

POGGIO BRACCIOLINI'S INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BRYN MAWR, MS. 48

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ABSTRACT: Poggius Florentinus delighted in his local identity but he also, famously, had an international career, being in attendance at the Council of Constance, being resident in England for four years (1419-1422) and seeking employment at the imperial court. What is less recognized is how he sought for his literary works audiences far beyond his home-city and how some non-Italians were willingly collaborators in this creation of an international reputation. It has not been noticed before how a remarkable witness to this process is now housed in the Special Collections of Bryn Mawr. It, like other manuscripts in the library, reached its present location because of that twenty-century friend of Poggio and alumna of the college, Phyllis Goodhart Gordan. It now has the shelfmark ms. 48 and is a collection of Poggio's dialogues. What has not been recognized is that we can identify both its scribe and its illuminator and, by doing so, shed new light on Poggio's *fortuna* on the far side of Europe, in his one-time home of England.

KEYWORDS: *littera antiqua*, script, Salisbury, Thomas Candour, Caesar Master, illumination, Petrarch, polygraphism, Phyllis Goodhart Gordan

Poggio Bracciolini was not to everybody's taste. Erasmus, for one, had a problem with him – or, at least, he had no qualms about besmirching his name. He did so in a context where, as he himself admitted, some would have considered he was attempting to defend the hardly defensible: the reputation of Lorenzo Valla. The latter had been no friend to Poggio, to an extent that went beyond his characteristic disparaging of things Florentine. The two exchanged extended tirades of the sort in which Poggio engaged too often for the liking of his later supporters. In praising Valla, Erasmus saw it as necessary to become belatedly his second in this ill-tempered duel and berated Poggio for being:

rabula adeo indoctus ut etiam si vacaret obscoenitate tamen indignus
esset qui legeretur, adeo autem obscoenus ut etiam si doctissimus fuisset
tamen esset a bonis viris reiiciendus¹.

The works Erasmus had in mind, apart from Poggio's foul-mouthed attacks on Valla, were his *Facetiae*, which had gained a Europe-wide readership when circulated in manuscript and then in print². If Poggio's

¹ Erasmus, 1906–1958: 1.409 [*Ep.* 182, ll. 87–89]: «a shyster so unlearned that even if he was free of obscenity, he would be unworthy to be read, and so obscene that even if he had been the most learned, he would have to be shunned by good men» (translation my own).

² On this work's success, see Sozzi, 1982 and Hellinga, 2014; this latter article brings together material from two pieces originally published in 1986 and 1987.

sixteenth-century reputation became associated primarily with his facility at telling scurrilous tales, that was probably not how he imagined he would be remembered. Before he collected his *Facetiae* or embarked on campaigns of invectives, he had molded his literary career primarily through two types of writing. The earliest compositions he circulated were epistles, which were, in turn, jokey, bitchy, self-revelatory, and often moralizing. That same vein of philosophizing is to be found in his forays into the genre of dialogue. He was not the first Quattrocento humanist to construct a text as a fictive conversation – the *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum* of his friend, Leonardo Bruni, was the trailblazer from the century's first years – but he did more closely emulate the style used by Cicero³. His first dialogue, *De avaritia*, appeared in 1428, with two subsequent ones, *De nobilitate* and *De infelicitate principum* both being released to the world in 1440. Eight years later, he used the same structure for a more substantial work, his *De varietate fortunae*, and he returned to the genre again, late in life, when he produced, in 1455, *De miseria humanae conditionis*. It was particularly on the first three of these that his mid-century reputation rested.

Poggio was a prolific author, but only in his later years. *De avaritia* was his first major work and it appeared when he was in his late forties; before he reached middle age, it was for two other reasons that he was celebrated. His earliest achievement was as a writer, not in the sense of composing texts but of copying them: he was central to the enterprise of reforming the presentation of the book which began in Florence at the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth century and which resulted in the bookhand we know of as humanist minuscule (or Roman script). Poggio and his colleagues termed the favored style *litterae antiquae*, for it was a conscious effort to review an older aesthetic which they saw as having been suppressed by the success of what they called, as an insult, «gothic». They saw their revision of *mise-en-page* as re-endowing classical texts with their pristine eloquence, just as they believed in their own crusade to 'liberate' disrespected ancient works from their monastic hideouts⁴. It was in this activity that Poggio could also claim credit, having the good fortune to uncover the complete text of Quintilian, some of Cicero's lost speeches, and Lucretius's *De rerum natura*, among others⁵.

³ Bruni's dialogue is edited by Baldassarri, 1994. For the importance of Poggio in the development of the dialogue form, see Marsh, 1980.

⁴ I discuss this (and provide a full bibliography) in Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain* (2019), Chapter I.

⁵ The best narrative remains Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli xiv e xv* (1905), esp. pp. 77–84 and *passim*, supplemented by Sabbadini, 1914: 91–93. Poggio's activities can also be traced through Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission* (1983), where he is held in high honor (see, e.g., p. 333).

As this present volume of essays attests, Bryn Mawr has a particular affinity with Poggio. While in the wider community Valla might find more allies, the college provides for his Florentine rival a Pennsylvanian refuge. This is largely thanks to the collecting and studies of one of the college's alumnae, Phyllis Goodhart Gordan (1913–1994). Some might think the character of a propagator of dirty jokes and rude tirades unbecoming for the attentions of a member of a leading ladies' college in the early 1930s but, by her own admission, it was Poggio's place in the history of the classical tradition as the intrepid discoverer of manuscripts that attracted her to him. It resulted in a forty-year project which saw her translate the letters Poggio sent to his friend, the *éminence grise* of Florentine humanism, Niccolò Niccoli – a collection which Poggio himself published as an epistolary in 1436. The title she chose for her edition, *Two Renaissance Book-Hunters*, announces her special interest, though the epistles (and her annotations to them) range much more widely. Her work on the letters placed her, as I have discussed elsewhere, in a tradition of Anglophone admirers which went back to Poggio's own lifetime and continues into the twenty-first century with the work of Stephen Greenblatt⁶. It was not, though, her only engagement with Poggio. She inherited from her father, Howard Lehman Goodhart, what is sometimes called the disease of bibliomania, as well as the resources to indulge it⁷. She inherited her father's library and collected herself both early printed books and manuscripts, with those relating to Poggio being at the heart of her interests. The codices among them include a rare text, Poggio writing at the end of his life (and rather against character) praising the city of Venice, an early copy of *De miseria*, and one manuscript which contains two of his early dialogues⁸. It is with the last of these that this short contribution is concerned.

Ahead of the colloquium from which this collection of essays derives, I arrived early at the college in order to become acquainted with the Goodhart Gordan collection. The intention was to refer to some in my talk; what I did not expect was that one of the volumes would transform what I had to say. Opening what is now ms. 48, I found myself faced with a page where I recognized both the scribe and the illuminator. It was like stumbling across old friends far from their homes. The new evidence that they offered me that late winter's day (Bryn Mawr was white with snow) revises and augments our understanding of the manuscript and,

⁶ Greenblatt, 2011; I discuss Greenblatt's place in a tradition of admirers in *The Rebirth of Renaissance Man? Stephen Greenblatt and other English-speaking Admirers of Poggio Bracciolini* (2013), pp. 336–40.

⁷ On her father's collection, see E.L. Pumroy's chapter in this volume.

⁸ The first is Bryn Mawr's ms. 40, at present being studied by Daniel Crosby; the second is ms. 47.

more widely, adds further testimony to the international success Poggio's works enjoyed in his own lifetime. The purpose of what follows is to present and explicate the new evidence; at the end of this article, there are two appendices, the first providing an updated technical description of the manuscript is presented.

The brief published references to this manuscript all state that it was produced in Italy in the mid-fifteenth century⁹. An Italian origin is an understandable assumption to make, given that the humanist texts it includes are presented in *littera antiqua*, the bookhand that Poggio was integrally involved in designing. It is, however, an assumption that, as I have recently argued elsewhere, understates the contribution of non-Italians in promoting the new aesthetic, both in Italy and elsewhere in Europe¹⁰. In this case, the evidence of the apparent Italianate nature of the script might seem to be corroborated by the illumination which is indebted to the *bianchi girari* which also became a standard feature of humanist codices. In fact, though neither scribe nor artist names themselves, we can reconstruct the identity of both of them, and one was from England while the other worked in that country. In addition, the parchment, while it is thin and smooth as humanists required, is of a yellow hue often found in material of English manufacture – and so the manuscript's place of creation was at the other end of Europe than Poggio's own homeland.

