'In the custom of this country': The Migration of Decorative Style in Thirteenth-century Reading Abbey Manuscripts

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During the twelfth century two major trends emerge in the development of penflourishing. The first appears in Paris and northern France in the form of filigree puzzle initials c. 1140.[1] This trend, which is strongly associated with the schools of northern France and Paris, appears initially in glossed liturgical texts. The initials are used to assist the readers in negotiating the text, but also to provide aesthetic embellishment. The second, slightly later trend develops from Bologna and other northern Italian centres associated with the nascent universities, particularly with books produced for legal studies in the last quarter of the twelfth century. This is *jeux de plume* flourishing, which appears in the lower margin (*bas de page*) of legal texts. The purpose of this largely *bas de page* embellishment is not solely utilitarian. The layout of legal texts, and their marginal apparati, is designed for efficient negotiation of the page. The *bas de page* penwork indicates breaks in the text, but its position does not imply a strict adherence to the purpose of study. These intricate designs, although drawn by following a set of learnt components, gave space for interpretation in their application.[2] In this essay, I will trace the migration of this largely Bolognese style of penworked embellishment from northern Italy to Paris and Oxford. I will examine the presence, and absence, of this type of embellishment in a selection of surviving thirteenth-century manuscripts from Reading Abbey, and reflect on what these decorative techniques can tell us about the books at Reading during the thirteenth century. The presence of decorative forms with specific components indicate the interpretation

of Italian style with regard to the marginal decoration of a variety of liturgical texts at use in the abbey. The appearance of Italian-styled penwork in books associated with Reading Abbey demonstrate the migration of a formula for decoration whose linear form has great influence on book decoration as the thirteenth century proceeds. The presence of the designs in Reading Abbey books indicates an awareness of stylistic development, as well as evidence that the commercial centre of book production in Oxford, buoyed by the rise of the university there, became a source for books decorated in the new style.

While the stylistic elements which emerge at the close of the twelfth century are already present in the penwork repertoire of Romanesque artists, the development of penwork structures that expand into the margins of the folio are often associated with scribal work. The first appearance of these structures, which are distinct from French filigree puzzle initials, occurs in northern Italy. The filigree puzzle initials, already present in Italian calligraphic practice, exist side by side with this new development. The clustered arrangements of largely red and blue flourishing are aptly described in European literature as '*jeux de plume*', games of the pen, or pen play (Fig. 1).[3] The term was coined by Marie-Thérèse Gousset in her introduction to the thirteenth-century Italian manuscripts held by the Bibliothèque nationale.[4] Gousset describes '*jeux de plume*' flourishing as:

> *... dessins à l'encre bleue et rouge, tracés à la plume. Ces 'jeux de plume' se composent généralement de protomes crachant des faisceaux de tiges chargées de rosettes, d'enroulements, de barrettes à entrelacs, de crochets et de motifs divers disposés en épis.*[5]

Bas de page pen extensions, including horizontal and vertical types, often accompanied by figural work, are found most particularly in late twelfth-century, and early thirteenth-century legal manuscripts produced predominantly in Bologna, but also in other northern Italian centres.[6]

Before proceeding to discuss Bolognese penwork developments, some vocabulary must be presented to identify the important sections of the pen structures. An example from a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century copy of the *Decretum,* held by the Bibliothèque

Sainte-Geneviève (MS 168) contains prototypical examples of the *jeux de plume* technique (Fig. 1). This *jeux de plume bas de page* example has four main sections consisting of embellished horizontal flourishes. It is important to note that each of the sections is linked, and that the flourish can be viewed as a composite and complex but organically whole composition (Fig. 2). Four sections of the structure emerge from an individual grotesque head and each of these sections is formed around what Margriet Hülsmann calls a '*basislijnen*' or baseline.[7] This is the central core of the flourish, from which the other parts emanate. A baseline can be simply a red, blue or gold line, but in Bolognese examples it is often composed of minuscule geometric forms. In this example the forms are dentures, but chevrons, diaper patterns, circles and crosses are other commonly employed devices.

These embellished baselines will be referred to as 'embroidered baselines' to denote the geometric patterns they carry. Extending from the same point as the embroidered baseline are further fine penwork lines, which sometimes turn back upon themselves, terminating in a tiny round head that spouts further elements of the flourish. These small grotesques will be called 'roundheads'. They are a consistent element of *jeux de plume* flourishing and continue to appear in these structures until the middle of the thirteenth century in England. A third crucial component of *jeux de plume*, particularly in Bologna is the use of what Robert Gibbs calls the 'heads of barley'.[8] These are the clustered barley-like shapes that are often used to terminate a flourish. In addition to the terms defined so far, floriate motifs are also commonly used. The final component of Bolognese work of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is the use of grotesque heads in profile spouting calligraphic penwork. This is an early distinctive element in Bolognese work; it is developed from this base all over Europe and used extensively in deluxe productions of the William de Brailes circle in Oxford in the mid-thirteenth century.

The spread of penwork through legal manuscripts

While the penwork elements that are observable in the decoration of minor initials are present in both monastic and commercial

