Of What Use Are Old Books?

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OF WHAT USE ARE OLD BOOKS?

A talk by

PHYLLIS GOODHART GORDAN
To celebrate the adding of
the one-thousandth incunabulum to the
Bryn Mawr College Library
LIBER TERTIVS.

De Contrapuncto & eius elementarijs vocibus. Caput primum.


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Are Old Books?

A talk by
Phyllis Goodhart Gordan

4 April 1972
Bryn Mawr College Library

Privately printed by her friends
April 1973
A Prefatory Note

Through the thoughtful generosity of parents, friends, alumnae, and other discriminating scholars, of readers of books, collectors of books, and donors of books, Bryn Mawr College now has over one thousand incunabula. In the realm of scholarship, while microfilm and computer printout have their places, there is no substitute for experiencing direct contact with original sources.

Few better understand or have made more productive use of this opportunity than Phyllis Goodhart Gordan, '35, an alumna and a director of the College, herself a scholar and collector. Her undergraduate fascination with the classics, and what happened to them in the medieval period, has grown into a lifelong study of that great Renaissance humanist Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, papal secretary and researcher in fifteenth-century libraries. Poggio, fond of exploring the Alban hills with Cosimo de' Medici in search of Roman inscriptions, devoted his life and his considerable literary talents to the resuscitation of classical studies.

Because it so appropriately illustrates the importance and usefulness of Bryn Mawr’s collection, we are proud to present Mrs. Gordan’s talk “Of What Use Are Old Books?” which was given in celebration of the acquisition of Millesimum Incunabulum Brynmaurens.

Doreen Canaday Spitzer, '36
Chairman, Friends of the Library
ΤΕΛΟΣ

1. ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΤΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΩΒ'.
H ave you ever noticed how often something happens that is unexpectedly relevant? Just as I was beginning to worry about this talk, I received the January issue of the *Yale University Library Gazette*, which contains a very interesting article by Thomas Marston celebrating “Yale’s Three Thousandth Incunabulum.” We are here today to celebrate Bryn Mawr’s reaching a collection of one thousand incunabula, of which about 960 were given to us by a Yale Man, Howard Lehman Goodhart. All of you probably know that an incunabulum is a book printed between 1455 (when Gutenberg printed his Bible in Mainz) and 1501, when printing had spread over most of Europe.

Bryn Mawr’s first incunabulum arrived in 1886, a gift from Wayne MacVeagh, a friend of the College. It is volume four of the Aldine Greek edition of the works of Aristotle, printed in 1497 in Venice. It is still a book to be proud of. The next one to come was, suitably, an important Latin text: Plautus’ *Comedies* printed in Milan, also in 1497. It was the gift of Mary Elizabeth Garrett, along with some ten thousand other volumes of classical works from the library of Professor Hermann Sauppe.

In 1902 the College was given two volumes of Cicero’s *Orations*, one printed in Venice in 1499 and one, the *Philippics*, in Vicenza in 1488, gifts of W. V. Kellen. In 1908, the College actually bought an incunabulum—from Blackwell in Oxford: a Nuremberg 1488 *Golden Legend*. In 1945, Professor Howard Levi Gray, who had taught here many years in the history department, gave the College four fifteen-century books, a Lucan (Venice, 1477), the Sermons of Pope Leo I (Venice, 1482), a Belgian volume, and a Basel imprint. Last spring the College received a distinguished gift of fourteen incunabula, many of them illustrated, in the bequest of Ethelinda Schaefer Castle of the
class of 1908. Already in 1972 we have received two more fifteenth-century books: a Sentences commentary by Petrus de Palude (Venice, 1493) from Dr. and Mrs. William L. Peltz, and Johannes Jacobus Pontanus’ De aspiratione (Brescia, 1497) from Charlotte Farquhar Wing of the class of 1930. These last two volumes helped provide the occasion for this celebration.

There are some other things that we ought to celebrate, like our seven dated books that are five hundred years old this year. They are a Boccaccio, De genealogia deorum, Venice, Windelin de Spira; a Caracciolo, Lenten Sermons on Penitence also from Venice, from the press of Franciscus Renner; a Cassiodorus printed by Johann Schüssler in Augsburg; a Lactantius, also by Windelin de Spira; a Macrobius, a beautiful book printed by Nicolaus Jenson in Venice, and two texts of Thomas Aquinas, one printed by Renner and the other by Conrad Fynner of Esslingen. We also have three books dating from 1471: a Cyprian printed in Venice, an Orosius printed in Augsburg, and a very appropriate Decor puellaram printed by Jenson in Venice. Our oldest dated complete books are five printed in 1470; Eusebius’ De evangelica praeparatio printed in Venice again by Jenson; a theological work of Gerson printed by Johann Sensenschmidt in Nuremberg; the letters of Jerome printed in Mainz by Gutenberg’s pupil Peter Schoeffer; a Josephus printed by Schüssler in Augsburg; and Thomas Aquinas’ Catena aurea printed by Swenheyhm and Pannartz, the first printers in Italy, after they had moved from Subiaco to Rome.