The copyist was one of the earliest Englishmen to master *littera antiqua*. He was identified as Thomas Candour by an acquaintance of Goodhart Gordan, the doyenne of Renaissance palaeographers, A. C. de la Mare, who was the first to reconstruct his scribal work¹¹. Candour received a MA by 1441 and was a bachelor of both laws by the following year – we do not know where he was educated, though, as he may have been of Shropshire birth, Oxford would have been his most local *studium generale*; later in the same decade, he certainly attended the university of Padua where, in December 1446, he gained a doctorate in canon law. It was probably in the north-east of Italy that he first practiced his fully accomplished humanist bookhand. Though his skill was at least equal to that of many professionals, his career was not as a scribe – his copying activities were, at most, a supplement to his income. He spent time, in the late 1440s and early 1450s, in Rome, at the papal curia, though that was not his permanent residence. He was among the hypermobile minority

⁹ See Bibliography to Appendix I.

¹⁰ This is a theme of Rundle, 2019 and, with a wider purview, of Rundle, 2019a.

¹¹ She first discussed him, as «Thomas S», in Bodleian Library, *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism* (1970), Section V, and gave a fuller reconstruction in Bodleian Library, *Manuscripts at Oxford* (1980), no. XXII.2–4. See also Rundle, 2005: 1–25, and id., 2019: 100–05. The outline of his biography is provided by Emden, 1957–1959: vol. 3, pp. 2158–59.

in a world of stay-at-homes, a clerical diplomat who criss-crossed Europe. This makes it difficult often to pinpoint the place of production of his books, though those for which we can reconstruct an early provenance were all for fellow Englishmen.

During his time in Rome, Candour certainly met Poggio, who was then a papal secretary and who mentioned him as a friend in one of his epistles¹². As was implied in the previous paragraph, Candour's facility with *littera antiqua* was not learnt directly from its inventor, and his own practice shows in its remarkable variety some independence from Poggio's 'canonical' style. De la Mare identified three different variants of bookhand that Candour employed, all with equal facility; she termed them «a» to «c», with increasing amounts of humanist influence. I have emphasized elsewhere how this typology, accurate though it is, cannot be mapped onto chronology: it is not the case that Candour's script followed a direction of travel from gothic to humanist, with those examples closest to a full *littera antiqua* appearing later than those less influenced by it.¹³ Rather, akin to his peregrinations between England and other parts of Europe, he effected on the page a movement back and forth between scripts. He was, in short, accomplished in polygraphism¹⁴.

While Candour learned his skill as a humanist scribe before he met its original inventor, there is another way in which their careers were entwined. As I have argued on other occasions, Poggio was keen to develop his reputation beyond Italy¹⁵. In comparison to some of his fellow Florentine scholars, «Poggius Florentinus» was notably well-travelled, venturing not just to Constance but further north into France and thence to England, where he lived for nigh on four years. He was based at the palace of Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, in Southwark, a location – hard by the Clink and the stews – that seems appropriate for this man who delighted in low life as much as high moralizing. Most of his earliest surviving letters to Niccoli (and so in Goodhart Gordan's translation) are from his time in England. They give the impression that he did not enjoy his time north of the Channel, but England had its uses to Poggio¹⁶. One use was that, later in life, he could play on his contacts

¹² He calls him 'vir ornatissimus mihique summa familiarite coniunctus', in a letter to John Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury that Candour himself carried to England: Bracciolini, 1984-1987, vol. 3, *Ep.* 1/3 (see l. 22).

¹³ Rundle, 2019: 104-05. More recent research reinforces and complicates this story further, as I hope to demonstrate in an article in preparation.

¹⁴ On polygraphism (sometimes termed multigraphism), a classic article is Petrucci, *Digrafismo e biletterismo nella storia del libro* (2005).

¹⁵ Rundle, 2005, and, for the wider context, see id., 2011.

¹⁶ A point I discussed in Rundle, 1996, and elucidate further in *England and the Identity of Italian Renaissance Humanism* (in preparation), Ch. I.

there to gain an international audience for his dialogues. For instance, in 1442, he dispatched a copy of his *De infelicitate principum* to a former colleague in the bishop of Winchester's household via another Englishman, the scholarly and ill-fated Adam Moleyns (he was to become bishop of Chichester only, in 1450, to be killed by rebels). In the covering letter, Poggio asked his colleague to have a transcription of the work made for Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle and heir presumptive to the throne who had a reputation among some humanists of being a receptive target for their shots at patronage¹⁷. The humanist patently had a sense of particular English circles as a market for his works that could be exploited.

Poggio's renown was not, however, fabricated by him alone. Candour was one person who actively aided its development, promoting his works in England by his copying activities. Two «collected editions» of Poggio's works in Candour's hand are known, one surviving complete and the other in fragments¹⁸. To these can now be added Bryn Mawr's ms. 48; it has a more limited range of texts than the «collected editions», lacking both *De infelicitate principum* and the Scipio/Caesar controversy in which he was embroiled with Guarino da Verona in 1435. The connection between this manuscript and Candour's other work, revealed by paleography, is reinforced by philological study: collation of the preface to *De avaritia* demonstrates the proximity between Candour's copies¹⁹. At the same time, the paleographical evidence hints at another insight. The script in the Bryn Mawr manuscript is closest to Candour's fullest emulation of *littera antiqua* but, particularly in the first folios, it looks less assured than in most of his productions and has one letter-form (the sharp-necked **g**) which he did not employ in his most accomplished work. This suggests to me that this codex probably predates the others which have been attributed to him. We may, in other words, be looking at a manuscript created within a decade or so of the composition of the latest work presented here, the dialogue *De nobilitate*.

A date of the later 1440s or start of the 1450s would accord with the manuscript's illumination. The borders and initials are attributable to the artist known, thanks to the work of Kathleen Scott, as «the Caesar Master»²⁰. This person's origins are something of a mystery, in as much as the artistic style shows Netherlandish influences, as well as ones from

¹⁷ For the letter, see Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (2016), Appendix, Text C, pp. 304–05.

¹⁸ The complete manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodl. 915, while the scattered fragments are listed in Rundle, 2005: 17–18.

¹⁹ On this, see Appendix II below.

²⁰ The fundamental work is by K.L. Scott: see *The Mirroure of the World: MS Bodley 283...* (1980), p. 41, and *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490* [Survey of manuscripts illu-

the Italian humanist fashions. Though the identification of nationality might be problematic, it is certain that the Caesar Master was at work in England by the later 1440s. In 1447, the artist provided the opening illumination for a manuscript of cosmopolitan character: a sampler of humanist opuscula, it was signed by its scribe, the Paduan Milo da Carraria, stating he was working in London on behalf of the Italian doctor of Greek extraction, Thomas LeFranc²¹. The temporal range of the Master's oeuvre demonstrates a continuing presence in England; they include two manuscripts of Julius Caesar (thus the sobriquet) which are related to the noble collector, John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and may have been made at the turn of the 1450s to 1460s²². The Caesar Master's work is distinctive and includes some signature features. One is the manner in which the border is sometimes inhabited by a plump seated owl – and this appears in the opening border of the Bryn Mawr volume (and provides the avatar that appears on each page of the college's present online catalogue of its manuscripts). The Master also often indulges in depicting dense foliage, often in grisaille, and sometimes growing out a gold goblet or low vase²³. The decoration is more restrained in this manuscript, but the opening of Poggio's second dialogue is accompanied by a gold cup sprouting green stems ending in cosmos flowers in two shades of pink.

The conjunction of Candour and the Caesar Master has not, to date, been found in other work, though it is possible that they had acquaintances in common. In particular, there may have been some link between Candour and another collaborator of the Caesar Master's, the aforementioned Milo da Carraria. At least, both scribes produced copies of Poggio's *De infelicitate principum* complete with the covering letter its author had sent to England. The two copies are independent of each other – both would seem to be transcripts of the original – and so it would appear that Milo and Candour had access to the same manuscript²⁴.

That an illuminator was employed to complete the Bryn Mawr volume suggests it was commissioned, an assumption corroborated by the presence of a coat-of-arms in the lower border at the first folio. The heraldry was subsequently in part erased so that all that is clear now is that the field was a single color of azure. It is impossible, then, to be certain who the first owner was intended to be, although there is a

minated in the British Isles, vi] (1996), vol. 2, pp. 277-79; see also Binski and Panayotova, 2005: no. 182; and Alexander, 2009.

²¹ It is now Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 952.

²² This dating is the implication of the discussion at Rundle, 2019: pp. 213-17.

²³ For an example, see Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. lat. 4681, fol. 1, reproduced as Rundle, 2019: plate xii.

