3   Late Medieval Text Collections: A Codicological Typology Based on Single-Author Manuscripts

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In his essay 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book,' Malcolm Parkes shows how the textual organization of scholastic books produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was different from that of manuscripts made in the twelfth century.[1] Due to a change in the model of reading, from monastic *lectio*, which was a spiritual exercise, to scholastic *lectio*, which was an intellectual undertaking, the contents of books became more regulated. In the academic milieu, for example, there was a growing tendency to copy related texts in each other's vicinity, which resulted in the creation of various kinds of well-planned compilations. Common denominators are texts of the same genre (philosophy, alphabetical indices), those with a particular theme (sermons devoted to a certain topic), texts from the same author (St Augustine, Aristotle), or collections with the same function (commentaries on a certain scholastic work). The creation of well thought-through collections was not limited to Latin, or to the academic milieu. Studies by Sylvia Huot and Sarah Westphal, devoted to French and German compilations respectively, show the same tendency in the vernacular traditions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – possibly as an offspring of the older scholastic tradition.[2]

The study by Parkes suggests that compilations with a pronounced focus (hereafter called 'collection') became more popular in the later Middle Ages; or at least that they were produced in larger numbers.[3] The common thread of collections was sometimes clarified with the use of aids such as rubrics, paragraphs, running titles, and marginal enumerations that helped structure an argument. For example, in a rubric a scribe could emphasise the reason for including a text, such as in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 13.708, a Middle Dutch collection of treatises devoted to Christian faith, where the following rubric is found at fol. 218r: 'Om dat hi van den geloeue sprect, so willickene hier setten' (I am putting this text here because it also discusses faith).[4] The studies of Parkes, Huot, and Westphal show how scribes in the later Middle Ages took on the role of compiler – though this trait was not shared by all scribes of the period, nor was it restricted to copyists of the later Middle Ages.[5] Copyists in the later Middle Ages, then, not only duplicated exemplars, but sometimes they would also take on different, more creative roles – for example, that of the compiler.

The present essay will take these observations of Parkes and others a step further. It aims to show how scribes not only adapted the structure and contents of texts in order to compose a coherent collection, but also undertook well-planned actions on a codicological level to this end. As will be shown, there are four different ways in which text collections were constructed physically. After the four types have been presented, I will attempt to shed light on the rationale behind the scribe's choice to opt for a certain codicological format. The central focus of this essay is the collection containing multiple texts by a single author. These collections were most likely the product of a plan envisioned by a scribe – although at times his work may also reflect the vision of a patron.[6] The codicological study of miscellanies and other text collections is best done in situ, although detailed manuscript descriptions may sometimes be sufficient. I will therefore present my case using examples from the Middle Dutch manuscript tradition, which has been an important focus of my research in the past. The types presented here are also encountered in other vernaculars, however, as well as in Latin, and from time to time examples from other traditions will be provided. Before the typology is presented, however, the codicology of composite manuscripts needs to be addressed. Whereas the best-known collection is perhaps the one that was copied 'in one go,' many collections were, in fact, copied discontinuously.

Composite Manuscripts

Catalogue descriptions of manuscripts use a variety of terms to denote that a surviving codex is composite: 'Latin works on science and mathematics assembled from several 13th-century booklets,' 'A miscellany of five separate manuscripts,' 'A set of five volumes,' and

Table 1
Schematic Representation of a Composite Manuscript
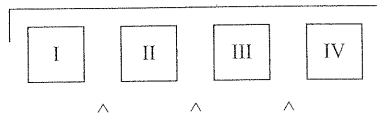
'Three independent manuscripts bound together.'[7] With phrases like these, the descriptions denote that the codex in question consists of several independently produced parts, usually called 'booklets,' which for some reason ended up in one volume.[8] Each individual part of a composite book represents a separate production process: the scribe or scribes involved in the production of a booklet usually worked independently from the copyists of other parts. The result is that the components of a composite manuscript often have varied physical appearances. Thumbing through such a volume one typically encounters alternations in *mise en page*, script, quire, and leaf signatures, and in the style of headings and running titles. A schematic representation of a composite manuscript consisting of four parts would look like table 1.

The four cubes in this scheme are the booklets; the horizontal line above them represents the present binding. The *caesurae*, indicated by wedges, point out locations in the volume where a discontinuity in the production process is encountered: they mark the end of a particular scribal undertaking, as well as the beginning of another. With the presence of *caesurae*, composite manuscripts are differentiated from books that have been copied 'in one go.' In such cases the production process, undertaken by either one or more scribes, resulted in a set of quires originally intended to form a single manuscript rather than part of a composite volume.

