



1-8-2019

# The Glossa Ordinaria Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Monza

E. Ann Matter

*University of Pennsylvania*, [amatter@ccat.sas.upenn.edu](mailto:amatter@ccat.sas.upenn.edu)

---

# The Glossa Ordinaria Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Monza

## **Abstract**

The *Historia de los Reyes Moros de Granada*, written by the chronicler Hernando de Baeza in the first half of the XVI century, in Spain, is a valuable text that provides a very different perspective from other late medieval Spanish official chronicles. This article provides an account of the discovery of a previously unknown manuscript of this chronicle which, unlike the two others already known, is complete and includes the ending, which narrates the negotiations between the Catholic Kings of Spain and the last Nasrid sultan Boabdil for the Islamic surrender of Granada. The article describes this previously unknown manuscript, gives an account of the importance of the codex in which it is found, and shows the importance of this discovery for Spanish historiography more generally. A complete transcription in Castilian and an English translation are provided.

## **Keywords**

Castilian chronicles, Catholic Kings, Boabdil, Nazarian Grenade, Hernando de Baeza, The Escalante Family

# MANUSCRIPT STUDIES

*A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies*

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 2

*(Fall 2017)*

---

*Manuscript Studies* (ISSN 2381-5329) is published semiannually  
by the University of Pennsylvania Press



The Schoenberg Institute  
for Manuscript Studies

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA LIBRARIES

# MANUSCRIPT STUDIES

---

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 2  
(Fall 2017)

ISSN 2381-5329

Copyright © 2017 University of Pennsylvania Libraries  
and University of Pennsylvania Press. All rights reserved.

Published by the University of Pennsylvania Press,  
3905 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104.

Printed in the U.S.A. on acid-free paper.

*Manuscript Studies* brings together scholarship from around the world and across disciplines related to the study of premodern manuscript books and documents, with a special emphasis on the role of digital technologies in advancing manuscript research. Articles for submission should be prepared according to the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 16<sup>th</sup> edition, and follow the style guidelines found at <http://mss.pennpress.org>.

None of the contents of this journal may be reproduced without prior written consent of the University of Pennsylvania Press. Authorization to photocopy is granted by the University of Pennsylvania Press for libraries or other users registered with Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transaction Reporting Service, provided that all required fees are verified with CCC and paid directly to CCC, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. This consent does not extend to other kinds of copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, for database retrieval, or for resale.

#### 2018 SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION:

Single issues: \$30

Print and online subscriptions: Individuals: \$40; Institutions: \$90; Full-time Students: \$30  
International subscribers, please add \$18 per year for shipping.

Online-only subscriptions: Individuals: \$32; Institutions: \$78

Please direct all subscription orders, inquiries, requests for single issues, address changes, and other business communications to Penn Press Journals, 3905 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104. Phone: 215-573-1295. Fax: 215-746-3636. Email: [journals@pobox.upenn.edu](mailto:journals@pobox.upenn.edu). Prepayment is required. Orders may be charged to MasterCard, Visa, and American Express credit cards. Checks and money orders should be made payable to "University of Pennsylvania Press" and sent to the address printed directly above.

One-year subscriptions are valid January 1 through December 31. Subscriptions received after October 31 in any year become effective the following January 1. Subscribers joining midyear receive immediately copies of all issues of *Manuscript Studies* already in print for that year.

Postmaster: send address changes to Penn Press Journals, 3905 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104.

Visit *Manuscript Studies* on the web at [mss.pennpress.org](http://mss.pennpress.org).

# MANUSCRIPT STUDIES

*A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies*

---

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 2

---

## *Articles*

- Statim Prosequi: An Index as a Product, Instrument, and Medium of the Medieval Franciscan Inquisition in Tuscany*  
GEOFFREY W. CLEMENT 267
- A Tool for Exemplary Pastoral Care: Three Booklets of the Edwardes Manuscript in Context  
HANNAH WEAVER 296
- Conversational Lollardy: Reading the Margins of MS Bodley 978  
ELIZABETH SCHIRMER 328
- “My Written Books of Surgery in the Englishe Tonge”:  
The London Company of Barber-Surgeons and the *Lylve of Medicynes*  
ERIN CONNELLY 369
- The Two Yoḥannæses of Santo Stefano degli Abissini, Rome: Reconstructing Biography and Cross-Cultural Encounter through Manuscript Evidence  
SAMANTHA KELLY AND DENIS NOSNITSIN 392
- Textual Contents of Pāli *Samut Khois*: In Connection with the Buddha’s Abhidhamma Teaching in Tāvatiṃsa Heaven  
TOSHIYA UNEBE 427
- The Western Manuscript Collection of Alfred Chester Beatty (ca. 1915–1930)  
LAURA CLEAVER 445

- The St. Chad Gospels: Diachronic Manuscript Registration and Visualization  
STEPHEN PARSONS, C. SETH PARKER, AND W. BRENT SEALES 483

### *Annotations*

- An Investigation of the Relationship between Prince Shōtoku's *Shōmangyō-gisho* and Two Dunhuang Buddhist Manuscripts: A Debate over Originality and Canonical Value  
MARK DENNIS 449

- The *Glossa Ordinaria* Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Monza  
E. ANN MATTER 508

- The *Summula de Summa Raymundi* in Gordan MS 95, Bryn Mawr College  
THOMAS IZBICKI 524

- A Newly Discovered Manuscript of the *Historia de los Reyes Moros de Granada* by Hernando de Baeza  
MARÍA MERCEDES DELGADO PÉREZ 540

### *Reviews*

- Albert Derolez. *The Making and Meaning of the Liber Floridus: A Study of the Original Manuscript, Ghent, University Library MS 92*  
MARY FRANKLIN-BROWN 569

- Bent Lerbæk Pedersen. *Catalogue of Yao Manuscripts*  
ADAM SMITH 573

- T. L. Andrews and C. Macé, eds. *Analysis of Ancient and Medieval Texts and Manuscripts: Digital Approaches*  
ALEXANDRA GILLESPIE 577

Elizabeth Solopova. <i>Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible in the Bodleian and Oxford College Libraries</i> KATHLEEN KENNEDY	581
Colour: The Art and Science of Illuminated Manuscripts NICHOLAS HERMAN	584
<i>List of Manuscripts Cited</i>	589

## The Glossa Ordinaria Manuscripts of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Monza

---

E. ANN MATTER  
*University of Pennsylvania*

THE GLOSSA ORDINARIA, THE standardized glossed Bible that circulated in the later Middle Ages, has been widely studied in recent years. Thus, for the first time since Beryl Smalley called attention to it half a century ago,<sup>1</sup> scholars have a clear idea of what it is and where it came from. In particular, Christopher de Hamel has shown how, starting about 1140, glossed part-Bibles were significant in the Paris book trade, to the point where one could have gone to a copyist and asked for a particular piece of “the Gloss,” by then a standard and recognizable text, to any part of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> A number of scholars, including Margaret Gibson, Karlfried Froehlich, Theresa Gross-Diaz, and Lesley Smith,<sup>3</sup> have clarified the ori-

---

1 Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952).

2 Christopher de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1984). See also Richard and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Production in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), 1:57.