²⁴ The two copies appear in Oxford, Bodleian, mss. Rawl. C. 298 (Milo da Carraria) and Bod. 915 (Candour).

temptation to speculate. The cup sprouting flowers may simply be a motif that the Caesar Master enjoyed employing but it is also reminiscent of a feature found repeatedly in the heraldry of the tomb of Humfrey, duke of Gloucester at St Albans, sometimes called the «garden of Adonis»²⁵. Humfrey, as we have already noted, was an intended recipient of one of Poggio's works, the *De infelicitate principum*. He was also presented with a copy of the Scipio/Caesar controversy, given to him by a visiting papal diplomat, Pietro del Monte, in 1440²⁶. In addition, it is highly likely that he owned Poggio's first dialogue, *De avaritia*²⁷.

We must not rush from these facts to assuming that the Bryn Mawr manuscript was once in ducal hands. The first folio demonstrates that cannot be the case: Humfrey sported the English royal arms with a *bordure argent* – in other words, a quartered coat quite unlike that which appears here. The presence of what might be a 'garden of Adonis' may allow another hypothesis. It is not unknown for Humfrey's associates to take over his symbols: his former physician and chancellor, Gilbert Kymer, employed a motto of the duke's, «Mon bien mondain», on a binding he had made in Salisbury, where he was dean from 1449 until his death in 1463²⁸. Might he also have adopted the «garden of Adonis» and so be associated with this manuscript? We certainly know that Kymer had an interest in the works of Poggio: he read a copy of *De avaritia* (one not directly connected to Candour's transcriptions), and he also left his mark in the duke's copy of the Scipio/Caesar controversy²⁹. This is significant for us because that manuscript made for Humfrey appears to have been the source for Candour's copy of its texts. There were other, more pragmatic, reasons which brought the two men into contact: during Kymer's time as dean, the chapter at Salisbury intensified its efforts

²⁵ The main study remains Kendrick, 1946; note, though the skepticism of Petrina concerning the specific identification of the symbol (2004: 345–346). On Humfrey's tomb, see Goodall & Monkton, 2001: 231–55.

²⁶ Cambridge, University Library, ms. Gg.i.34(i), discussed in Rundle, *Two Unnoticed Manuscripts from the Collection of Humfrey, duke of Gloucester: Part I* (1998).

²⁷ There was a copy of the dialogue recorded in the library of King's College, Cambridge in the 1450s, a collection which included some books formerly owned by the duke: see Appendix II, n37.

²⁸ Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Laud. misc. 558, and Oxford, Merton College, ms. 268, for discussion of which see [Bodleian Library exhibition catalogue], *Duke Humfrey's Library and the Divinity School, 1488–1988* (1988), no. 44. On Kymer, see Emden, 1957–1959: 2.1068–69.

²⁹ The copy of *De avaritia* is Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 88, with Kymer's *manicula* at fol. 111. The same *manicula* appears at Cambridge, University Library, ms. Gg.i.34, fol. 84. It can be demonstrated to be Kymer's as it also appears at in Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Bodl. 362, fol. 230, where it is signed «G. K.». For evidence of the textual separation of the Corpus copy of the dialogue from that in Bryn Mawr, see Appendix II.

to have Osmund (d. 1099), the second bishop of the see, canonized, and, in 1452, one of those in Rome to whom they entrusted this business was Thomas Candour³⁰. The context of Candour's relations with Salisbury might also help explain the coat-of-arms. Close scrutiny reveals that on its field azure it once had a charge of a single figure which filled much of the central space and was painted in gold: it may not be irrelevant that the blazon of the diocese is «Azure, the Virgin crowned, holding in her dexter arm the Infant Jesus, in her sinister hand a sceptre, Or».

A Salisbury location for this manuscript would not guarantee that it was made for or owned by Gilbert Kymer. He certainly had the contacts and the wherewithal to be able both to commission this manuscript from a scribe known to have access to Poggio's works, and to have it sent, presumably to London, to have it illuminated by an artist with a growing reputation – but he was not alone among the clergy of the cathedral close in that or in having associations with the duke of Gloucester. There was Nicholas Upton, the cathedral's precentor, who dedicated to Humfrey his *De studio militari* (and was in Rome on the business of St Osmund at the same time as Candour). There was also Andrew Holes, who had spent over a decade at the papal curia, returning to England in 1444 and becoming chancellor of Salisbury in 1445; he was an inveterate book-collector, and parted with one of his manuscripts by offering it to the duke³¹. It also appears that Thomas Candour annotated at least one of Holes's manuscripts and, given that their stays in Italy did not overlap, it was presumably in Salisbury that Candour had sight of it³². Another Salisbury cleric, William Brygon, was closer to Candour in age and so was less associated with Humfrey, becoming a canon of the cathedral in the year of the duke's death, 1447, but was certainly acquainted with the scribe, since manuscripts written by him were in his collection³³. If these individuals could equally be suspects as commissioners of this Poggio codex, another possibility should be entertained: it could have been in-

³⁰ Kymer's significance in the negotiations is made explicit at Malden, 1901: 109-10, 121, 162-63, 173-75, while Candour's use as a proctor in Rome is mentioned at *ibid.*: 99, 100, 105.

³¹ On Holes, see Emden, 1957-1959: 2.949-50, and Harvey, 1991. I intend to shed further light on his book collecting in an article at present in preparation. The manuscript he presented to Humfrey is now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Urb. lat. 694.

³² Oxford, New College, ms. 265, discussed by A. C. de la Mare in *Manuscripts at Oxford* (1980), no. XXII.4. Interventions attributable to Candour are at fol. 1, 2-5, 6v, 710, 20, 20v, 26v, 45v.

³³ What is known of Brygon's career is summarized by Bodleian Library, *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism* (1970), no. 59, discussing Oxford, New College, ms. 271, one manuscript owned by Brygon and partially written by Candour. Another codex, fully in Candour's hand, and owned by Brygon is London, British Library, ms. Harl. 2471, on which, see Bodleian Library, *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism* (1970), no. 58. For Brygon's other books, see the note at Ker, [1985]: 208.

tended not for a single person but for the library of the cathedral which was increasing in size at this time³⁴. Whether it was for an institutional collection or a particular cleric, the notable implication is that Poggio – later deprecated as an uncouth writer – was being appreciated as a moralist worthy of being read in the vicinity of a cathedral.

The embarrassment of options requires us to stop short of confidently asserting that the Bryn Mawr manuscript was associated with any one of these individuals and, indeed, even a Salisbury provenance can only be considered probable, not definite. If, however, it was kept in that city, that might explain another feature of it. We have concentrated so far on the original construction of the codex, which is dedicated to the dialogues of Poggio, but that main part gained accretions soon after its production. These were added in two stages. First, the blank leaves of the final quire were filled with two letters by Petrarch; then, another quire was appended in order to provide a longer Petrarch epistle and, finally, a paschal table. The script of this last intervention, as well as the rubricated titles to the added items, is similar to that used earlier and is identifiably by Candour; the Petrarch texts are written more cursively but what we appear to have is a specimen of the same scribe writing a cursive script, in a form not found elsewhere in his oeuvre. The implication is that, after the main part of the codex was written and illuminated, the commissioner called on the scribe to expand it with these opuscula.

Candour's whereabouts on his trips back to England are difficult to reconstruct: his diplomatic business would have taken him to Westminster; he may also have been in Oxford (where he may previously have been a student) and acted as a scribe there; he was a clerical pluralist, whose appointments included for a few years a rectory in Norfolk, but he also held two neighboring parishes in the diocese of Salisbury, Pimperne and Tarrant Gunville, in north Dorset, 20 miles southwest of the seat of the see. That he made the additions on brief visits to the cathedral city would fit with the use of a cursive script for speed, and he would also have had access to a prototype there, as Andrew Holes owned a copy of the *Familiars*³⁵. It may also be telling that the first two letters by Petrarch related to medical matters and to doctors – texts which would have held a special interest for Dean Kymer, with his training in medicine.

³⁴ On the library of Salisbury Cathedral, we look forward to the volume on secular cathedrals in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, being edited by Nigel Ramsay and James Willoughby. I thank Dr. Willoughby for his characteristically sage advice on this matter.

³⁵ Oxford, New College, ms. 268, on which see Mann, 1975: pp. 482–83 (no. 246). This was not the only copy in English hands: William Gray, bishop of Ely owned Oxford, Balliol College, ms. 126. At the same time, the first two letters were popularly excerpted and so may not have been copied from a full text of the letters.

