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PROLEGOMENA TO A NEW CATALOGUE OF THE MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BATTHYANEUM LIBRARY (ALBA IULIA)

Le fait que bien des textes, dont nous savons qu'ils ont bien été écrits, n'ont toujours pas été découverts, n'est pas uniquement imputable aux pertes inimaginables encourues pendant les nombreux siècles passés depuis leur 'publication'; cela tient aussi à ce que le nombre des chercheurs dignes de ce nom est plutôt restreint. Et ceux qui entreprennent de pareilles recherches se trouvent sévèrement handicapés par le fait qu'un grand nombre de manuscrits n'ont été catalogués que de façon inadéquate ou même pas du tout, ou parce qu'ils font partie de collections auxquelles on n'a pas accès ou dont l'accès est limité, [...] — pour ne pas parler des conservateurs qui ont tendance à nous considérer comme des voleurs potentiels et qui savent transformer une visite à leurs manuscrits en une sorte de voyage à Canossa.

R. B. C. Huygens, *Ars edendi*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, pp. 27-28.

1. Introduction

Medieval manuscripts, and particularly those belonging to the Western tradition, are one of Romania's best kept secrets. Badly catalogued, or not catalogued at all, they are protected from researchers by their anonymity, and often by inconspicuous places of conservation, away from the important university centres. In addition to that, manuscript studies in Romania never found their place into the curricula of the humanities. No wonder that codicology (or the archaeology of manuscript

books),¹ and Latin palaeography² have never thriven as autonomous academic disciplines in Romania, and have yielded so little.³

When compared to the other manuscript collections in this country, the holdings of the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár in Hungarian, Karlsburg in German) seem to have been rather well studied and described. The library can boast the only printed catalogue of Western manuscripts in Romania, Robert Szentiványi's *Catalogus concinnus librorum mancriptorum Bibliothecae Batthyányanae* (Szeged, 4th ed. 1958).⁴ Szentiványi's catalogue of the most important collection of Western manuscripts in Romania was preceded by a handwritten inventory by András Cseresnyés (1824)⁵, a printed one by Antal Beke (1871),⁶ and by the earliest catalogue based upon sound scholarship, done by Elemér Varju in 1899.⁷ The library's manuscripts of Slovakian origin have been described in a state-of-the-art catalogue published by Július Sopko in 1982.⁸ A number of individual manuscripts have been studied by Romanian and foreign scholars over the time, and a few illuminated ones have been reproduced in facsimiles.⁹ Provenance research has managed to identify two main sub-collections of manuscripts in the Batthyaneum Library, whose history will be invoked hereafter (ch. 4).

This notwithstanding, the entire collection acquired by Bishop Ignác Batthyány in the last decades of the eighteenth century needs to be revisited by codicologists, palaeographers, art historians, philologists and theologians alike. In order to single out the aspects worthy of further scrutiny, and to bring the collection to the attention of the community of the learned, a new catalogue of manuscripts needs to be produced. For reasons that will become apparent in the following pages, Szentiványi's catalogue is not only outdated, but also, in more than one respect, mistaken or useless. Its principles and information are those of the late nineteenth century, and it comes short of the modern reader's needs and expectations in every respect. It fails to identify numerous texts, offers no palaeographical discussion of scripts and scribal hands, gives no description of aspects like decoration, binding, and page layout, is not based upon thorough provenance research, and its dating of manuscripts is sometimes wrong or approximate. As a book, it is an improvised typescript with only a handful of mediocre facsimiles of *specimina codicum*. The library and its remarkable books certainly deserve better, and the progress of codicological, palaeographical, and philological science makes a catalogue in keeping with contemporary standards not only necessary, but also possible.

During the months of my research fellowship at the New Europe College, I examined the collection and single manuscripts, and I went through the entire bibliography about the library and its codices. Under the generous patronage of New Europe College, and in close collaboration with Ileana Dârja, curator of manuscripts at the Batthyaneum Library, I have attempted to lay down the principles of the projected catalogue, in accordance with contemporary scholarship and with the peculiarities of the collection. Although the catalogue will be done in collaboration with Mrs Dârja, who knows the collection better than anyone else, the flaws of the theoretical, terminological, and bibliographical work are to be blamed on me alone.

The following pages are then some preliminary considerations about what a new catalogue should and should not be, without entering into all the details. As an irredeemably pedantic old European, I have chosen to call them *prolegomena*, in humble acknowledgement of their tentative nature. I am well-aware that some of the technicalities of the present paper may be discordant with the broad philosophical, social and cultural interests of the College, and of my colleagues. However, as Professor Pleşu memorably put it after my first public presentation: “erudition, too, has its charm”.

2. Principles of the new catalogue

As is reminded by Gerhardt Powitz, a manuscript is an object of interest in many respects¹⁰. Its primary role is to transmit a text, and it is thus the legitimate object of text criticism, or of philology in general; however, depending on its nature, the text itself may be of interest to classicists, linguists, historians, philosophers, mathematicians, theologians, and many others. The manuscript is also an old object, a relic of a bygone age, and must thus be studied using the archaeological methods of codicology. The ultimate aim of codicology, aided by palaeography, is to establish the date, origin and provenance of the book. Illuminated manuscripts, or manuscripts containing decorated bindings are also works of art, and attract the attention of art historians. Finally, manuscript books are precious evidence of reading canons and practices in a given period; their circulation and the ownership notes they may contain are thus relevant for intellectual history.

A good catalogue entry must account for all these, which more often than not involves a considerable amount of information, and requires expertise in many fields. The current dilemma of scholars working at manuscript catalogues is well summarised by Michel Huglo in a recent note on the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France entitled *Catalogue détaillé ou inventaire sommaire*?¹¹ Indeed, the second half of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of an attempt at a 'total' description of manuscripts, conceived mainly as a reaction to the often sketchy catalogues of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This approach of a *Totalaufnahme* is best represented by Gustav Meyer, who produced one of the most detailed catalogues in existence.¹² In France, the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT) issued in 1977 a *Guide pour l'élaboration d'une notice de manuscrit* (rarely followed *ad litteram* in French catalogues), which likewise envisaged a total description of every aspect of manuscripts. However, the question spontaneously arises if it is reasonable to establish as a norm a work like that of Gustav Meyer. Indeed, Meyer spent some fifteen years compiling a catalogue of 2000 pages for merely 320 manuscripts (which is about the number of medieval codices we are looking at in the case of the Batthyaneum Library).¹³

In a critique of the *Totalaufnahme* option, Johanne Autenrieth stresses that a good catalogue of manuscripts should be an effective tool, elaborated within a reasonable deadline, rather than the exhaustive research of every imaginable aspect of every single manuscript in the collection. She ends her essay in a sarcastic note:

Und ein Wunsch zum Stil der Kataloge: Wenn man als Universitätslehrer verpflichtet ist, öfter meist mehrbändige Habilitationsschriften zu begutachten, Hunderte von Seiten umfassende Dissertationen durchzuarbeiten, für die einige Forschung immer stärker überbordende Fachliteratur zu verfolgen, dann seien die Aufenthalte in der Handschriften-Abteilung, wo man Kataloge benutzt, eine Erholung: die Kataloge präzise, knapp und klar in der Information. Wenn ich Romane übers Mittelalter lesen will, greife ich zu Umberto Eco: *Il nome della Rosa*, wenn ich schnell etwas wissen und finden will zu den Handschriftenkatalogen.¹⁴

öfter

For obvious reasons, one must agree with Autenrieth's commonsensical considerations: a catalogue cannot go into the monographical study of each manuscript. The projected catalogue of the medieval manuscripts in the Batthyaneum library will follow contemporary standards, and particularly those defined in Germany by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), in Austria by the various writings of Otto Mazal (which are similar to the German ones), and in Italy by the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le Informazioni Bibliografiche¹⁵. It will attempt to fulfill the three great functions of any such work: to account for the history of the collection (see 3-4 hereafter); to give correct and complete palaeographical and codicological descriptions of each manuscript (see 5-6); to identify texts and authors in all manuscripts (see 7). On top of that, it must be a pleasant book, with a modern layout, an informative introduction, clear and consistent presentation and description conventions, a series of high quality facsimiles, and a functional set of indices (see 8). Each of these issues will be addressed briefly in the following pages.

3. Count Ignác Batthyány and the history of the Batthyaneum Library

The Batthyaneum Library bears the name of its founder, Count Ignác Batthyány (1741-1798), Catholic bishop of Transylvania between 1781-1798¹⁶. Seen in the context of his century, Batthyány was the typical Enlightenment man, whose high clerical office did not exclude an interest in the arts and sciences. Like his contemporaries, Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (1721-1803) in Sibiu (Hermannstadt),¹⁷ and Count Sámuel Teleki (1739-1822) in Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely).¹⁸ he founded an institute which was meant to include a library, a museum and an observatory;¹⁹ only the library would prove an enduring success.²⁰ Unlike Brukenthal and Teleki, who were great statesmen, Batthyány was an enlightened churchman, and above all a scholar. His interest in old books developed as early as his studies in Rome, where he was the librarian of the Collegio Sant' Apollinare, and an avid reader at the Vatican Library, transcribing documents and manuscripts concerning the ecclesiastical history of Hungary. In 1765, Batthyány was created a priest in Rome, and soon thereafter he was sent to the town of Eger, in Northern Hungary, where he served as a canon (1766-1773), and later as a provost (1773-1781).

In 1781 he was elected bishop of Transylvania, and after that year he would use most of his financial resources to fulfill his ideal of creating an important 'public' library, that is to say a library open to scholars and to the Catholic clergy. In order to achieve that, he would have to reunite the several private libraries he had in Sibiu, in Cluj, in Alba Iulia, and in his castles of Bonțida (county of Cluj) and Vințul de Jos (county of Alba): his entire collection did not reach Alba Iulia to be installed in the former Trinitarian church which still hosts it before 1795.

The Bishop's collections came from many sources. It cannot be doubted that he had bought books during his period of study in Rome, and there is evidence that he purchased manuscripts from the Dominicans of Kosiče (Cassa), from the *plebania* of Bardejov (Bártfa), and from other sources during the fifteen years spent in Eger.²¹ However, it is very difficult, if not downright impossible to identify these. It is also known that Batthyány bought the books of the Jesuit libraries in Cluj and Sibiu after his election to the see of Transylvania (the order had been forbidden by the Emperor Joseph II in 1773).²² In 1782, the first catalogue (or inventory, rather) of the Bishop's library in Sibiu is compiled.²³ The episcopal *visitationes canonicae* were allegedly another opportunity for Batthyány to enrich his library with books taken from various Transylvanian parish churches. However, the two most remarkable purchases made by Batthyány were the library of the Archbishop of Vienna, Cristoforo Migazzi, in 1782, and the library of the Slovakian town of Levoča around 1790. Both purchases will be discussed briefly hereafter, because most of Batthyány's medieval manuscripts entered his collections through the Migazzi and Levoča libraries.