3 For origins of the gloss, see especially the introduction of Margaret Gibson to *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria: Facsimile Reprint of the Edition Princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg, 1480–81*, ed. K. Froehlich and M. T. Gibson, 4 vols. (Turnhout, Brepols, 1992), 1:xxiii–xxiv, and Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). For the complicated history of glosses to the Psalms, see Theresa Gross-



gins of the standardized gloss in the early twelfth-century school of Laon. Their studies have shown that the *Glossa ordinaria* is a twelfth-century adaptation of Carolingian adaptations of patristic biblical commentary, that is, a selection and compression of the exegesis of Hrabanus Maurus, Haimo of Auxerre, Walafrid Strabo, and other Carolingians, which in turn consists of selections and compressions of the commentaries of patristic and early medieval authors such as Origen, Augustine, Gregory, Isidore, and Bede.

What clearly distinguishes the *Glossa ordinaria* from all earlier commentaries, despite being composed almost entirely of portions of these older texts, is the fact that the *Glossa ordinaria* arranges these existing interpretations on the manuscript page between the lines, or in the margins of a full text of the relevant portion of the Bible.<sup>4</sup>

Scholars have long proposed theories about the authorship of the *Glossa ordinaria*. In the late fifteenth century, Johannes Trithemius suggested that the text was written by Walafrid Strabo, a pupil of Hrabanus Maurus.<sup>5</sup> Trithemius may have attributed the *Glossa ordinaria* to Walafrid Strabo because the first gloss in the manuscript he published in his 1449 Basil edition came from Walafrid's commentary on Genesis, and was marked as such; he may also have had a nationalistic interest in naming a German author for this influential text.<sup>6</sup> In any case, this suggestion led J. P. Migne, the nineteenth-century editor and publisher of several collections of Christian theological works, to put the *Glossa ordinaria* under the name of Walafrid Strabo in his influential *Patrologia Latina*.<sup>7</sup> Migne, like Trithemius, thought that the "original" *Glossa ordinaria* was only the marginal gloss, and that the interlinear gloss was a later accretion of the twelfth-century schoolman Anselm of Laon, so he published the text of the mar-

---

Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers. From lectio divina to the Lecture Room* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

4 For the format of the *Glossa ordinaria*, see figure 1, a page of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Paul's Epistle to the Romans in the University of Pennsylvania Library.

5 Johannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, ed. J. Heynlin [de Lapide] (Basel: Johannes de Amerbach, 1494).

6 See the comments of Karlfried Froehlich in "Walafrid Strabo and the *Glossa Ordinaria*: The Making of a Myth," *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993): 192–96.

7 *Patrologiae cursus completus*, 221 volumes published in Paris between 1844 and 1855.

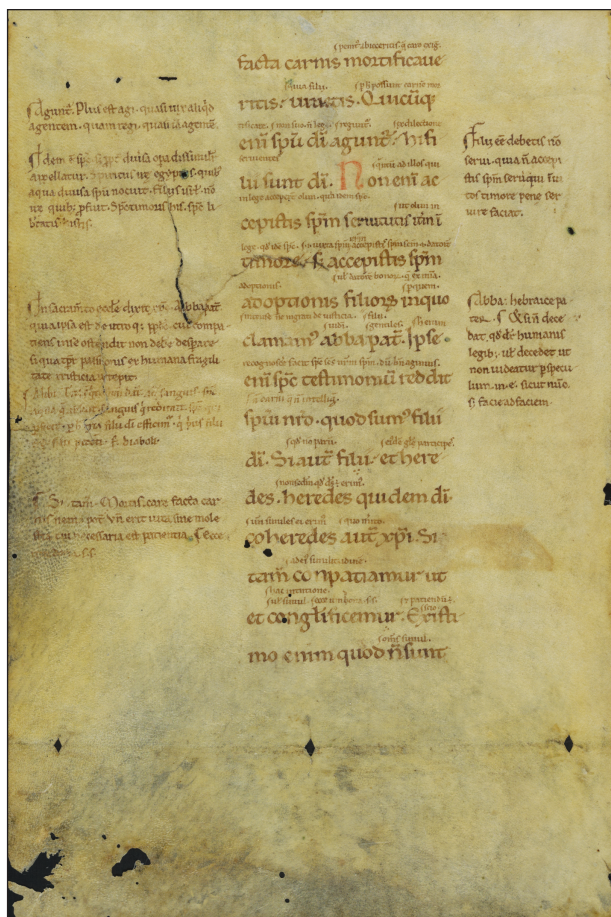


FIGURE 1. *Glossa Ordinaria* to the Epistle of Paul to the Romans (fragment, ca. 1135). Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. Coll. 591, fol. 4v.

ginal gloss only in J. P. Migne’s *Patrologia Latina*, among Carolingian authors. However, scholars today think that the “marginal” and “interlinear” glosses developed together, since they seem to be rather fluid in the manuscripts.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Migne’s claim of a role for Anselm of Laon in

8 Smith, *Glossa Ordinaria*, 29.

the formation of the *Glossa ordinaria* was prescient, since twentieth-century scholars have traced the beginnings of the gloss to many books of the Bible to the early twelfth-century school of Laon, especially to Anselm of Laon and his brother Ralph, and see the culmination of the process later in that century in Paris, especially around the figure of Peter Lombard.<sup>9</sup> In short, there is fair scholarly consensus about the development of the *Glossa ordinaria*, although some aspects of the Parisian stage of this development are still under discussion.<sup>10</sup> What still needs clarification is how the *Glossa ordinaria* was collected and read in the Middle Ages.

All of these questions are part of a general interdisciplinary trend toward the study of the reception, as well as the development and context, of medieval texts. I hope this article will contribute to that blossoming field of study.

Since the *Glossa ordinaria* was a school text, part of the encyclopedic movement of learning in the twelfth century, one might expect it to be well represented in medieval cathedral libraries, the seedbed of the universities. However, Lesley Smith's study of the ownership of glossed Bible codices in medieval libraries, especially in England, suggests that, although some Benedictine monasteries had copies of most or all books of the Bible in a glossed form, and often in multiple copies, houses of Augustinian canons regular (that is, cathedral libraries) seldom did. As Smith writes:

In Paris, as we know, the Augustinian house of canons at St Victor was at the cutting edge of theological learning and teaching, and yet it seems to have had relatively few Glossed books. In England, as far as the number of books in Augustinian houses is concerned, the situation does not seem to be very different. The Bridlington catalogue of c. 1200 lists 118 volumes [but] there are only twelve Glossed volumes, including Gilbert de la Porrée on the Psalter, and the spread

---

9 Smith, *Glossa Ordinaria*, 17–32, summarizing Smalley on this topic.

10 Cf. Mark Clark, *The Making of the Historia scholastica, 1150–1200*, Texts and Studies (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016), 198. Clark's view of the development of the *Glossa ordinaria* gives a much more significant role to the French theological author Peter Comestor.

of books is conservative: Genesis, the Prophets, Job and the Gospels, together with the Psalms and the Epistles.<sup>11</sup>

Smith also notes that the 1355–1360 catalogue of the Augustinian community of Lanthony, in Wales, included about five hundred items, but only thirty-three or thirty-four glossed books, of which just twenty-five or twenty-six “form a group . . . covering the greater part of the Bible.” But, the spread of books suggests that they were donated rather than commissioned, since there are multiple copies of Job and Luke, but no Song of Songs.<sup>12</sup>

The library collection I wish to analyze in this essay, that of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Monza, provides an interesting contrast to what Lesley Smith found to be the case in English Augustinian houses. In Monza, as well as evidence of significant donations, there seems to have been a concerted medieval effort to commission and collect the glossed Bible. This case study allows us a glimpse into medieval practices of reading and collecting manuscripts, practices that were undoubtedly widespread. It can help us understand, for example, which books of the Bible were considered most important, how medieval scholars thought about their collections, and how the *Glossa ordinaria* was received and understood in the Middle Ages. I also hope this essay will add to our understanding of the role of cathedral libraries in the Middle Ages.