productions, the strong development of complex penwork structures is found most often in the *bas de page* of commercial productions. The emergence of penwork embellishment associated particularly with legal manuscripts in Bologna, suggests that this development was propelled by scribes, as opposed to illuminators, working either from private dwellings or in commercial shops. Surviving contracts for the production of legal manuscripts can be found in the *libri memoriali* of the Municipality of Bologna.[9] The notarial *formula* written by Ranieri da Perugia between 1216 and 1223 demonstrates that at least in some contracts the scribe was employed to provide rubrication and minor initials, as well as committing to the copying of the text. As penwork extensions proceed most often from minor initials, it may be presumed that the scribe would be responsible for the supply of the decorative penwork.[10] In the section headed *De locationibus operum ad scribendum*, Ranieri describes the components of a contract to be agreed for the copying of a manuscript. Ranieri refers to the case of one Manierius de Fano, a scribe who had agreed to provide a copy of the *Digeste Vieux* for the *dominus* Guido de Certona. In the contract, Manierius not only promises to complete the text in the same good hand that he has supplied in his sample of work, but he also agrees to provide '*rubricas et minora remittet ei secundum consuetudinem huius terre*' (the rubrics and minor initials shall be required of him as is the custom of this country). In this instance, the scribe was contractually obliged to supply not only the text in '*manu propria*' (in a single, previously approved hand), but also the rubrication and the initials. Joanna Frońska makes the point that this agreement emphasizes that the illumination would have been supplied separately, not as part of the contract regarding the preparation of the text. It is also interesting to note that the phrase '*secundem consuetudinem huius terre*' (as is the custom of this country) is included. This is a contract prepared in Bologna, and it is perhaps significant that specific reference is made to the Bolognese manner of including in the contractual requirements of the scribe, his obligation to carry out the decorative apparatus of the text. Frońska notes that there are other contracts from the last quarter of the thirteenth century in Bologna that refer to the execution of rubrication and initials as part of the scribal requirements.[11] She cites a contract from 1286 that specifies scribal obligations for rubrication and initials: '*scribere et complere ... unum Volumen et tres partes trium*

librorum in testu ... ponendos minores et dictum librum rubrigando' (to write and complete ... one volume and three books in three parts ... supplying minor initials and rubricating the said book).[12]

The central texts for civil law were contained within the *Corpus iuris civilis,* established in the twelfth century.[13] The Digest was the seminal text in this corpus. It contained the corpus of civil law from the reign of the sixth-century ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire, Justinian.[14] The Digest consists of three parts: the *Digestum vetus*, the *Infortiatum*, and the *Digestum novum*.[15] The Digest was central to the teaching of civil law at the University of Bologna from the late twelfth century and its status as a core text resulted in a proliferation of glossed commentary by Bolognese legal masters. Around 1200, the commentator Azo collated and organized the many commentaries on the texts.[16] Azo's work was followed by that of his student Accursius, and it is his work known as the *glossa ordinaria* that became the official text of the University of Bologna by the middle of the thirteenth century.[17] Gratian's *Decretum*, written in the middle of the twelfth century, aimed to reconcile conflicting opinions of the church with regard to canon law. There are five copies of the *Decretum* recorded in the booklist preserved in the Reading Abbey Cartulary, indicating its use as a core text at Reading Abbey in the twelfth century.[18] There is one copy of the *Decretum* acquired in the thirteenth century (British Library, Royal MS 9 C iii), and a copy of Justinian (British Library, Royal MS 11 C iii) is rebound in Oxford for Richard of Reading, who appears to have studied law at the university.[19] Susan L'Engle makes the important observation that Gratian, who may have been a Carmelite monk who taught in the law school at Bologna, used the dialectic model for the arrangement of his text, in the style of Peter Abelard in *Sic et Non,* whereby conflicting opinions by authorities on a point of law would be assembled, and finally a synthesis called a '*dicta*' would be proposed in conclusion by Gratian.[20] A *glossa ordinaria* was established for the *Decretum* by Johannes Teutonicus c. 1215. This version of the *glossa ordinaria* was revised by Bartholomew of Brescia c. 1245, a text that became the established apparatus for the *Decretum*.

With regard to the development of decorative penflourishing, both the *Digest* and the *Decretum* proved fertile ground for a variety of reasons. The inclusion of a complex apparatus of glossators'

commentary necessitated the use of rubrication and coloured initials to assist the reader in negotiating the text. The texts were produced commercially, and the position of the scribe in the production process would have been a dominant one. This position in the production hierarchy would have provided scribes with the opportunity to display their skill with the inclusion of *jeux de plume* in the *bas de page* of the manuscripts. The content of both the *Digest* and the *Decretum* also lent itself to illustration. The conundrums of legal judgment in the context of human misadventure not only provided interesting texts for illustration, but also helped to make the heavily glossed pages more visually appealing to the reader, and perhaps assisted in the process of memorizing the content of the page in the manner advocated by Hugh of St Victor.[21]

The layout of the *libri legales* of the twelfth century was similar to those designed to accommodate glossed books of the Bible and the Psalms in the schools of northern France and Paris. The text was arranged in two columns of approximately fifty lines each. Ample marginal space was left for the commentaries of glossators. Each section of the text was indicated with either a puzzle initial or an illuminated initial. Particular to Bolognese manuscripts, both liturgical and legal, was the distinctive use of blue and red letters for the incipit of the section. Carl Nordenfalk argues that this was a distinctive Bolognese trait.[22] This blue and red incipit was often framed by a penwork design that suggests the fringe of a Turkish carpet (Fig. 3).

The use of clustered lines in red and blue emanating from a grotesque in a linear projection is also an early and significant component of Bolognese manuscript embellishment, which has a significant impact throughout northern Europe. Although Robert Gibbs finds these pen extensions in manuscripts produced in Germany at the end of the twelfth century, and François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset identify them in France and England from c. 1200, both Gibbs and Carl Nordenfalk argue that the association of penextensions and grotesques is a particularly Bolognese trait, and one that is present in the formative period of the development of the manuscript trade in thirteenth-century Bologna.[23] Gibbs goes as far as to say of these marginal grotesques and their associated pen extensions that they 'became paradigmatic for the whole of European illumination; although

deriving from a widespread Romanesque tradition, their use as marginalia may be a Bolognese invention'.[24]

A grotesque which spouts a usually horizontal or vertical pen extension characterised by an embroidered baseline, roundheads, heads of barley and floreate motifs, or a combination of these components is referred to as a '*prolongation à l'italienne*'.[25] The influence of this Bolognese development is important to the evolution of marginal decoration in thirteenth-century Europe. The extent of its influence has perhaps been understated. When Michael Camille suggested that marginal art 'appeared suddenly' in the second half of the thirteenth century, he was certainly correct with regard to a new emphasis on the role of the margin of the folio in the context of *mise-en-page*.[26] However, the development of marginal art begins much earlier, with Bologna at its centre. Its development in England is part of a continuous maturation of decorative style which is influenced by Italian style much earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century. Italian law books produced for the nascent universities including Oxford, not far from Reading Abbey, were an essential component to the development of marginal art in the thirteenth century.

