Hospices in Rome), Clémence Revest, Hester Schadee, Bill Sherman, Bill Stoneman, Maaïke van der Lugt, Richard Sharpe, John Watts, James Willoughby and Stefano Zamponi. If any of them cares to read this book, I hope they will take into consideration less its shortcomings and more the sincerity of gratitude with which it comes.

I have not found the process of composition painless but I now realise that the most difficult paragraph to write lies not in any of the chapters but right here. How is it possible to do justice in a few words to the depths of support, encouragement, patience and, frankly, tolerance shown by those closest? Of course, it is not. The most that can be said is: you have made this book what it is because you have made me what I am, and so, in giving it to you, I give back — only in some small part — what is by rights yours already. It is nothing and I am nothing without you. My love, my thanks.

Conventions and Abbreviations

CONVENTIONS

When a manuscript is undatable, the Ker system of signifying approximate date is used. It is expressed succinctly at N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1969–2002), ii (1977), p. vii:

‘s. xiii in’, ‘s. xiii¹’, ‘s. xiii med.’, ‘s. xiii²’, ‘s. xiii ex.’, ‘s. xiii/xiv’ denote respectively the beginning, first half, middle, second half, end, and turn of the thirteenth century. ‘s. xiii ex.–xv in.’ indicates that part of the manuscript is late thirteenth-century and part of it early fifteenth-century, or of various dates up to the early fifteenth century.

As codicological method requires close scrutiny of the relevant manuscripts, consultation in person is at a premium, even in the world of online facsimiles. There are, inevitably, a few cases where that is not possible, and it is always important to alert the reader to those. Therefore, in this volume, the following sigla are used:

- * = a manuscript not yet consulted in person (usually meaning that only images of individual folios have been seen)
- + = a manuscript seen in full but only in microfilm or digital format

ABBREVIATIONS

A&T

J. J. G. Alexander and E. Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford, 1985)

List of Conventions and Abbreviations

ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
Autenrieth	J. Autenrieth ed., <i>Renaissance- und Humanistenhandschriften</i> (Munich, 1988)
AVCAU	Archivum Collegii Anglorum de Urbe = Rome: Venerable English College Archive
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	London: British Library
Black et al. ed., <i>Palaeography, Humanism</i>	R. Black, J. Kraye and L. Nuvoloni ed., <i>Palaeography, Humanism and Illumination in Renaissance Italy: Studies in memory of A. C. de la Mare</i> (London, 2016)
<i>BodLR</i>	<i>Bodleian Library Record</i>
BNC	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
BnF	Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France
<i>BRUC</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500</i> (Cambridge, 1963)
<i>BRUO</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500</i> , 3 vols (Oxford, 1957–59)
Caldelli, <i>Copisti</i>	E. Caldelli, <i>Copisti a Roma nel Quattrocento</i> (Rome, 2006)
CBMLC	Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues
<i>CHBB</i>	<i>Cambridge History of the Book in Britain</i> , volumes cited by number: i (c.400–1100), ed. R. Gameson (2011) iii (1400–1557), ed. L. Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (1999)
Clarke, <i>Cambridge</i>	P. D. Clarke ed., <i>The University and College Libraries of Cambridge</i> [CBMLC, x] (London, 2002)
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters</i> , 20 vols to date (London and Dublin, 1883–)
<i>Colophons</i>	[Bénédictins du Bouveret,] <i>Colophons des Manuscrits Occidentaux</i> , 6 vols (Fribourg, 1965–82)

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| <i>Contemporaries of Erasmus</i> | P. G. Bietenholz ed., <i>Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation</i> , 3 vols (Toronto, 1985–87) |
| <i>D&D BAV Vat. lat. I</i> | E. Caldelli, <i>I codici datati nei Vaticani latini, 1-2100</i> (Vatican City, 2007) |
| <i>D&D Camb</i> | P. R. Robinson, <i>Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.737–1600 in Cambridge Libraries</i> , 2 vols (Cambridge, 1988) |
| <i>D&D Oxford</i> | A. G. Watson, <i>Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.435–1600 in Oxford Libraries</i> , 2 vols (Oxford, 1984) |
| <i>DBI</i> | <i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> , available freely online at www.treccani.it |
| de la Mare, <i>Handwriting</i> | A. C. de la Mare, <i>The Handwriting of the Italian Humanists</i> , i (Oxford, 1973) |
| de la Mare, ‘New Research’ | A. C. de la Mare, ‘New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence’, in A. Garzelli ed., <i>Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440–1525</i> , 2 vols ([Florence], 1985), i, pp. 393–600 |
| de la Mare, ‘Vespasiano as Producer’ | A. C. de la Mare, ‘Vespasiano da Bisticci as Producer of Classical Manuscripts in Fifteenth-Century Florence’, in C. A. Chavannes-Mazel and M. M. Smith ed., <i>Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use</i> (London, 1996), pp. 166–207 |
| de la Mare and Nuvoloni, <i>Sanvito</i> | A. C. de la Mare and L. Nuvoloni, <i>Bartolomeo Sanvito. The Life & Work of a Renaissance Scribe</i> (sl, 2009) |
| Derolez, <i>Codicologie</i> | A. Derolez, <i>Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin</i> , 2 vols (Turnhout, 1984) |
| Derolez, <i>Gothic</i> | A. Derolez, <i>The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books</i> (Cambridge, 2003) |
| <i>DH&EH</i> | [Bodleian Library exhibition catalogue,] <i>Duke Humfrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century</i> (Oxford, 1970) |