Although now just a provincial capital about a half hour north of Milan, Monza was a major center of Italian culture during the Middle Ages. Queen Theodelinda, wife of King Agiluf of the Lombards, chose Monza as her summer residence, and in 595 endowed a church there, dedicating it to John the Baptist.<sup>13</sup> This oratory grew into the present Duomo di Monza (where Theodelinda’s treasures are housed today, and where she and other Lombard royalty are buried) and into the site of the adjacent Biblioteca Capitolare di San Giovanni Battista. Several centuries later, Berengar I, king from 850 to 924, made Monza his capital. In the Middle Ages, this rich royal city

---

11 Smith, *Glossa Ordinaria*, 167.

12 Smith, *Glossa Ordinaria*, 167–68.

13 Paul the Deacon, *Historia langobardorum*, iv, 21, ed. L. C. Bethmann and G. Waitz, *MGH, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, vols. 6–9 (1878), 123–24.

had a major community of Augustinian canons in the cathedral; by the year 1000, this community boasted a notable library, for which we are fortunate to have an excellent modern catalogue edited by Annalisa Belloni and Mirella Ferrari.<sup>14</sup> The collection increased dramatically in the twelfth century, when over sixty volumes were added.<sup>15</sup> Many of these books are glossed part-Bibles, giving the Monza cathedral library copies of the *Glossa ordinaria* to almost the entire Vulgate Bible. This collection of glossed Bibles, as it exists today, includes forty-two manuscripts, including all books of the Bible except Ruth and Maccabees, with some interesting multiple copies. At Monza, one can find four copies of the *Glossa ordinaria* to the Pauline Epistles;<sup>16</sup> three copies each of Peter Lombard on the Psalms and the *Glossa ordinaria* to Job (one a fragment);<sup>17</sup> two copies each of the gloss to Genesis, Numbers, Kings, Daniel (one with Esdras), the Psalms with the Old Testament Canticles, and the Gospels of Mark and John;<sup>18</sup> and a single copy each of the glossed Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Chronicles, Esdras, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah with Lamentations, the minor prophets, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Matthew, Luke, John, the Acts, and the Apocalypse.<sup>19</sup> To the modern scholar, these volumes certainly appear to be a set, since they are of uniform quarto size, and uniformly bound in red calf. The bindings, though,

---

14 Annalisa Belloni, Mirella Ferrari, with Lucio Tomei, *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza, Medioevo e Umanesimo* 21 (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1974). For a history of the library in the early Middle Ages, see pp. xxi–xxxii.

15 *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, xxxiii.

16 Monza a-27, Monza b-1, Monza b-7 (missing Colossians), Monza e-9.

17 Monza a-15, Monza e-6, Monza i-11 (fragment).

18 Genesis: Monza a-4, Monza a-5; Numbers: Monza a-8, Monza e-4; 1–4 Kings: Monza a-12, Monza e-5; Daniel: Monza a-14 (with Esdras), Monza a-20; Psalms with Old Testament Canticles: Monza a-3, Monza e-11; Mark: Monza a-21, Monza a-22; John: Monza a-24, Monza a-25.

19 Exodus: Monza a-6; Leviticus: Monza a-7; Deuteronomy: Monza a-9; Joshua: Monza a-10; Judges: Monza a-11; 1–2 Chronicles: Monza a-13; 1–2 Esdras and Daniel: Monza a-14; Proverbs: Monza a-16; Ecclesiastes and Wisdom: Monza a-17; Song of Songs: Monza b-3; Ecclesiasticus: Monza a-18; Isaiah: Monza a-19; Ezekiel: Monza e-8; Jeremiah with Lamentations: Monza e-13; 12 minor prophets: Monza b-4; Tobit, Judith, and Esther (incomplete): Monza e-6; Matthew: Monza b-5; Luke: Monza a-23; Acts: Monza a-26; Apocalypse: Monza b-2.

are specified in the Monza catalogue as “legatura napoleonica,” suggesting that they also appeared to be a set to the librarians and bookbinders of early nineteenth-century Paris, where these books were taken in the Napoleonic period, and from whence they were returned in 1851.<sup>20</sup> But how were they understood by medieval readers?

Fortunately, numerous medieval attribution notes in the manuscripts tell us that several canons of Monza were recognized as owners and/or donors of manuscripts to the cathedral library. First of all, Monza a-3, a late twelfth-century codex containing the glossed Psalms and the Old Testament Canticles (i.e., the Canticles of Hezekiah, Hannah, Moses, and Habakkuk) carries an inscription in a thirteenth-century hand that reads: “This was once a book of Michael of Besuzio, who gave it to the Church of Saint John for the salvation of his soul.”<sup>21</sup> Michael Besuzio (probably from Besozzo, a town near Varese) is listed as a canon of the cathedral in documents of 1194 and 1200.<sup>22</sup> It seems that Besuzio actually owned a total of seven books in the collection, since the *Obituariio Monzese* notes: “In 1216, Dominus Michele of Besuzio died; he gave to this church four Gospels, and the Canonical Epistles, and a Glossed Psalter [*Psalterium intercisum*], and a Song of Songs, for the salvation of his soul.”<sup>23</sup> Besides Monza a-3, the glossed psalter, codices of the four Gospels, and the canonical epistles that belonged to Besuzio have been identified,<sup>24</sup> but the Song of Songs manu-

---

20 *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, lxxxix–xci. A stamp of the Bibliothèque Nationale is seen on Monza a-10, fol. 70r, *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, figure 2.

21 Monza a-3, fol. 264v: “Iste liber fuit condam domini Michaelis de Besuzio quem dimisit ecclesie sancti Iohannis pro remedio anime sue.” *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 7.

22 Monza, Capitolare, cart.7, perg. No. 111. Cf. *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, xxxvii, citing A. F. Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte* (Milan, 1794; rept. Bologna, Forni, 1970), vol. 1, no. 54, and vol. 2, no. 80.

23 “MCCXVI Obiit d, Michael de Besutio, qui dimisit huic ecclesie pro remedio anime sue quatuor evangelistas et epistolas canonicas et psalterium intercisum et canticam canticorum,” *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, p. xxxvii, citing Frisi, *Memorie storiche*, vol. 3, 109. The term *Psalterium intercisum* refers specifically to the glossed psalter commentary of Peter Lombard.

24 These manuscripts are: Monza b-5, fols. 36–53 (Matthew); Monza a-22 (Mark); Monza a-23 (Luke); Monza a-25 (John); and Monza b-9 (canonical epistles). These manuscripts and the glossed psalter, Monza a-3/10, all seem to come from the same scriptorium; see *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, xxxvii.

script may be one listed in the library catalogue of 1275 that is now lost, since the only Song of Songs manuscript now in the collection, Monza b-3, is in a different hand than the other six, and bears a notation, “This is a book of dominus Guillelmus of Malzate.”<sup>25</sup> That attribution in itself does not disprove Besuzio’s original ownership, since Guillelmus of Malzate is listed as one of the canons who served as witnesses for the list of the treasures of the cathedral on 1 July 1275,<sup>26</sup> and so may have inherited that book after Besuzio’s death in 1216. However, the fact that this manuscript is so different from the other six suggests that it is not the one Besuzio was said to have donated. It is also worth noting that all six of the surviving manuscripts donated by Besuzio are of Italian origin,<sup>27</sup> one is characterized as Lombard, and one was probably copied in the scriptorium at Monza.

