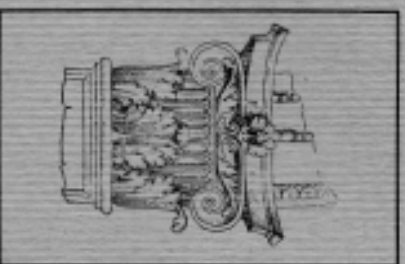


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SCHOOLBOOK DESIGN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
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The manuscript now known as Beinecke MS 594 has long been regarded as something of a lexicographic and artistic curiosity. This rare fifteenth-century illustrated Latin-English vocabulary was edited in the mid-nineteenth century by Thomas Wright and was included in his influential collection of Old- and Middle-English glossaries and word-lists, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*.¹ On the basis of this edition, the Beinecke manuscript has been used by the editors of such important reference works as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Middle English Dictionary*, and R. E. Latham's *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* – at times as the sole or latest attestation for a given word.² The illustrations – most of which Wright includes in facsimile in his edition – have also attracted their fair share of attention. They were presumably responsible for the exhibition of this soiled and otherwise unremarkable manuscript at the 1937 *New York Times* National Book Fair, and are by far the most prominent feature of auction-house and book-seller descriptions of the manuscript published prior to its acquisition by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library in 1976 as a bequest of Norman Holmes Pearson.³

In addition to the lexicographic interest of its occasionally unusual or late forms and the crude charm of its illustrations, Beinecke MS 594 is also of interest to the historian of education as an example of fifteenth-century schoolbook design. On the one hand, similarities in the vocabulary of Beinecke MS 594 and that of another nominate in Wright's collection, British Library Additional MS 34,276.2, demonstrate that the specific words and grammatical examples used by the scribes of these manuscripts were largely traditional and drawn ultimately from other word-lists and grammatical treatises. At the same time, the differences in the manner in which this traditional material is selected and arranged and – in the case of the Beinecke manuscript – illustrated suggest that the scribes responsible for the production of these nominales were willing to adapt their sources to suit their in-

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dividual pedagogical needs or interests. By examining the principles of selection, organization, and illustration used by the scribe of Beinecke MS 594 in compiling his text, we are able to learn a great deal about the particular pedagogical concerns and methods of a teacher of Latin at work approximately half a millennium ago.

Beinecke MS 594 is a small, quarto-sized nominale of 23 paper folia presently bound in a modern, blind-stamped calf cover. Written for the most part with two columns to the page (the only exception being f. 9v), in black ink with rubrication throughout, the pages are unruled, measure approximately 220mm X 150mm, and have a writing surface of approximately 180mm X 135mm. The columns range in length from 22 to 32 lines per page. The paper has been badly damaged at the top and bottom of the gutter and subsequently was patched. Several leaves (ff. 7-14 and f. 22) have had to be reattached, evidently having fallen out after the manuscript was first bound.⁴ The most common watermark is a gloved hand with closed fingers pointing to a star: on f. 14, however, a fragment of what may be the wrist of a naked hand is visible. In his article on the sources of Early English paper supply, Edward Heawood describes both watermarks as being characteristic of paper from the Piedmont and Genoa regions.⁵ Half of the sheets of the nominale—folia 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, and 21—have no watermarks.

As they point invariably toward the gutter, these watermarks can be used to help determine the manuscript's collation. The partial watermarks of ff. 2 and 5, for example, form a complete design extending under the bifolium ff. 3-4, indicating a first quire of at least six leaves (ff. 1-6). The partial watermarks of ff. 18 and 23, and ff. 19 and 22 similarly match each other, again suggesting a quire of at least six leaves (ff. 18-23). That none of the partial watermarks in ff. 7-17 complete each other despite the manuscript's apparently uninterrupted text suggests that MS 594 was perhaps once part of a larger volume that had been cut up before the nominale was put into its current binding. The survival of the originally blank f. 23 (it now contains some fifteenth-century and early modern pen-trials) as both an end paper to MS 594 and as part of the bifolium ff. 18-23 suggests that the vocabulary originally may have been the last item in this larger volume.