After Batthyány's death in 1798, the manuscript holdings were enriched through repeated donations by Transylvanian clergy and scholars down to the early twentieth century, but most of the volumes received were printed books and modern manuscripts. The last enlargement of the medieval manuscript collection occurred in 1913, when two graduals (now MSS I.1, I.2) owned in the middle ages by the Cluj-Mănăstur abbey were transferred by order of the Catholic Bishop from Cluj to the Batthyaneum Library.²⁴

Despite the important research carried out by Zsigmond Jakó, Eva Selecká-Mârza, Július Sopko and Ileana Dârja in the second half of the twentieth century (see 4 hereafter), the provenance of many manuscripts remains unknown. Moreover, the exact number of medieval manuscripts is also ignored (Ileana Dârja places it between 300 and 400). However,

the discoveries made by these scholars have to be integrated into the new catalogue, and provenance research must continue, in order to identify both Batthyány's purchases and, more difficultly, the provenance of the manuscripts in the original collections bought by the Bishop of Transylvania.

4. Provenance research and the history of the Batthyaneum manuscripts

There are two main sorts of manuscript libraries: those containing a single and homogenous medieval collection, and those which accumulated over time, from sundry sources. The first type is most eminently represented by Saint Gall in Switzerland, whose books were locally produced throughout the middle ages, or by the Library of Orléans, whose codices come almost entirely from the abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, better known as Fleury. Most present-day libraries however are of the second type, and their collections come from many sources. As already said, the Batthyaneum was the private library of one man, enriched over an identifiable period of three or four decades, and most notably from Batthyány's accession to the episcopal see of Transylvania in 1781 to his death in 1798. After 1798, only an insignificant number of codices of local provenance were received by the library.

By the time Robert Szentiványi was leaving Alba Iulia in 1919 or 1920, almost no provenance research had been done, and the origin of Batthyány's books was only suspected. Szentiványi's catalogue therefore never mentions the provenance of manuscripts unless it appears on the books themselves in the form of ownership notes, heraldic symbols, *ex libris* or in any other form. However, provenance research in book history has in the meantime acquired almost the status of an autonomous discipline, and it has often been used to retrieve stolen or removed patrimonial property.²⁵

In the nineteenth century, it was known to the Institute's librarian Beke and to the Hungarian scholar Varju that Batthyány had purchased the library of the Archbishop of Vienna, Count Cristoforo Migazzi in the 1780s, and the library of the Slovakian town of Levoča shortly before his death, but the inventories of the books brought to Transylvania had not been identified yet. In Szentiványi's catalogue therefore, the handwritten list of the Migazzi collection appears as *Catalogus bibliothecae incertae*. The real nature of

this *catalogus* was revealed only in 1969 by Professor Zsigmond Jakó, but the document was only published in the late 1990s by Ileana Dârja (see 4.1). In the case of the Levoča *elenchus*, it was the research of Boris Balent in the 1950s, of Eva Selecká-Mârza in the 1970s, and of Július Sopko in the 1980s which brought to light the manuscripts of Slovakian provenance (see 4.2). All these important discoveries have to be integrated into the new catalogue, and they must be completed by further provenance research focusing on the sub-collections of each of these holdings (see 4.3).

4.1. The Migazzi library

The most important source of medieval manuscripts in the Batthyaneum was the private library of Count Cristoforo Migazzi (1714-1803), Prince-Archbishop of Vienna (1757-1803). Migazzi was one of Maria Theresa's most important statesmen, and one of the great figures of the Catholic Church of Austria in the Theresian and Josephine period. Although he stood in overt opposition to Joseph II's anticlerical measures, Migazzi profited by the Emperor's dismantlement of religious orders, and collected books from various abbeys and from Jesuit institutions that were closed down.²⁶ In order to sustain his investments in the Hungarian city of Vác, whose governor and bishop he was between 1756-1785, Migazzi was obliged to sell his library. Using Batthyány's correspondence with his librarian, Daniel Imre, in the period 1781-1783, Zsigmond Jakó demonstrated that the purchase was made in 1782.²⁷ For 12000 Rhenish florins, Batthyány thus acquired over 8000 books, which were initially transported to Sibiu; they would arrive in Alba Iulia only around 1795. Unfortunately, the Migazzi library, which had remained a compact entity during Batthyány's lifetime, was merged with the other collections in the period 1817-1824, and the entire library was rearranged according to thematic criteria. Moreover, the old labels were removed, and thus important provenance evidence was lost forever. The third disastrous decision was to remove *ex libris* labels from most books some time in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century: 95 of these were displayed during an exhibition in 1913. The *coup de grâce* for provenance evidence was the rearrangement of manuscripts by size in the safe vault inaugurated in 1930.²⁸ Within a century of unscientific handling of the collection, important information about the books was thus destroyed. However, the Institute's relative poverty prevented it from rebinding the codices, which would have eliminated the last important proof of provenance.

However, in 1969 Transylvania's foremost historian of the book, Zsigmond Jakó, discovered that the three-volume manuscript XI.11-13 which in Szentiványi's catalogue was named *Catalogus bibliothecae incertae*,²⁹ was in fact the purchase inventory of the Migazzi library.³⁰ This important discovery, followed in 1998³¹ by the publication of the manuscript under the title *Catalogus librorum Christophori Cardinalis à Migazzi* by Ileana Dârja³² allowed the same Ileana Dârja to identify 150 manuscripts among the Migazzi books.³³

In trying to track down manuscripts from the former Migazzi library, we currently have three elements of identification: the *Catalogus* of 1782, some rare *ex libris* and manuscript ownership notes, and several types of eighteenth-century bookbindings. All of these must be used in order to ascribe as many manuscripts as possible to the Migazzi collection. In addition to these, as already noted by Ileana Dârja, we shall have to investigate archival material in Vienna, in the hope of finding further documents about Migazzi's library.³⁴

4.2. The Levoča Library

The second most important purchase made by Batthyány came from the Slovakian town of Levoča. According to Elemér Varju, Batthyány had become interested in this library as early as 1766.³⁵ Several letters kept in the local archives demonstrate that Batthyány was in correspondence with the town authorities since at least 1790;³⁶ the Bishop must have bought the books by the end of 1797, one year before his death, but apparently they had not been paid for by 1800.³⁷ Among the books acquired by Batthyány, there were 105 manuscripts, most of them large *in folio* books, according to an *Elenchus* drafted in the 1790s.³⁸ However, the *Elenchus* only quotes 49 items, and refers generically to a few more. All of these were identified by Ileana Dârja, who, in the footsteps of Boris Bálent, Eva Selecká Mârza and Iacob Mârza transcribed the *Elenchus* with corrections.³⁹ Eva Selecká Mârza had identified 116 manuscripts from Levoča in the Batthyaneum Library,⁴⁰ but subsequent to the research of Július Sopko the number of manuscripts of Slovakian origin (all of them medieval!) increased to 129 in what is now the best catalogue of any part of the Batthyaneum holdings.⁴¹ Despite the important amount of scholarship concerning the Levoča collection, conflicting estimates of the number of medieval manuscripts show that

research is far from complete. As stated by Ileana Dârja, the current keeper of manuscripts of the Batthyaneum library,

la dimension de la bibliothèque de la paroisse de Levoča continue à rester un problème ouvert, à la recherche ultérieure revenant la charge, pas du tout facile, de donner des réponses plus exactes, en utilisant aussi d'autres moyens que ceux déjà utilisés.⁴²

Among the new research directions pointed out by Dârja, the most promising is a complete codicological examination of the volumes whose provenance from Levoča is clearly demonstrated, and to identify unmarked items by analogy of binding, script, and other elements. One element allowing for an easy identification, which has obviously already been taken into account, is the presence of chains of a particular type; and, indeed, only some Levoča books seem to be *libri catenati* in the Batthyaneum collection. Another external element is the presence of eighteenth-century labels (*supra libros*) on many Levoča books. However, a more detailed analysis of bookbindings can help establish common origin, apart from providing better dating criteria.⁴³

The history and composition of the town library in Levoča, first attested in the thirteenth century, is itself a subject of interest to scholars studying the intellectual history of late medieval and early modern Slovakia. In presenting its holdings, I dwell entirely on the information provided by Selecká, as summarised in the German abstract of her work.⁴⁴ The earliest entity to have possessed a library in the region of Levoča is the association of vicars from 24 parishes in the province of Spiš (German: Zips), founded in 1248 and dissolved in 1674. Its books often bear an ownership inscription referring to the *fraternitas XXIV plebanorum*, or the *fraternitas plebanorum XXIV civitatum regalium terre scepucensis*. Many of its books ended up in the Levoča library, which was housed until the 1790s in a chapel of Saint James Church, as is demonstrated by ownership notes like *pro capella in Levotscha, liber capelle sancti Georgij, ecclesia sancti Jacobi in Levotscha*, etc. Smaller libraries existed in the hospital of Saint James' Church, in Saint Elizabeth's Church, and in the vicar's house. However, all these libraries eventually merged into a common one, further enriched by donations from private owners. The most important of these was Johann Henckel (1481-1539), one of the most famous Slovakian humanists, who had studied in Cracow, Vienna, Padua and Bologna, and corresponded with Erasmus, Luther and Melanchthon. Henckel alone brought over 400

books (mostly *incunabula* and early printed books) to Levoča. It is also thought that he was the first to organise the town library.

So far as Levoča manuscripts in the Batthyaneum Library are concerned, they are mainly fourteenth- and fifteenth-century books, produced throughout Europe. Although many were copied in Central and Eastern Europe (Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Hungary, Austria), it is doubtless that scholars like Henckel purchased books on their study trips to other European countries.

Although it is not the task of a catalogue to study the history of the medieval and early modern library of Levoča, it is hoped that new provenance research on the Batthyaneum manuscripts will contribute to a reappraisal of the number of manuscripts coming from the Spiš region, and will establish with more accuracy the origin and early ownership of these books.

4.3. Minor collections, sub-collections, and isolated manuscripts

Little is as yet known about the smaller number of manuscripts coming from Batthyány's earliest library in Eger, or about manuscripts of Transylvanian provenance. However, even within the two great collections mentioned above, manuscripts have different stories. Ideally, each manuscript's history should be followed up to the scriptorium where it was copied, or at least to its earliest identifiable medieval owner. This can be done in some happy cases of manuscripts which still bear medieval ownership inscriptions, but in most cases we will have to proceed by analogy.

Indeed, it is difficult to disagree with Gilbert Ouy, former keeper of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, who singled out the problem of catalogues treating manuscripts in isolation, instead of examining entire groups of similar provenance. Ouy thus speaks about

une tendance encore trop répandue, celle qui consiste à étudier et à cataloguer chaque manuscrit comme un objet isolé, au lieu de le confronter avec un ensemble — préalablement réconstitué — de volumes ayant une origine et une histoire commune.⁴⁵

The Batthyaneum library is one such good example of separate collections, each with their distinct peculiarities, integrated into a larger one. Within the larger collections themselves (Migazzi, Levoča), one

can easily identify groups of manuscripts with common features. It has thus appeared justified to do the preliminary description of our manuscripts not one by one, in the ascending order of shelfmarks, but rather by groups, according to the following criteria: 1) age; 2) types of texts; 3) known or demonstrable common provenance; 4) language.