Another canon who is listed as a witness to the cathedral treasures in 1275, Bosco of Terzago, is associated with a thirteenth-century copy of a glossed codex of the minor prophets, Monza b-4, by the inscription on the first folio: “1279, the last day of the month of September, the priest Bosco of Terzago, for 30 solidi, six pennies a month, which money was for.”<sup>28</sup> The eighteenth-century historian of Monza A. J. Frisi also noted an inscription of Bosco of Terzago on the first folio of a glossed Gospel of Matthew at Monza; this may have been one of the manuscripts donated by Michele of Besozzo, but if so, the inscription was lost when the manuscript was rebound.<sup>29</sup>

Even more interesting testimony to the ownership of these manuscripts are the internal attributions to a certain canon Guidottus (or Guidotto),

---

25 “Iste liber est domini Guillelmi de Malzate,” Monza, b-3, fol. 32v; cf. *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 21.

26 *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, p. L.

27 Monza b-9, a-23, and a-3 are Italian, *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 25, 16, 7; Monza a-22 and a-25 are from Lombardy, *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 16–17; and Monza b-5 is “di probabile origine monzese,” *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 22.

28 Monza, b-4, fol. 1r: “MCCLXXIII ultimo mensis septembris p[resbiteri?] domini Buschi di Terzago, pro soldis xxx[tertiolorum] per den. VI pro mense, qui denarii fuerunt pro . . . vini,” *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 22; cf. Frisi, *Memorie storiche*, vol. 2, no. 143: “Soluti fuerint pro hoc libro sol xxx.”

29 Monza b-5, Matthew, c. 12 ex, probably from Monza; cf. Frisi, *Memorie storiche*, vol. 3, 27, no. LIV, and *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 23.

who is linked in this way to at least ten, perhaps a dozen, of the *Glossa ordinaria* manuscripts of Monza. Two glossed books, copies of Exodus and the Gospel of Mark, bear the inscription: “This book was left to the church of Saint John of Monza by the Archpriest Guidotto for the cure of his soul.”<sup>30</sup> Eight other codices, glossed books of Joshua, Judges, Chronicles, Daniel with Esdras, Ecclesiastes, Apocalypse, Numbers, and Jeremiah with Lamentations, say they were actually commissioned by Guidotto, as they bear the inscription: “The Archpriest Guidotto had this book made to the honor of God and the church of Saint John of Monza, for the salvation of his soul.”<sup>31</sup> Two other codices, glossed Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sira), have traces of this inscription on cropped pages, and are so similar to the other manuscripts in this category that Belloni and Ferrari also place them among the books Guidotto ordered copied for his library.<sup>32</sup>

The *Obituariio Monzese* says about Guidotto: “In the year of the Incarnation 1182 Guidotto the Archpriest died; he gave many good things, books and possessions, to this church for Masses of remembrance.”<sup>33</sup> In spite of

---

30 “Iste liber dimisit dominus archipresbiter Guidottus ecclesiae sancti Iohannis de Modoetia pro remedio anime sue.” The manuscripts are: Monza a-6, Exodus, c. 12 ex, “origine presumibilmente francese,” attribution fol. 124v (*La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 9, Frisi, *Memorie storiche*, 5, pp. xxxv–xxxvi), Monza a-22, Mark, c. 12 ex, Lombardy, attribution fol. 85v (*La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 16, Frisi, *Memorie storiche*, vol. 5, pp. xxxv–xxxvii).

31 “Hunc librum fecit fieri dominus archipresbiter Guidottus ad honorem Dei et ecclesiae Sancti Iohannis de Modoetiae pro remedio anime sue.” For this inscription in Monza a-10, see figure 2. The manuscripts are: Monza a-10: (Joshua) c. 12 ex, Monza, attribution fol. 70r (*La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 10 and Table 13, I); Monza a-11: (Judges) c. 12ex, Monza, attribution fol. 62r (*La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 11); Monza a-13: (Chronicles) c. 12 ex., Monza, attribution fol. 81r (*La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 12); Monza a-14: (Daniel and Esdras) c. 12 ex., Monza, attribution fol. 90r (*La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 12); Monza a-17: (Ecclesiastes, Wisdom) c. 12 ex., “scritto presumibilmente a Monza,” attribution fol. 68v (pp. 13–14); Monza b-2: (Apocalypse) 12 ex, Lombard, prob. Monza, attribution fol. 54v (p. 20), Monza e-4: (Numbers) c. 12 ex, Monza, attribution fol. 120r (p. 82); Monza e-13: (Jeremiah and Lamentations) c. 12 ex., Lombard, attribution fol. 147 Lombard (p. 88).

32 Monza a-16: (Proverbs) c. 12 ex, Monza, attribution trace of inscription on fol. 69 (*La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 13). Monza a-18: (Ecclesiasticus) c. 12 ex, Monza, attribution trace on fol. 74 (*La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 14).

33 “Obiit dominus Guidottus archipresbiter qui huic ecclesie multa bona contulit in libris et possessionibus pro anniversario suo. Anno ab incarnatione domini MCLXXXII.” *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, xxxiii, citing Frisi, *Memorie storiche*, vol. 3, no. 127.



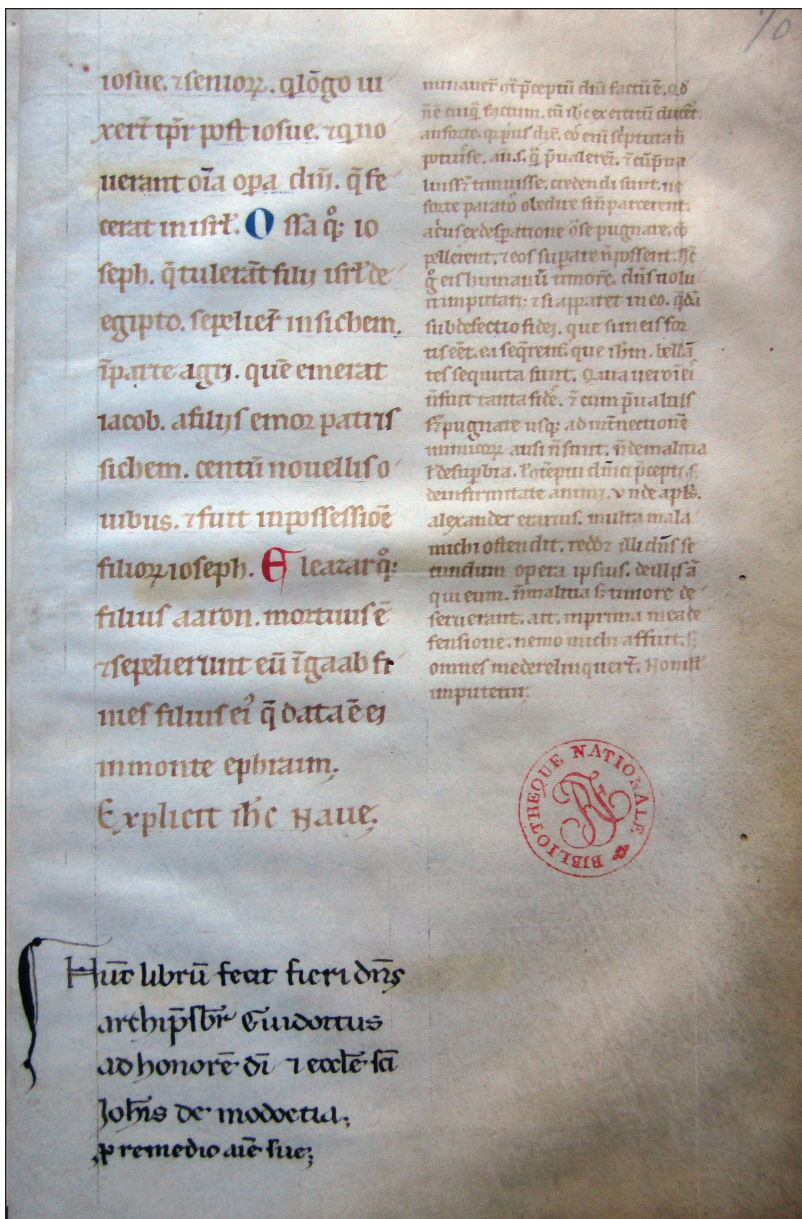


FIGURE 2. *Glossa ordinaria* to Joshua (late twelfth century) with a thirteenth-century note of commission and ownership by the canon Guidotto and a nineteenth-century stamp of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare a-10, fol. 70r. © Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo di Monza. Reproduced by kind permission of the Biblioteca Capitolare del Duomo di Monza.