Beyond the source of its paper, little is known of the origin or provenance of the manuscript before 1857, when Wright reports it to have been in the collection of Lord Lonsborough.⁶ The scribe's use of the letter "r" in words such as *reforward* (for ME *grehownd*, MnE "Grey-

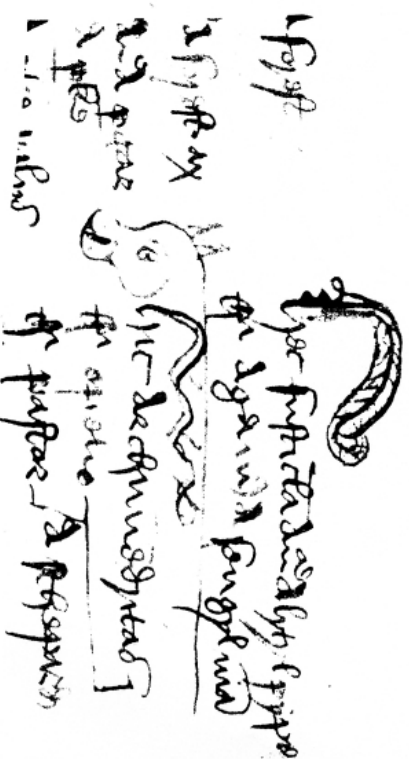
hound") on f. 4v2, l.16 (Wright, col. 758, l.31), and *ffirotica* (for *Lcirotica* or *chirothecca*, MnE "glove") on f. 10r2, l.13 (Wright, col. 775, l.21) is pointed to by Wright as being characteristic "of the dialects of the Welsh border in the fourteenth century," but I have been able to confirm neither Wright's conclusion nor his corroborating evidence.⁷ A name, "Ihon Gyons," written in red ink and what looks like a different hand from that of the main text, appears at the bottom of the last page of text in the nominale (f. 22v) and may indicate the name of an early owner, although I have been unable to trace this name to any specific locale. Two lines in an extremely ill-formed fifteenth-century hand and a second passage of seven lines in a later hand—apparently the draft of part of a letter—run along the top of the end-paper, f. 23r. Again they offer little clue as to the manuscript's provenance.⁸

The manuscript contains 83 marginal illustrations: 68 in black ink with rubrication and yellow coloring; 3 in black ink with a yellow wash and no rubrication⁹; 9 in black ink only¹⁰; and 3 in red only.¹¹ The rubricator (the same scribe as that responsible for the black-ink text and most of the illustrations) has also embellished one of the two hands at the bottom of f. 1v with the addition of dog and leash in red ink. Decorated letters (not reproduced in Wright's facsimile) include the *h* of the initial *hoc*, *haec*, or *hic* in most columns of the manuscript (usually embellished with a feather-shaped design in red and black, although geometric patterns [f. 10v2] and grapevines [f. 6r1, 8v1] are also used)¹² and the initial *N* of a number of capitula (most commonly with a face, although a fish is used on f. 6v1). The illustrations appear to have been drawn at about the same time as the text of the manuscript was copied. In some cases, the drawings clearly either preceded the text or were anticipated by the scribe as he copied it out. In the case of the illustration for *olla* (f. 9r1), the text of the nominale is pinched around the top of the drawing. In that for *domus* (f. 11r1), the illustration fills a 1.5 cm space left at the bottom of the second column on the page. Other illustrations, apparently also by the main scribe, appear to have been added at some point after the text was copied: in the drawing for *equus* on f. 4r2 (Wright, col. 757), for example, the horse's legs appear to have been drawn over the *d* of *hec corda* "a rope," a word that appears in the text immediately beneath the illustration in the manuscript (the lemma *corda* appears in col. 756, l.38 of Wright's edition—not directly under the illustration of the horse as in the MS). A third group of doodles and drawings, most notably the *peripissima* of f. 9v



Fig. 1

(fig. 1) and a griddle drawn between the columns on f. 6r, appear to have been drawn in various different inks after the manuscript was originally copied and are probably the work of later readers.¹³ The main text of the vocabulary is written throughout in a late fifteenth-century cursive script similar to the Anglicana book hand of Bodleian MS Digby 181 f. 47r (reproduced in plate 3ii of M. B. Parke's *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500*).¹⁴ A distinctive feature of the script of MS 594 in comparison to that of Parke's plate 3ii, however, is the use of both cursiva and textualis forms of the letter *a* (see, for example, the two types of *a* in "A salt stole," f. 14v2 l.17). Although the scribe relies for the most part on a hierarchy of scripts in distinguishing his capitula from the main text—*Textura Quadrata* and *Bastarda Anglicana* for the heads, *Anglicana* consistently for the vocabulary—this distinction occasionally breaks down, particularly in the middle sections of the manuscript where *Anglicana* is used for both main text and capitula. In these sections, hand-shaped pointers squeezed into the margins and spaces between the columns are used to distinguish the capitula from the main body of the vocabulary.¹⁵ In the final section of the nominale, that dealing with the *Nomina artificum cum suis instrumentis* (ff. 20r-22v; Wright, cols. 804-14), horse-headed dividers are used to separate all but the first three sub-sections of vocabulary specific to the individual trades (ff. 21v-22v). As no space was left for these dividers at the top of the first few sub-sections in which they appear, it would seem that they were included by the scribe at first as an afterthought—although the relatively more elaborate dividers of the final few sub-sections indicate that the scribe realized his mistake before he finished copying his exemplar (fig. 2).