Candour's transcription of the final Petrarch text was checked against its prototype by an English reader, who corrected the text in the margin in a hybrida script (it does not appear to be by Kymer himself)³⁶. Textual collation suggests this manuscript was the source for another extant copy of *De avaritia* made in England³⁷. The margins of the book, however, demonstrate that it did not remain long north of the Channel. There are two sets of sixteenth-century annotations, the earlier of the two in brown ink, the later larger and in black, both of which show influence of humanist cursive and which are continental, probably Italian³⁸. Perhaps, then, the volume was one of those whose quiet life in England was disrupted by the Reformation and, at that point, it fled to the mainland of Europe. It seems that neither of these hands is responsible for the word «carolus» written next to the opening title but bearing no relation to its wording, so it may be a residual but unhelpful mark of early-modern ownership.

The fortunes of the volume between the sixteenth century and the twentieth are, at present, irrecoverable. Our next piece of evidence for its perambulations is a pencil note at top center of its front pastedown which reads «Coll. complete | G. Martini». This refers to the Lucchese bibliophile and bookseller, Giuseppe Martini (1870–1944). This manuscript can be identified with an entry of his catalogue of items for sale from 1936; it was bought for \$40 by Phyllis's father³⁹. Her own bookplate, referring to her with her maiden name, is stuck to the pastedown just below the note, but this does not necessarily mean that she took possession of the manuscript before her marriage in 1938. Certainly, the volume was still recorded as in Howard Goodhart's collection in 1943⁴⁰. From him, at some point, it passed to her and was known as her ms. 51; it was among those that she bequeathed to her alma mater.

We have, then, traced the fortunes of this manuscript, as far as is possible at present, from its inception, not in Italy, as previously thought, but, rather, on an island off the European mainland. Its scribe, known for both his peripatetic lifestyle and his interest in promoting Poggio's works, produced the main part of the codex somewhere in the south of England, and then it left his hands to be illuminated, probably in Lon-

³⁶ They appear at fol. 108v, 110v, 111 (between lines), 113 (between lines).

³⁷ Cambridge, University Library, ms. Ffv.12; on this, see Appendix II below.

³⁸ For listing, see Appendix I.

³⁹ I have Dr. W. Stoneman to thank for this information. See his *The Role of Giuseppe Martini in Building the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Collections now in North American Libraries* (2017).

⁴⁰ I owe this information to Eric Pumroy, Bryn Mawr's Head of Special Collections, whom I thank for his generous assistance to me both during my brief visit to the College and subsequently as I prepared this article far from the manuscript at its heart.

don, for its intended owner. That owner, possibly in Salisbury, then had some further brief texts added by the scribe. The volume, however, only spent the first century of its life (at most) in the country of its production. It traveled south, to take up residence among other humanist books of more local origin, only in the twentieth century to embark on another journey, yet further afield, across the Atlantic. Of all the work known to have come from Candour's pen, Bryn Mawr ms. 48 best emulates the facility for travel of both scribes and the books they produced.

The new information we have been able to provide highlights an essential characteristic of Poggio's literary career. Before his memory became primarily associated with the *Facetiae*, he was more often characterized as «Poggius philosophus», a moralist worthy to be read in clerical circles. He himself was active in constructing this identity for himself, and he wanted it to be projected across Europe, including (or perhaps particularly) in his former home of England. It was not a reputation he could mold single-handedly and others, like Thomas Candour, were conscious collaborators in the process. Perhaps, indeed, Poggio's identity was more translucent far from his own location than in Italy itself, where it became muddied by quotidian contact with the person himself or by the effects of back-biting from those who wished him ill. If Poggio, for a short period, was master of his own international reputation, through the help of others, that control later slipped. That was, partly, the side-effect of his own decision to publish his *Facetiae* which, in the age of print, traveled more widely and more quickly than any of his dialogues and most of his epistles. In addition, however, it became the case that how he was to be remembered was decided less by his friends and admirers, and more by his enemies, in life and in death.

There is a further conclusion to be drawn from our discussion of this one manuscript, and this takes us beyond Poggio himself, though it remains relevant to how we understand him. Bryn Mawr ms. 48 sets us, I would suggest, a challenge, and not simply because it still holds secrets about its history. It challenges our deep-seated assumptions about the production of humanist manuscripts. Whatever remains tentative about this codex, what is undoubted is that the oft-repeated claim that it is of entirely Italian manufacture is wrong. We may want to dismiss this as a single instance of misattribution and label the book a quaint oddity but that would be, on my submission, to underestimate its significance as an example. While the majority of humanist books were produced in Italy, and while a majority of those were produced by Italians, we know that there were many non-Italians who were also partners in and promoters of the humanist enterprise.⁴¹ Their role remains underestimated because

⁴¹ I express this point in *La Renaissance de la littera antiqua* (2019a).

we tend to assume that a manuscript of humanist works that looks fully humanist must be Italian. As ms. 48 demonstrates, we need to be alert to the possibility that, however Italian-looking a book may be, its creation could have been the responsibility of non-Italians. If we accept this challenge which the volume offers us, we will be able to create a more nuanced, more richly various and, in fine, more cosmopolitan understanding of how humanism achieved its Europe-wide success. That process, which will involve bringing back to life the panoply of characters whose hands shaped these manuscripts – giving them their Renaissance – is surely one which Phyllis Goodhart Gordan, with her acute sense of the value of old books, would heartily appreciate.

APPENDIX I

Description of BRYN MAWR COLLEGE, ms. 48 (*olim* Goodhart Gor-dan MS 51)

Poggio Bracciolini, dialogues; Petrarch, letters England, s. xv^{med}

Material Thin parchment, smooth but at times notably yellow on the hair side, suggestive of it being made in England in Italian style; disposition tends to hair, skin-skin, but can be variable; 214 / 223 x 153 / 158mm. Some flaws to parchment (eg. fol. 35, 61, 73, 96, 100). Folios: 1-115. Pencil foliation written at top right corner (s. xx): 1-114, omitting the last blank folio of which the outer half has been removed.

Collation i⁸ ii¹² iii-iv¹⁰ v⁸ lacking 7th after fol. 46 [production break] vi-viii¹⁰ ix⁸ x¹² xi¹⁰ | xii¹⁰ with 8th a stub, 9th (fol. 115) a half folio, and last a stub stuck to pastedown. Horizontal catchwords placed in bottom margin usually a little right of center within short four curves. Only quire signatures are those added in pencil at bottom right of first recto (s. xx).

Layout Fascicule I: 137 x 90mm; 21 long lines, above top line. Single vertical borders extending to edges and horizontal lines lightly ruled in plummet. Occasional signs of full pricking. Fascicule II: 139 x 82mm; 21 long lines, above top line. Double vertical borders drawn in pen; horizontals not visible. Fascicule III: 146 x 84mm; 23 long lines, above top line. Double left-hand vertical border, single right-hand, all lightly ruled, possibly in ink. The last item is supplied on a vacant unruled leaf.

Script The first and main fascicule is unsigned but written in a *littera antiqua* which is identifiable as that of Thomas Candour. It is changeable, the first recto, for instance, looking less accomplished than the following pages, but most of the features are here to describe this, in de la Mare's nomenclature, as his 'hand c'. There are, however, two distinctive features in this manuscript: first, there is the form of **g** which has a diagonal neck and open bottom bowl; second, Candour here uses fairly often an ampersand, low-set, with small upper bowl sitting to the right of the lower and rising a little above the line. Other notable features include the occasional use of a slanted-backed **a** (fol. 23, l. 20, fol. 50, l. 7) and of a square-backed **G** (fol. 1, l. 2, fol. 9v, l. 9; cf round-backed at fol. 9v, l. 18). Candour also provides a subscript digraph as approach loop (eg fol. 13, l. 16, fol. 22, l. 10); notably, there are occasions of hyper-correction (eg fol. 40v, l. 17 and fol. 50, l. 14). While there is this concession to humanist orthography, there is also gothic 'nichil' (eg fol. 101, l. 4). In terms of punctuation, there is frequent use of *lunulae* (eg fol. 50, ll. 13, 16, 19 and 20).

In terms of mise-en-page, right justification is slightly ragged but some techniques are used to provide it, including (as in other of his manuscripts) the 3-shaped m (eg fol. 22, ll. 8 and 18), and a superscript 'a' over 'q' for 'qua' (fol. 34, l. 18). Candour provides the titles in red.

He also adds two marginal notes in a tiny *littera antiqua*: fol. 30 (Nota. sola virtus producit nobilitatem) and fol. 77v (qualis sit discrentia inter cupiditatem & avaritiam). He adds throughout rubricated marginalia, providing names of classical characters mentioned (fol. 4-5, 13v, 15v, 20-22v, 24r-v, 25v-29, 30, 31-32, 33v, 36, 36v, 55, 61v, 66, 69, 85v, 91, 93v, 94v, 101, 101v).