the fact that all of these manuscript notes and the *Obituario* refer to Guidotto as *archipresbiter*, Belloni and Ferrari state categorically that Guidotto could never have been archpriest, since this title passed from Liprando III to Oberto da Terzago in 1168, and Oberto held that position until he became archbishop of Milan in 1194, when Guidotto had been dead for over a decade.<sup>34</sup> In notary documents from his lifetime, Guidotto is called, or calls himself, “magister” and “presbiter,” but never “archipresbiter.”<sup>35</sup> Belloni and Ferrari note that the inscriptions that give Guidotto this title are all from a later period, as is evident from their high Gothic script. The editors suggest that the title may have been assigned to Guidotto because Oberto was called archpriest for political reasons, specifically because, during the struggle between the papacy and the empire, the clergy of Monza took the side of Barbarossa, and therefore sided with the antipopes Victor IV (1159–64) and Pascal III (1164–68). Oberto was, therefore, caught in a difficult situation, and may have relied on the collaboration of Guidotto to the extent that Guidotto was considered “archipresbiter.”<sup>36</sup> Along these lines, they suggest that Guidotto may have been one of the clergymen who accompanied Pope Alexander III into exile in France from 1161 to 1165, thus strengthening his credentials as a defender of orthodoxy.<sup>37</sup>

Although this is only a working hypothesis, it may explain the presence of eight twelfth-century *Glossa ordinaria* codices in Monza that are of French origin; one of these is Monza a-6, the Exodus codex that bears the inscription that it was left (*dimisit*) by Guidotto for the sake of his soul.<sup>38</sup> Is it perhaps possible that Guidotto brought the first copies of glossed Bible books to Monza after spending time in exile in France? This remains a hypothesis, albeit an attractive one that can be supported by several ancillary pieces of evidence.

---

34 *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, xxxiv.

35 “Arciprete Guidotto mai fu,” *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, xxxiv–xxxv, citing Frisi, *Memorie storiche*, vol. 2, no. 72, and documents from the Archivio di Stato in Milan and the Archivio Capitolare in Monza.

36 *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, xxxiv.

37 *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, xxxviii.

38 *La biblioteca capitolare di Monza*, 8–9.

First, regarding the library at Durham Cathedral, Lesley Smith has shown that eleven of the glossed Bible books surviving there were given as bequests: eight by Master Robert of Edington (or Adington), and three by John de Rana. Master Robert had studied theology in Paris in the 1180s, and John de Rana probably studied in Paris in the 1150s.<sup>39</sup> If bright young men who were exposed to the early *Glossa ordinaria* in Paris could bring codices of the text back to England, and subsequently bequeath these books to their communities, the same could have happened with Italian canons, such as Guidotto of Monza. If so, we can imagine that Guidotto came back to Monza with glossed Bible books in 1165 and, when Oberto became the formal archpriest in 1168, served alongside him in a house of dissident canons (followers of the emperor and antipope) until his death in 1182, at which point the books passed to the Biblioteca Capitolare of Monza. In this way, Guidotto was like the English canons Robert and John, but I would argue that he played a more deliberate role than his English contemporaries in collecting the glossed Bible for his community, for Guidotto is also named as the person who commissioned (*fecit fieri*) at least eight, perhaps ten, more glossed Bible books copied for the Monza cathedral library. It is worth noting that the provenance of all but one of these manuscripts is Monza, and that the remaining one, e-13, the book of Jeremiah, is also of Lombard origin. In this effort, Guidotto appears quite different from Robert of Adington and John de Rana.

This evidence can lead us to the following possible scenario: Guidotto, Canon of Monza, came back from France in 1165 with a copy of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Exodus, the latest thing in biblical learning for his generation. He left this book, now Monza a-6, and perhaps other manuscripts imported from France, along with a glossed Gospel of Mark copied in Lombardy, now Monza a-22, to the cathedral library. A later hand marked them both as books that were bequeathed (*dimisit*) by Guidotto to the community for the salvation of his soul. Over the next twenty years, according to later notes in eight, perhaps ten, other manuscripts, Guidotto ordered (*fecit fieri*) copies of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Joshua, Judges, Chronicles, Daniel with Esdras,

---

39 Smith, *Glossa Ordinaria*, 163.

Ecclesiastes, Apocalypse, Numbers, and Jeremiah with Lamentations, all copied locally and all but one in Monza, which he also left to the library when he died in 1182. If Belloni and Ferrari are correct about the cropped attributions, Guidotto also had copies of Proverbs and the deuterocanonical Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sira) copied at Monza, and also bequeathed them to the library. We have no evidence about the exemplars from which these copies were made, but they were most likely codices on loan from other libraries, perhaps even brought by Guidotto from France, and then sent back to their home libraries.

Further evidence shows that Guidotto was only the first link in a chain of canons of Monza who collected copies of the *Glossa ordinaria* to various books of the Bible. As we have already seen, a slightly later contemporary, Michael of Besozzo, added another seven glossed books to the Monza library at his death in 1216: four Gospel books, a psalter, the canonical epistles, and a Song of Songs. One of these, the glossed Song of Songs, may be lost; the other six were all copied in Lombardy, one probably at Monza. This suggests that two canons of Monza were involved in the production of *Glossa ordinaria* texts in Lombardy. Yet another canon, Guillelmus of Malzate, who was still alive in 1275, owned a glossed Song of Songs, also from late twelfth-century Italy.<sup>40</sup>

Taken together, this evidence suggests that the fine set of *Glossa ordinaria* manuscripts at Monza was collected by several canons of the cathedral in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The most striking difference between this collection and the *Glossa ordinaria* manuscripts described by Smith at Lanthony is not the overall number of glossed Bible manuscripts in the collection (at Lanthony, twenty-five or twenty-six; at Monza, nineteen to twenty-one), nor the relative representation of books of the Bible (both are largely complete series of Bible part-books, but we have no evidence of a glossed Song of Songs at Lanthony, nor of a glossed Ruth or Maccabees at Monza), but rather the fact that the *Glossa ordinaria* manu-

---

40 For the manuscripts owned by Michael of Besuzio, see notes 21–24; for Guillelmus of Malzate, see notes 26 and 27.

scripts at Monza can be traced to the collecting habits of particular canons of the cathedral.