As these lapses in the hierarchy of script and the late insertion of dividers suggest, MS 594 was copied – and with great haste and minimal attention to paleographic quality. Other codicological and paleographic evidence in support of this conclusion includes the rubrication of previously canceled black ink letters (ff. 1v2, 1.19, and 6r2, 1.12), the positioning of a capitulum (for the *Nomina planetorum*) as the last item on the recto page of f. 18, and an occasional lack of agreement in the relative position of demonstrative articles and the nouns they govern (suggesting that the two parts of speech were copied as independent columns).¹⁶

A similar haste and lack of attention to quality is also to be seen in the illustrations. Although presumably included in the manuscript, as Wright suggests, as a means of helping focus the scholar's attention on the task of learning his vocabulary (p. xii), the drawings themselves seem more often than not less instructive than entertaining. In the case of the more violent and fanciful drawings – particularly the head being cut off by a sword on f. 2r (fig. 3; Wright, col. 752); the heart being pierced by a lance on f. 12v (fig. 4; Wright, col. 782); or, in a different vein, the three-hole "prey" of f. 18r (fig. 5; Wright, col. 800) – the illustrator appears to have seen his work primarily as a means of making the book as a whole more attractive to the young student (an impulse analogous to that seen by Nicholas Orme as lying behind the characteristic use of scatological humor and contemporary references in the other Old English and Middle English glossaries and grammars).¹⁷ In the case of the hand-shaped boxes around the words *otere* (fig 6; f. 5r2) and *a man* (f. 20v1), on the other hand, the illuminator's principal motivation appears to have been simple boredom.

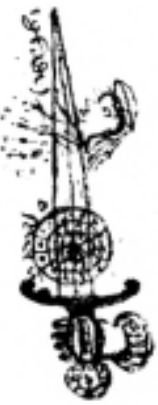


Fig. 3

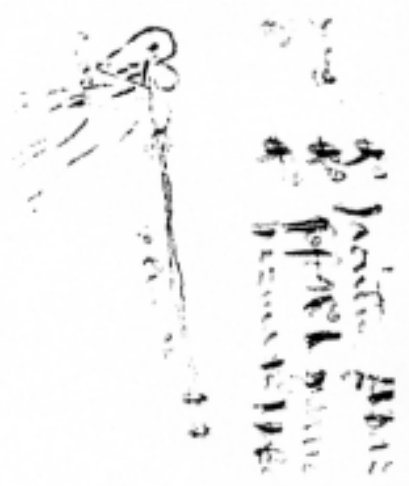


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

When the drawings do illustrate the text they accompany, moreover, they tend to do so only in the most general way. While the drawing of a head at the bottom of f. 1r (fig. 7; Wright, col. 747) clearly is appropriate to the vocabulary on this page (which includes a number of entries for various parts of the head), the illustration itself is not used to explicate the terms presented.¹⁸ Indeed, in some cases it is the illustrations which need the explication – taken out of its context in the section *Nomina aquarum* (f. 17v2), for example, I imagine few readers of MS 594 would immediately recognize the scribbles appearing on this page as an illustration of *aqua*, *latex*, *limpha*, or *unda* (fig. 8; Wright, col. 799).