The age criterion applies best to older manuscripts (in the case of the Batthyaneum, 'older' means 9th-13th centuries). Indeed, only a small number of manuscripts are older than 1300, and they deserve to be addressed first.

The typological criterion is especially helpful in the case of liturgical manuscripts, which represent an important share of the entire collection. Since liturgical books fall into several clear-cut categories, well described in such recent studies as Eric Palazzo's *History of Liturgical Books* and Andrew Hughes' *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*,⁴⁶ the most useful approach is to describe them by types (sacramentaries, graduals, missals, etc.). Their structure being predictable, liturgical books can be catalogued by referring to established typologies, which waives the obligation of quoting all their incipits.⁴⁷ Similarly, it is very helpful to catalogue together all manuscripts containing a specific text, or texts of a single author, since often codices of the same text help elucidate each other's cruces. Moreover, specialised works (handlists, inventories or even catalogues) exist in the case of many important authors, like Thomas Aquinas, which can help situate the Batthyaneum manuscripts in context.⁴⁸

The criterion of common provenance can underlie the treatment of manuscripts if the provenance has been previously demonstrated. Such is the case of the Anabaptist manuscripts (most of which are however early modern), studied by various authors, and identified in the inventory of Robert Friedman⁴⁹. Since these manuscripts have a common history, and contain texts belonging to a well-known canon, they must be studied as a group, and thus help illuminate each-other's codicological, textual, and provenance difficulties.

However, in most cases common provenance must be demonstrated. It is here that grouping manuscripts according to various criteria and describing them together proves indispensable. At times, shelfmarks offer precious clues as to the common provenance of manuscripts bearing no indication of previous ownership. Of course, the place of the volumes on the shelves is of no avail if it is not supported by other codicological details, and often one does not have the luck to find manuscripts coming from the same medieval or early modern collection next to each other. I

shall limit myself to the example of three small manuscripts (see **plate I.1**) with consecutive shelfmarks that have the same type of eighteenth-century binding. Manuscripts III. 23-25 were all bound by the owner (possibly Cristoforo Migazzi) at the end of the eighteenth century, as is demonstrated by the design of the warm tooling on the back, by the identical labels, and by the equal number of raised bands. Placing these manuscripts next to each other is not haphazard: the Batthyaneum librarian who attributed them their modern shelfmark (of the type R[ecens] III.25, etc.) must have noticed their striking resemblance, and decided to bring them even closer together than was the case in the 1820s, as demonstrated by Cseresnyés' shelfmarks (N5 V 10, N5 V 7, N5 V 8). However, their almost successive shelfmarks in Cseresnyés', and presumably in Batthyány's time, further shows that the manuscripts came together to the Bishop's collection, and had been kept together by the previous owner. This is further supported by their small size (ca 260 x 130-140 mm; 27, 34, and 58 ff.), and by the fact that they all contain poetical texts: Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* (III.23), Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto* (III.24), and Juvenal's *Saturae* (III.25). However, it is likely that these three manuscripts came from the same medieval scriptorium; in any case, all three were copied in the period s. XIII^{med}-XIV^{med}.

These codicological and textual resemblances, corroborated with the manuscripts' topological situation are consequently strong pieces of evidence of a common provenance, and possibly even of common origin. However, this has to be further investigated, and the same type of analogical approach must be used, especially if analogy can be established between manuscripts with dating and provenance notes, and manuscripts without these.

5. Codicological description

5.1. Structure of the *codex*

One of the essential elements of information about any manuscript book concerns its structure, that is to say the type and composition of the quires sewn and bound together, as well as their number. This data is important not merely for the sake of codicological completeness, but essentially because it discloses what changes affecting its integrity a manuscript may have undergone. A missing sheet in a quire, especially if that sheet is suspected to have contained a precious miniature, may be

the result of theft, whereas at the end of a section or of a book it can mean that the blank sheet was removed because it was simply not needed. The structure of quires, the number of *bifolia* in a quire, the presence of excisions and additions can thus supply precious information about the manuscript, and about the text and decoration it contains. It should not be forgotten that the actual codicological unit ('unité codicologique') is the quire,⁵⁰ not the sheet, the *bifolium* or the *codex*, as is proved by composite volumes.

It is therefore essential that a catalogue of manuscripts should supply information about the structure of each volume, but unfortunately this was not a standard requirement at the beginning of the twentieth century; indeed, Szentiványi's catalogue never mentions it. The author of a catalogue must thus choose a model of structure description, or adapt one, and must strive to produce a clear, complete, consistent and, if possible, brief scheme.

Apart from the more sophisticated description types, which cannot be used in a catalogue, there currently exist three models, analysed in detail by Frank Bischoff in what is the most thoughtful consideration of *Lagenbeschreibung* in existence.⁵¹ The first one is verbal description, favoured especially by Italian codicologists,⁵² which accounts in plain words for the structure of the book (e. g. '3 quaterniones, 1 quinio, 1 quaternio – 1 fol. missing at the end', etc.). However, Frank Bischoff correctly considers that such a verbal description of the structure of manuscripts is *unübersichtlich*, and liable to fall prey to a number of inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies.⁵³

The second model is the one recommended in the *Richtlinien Handschriftenkatalogisierung* of the DFG.⁵⁴ It is based on the types of quires, expressed by Roman figures (e. g. II – *binio*, III – *ternio*, IV – *quaternio* etc.). It indicates missing sheets and additions by the signs '-/+ ', followed by an Arabic figure expressing the number of missing sheets. It further places codicological units between brackets, and mentions the last sheet or page number of the quire in superscript. Below, an example from a recent catalogue of the manuscripts in the Eichstätt University Library⁵⁵:

$$(VI-5)^{VII} + VII^{14} + 2 VI^{37} + 4 V^{77} + 3 IV^{101} + II^{105} + 5 VI^{163} + (III+2)^{170} + V^{180} + 5 VI^{240} + V^{250} + VI^{262} + 4 V^{309} + VII^{323} + 2 VI^{347} + IV^{355} + 2 VI^{379} + VII^{393} + (VII-4)^{407} + 2 VI^{431} + III^{hint. Spiegel}$$

This model makes a quick understanding of the codex structure possible, but fails to account for the nature of additions and missing pages, and for their position in the quire.

The third model, invented by Henry Bradshaw in the 1860s, used by M. R. James in the 1900s, and improved by N. R. Ker in the 1950s is used in English catalogues, but also in many Eastern European ones (Budapest, Cracow).⁵⁶ In its current variant, it provides a formula like the German one, but also allows for a verbal commentary accounting for difficult or peculiar situations. It focuses on each quire (numbered in Roman figures), and indicates its nature in superscript (e. g. 10 means *quinio*, and is the equivalent of German 'V'). Here is a model of collation taken from James' description of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 16 (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, s. XIII):⁵⁷

a⁶² (wants 6) | I¹⁰ (wanting 4-7, which are replaced by 7 leaves (6 + 1) inserted by Parker, with about 44 lines to a page) II¹⁰ (1 replaced by 2 leaves in the second hand) III¹⁰ IV¹² (+ 1 after 2nd and a half-leaf after 7th) V¹² VI¹⁴ (or 12 + 2: in two hands, the second beginning at the 5th leaf) VII¹⁶ (+ 1) VIII¹⁴ IX¹² (wants 1; no number on last leaf) X⁸⁺¹ (originally 8, 2nd leaf replaced by two) XI¹² XII¹⁴ XIII¹² XIV¹² (+ 1: this quire is numbered XXVII) XIII⁸ (+ 1) XV (eight leaves, but 1 is alone, 2 is alone, 3, 4 are one sheet, 5-8 a quire of 4) XVI (23 leaves: first 4 leaves: then leaves numbered I-XIII, partly a quire of 10: then 6 leaves (2-3 forming a pair)) XVII¹² (12 canc.?) XVIII¹⁰ (1-4, 7-10 original: 5-6 a pair inserted by Parker) XIX⁸ XX¹² (or 10 + 2) XXI¹² (not numbered) XXII (twelve leaves, misbound, a leaf lost at the end).

As can be seen, the English model is highly adaptable, and combines the advantages of formulas with that of verbal descriptions; unfortunately, it does not indicate actual page numbering, so that the reader cannot spot, say, the problematic quire XV as easily as in the case of the German formula, which mentions in superscript the last page of the quire.

However, for more than one reason, the English model is preferable. In the first place, the catalogue reader need not visualise the collation at a glance. In my view, the use of the collation is to assist researchers interested in the text by warning them about missing pages, misplaced quires, and other problems. It can also assist codicologists studying the material aspect of a single manuscript, or a series of manuscripts, but these researchers do not as a rule rely on the catalogue description alone — they are certainly expected to go through the collation again by

themselves. Finally, a good collation is vital for conservation purposes, because it accounts for missing or loose pages, whose nature raises patrimonial problems. In addition to these considerations, adopting the English collation system is also consistent with our choice of English as the language of our catalogue, and with the practice of other Eastern European catalogues.

5.2. Minor codicological details: pricking, ruling, *mise en page*

Before receiving the text, the codex page had to be prepared in a specific way: the margins were pricked with a pointed instrument, and the prickings were then united by lines which thus defined the page layout by providing a harmonious and regular writing area. Pricking and ruling are a rather technical aspect, often neglected by cataloguers; however, several studies spanning the past century have helped elucidate many of their mysteries. If one addresses the question of a single *scriptorium* over a given period of time for a given type of codices, one may be brought to notice that the same ruling pattern and technique was used. This type of research was pioneered by E. K. Rand for the manuscripts of Tours⁵⁸, and can help ascribe manuscripts to a particular centre of production. Of course, when one has to describe manuscripts of sundry origins, as in the case of the Batthyaneum Library, it becomes certainly pointless to study the pricking systems of manuscripts coming from all over Europe.

Ruling, however, can offer better dating clues than the prickings. We now know that drypoint ruling was the only ruling system before the beginning of the twelfth century.⁵⁹ In the twelfth century, lead ruling became dominant, and was mainly executed on the hair side of the parchment page.⁶⁰ Only humanistic parchment manuscripts maintain drypoint ruling down to the end of the middle ages.⁶¹ Ink ruling appears in the thirteenth century, and imposes itself to lead ruling everywhere except in the North of Italy, where the latter is still dominant in the fourteenth century.⁶² In the fifteenth century, board ruling becomes discernible, especially in paper manuscripts.⁶³

It is therefore essential to mention at least the ruling technique in catalogues of manuscripts, especially since it can be invoked in dating and establishing the provenance of the codex. However, I do not believe that a detailed codicological description, indicating all kinds of

measurements, like the one recommended by Léon Gilissen is practical for the purposes of a catalogue.⁶⁴ Whoever wishes to study ruling and prickings will resort to more sophisticated studies than a cataloguer can offer; the general user of catalogues, on the other hand, cannot be hoped to visualise the page layout from a series of formulas and measurements, and he does not as a rule need these. Our catalogue will therefore only mention the presence of prickings, and will describe the technique of ruling (drypoint/lead/ink). It will also specify if rake or board ruling is discernible, and what colour of ink was used. If ruling is used as a dating criterion, this will be mentioned under the relevant heading.