These are our oldest complete books with the dates actually printed in them. We have a considerable number which the bibliographers ascribe to those early years but which have no dates in their colophons. Our samples of earlier printing are only single leaves. Mrs. Castle left us a leaf of the Gutenberg Bible printed on paper and a double leaf of the Catholicon of 1460. And perhaps this is the best place to tell you the tale of the missing portfolio.

My father owned a portfolio which contained five vellum fragments of early printing: two sections but not a full page of the Gutenberg Bible; a column (half a leaf) of the Fust and Schoeffer Bible of 1462; one leaf of Durandus’ Rationale by the same printers dating from 1459; a leaf of Justinian by Schoeffer, printed in Mainz in 1468; and a leaf of the 1457 Fust and Schoeffer Psalter. When my father died in 1951, my husband and I shipped to Bryn Mawr about half the books which he still had and we kept the rest. We thought that
we had kept the portfolio. About a year later our son was learning about writing and printing in school. We offered to show him our fragments of the Gutenberg Bible, but we found that the portfolio was gone. We wrote to Janet Agnew, who was then Librarian at Bryn Mawr and a great friend of ours. She searched everywhere and reported that she could not find it. We had moved our incunabula in considerable haste and without a proper list. We were convinced that the portfolio had been thrown away, unnoticed in the bottom of a carton. We felt absolutely awful. My husband, John Gordan, was not only a collector but a curator of rare books; losing a leaf of the Gutenberg Bible was nothing he liked being party to. Last year, eighteen years after we had missed the portfolio, I received a letter from James Tanis saying that a mysterious object had turned up during the move into the new Mariam Coffin Canaday Library. It had no bookplate and it was not catalogued and no one recalled ever seeing it before. It contained fragments of fifteenth-century leaves. Did I know anything about it? As soon as I saw it, I recognized my father’s bibliographic labels, one for each leaf, along the backstrip of the portfolio. The story had a happy ending—and we did not even have to count in the leaves to reach our one-thousandth incunabulum.

There is a very good account of my father and his collecting in a book called *Grolier 75*, published as a record of the first seventy-five years of the Grolier Club, the book collectors’ club in New York which has the quaint custom of issuing invitations that read: “Guests, not including ladies, may be invited.” Curt Bühler, curator of incunabula at the Morgan Library, truthfully records that my father began collecting to provide me with texts that were necessary for my work as a student here in medieval and Renaissance Latin and that had rarely been printed since the fifteenth century. This may sound today like a very extravagant gesture, but in the early 1930’s it was not. Reprints which are common now did not exist then; microfilm was almost unknown. My father, who had been a member of the New York Stock Exchange and was of a financial turn of mind, carefully compared the cost of the incunabula he bought for me to use here at Bryn Mawr with the cost of photocopies from the New York Public Library and found that he was coming out ahead.

The first incunabula which he bought were mostly Patristic literature.
which I was studying with Agnes K. L. Michels and they are now here in the Rare Book Room. The Rare Book Room is another interesting bit of "Bryn Mawr planning." My mother, Marjorie Walter Goodhart, had been a member of the class of 1912. When Mary Peirce, the permanent president of my mother's class, noticed that my father was collecting rare books, she decided that if the class gave a rare book room to the College as a reunion gift, he might be inspired to give his books. She persuaded the class, and she was right: he did.

There are many ways in which people collect incunabula: sometimes because of an interest in certain printers or in printing in certain cities; sometimes because of particular languages or particular subjects, such as travel or romance. My father collected his books because he was interested in the development of thought and education throughout the Middle Ages. The library represents the branches of the medieval educational system which were called the trivium and quadrivium, both leading up to the supreme science, theology. The trivium consisted of: grammar; rhetoric, which in the Middle Ages covered the study of law; and dialectic, which included the study of philosophy. The quadrivium consisted of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.

There is one aspect of a library like this that I think particularly worthwhile to keep in mind. When the books were established at Bryn Mawr, the head of the Latin department, Professor Lily Ross Taylor, made a telling observation. She said that to her one of the collection's most interesting aspects was that these were the books that the generation which first had printing wished to disseminate. For that reason you will find that some authors, like the Church Fathers or the medieval and Renaissance chroniclers, are very well represented, while other great names in the Middle Ages are not represented at all. Apparently the men of the late fifteenth century were not interested in the writings of Alcuin and his followers; and Abelard, one of the most famous minds of the twelfth century, was not printed in the fifteenth century at all.