Apart from straightforward cases such as those illustrated by table 1 – a number of single units assembled in one volume – there are also composite books with a more complicated genesis: those in which *sets* of booklets (rather than single units) are bound together. A schematic representation of such a complex composite manuscript is found in table 2.

Again, the horizontal line on top represents the present binding. The horizontal line over cubes I and II, on the other hand, represents an earlier binding: it indicates these parts were used as a set prior to their ending up in the composite manuscript. The same goes for cubes III and IV. In other words, this particular codex is a combination of

Table 2
Schematic Representation of a Complex Composite Manuscript
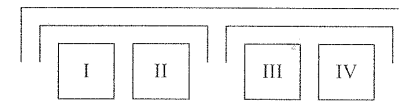
two batches of booklets, each used as a separate composite collection until they were bound together.[9]

Understanding the genesis of composite manuscripts is useful, not just for codicologists but also for literary historians. It influences, for example, assessments of the relation between texts. A genesis of the type presented in table 2 demonstrates that not all components of a collection have equally strong ties. Some text clusters have always been together (such as those found in booklet I), some have had a previous life together but they were not always 'neighbours' (such as the texts in booklets I and II), while the relation of others is even more distant, because they were united at an even later stage (such as the texts in booklets I and III). Furthermore, understanding the codicological structure of a collection helps to profile its maker or makers. Complex composite manuscripts such as the one in table 2 show that a collection may be the product of not one but several individuals. The example in table 2 contains no less than four layers of composition: the first is found on the level of the individual booklets (the contents of which were selected at some point), the second covers the joining of part I and II, and the third the joining of part III and IV (which could have taken place in a different time and location). In the fourth compilation stage the two sets were bound together, which produced the collection we study today in manuscript departments of libraries. A complicated genesis like this, which may be referred to as 'multilevel composition,' is frequently encountered among surviving manuscripts of the later Middle Ages.[10]

To fully understand the composition process behind a compilation with a pronounced focus, for instance those with texts from a single author, one needs to assess how the collection we encounter in libraries today evolved over time. A collection that is the result of multilevel composition, and which represents the preferences and actions of multiple individuals, is obviously very different from the one that was planned by a single person. Even when collections are studied from a textual point of view, their physical construction needs to be taken into account as well. This is the case not only when it is obvious from

palaeographical observations that the collection consists of parts made in different ages, which were obviously produced as separate units, but also when the handwriting of the scribes is contemporary. Even when a manuscript is copied by one hand, as many single-author collections are, it may still have a complex genesis, as will be shown. Our current terminology, which is limited to rudimentary phrases such as 'booklet,' 'Sammelbände,' 'composite,' and 'copied in one go,' is insufficient to discuss in detail the composition of complex composite manuscripts. Before we focus on single-author text collections, then, some useful terms need to be introduced.

Terminology

To address the genesis of composite manuscripts in a clear manner, four terms need to be introduced.[11] The first is 'production unit,' which denotes a set of quires that form a codicological unity. The quires of such a unity are linked by catchwords and they hold a single sequence of quire signatures, although there are many other markers.[12] A production unit is roughly the same thing as a 'booklet,' a term coined by Pamela Robinson in 1980, except there are three modifications.[13] First, a production unit is not limited in size. When a manuscript does not contain physical 'breaks' (*caesurae*) it will be called a single production unit. Second, production units in a codex may be of different ages, like booklets, but they may also have been copied by contemporary scribes, or even by one and the same hand. And third, unlike the booklet, a production unit is not necessarily self-contained in that it represents a complete textual unit. Texts with a natural subdivision, such as the Gospels or a literary work consisting of several books, are often divided over several production units.[14] The absence of catchwords is often the most prominent indicator that a manuscript, although consisting of a single text, was not copied continuously. The presence of multiple production units in a codex may be reflected by irregularities in the quire structure: the last quire of a production unit is often of a different size than the preceding ones, as scribes adapted the number of leaves in this quire according to the amount of text that remained to be copied (medieval scribes preferred to start copying a new textual unit in a new physical unit).

A special case of a production unit is the one that has been extended at a later stage. The last leaves of a production unit would often remain blank and it happened that at a later stage another scribe would start copying an additional text on these blank leaves. If no new leaves or quires were added we are dealing with quire filling. Although this also involves an additional production phase, the physical structure of the production unit was not altered. However, if a scribe needed more space to copy a text than was provided by the blank leaves, he would add new writing support material, either one additional singleton, a bifolium, a quire, or even several quires. Such a production unit, which was produced in several production stages, will be called an 'extended production unit.'