The following two fascicules are written in a different script, a humanist cursive with some cancelleresca features. The same script, albeit higher-grade, is used for the titles in these fascicules (as in the first, rubricated), and there are enough similarities between those titles and the script of the first fascicule to suggest that we have here a cursive bookhand by Candour himself.

Decoration The miniatures are confined to the first fascicule, are understated and in a style identifiable as that of the Caesar Master. The initials themselves are in gold on a blue background shaped around the shaded *bianchi girari* which twist around the letter. The blue has a pattern of white dots, and the palette also includes light green and pink. They are accompanied by sprays with five-leaved flowers, gold fir-cones and hairy gold triangles, with the branches being drawn thinly in ink. At fol. 1, the spray extends two-thirds of the extent of the margin and provides a perch for a plump owl, in profile, head turned to the reader. In addition, there is a spray the width of the text block below the bottom line, at the center of which there is a coat-of-arms, of which the field is azure, with the rest intentionally removed, with all that remains being three gold dots. There is also a spray in the same position, below the last line of text, at fol. 48, centering on an ornate flower-pot out of which spouts green shoots, red and pink flowers. Three-line initials with short sprays alone appear at fol. 3, 38v, 43v, 50.

Marginalia Apart from Candour, there are three readers who leave their mark. The first chronologically provides a large, thick-set gothic script adds text in margin: fol. 108v, 110v, 111 (between lines), 113 (between lines); this script looks to be of an English reader. The second writes a tiny *manicula*, sometimes very impressionistic, sometimes with double circle as cuff, and a marginalising line with clouds: fol. 5v, 6, 7v, 9v, 10-11, 13, ?15v, 16v, 58-59, 69, 69v, 71, 71v, 72v, 73, 100r-v, ?109v. Finally, a sixteenth-century Italian hand: fol. 3v-4 (running title), 7v-9, 10-12, ?69 (slanted cursive script).

Binding Plain stiffened white leather over pasteboards (s. xx?). At the front pastedown, the circular book-plate of Phyllis Walter Goodhart, below which there is the Bryn Mawr bookplate, with an image of Poggio and a typed note 'From the Library of Phyllis Goodhart Gordan '35'.

2o fo.: in ipsa
 uel maxime [3]
 virtutum [4]

Contents

I

Fol. 1-46: **Poggio Bracciolini**, *De nobilitate*, with paratexts, including **Carlo Marsuppini**, *De nobilitate*.

title: Ad insignem omnique laude prestantissimum virum Gherardum Cardinalem Cumanum Poggij florentini de nobilitate liber incipit.

preface: NON dubito prestantissime pater nonnullos ... [fol. 3] summa familiaritate coniunctos.

title: De nobilitate liber incipit.

text: NAM cum olim ex urbe in patrim secessissem ... [fol. 38] sepius ob [fol. 38^v] fertilitatem piscium laudavit:

title: Epistola poggii florentini ad insignem virum d. Gregorium Corarium sedis apostolice Prothonotarium:-

epistle: Poggius Plurimam. salutem dicit viro insigni gregorio Corario sedis apostolice prothonotario. Optarem mi Gregori amantissime ... [fol. 43^v] moribus conuenire uideatur. Vale & me ut facis ama. Florentie die octauo aprilis 1440: | Finis

title: Caroli arentini [sic] de nobilitate carmen lege feliciter

poem: Quid sit nobilitas scribere liberis ... [fol. 46] Metas nauigijs est male peruium.

The dialogue is presented in P. Bracciolini, *La vera nobilità*, ed. D. Canfora (Rome, 1999) (where a critical edition is said to be in preparation). Poggio's epistle to Correr is printed P. Bracciolini, *Opera omnia*, ed. R. Fubini, 4 vols (1964-69), i, pp. 325-28. Marsuppini's poem is printed in *Carmina illustrium poetarum italarum*, vi (Florence, 1720) pp.282-84. The bottom half of fol. 46 blank and unruled.

fol. 46^v-47^v: blank

fol. 48-102^v: **Poggio Bracciolini**, *De avaritia* (first recension).

title: Ad clarissimum virum Franciscum barbarum Poggij florentini contra auaritiam Incipit.

preface: Qvonia plures mortalium mi Francisce ... [fol. 50] causam & errata etiam deffendenda:-

title: Contra auaritiam Liber Incipit feliciter.

text: CVm cenarent antonius luscus Cincius romanus ... [fol. 102^v] censeo Ita omnes consurrexerunt:- | Finis. | Poggij Florentini contra auaritiam Liber explicit:

Printed in Poggio, *Opera Omnia*, pp.1-31. On the different recensions of this dialogue, see H. Harth, 'Niccolo Niccoli als literarischer Zensor', *Rinascimento*, 2nd ser. vii (1967), pp. 29-53.

All but top seven lines of last verso blank.

II

fol. 103: blank

fol. 103^v-105^v: **Petrarch**, epistle to Giovanni Colonna, 22nd June (year unstated).

title: Epistola francisci petrarce | Ad fratrem Iohannem de colonna podagram familiarem esse diuitibus

epistle: [a]Nilem tibi fabulam sed ex re ... pelle diuitias & uale ad fontem sorgie x^o kal Julias.

Petrarch, *Familiars*, III/13.

fol. 106-107^v: **Petrarch**, epistle to Clement VI, 13th March 1352.

title: Ad Clementem sextum Romanorum pontificem fugiendam medicorum turbam. epistola eiusdem

epistle: [F]Ebris tue nuntius pater beatissime ... [fol. 107^v] eclexiam saluam cupis iij [.].ij.

Petrarch, *Familiars*, V/19.

Last verso blank apart from top seven lines, where there is a stain obscuring part of text.

III

fol. 108^r: blank

fol. 108^v-113: **Petrarch**, epistle to an unknown recipient.

title Francisci petrarce poete | Reuocatio amici a periculosis amoribus

epistle: Verba michi nunc metus ac dolor ... [fol. 113] de te metuam vides. Vale caue circumspecte:-

Petrarch, *Familiars*, IX/4.

All but top ten lines of last recto blank.

fol. 113^v: blank

fol. 114: Paschal table

The table is arranged with the 'aureus numerus' horizontally and 'litere dominicales' vertically. Below the table an explanation, in red, running for nine lines: 'Superior tabula ostendit quo mense [*sic*] ... cum litera dominicali bixeti:-'.

Bottom half of folio blank.

fol. 114^v and 115: blank

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- Ullman B.L. 1964, *Petrarch Manuscripts in the United States*, pp. 443-75 at p. 460 (no. 64); information repeated by Dutschke D. 1986, *Census of Petrarch Manuscripts in the United States* [*Censimento dei Codici Petrarqueschi*, ix], Antenore, Padua, p. 219 (no. 88).

APPENDIX II

Collation of the English copies of the preface to Poggio's *De avaritia*

The base text for this transcription is that in Harth, 1967: 47-9, with typing errors silently corrected. It has been collated with the following copies:

- A = Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Bodley 915
- B = Oxford, Balliol College, ms. 127 – dated to 1450 by the scribe, Theoderic Werken, on whom see now Rundle, 2019: 124-42
- C = Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 88 – see note 29 above
- F = Cambridge, University Library, ms. Ff.v.12
- P = Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr College, ms. 48
- O = Opera Omnia (Basel, 1538) [reprinted in Bracciolini, 1964-69, ed. Fubini, vol. 1 (1964)]

The collation demonstrates the affinities between Candour's two copies (A, P) but also suggests F descends from P. C and B both stand separate from this small group but each appears to be independent of the other.