Penwork in the universities of northern Europe

Northern Italian style is apparent in the decoration of French manuscripts produced in Paris in the beginning of the thirteenth century with *prolongations à l'italienne* present in the margins of the folios. Along with the rise of the University in Paris in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, the political stability of the walled city created a fertile ground for the book trade. In university students, a rising merchant class, and the constant presence of aristocratic patrons, the trade found a population who required books for a broad variety of reasons. The mobility of patrons of the book trade, and the books themselves, enabled the migration of styles across geographic boundaries. There are many examples of the influence of Italian style with regard to flourishing to be found in expensive books made for secular patrons in Paris. Among these manuscripts, the Lewis Psalter (Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185) and the Psalter of Jeanne de Navarre

(Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS. Lat. 22) are deluxe examples of the adoption of Italian penwork technique, but other examples such as the 'Kristina Psalter' (Copenhagen, Det Kongeliige Bibliothek, MS GKS 1606 4) and the Bodleian Library's MS Douce 50 clearly indicate the mastery of these forms and their use in expensive manuscripts for secular clients. The Lewis Psalter will serve as a case in point.[27]

Probably produced in Paris, c. 1225-40, the Lewis Psalter is a deluxe book which includes a prefatory cycle of twenty-five paintings of the life of Christ.[28] The *fleuronée* flourishing that surrounds the minor capitals that begin each verse of the Psalms displays the circles with dots and open fans that characterize *fleuronée* before the middle of the century, as well as the complex look that Patricia Stirnemann ascribes to *fleuronée* during the third decade of the thirteenth century in Paris.[29] The elegant Gothic script, *littera minuscula gothica textualis prescissa formata*, suggests the earlier date. Important to the progression of thirteenth-century *mise-en-page* is the appearance of the *prolongation à l'italienne* in both the *bas de page* and the outer margins of this text (Fig. 4). The grotesque heads that spout the *prolongations* are of the type observed in Bolognese examples, with the animal head shown in profile both in the *bas de page* and in text line fourteen. More Romanesque-style heads that face the viewer appear in text lines six and twenty. The *prolongations* travel either straight across or down the side of the folio. This characteristic differentiates these Italian style extensions from Romanesque penwork displays that spout in a fountain-like dispersion. This contrast, between the arc of Romanesque penwork sprays, and the strong linear form of the Italian penwork, is a key differentiation between the two styles. In this example, the *prolongations* show baselines in both blue and gold, but the embroidered element to the baselines is absent. Both the heads of barley and the roundheads identified in earlier Bolognese *jeux de plume* work have evolved into less obvious elements of the design. The roundheads are interpreted in the *bas de page* flourish as scroll-like punctuations both above and below the flourish (Fig. 4). The segmentation of the *prolongations* that is accentuated by the revised roundheads in the flourish in the *bas de page* is an important characteristic of the evolving *bas de page prolongations*. The heads of barley have enlarged, and terminate the flourish in the right hand margin. *Bas de page prolongations* also travel

diagonally across the margin, but they remain a straight line when in the diagonal *bas de page* position (Fig. 5).

Evidence of the influence of Italian *jeux de plume* style and the use of *prolongations à l'italienne* begins to appear in less sophisticated manuscripts produced in Oxford in the first decades of the thirteenth century. Bodleian Library MS Douce 218, a deluxe copy of the *Decretum*, made *c.* 1210-20, demonstrates both the use of compressed penflourishing, where the pen strokes are laid in very close proximity to one another, typical of English flourishing of the first decades of the thirteenth century, and the inclusion of Italianesque *bas de page* work.[30] The book opens with a *bas de page prolongation à l'italienne* on the first folio, complete with a *prolongation à l'italienne* with a grotesque spouting head in profile, an embroidered baseline, symmetrical red and blue flourishes and a terminus in the shape of a head of barley.

Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 284, a Psalter with the gloss of Alexander of Neckham, of *c.* 1210-20, probably also made in the Oxford region, also demonstrates clear influence from Italian sources interpreted in an English context.[31] Folio 132r shows a *prolongation à l'italienne* in the *bas de page*, complete with embroidered baseline and spouting grotesque head, and the historiated initial has a Bolognese-style red and blue incipit with a red carpet fringe, *à la Bolognese* on the right hand side. The inclusion also of the long segmented flourish in the left hand margin, descending from the minor initial 'Q', suggests a frame for the folio.

These examples demonstrate that the flourishing style that was developed in late twelfth-century Bologna, associated with legal texts central to the study of the law, quickly migrated to other centres for legal study. The new style of *jeux de plume* decoration to the *bas de page* of the text was copied in a variety of formats. The *prolongation à l'italienne* is a persistent element in luxury Parisian productions from the beginning of the thirteenth century in Paris; the Lewis Psalter and the Psalter of Jeanne de Navarre show that Italian style had strong influence in the realm of commercial books produced for elite secular patrons. Italian style is slower to be adopted in England, and Romanesque penwork decoration of books persisted well into the first decades of the thirteenth century. The specific characteristics of embellishment to minor initials in the form of clasps and fans were developed as the

twelfth century drew to a close, with the extension of long lines from the minor initials that terminated in either the open fan or pointing finger fan shapes. These elements contrast sharply with the elements of Bolognese *jeux de plume* style, characterized by an insistent straight horizontal or vertical orientation, and embellished by distinctive Bolognese traits such as embroidered baselines, roundheads, and heads of barley. The appearance of these traits can be used as markers for the progression of Italian style on manuscript decoration as the thirteenth century proceeds.