The third term that is useful for the analysis of composite manuscripts describes the relationship highlighted by the horizontal line over booklets: the line indicates the booklets in question were bound together prior to their ending up in the manuscript in which they survive today (part I and II, and III and IV in table 2, above). I will use the phrase 'usage unit' to denote such earlier gatherings. This level of the manuscript's genesis is more difficult to reconstruct, as there are usually no physical remnants left of earlier bindings (discussed below). In order to trace usage units in a composite book one has to focus on physical traits found in some but not all parts. Scribes who copied multiple production units meant for use as a single entity gave the parts certain traits that may not be present in the remaining production units of a composite manuscript. Users of these earlier gatherings sometimes did the same thing. For example, the existence of the usage unit that consists of parts III and IV in table 2 may become evident from the presence of an independent foliation (not found in I and II), running titles in a style that is different from those in parts I and II, or an independent set of quire or leaf signatures.[15] Another indication is the observation that two or more parts in a composite volume are contemporary while having the exact same *mise en page* (most notably the number of lines per page and the dimensions of written space). It is likely such parts were copied for combined use.

The fourth term introduced here is 'usage phase,' which is to denote the various stages of use of a production unit; first as a single unit, then combined with other units, and later possibly joined by even more. If we put the four terms into a scheme, the result is as follows in table 3.

Table 3 represents a composite manuscript that consists of three production units, which form two usage units: the first containing part I, the second parts II and III. Part I was copied with the intention to be used as a single unit, while it was anticipated that parts II and III would function together. In this case each production unit has two

Table 3
Composite Manuscripts and Terminology
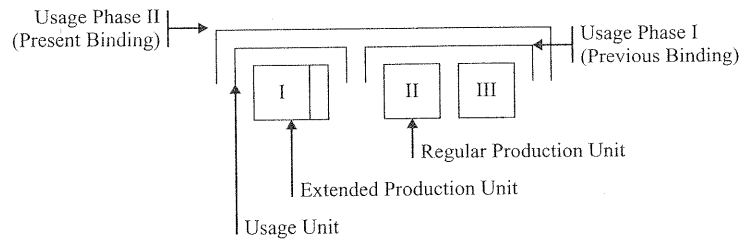
usage phases. Parts II and III were used as a set for some time, which is their first usage phase. The first usage phase of part I was the period when it was used individually. The second usage phase of both usage units started when the three production units were bound together.

A Typology of Late Medieval Text Collections

Now that we have tools at our disposal to dissect and analyse the codicological composition of medieval manuscripts we can shift our focus to the physical construction of single-author text collections. Among manuscripts surviving from the later Middle Ages four common types can be distinguished.[16] These four types form two codicological groups. Types 1 and 2 are collections that were produced without interruptions ('copied in one go'). Types 3 and 4, on the other hand, are intermittent in that they were produced in a discontinuous way: their production process contains interruptions.

Type 1: The Manuscript Copied in One Go

The least complex type of collection devoted to a single author is the manuscript that was copied continuously. In this case a significant number of texts were copied into a manuscript consecutively and without interruptions (table 4).

An example of type 1 is Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Ltk. 344, a paper codex of ninety-five folia copied in the fifteenth century by a single scribe. The book contains four texts from the mystical author Jan van Ruusbroec, whose work is remarkably often encountered in single-author text collections.[17] The texts were most likely copied in one go, which is indicated by the stable sequence of quires,

Table 4
Type 1
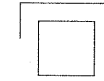
the fact that all catchwords are present, and the observation that the *ductus* of the handwriting is the same throughout the codex.

Collections of type 1 are often copied by a single hand, such as in MS Ltk. 344. However, they may also be the product of a group of collaborating scribes, although this scenario seems to be less common. One of them was usually the leader of the group: he divided the labour and often corrected the work of the others. An example of such a scenario is Zwolle, Stadsarchief, MS Emmanuelshuizen 7. The codex was copied around 1450 by two nuns in the convent of St John in Brunnepe near Kampen, in the eastern part of the Netherlands.[18] The manuscript is likely a single production unit, as no *caesurae* are found in the book (the quires are of the same size and all catchwords are present). The Zwolle manuscript contains three texts by Jan van Ruusbroec: *Vanden rike der ghelieve* (fols 3r–108v), *Boek der waerheit* (fols 108v–34v), and *Van vier becoringhen* (fols 135r–52r). Each text starts with a rubric identifying the title and author of the work; the title is repeated in the explicit ('Here ends . . .'). The first scribe wrote the *Rike* (fols 3r–108v) and part of the *Waerheit* (fols 108v–22v). Although this copyist put a catchword in the lower margin of fol. 122v, referring to the following quire, she did not continue her work on the book. Instead, a second scribe copied the remaining part of *Waerheit* (fols 123r–34v), as well as the complete *Becoringhe* (fols 135r–52v), which followed.[19] The latter was most likely the leader of the two: she corrected the work of the first hand, copied all rubrics in the book, and put an *ex libris* inscription of Brunnepe in the back of the codex.