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<i>DHL</i>	[Bodleian Library exhibition catalogue,] <i>Duke Humfrey's Library and the Divinity School, 1488–1988</i> (Oxford, 1988)
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>English Hospice</i>	<i>The English Hospice in Rome</i> (Leominster, 2005), a reprint with preface of <i>The Venerabile</i> , xxi (1962)
<i>Epistolae Erasmi</i>	<i>Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Rotterdami</i> , ed. P. S. Allen, 12 vols (Oxford, 1906–58)
Frenz, <i>L'introduzione</i>	T. Frenz, <i>L'introduzione della scrittura umanistica nei documenti e negli atti della curia pontificia del secolo XV</i> , ed. M. Maiorino (Vatican City, 2005)
Harvey	M. Harvey, <i>England, Rome and the Papacy, 1417–1464</i> (Manchester, 1993)
<i>Ill MSS in Cambridge</i>	N. Morgan, S. Panayotova and S. Reynolds ed., <i>Illuminated Manuscripts in Cambridge. A Catalogue of Western Book Illumination in the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Cambridge Colleges</i> , 7 vols in 5 parts (London, 2009–)
<i>IMU</i>	<i>Italia Medioevale e Umanistica</i>
ISTC	Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, available online at http://data.cerl.org/istc/_search
<i>Iter</i>	P. O. Kristeller, <i>Iter Italicum</i> , 7 vols (Leiden, 1963–97)
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>L&P</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> , ed. J. S. Brewer (with some volumes revised by R. H. Brodie), 22 vols in 36 (London, 1864–1929)
MLGB3	Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, available online at http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
<i>MSS at Oxford</i>	[Bodleian Library exhibition catalogue,] <i>Manuscripts at Oxford: R. W. Hunt memorial exhibition</i> (Oxford, 1980)
Mynors, <i>Balliol</i>	R. A. B. Mynors, <i>Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford</i> (Oxford, 1963)
<i>ODNB</i>	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, available online at www.oxforddnb.com

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- P&A O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1966–73)
- Parkes, ‘Archaizing’ M. B. Parkes, ‘Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts’, in J. P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite ed., *Books and Collectors 1200–1700* (London, 1997), pp. 101–141 [reprinted in M. B. Parkes, *Pages from the Past. Medieval Writing Skills and Manuscript Books*, ed. P. R. Robinson and R. Sim (Farnham, 2012), ch. IV]
- Parkes, *Hands* M. B. Parkes, *Their Hands before our Eyes. A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot, 2008).
- Rundle, *England and Identity* D. Rundle, *England and the Identity of Italian Renaissance Humanism* (in preparation)
- Rundle, ‘English Books’ D. Rundle, ‘English Books and the Continent’, in A. Gillespie and D. Wakelin ed., *The Production of Books in England, 1350–1530* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 276–291
- Rundle, ‘Candour’ D. Rundle, ‘The Scribe Thomas Candour and the Making of Poggio Bracciolini’s English reputation’, in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, xii (2005), pp. 1–25
- Rundle, ‘Circulation’ D. Rundle, ‘The Circulation and Use of Humanist “Miscellanies” in England’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, ccxxviii (2016), pp. 85–99
- Rundle, ‘Humanism across Europe’ D. Rundle, ‘Humanism across Europe: The Structures of Contacts’ in id. ed., *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 307–335
- Rundle, ‘Playpen’ D. Rundle, ‘The Playpen: Reform, Experimentation and the Memory of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester in the Registry of the University of Oxford’, in J. Willoughby and J. Catto ed., *Books and Bookmen in Early-Modern Britain. Essays Presented to James P. Carley* (Toronto, 2018), pp. 17–39
- Sammut A. Sammut, *Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani* (Padua, 1980)

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Schirmer ²	W. Schirmer, <i>Der Englische Frühhumanismus</i> , 2nd ed. (Tübingen, 1963)
Scott, <i>Later Gothic</i>	K. L. Scott, <i>Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490</i> [Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, vi], 2 vols (London, 1996)
TCBS	<i>Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society</i>
Thomson ed., <i>Oxford</i>	R. M. Thomson ed., <i>The University and College Libraries of Oxford</i> [CBMLC, xvi], 2 vols (London, 2015)
TNA	Kew: The National Archives
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
UL	University Library
Vespasiano, <i>Vite</i>	Vespasiano da Bisticci, <i>Le Vite</i> , ed. E. Greco, 2 vols (Florence, 1970–76)
Wakelin	D. Wakelin, <i>Humanism, Reading, and English Literature, 1430–1530</i> (Oxford, 2007)
Weiss ⁴	R. Weiss, <i>Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century</i> , 4th ed., ed. D. Rundle and A. J. Lappin (Oxford, 2011 [online] and forthcoming [in print]) [with page references to third edition placed in square brackets]