In Oxford, the illuminator William de Brailes is an early enthusiast for the use of penwork, particularly in his most expensive liturgical books. Both complete *jeux de plume* structures and *prolongations à l'italienne* appear in luxury books attributed to his circle. *Jeux de plume* is used in both the de Brailes Book of Hours (British Library, Add. MS 49999) and the Stockholm Psalter (Stockholm, National Museum, MS B 2010).[32] *Prolongations à l'italienne* feature prominently in the New College Psalter (Oxford, New College, MS 322).[33] Of the surviving sixteen manuscripts which comprise the de Brailes corpus, these three are the most deluxe examples. In the Stockholm Psalter on the only page in which de Brailes' figurative work appears, significantly for Psalm 101, the Italianate *jeux de plume* is used in the *bas de page* (Fig. 6). The Bolognese format is completely absorbed in the *mise en page*. The design flows seamlessly from the decorated initial and all the components of the Bolognese formula are present. The design is initiated by a grotesque head in profile that projects the embroidered baseline. The feathered appearance of the pen strokes which symmetrically amplify the design are consistent with Bolognese practice. Also present are roundheads and heads of barley. There is a further appearance of this sort of Bolognese work on the closing verso of this gathering (f. 126v), but it is much less sophisticated in execution. It seems to be an imitation of the design on folio 111r where de Brailes' work appears. It is significant that de Brailes chose to use *jeux de plume* design, which was certainly a new development in deluxe commissions in Oxford in the 1240s or 1250s, on this important page in the Stockholm Psalter. This initial is bigger in dimension than any of the others in the book, and most *bas de page* are filled with *prolongations à l'italienne* which indicate Italian influence. There are many hands at work in the Stockholm Psalter, but all of the decorative hands at least

display familiarity with Italian style. The influence of Italian technique with regard to flourishing is also present in the de Brailes Book of Hours, especially in its faithful representation of a *jeux de plume* structure on the first folio of the book. This placement indicates the prestige which the designs implied.

The influence of *jeux de plume* and its associated development, the *prolongation à l'italienne* is found in expensive books produced in England from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. It is used in the exuberantly English style of the Rutland Psalter c. 1260 (British Library, Add. MS 62925), as well as more subtly in the Oscott Psalter (British Library, Add. MS 50000).[34] The design formula, with its specific components is remarkably stable throughout its transmigration, but its context is upwardly mobile.

Penflourishing in manuscripts from Reading Abbey

In turning to the thirteenth-century books that survive from Reading Abbey, examples of Italian influence appear in an expected sequence which mirrors the progression of the style from legal manuscripts to more expensive books. While Alan Coates has analyzed the palaeographical evidence in the surviving books, as well as groups of decorated initials and the use of margins in his monograph on the collections at Reading for the life cycle of the monastery, no analysis has been suggested of the penflourished elements of the books.[35] This subject would make a useful addendum to Coates' work. This article can only focus on a few examples from the corpus of surviving thirteenth-century books, but it can at least indicate that there is a case for further study of the flourishing in the context of the other evidence.

With regard to copies of the *Decretum*, the Reading Abbey Cartulary's booklist records five copies present in the abbey in the twelfth century.[36] Coates lists one copy of the *Decretum* among the thirteenth-century books that survive from the abbey (British Library, Royal MS 9 C iii), and as well as a copy of Justinian (British Library, Royal MS 11 C iii), with its well-known anathema.[37] Although it is certain that this book was at the abbey in the thirteenth century and that William of Reading had it rebound in Oxford, it is a twelfth-century

copy of the *Digestum vetus.* Its decorative style is consistent with the late twelfth century in England, with minor initials added in red and green ink, along with a dusty blue, indicative of the use of woad. The book is glossed and also carries much annotation in a wide variety of hands. This book, which needed rebinding in the thirteenth century, may have been copied at the abbey in the twelfth century. No Italian style penwork is present which is consistent with the entry of this style into England through commercial thirteenth-century productions.

The Abbey's thirteenth-century copy of the *Decretum* is an elegantly flourished book, with a wide variety of penwork techniques on display. There is an unusual use of purple ink to apply flourishes and infill for the capitals. Instead of the typical arrangement of red and blue ink used alternately to write the capitals and to supply their decorative flourishes, this book has a sequence of red initials with purple backgrounds and blue initials with red backgrounds. The penflourishing here is highly accomplished and inventive. The flourisher often splits the infill of illuminated initials using contrasting shades for the background of the intricate penwork. However, this book carries no Italianate work even in the context of the *mise-en-page* which accommodates the gloss. The entry of the *jeux de plume* and *prolongations à l'italienne* seems to have traveled across more deluxe networks than those of juristic texts in England in the thirteenth century. For while this copy of the *Decretum* is expertly delivered, its style is within conventional English conceptions of *mise-en-page*.

With regard to books outside of the realm of law in the thirteenth-century Reading library, the application of either exact replications of Bolognese style or flourishing which shows its clear influence, is consistent with the type of deluxe productions that employ the technique in the de Brailes examples cited earlier. In Coates' list of surviving thirteenth-century books from the Abbey, a variety of texts carry Italianate influence. A thirteenth-century copy of Baldwin of Ford's Commentary on the Psalms (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 91), an illuminated and highly penflourished book, opens with an illuminated capital in the Channel Style, replete with twisting tendrils in its centre from which white lion heads appear.[38] The verso of this folio sustains the deluxe look of the book with a complex puzzle initial in red and blue from which descends a *prolongation à l'italienne* (Fig. 7). The *prolongation a l'italienne* conforms to type with a profile

grotesque head, an embroidered base line, symmetrical flicks of the pen both above and below the line and a head of barley terminus. After the opening folios, the decorative scheme shifts to a less elaborate programme. It is possible that another flourisher begins work here, or that the hand that applied the opening flourishing deliberately scales back the decorative embellishment, for reasons of aesthetics or cost. There is no further *bas de page* work in the book. This is not unusual. As is the case with other illumination or penworked embellishment, the opening page is often the site of the most elaborate penwork in a book, and in less expensive books, it is often the site of the most expensive decorative element in the book. The *prolongation* is a single occurrence in the context of this book, and its placement at the impressive opening of the work, implies its status as a decorative device. The placement of the prolongation at the top of the decorative hierarchy of the book accords with de Brailes' use of Italianate style in his most deluxe productions.