The Zwolle manuscript shows that a compilation with a certain focus could be executed by several cooperating individuals.[20] As opposed to the types discussed below, collections of type 1 were built from scratch and their contents are most likely an accurate reflection of the textual profile envisioned by the (main) scribe – if the scribe had indeed compiled the collection himself, that is. We must not exclude the possibility, however, that she copied a selection of texts that was already in existence. For example, a (conjectural) collection of works by St Augustine in a house of Augustine Friars that had deteriorated because of its frequent use could be copied and presented in a new

codex. In such cases a surviving manuscript mirrors the preference of an earlier scribe rather than that of the individual who made the copy.[21] The codex in which a collection survives today usually does not provide clues indicating whether or not the compilation is an 'echo' of an earlier manuscript. It is mostly impossible, therefore, to deduce what compilation scenario has led to a type 1 collection.[22]

Type 2: The 'Booklet' Copied in One Go

The second type of single-author text collection is a series of texts copied without interruptions that has survived as part of a composite manuscript (i.e., that does not form a complete codex by itself). Type 2 represents a cluster of texts from a single author that is found in the midst of one or more production units that contain texts by other authors (cases in which more than one production units in a composite volume contain works by a single author will be discussed under type 3). The collection at hand is usually of modest proportions; it often consists of no more than three or four quires, but it may also be limited to only one.

Such single-author 'booklets' come in two variants. First of all, there is the collection made for use with other units – all of which contained works by other authors (type 2a). In other words: single-author collections of this kind have had no independent life of their own. The schematics of this type is as follows in table 5 (in tables 5–8 below, filled-in boxes represent single-author production units).

An example of type 2a is Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 1374, a codex consisting of six production units from the same scribe. There are no indications the six production units, which are clearly marked by missing catchwords, were used separately as usage units: their fronts and backs are clean and undamaged, the parts have an identical *mise en page* (area of written space, number of lines), and the same style of running title is used throughout the six parts (the titles run continuously across the top of verso and recto in each opening). It is likely, therefore, that the units were anticipated for use as one collection. One of the smaller units is largely filled with brief texts of Jacob van Maerlant, a thirteenth-century author from the Low Countries (fols 102–28). On fols 102r–11r the three so-called *'Martijn'* (Martin) poems are found. Each is a discussion between Jacob and Martin on a specific theological theme. The poems are followed by a fourth discussion, often referred to as 'Martin 4.' This discussion is by an unknown
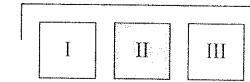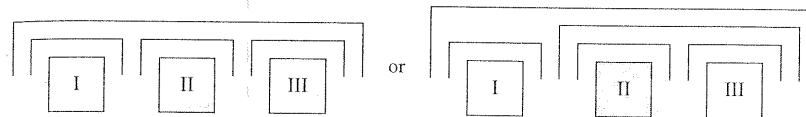
Table 5
Type 2a

Table 6
Type 2b

author, although the scribe may have thought it was written by Jacob van Maerlant.[23]

The other scenario covered by type 2 is more complicated. It would also happen that the single-author booklet was meant to be a separate usage unit (type 2b). That is, during the production of the physical unit the scribe anticipated it would be used as a separate entity. Usage units of such limited size were usually bound together with other units at a later usage stage (discussed below). *Ex libris* inscriptions found in the middle of such composite books are remainders of their earlier usage stage.[24] Two variants are encountered among type 2b collections (table 6).

As stated above, collections of type 2b are often bound together with other production units. In many cases these other 'booklets' had also had a previous life of their own (table 6, left). An example of such a scenario is Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 1330, part V (fols 50–82), copied around 1400 and consisting of sermons by Johannes Tauler.[25] The remaining twelve parts of the codex, which were made by different scribes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were all separate usage units at some point. This does not only follow logically from the fact that the booklets are of different ages, but it is also shown by the discolouring and wear-and-tear on the front and back of the units, and by the mismatch of *mise en page* they present.

The existence of single 'booklets' functioning as individual usage units is confirmed by documentary evidence. The will of Robert Norwich Esq., for example, mentions a 'little quire of paper, with the kings of England versified.'[26] Small usage units such as Robert's paper booklet and the fifth part of MS 1330 were not bound in wooden covers. They were obviously too thin to be fitted with a regular binding (the covers would be thicker than the leaves they supported).