As far as the page layout (or *mise en page*) is concerned, one can certainly not enter into the details of recent contributions⁶⁵ in the case of a general catalogue. In addition to ruling and pricking techniques, our catalogue will mention the number of columns on the page, the number of written lines, and the presence of text above or below the top line, which appears to be a datable change in scribal practice (by the end of the thirteenth century scribes would only write under the top line, so that the writing area was restricted to the inside of the ruled frame).⁶⁶ Of course, the size of the page and of the written area will be indicated as customary.

5.3. Manuscript decoration

The only mention of decoration in Szentiványi's catalogue is the abbreviated word 'illum.' ('illuminatus')... The editors of the posthumous fourth edition of Szentiványi's catalogue declare it 'modeste illuminatus', but all this amounts to is a series of sixteen small black-and-white facsimiles.⁶⁷ Needless to say that in the decades separating us from Szentiványi's work, the study of the artistic aspects of manuscripts has become a self-contained science, represented by great masters like François Avril in France, the late Otto Pächt in Austria, Jonathan Alexander in Britain and the United States, and many more. In Romania too, the most remarkable illuminated manuscripts were studied by art historians, and facsimiles thereof were included in the *Manuscris* series of the publishing house Meridiane.⁶⁸ It is now unconceivable to publish a catalogue of manuscripts containing no information about decoration. Moreover, in some countries there exist whole series of specialised catalogues of illuminated manuscripts.⁶⁹

Indeed, manuscript decoration is the legitimate object of both codicology and art history, and cannot be properly addressed by someone who has no qualification as a historian of art. It is therefore not expected that a general catalogue should enter into too many details concerning the decoration of the manuscripts it contains. As a rule, a basic description of the nature, technique and style of the decoration is enough. To this end, good general surveys like those by Otto Pächt, Jonathan Alexander or Christopher de Hamel,⁷⁰ supplemented in the English-speaking world by the reference works of Lucia Valentine, Michelle Brown and Christopher de Hamel⁷¹ supply the information and the vocabulary required for a decent description of decoration.

Decoration is a generic term: it refers to any artistic aspect of the handwritten page, from full-page miniatures (icons, presentation pictures, carpet pages, calendars, canon tables, *mappae mundi*), column pictures, inhabited initials, decorated borders and line fillers, to all kinds of *marginalia* made in ink or even drypoint. Our catalogue will therefore mention the presence and place of any decorated element, including *litterae notabiliores* (historiated or otherwise inhabited, and flourished). It will also supply an indication of size and position of all miniatures, and of the most remarkable decorated letters. In addition to that, it will describe very briefly the picture, the colours used, the technique, the style and, if possible, will ascribe it to one of the known schools. In describing the picture, only the essential information will be supplied (e.g., 'reaper at work', 'monkey drollery', 'abstract interlaces', etc.), and we shall endeavour to reproduce as many facsimiles of illuminated pages as possible, but at least one from every relevant manuscript. The colours used will be mentioned, and particular attention will be given to chrysography and the use of other special materials. Silver and other metal oxidation will be recorded as well. Decoration techniques will be mentioned if relevant (acquarelle, gilding, camaïeu, etc.). The style will be referred to by labels such as 'naturalistic', 'expressionistic', 'grotesque' or by reference to a period or national style in art history: 'insular', 'Anglo-Saxon', 'romanesque', 'transitional', 'international', 'Burgundian', etc.

In addition to the brief description of miniatures and decorated letters, any element involving the use of colour will be mentioned generically (e.g., 'rubrics', 'quire numbers in red Roman figures', 'red and blue paragraph marks', etc.).

This information, it is hoped, will suffice for the reader to spot the manuscripts deserving further scrutiny. No doubt, after our projected catalogue has set a new standard for manuscript studies in Romania, a catalogue of illuminated manuscripts can be envisaged by art historians working hand in hand with codicologists.

5.4. The material aspect of the manuscript page

The Batthyaneum manuscripts are written on parchment or paper. I am using 'parchment' as a generic term covering any type of animal skin used as a writing surface, but it is common to distinguish, at least in English, between parchment (sheep or goat skin) and vellum (calf skin). However, identifying the species of animal skin used is not always an easy task, and it generally requires laboratory material unavailable at the Batthyaneum library.⁷² For this reason, in our projected catalogue, 'parchment' will refer to any type of animal skin, and its characteristics will be mentioned only if they were of assistance in ascertaining the date and provenance of a particular manuscript. However, the thickness of parchment, which seems to be diminishing in the course of the middle ages, is only a vague dating criterion, which in any case is ancillary to palaeographical and other codicological elements of dating.⁷³

On the other hand, thanks to our increasing knowledge about paper production in the later middle ages, we can now date and establish the provenance of paper with greater accuracy than ever before⁷⁴. Even in the case of Transylvania, the study of paper has helped define the landscape of book production in the early modern period, and has incidentally also shed some light on the few surviving medieval manuscripts of local production.⁷⁵

Another important codicological discipline, which has been making steady progress over the past decades is 'filigranology', or the study of watermarks.⁷⁶ An ever increasing number of watermarks catalogues are being posted on the internet,⁷⁷ so that identifying watermarks has never been easier. Of course, at the time when he was working at his catalogue, Szentiványi could only avail himself of the first edition of Briquet's *Les filigranes*,⁷⁸ which still is a standard work, but whose data has been considerably expanded. However, Szentiványi does only accidentally identify the watermarks of the Batthyaneum manuscripts; more often than not, he simply ignores them. Of course, at that time, the identification of

watermarks was not common practice in manuscript catalogues, as it is now.

Although the projected catalogue of the Batthyaneum manuscripts does not aim at giving as detailed a description of watermarks in paper manuscripts as recommended by the researchers of the Institut d'Histoire et de Recherche des Textes (IRHT) in Paris,⁷⁹ it must identify all identifiable ones, and quote the Briquet number or any other reference used. Unidentified watermarks will be described briefly (model, elements, size, position according to chainlines, etc.), so that future researchers may better assess the origin of the manuscript. By a systematic study of all watermarks in our collection, it is hoped that the number of datable manuscripts will increase significantly, and that we will gain a better knowledge of the origin of our books.

5. 5. Describing bookbindings

Bookbinding is another codicological aspect neglected in Szentiványi's catalogue. Graham Pollard's remark that 'the study of medieval binding does not owe as much as it should to catalogues of manuscripts' is obviously an understatement.⁸⁰ In fact, catalogues done by nineteenth-century standards generally pay no attention to bookbindings as dating aids, leave alone describe them. Szentiványi, for example, only mentions the type of bookbinding in highly abbreviated formulas like 'teg. l. c. o.' ('*tegumen ligneum corio obductum*', i. e. 'wooden board covered with leather'), but does not make any reference to date or to the elements constituting a binding. This is no longer acceptable after the important research of scholars like Hellmuth Helwig, Berthe van Regemorter, Piccarda Quilici or J. A. Szirmai,⁸¹ to quote just a few, and in an age where many important catalogues of bookbindings have been published. In Romania, however, the study of bookbindings is not even in its infancy, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of manuscripts kept in this country were not rebound in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and thus preserve their original, or at least their early modern bindings.⁸²

In the projected catalogue of the Batthyaneum manuscripts, bookbindings shall be described briefly with respect to the materials used (cardboard, wooden board, type of skin used), to their structure (pastedowns, number of raised split cords, presence of metal pieces like clasps, bosses, cornerpieces, chains, etc.), and to the techniques used (tooling, tanning).

The decoration will be described alongside the technique used in order to obtain it, and any inscriptions on the covers, on *supra libros*, and inside the covers will be transcribed, as these are often of great importance in provenance research and dating (*plate 1.3-4*).

6. Palaeographical description

The palaeographical description of a manuscript involves two aspects: on the one hand, it aims at labelling the script (“the model which the scribe has in his mind’s eye when he writes”⁸³) and the hand (“what he actually puts down on the page”).⁸⁴ On the other hand, it uses the script to date the book, and the hand to ascribe it to a writing province, to a *scriptorium* or even to a known scribe. Unfortunately, Szentiványi’s catalogue does not describe the writing of manuscripts, and if he bases his dating of books upon the script, he does not say so explicitly. It goes without saying that the new catalogue will have to offer readers an entry on the types of script used, on the number and peculiarities of the hands in each manuscript, and to use these for dating and establishing the provenance of the books.

Hands are infinitely variable in time and space, and can change even in the lifetime of a single individual for obvious reasons of age, fashion or adequacy to the copying task. Their description can therefore only be impressionistic, since it has to resort to terms like ‘hasty’, ‘sloppy’, ‘calligraphic’, ‘tremulous’ and such like. Conversely, the description of scripts should be standardised and more easily applicable to a great variety of hands. This is pretty much the case of the ancient and early medieval (national) scripts, of which the Batthyaneum Library contains no example. It is also true for the remarkably unitary Caroline minuscule (s. VIII-XII) and for humanistic scripts (s. XV-XVI). The real trouble begins in the Romanesque and Gothic period, from the transition from Caroline to Gothic down to the fifteenth century, which records a “plethora of ‘compromise’ book-hands”⁸⁵. Gothic nomenclature is so complicated, that even Bernhard Bischoff, the greatest palaeographer of the twentieth century, almost shuns it in his *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*.⁸⁶ If the nomenclature of Gothic scripts has never been consensual, this must be blamed on the incredible versatility and variety of the scripts rather than on palaeographers. Already at the end of the middle ages one is confronted with a vast array of fanciful names denoting

the grades and variants of Gothic script.⁸⁷ For instance, the German scribe Leonhard Wagner (1454-1522) authors at the beginning of the sixteenth century a handwritten book entitled *Proba centum scripturarum*, containing samples of the scripts he was able to produce.⁸⁸ The mere enumeration of Wagner's names is delightful to the ears, albeit in a ludicrous way: *imperatorialis, antiqua crassana, enversalicana, rotalis minor, globata rotalis, papalicana, alta poeticalis, cursiva rotundalis, poeticalis mediana, clippalicana maior, gippalicana, altana semis minor, clippalicana galeata, prisca caudalis lata, inequalicalis variana mediata, textus italicalis bifractus...* Alongside these, one incidentally encounters enduring names like *rotunda, fractura germanica, notula*.