In order to give you an idea of the collection, I shall follow the medieval course of study and start with the trivium. Grammar and literature in the Middle Ages were studied from the texts of such classical authors as continued to be known and preserved. The collection contains many of the texts listed in Henry Osborn Taylor's Medieval Mind as being in constant use: the works of Priscianus, editions of the De nuptiis of Martianus Capella, and the Etymologies
Daer na voor deel bishoopen Donaldus in donelaunte daer hi stondhings steeck bleef leggen, daer ophoornen hy de magtse maria die moeder godes met groter elcker hege en had in der gheselop aegnes en steeck die wyf moechten en spraek den eersten bishoopen aldus wel-terlee soen en onteek de bije met de een teghenwoordig die ongeveerstooft en van die vyfgehe ten tydse het zyghen selve. Meer daer en selthe hier na zijt langste leuen met den vor deel verging de grote elckerheche. En daer quanqu so soudenleich wax en suster lucht als menschhech het beginen mochten. De bishoopen ghenaff vandeel van die steeck, daer na inden tyd ons heven is en dy nijt so quanqu hi veyen lant van den eter in oemerschey en daer welis hy te leuven der groot-see. En hy liet die antiften. Deze liet die gestyle En droop en de tyd van welden ruisdie hy falschheck in den heer Enke hy wree laerwoe to den eter van der veel veel minnaen hy die den bishoopen bishoopen.

Kaldonialis van suster die vo bishoopen van verrecht regierde his jaer komen. Hi was des susteren luchter bishoopen ony graue nael; en suster En hy wree graue kdration bishoopen van suster. En hy liet in der vastenharren, hystorie heemhech die in desen tydhen werden. En hy venn conmice was de venn te vand van deren hecnon dat hy na madodius de bishoopen bishoopen door brounehmen, sien soen waren verheven mit clergien en heten ke van eenen bishoopen wree verheven van verrecht. Hier als die conmice ver- nam dat die wree denen die steeck van verrecht verheven. Hier jaer enke hadde, en moet alle volke vanden bishoopen verheven hadden. En verjaecht dat er om suster de conmice die selue soen toe onderseap om die denen te wederstaaen en dat hy die selue bishoopen mochte beschermen en vande helpen maken. End hier on van des bishoopen bishoopen madodius prophan so is ghestoren bishoopen tot verrecht kisdiction voer heenen. In desen eijen so ontsprang een fonhteyt die steeck van genoot die bishoopen was, en in de seluen dagen so wozde als die denen destagen waaer dat, suster een als die denen destagen en verjaecht waaer van selue, o tynnere kaldonialis, zijn steeck van verrecht en vermoede de daer hy veel ver- nen op verheven en heech mijnsheuen en die u liethe teech en die hy wree op tynmeche. En die suster met and vertuallen hysen, den hy wree maken.
of Isidorus of Seville. There are a fair number of classical writers and medieval commentators and historians. Apollonius of Rhodes, Aulus Gellius, Diogenes Laertius, Dares Phrygius, and Dictys of Crete gave the men of the Middle Ages many of their ideas of ancient history and legend, garbled though they were. Perhaps those of you who knew the collection when my father had it will wonder why the Medieval Library at Bryn Mawr has only a few classical texts—Homer, Josephus, Valerius Maximus, and Virgil—when my father had so many. The reason is that ever since I was a student of the classics at Bryn Mawr he had been giving me the classical texts and the writings of the early fifteenth century to help me form a humanist library. This leaves a sad gap in the Medieval Library here as an example of the learning of the Middle Ages but it is the gap most easily filled with modern texts. The collection goes on with poets, historians, and essayists of the late Roman Empire: the poets Ausonius and Claudian, the allegorist Fulgentius, and the historians Cassiodorus, Herodianus, and Orosius. Most important for the thinking of all the centuries following him are the works of the last great writer of the Western Roman Empire, Boethius.

Since grammar and pure literature did not flourish very vigorously in the so-called Dark Ages, they are represented only by the grammar of Probos and the great eleventh-century Greek dictionary of Suidas, which Karl Krumbacher calls a most important monument of learning, the sole preserver of countless literary items that would otherwise be lost. From there, we can skip to the great Italian authors of the fourteenth century: Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Dante is represented by the Divine Comedy and the Convivio; Petrarch by his collected works, in both Latin and Italian, by the Canzoniere, and by his delightful letters. Boccaccio, except for a small volume containing one letter in Italian, is represented only by his Latin works.

The collection is well stocked with Latin literary and grammatical works of the fifteenth century, though none of them compare in quality with those of the fourteenth century. The fifteenth century was a period when the interest in classical texts, in historical accuracy, and in literary style, no matter what the content, was of great importance; the collection mirrors that. Among the chronicles are Gaguinus' History of France, Sabellius' History of Venice, Pomponius Laetus' History of Rome, and eleven editions of Werner Rolewinck's
Fasciculus temporum, including the Dutch edition printed by Johann Veldener in Utrecht. There are also original works of literature: the epigrams of Hieronymus Balbus and the poems in Italian of Feo Belcari. Most strongly represented are the commentators on classical authors: Barbaro’s commentary on Pliny, Calderino’s on Martial, and Merula’s on Juvenal, as well as his edition of the Scriptores rei rusticae. There are books by the famous transmitters of Greek learning Theodorus Gaza and Constantinus Lascaris; there are Urbano Bolzani’s Greek grammar, the first in the West in centuries, and several of the works of the great Marsilio Ficino, the head of the Florentine Academy who translated all the writings of Plato into Latin for Lorenzo de’ Medici.