Another thirteenth-century survival from the abbey held by the Bodleian, the Bible Auct. D. 4. 10, is also an expensive book, made for a patron with academic interests.[39] The book is written on paper-thin parchment; its historiated and decorated initials are often illuminated, and there is a proliferation of penwork throughout the book. Jerome's Prologue opens with a red Italianate structure placed across the top margin. The penwork extends diametrically from the running title, with corresponding baselines, symmetrical flourishing on either side of the baselines, and looped terminals. The influence of the *prolongation à l'italienne* is in evidence throughout the book, although the structure is missing the grotesque head. At the Incipit for Genesis, there is a feathered Italianate structure which is connected to the initial with a scroll device (Fig. 8). Instead of using the conceit of the grotesque producing the *prolongation,* in this example a drawing of a bird in red sits atop the pen structure. At the beginning of the Index of Hebrew Names, an Italianate structure not only appears across the top margin, but also descends down the right hand margin, suggesting a frame for the text. The top structure is linked to the puzzle initial, again with a scroll device. This performs the function of the profile grotesque head in initiating the *prolongation.* The structure has a blue baseline, alternate red and blue fishbone-like penflourishes, and the sections are

demarcated by vertical swirls. The structure finishes with a feathered flourish. A structure with similar components has been applied down the right hand margin.

A last example of an expensively produced Reading book that demonstrates the reception of Italianate designs with regard to its decorative schemata, is the Bodleian's MS Rawl A. 375, Distinctions on the Psalter. Spouting grotesques in the *bas de page* on folios 17v, 24v and 30v all begin at paraph marks.[40] The book is filled with these exuberant red flourishes, which show fleshy acanthus components (Fig. 9). They compliment the book's illuminated content, with historiated and illuminated initials. The close association of the Italian influenced pen embellishment with expensive books is clear.

These Reading Abbey examples demonstrate the consistency of the association between the stylishly embellished text and Italian design, and chart the upward mobility of the originally *bas de page prolongations* originally linked to legal texts designed for university use into works of theology. The migration of the *jeux de plume* and associated *prolongation à l'italienne* forms is evident in examples from Paris followed by Oxford in the first half of the thirteenth century. Surviving examples from these centres show an association of the designs with expensive productions intended for secular patrons. While the sample of Reading Abbey books examined here are not as deluxe as those discussed from Paris or the de Brailes circle in Oxford, the books that carry examples of the Italianate flourishing style are among the most expensively embellished books of the sample. These books further demonstrate that the Italian influence moved into French and English book decoration with an upward trajectory with regard to the type of books in which it was used. It reveals the organic growth of a style from relatively humble origins to elevated, and often illuminated status.
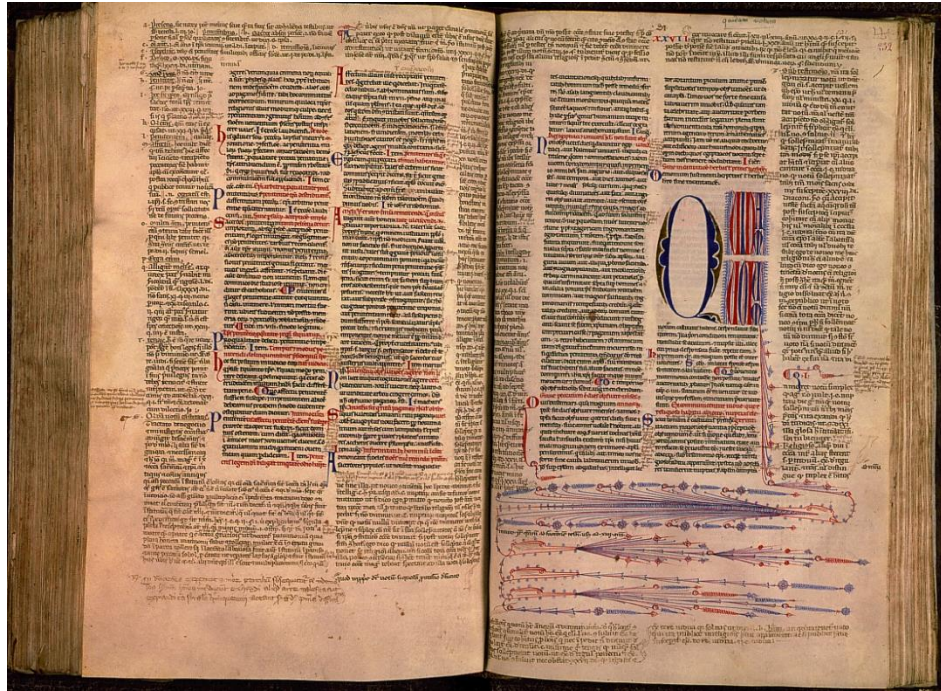
Fig. 1, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 168, ff. 231v and 232r, Gratian's Decretum with Commentary of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis, c. 1190-1210, northern Italy, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris cliché IHRT.
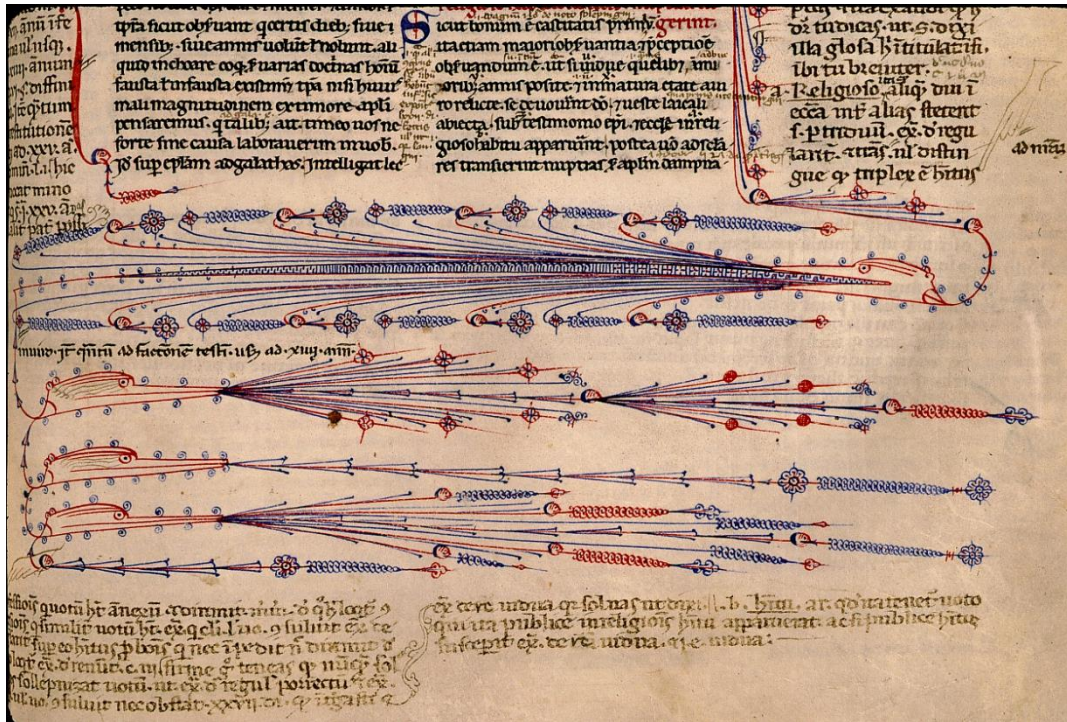
Fig. 2, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 168, f. 232r (detail), Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris cliché IHRT.