No wonder therefore that one of the earliest priorities of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine was to establish an internationally accepted nomenclature of Latin scripts. The earliest such attempt for Gothic scripts, which still enjoys authority, was Liefstinck's study included in the proceedings of the first congress of the Comité (1954).⁸⁹ The most recent contribution, Albert Derolez's *Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books* (2003) recognises that Liefstinck's system "can account only very partially for the extremely rich variety of forms and styles, and it only works well for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts from the Low Countries, the greater part of France and, to a more limited extent, Germany".⁹⁰ However, the Batthyaneum Library contains almost exclusively manuscripts of Italian, German, and of Central and Eastern European origin, which cannot always be described using the Liefstinck system. Moreover, there exist very few studies about the Gothic script in the Central and Eastern parts of Europe, and notably Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and Transylvania.⁹¹

In view of this lack of unity, national nomenclatures still prevail over a unified, internationally accepted system. One example is the hesitation between the terms *bastarda* and *hybrida*: the latter is preferred in some writings in order to avoid the confusion with the historically and regionally circumscribed *bâtarde*.⁹² Concerning cursive scripts in particular, which are less formal and consequently less international than the variants of *textura*, each national school will recognise particular types and will use names that are not necessarily valid throughout Europe.⁹³

The choices that lie before us are to add to the existing proliferation of nomenclature, and to enter the unending spiral of subjectivity and idiosyncrasy, or to use a simplified and highly consistent nomenclature. The first option would mean using a complex system, involving a

combination of terms designating the nature of writing (*libraria*, then *glossularis*, *notularis*), the grade of the script (*formata*, *media*, *currens*, and then, for the *textualis formata*: *prescissa*, *quadrata*, *semiquadrata*), the cursivity of the script (*textualis*, *cursiva*, *hybrida/bastarda*, *semi-hybrida*), the period of the script (*carolino-gothica*, *protogothica/gothica primitiva*, transitional, late caroline), the region of the script (*anglicana*, *bononiensis*, *parisiensis*, *bourguignonne*, or simply French, German, Florentine, etc.). We would end up with names like ‘late German *littera textualis formata semiquadrata*’, which would be more cumbersome than needed, and would only be a pedantic display of uncontrollable finesse.

In view of the lack of internationally acceptable standards, and of the inconsistencies inherent to an all-too-fine description, I would prefer to follow once more the sound advice of Johanne Autenrieth:

Die Bestimmung der Schriftarten für die Handschriftenbeschreibungen in Katalogen sollte sich im allgemeinen mit einer präziser aber nicht ins Detail gehender Benennung der Schriften begnügen. [...] In dieser Liste wurde also absichtlich auf die feinere Differenzierung der Schriften verzichtet, ihre Verästelung in spezielle zeitliche und lokale Erscheinungsformen nicht nachgegangen. Denn diese feinere Differenzierung ist Aufgabe der Paläographie und nicht der Handschriftenkataloge.⁹⁴

Thus, we shall distinguish only between the main types of scripts in the four periods of Latin writing covered by the manuscripts kept at the Batthyaneum Library (*see plate II*). Ancient writing is represented, in its late display variant, by the capitals (*capitalis quadrata*) and uncials (*uncialis*) of the *Codex Aureus*, or *Lorsch Gospels* (MS II.1, s. IXth). We have not so far identified any *fragmenta codicum* in pre-carolingian national scripts. Carolingian minuscule raises no particular identification and description problems. Early Gothic minuscule (s. XII^{ex}-s. XIII), at first a slightly more angular Caroline minuscule with more carefully executed minims will be called *gothica primitiva*, instead of terms like *carolino-gothica*, *protogothica*, and such like. We shall then distinguish between the three main types of Gothic scripts: *textualis*, *cursiva* (not *notula*), and *bastarda* (not *hybrida*). Instead of the square *textura* of the rest of Europe, Italian manuscripts of the Gothic period display the *rotunda*. Finally, humanistic scripts can be *gothico-humanistica* in the transitional period, *humanistica formata* and *humanistica cursiva*.

7. Identification of texts

Although manuscripts can be studied as archaeological artefacts of intrinsic value, as art objects, or as evidence for different cultural practices during the middle ages, their main purpose is undoubtedly to transmit a text. The text can be studied *qua* text with philological methods, and *qua* script by palaeographers. The author of a catalogue must thus possess the philological skills necessary for the correct transcription and identification of the manuscripts' texts, which in the case of the Batthyaneum library involves knowledge of Latin, French, German, Italian, and incidentally Hungarian. After transcribing the incipits and explicits of all the texts in a single manuscript, one must identify the texts even if they are attributed by the scribe to a specific author, since medieval authorship is often problematic. In order to do so, it is a truism to say that we are more fortunate now than Szentiványi was in the early twentieth century. Works like Richard Sharpe's *Titulus*, and especially the collective volume *Identifier sources et citations* are excellent companions to the many existing catalogues of incipits, sermons, hymns, philosophical texts, scientific texts, colophons, etc.⁹⁵ The fact that a great amount of texts are available in a digital format (*Patrologia Latina*, the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina*, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, the *CETEDOC* library of Christian Latin texts) further contributes to an easier identification than ever before.

As they stand, many of Szentiványi's catalogue entries are terse in the extreme, and fail to identify some of the texts in the manuscripts. To illustrate how tentative Szentiványi is in many respects, suffice it to quote two interesting cases I have recently examined: MS II.106 (Sz. nr 265) and MS III.25 (Sz. nr 337). The manuscripts are described by Szentiványi as follows:

265. DE VIRTUTIBUS MORALIBUS /ITALICE/Membr., 237x175 mm, fol. 23, col. 2, teg. l. c. o., s. XIII.f.Fol. 1r Inc. Questo sie lo libro de moralitesFol. 23v Expl. Qui scripsit scribatSemper cum domino vivatVivat in celisFranciscus nomine Felis. 337. DECIUS JUNIUS JUVENALIS: SATYRAE CUM GLOSSAMembr., 260x130mm, fol. 58, col. 1, teg. cor., s. XIII.m.

Needless to say that from all points of view (codicological, palaeographical, philological, etc.) such entries are not acceptable by modern standards. If one inspects the first manuscript (*see plate III.2*), whose text Szentiványi does not identify, one will easily realise that it

contains two texts separated by rubrics. After extensive research, and after collating our manuscript with several Florentine codices, I identified our texts as hitherto unknown Venetian variants of two *Duecento* writings. The first text (ff. 1^{ra}-17^{vb}) is the only known Venetian version of the *Libro de moralites*, or *Libro di costumanza*, a Florentine translation of Pseudo-William of Conches' *Moralium dogma philosophorum*. The second text is one of the two known witnesses of the Italian translation of the *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* by the Bolognese *dettatore* Guido Fava. Since I have studied these texts in more detail elsewhere, I shall not dwell on this issue here.⁹⁶ However, this proves that obscure texts, some with little studied traditions, can still hide behind such unobtrusive labels as Szentiványi's 'De virtutibus moralibus (italice)'.

In the case of MS III.25, the text of the *Satyrae* is followed by ten short texts, among which some can be identified as famous poems, some are known from other sources, and some are utterly unknown (**see plate III.1**). This is still work in progress, but I have so far managed to identify poems included in the *Repertorium hymnologicum* and *Analecta Hymnica* like 'Nicolai presulis festum celebremus' and 'Crescens incredulitas',⁹⁷ or in the *Carmina Burana* collection like Walter of Châtillon's 'Licet eger cum egrotis',⁹⁸ but also little known texts like 'Ve vobis hominibus qui in numeris bestiis computati estis...', attributed to Boethius, and attested in only one other manuscript (Padua, BU MS 201, f. 194^v).⁹⁹

It is hoped that these two examples out of many possible ones are eloquent for the major shortcomings of Szentiványi's catalogue in textual matters, and emphasize once more the urgent need of a new catalogue.

8. Indices and concordances

The worst fate that can befall a scholarly work is to become, as the authors of the *Richtlinien Handschriftenkatalogisierung* so plastically put it, a useless data cemetery ('ein unbrauchbarer Datenfriedhof').¹⁰⁰ In order to avoid this, any work of reference of this kind must have a functional set of indices. This task alone can be as painstaking as describing a fair amount of manuscripts, yet it must be undertaken by the cataloguers themselves, who alone know the collections well enough. As Hermann Hauke points out, it would be a mistake to deem it a menial task, and to delegate it to one's students or helpers,¹⁰¹ as seems to have been the

case with the indices to Szentiványi's catalogue, at least partly compiled by the editors. Moreover, Szentiványi's editors used the notes made by the author (who left the library in 1919), and consulted the manuscripts only cursorily in the 1950s.¹⁰²

On the other hand, Sopko's catalogue of manuscripts of Slovakian origin offers a concordance of shelfmarks, a list of dated manuscripts, an index of incipits, a valuable index of *specimina codicum* accompanying an ample selection of manuscripts grouped by century and by script, and a profuse but rather bushy *index nominum et rerum*. The latter illustrates what is intended by 'Datenfriedhof'. If, for example, one is interested in the illuminated codices, one will have to look up the relevant sub-index in a sequence containing, in this order: Co. de Fossa (a former owner), *Codex lustiniani*, *codices illuminati*, *codices membranacei*, *cognatio carnalis*, *coitus*, and Colensdorff Petrus (a scribe). Observing such fine subject distinctions as *cognatio carnalis* and *coitus* is remarkable, but one may wonder who will ever suspect their existence in the extensive index of Sopko's otherwise praiseworthy catalogue. Conversely, by placing the index of illuminated manuscripts within a very general index of subjects, owners, titles, scribes and many more, one takes away its legitimate visibility. An index like Sopko's thus becomes cumbersome and user-hostile, as it were.

As they stand, both Szentiványi's and Sopko's indices are imperfect, though in no way useless. To the contrary, they contain a wealth of information and demonstrate consummate scholarship in the identification of the information. Despite their shortcomings, they will certainly be of assistance in making our indices.

In compiling the register to our projected catalogue, we will generally observe the guidelines provided by the DFG¹⁰³ and by Otto Mazal,¹⁰⁴ which reflect the practices of manuscript catalogues in the German-speaking countries. The following indices will be present: a). a concordance of catalogue numbers, the current shelfmarks of manuscripts, and the classmarks in existing inventories and catalogues (Cseresnyés, Beke, Varju, Szentiványi, Sopko); b). an index of incipits and explicits (the latter are often omitted, but are important for *adespota*); c). an index of the age of manuscripts, containing a sub-index of dated manuscripts; d). an index of illuminated manuscripts; e). an index of musical manuscripts; f). an index of scribes, owners, persons, and places mentioned in manuscripts outside the main texts; g). an index of medieval and modern countries and provinces concerned by or referred to in the manuscripts;

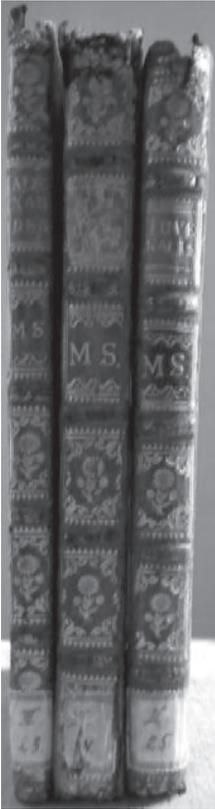
h). an index of authors in manuscript texts; i). an index of titles; j). an index of the languages of manuscripts; k). an index of modern authors in the secondary bibliography.