In addition to all these literary productions, there are in the collection some fifty-five tracts on literary, historical, and religious subjects and eighty-eight sermons, funeral orations, political speeches, and papal bulls. These seldom have much literary interest except as examples of Renaissance imitations of Roman rhetoric, but they are full of historical data. Read in quantity, they give a picture of the problems and enthusiasms of the time. My father collected them because he believed that they would be useful in a college library for graduate studies, all the more so since most of them have never been reprinted and are available only in the form in which they first appeared.

The law books at Bryn Mawr form a very neat and complete unit. This subject, Hastings Rashdall says, was studied especially in Italy even in the darkest of dark ages as part of the second branch of the trivium, rhetoric, and became the most absorbing interest in the fifteenth century. Everything that is truly basic is in the collection and, unlike the literary and theological sections, the legal section has no works without merit. The library contains two editions of the greatest compilation of Roman law: the Codex Justinianus, first compiled in Byzantium in 529. It also contains three editions of the Institutiones, compiled in 533 by order of Justinian to further the teaching of law. In addition to these monuments of Roman law, the collection contains the greatest medieval works of civil law, the commentaries or glosses on Justinian’s Codex and Digest by Bartolo de Sassoferrato.

In the realm of canon law, the collection is even more complete. There is the twelfth-century Liber decretorum of Bishop Ivo of Chartres. It is well worth having because it represents the attempts made to assemble the laws of the
Church before the great work of Gratian at Bologna in the thirteenth century. Gratian’s *Decretum* sifted all the authorities accepted by the Church and systematized their rulings. Although it was never itself formally approved as the law of the Church, it was incorporated in the *Decretales*, issued in five books by Gregory IX, in 1234. The library contains three editions of the *Decretales* and one of the glosses on them by Bernard of Parma. It further contains four editions of the sixth book of *Decretales*, added in 1298 by Boniface VIII, a commentary on the sixth book by Dominicus of San Gemianino, as well as a gloss on the first five books by the great fifteenth-century canonist Nicolaus de Tudeschis of Palermo. We have just acquired another great Renaissance legal work, which according to Mr. Tanis is our one-thousandth. It is Joannes Bertachinus’ *Repertorium iuris utriusque* printed in three volumes by Georgius Arrivabene in 1494. Frederick Goff in his *Incunabula in American Libraries, a third census*, lists only one other set in the United States, at Harvard Law School. This is splendidly described in the delightful keepsake prepared by Mr. Tanis and given to us all by Doreen Canaday Spitzer on behalf of the Friends of the Library.

The studies undertaken in the third branch of the *trivium*, dialectic, show the greatest change of point of view through the centuries. The Medieval Library contains a good many of the works upon which the philosophical thinking of the Middle Ages was based. The chief figure in the transmittal of ancient philosophical thought to the Middle Ages was Boethius. The library contains two editions of his most important book, the *De consolatione philosophiae*, as well as his works on educational methods and on the Trinity. Two of them are in their original monastic bindings. The Church Fathers, who preceded Boethius, were, like him, vastly influenced by Plato and also by the Neoplatonists: Plotinus, Hermes Trismegistus, and Jamblicus. These four all appear in the collection. The Venerable Bede in the eighth century carried on the tradition of philosophical knowledge by his repertory of the authorities of Aristotle and other philosophers. This is the kind of book, a collection of snippets and quotations, through which the educators and theologians from 500 to 1300 A.D. learned of the thought of the ancient world. It was largely through the Arabic translations of Aristotle that he filtered back into Europe in the thirteenth century, brought in from Spain and from the East after the
Aegeus casus consilii

crusades. The commentaries on his newly discovered works by Aegidius Romanus, Walter Burley, and Duns Scotus in the fourteenth century and by Gaetanus de Thienia and by the learned Hebraic scholar Petrus Niger in the fifteenth century show the fascination that Aristotle exerted and the immediate and intimate relationship that his methods developed with theology. The close involvement of the great churchmen of the thirteenth century with the study of Aristotle greatly overshadowed the study of Plato, who had so inspired the Fathers of the Church; but in the late fifteenth century we find the study of Plato vigorously revived in the West by the newly arrived scholars from Constantinople and by their pupils Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola.