Rather, they were given a so-called limp binding, a provisional cover without boards, composed of parchment, paper, or fabric. The quires were attached to the binding with small strips of parchment.[27] Because most of these usage units of modest proportions were bound together with other units at a later stage of their existence, few come down to us in their original bindings. A rare example of a production unit surviving individually is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marshall 127 (c. 1375), with the Middle Dutch translation of Martinus Braga's *Formula honestae vitae*. The booklet measures no more than 120 x 90 mm and consists of a single quire of four bifolia (eight leaves). The limp binding consists of a parchment double leaf folded around the quire. The cover possibly dates from the fifteenth century, which is when a Latin and Middle Dutch title was added to the front cover (older sewing holes are still visible). The gathering is attached to the limp binding with small leather thongs. This is what a type 2b collection most likely would have looked like in its original state.[28]

Composite manuscripts in which type 2b collections survive are often a compilation of single usage units, like MS 1330. However, such composite volumes could also be a compilation of several *sets* of usage units. This is the second variant covered by type 2b (table 6, right). An example of this scenario is encountered in MS 3067–73, a Middle Dutch codex from the library of Rooklooster Priory near Brussels consisting of 179 leaves. This composite book consists of twelve production units with mystical texts and sermons, which were copied at different moments in the fourteenth century.[29] Each had been a usage unit in its first usage stage. Part three of the book, a single quire copied around 1350 (fols 42–9), consists of two sermons by Meister Eckhart. The unit functioned independently for a number of decades. This can be deduced, for example, from the fact that during its production part III had no relation with the units in its surroundings (which are a few decades older or younger), but also from the stains and damage on its first and last page, indicating these were once the outside pages of a usage unit. However, we are not dealing with an example of a type 2b collection discussed previously, which entered the composite codex directly from its independent life as a single unit; rather, unit III of MS 3067–73 was used as part of a bundle of production units before it ended up in the Brussels codex.

Although almost all of the twelve production units in MS 3067–73 functioned as separate usage units at some point in their lives, *ex libris* inscriptions found on pages within the book show that the individual who created the current codex joined several sets of pre-bound

'booklets,' each of which is still marked with an ownership inscription.[30] The part with the sermons by Eckhart belonged to a set of five production units, each consisting of only a few quires (now fols 2–79 of the codex). The aim of the individual who created this (pre-existing) usage unit seems to have been to combine texts that would provide devotional edification. For example, like the works by Eckhart, many texts in this older usage unit are sermons. On the first page the heading *quidam sermones* was placed (fol. 2r), and on the last page the same hand wrote an *ex libris* inscription of Rooklooster Priory (fol. 79v). With these actions essentially a new textual entity was constructed, which would then be placed in the library. Based on the handwriting of the individual who copied the inscriptions on the first and last page it can be deduced he was Arnold de Cortte, librarian of Rooklooster in the early fifteenth century. Cortte produced a significant number of such 'composite usage units,' both in Latin and the vernacular.[31] He was not the only librarian to do so: combining separate units of small proportions into a larger volume was common practice in monastic libraries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Such volumes were easier to handle, they were less fragile than single units, and they reduced the chances small parts would get lost among the 'real' books in the library. Like the little booklet in the Bodleian Library discussed above, usage units consisting of several booklets were often fitted with limp bindings, because they were still relatively thin. As their cover was removed when the sets of usage units were bound together into the composite codex in which they survive today, hardly any of these original bindings survive – which makes them difficult to trace in surviving codices.[32]

Types 1 and 2 represent collections copied in one go: the former consists of a large group of texts that filled an entire codex (or, alternatively, a small group of longer texts), the latter was a collection of modest proportions that ended up in a composite manuscript, either immediately after it was produced (type 2a) or at a later stage (type 2b). In both cases no *caesurae* are found within the collection itself. The production process of types 3 and 4, on the other hand, is discontinuous in that the collection was produced in several stages.

*Type 3: Copied in Sessions – A Bundle of Production Units*

Whereas type 2 represents a small collection of texts by a single author found in the midst of booklets containing texts by other authors, type 3 refers to cases in which a composite manuscript holds several

Table 7
Type 3a
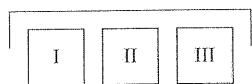
production units with works of a single author. Just like type 2, there are two possible scenarios: the individual production units were either made with the intention of being bound together (type 3a), or the composite codex consists of production units that functioned individually before being joined (type 3b). The first variant is as shown in table 7.

An example of type 3a is Brussels MS 2879–80. This Middle Dutch codex consists of three production units that contain the collected works of Hadewijch. Missing catchwords on fols 41v and 61v mark the *caesurae* in the manuscript. Three production units can therefore be reconstructed: I. fols 1–41 (letters); II. fols 42–61 (visions); III. fols 62–101 (poems).[33] Two contemporary scribal hands are found in the codex. The first hand wrote parts one and two, as well as the first quire of part three (fols 1r–70v); the second copied the remaining quires of this part (fols 70v–101v). It is likely the production units were meant to function as a single usage unit. The primary indicator for this is the observation that they have an identical *mise en page* (such as the number of columns, the dimensions of written space, and the number of lines per page). Additional support for this assessment is found in the observation that the outside leaves of the production units are undamaged and clean.