Fig. 7

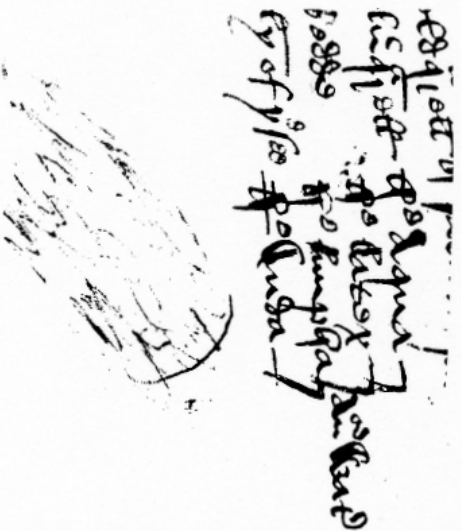


Fig. 8

This often-surprising lack of correlation between drawing and text is perhaps best exemplified by the illustrations of ff. 9v-10r (fig. 1).¹⁹ Although, given the layout of the two pages, it seems clear that the scribe of MS 594 had intended to include a series of drawings in the second column of f. 9v (he left the column blank for this purpose), only three of the illustrations found on the two pages have any direct relevance to the text they accompany: a paring (*peripsima*) second from the top on 9v2 (which appears to have been added by a different scribe or reader after the text was copied) opposite the appropriate Latin lemma (l. 3; Wright, col. 772, l. 33); a shirt, also on 9v2, drawn by the original scribe and illustrating the lemma *vestmentum* (9v1, l. 20; Wright, col. 773, l. 19); and a man's head and hat at the bottom of f. 10r1, illustrating the words *capellum* and *capellus* of f. 10r1, ll. 8 and 9 (Wright, col. 773, ll. 31-32). While the other illustrations on the two pages – with the presumable exception of the dog on f. 9v – all seem relatively appropriate to the themes of food and clothing covered in the accompanying text, none serves to illustrate any specific word.²⁰

While he rarely uses his illustrations to explain the text of his vocabulary, the scribe of Beinecke MS 594 is nevertheless careful to make sure that his drawings are also never actually misleading. This concern is best seen in the corrections he makes to the otherwise potentially confusing illustration at the bottom of f. 16v2 (fig. 9;

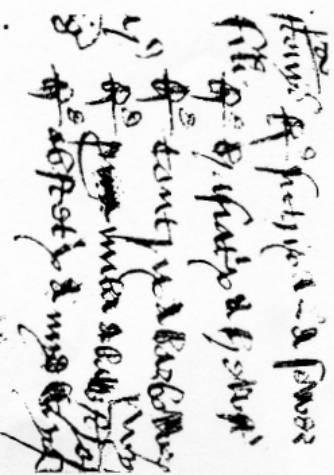


Fig. 9

Wright, col. 794). Although, according to the original black-ink inscription, the drawing is intended to illustrate the lemma *congeries* (defined in the main text of the vocabulary and in the inscription to the illustration as “A hep of stonsys,” f. 16v1, l.21), the original black-ink illustration looks far more like a *glomeracio* or “hep of threde”—a word appearing immediately above *congeries* in the vocabulary on the page, and one which, as the more “womanly” of the two terms in a traditional sense, would seem the more appropriate choice for illustration in a section of vocabulary pertaining to women, their trades, and their tools (*Nomina mulierum cum suis instrumentis*). Misled perhaps by the similarity between the Middle English translations for the two words in his text (both of which begin “a hep of . . .”), the scribe at first may have copied the wrong Latin lemma in the inscription to his illustration. In order to remove this potential source of confusion to the student, however, he subsequently both expanded the black-ink Latin inscription by adding its Middle English translation in red ink (*congeries* is the only illustration in the manuscript for which he does this),²¹ and added some highly conspicuous red balls to the otherwise rather fibrous-looking pile of the original black-ink drawing.

The fact that the original compiler of MS 594 would include a pair of words with such potentially confusing translations as *congeries* and *glomeracio* in the text of his nominale in the first place, moreover, is in itself quite interesting. One of the five standard types of Medieval English-Latin vocabularies discussed by Brother Bonaventura in his article, “The Teaching of Latin in Later Medieval England,” fifteenth-century nominales tend at the same time to be both regular in form—organized topically rather than alphabetically—and around an often roughly similar hierarchy of capitula—and highly idiosyncratic in the specific choice and arrangement of their vocabulary.²² In the case of Beinecke MS 594, the compiler of the nominale appears to have had a pedagogical interest in distinguishing between Latin homonyms, synonyms, and other pairs of words likely to be confused or associated with each other by the student. In the section *Nomina avium ferorum*, for example, the lemma “*vola, pars quedam ale*” is followed immediately by the homonyms, *vola* “parte of the harme hole [i.e., arm-pit]” and *vola* “the lowest parte of the fote” (f. 6v1, ll.4-6; Wright, col. 763). As is often the case in this manuscript, moreover, the distinction between these three words is immediately reinforced by the inclusion of a brief verse immediately following: “*Est vola pars palme, pars ale, pars pedis ima*” (f. 6v1, ll.7-8;

Wright, 763; cf. f. 3r1, l.14; Wright, col. 752).²³ Similarly, lists of synonyms are often followed by a verse to point out the differences between them:

<i>Hec terra, -e</i>	} An ^{or} the fyld
<i>hec rus, -i</i>	
<i>hoc arum, -i</i>	
<i>hoc campum, -i</i>	

Arum, campus, ager, rus, sic diversificatur;
Dum seritur sit ager, et semen conditur illo;
Campus dicitur dum fructibus expoliatur;
Messibus est arum tectum flore vel erbis,
Incultum rus est, veluti sunt pascua silve.
 (f. 17r1, ll.4 ff.; Wright, cols. 795-796)