Let us now turn to the quadrivium: the medieval course of higher education consisting of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, and the associated science of medicine. There are no books in the collection dealing with arithmetical proper, but several with geometry. The Euclid is here, in Ratdolt’s edition, famous because the geometrical figures were printed instead of being added later by an illuminator. There is the Sphaera mundi of John of Hollywood, a thirteenth-century Englishman, and also the mathematical treatise of Thomas Bradwardine, who had been Archbishop of Canterbury in the fourteenth century. The books on astronomy also show very clearly the debt the Middle Ages owed to Moslem learning. Although there are some classical treatises, the Poeticon astronomicon of Hyginus, who was Ovid’s friend and the very learned librarian to Augustus, the Cosmographia of Pomponius Mela, and Firmicus Maternus’ De nativitatibus, a book on the method of working out calendars, there are also the astrological and astronomical works of Albumasar and Haly, son of A-ben-Ragel. These lead to three or four fifteenth-century works on astronomy. Perhaps the most famous is the calendar of Johannes Regiomontanus, who both composed and printed it, although the Bryn Mawr copy is a later edition by Ratdolt.

The Arabs stand out clearly among the medical authors too. These works begin with the third-century B.C. treatise on plants by Theophrastus and would skip to the thirteenth century, but for the ninth-century Syrian doctors, the Serapions, and Johannes Mesue. The later doctors of medicine and natural science, Arnoldus of Villa Nova in the thirteenth century, Petrus of Abano, and Pico della Mirandola in the fifteenth were suspect and had great trouble be-
cause of repeated accusations of heresy. In spite of that there seems to have been a blossoming of interest in medical books in the fifteenth century as indicated by the printing of the earlier works as well as those of Antonius Cermisonus and his pupil Michael Savanorola, a famous physician and uncle of the still more famous friar.

I can find only one book in the collection strictly devoted to the last branch of the quadrivium, music. That is the Practica musicae, written in the fifteenth century by Franchinus Gafurius, priest and music master at the Cathedral of Milan. The copy at Bryn Mawr is of the first edition, printed in Milan in 1496, and still in its original Italian binding. It belonged for many years to Fritz Kreisler and was the first incunabulum my father gave to Bryn Mawr.

Now I come to the subject for which the trivium and quadrivium prepared the student, theology. The Medieval Library has as many books of theology as of all other subjects together. That is not because the theological works were collected deliberately, as if for a seminary, but because theology was the most important subject in the minds of thoughtful men; and their thinking and writing were oriented toward the City of God for over a thousand years. The theological works are so many and so varied that I shall not attempt to describe them, but shall try to show merely that the great men of nearly every century are represented. This shows the wide range of theological interest in the fifteenth century. First of all the library contains six Bibles, two Psalters, and a considerable variety of missals, as well as four Hebrew incunabula, all on religious subjects. The texts of the Fathers of the Church extend right back to the earliest on record. The early Greek church is represented by Origen, who was suspected of the Arian heresy, and by Athanasius, its greatest opponent. There are several copies of Eusebius’ history of the early church and of Chrysostom’s Sermons on the Gospel of St. John and other lesser works. All these are in Latin translations, mostly newly made in the fifteenth century, but that of Eusebius’ Chronicon was made by Jerome. The early apologists of the Roman Church are represented too: the Africans, Tertullian and Cyprian, and Lactantius of Gaul. The works of all the Fathers of the Roman Church are on hand in considerable quantity: Ambrose with two works; Jerome with five, each in an average of five editions; Augustine, the real keystone of the interpretation of Christian thought in the West, with six works; and Gregory the Great with
Jerome, Epistolarum, Mainz, 1470.
five. Jerome and Augustine are supported by their disciples Tyrannius Rufinus and Paulus Orosius. Orosius' history of the world was conceived as a purely factual treatise in support of Augustine's contention that it was not Christianity which had brought the Roman Empire to its ruin. The greatest figure in Christian thought of the sixth century, beside Gregory and the founder of the monastic rule Benedict of Nursia, was Cassiodorus; and his Historia ecclesiastica tripartita is in the collection in three editions, as well as his Exposition of the Psalms.

To the early church also belong the works falsely ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which had a tremendous influence on later writers. From the sixth century there is a great gap until the eleventh, which is brilliantly lighted by the works of Anselm, the Italian who was educated in Normandy and became Archbishop of Canterbury. The twelfth century was a period of great vigor in theological writing of many kinds and some of its greatest authors are generously represented in the collection. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose movement of monastic reform tremendously influenced the next four centuries, is represented by seven works, some in several editions; the library contains his sermons, his meditations, and especially his letters, which give so much evidence of his persuasiveness and driving force. He stands for the mystical side of theology in the twelfth century, as does Hugo of St. Victor. Peter Lombard, who was just as influential in his way, stands for the more scholarly and methodical side; his book of Sentences is a clear arrangement of the opinions of the Church Fathers on all sorts of religious subjects. It became the standard textbook of theology in the later Middle Ages and was copiously imitated and commented on in later centuries. Among others, the collection contains the commentary of Richard Middleton, a thirteenth-century English Franciscan, and of the fifteenth-century French Franciscan Guillermus Vorrellong.