Although MS 2879–80 contains multiple production units with texts of a single author, their codicological features indicate they were most likely intended to form a single collection. In spite of the fact that the collection contains *caesurae*, then, it is likely that a single working plan lies at its basis: the aim was to copy all known works of Hadewijch. Another example of this procedure is Brussels MS 19295–97, which is part two of a two-volume set that contained the collected oeuvre of Jan van Ruusbroec (†1381); the first volume is not known to survive.[34] The volumes were made in Groenendaal Priory, a community of Regular Canons near Brussels where Ruusbroec had been prior. They were made shortly after the author had died. The Brussels codex consists of two production units: the first part contains Ruusbroec's *Tabernakel* (fols 1–125); the second holds two shorter works (fols 126–71). Two different scribes copied part I, while part II is copied by a third

Table 8
Type 3b
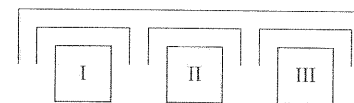
hand. The *mise en page* of the units is identical and the outside leaves (fols 125v and 126r) are clean and undamaged, which indicates the parts were likely meant for use as a single usage unit.[35]

MSS 2879–80 and 19295–97 show that collections divided among multiple parts are not necessarily made through multilevel composition. In spite of the presence of codicological *caesurae*, then, scribes may have worked as a team executing one master plan. The production of a type 3a collection is similar, in this respect, to the production of a type 1 collection. In both cases multiple scribes copied the texts, except that in type 3a collections the writing was divided over several independently produced parts (the possible rationale behind this approach is discussed below). However, a codex containing several production units with texts of a single author is not always the result of a single composition stage. Alternatively, a single-author collection could also be assembled from a number of production units that had already been in use. This is a collection of type 3b (table 8).

Prime examples of this type are the two related Middle English miscellanies, Cambridge, Trinity College, MSS R.3.19 and R.3.21 (1470s–1490s), filled with shorter works ascribed to John Lydgate and Geoffrey Chaucer. Combined, the books contain thirteen production units, most of which were copied by one and the same scribe. The units were used individually before they were joined, which becomes evident from the fact that each part has its own sequence of foliation.[36]

Type 4: Copied in Sessions – Extending an Existing Production Unit

The last type of single-author text collection discussed here is the production unit that was enlarged at a later phase through the addition of new leaves or quires. This is the 'extended production unit,' discussed previously.

Whereas type 4 collections are frequently encountered among medieval manuscripts in general, those containing texts from a single author are not very common. An example of type 4 is the production unit that covers fols 208–32 in Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 405,

Table 9
Type 4

a codex from the period 1325–50 mainly filled with texts by Jacob van Maerlant. The production unit in question contains nine short texts of which seven are currently attributed to Maerlant.[37] The first four of these, found on fols 208r–12r, are copied by one hand. The texts fit on a single quire of two bifolia. In a separate production stage a second (contemporary) scribe extended this collection with four additional Maerlant texts (fols 212v–25v). He started to copy on the verso of fol. 212, which was left blank by the first scribe, and continued on a quire that he had prepared himself. He had to add this physical extension because the vacant space was insufficient for the texts he wished to add.[38]

At first glance, type 4 collections may resemble cases where scribes collaborated to produce a single text collection, such as in the Zwolle manuscript discussed under type 1 (one production unit copied by two hands), or MS 2879–80 under type 3 (three production units copied by two hands). However, type 4 is different. Whereas types 1 and 3 are 'single-level' compositions in that they reflect one selection process, collections of type 4 are the result of multilevel composition. That is to say, the collection as it survives today is the product of two independent selection rounds: first the original compilation was copied, while at a later stage an additional selection of texts was written on added leaves or quires.[39] It is not always possible to distinguish a type 4 collection from single-level compositions made by more than one scribe. Based on cases outside the range of this essay, books that do not contain texts from a single author, it can be deduced that an extended production unit usually involves a modest contribution from the second scribe: whereas the scribe writing the original collection copied a large number of quires, the individual who produced the extension often copied only a few leaves or quires – the example of the Groningen manuscript provided above seems to be a rare exception to this rule.[40]

Why Composite?