The extent to which this interest in “difficult” words has affected the selection and arrangement of vocabulary in the nominale, however, is perhaps most easily seen in comparison with the text of a second fifteenth-century nominale printed by Wright, British Museum Addition MS 34.276.2.²⁴ Although the Beinecke and British Museum nominales have a number of capitula in common, they often differ greatly in both the order in which these sections are presented and in the choice and logical arrangement of the vocabulary they include under each heading. While the compiler of the British Museum nominale tends to stick closely to the theme announced in the relevant capitulum in selecting his vocabulary, that of the Beinecke manuscript often jumbles together words of varying appropriateness to his ostensible subject. While the vocabulary of the section *Nomina digitatum laicorum* in the British Museum nominale consists, as its capitulum suggests, of a relatively straight-forward list of lay titles (Capit. 4; Wright, cols. 683 ff.), for example, that found in the equivalent section of Beinecke MS 594 (the *Nomina dominorum temporalium*, f. 12r2 ff.; Wright, cols. 781-782) includes both the expected official titles (*imperator, dux -cis, armiger* etc.) and a number of terms more peripherally associated with lay power (*diadema, lapis preciosus* and *hec nima*, “a sylver rodde”). Similarly, while the vocabulary pertaining to women and their trades is spread over a number of relatively specific sub-sections in the British Museum nominale,²⁵ the equivalent section in Beinecke MS 594 includes feminine titles and tools (*mater, aucionatrix, ffium* and *hoc smigma* “a soppe [i.e., soap],” etc.), words for food and food production (*butirum*, “botyr” and *multrale*, “the tyn [paill] of the mylke”) and a variety of miscellaneous terms (such as *hoc stigma* “the dere yn a

manny's hede" and *hoc sulfur* "a bryn star"), which, while perhaps associated with women by the compiler, are neither *mulieres* nor *instrumenta sua* (f. 15V1-17r1).

The difference between these two approaches to the selection and arrangement of vocabulary remains evident, moreover, even when, in the first topic of each nominale (*Nomina pertinentia humano corpori* in Beinecke MS 594 and *de vocabulis ad singula membra humani corporis spectantibus* in the British Museum manuscript), the two vocabularies appear to have shared a common ancestor. Although Beinecke MS 594 contains a less comprehensive collection of vocabulary under this heading than does the British Museum nominale, 266% or 130 of the 197 terms in the first section of the Beinecke manuscript also appear in the equivalent section of the British Museum nominale. More importantly, these common words are presented for the most part in the same order in each manuscript — particularly in the case of the first 61 common entries, where the two manuscripts disagree in the order of only seven common words, of which five represent simple inversions in the order in which synonyms or near synonyms are presented in the two manuscripts.²⁷

Where the two manuscripts *differ* in the vocabulary of this common section, moreover, the differences are, more often than not, attributable either to an extra comprehensiveness on the part of the compiler of the British Museum nominale, or to the inclusion of extra homonyms or synonyms on that of the compiler of Beinecke MS 594. Thus, where the British Museum nominale has the single lemma *frons*, [-tɪs], "a forete" (Wright, col. 675), the compiler of Beinecke MS 594 also adds the homonym *ffrons*, -dis "A brawnche" (f. 1r1, ll.25-26; Wright, col. 745). Where the British Museum nominale reads *os*, -ris, "a mowthe" (Wright, col. 675), the compiler of Beinecke MS 594 adds *os*, *ossis*, "A bone" (f. 1v1, ll.4-5; Wright, col. 747). And, while both compilers arrange the lemmata *latus*, *costa*, *pubes*, *femur*, and *crus* in the same order in their manuscripts, beginning with *latus* and ending with *crus*, that of Beinecke MS 594 lengthens the series in his vocabulary with the addition of a homonym for *costa* "a rybe" (the problematic *costa* "a baksterys slomb" [see above, note 2]) and two extra synonyms for *pubes*:

<i>hoc latus</i> , A ^{ce} a syde	<i>hoc latus</i> , a syde
<i>hec costa</i> , A ^{ce} a rybe	<i>hec costa</i> , a rybe
<i>hec costa</i> , A ^{ce} a baksterys slomb	<i>hec pubes</i> , zong hore

<i>pars lateris costa, res pistoris,</i>	<i>hoc femur</i> }	A the
<i>quoque costa</i>	<i>hoc crus</i>	
<i>hec pubes</i>	} A ^{ce} schere	
<i>hic lanugo</i>		(Bm Addit. MS 34,276.2
<i>hoc pecten</i>		Wright, col. 677)
<i>hoc femur</i>	} A they	
<i>hoc crus</i>		(Beinecke MS 594, f. 2r2, 11.10-18;
		Wright, col. 750)

Even where there is no such source of comparison as Bm Addit. MS 34,276.2 lying easily at hand, however, there is still enough evidence to conclude that the compiler of Beinecke MS 594 gathered his material from other word lists.