For the treatment of medieval name variants, we shall follow the indications of the DFG-*Richtlinien Handschriftenbeschreibung*, adapting them to the English usage whenever necessary.

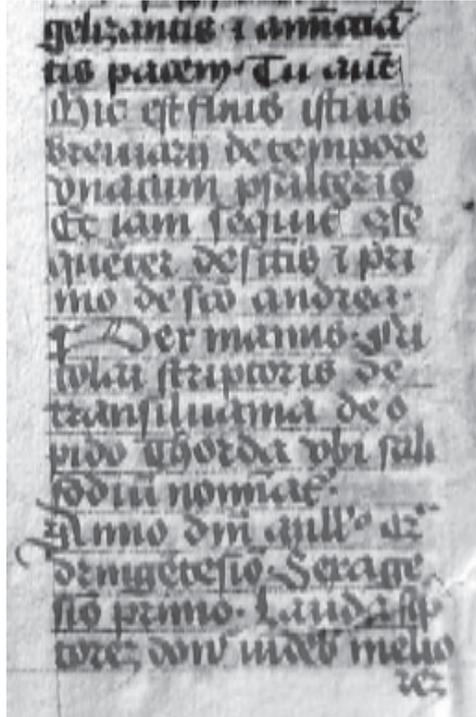
9. Conclusions

The purpose of these *prolegomena* was to make a case for describing and cataloguing the Batthyaneum manuscripts afresh, rather than to account for all the aspects of the projected catalogue. Although some points were tackled in the process, others had to be ignored for lack of space and adequacy to the present Yearbook. I do hope that it has become obvious why a work like Robert Szentiványi's *Catalogus concinnus librorum manuscritorum Bibliothecae Battyhanyanae* is no longer acceptable by modern codicological, palaeographical, and philological standards. Through its failure to identify texts properly, through its utter neglect of codicological details such as binding, through its complete ignorance of the manuscripts' decoration, and through its many minor flaws and imprecisions, Szentiványi's *Catalogus* has become obsolete, and thus makes the need of a new catalogue more urgent than ever. By offering the community of the learned a new catalogue —first of the medieval manuscripts, subsequently of the modern ones—, we also hope to promote the study of the Batthyaneum manuscripts by art historians, philologists, theologians, philosophers and all those interested in the culture of medieval and early modern Europe and Transylvania. Until the *nihil obstat*, though, much ignorance still needs to be overcome, and many pages must still be turned.

PLATE I.
 CODICOLOGICAL ELEMENTS (to §4.3 and §5)

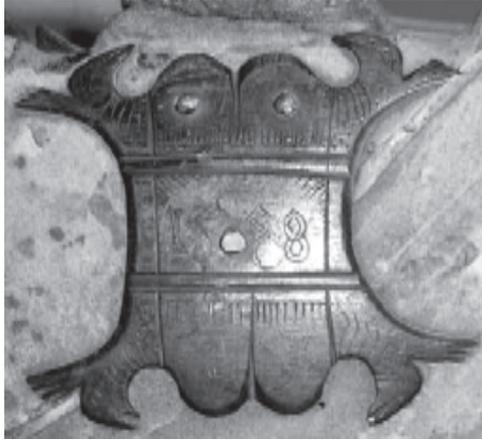


1. The identical 18th-c. bindings of MSS III.23-25 indicate common provenance.



2. The colophon of MS III.40 dates the book (1461) and identifies the scribe as Nicholas from Turda (near Cluj). Transcript of colophon:

Hic est finis istius / breuiarii de tempore / vnacum psalterio / Et iam sequit (con)se/ que(n)ter de s(an)ctis & pri(mo) de s(an)cto andrea. / Per manus. Ni(colai) striptoris (!) de / transilvania de o(pido) Thorda vbi sali(sodiu(m) nomi(n)at(ur)). // Anno d(omi)ni mill(esim)o qua(dringe(n)tesim)o. Sexage(simo) primo. Lauda sc(ri)ptorem don(e)c uideb(is) melio(rem)



3. This metal piece dates MS I.1 in 1538. Szentiványi (nr. 1), dates it "s. XV^{ex}".



4. This metal clasp contains a heraldic symbol (*agnus Dei*), which, if identified, could indicate the workshop where MS II.106 (s. XIV) was bound.

PLATE II.
SAMPLES OF SCRIPTS (to §6)

I. ROMAN SCRIPTS (s. I-VIII)

1. CAPITALIS QUADRATA

A sample of the Capitalis Quadrata script, showing the word "INCIPIT" in a bold, blocky, all-caps font with uniform letter heights and widths.

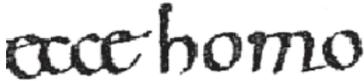
MS II.1 (s. IXⁱⁿ)

2. UNCIALIS

A sample of the Uncialis script, showing the word "TRANSMIGRATIO" in a script with rounded, bowl-like letters and a more compact, cursive appearance than the Roman script.

MS II.1 (s. IXⁱⁿ)

II. CAROLINE MINUSCULE (s. IX-XII)

A sample of the Caroline Minuscule script, showing the phrase "ecce homo" in a clear, humanist script with distinct, rounded letters and a consistent x-height.

MS I.161 (s. X)

III. GOTHIC SCRIPTS (s. XII-XV)

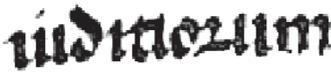
1. GOTHICA TEXTUALIS

a. QUADRATA

A sample of the Gothic Textualis Quadrata script, showing the phrase "in te confido" in a dense, blackletter script with sharp, angular letters and a compact, square shape.

MS II.134 (a. 1377)

b. ROTUNDA

A sample of the Gothic Textualis Rotunda script, showing the word "iudicium" in a blackletter script with rounded, bowl-like letters and a compact, square shape.

MS II.111 (s. XIVⁱⁿ)

2. CURSIVA

A sample of the Gothic Cursiva script, showing the word "redemptio" in a highly decorative, cursive blackletter script with elaborate flourishes and a slanted, flowing appearance.

MS I.66 (s. XIV)

3. BASTARDA

A sample of the Gothic Bastarda script, showing the word "consolatona" in a blackletter script with a mix of rounded and angular letters, often used for decorative initials or headings.

MS I.157 (s. XIV-XV)

IV. HUMANISTIC SCRIPTS (s. XV-XVI)

1. GOTICO-HUMANISTICA

fulminatum MS I.55 (a. 1424)

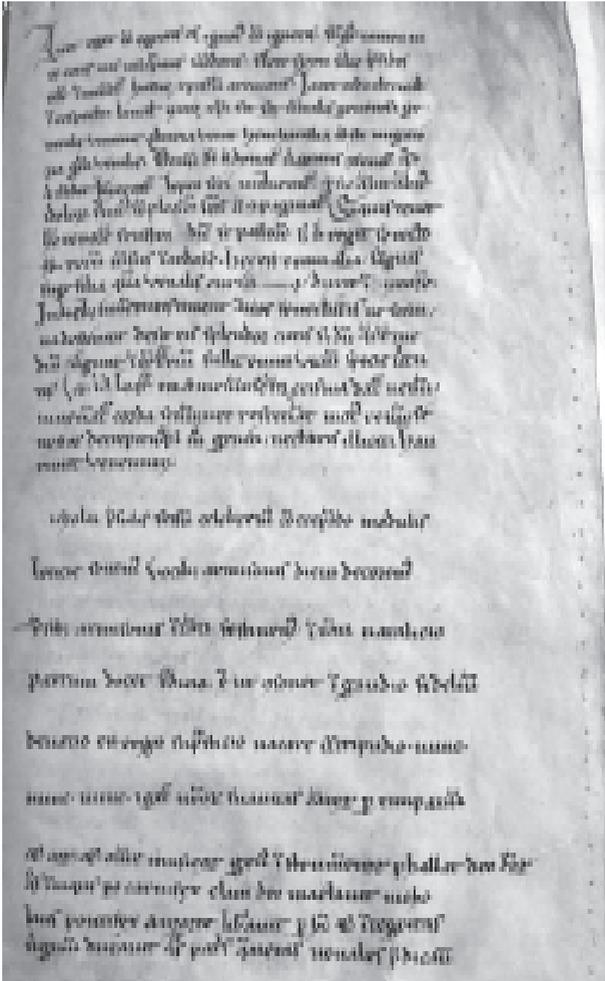
2. HUMANISTICA FORMATA

diligentia MS III.26 (a. 1479)

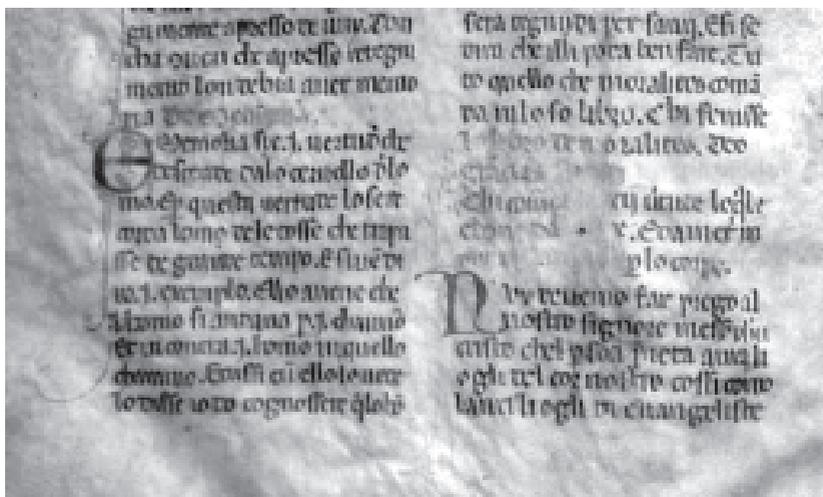
3. HUMANISTICA CURSIVA

uigueremo MS. I.122 (s. XV^{ex})

PLATE III.
TEXT IDENTIFICATION (to §7)



1. After the text of Juvenal's *Satires*, MS III.25 (s. XIII) contains several short medieval poems in Latin. Here, on f. 58^r, one can read Walter of Châtillon's *Licet eger cum egrotis*, and the anonymous *Nicholai presulis festum celebremus*. Szentiványi does not mention the existence of these texts in the manuscript.