The production process of a manuscript consists of a sequence of decisions made by the scribe. Following his own preferences or those of his patron, a scribe had to decide what material to use (parchment or paper), what dimensions the page would have, in what type of script the texts would be copied, if he would add reading aids such as running titles and rubrics, and if the book would be decorated – to state a few of the most obvious choices.[41] Opting for a type of manuscript – composite or not, and if so in what manner – was another one of his decisions. The model presented here shows that text collections with a common denominator come in different formats. Texts from a single author could be copied, for example, in a single production unit. The unit could be extensive and form a codex by itself, which is perhaps the best-known type in current research, or it could be of modest proportions and become a 'booklet' that ended up as part of a composite manuscript, either immediately after its production or after it had been in use as a separate entity for a while. On the other hand, a text collection could also be split up and divided over multiple production units. It was up to the main scribe to decide which type of manuscript was most suitable for a collection. The motivation behind his or her choice may have varied significantly, as the following will show.

An important factor in the decision process of scribes will have been the size of the collection. If a collection with a common thread was limited to a few short texts, a scribe was likely to copy them into a production unit with a limited number of quires (type 2). When the collection was even more modest and consisted of one or two very brief texts, a scribe could decide to add them to an already existing usage unit with works from the same author, by means of adding the required amount of leaves to the original unit (type 4). When a text collection was extensive, on the other hand, and required a substantial number of quires, the scribe was likely to construct a regular manuscript (type 1). Related to the size of collections is the consideration of time. A manuscript consisting of two hundred folia (400 pages) and written in a good quality letter could easily take up to six months to produce.[42] If a scribe or a patron wished to have the collection quickly, the scribe could decide to divide the labour over multiple hands. Each scribe would be given a portion of the exemplars that formed the basis of the collection and the result would be a collection of type 3a. If it was necessary to 'fast track' the production of a collection a scribe might even decide to combine booklets that were already in existence rather than making new copies – a binder could subsequently be asked to fit the collection in a proper binding (type 3b).

Another important consideration is the availability of exemplars. It may have taken a scribe a while to acquire the exemplars needed to

make a collection with a pronounced profile, such as those containing the work of a single author. Perhaps a scribe needed to visit certain institutional libraries to find suitable material. Some religious houses are known to have lent books to outsiders from time to time.[43] Or maybe the scribe needed to browse through the book collections of individuals, as the Utrecht-based surgeon Gerrit van Schoonhoven did in the 1460s. From colophons in his books it can be deduced that he visited the libraries of several townspeople to copy the medical texts he needed to practise his profession.[44] A scribe could decide to wait until he had acquired all the material he needed and copy everything consecutively. This procedure would result in a collection of type 1. On the other hand, he could decide to copy the collection in portions: he would save up enough material to fill a production unit of two or three quires, after which he picked up his quill. If he repeated this process a few times, and bound the production units together at a later stage, a collection of type 3a would ultimately be created; or type 3b if he used the existing parts in the meantime, which is the case in Cambridge, Trinity College, MSS R.3.19 and R.3.21, discussed above. If his explorations of local libraries did not turn up more texts of a particular author, he could decide to bind together the one production unit he had already made with existing units that contained other texts, which would result in a collection of type 2. Finally, if he found an extra text of an author when he had already finished copying a single-author collection, he could add his additional finding to an existing compilation, using an extra leaf, bifolium, or quire. Hence, a collection of type 4 was born.

Visual considerations were also important. It is unlikely that a single-author text collection that needed to look good, for instance because a wealthy patron had commissioned it, would consist of 'booklets' that had already been in use. Constructing a collection with 'recycled' usage units would, after all, lead to an inconsistent physical format. There could be considerable variation in the *mise en page*, style of rubrics and decoration, handwriting, as well as in the overall quality of the parts and the care with which the texts were copied. Moreover, with the booklets being of variable dimensions, it might not be possible to properly trim the pages so that a neat book block would appear.[45] A collection that was built from scratch – 'freshly' made copies of exemplars – would not only lead to a more consistent physical presentation of the texts, it would also allow the scribe to shape the presentation according to his own preferences, or those of his patron, as

he was able to pick the size, script, number of columns, decoration, and alike. Cost, finally, will also have been a factor. Making a manuscript from scratch was far more expensive than 'recycling' units that were already in existence: copying the contents of the book-lets into a new volume (rather than binding them together) was considerably more costly given the additional expense of labour and materials.

The typology presented here is tangible evidence of the creativity of medieval scribes, some of whom were working according to a well thought-through plan and with a specific goal in mind. This essay focused on one particular aim, collecting texts from a single author, but the typology is also valid for other kinds of collections, such as those combining texts with a certain use (e.g., exegesis or commentary) and those with texts from the same genre (e.g., sermons or chronicles). To achieve their goal scribes would add new leaves and quires to existing units, combine collections that were already in circulation, and divide collections over multiple production units. Their products suggest the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* influenced the contents of late medieval manuscripts as well as their physical construction.