This is particularly so in the case of the frequent difficulty he seems to have in matching his vocabulary to his explanatory verses — the majority of which he has adapted or copied from scholastic poems such as John of Garland's *equivoca* and *synonyma*.²⁸ While the connection between verse and vocabulary in the passage from f. 2r2 discussed above is relatively easy to see, elsewhere the connection between text and verse can be harder to follow. Thus in the section *Nomina pertinentia canere*, for example, the synonyms *cooperatorium* and *toral* are glossed by a verse which, ignoring *cooperatorium*, distinguishes instead between *toral* and *tegmen* — the latter a word found nowhere else in the manuscript apart from this verse:

Hoc cooperatorium, a cowrylythe
Hoc torall, idem est
Est toral mappa, tegmen lectoque vocatur.
 (Beinecke MS 594, f. 10v1, ll.7-9; Wright, col. 776)

Similarly, in the section *Nomina bladorum et arborum*, the verse which follows the entries *mixtilio* and *avicula* has less to do with the words it seems to "explain" (neither word is mentioned in the passage) than with the various synonyms for "corne" found in the previous column, of which it mentions two, *granum* and *messis*:

Hec seges
hoc satum
hoc bladum
hoc granum
hoc frugis
hoc messis

} corne

*Dum seritur seges, sata dum radicibus herent,
Blada virore virent, granaria grana reseruant;
Fruges dum fruumur, sunt messes quando
metuntur*

(Beinecke MS 594, f. 131r, ll. 10-18; Wright, col. 784)

*hec mixtillo, A^{ae} moge
hec avicula, A^{ae} wylid hote*

Radix, festuca, conculnio, nodus, arista,

Gnannum cum palia fer sufficit sit quoque scripta,

Sunt partes messis firma tellure manentes.

(Beinecke MS 594, f. 131r, ll. 7-11; Wright, col. 785)

Considered in the light of the paleographic and textual evidence discussed above, these slips in the relationship between text and verse suggest that the compiler of Beinecke MS 594 gathered his material less from the observation of his physical surroundings than from already existing vocabularies and grammatical texts — which he then adapted to suit the needs of his own students. The evident freedom with which these adaptations are made, moreover, suggests that the Beinecke scribe constructed his book with certain well-defined goals and techniques in mind. Examining the principles of selection, organization, and illustration used by the scribe of Beinecke MS 594, we discover a teacher with a particular interest in helping his students to recognize Latin homonyms and synonyms and a concern with doing so in as attractive and accurate a fashion as possible.

1. "A Pictorial Vocabulary," ed. Thomas Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies* (Second Edition), revised and collated by Richard Paul Wülcker, 2 Volumes with Index (London, 1884), i. columns 745-814. The first edition of this anthology (without indices) appeared as *A Volume of Vocabularies* (London, 1857). References to the text and illustrations of this Beinecke MS will also include citations to Wright's edition wherever possible. It should be noted though that Wright's fascimile makes no attempt to reproduce the relationship between text and illustration found in the manuscript itself.

2. MS 594 provides the sole source for the MED entry *slomb* "an implement used by a baker." The editors suggest that the form may be for *lome*, n. "an implement, tool." It also provides the RMLWL with its sole source for *petrima* "gun," its only post-twelfth-century attestation for *sacerdotissa* "a priestess" and its only post-fourteenth-century attestation for *presbeterissa* in the sense "a priest's concubine."

3. A selection of these catalogue entries — most unidentified — can be found in the Beinecke Library's file on the manuscript.

4. For example, the repairs to f. 8 cover part of the *e* of *est* on f. 81r.

5. Edward Heawood, "Sources of Early English Paper-Supply," *The Library* ser. IV,

10 (1929) 283-307. For the gloved-hand see fig. 46. Although — if it is a naked hand — less than half the watermark of f. 14 is visible, what remains resembles the wrist in Heawood's fig. 48, p. 303.

6. See Wright, fn. 1, col. 745. Subsequent owners of the manuscript include Henry H. Gibbs of St. Dunstan's (identified in an *ex libris* on the fly-leaf) and Pearson.