2. On f. 17^v of MS. II.106 (s. XIV), one can read the rubricated *explicit* of the first text and the *incipit* of the second one. Szentiványi mentions only one text in his catalogue entry for this manuscript. Transcript of rubrics:

*Chi fenisse / lo libro de moralites. Deo / gracias Amen // Chi cominça
 <le> XII u(ir)itude leq(ua)lle / e bono da<uer>e. E da met(er) in /
 ou<ura>..... p(er) lo corpo.*

NOTES

- 1 The most recent and comprehensive bibliographical introduction to codicology is Marilena Maniaci, *Archeologia del manoscritto. Metodi, problemi, bibliografia recente*, Rome, 2002. A useful handbook is Jacques Lemaire, *Introduction à la codicologie*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989.
- 2 Throughout the present study, Latin palaeography refers to manuscripts written in the Latin alphabet, in Latin or in any of the European vernaculars. In the case of the Batthyaneum Library, the languages represented alongside Latin are German, Italian, French and Hungarian. The standard palaeographical handbook is Bernhard Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendläschen Mittelalters*, Berlin: Erich Schmitt, 3rd ed. 2004, translated into English by Dáibhi Ó Cróinín and David Ganz as *Latin Palaeography. Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge UP, 1990. The standard bibliography is Leonard Boyle OP, *Medieval Latin Palaeography. A Bibliographical Introduction*, U of Toronto P, 1984.
- 3 For the most recent state of the research, see Adrian Papahagi and Adinel-Ciprian Dincă, "Latin Palaeography and Codicology in Romania", forthcoming in *Chôra* 5 (2007).
- 4 Robert Szentiványi, *Catalogus concinnus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Batthyánaeae*, ed. quarta retractata, adaucta, illuminata, Szeged: Bibl. Univ. Szegedensis & Unio univ. ad investigandam litteraturam Hungaricam, 1958.
- 5 András Cseresnyés, *Conscriptio bibliothecae Instituti Batthyaniani facta anno 1824*, 2 vol., Batthyaneum MSS XI. 478-479.
- 6 Antal Beke, *Index manuscriptorum bibliothecae Batthyanianae dioecesis Transilvaniensis*, Károlyfehérvár: Püspöki Könyvnyomda, 1871.
- 7 Elemér Varjú, *A gyulafejevári Batthyány-Könyvtár*, Budapest: Athenaeum, 1899.
- 8 Július Sopko, *Codices latini medii aevi qui olim in bibliothecis Slovaciae asservabantur et nunc in Hungaria et Romania asservantur*, Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1982.
- 9 See note 68.
- 10 Gerhardt Powitz, "Cataloguing Medieval Manuscripts. Work in Progress and Transition", in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe. Actes du premier Congrès européen d'Etudes Médiévales (Spoleto, 27-29 mai 1993)*, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995, p. 391.
- 11 M. Huglo, "Catalogue détaillé ou inventaire sommaire? Réflexions sur le catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France", *Gazette du livre médiéval* 46 (2005), 49-56.
- 12 Meyer's views are expressed in his "Probleme der Katalogisierung mittelalterlichen Handschriften", *Nachrichten der Vereinigung Schweizer Bibliothekare* 36 (1960), 1-9.
- 13 Meyer, p. 1.

- ¹⁴ J. Autenrieth, "Handschriftenkataloge. Nutzen – Probleme – Grenzen", in *Probleme der Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Handschriften*, ed. by H. Härtel, W. Milde et al., Wiesbaden, 1986, p. 58. The same *desideratum*, "viele in knapper Form zu bieten" is expressed by Konstantin Jazdzewski, "Die Beschreibung von mittelalterlichen Katalogen und der Handschriftenkatalog", in *Probleme der Bearbeitung...*, p. 322.
- ¹⁵ DFG, *Richtlinien Handschriftenkatalogisierung*, DFG, 5th ed. 1992; O. Mazal, *Zur Praxis des Handschriftenbearbeiters*, Wiesbaden, 1987, pp. 1-48, and "Richtlinien und Terminologie für die Handschriftenbeschreibung", in *Bibliothekswesen und Forschung. Festgabe für Otto Mazal*, Graz, 1982, pp. 12-35; V. Jemolo, M. Morelli (eds), *Guida a una descrizione uniforme dei manoscritti e al loro censimento*, Rome, 1990.
- ¹⁶ All the details about Batthyány's life come from the following studies: Zsigmond Jakó, 'Batthyány Ignác, a tudós és a tudományszervező', *Erdélyi Múzeum* 53 (1991), 76-99; József Marton, 'Batthyány Ignác püspök élete és munkássága', *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Theologia Catholica Latina* 45 (2000), 145-54; Ileana Dârja, 'Episcopul romano-catolic Batthyány Ignác (1741-1798): schiță biografică sau reconstituirea unui destin', work in progress.
- ¹⁷ On Brukenthal's library, see Veturia Jugăreanu *Biblioteca muzeului Brukenthal din Sibiu*, București: Editura de stat didactică și pedagogică, 1957; Doina Năgler, 'Die Bibliothek des Brukenthal-Museums', *Transylvanian Review* 4 (1995), 57-71; Constantin Ittu, *Tainele Bibliotecii Brukenthal*, Sibiu: Editura Universității 'Lucian Blaga', 2005.
- ¹⁸ On Teleki's library, which later incorporated the library of the Bolyai family, see Aurel Filimon, 'Biblioteca Telekiană din Târgu-Mureş', *Boabe de grâu* 2 (1931), 331-36; Mihály Sebestyén-Spielmann, 'Teleki-Bolyai Library, Târgu-Mureş', *Transylvanian Review* 4 (1995), 103-111.
- ¹⁹ Only Batthyány's coins collection is better known: see Ludita Winkler, 'Colecția monetară a Bibliotecii Batthyaneum', *Apulum* 17 (1975), 34-48; Viorica Suciu, 'Monede romane republicane din colecția Bibliotecii Batthyaneum', *Apulum* 18 (1980), 89-90, and 'Monede grecești din colecția Bibliotecii Batthyaneum', *Apulum* 24 (1987), 119-31.
- ²⁰ There exist many presentations of the library, most of which are unscholarly and not worth quoting. For the more recent ones, see Iacob Mârza, 'Unfamiliar Libraries XIV. The Batthyaneum, Alba Iulia', *The Book Collector* 24 (1975), 558-64; Iacob Mârza, 'La Bibliothèque Batthyaneum d'Alba-Iulia', *Transylvanian Review* 4 (1995), 48-56; Ileana Dârja, 'Biblioteca Batthyaneum', *Discobolul* 8 (2005), 95-106.
- ²¹ Dârja, 'Episcopul romano-catolic', work in progress.
- ²² Jakó, Batthyány Ignác..., pp. 90-91.
- ²³ Ileana Dârja, 'Primul catalog al bibliotecii episcopului romano-catolic Ignatius Batthyány de la Sibiu din anul 1782', *Biblioteca și cercetarea* 21 (1998), 48-61.

- 24 See *A Batthyány intézet ügyviteli naplója 1909 szeptember 1-től*, nr 25/15.03.1913, quoted by Ileana Dârja, 'Din istoria Bibliotecii Naționale a României, Filiala "Batthyaneum" din Alba Iulia. Etapele II-IV (1826-până astăzi)', work in progress.
- 25 For more details and recent bibliographies, see David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History. A Handbook*, New Castle: Oak Knoll, 1998.
- 26 On Migazzi's activity, though very little on his library, see Cölestin Wolfsgruber, *Christoph Anton Kardinal Migazzi, Fürsterzbischof von Wien*, Saulagen/Württemberg: Hermann Kitz, 1890. For a more recent contribution, cf. Günther Anzenberger, *Die Rolle Christoph Graf Migazzis (Erzbischof von Wien 1757-1803) zur Zeit Maria Theresias*, MA diss. Vienna, 1994, available at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
- 27 Zsigmond Jakó, 'A Batthyaneum- könyvtár történetéből. 1. A Migazzi-gjütemény megszerzése', *Könyvtári Szemle* 13.3 (1969), 125-29.
- 28 For all these details, and many more, see Ileana Dârja, 'Un exercițiu profesional: reconstituirea Fondului Migazzi. Etape și operațiuni implicate', work in progress.
- 29 Szentiványi, nr. 635.
- 30 Jakó, 'A Batthyaneum- könyvtárt történetéből...'
- 31 The article by Eva and Iacob Mârza in 1995 added nothing to the information supplied by Jakó in 1969, but it can be used as a German summary of Jakó's conclusions by those who cannot read Hungarian: Eva Mârza, Iacob Mârza, 'Biblioteca Migazziana Viennensis. Anregungen zu einer möglichen Rekonstruktion', *Colloquia* 2 (1995), 74-79.
- 32 Ileana Dârja, *Fondul Migazzi. Surse documentare*, Alba Iulia: Biblioteca Națională a României, Filiala "Batthyaneum", 1998.
- 33 Ileana Dârja, 'Manuscrite migazziene în colecția Bibliotecii Naționale a României, Filiala Batthyaneum', *Apulum* 35 (1998), 407-14.
- 34 Dârja, 'Un exercițiu profesional...'
- 35 Elemér Varjú, 'A Gyulafejevári Batthyány könyvtár', *Magyar Könyvszemle* 7 (1899), 134-75.
- 36 Eva and Iacob Mârza, 'Catalogul cărților de la Levoëa', *Apulum* 13 (1975), p. 388, n. 2.
- 37 Eva Selecká Mârza, *A középkori lőcsei könyvtár*, szerkeszti Monok Istvan (= *Olvasmánytörténeti Dolgozatok VII*), Szeged: Scriptum, 1997, p. 156.
- 38 *Elenchus Librorum Qui in Bibliotheca Eccle(s)iae Leutschoviensis S(ancti) Iacobi reperuntur* (MS Alba Iulia X.69), p. 5: 'Reperuntur alia Manuscripta in Hasce Bibliotheca aut 105 magno Sane Labore et Industria Conscripta, omnia fere in Folio; ex quibus aliqva etiam in Pergameno elegantissime Scripta visuntur.' See Eva and Iacob Mârza, 'Catalogul cărților de la Levoëa', p. 402. The Levoëa copy of the *Elenchus* was identified and published by Boris Bálent, 'Katalóg levočskej stredovekej kninice', *Kninica* 8 (1956), 73-82.
- 39 Ileana Dârja, 'Addenda et corrigenda la copia albauliană a inventarului bibliotecii de la Levoča din anul 1790', *Anuarul institutului de istorie*