The thirteenth century was the age of the flowering of what we call medieval thought. It was the period when traditional theological thought was illuminated by the newly translated philosophical and scientific works of Aristotle. We find that some of the writers of this period belong to the old tradition. They base their theology on the Church Fathers' interpretation of Plato and carry their theses to a symbolistic and mystical rather than a quasi-scientific conclusion. To this first group belongs the great Franciscan Bonaventura,
who was born in Italy, taught at the University of Paris, and ended as Archbishop of York. To it belongs also Gulielmus Durandus, who, in his *Rationale*, allegorized every part of the church service and the church architecture. In this kind of theological literature we find also Alanus de Insulis, the Spanish missionary and martyr Raymundus Lullus, and the *Imitatio Christi*, which has been ascribed to several different authors and of which the Medieval Library has five editions. Perhaps these books should be called the “literature of adoration.” There is also narrative religious literature of the kind we read in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend*, a delightful account of the lives of the saints of the Roman Church, full of local customs and unintentional humor.

The scientifically theological authors of the thirteenth century are the authors of the *Summae*. These works are complete systematizations of theological thought, based upon the fullest knowledge of the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, and of the works of Aristotle. The first was written by the Franciscan Alexander of Ales, in Paris. A little later there came to Paris from Germany the Dominican Albertus Magnus. His greatest and earliest achievement was his extended commentary on all the known works of Aristotle, which he said he wanted to make “all... intelligible to the Latins.” These commentaries are not in our Medieval Library, but his later theological works are, and in them he used the same methods.

The greatest of the systematic theologians was Albertus’ pupil Thomas Aquinas. His manifold works were in themselves a system and founded a philosophical school within the Catholic Church. He had a solution in his system for every problem of Catholic thought, and in our Medieval Library his works are so various that all his thinking is represented except his technical commentaries on Aristotle.

The fourteenth century is again divided between a kind of critical, theological writing, of which the most influential was the work of William of Ockham, and writings about the miraculous, represented by the Swedish St. Birgitta and the Sieneese St. Catharine. Perhaps it is because of this division of theological thought that in the fifteenth century it seems so comparatively undynamic, although knowledge of earlier theology was more widespread than ever through the use of printing. The greatest figures are the violent, fiery, reforming preachers, Savonarola and Bernardino of Siena. Bernardino
was canonized almost immediately after his death; Savonarola was burned at
the stake for heresy and has not yet been forgiven by the Catholic Church.
To a modern student they seem to have been seeking the same things with
the same zeal, that is, a greater purity of morals and an all-embracing,
uncritical faith.

I have tried to give you a picture of the Library as indicated by its contents,
but there is also a great deal of material in it for the study of early printing as
such. Most of the greatest of the early printers are copiously represented: Rat-
dolt with his technical books, Aldus with his Greek books and his first ex-
amples of italic type, and Nicolaus Jenson and the Frenchmen Guy Merchant
and Antoine Vérard with their beautiful type and spacing. Besides these, there
is a multitude of less famous printers from every country in western Europe
except England. A student of early typography would have a considerable
choice of material.

There is material also for the student of fifteenth-century illustration. The
most famous books in the collection from that standpoint are Franciscus Co-
olumna’s *Dream of Poliphilus* and Bernhard von Breydenbach’s *Voyage to the
Holy Land*, but there are many others. I should especially like to mention
our one thousand and first incunabulum: a gift from Mr. and Mrs. Tanis.
It is a copy of the *Officium Beatae Virginis Mariae*, beautifully printed in
Lyons in 1499 with numerous important illustrations. Mrs. Castle’s bequest
particularly strengthened the collection of illustrated incunabula. She left a
*Nuremberg Chronicle* in Latin; the Friends of the Library had earlier given the
College an edition in German. One of our best fifteenth-century botanical
books, the *Herbarius latinus* of 1499, comes from Mrs. Castle’s library and so
does a fine Terence with woodcuts, printed in Strassburg in 1496. Thinking
about Mrs. Castle and her library in Honolulu made me aware of how many of
the books which we are celebrating today were printed before America was dis-
covered, to say nothing of Hawaii which was not known until 1778. I counted
the dated books and just over half of them, 531, were printed before 1492.

The books that have been added to Bryn Mawr’s collection of incunabula
since 1932 do not greatly change the kind of material available here to scholars.
A number of books have been added at the request of members of the faculty
because they fitted particularly well into gaps in the collection; they were
bought with an endowment fund given in memory of my father by my husband.