7. See Wright, fn. 4, col. 757. The development of *f* / *f* / from *final ch*, *h* / *h* / and *g* and *gh* / *gh* / in Middle English (beginning in Wales and Western England) is well documented but of no relevance to the forms in MS 594 or the additional forms cited by Wright in his footnote, all of which involve the development of an initial / *f* / from a variety of different consonants (Richard Jordan, *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*, transl. and revised by Eugene J. Crook [The Hague & Paris, 1974], §§ 187 and 197).

8. Neither these two passages nor the colophon are noted by Wright in his edition. 9. A small heart in the right margin of f. 21r (not reproduced in Wright); a fish on f. 62v (Wright, col. 764); and a table on f. 142v (Wright, col. 788).

10. This group includes many doodles and marginalia in later hands not reproduced in Wright's edition: a griddle (not found in Wright) in the right-hand margin of f. 61r; a fish (f. 62v; Wright, col. 764); a griddle (not found in Wright), copied from a red and black ink drawing on the same page (f. 81v; col. 769); a paring (f. 92v; Wright, col. 772); a dog and a shirt (92v; neither reproduced in Wright), copied from red and black ink drawings on the same page (Wright, col. 772); two concentric circles (f. 181v; not reproduced in Wright); a star, copied from a red and black ink illustration on the same page (f. 181v; both found in Wright, col. 801); a sickle (f. 221r; not in Wright), copied from a red and black ink illustration on the same page (Wright, col. 811).

11. A small star or flower (f. 112; Wright, col. 748); a bow and arrow and a separate arrow (f. 221v; both in Wright, col. 812).

12. The *h* of the first line remains undecorated in ff. 91v & 2, 101r & 2, 121r, 131v & 2, 141r, 151r, 152v, and 211v & 2.

13. There are also numerous pen-trials and dry-point echoes of words and letters throughout the nominale, suggesting that the MS saw long life as a school-book.

14. (Oxford, 1969).

15. This technique is used with the capitula *Partes domus* on f. 101v (Wright, col. 777), and *Nomina dominorum temporalium* and *Nomina armorum* on f. 121r & 2 (Wright, cols. 781 and 782). These pointers, like the horse-headed dividers discussed below, are not reproduced in Wright's fascimiles.

16. Demonstratives appear in the text of the vocabulary in the form *h* + superscript *a* (for *hae*), *o* (for *hoc*) or *i* (for *hic*). In the inscriptions to the illustrations, only the vowel of the demonstrative appears, suggesting that the words were learned and memorised in this form, rather than with the full form of the demonstrative. For the sake of editorial consistency and ease of reference, I have adopted Wright's punctuation and silently expanded all abbreviations. Otherwise the spellings in this article correspond to those of the MS.

17. Nicholas Orme, "Latin and English Sentences in Fifteenth-Century School-books," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 60 (1985) pp. 47-57, particularly p. 51 ff.

18. By way of contrast, compare the relatively detailed illustration found in the contemporary discussion of the psychological faculties in Paris Bibliothèque nationale MS Latine 11229 f. 37v. A photograph of this illustration, together with a brief discussion of "Faculty Psychology" in medieval texts, can be found in V.A. Kolbe, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative: The First Five Canterbury Tales* (Stanford, 1984), pp. 20-24.

19. The drawings are reproduced in the correct order on Wright, cols. 773-776. The layout of the text of the two pages in Wright's edition, however, does not match that of the MS, which begins f. 9v with *hec lasca* a schete of brede (Wright, col. 772, 131).

20. I have been unable to determine what the illustration closest to the left hand margin beneath f. 101r is supposed to be. Wright, to judge from his fascimile, thought it a leg of turkey or some other bird (col. 775). But what looks like a wrinkle in his copy looks like an eye in the manuscript.

21. The full inscription, not included by Wright reads: "[Black ink:] Congeries [red ink:] a hepe [of] / stony's" (*hepe* in l. 1 of the inscription is only partially visible. There also seems to be something written after "stony's" in the second line, but I was unable to make this out). A second bilingual inscription is found with the illustration for "leke" on f. 13v, but here both the Middle English translation and the Latin lemma are in black ink. In a third illustration, the *clava* of f. 12v, the rubricator has corrected the black ink inscription *crava* by stroking out the descender of the *r* and drawing in a looped *l*.

22. Brother Bonaventure, "The Teaching of Latin" *Mediaeval Studies* 23 (1961) 1-20. The other types listed by Brother Bonaventure are the *Verbale*, a list of verbs by conjugation; verse vocabularies; lists of synonyms; and lists of miscellaneous words including various parts of speech and arranged alphabetically (p. 6).