- Cluj-Napoca* 36 (1997), 259-73; translated as 'Addenda et corrigenda à la copie d'Alba Julia de l'inventaire de la bibliothèque de Levoča', *Apulum* 38 (2000). See pp. 71-73 in the French version.
- 40 Eva Selecká, *Stredoveká levočská knižnica* (= *Slovenské Knižnice Zväzok 9*), Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1974; translated into Hungarian, with corrections, see n. 37.
- 41 Sopko, nrs 289-418. However, Ileana Dârja ('Addenda et corrigenda à la copie...', p. 57, n. 10) considers that six manuscripts were mistakenly ascribed to Levoča by Sopko. According to Dârja, p. 59, there are currently 118 manuscripts from the Levoča collection in the Batthyaneum library.
- 42 Dârja, 'Addenda et corrigenda à la copie...', p. 61.
- 43 The only existing study of the Batthyaneum bookbindings identified the manuscripts and incunabula owned by the Slovakian humanist Johannes Henckel (c. 1481-1539), which were later integrated into the Levoča library. See Erzsébet Muckenhaupt and Marianne Rozsondai, 'Historische Bucheinbände aus dem Besitz Johannes Henckels', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 74 (1999), 192-224.
- 44 Eva Selecká Mârza, *A középkori lőcsei könyvtár*, pp. 155-64.
- 45 Gilbert Ouy, "Projet d'un catalogue de manuscrits médiévaux adapté aux exigences de la recherche moderne", *Bulletin des bibliothèques de France* 6 (1961), p. 319.
- 46 Eric Palazzo, *Le Moyen Âge. Des origines au XIII^e siècle*, Paris: Beauchesne, 1993; translated into English as *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, tr. by Madeleine Beaumont, Collegeville (MN): Pueblo, 1998; Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Books for Mass and Office*, U of Toronto P, 1995.
- 47 See, for example, D. Balboni, "La catalogazione dei libri liturgici", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 31 (1961), 223-236, and G. Göller, "Methode des Katalogisierens liturgischer Handschriften", *Mitteilungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für rheinische Musikgeschichte* 27 (1966), 90-91.
- 48 The catalogue of manuscripts of Aquinas' works quotes six out of the eight Batthyaneum manuscripts. See *Codices manuscripti operum Thomae de Aquino*, recensuerunt H. F. Dondaine et H. V. Shooner cooperantibus sociis Commissionis Leoninae, Tomus I, Romae: Commissio Leonina, 1967; Tomus II, edidit H. V. Shooner, Roma: Editori di San Tommaso, 1973.
- 49 Robert Friedman, *Die Schriften der Huterischen Täufergemeinschaften. Gesamtkatalog ihrer Manuskriptbücher, ihrer Schreiber und ihrer Literatur 1529-1667*, Wien: Böhlau, 1965.
- 50 See J.-P. Gumbert, 'L'unité codicologique ou: à quoi bon les cahiers?', *Gazette du livre médiéval* 14 (1989), 4-8.
- 51 F. M. Bischoff, 'Methoden der Lagenbeschreibung', *Scriptorium* 46 (1992), 3-27.
- 52 See for example, the authoritative statement of A. Petrucci, *La descrizione del manoscritto. Storia, problemi, modelli*, Rome: Carocci, 2nd ed. 2003.

p. 84: 'A mio parere il tipo di descrizione verbale, sia pure reso più snello dalle abbreviazioni, è, rispetto all'altro, assai più immediatamente chiaro, molto meno costoso tipograficamente e meno soggetto ad errori; perciò consigliabile.'

53 F. M. Bischoff, p. 7.

54 *Richtlinien...*, p. 10.

55 Karl Heinz Keller, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt. Zweiter Band*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999, p. 29.

56 Cf. F. M. Bischoff, pp. 8-9.

57 Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, CUP, 1912, vol. I, p. 54.

58 E. K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, Cambridge (Mass): Harvard UP, 1929.

59 Marco Palma, 'Modifiche di alcuni aspetti materiali della produzione libraria latina nei secoli XII e XIII', *Scrittura e civiltà* 12 (1988), 119-33.

60 Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge UP, 2003, p. 34.

61 Maniaci, *Archeologia...*, p. 89.

62 Derolez, Maniaci, *ibid.*

63 J. P. Gumbert, 'Ruling by Rake and Board', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture. Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium 1982*, ed. by P. Ganz, Turnhout: Brepols, 1986, pp. 44-8.

64 L. Gilissen, 'Description des réglures', *Scriptorium* 57 (2003), 84-88.

65 See, for example, the proceedings of the IRHT seminar on the *mise en page*: Christine Ruby, Jacques-Hubert Sautel, 'La mise en page. Cycle de séminaires de l'IRHT (1998-1999)', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 30 (2000), 344-66, and the most complete (and beautiful) album dedicated to this aspect: Maria Careri, François Féry-Hue, Françoise Gasparri, Geneviève Hasenohr, Gillette Labory, Sylvie Lefèvre, Anne-Françoise Leurquin, Christine Ruby, *Album de manuscrits français du XIII^e siècle. Mise en page et mise en texte*, Rome: Viella, 2001.

66 N. R. Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": A Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica* 5 (1960): *Richard Irvine Best Memorial Volume*, ed. by Myles Dillon, pp. 13-16.

67 Szentiványi, p. 6.

68 In this series, now unfortunately extinct, were published: Dan Simonescu, *Codex aureus*, 1972 (Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum MS II.1); Dan Simonescu, *Codex Burgundus*, 1975 (Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum MS III.87); Cristina Lucia Bica, *Psaltirea lui David cu calendar*, 1977 (Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum MS III.34); Gheorghe Buluță, *Manuscrite miniata franceze în colecții din România*, 1978; Gheorghe David, Doina Năgler, *Breviarul Brukenthal*, 1981 (Sibiu, Brukenthal Library). The general surveys by Virginia Cartianu, also published by Meridiane, are worth mentioning too: *Miniatura irlandeză*, 1976;

- Miniatura medievală în Anglia* (with Viorica Dene), 1980; *Miniatura germană*, 1982; *Miniatura spaniolă*, București: Meridiane, 1988. To these can be added Viorica Dene, *Miniatura franceză. Secolele VII-XVI*, 1983.
- 69 For example the *Manuscripts enluminés de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, ed. by François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann, or the *Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, ed. by J.J.G. Alexander.
- 70 Otto Pächt, *Buchmalerei des Mittelalters. Eine Einführung*, Munich: Prestel, 1984; Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*, New Haven: Yale UP, 1992; Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London: Phaidon, 2nd enlarged ed. 1994.
- 71 Lucia N. Valentine, *Ornament in Medieval Manuscripts. A Glossary*, London: Faber & Faber, 1965; Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts. A Guide to Technical Terms*, Los Angeles & London: The J. Paul Getty Museum & The British Library, 1994; Christopher de Hamel, *The British Library Guide to Manuscript Illumination: History and Techniques*, London: The British Library, 2001.
- 72 See especially the studies by Anna di Majo, Carlo Federici and Marco Palma: 'La pergamena dei codici altomedievali italiani. Indagine sulle specie animali utilizzate', *Scriptorium* 39 (1985), 3-12; 'Die Tierhauptbestimmung des Pergaments in italienischen "Chartae Latinae Antiquiores"', in *Pergament. Geschichte, Struktur, Restaurierung, Herstellung*, ed. by Peter Rück, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991, 47-55; 'The Determination of Animal Species Used in Medieval Parchment Making: Non-Destructive Identification Techniques', in Roger Powell. *The Compleat Binder. Liber amicorum*, ed. by John L. Sharpe, Turnhout: Brepols, 1996, 146-153.
- 73 Cf. Maniaci, *Archeologia...*, p. 43.
- 74 About dating by watermarks, see Theodor Gerardy, *Datieren mit Hilfe von Wasserzeichen*, Bückenburg: Grimme, 1964.
- 75 The most important contributions were made by Zsigmond Jakó. For a now outdated bibliography, see S. Jakó, 'Bibliografia privind istoria hîrtiei din România', *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Series historica* 14 (1969), 3-15.
- 76 See the impressive bibliography in Maniaci, *Archeologia...*, nrs 521-584. For a presentation of filigranology in Romanian, see Damian P. Bogdan, 'Filigranologia ca disciplină științifică', *Revista arhivelor* 10 [=44] (1967), 3-40.
- 77 See Maniaci, *Archeologia...*, nrs 1613-1622. Perhaps the best starting point is the Austrian Academy's excellent *Wasserzeichen des Mittelalters* (version 3, March 21st 2007), ed. by Alois Haidinger, Maria Stieglecker, and Franz Lackner (<http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/wz/wzma.php>). This site has links to other inventories, and gives a good bibliography.
- 78 Charles Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, Geneva: A. Jullien, 1907, 4 vols.

- 79 D. Muzerelle, E. Ornato, M. Zerdoun, 'Un protocole de description des
papiers filigranés', *Gazette du livre médiéval* 14 (1989), 16-24.
- 80 Graham Pollard, 'Describing Medieval Bookbindings', in *Medieval Learning
and Literature. Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by J. J. G.
Alexander and M. T. Gibson, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, p. 50.
- 81 Hellmuth Helwig, *Einführung in die Einbandkunde*, Stuttgart: Anton
Hiersemann, 1970; Berthe van Regemorter, *Binding Structures in the Middle
Ages. A Selection of Studies*, transl. and annotated by Jane Greenfield,
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- ⁹³ On cursive scripts in general, see L. I. Kiseleva, *Goticevskij Kursiv XIII-XV vv*, Leningrad, 1974, an important work which still awaits its translation into a Western language. For France (particularly Paris!), see Emmanuel Poulle, *Paléographie des écritures cursives en France du XV^e au XVI^e siècle*, Geneva: Droz, 1966. For England, see M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, London: Scolar Press, 1979. For Italy, and for a far-reaching discussion of the relationship between the cursive (documentary) and the book traditions, see Emanuele Casamassima, *Tradizione corsiva e tradizione libraria nella scrittura latina del Medioevo*, Rome: Vecchiarelli, 1987 (reprinted without changes 2004).
- ⁹⁴ Johanne Autenrieth, 'Paläographische Nomenklatur im Rahmen der Handschriftenkatalogisierung', in *Zur Katalogisierung mittelalterlicher und neuerer Handschriften* (= *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie. Sonderheft*), Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, p. 98.
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- ⁹⁸ Alfons Hilka, Otto Schumann, Bernhard Bischoff (eds.), *Carmina Burana*, Heidelberg: C. Winter, vol. I, 1930, nr 8.
- ⁹⁹ *In Principio* database; IRHT nr 412461.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Richtlinien...*, p. 8.
- ¹⁰¹ Hermann Hauke, "Über Register zu Handschriftenkatalogen", *Codices manuscripti* 1 (1975), p. 9: 'Die Anfertigung der Register kann man nicht Hilfskräften überlassen. Sie ist, soll das Register die Beschreibungen hinreichend erschließen, nur vom Katalogbearbeiter selbst zu leisten. Er allein kann, besonders was das Sachregister betrifft, das Material aus seiner Vertrautheit mit dem Stoff erschöpfend und begrifflich eindeutig fassen.'
- ¹⁰² In the note 'Ad lectorem', p. 6, the editors refer to "praesens catalogi editio et materia et indicibus locupletibus adacta".
- ¹⁰³ *Richtlinien...*, pp. 17-28.
- ¹⁰⁴ Otto Mazal, *Zur Praxis...*, pp. 36-48.