A significant proportion of glossed Bibles at Monza appears to have been deliberately gathered, as can be deduced from the fact that we know exactly who donated about half of the glossed Bible books in this collection. Adding up the seven volumes given by Michael of Besozzo, two by Bosco of Terzago, and the earlier gift of ten or twelve from the elusive Guidotto, we get a total of nineteen to twenty-one of the extant glossed Bibles in that collection, with a trace of at least one lost codex. More work on the remaining twenty or so unattributed *Glossa ordinaria* codices at Monza might lead to other clues about how this collection came together. But the evidence gathered to date is enough to lead us to see the *Glossa ordinaria* collection at Monza as a deliberate effort on the behalf of several members of the community to collect a glossed Bible.

In any case, and in spite of the contrasting evidence from St. Victor and England, it should not be totally surprising that such an important medieval cathedral chapter had a consciously collected set of codices of the *Glossa ordinaria*, the newest and most important tool of biblical scholarship in the later Middle Ages.

The selection of biblical books in the Monza *Glossa ordinaria* collection is especially interesting. Not only did Guidotto, Michael, and Bosco collect (as might be expected) the *Glossa ordinaria* to the most important liturgical books of the Bible—the Gospels, the Pauline epistles, and the Psalms—but they also included books of both the major and minor prophets and some examples of wisdom literature, including the deuterocanonical Ecclesiasticus. Perhaps most striking, though, is the number of what Christians understand as historical books of the Bible among the glossed Bible books at Monza. Guidotto owned a copy of the glossed Exodus made in France, and he ordered, along with prophetic books and the Apocalypse, the *Glossa ordinaria* to Numbers, Joshua, Judges, and Chronicles (the latter two known in the Latin Middle Ages as III and IV Kings).

Although this focus on historical books of the Bible may seem strange to modern readers, it resonates with the exegetical interests of the canons of the famous School of St. Victor in Paris. For example, Guidotto's slightly

older contemporary, Andrew of St. Victor, wrote commentaries on the Octateuch (the first eight books of the Hebrew Bible), including Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Kings, and Chronicles, as well as on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.<sup>41</sup> Twelfth-century canons regular were especially interested in advancing a reading of the Bible according to the “historical sense,”<sup>42</sup> so it makes sense that the historical books of the Hebrew Bible should have been particularly interesting to them.

The question of collections of glossed books of the Bible in cathedral chapter libraries overall remains a more problematic question. Lesley Smith’s finding that neither the canons of St. Victor in Paris nor those in English cathedral chapters had particularly extensive collections of the *Glossa ordinaria* stands in contrast to the situation of the cathedral library in Monza. Why did Guidotto and his successors undertake this enterprise of collection? Perhaps the answer lies at the intersection of intellectual and political ambitions and accessible resources. That is, a cathedral school like Monza was not at the center of the university movement, as was St. Victor, but, unlike the English houses, was the community attached to the cathedral of an important royal city. I know of at least one other cathedral library for which the same conditions apply, and for which we have similar evidence of a large collection of *Glossa ordinaria* manuscripts—the library in Toledo, the Imperial City of Spain. Since the Toledo Cathedral library has also been expertly catalogued,<sup>43</sup> a comparative study of the *Glossa ordinaria* manuscripts available to the canons of the two communities would be a good

---

41 Andrea de Sancto Victore, *Expositionem super Heptateuchum*, ed. Charles Lohr and Ranier Berndt, CCCM 53 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), *Expositiones historicae in libros Salomonis*, ed. Ranier Berndt, CCCM 53B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); and the English translations by Franciscus A. van Liere: *Commentary on Samuel and Kings: followed by The remaining deeds of the kings of Israel and Judah, & On the concordance of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah*. CCCM 53A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), and *Interpretation of Scripture: Practice: A selection of works by Hugh, Andrew, Richard of St Victor, Peter Comestor, Robert of Melun, Maurice of Sully and Leonius of Paris*, Victorine Texts in Translation, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

42 Cf. Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, where this argument is discussed at length.

43 The Toledo collection is described by Klaus Reinhardt, *Catálogo de Códices Bíblicos de la Catedral de Toledo, Monumenta Ecclesiae Toletanae Historica. Series I, Regesta et inventoria historica*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1990).

place to begin a more comprehensive study of the fate of the *Glossa ordinaria* among the Augustinian canons of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Since the Augustinian canons were both the propagators of the new methods of reading the Bible in late medieval Europe, and (not coincidentally) the community of Luther, Calvin, and other leaders of the Protestant Reformation, their reception and use of the *Glossa ordinaria* is an especially important clue to the history of this remarkable artifact of biblical exegesis and its method of passing on traditional interpretations of scripture into the modern period.

## LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED

---

- Baltimore, Walters Art Museum  
W 751: 451, 470  
W 759–62: 474  
W 777: 473
- Bangkok, Wat Hua Krabu  
Manuscript: 431, 432 fig. 1
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek  
HS 241: 480
- Birmingham, Barber Institute  
No. 397: 479
- Boston, Boston Public Library  
MS 1532: 473
- Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale  
MS IV 191: 481  
MS IV 542: 478
- Bryn Mawr, PA, Bryn Mawr College  
Gordan MS 95: 527–28, 527 fig. 1, 528  
nn. 15–16
- Cambridge, MA, Harvard University,  
Houghton Library  
MS Richardson 17: 482  
MS Richardson 26: 471  
MS Typ 141: 476  
MS Typ 143: 480  
MS Typ 200: 472  
MS Typ 201: 474  
MS Typ 202: 472  
MS Typ 213: 478  
MS Typ 217: 482  
MS Typ 228: 474  
MS Typ 703: 476
- Cambridge, UK, Corpus Christi College  
MS 4: 585  
MS 32: 338, 338 n. 25, 343 n. 34, 355 n. 61
- Cambridge, UK, Fitzwilliam Museum  
MS 251, fol. 15r: 585  
MS 276: 586  
MS 159: 587  
MS 330: 472, 585  
MS 375: 462, 478
- Collegeville, MN, Saint John's University,  
Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library  
MS no. 4553: 414 n. 69
- Cologne, Historisches Archiv  
Best. 7010–293: 585
- Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer  
Cod. Bodmer 14 : 476  
Cod. Bodmer 68: 470  
Cod. Bodmer 104: 480  
Cod. Bodmer 128: 481  
Cod. Bodmer 139: 481  
Cod. Bodmer 183: 474
- Dublin, Chester Beatty Library  
Thai MS 1341: 432  
Thai MS 1343: 433  
W 017: 471  
W 029: 471  
W 040: 472  
W 043: 472  
W 061: 474  
W 066: 474  
W 076: 457 fig. 3, 475  
W 078: 475