23. The same verse is also found in a slightly different form after an earlier occurrence of *vola* (f. 3r, l. 14).

24. "A Nominalle," *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, cols. 673-774. The nominalle, edited by Wright from the collection of Joseph Mayer, was acquired by the British Museum in 1893 (*Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts of the British Museum in the Years 1888-1893* [London, 1894] p. 283).

25. Headings used in the British Museum nominalle are: *Nomina dignitatum mulierum*; *Nomina artificum mulierum*; *Nomina jugularum mulierum*; *Nomina reprehensibilium mulierum*; and *Nomina rerum pertinentium uxori*.

26. At 228 entries, the first section of BM Addit. MS 34.276.2 is 14% longer than the equivalent in the Beinecke manuscript.

27. For reasons discussed below, both manuscripts include words not found in the other, even among these first 61 words. The inversions of synonyms between the two manuscripts are as follows: *hoc cinciput/hoc intercept* (BM Addit. MS 34.276.2; Wright, col. 674) vs *hoc intercept/hoc cinciput* (Beinecke MS 594 f. 1r, ll. 4-5; Wright, col. 745); *hic capillus/hec coma/hic pilus* (BM Addit. MS 34.276.2; Wright, col. 674) vs *hic pilus/hic capillus/hec coma* (Beinecke MS 594 f. 1r, ll. 14-16; Wright, col. 745); *hoc cerebrum/hoc cranium* (BM Addit. MS 34.276.2; Wright, cols. 674-675) vs *hoc cranium/hoc cerebrum* (Beinecke MS 594 f. 1r, ll. 20-21; Wright, col. 746); *hec albedo/hec alburies* (BM Addit. MS 34.276.2; Wright, col. 747) vs *hec abburies/hec abbedo* (Beinecke MS 594 f. 1r, ll. 1r, 2; Wright, col. 747). By way of comparison, a similar congruence in order is not to be found (despite the similarly large number of common words) in the equivalent section of the third fifteenth-century nominalle printed by Wright in his collection, British Museum Reg. cxvii f. 21r ff. ("English Vocabulary," *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, cols. 633-672).

28. As an example, cf. the verse "Dum seritur seges . . ." Beinecke MS 594 f. 13r, ll. 16-18 (Wright, col. 784) with John of Garland, *Synonyma* (Migne, ed. PL, cols. 1577-1590, col. 1589, A): or "est aqua qua frumur doctrina, dolor, populisque" (Beinecke MS 594 18r, l. 4; Wright, col. 799), with BM Addit. MS 34.276.2, "est aqua doctrina, populus, dolor, ac elementum" (Wright, col. 736), and John of Garland, *Equivoeca*, "est aqua tormentum, doctrinaque plebs elementum".

FRIEDRICH GERSTÄCKER: GERMAN
REALIST OF THE AMERICAN WEST
BY JEFFREY L. SAMMONS

The name of Friedrich Gerstäcker (1816-72) is today mainly known to those interested in German writing about America and to Germans of a certain age who remember reading one or two of his early novels as children's books. But this was not always the case. In the mid-nineteenth century he became so famous among German writers that he began to experience the drawbacks of stardom, as he was imposed upon by crowds in public places, tedious correspondents, and unbidden visitors. As early as 1849, he had become so weary of answering questions about America that he published an emigration manual, *Wie ist es eigentlich in Amerika?* (How Is It Really in America?), one of the wittiest and wisest works in a genre that at that time had many examples. He was widely known in other countries also. The *National Union Catalogue* shows many Gerstäcker holdings in German, English, and other languages in American libraries. One of his casual tales, *Germelshausen* (1859), about a village that appears once every hundred years, was long employed as a text for Anglophone schoolchildren learning German; it was still in use in my high school. It is reputed to be the source of the musical *Brigadoon*. Like most nineteenth-century German writers obliged to live from the pen, Gerstäcker wrote in every possible genre and format: long and short fiction, plays, verse, travel reports, essays, journalism, translations, and potboilers. But he is best remembered as one of the most adventurous German travel writers of his century, and particularly for his fiction and reportage on America. In this regard he was distinguished among the many Germans who wrote about America by the authenticity of his experience.

At the outset he had not intended to be a writer at all. The son of an actress and a fairly prominent opera singer, who died when the boy was nine, he was trained in agriculture, but in 1837, at the age of twenty-one, beset by the restlessness and craving for adventure characteristic of his whole life, he took off for America, where he remained for six years. He tramped long distances from New York to Ontario to Texas, taking on all sorts of odd jobs in Ohio, Tennessee, Louisiana, and on the Mississippi River. But the largest part of his