Now perhaps I should pay some attention to the title I chose for this talk: “Of What Use Are Old Books?” I have already mentioned Miss Taylor’s perceptive comment, that they are a measure of the cultural interest of their period. Some are also of interest as primary sources of texts that have not since been reprinted: chronicles, literary commentaries, and political documents like papal bulls. Some are of great value in the study of the history of texts, classical and otherwise. Often a text is known to modern scholars only through its first printing because its fifteenth-century editor used a manuscript that has since been lost. There are many interesting variations on this. Sometimes the first edition of a classical text in the fifteenth century was based on an inferior manuscript and a later edition, also fifteenth-century, on a far better one. Some incunabula contain elaborate commentaries by leading scholars of the period which not only contain useful information but are historically interesting for what they tell us of what was known to scholars at that time.

Other uses of old books should perhaps be described as physical and emotional. These books are of great interest and variety for the student of the history of printing and of type design and book design. We have books from a great number of different Italian and German printers, starting with Nicolaus Jenson, who perhaps printed the most beautiful books of all time, and also a considerable representation of French, Swiss, and Dutch printers. Quite a number of our incunabula were printed in Greek, which has the added interest of having been designed after the handwriting of Joannes Lascaris, one of the chief Byzantine scholars who came to Italy after the fall of Constantinople. We even have, as I said before, four Hebrew incunabula, three of them printed in Naples. All this is very useful to a student of typefaces and of book design.

There is a field in these books which I believe has been very little explored and that is paper. While our modern wood pulp books are turning to dust in a generation, incunabula are a monument to the papermaking processes of the fifteenth century. I know almost nothing about this, but the paper in these books is as strong and white as when it was first used. In addition, students of watermarks can learn a great deal about trade, printers’ guilds, and the formation of printing firms from examining them.

[ 23 ]
It is a coincidence that while I have been writing this paper I have been reading *Future Shock*. Probably all of you know that the author deals primarily with the transience of everything that we use now, the impermanence of our possessions and our relationships. It would be easy to say that the fact that we are here today to celebrate Bryn Mawr’s ownership of incunabula is a proof of our irrelevance and of our being out of touch with modern thought. I submit that it may be an indication that we are trying to save our sanity or that we are trying to preserve and enjoy what others may learn to value too late. Many of these books are in their original condition; over ninety of them are in the bindings given them almost five centuries ago; some have the remains of their original chains. There are a number of Tudor and other sixteenth-century bindings, as well as groups from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All these are useful too in the study of taste and design.

Anyone who collects old books, even secondhand twentieth-century books, soon falls under the spell of the association copy. Among the most interesting features of our books are their former owners. We have several royal owners. Queen Eleanor of Portugal, who died in 1525, owned two devotional books, both printed in Paris during her lifetime and specially bound for her. Probably our most exciting and beautiful association copy is the text of Origen’s *Defence of the Christian Faith*, printed in Rome in 1481. This book is in its original binding and belonged to Ercole d’Este, the great Duke of Ferrara, for whom it was beautifully illuminated and whose arms are painted in the lower margin of the first page.

Our most unusual owner is a saint, though he would probably not be canonized today as he was in 1712. He owned one of our Bibles, printed in Venice in 1480, when he was still the Dominican friar Michele Ghislieri d’Alessandria; it contains a lot of notes in his handwriting. He was elected Pope Pius V in 1566. Many of our books came from Italian and German monasteries where they had been since the time of their publication; they made a very short stop in New York before coming to Bryn Mawr. Quite a number of the books belonged to famous British noblemen: the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Sussex, Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who gave our copy of Bonaventura’s *Meditations* to the Royal Society in London in 1667. Two of our books belonged to a Spanish collector who imitated Jean Grolier’s delightful custom
ORIGENIS PROAEMIVM CONTRA CELSVM ET IN FIDEI CHRISTIANAE DEFENSIONEM LIBER.I.

Ortis fater Ambrosi ut Celso: eti
gentilis & philosophi hominis obie
ctiones: in christiana religioné obla
tantis: p nostro arbitrio refutemus.
Ipse etero: eti affluidis & magnis: ut
tu te nosti: Laboribus interpellor:qu
pe qui facras litteras omnes
interpre
tandi prouinciá mihi desumpserim:
haudquaè tamen pro maximis tuis
in me beneficiis:ad re non minus ho
nestam q necessaria hortanti tibi sum defuturus.Quis enim tam
levis philosophi dicacitatis petulantia tulerit:q suis tenebris qbus
immerget nihil contentus:ucl aliis has ipsas ut ingerat enitar:q
de rerum conditore optime sentit:et eius ulter discipliná & insi
tuta obitrepédo peruerterequi a morte homines reuocauit ad ui
tam:& erratibus immortalitatis iter ostendit. Enumero de rebus
humanis tam bene mereri potest q pelteros errores suflulerit:q
qui pie docet innocenteriuierere. T etero ille dicere autem nemine
ulpia inueniri qui diuinis fit lris apprima eruditus: & uerá de in
xpo caritatem adeptus: qui delirantibus Celsi dicit:aut fui simi
lium vel nutet vel paimus moueat: nò enim a xpi fide:ut ueter:
quondá puditionibus:ita iberi iber & miraculis aptius co
firmata tam leuiter quibus defecerit. Quis enim inq Apostolus
a caritate dei nos separabir:afflictio an angustia:an plectito: an
feci supplicatiaq: misericordia est cruciati: in fide stabiles pleniter.
Sed cui inferiores sint in eclesia quid:quis Paulus suceptis:et
esse contemnata:et se fuerit deliri hominis ineptias refutare:
ne forte qui recens ad uerá illá & diuiná se contulit discipliná:siue
uerbo: lenocinio quodam illectus: liue pristina sua & prauaa ad