- W 080: 475  
 W 082: 453, 454 fig. 1, 458, 479  
 W 089: 478  
 W 094: 479  
 W 099: 482  
 W 107: 477  
 W 108: 477  
 W 113: 477  
 W 122: 477  
 W 124: 476  
 W 127: 476  
 W 188: 480  
 W MS 103 (formerly; now dismembered):  
 455 fig. 2, 456
- Dunhuang  
 Nai 93: 499, 502–7, 503 n. 8  
 Tama 24: 499, 502–7, 503 n. 8
- Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana  
 MS Or. 148: 423
- Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève  
 Comites Latentes MS 15: 474  
 Comites Latentes MS 38: 479
- Ghent, Universiteitbibliotheek  
 MS 92: 569
- Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats-  
 und-Universitätsbibliothek  
 MS Uffenb. 51 cim.: 585
- The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek  
 MS 135 E 23: 478  
 MS 135 J 8: 477
- The Hague, Museum Meermanno-  
 Westreenianum  
 MS 10 B 23: 355 n. 61
- Hildesheim, Dombibliothek  
 MS St Godehard 1: 355 n. 61
- Jerusalem, National Library of Israel  
 Yah MS Var 4: 467 n. 96, 478  
 Yah MS Var 8: 467 n. 96, 477  
 Yah MS Var 9: 467 n. 96, 478
- Yah MS Var 11: 467 n. 96, 477  
 Yah MS Var 12: 467 n. 96, 482  
 Yah MS Var 13: 475, 467 n. 96  
 Yah MS Var 14–15: 476, 467 n. 96  
 Yah MS Var 16: 467 n. 96, 481
- Kew, The National Archives  
 PROB 11/49/251: 375 n. 15–16, 378 n. 31  
 PROB 11/116/532: 377 n. 24
- Lichfield, Cathedral Library  
 MS 1: 483–98
- Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian  
 MS LA 210: 479
- London, British Library  
 Add. 38662: 296–327, 296 n. 1, 299 fig. 1,  
 306 n. 26  
 Add. 38663: 296–327, 296 n. 1, 299 fig. 2,  
 306 n. 26  
 Add. 38664: 296 n. 1  
 Add. 40142: 296–327, 296 n. 1, 301 fig. 3,  
 306 n. 26  
 Add. 40143: 296 n. 1  
 Add. MS 43460: 469  
 Add. MS 48985: 474  
 Add MS 52660: 452 n. 33–34, 462 n. 70,  
 466 n. 90–91  
 Add. MS 52653: 446 n. 6, 447 n. 7, 449 n.  
 16–17  
 Add. MS 52656: 458 n. 51  
 Add. MS 52657: 458 n. 49, 472 n. 99, 476  
 n. 106  
 Add. MS 52658: 452 n. 31  
 Add. MS 52662: 459 n. 55, 461 n. 67, 462  
 n. 68  
 Add. MS 52670: 460 n. 58, 462 n. 72  
 and 75  
 Add. MS 52692: 462 n. 73  
 Add. MS 53652: 445 n. 1
- Cotton MS Nero A XI: 311  
 Egerton MS 3055: 472  
 Egerton MS 3088: 473  
 Egerton MS 3089: 471

*List of Manuscripts Cited* | 591

- MS Harley 1862: 335 n. 23  
MS. Harley 3698: 390 n. 63  
MS Harley 3915: 585  
MS Laud Misc. 511: 336 n. 24, 347  
MS Royal 15 D 1: 355 n. 61  
MS Royal 17: 328 n. 1  
MS Royal 17 C.xxxiii (Royal C): 328 n. 1, 333, 335–36, 336 fig. 1, 346 n. 37, 365 n. 67  
MS Royal 17 D.viii (Royal D): 333, 335–37, 337 fig. 2, 346 n. 37, 348 n. 46, 349 n. 47, 352 n. 50, 365 n. 67  
MS. Sloane 334: 390 n. 63  
MS. Sloane 512: 390 n. 63  
OR. 13703: 433, 434 fig. 2  
Or. 16552: 434  
Yates Thompson MS 7: 450 n. 19
- London, London Metropolitan Archives,  
Guildhall Library  
MS. 5265/1: 376 n. 17, 377 n. 25,  
380 n. 36  
MS. 9051/5: 378 n. 30, 385 n. 50  
MS. 9171/15: 378 n. 28
- London, Quaritch Archives  
Commission Book for 1914–1917: 446  
n. 2–3  
Commission Book for 1917–1920: 450  
n. 19 and 21  
Commission Book for 1921–1926: 461  
n. 62–63
- London, Victoria and Albert Museum  
MS 16: 472  
MS Ludwig V 6: 475  
MS Ludwig IX 3.: 474  
P.159–1910: 585
- Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum  
MS 48: 478  
MS Ludwig XI, 1: 480
- Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional  
MSS/11267/21: 542
- Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense  
AC IX 36: 473
- Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare  
Monza a-3/10: 514 n. 24  
Monza a-3: 513 n. 18, 514, 514 n. 21,  
515 n. 27  
Monza a-4: 513 n. 18  
Monza a-5: 513 n. 18, 515 n. 29  
Monza a-6: 513 n. 19, 516 n. 30, 518–19  
Monza a-7: 513 n. 19  
Monza a-8: 513 n. 18  
Monza a-9: 513 n. 19  
Monza a-10: 513 n. 19, 514 n. 20, 516  
n. 31, 517 fig. 2  
Monza a-11: 513 n. 19, 516 n. 31  
Monza a-12: 513 n. 18  
Monza a-13: 513 n. 19, 516 n. 31  
Monza a-14: 513 n. 18–19, 516 n. 31  
Monza a-15: 513 n. 17  
Monza a-16: 513 n. 19, 516 n. 32  
Monza a-17: 513 n. 19, 516 n. 31  
Monza a-18: 513 n. 19, 516 n. 32  
Monza a-19: 513 n. 19  
Monza a-20: 513 n. 18  
Monza a-21: 513 n. 18  
Monza a-22: 513 n. 18, 514 n. 24, 515 n.  
27, 516 n. 30, 519  
Monza a-23: 513 n. 19, 514 n. 24, 515  
n. 27  
Monza a-24: 513 n. 18  
Monza a-25: 513 n. 18, 514 n. 24, 515  
n. 27  
Monza a-26: 513 n. 19  
Monza a-27: 513 n. 16  
Monza b-1: 513 n. 16  
Monza b-2: 513 n. 19, 516 n. 31  
Monza b-3: 513 n. 19, 515, 515 n. 25  
Monza b-4: 513 n. 19, 515, 515 n. 28  
Monza b-5: 513 n. 19, 514 n. 24, 515  
n. 27  
Monza b-7: 513 n. 16  
Monza b-9: 514 n. 24, 515 n. 27  
Monza e-4: 513 n. 18, 516 n. 31

- Monza e-5: 513 n. 18  
 Monza e-6: 513 n. 17 and 19  
 Monza e-8: 513 n. 19  
 Monza e-9: 513 n. 16  
 Monza e-11: 513 n. 18  
 Monza e-13: 513 n. 19, 516 n. 31, 519  
 Monza i-11: 513 n. 17
- Münster, Bibliothek Universität Münster  
 MS NR 1003: 481
- New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library  
 MS 111: 480  
 MS 400: 449, 449 n. 18, 479  
 MS 402: 471  
 MS 407: 475  
 MS 413: 470  
 MS 414: 472  
 MS Osborn fa42: 472
- New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art  
 1997.320: 473
- New York, Morgan Library and Museum  
 ARC 1310: 458 n. 50, 463 n. 78  
 MS G 17: 471  
 MS M 777: 450 n. 21, 471  
 MS M 808: 473  
 MS M 826: 469  
 MS M 855: 473  
 MS M 860: 470  
 MS M 862: 470  
 MS M 883: 471  
 MS M 939: 472  
 MS M 962: 471
- New York, New York Public Library  
 MS M 834: 479  
 MS M 1004: 479  
 MS M 1110: 479  
 Spencer MS 27: 451, 480–81  
 Spencer MS 28: 480  
 Spencer MS 29: 477  
 Spencer MS 64: 481  
 Thai MS.6: 432
- Oslo, Schøyen Collection  
 MS 50: 470–71
- Oxford, Bodleian Library  
 Digby 23: 322, 322–23 n. 87  
 MS 48: 326 n. 100  
 MS. Ashmole 1505: 369–91, 371 fig. 1, 272 fig. 2, 373 figs. 3–4, 374 fig. 5  
 MS Bodley 978: 328–68, 328 n. 1, 341 n. 33, 342 fig. 3, 343 fig. 4, 344 fig. 5, 346 n. 37, 347 n. 43, 348 n. 46, 349 fig. 6, 349 n. 47–48, 352 n. 50–51, 353 n. 55, 357 fig. 7, 358 n. 64, 361 fig. 8, 361 n. 67, 362 n. 68, 366 n. 78, 368 n. 80  
 MS Pali a.27 (R): 428 n. 3, 431, 444  
 MS Phillipps-Robinson C 719: 450 n. 22–24, 451 n. 25–26 and 29, 458 n. 47, 459 n. 53–54
- Oxford, Lincoln College  
 MS Lat. 150: 473
- Oxford, Trinity College  
 MS 93: 332 n. 14, 583
- Oxford, Worcester College  
 MS E. 10. 7: 583
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France  
 MS Éth. 35: 415 n. 71  
 MS fr. 24766: 300, 300–301 n. 7, 302 fig. 4, 304–5, 309  
 MSS n.a.f. 15939–15944: 475  
 MS n. a. lat. 3115: 478  
 MS n. a. lat. 3119: 480
- Paris, l'École française d'Extrême-Orient  
 EFEO 39: 434, 435 fig. 3  
 EFEO 40: 432
- Phillipps, Sir Thomas, collection of  
 MS 125: 474  
 MS 134/3948: 475  
 MS 137: 480  
 MS 240: 477  
 MS 250: 480  
 MS 385: 472