Fig. 3, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 168, f. 232r (detail),
Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris cliché IHRT.

Fig. 4, Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 52r (by kind permission of the Free Library of Philadelphia).

Fig. 5, Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 185, f. 45v (by kind permission of the Free Library of Philadelphia).
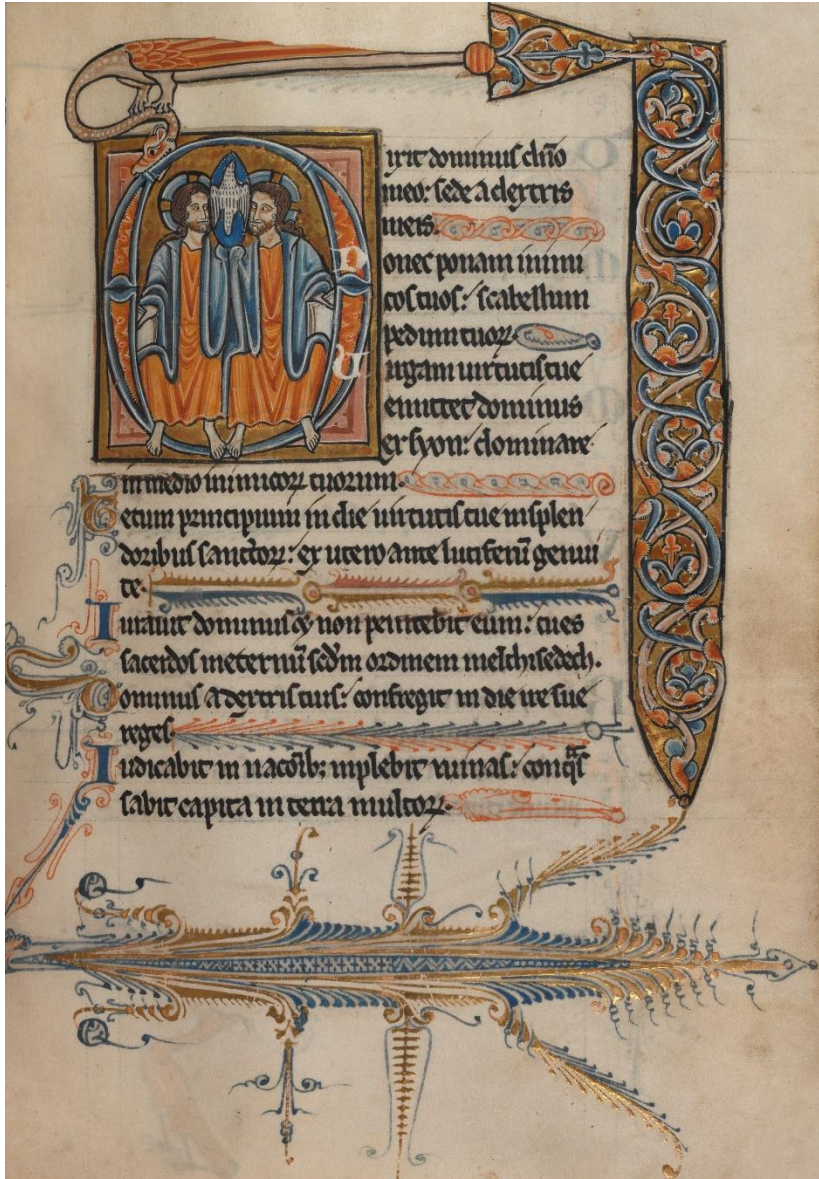
Fig. 6, Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B 2010, f. 111r. The Stockholm Psalter (photo: Nationalmuseum, Sweden).
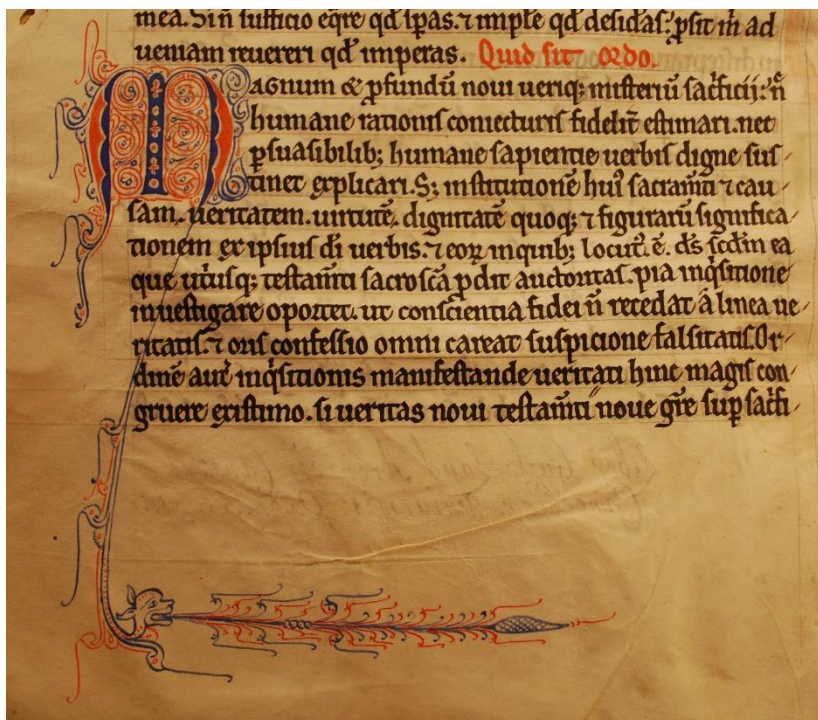
Fig. 7, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 91, f. 1v (© The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford).