Origen, Contra Celsum et in fidei Christianae defensionem libri, Rome, 1481.
proposition 21.

"Dico angulam solutam quamvis rectis aequalem minorem esse probatum.

Ut angulorum quantitas ex angulo superficiali vis solutam vel
minimum quantum extinguiatur: hanc angulum aequali solutum quinque angulorum
partes aequales quinque rectis angulis esse minores. Sicut in triangulo piramidalis
a,b,c,d,e fivm angulorum equales sint, quaeque angulus inter se aequales sunt.

Hinc igitur solum aequales angulos tribus angulis solutis aequales esse probatum et
tribus angulis solutis tribus angulis solutis aequales esse dicatur."

and had his bindings stamped “J Gomez de la Cortina et Amicorum.” Our Euclid once belonged to the Radcliffe Observatory in Oxford. Many of these books contain notes by their famous owners or by other readers and some contain fascinating doodles, all of which would be worth studying.

Some of our modern owners are worth mentioning too. I have already spoken of the Gafurius that belonged to Fritz Kreisler. He owned eight other of our choicest books, including Petrarch’s Trionfi, Canzoniere e Sonetti, very appropriate to a famous musician. William Morris of the Kelmscott Press owned our Sermons by Albertus Magnus and our big Greek dictionary. Bruce Rogers, the famous American designer of typefaces and books, owned one of our great compendia of law, printed by Nicolaus Jenson; Matthew Arnold owned one of our collections of hymns and epigrams.

To return a minute to Future Shock, it seems to me that there is a wonderful and soothing continuity to all this. There is not much in this country that dates back five centuries, not even the trees very often. All our buildings are much more recent. Antiquities from the fifteenth century or earlier are usually in museums where we can see them only at a distance or through glass. As Ada Louise Huxtable expressed it, much better than I could, in the April second Sunday New York Times: “It is strange and wonderful to hold the Renaissance in one’s hands.” These old books are here for us to study. We can handle them; most of them are even fairly tough. We can read them and read the notes that their former owners left in them. In the fifteenth century a reader who wanted to denote something important did not simply underline it in the text or draw a line in the margin as we do; he often drew a hand in the margin with a long finger pointing to the memorable bit of text, and a fancy cuff besides. The owners, the bindings, and the scribbles are of course peripheral to the textual reasons for Bryn Mawr’s owning incunabula; but all together they seem to me to join us to an ancient and universal company of scholars.

Phyllis Goodhart Gordan, ’35
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The usefulness of Bryn Mawr’s collection of incunabula lies in its opening up and describing the life and interests of late fifteenth-century Europe. Among guides to history and culture, few are more revealing than those legal manuals which reflect the conflicts and problems within a society. As such, no work more adequately mirrors the late medieval and early modern period than the Repertorium iuris utriusque of the Italian jurist Joannes Bertachinus (Giovanni Bertachini). Born in Fermo about 1448, he studied in Parma and was later active in Siena and Florence. Named consistorial advocate by Pope Sixtus IV, Bertachinus dedicated to the Pope his extraordinary multi-volume Repertorium in 1481.

One searches biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias in vain for further word of this obscure jurist, yet the long-lived popularity of his compendium is attested to by the printing of ten editions in the fifteenth century and a dozen more in the sixteenth century. That such a massive, and hence expensive, dictionary was still being reprinted in 1590 is some measure of its extensive use and practical value. Most editions were printed in France and Italy, though it was also published in Germany and Switzerland. Copies of the Repertorium are rare in American libraries; according to the national census of incunabula, only three of the ten fifteenth-century editions are present in complete sets and only three more in incomplete sets.

Bryn Mawr’s copy, the three-volume Venetian edition printed by Georgius Arrivabene in 1494, reflects the Italian origin of the text. The contemporary South German bindings and illumination give evidence of its original purchase for use in Germany. These great folios were owned in the sixteenth century by Jodocus Oetherus of Nordhausen (near Erfurt). Oetherus, a “doctor in both laws,” may be of the same family whose arms appear in the illumination and the watercolor ex libris of each volume.

James Tanis
Director of Libraries