Quoniam plures mortalium⁴², mi Francisce, non vivunt sed agunt vitam (hoc enim omnium est, illud perpaucorum) fortunati illi esse videntur et pene felices⁴³, quibus dono immortalis Dei contigit, ut possint dicere se vixisse. Id ego nonnullis nostrae aetatis⁴⁴ viris accidisse puto, qui rebus a se editis, magnam laudem consecuti⁴⁵ sunt & nomen multis seculis duraturum.⁴⁶ Nam & varia scriptorum genera e graecis latina reddiderunt nobis & ipsi sua quaedam conscripserunt summa cum doctrina atque eloquentia, quibus latinae musae plurimum decoris susceperunt atque ornamenti. Quamquidem⁴⁷ rem haud perdifficilem illis fuisse arbitrator & graeca facundia eruditis & omni doctrinarum genere praestantibus. At vero mihi durior quaedam scribendi ratio videtur esse proposita qui neque e graeca lingua ad usum nostrum traducere possum, neque eae⁴⁸ sunt⁴⁹ meae facultates ex quibus aliquid adhuc in publicum ausim promere. Verum cum audaces quandoque fortuna adiuvet temptandum⁵⁰

⁴² mortalium O: mortales

⁴³ et pene felices O *om.*

⁴⁴ nostrae aetatis P: etatis nostre

⁴⁵ consecuti F, P: assecuti

⁴⁶ & nomen...duraturum O *om.*

⁴⁷ Quamquidem O: Quoniam quidem

⁴⁸ eae C, O: hee

⁴⁹ sunt A, B, C, F, P: sint

⁵⁰ temptandum F, O: tentandum

quoque mihi⁵¹ visum est, an ego quicquam possem afferre in communem utilitatem, quo & si non vixisse ut illi, at saltem non inaniter⁵² vixisse dicerer⁵³. Itaque sumpsi onus (nescio an gratum multis) mihi certe iocundum & ut existimo⁵⁴ ceteris non inutile, ut referrem sermonem habitum contra avaritiam, ab iis⁵⁵ quos scio⁵⁶ haud inferiores illis qui habentur viri huius seculi doctissimi, si modo assequi possim⁵⁷, ut ea perinde atque⁵⁸ ab illis⁵⁹ disputata sunt a me litteris mandentur. Atque⁶⁰ hoc eo audientius aggressus sum, quo pauciores ex eis fuere, qui vacarent⁶¹ ad correptionem vitiorum, quae cum sint diversa quae vitam nostram conturbent⁶², id potissime in hanc disceptationem est collatum ex quo scelera omnia &⁶³ maleficia (ut ait Cicero) gignuntur.⁶⁴ Quod si cui forte aut planum nimis⁶⁵ atque humile videbitur⁶⁶ dicendi genus, aut non satis explicata⁶⁷ ratio muneris suscepti, is intelligat primum me delectari⁶⁸ eloquentia, in qua non maior existat intelligendi, quam legendi labor. Deinde advertat, non quantum aut quam eleganter⁶⁹ de eiusmodi⁷⁰ re disseri⁷¹, sed quid ingeniolium meum scribendo consequi potuerit. Satis enim esse⁷² mihi visum est proponere in medium copiolas, quaecunque eae⁷³ sint meas, ex quibus vel queant sumere (si qui forsitan⁷⁴ dignas extimatione aliqua arbitrarentur) vel absolvere aliquid perfectius, qui voluerint emendandi

- 51 quoque mihi P: michi quoque
 52 inaniter A: ignaviter F, P: omnino ignaviter
 53 dicerer B: dicere
 54 existimo A, P: estimo
 55 iis A, B, C, O, P: hiis
 56 scio A, F, P: scis
 57 possim A: potero B: potuere C, F, O, P: potuero
 58 atque: C: que
 59 illis: B: aliis
 60 Atque B, F, P: At qui
 61 vacarent B: vacarunt
 62 conturbent O: conturbant
 63 & C: atqui
 64 gignuntur.: B *om.*
 65 nimis P: minus
 66 videbitur C *om.*
 67 explicata B: explicita
 68 delectari A, F, P: delectari ea
 69 aut quam eleganter A, B, C, F, P, O *om.*
 70 eiusmodi B: huiusmodi O: eiusmodi
 71 disseri F: dissere
 72 esse: O *om.*
 73 eae C, F, O: hee
 74 forsitan P: fortisan

atque ampliora dicendi curam suscipere. Tibi autem, mi⁷⁵ Francisce, viro & amicissimo⁷⁶ mihi & ingenio excellentissimo, cuius labore & industria nostrae linguae⁷⁷ magnum incrementum sumpsere, hoc opusculum tanquam studiorum meorum primitias dicavi, subiiciens illud⁷⁸ exanimi⁷⁹ censurae tuae. Quod si probaris⁸⁰, aede illud, quia fultum tua autoritate, & ab alijs quoque⁸¹ comprobatum iri⁸² confido. Sin vero minus, proijcito in ignem, veluti rem in cuius iactura parum detrimenti sit futurum cum satius sit comprimi⁸³ errata amicorum quam profferri.⁸⁴ Sed ut sententiam rite ferre possis, audias iam quid ii⁸⁵ loquantur inter quos est sermo institutus. Sunt enim quibuscum⁸⁶ tibi⁸⁷ summa dum hic aderas, & periocunda fuit⁸⁸ vitae consuetudo, quos cum audieris colloquentes, etsi non scribentis⁸⁹ at saltem disputantium gratia existimo te non aspernaturum⁹⁰ hoc munusculum, quod suscipias, oro, in tutelam tuam, non tanquam horridus iudex & severus arbiter, sed tanquam disertus atque elegans patronus, qui censeas & agendum⁹¹ tibi illius causam, & errata etiam defendenda.

⁷⁵ mi: B om.

⁷⁶ amicissimo P: amantissimo

⁷⁷ linguae A, P: littere

⁷⁸ subiiciens illud *is the lectio probatoria of a now lost copy mentioned in the 1450s catalogue of King's College, Cambridge: see Clarke, 2002: UC29.147. These words occur only in the first recension; for the significance of this, see Rundle, 1996.*

⁷⁹ exanimi O: eximiae

⁸⁰ probaris B: probaveris

⁸¹ quoque C, F om.

⁸² iri P: rei

⁸³ comprimi C, F: compremi

⁸⁴ profferri A, B, F, P, O: efferri C: afferre.

⁸⁵ ii A, C, F, O: hii

⁸⁶ quibuscum C: quibus

⁸⁷ tibi: C om O: mihi

⁸⁸ fuit C: sint [sic]

⁸⁹ scribentis O: scribentes

⁹⁰ te non aspernaturum P: non aspernaturum te

⁹¹ agendum P: agendam

Figure 1 – Bryn Mawr, ms. 48, fol. 1 – Poggio, *De nobilitate*; scribe: Thomas Candour; artist: 'Caesar Master'.

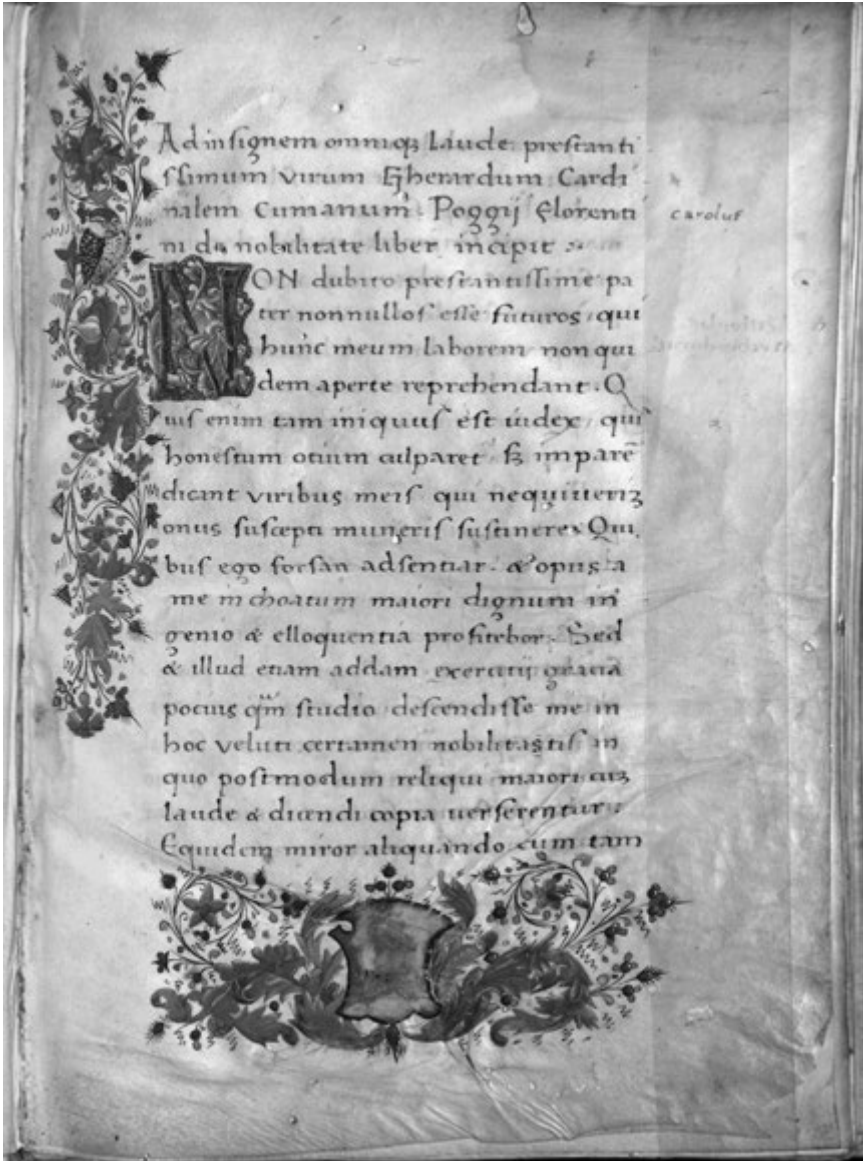


Figure 2 – Bryn Mawr, ms. 48, fol. 38v – showing spray by the ‘Caesar Master’.