Fig. 8, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bible Auct. D. 4. 10, f. 1 (© The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford).

Fig. 9, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. A 375 f. 24v (© The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford).

Notes

1 See Patricia Danz Stirnemann, 'Fils de la vierge: l'imitae à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', *Revue d l' art* , 90 (1990), 58-73. I have followed Robert Gibbs with the use of 'filigree' in English as opposed to '*filigrane*' or '*filigrana*' to describe the delicate web of lines that fill the inside of decorated initials of this type. See Robert Gibbs, 'The Development of the Illustration of Legal Manuscripts by Bolognese Illuminators between 1241 and 1298', *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelater,* ed. Vincenzo Coli (Frankfurt, 2002), pp. 173-218. Filigree initials are sometimes referred to in English as 'watermarked initials.' I have avoided the use of this term as it can be confusing with regard to the term 'watermarks' used to denote designs, often monograms, impressed on cotton or linen rag paper by means of a wire device incorporated into the paper frame. The watermark indicated the identity of the manufacturer of the paper. See Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (Malibu, 1994), pp. 93-4.
2 See Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge, 1998). See particularly chapter 3, 'Cognitive Images, Meditation and Ornament', pp. 116-70, for a discussion of the use of images in the aid of memory.
3 See François Avril and Patricia D. Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire VIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris, 1987). See especially their section on the development of a descriptive lexicon for decorative elements of Romanesque and Gothic manuscripts ('*Lexique*', p. xiii). See also Massimo Medica and Stephano Tumidei ed., *Duecento: Forme e colori del Medioevo a Bologna* (Bologna, 2000); F. Avril and Y. Zaluska ed., *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne I, VIe-XIIe siècle,* (Paris, 1980); and F. Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset ed., *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne, II, XIIIe siècle* (Paris*,* 1984).
4 See Avril and Gousset ed., *Manuscrits d'origine italienne*, p. 63.
5 Ibid.
6 See Gibbs, 'Legal manuscripts', pp. 173-218. See also Robert Gibbs, 'The 13th-century development of illumination in Bolognese copies of the Decretals of Gregory IX', *Dalla pecia all'e-book: libri per l'università*: *stampa, editoria, circolazione e lettura :atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Bologna, 21-25 ottobre 2008*, ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi and Maria Gioia Tavoni (Bologna, 2009), pp. 49-65.
7 See Margriet Hülsmann, 'Penwerk in Opbouw: Codering Als Beschrijvingsmethode Voor De Structuur Van Marginaal Penwerk', *Middeleeuwse Handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden 1988: Verslag Van*

De Groningse Codicologendagen, 28-29 april 1988, ed. Joseph M. M. Hermans (Grave, 1989), pp. 45-58.

8   See Gibbs, 'Legal manuscripts', p. 180.

9   I thank Dr. Joanna Frońska for bringing this to my attention. See Joanna Frońska, 'Fonctions et usages des images dans les manuscrits juridiques; Le Digestum Vetus de Justinien de la Bibliothèque de Kórnik, BK 824' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Uniwersytet Warszawski and Université de Poitiers, 2 vols, 2007), I, pp. 43-5, esp. p. 45 n. 62: 'L'Agence des Memoriali enregistrait tous les contrats entre les particuliers qui dépassaient 20 et à partir de 1300, 25 bol. Le 90% des livres y mentionnés sont des manuscrits juridiques. Les documents des Memoriali des années 1265 – 1270 sont publiés dans le Chartularium Studii Bononiensis. Documenti per la storia dell'Univerisità di Bologna dalle origini sino al XV, V, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIV, XV, Bologne, 1909 – 1988, et des années 1300 – 1330 chez G. Orlandelli, *Il libro a Bologna dal 1300 al 1330. Documenti. Con uno studio su il contratto di scrittura nella dottrina notarile bolognese, Bologne, 1959'.   Chartularium* is also available online: https://archive.org/details/chartulariumstu03bolo (accessed 3/08/16).