*List of Manuscripts Cited* | 593

- MS 389: 470  
MS 390: 470  
MS 437: 477  
MS 934/2708: 471  
MS 1036: 473  
MS 1092: 472  
MS MS 1347: 452  
MS 1798: 456, 459, 475  
MS 2164: 458  
MS 2165/21787: 470  
MS 2251: 477  
MS 2506: 463, 476  
MS 3009: 482  
MS 3010: 451, 480  
MS 3075: 470  
MS 3339: 474  
MS 3344: 471  
MS 3383: 474  
MS 3502: 459, 477  
MS 3535: 471  
MS 3633: 452  
MS 3674: 471  
MS 3897: 474, 477  
MS 3948: 456  
MS 4259: 473  
MS 4448: 473  
MS 4597: 472  
MS 4600: 474  
MS 4769: 471  
MS 4790: 456  
MS 6546: 470  
MS 6640: 477  
MS 6659: 480  
MS 6972: 480  
MS 7084: 477  
MS 10190: 470  
MS 12200: 473  
MS 12260: 470  
MS 12262: 470  
MS 12263: 470  
MS 12264: 470  
MS 12269: 472  
MS 12283: 480
- MS 12348: 471  
MS 14122: 451, 470  
MS 21948: 471
- Private Archive of the Escalante family  
Historia de los reyes moros de Granada:  
544–67, 548 fig. 1, 550 n. 18 and 22–23,  
551 fig. 2, 551 n. 24, 553 fig. 3, 554 fig. 4,  
555 fig. 5
- Petchaburi, Thailand, Wat Lat  
Manuscript: 433
- Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art  
1945–65–6: 480
- Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania  
Rare Book and Manuscript Library  
MS Codex 730: 528, 530 fig. 3, 531, 531  
nn. 20–22, 532 nn. 23–26 and 30–34,  
533 nn. 37–39, 41, 43–47, 49 and 53,  
534 nn. 56–60, 62–63 and 65–73, 535  
nn. 74–75, 80–82 and 84, 536 n. 85, 87  
and 90–95, 537 nn. 96–99, 101–2 and  
104–113, 538 nn. 119–22, 124–25, 128–  
33 and 135–6, 539 nn. 137–40, 145–50  
and 152  
MS Codex 741: 528, 529 fig. 2, 531, 531  
nn. 20–22, 532 nn. 23–30, 32 and 35, 533  
nn. 36, 40, 42, 46–48 and 50–52, 534 nn.  
54–58, 60–67 and 71, 535 nn. 74–83, 536  
nn. 85–90, 93 and 95, 537 nn. 97 and  
99–115, 538 nn. 116–20, 123, 125–27,  
129–31 and 133–34, 539 nn. 141–43,  
145–46 and 151  
Ms. Coll. 591: 509 n. 4, 510 fig. 1
- Princeton, Princeton University Library  
Kane MS 31: 476  
Kane MS 33: 482  
Kane MS 43: 480  
Kane MS 48: 482  
MS Garrett 143: 296 n. 1
- Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense  
MS 969: 269

- MS 1730: 267–95, 267 n. 1, 267–68 n. 3, 268 n. 4, 269 n. 6, 270 fig. 1, 272 figs. 2–3, 273 fig. 4, 277 fig. 5, 277 nn. 17–21, 278 figs. 6–7, 279 n. 22, 280 figs. 8–9, 280 n. 23, 281 figs. 10–11, 281 n. 24, 282 nn. 25–27, 283 figs. 12–14, 284 n. 28, 285 figs. 15–16, 285 n. 29, 286 n. 30, 287 figs. 17–18, 288 fig. 19, 288 n. 31, 289 fig. 20, 290 figs. 21–22, 291 fig. 23, 291 n. 32, 292 fig. 24, 293 fig. 25  
 MS 2206: 421 n. 75
- Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale  
 VE 1006: 470  
 VE 1190: 469  
 VE 1347: 470  
 VE 1348: 470  
 VE 1357: 470  
 VE Sessor 590: 470
- San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial  
 Y/III/6: 542, 558 n. 31
- San Marino, Huntington Library  
 HM 31151: 471
- Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati  
 MS D V 13: 405 n. 37, 418, 420 fig. 2
- Stockholm, Nationalmuseum  
 NMB 1960: 479
- Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek  
 Theol. & Phil. Fol. 341: 472
- Tokyo, Senshu University  
 MS 7: 467, 467 n. 95, 482
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana  
 Stamp. Barb. A VIII 18,: 403, 408 n. 51, 420  
 Vat. et. 1: 400, 400 n. 25, 409–10, 410 n. 59, 421 n. 75, 422, 424 fig. 5, 425, 425 n. 81, 426  
 Vat. et. 2: 400, 400 n. 25, 401, 409, 425–26  
 Vat. et. 5: 407  
 Vat. et. 10: 425 n. 82  
 Vat. et. 15: 406, 406 n. 39, 425  
 Vat. et. 16–18: 425 n. 82  
 Vat. et. 25: 406–7 n. 44, 407  
 Vat. et. 35: 400, 406, 406 nn. 39–40, 409, 409 n. 53, 421, 422 fig. 3, 425 n. 82, 426  
 Vat. et. 40: 426  
 Vat. et. 42, 49, 52, and 57: 425 n. 82  
 Vat. et. 66: 400, 402–6, 406 n. 39, 407 n. 45, 408 n. 51, 409, 411, 418, 419 fig. 1, 423 n. 80, 425 n. 82, 426  
 Vat. lat. Ms. 2648: 269  
 Vat. lat. Ms. 3978: 269  
 Vat. lat. Ms. 5092: 269  
 Vat. lat. Ms. 6177: 398 n. 15, 401 n. 29  
 Vat. lat. Ms. 6178: 398 n. 16  
 Vaticano Rossiano 865 MS Vat. Ross 865: 400, 400 n. 25, 409, 422, 423 fig. 4, 426
- Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano  
 AA., Arm. I–XVIII, no. 2953: 395 nn. 7–8, 396 nn. 9–10, 397 nn. 13–14, 398 nn. 17–18, 404 n. 34, 416 n. 72