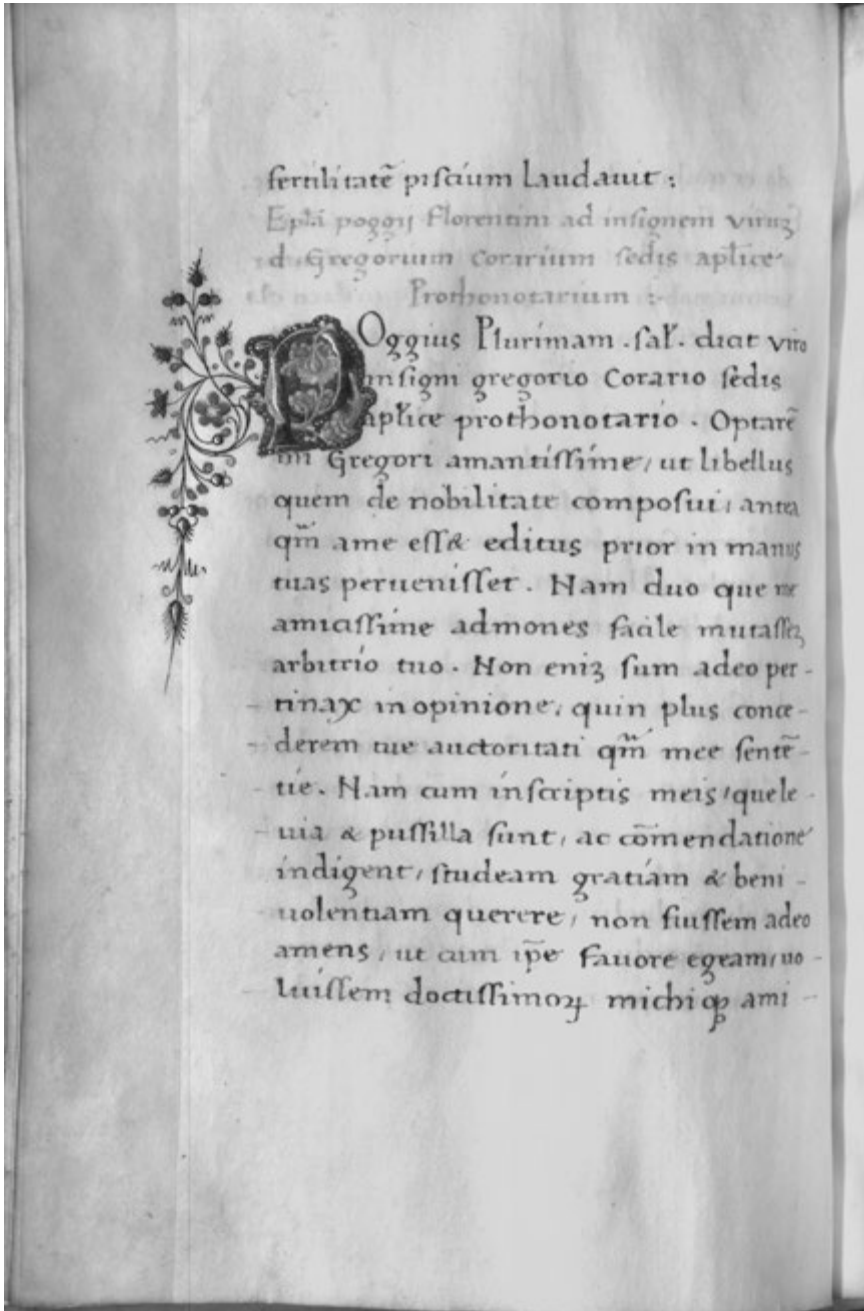


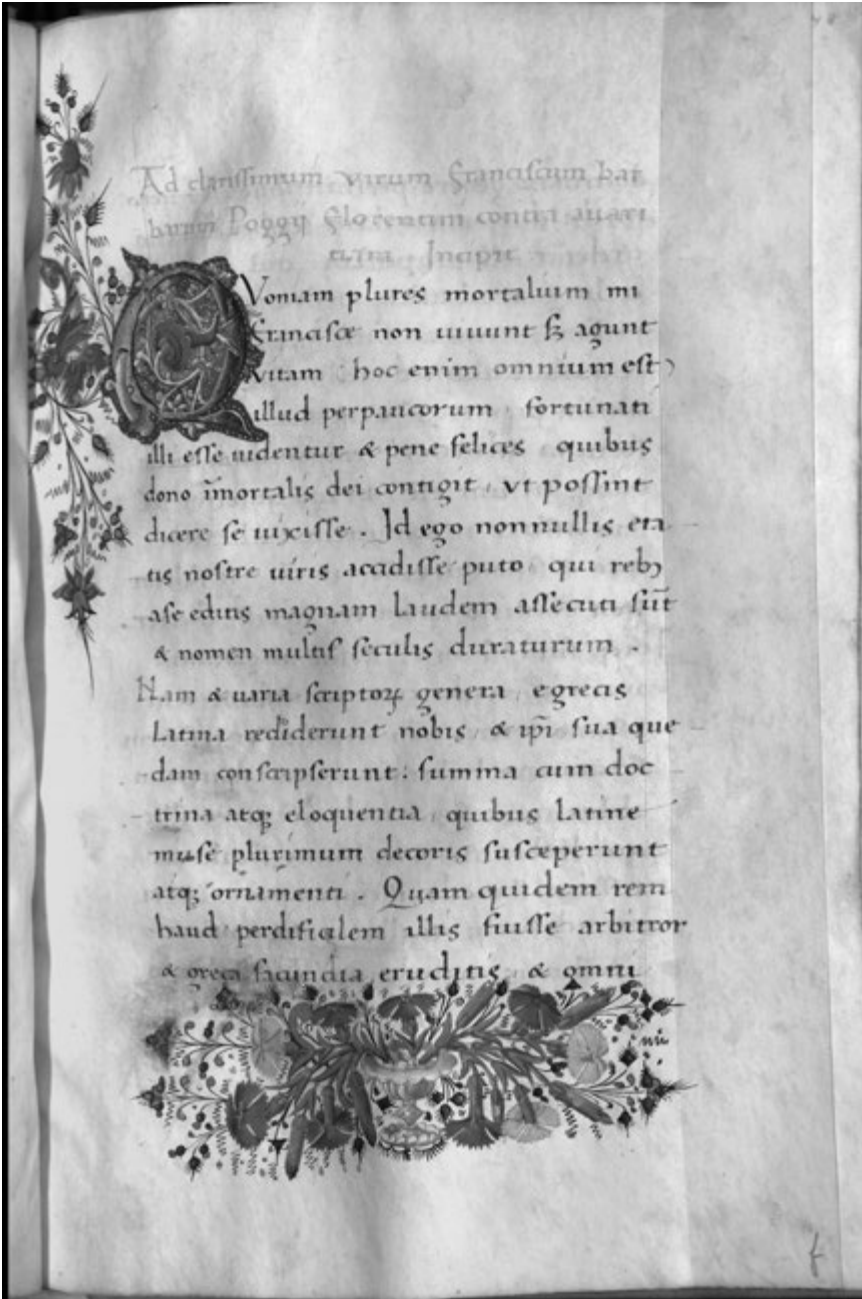
Figure 3 – Bryn Mawr, ms. 48, fol. 48 – Poggio, *De avaritia*.

Figure 4 – Bryn Mawr, ms. 48, fol. 103v – Petrarch, epistle to Giovanni Colonna; scribe: Candour.