10   See Gianfranco Orlandelli, 'Il contratto di scrittura nella dottrina notarile bolognese', *Scritti di Paleografia e Diplomatica*, ed. Roberto Ferrara and Giovanni Feo (Bologna, 1994), pp. 427-66.

11   See Frońska, 'Fonctions et usages', I, p. 45 n. 65.

12   See ibid., pp. 45-6.

13   See ibid., pp. 31-2.

14   See Susan L'Engle and R. Gibbs ed., to *Illuminating the Law; Illuminated Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections*, (London and Turnhout, 2002), p. 9.

15   Ibid.

16   Guido Astuti, 'La "Glossa" accursiana', *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi accursiani: Bologna, 21-26 ottobre 1963,* ed. by Guido Rossi (Milan, 1968), pp. 288-379.

17   Ibid.

18   Alan Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 25-36.

19   For British Library, Royal MS 9 C iii see Coates, *Medieval Books*, no. 75, p. 158. For British Library, Royal MS II C iii, Coates, *Medieval Books*, no. 81, pp. 101, 159. See Coates, *Medieval Books*, p. 101 for transcription from f. 249r, 'stum librum Oxonie fecit Ricardus de Redyngia ligari, quem qui alienaverit a monasterio Redyngie fundato in honorem gloriose virginis Marie et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Johannis atque Jacobi vel in eo fraudem de fecerit, anathema sit'.   There is also a collection of

Commentaries and Distinctions (London, British Library Royal MS 10 C iii) which contains a tabular analysis of the Decretum (Coates, *Medieval Books*, no. 66, p. 68, which may be a late thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century addition to the collection).

20 See Susan L'Engle, 'The Pro-Active Reader: Learning to Learn the Law', *Medieval Manuscripts, their makers and users*, ed. H. Kelly (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 51-76.

21 Ibid.

22 Carl Nordenfalk, 'review of *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani* by Anthony Melnikas', <u>*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*</u>, 43 (1980), 318-37.

23 Gibbs, 'Legal manuscripts', p. 180; François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne, II, XIII siècle* (Paris, 1984), pp. 63-4; Nordenfalk, 'review', p. 326.

24 Gibbs, 'Legal manuscripts', p. 180.

25 This term was first used by François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset in *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne, II, XIIIe siècle*, pp. 63-4. See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 16896, f. 67r.

26 Michael Camille, 'At the Edge of the Law', *England in the Fourteenth Century, Proceedings of the Harlaxton Symposium,* ed. Nicholas Rogers (Stamford, 1993), pp. 1-14, esp. p. 5.

27 See Léopold Victor Delisle, 'Notice sur un Psautier du XIII siècle appurtenant au Comte de Crawford', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* 58 (1897), 381-93. See M.R James' quotation of Delisle in his catalogue description of MS Lat. 22 in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, I (Manchester, 1921), pp. 64-71; for the 'Kristina Psalter' see Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study in Styles* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 23-4, 61, 64, cat. 208-9.
See www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/220/eng/ for the images from the Psalter (accessed 8/8/16).

28 See William Noel's entry for the Lewis Psalter, 'Gallican Psalter with Canticles, Litany and Two Prayers', *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 51-3. Noel dates the Psalter to 1220-30, in contrast to the broader dates of 1220-50 as proposed on the Free Library's website.

29 See P. Stirnemann, 'Fils de la vierge: l'imitae à filigranes parisienne 1140-1314', *Revue d l' art*, 90 (1990), 58-73.

30 I thank Professor Nigel Morgan for bringing this manuscript to my attention. See N. Morgan, *Leaves from a Psalter by William de Brailes: Commentary* (London, 2012), pp. 67-9. See also Otto Pächt and Jonathan

J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: British, Irish and Icelandic Schools*, III (Oxford, 1973), p. 33.

31 For Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 284 see Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 79.

32 For the Book of Hours see N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts I, 1190-1250, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles,* IV (London, 1982), cat. 73. See also Claire Donovan's detailed examination of British Library, Add. MS 49999 in *The de Brailes Hours; Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth Century Oxford* (London, 1991). For the Stockholm Psalter see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 113-14.

33 For the New College Psalter see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 121-3.

34 The Rutland Psalter has been digitized in its entirety by the British Library. See http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_62925 (accessed 8/8/16); Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'A Series of Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter', *Marsyas: Studies in the History of Art* 8 (1959), 70-4; N. J. Morgan, 'The Artists of the Rutland Psalter', *British Library Journal*, 13. 2 (1987), 159-85; for the Oscott Psalter see http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_50000_fs001r (accessed 8/8/16); see also Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting 1200-1500* (London, 1981), pls 14-15; N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250-1285*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, IV.2 (London, 1988), no. 151a; Rodney M. Thomson et al., 'Technology of Production of the Manuscript Book', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* II, ed. N. J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 75-109, esp. p. 94.

35 See Coates, *Medieval Books*, pp. xix-xxi.

36 Coates, *Medieval Books*, pp. 25-36.

37 For British Library, Royal MS 9 C iii see Coates, *Medieval Books*, no. 75, p. 158. For British Library, Royal MS II C iii, Coates, *Medieval Books*, no. 81, pp. 101, 159. See Coates, *Medieval Books*, p. 101 for transcription from f. 249r, 'estum librum Oxonie fecit Ricardus de Redyngia ligari, quem qui alienaverit a monasterio Redyngie fundato in honorem gloriose virginis Marie et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Johannis atque Jacobi vel in eo fraudem de fecerit, anathema sit'. There is also a collection of Commentaries and Distinctions (London, British Library Royal MS 10 C iii) which contains a tabular analysis of the Decretum (Coates, *Medieval Books*, no. 66, p. 68, which may be a late thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century addition to the collection).

38 See Coates, *Medieval Books*, no. 63, p. 155.

39 See Coates, *Medieval Books*, no. 64, p. 156 and Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 41.

40 See Coates, *Medieval Books*, no. 71, p. 157.