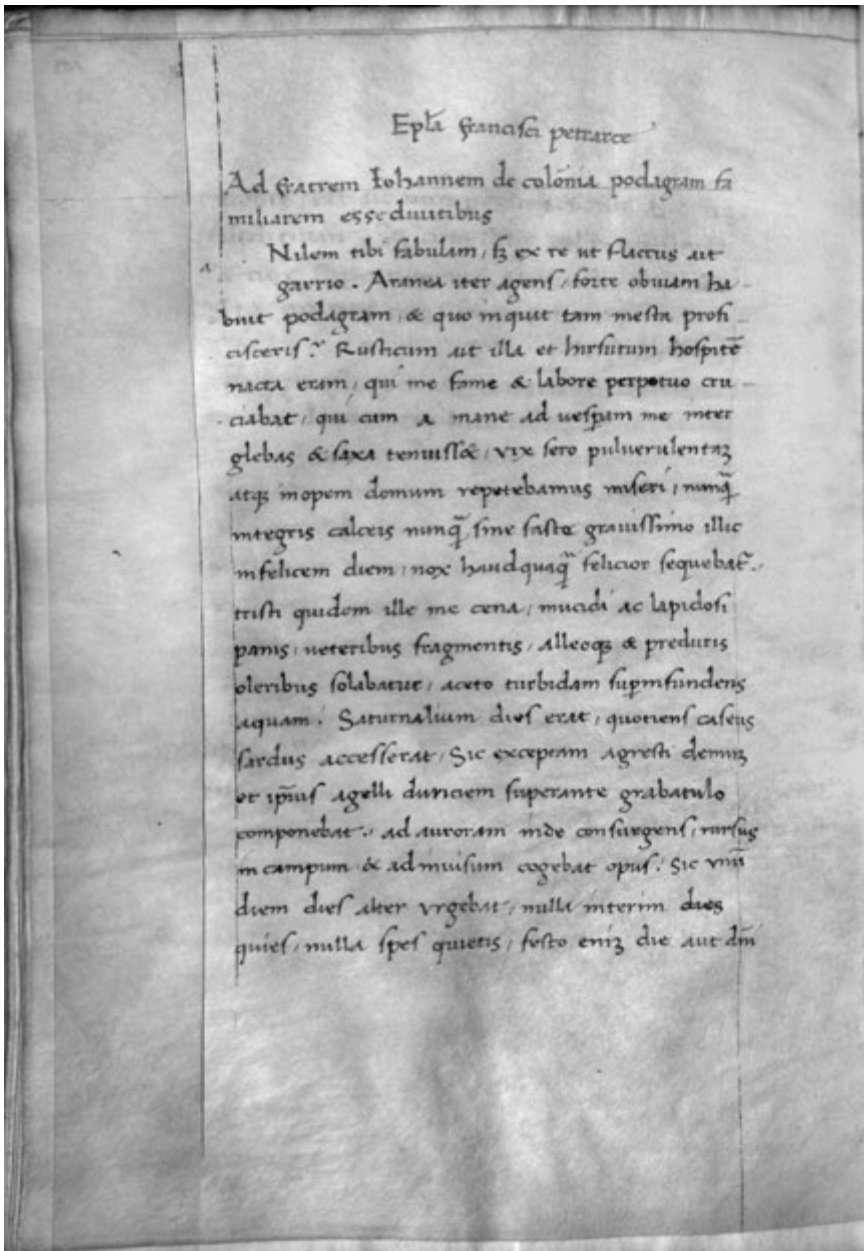


Figure 5 – Bryn Mawr, ms. 48, fol. 108v – showing early marginalia.

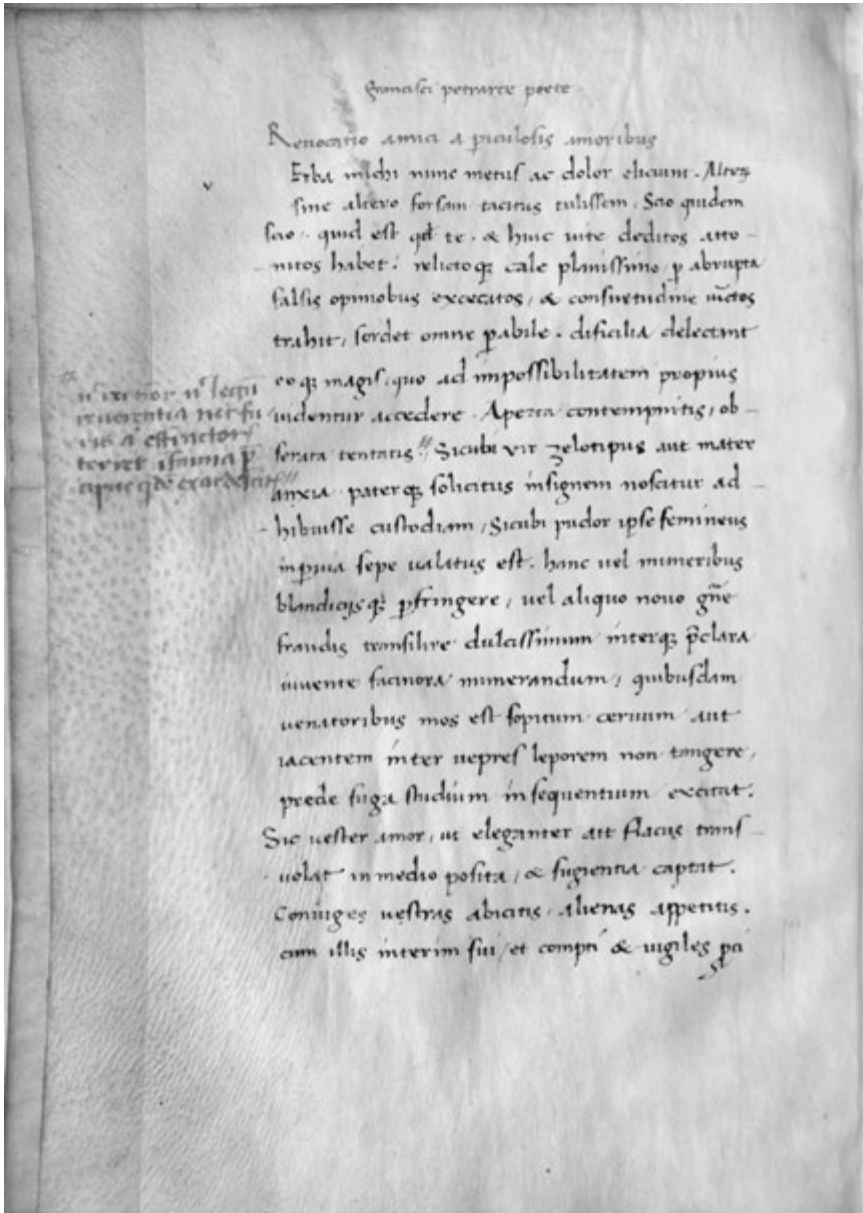


Figure 6 – Bryn Mawr, ms. 48, fol. 114 – Paschal table; scribe: Candour.

114

Aureus numerus

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
9	26	16	9	26	16	2	23	9	2	16	9	26	16	2	26	16	2	23	A
10	27	17	3	27	17	3	24	10	3	17	10	27	17	3	27	10	3	24	B
11	28	18	4	28	11	4	25	11	28	18	11	28	18	4	28	11	4	18	C
12	29	19	5	29	12	5	19	12	29	19	5	29	19	5	22	12	5	19	D
6	30	20	6	23	13	6	20	13	30	20	6	30	13	6	23	13	30	20	E
7	31	14	7	24	14	7	31	21	14	31	21	7	31	14	7	24	14	31	F
8	1	15	8	25	15	1	22	8	1	22	8	25	15	8	25	15	1	22	G

Littere dominicales

Superior tabula ostendit quo mense et qua die fit pascha et temp. durabit. Primo uidentium est. illo anno quo queris pascha. quid curat aureus nūs et qualis sit illo anno littera dominicalis. tunc in ea domo in qua cadunt ducendo p̄meas. tot dieb; illius mensis erit pascha. Videlicet si nūs illius domus ut castelle sit. ruber. tot diebus de mense marci erit pascha. si uero. nūs sit niger tot diebus erit de mense aprili qualis sit nūs. qui omnes castelle nigre sunt aprili et ruber sunt marci. Si illo anno curat h̄yret mutae cum littera dominicali h̄yret i.

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- Bryn Mawr, ms. 40
 Bryn Mawr, ms. 47
 Bryn Mawr, ms. 48
 Cambridge, University Library, ms. Ff.v.12
 Cambridge, University Library, ms. Gg.i.34
 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 952
 London, British Library, ms. Harl. 2471
 Oxford, Balliol College, ms. 126
 Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Bodl. 362
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Bodl. 915
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud. misc. 558
 Oxford: Bodleian Library, ms. Rawl. C. 298
 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 88
 Oxford, Merton College, ms. 268
 Oxford, New College, ms. 265
 Oxford, New College, ms. 268
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