NOTES

1 Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*.'
2 Huot, *From Song to Book*, and Westphal, *Textual Poetics in German Manuscripts*. A useful study related to the topic of this essay is Boffey and Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies.' Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*,' 61, suggests the Latin academic tradition sparked a vernacular offspring, an observation that is supported by Westphal, 'The Van Hulthem MS,' especially at 77.
3 In current research various terms are employed to denote text collections. The choice of terms is based on a wide variety of criteria. A useful overview of terms and criteria is found in Wenzel, 'Sermon Collections,' 17–20, although the terminology presented in the opening essay is not used consistently throughout the volume. Frequently used terms in relation to text collections are 'miscellany,' 'anthology,' and '*florilegium*,' but none of these cover the type of collection at the heart of the present essay. Rather, the type of collection under discussion is what Denis Muzerelle calls a 'Recueil organisé,' which is a 'recueil rassamblant des texts ou des unités codicologiques dont la réunion répond à une intention quelconque' (Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique*, nr. 431.10). In the English translation project of Muzerelle's

dictionary, undertaken by Ian Doyle and others, the equivalent 'deliberate assemblage' is proposed – see http://vocabulaire.irht.cnrs.fr/vocab.htm under 431.10 (accessed 14 June 2010). However, as this term is not commonly used, I will use the neutral generic term 'collection' to denote compilations with a pronounced focus. The word 'collection' used in this article covers both new copies made by scribes and cases in which existing booklets with a certain focus (here: texts from a single author) were bound together, forming a composite collection (discussed in detail below).

4 See, for the aids used in (scholastic) collections, Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*,' and Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim Invenire*.' Another example from the Middle Dutch tradition is '*Dit dichte oec iacob van marlant*' (This was also made by Jacob van Maerlant) placed above the last text in a collection of short works by Jacob van Maerlant (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 1374, fol. 129r).

5 It should be noted that while the publications of these scholars indicate that compilations with a pronounced focus were gaining popularity during the later Middle Ages (notes 1 and 2, above), they are also encountered among surviving books from the high Middle Ages, although perhaps to a lesser extent. Some examples will be presented in the footnotes.

6 It is usually not possible to determine whether a text collection reflects the preference of the scribe or, when the book was made on commission, his patron. In this essay I will not attempt to assess which is the case. For argument's sake I am assuming the scribe who copied the collection is the one who made the selection. There are no indications that the cases discussed here reflect the preferences of patrons.

7 Taken from manuscript descriptions on the website of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (http://image.ox.ac.uk/) (accessed 14 June 2010). See Bodleian Library MS Digby 76; MS Arch. Selden B 26; and Balliol College MSS 238a and 350, respectively.

8 For 'booklets,' see Robinson, 'A Self-Contained Unit,' and Hanna, 'Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts.'

9 Composite manuscripts consisting of a series of booklets of which some (but not all) were bound together in an earlier stage are discussed in Kwakkel, 'Towards a Terminology,' and Gumbert, 'Codicological Units.'

10 Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, Appendix.

11 A more detailed discussion of these terms is found in Kwakkel (note 9, above). I should like to add that the terms introduced here may not be very elegant; their primary purpose, however, is to promote clarity in a matter that is perhaps one of the most complex aspects of medieval codicology, that is, the physical construction of books that are not copied continuously.

12 Production units can be traced with the same criteria as those presented in Robinson, 'A Self-Contained Unit,' and Hanna, 'Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts,' both related to the booklet, although the two concepts of 'booklet' and 'production unit' are not entirely the same (discussed below).

13 Features attributed to the booklet by Robinson are the following: it is 'self-contained'; it 'originated as a small but structurally independent production containing a single work or a number of short works'; 'The beginning and end of a "booklet" always coincides with the beginning and end of a text or a group of texts.' See Robinson, 'A Self-Contained Unit,' 46 and 47.

14 An example from the Dutch tradition is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 13.708. The Dutch translation of the second part of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* found in this codex is presented in seven production units, each holding one of the seven books of Beauvais's text. See Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, 264–71. Brussels MS 2979 (c. 1350) and St Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, MS O 256 (1325–50) are Middle Dutch Gospel Books in which each Gospel is presented in a separate production unit; see 224–6 and 260–3, respectively.

15 For example, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 19.3.1 is a composite manuscript with various texts in Middle English. The only contemporary foliation in the book is found on fols 1–40, which indicates this section existed as a separate usage unit in an earlier usage stage. See Boffey and Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies,' 295–6. Other examples are Cambridge, Trinity College, MSS R.3.19 and R.3.21, two related Middle English miscellanies with thirteen booklets in all. Each of these parts has its own sequence of foliation (discussed below).

16 This typology covers nearly the full spectrum of vehicles in which late medieval text collections are found. Some 'exotic' cases, however, are not included, as they occur so infrequently they can hardly be called types. An example is the replacement of a folium or a quire by a later scribe, for instance to replace a flawed reading or damaged pages. Another example is the palimpsest, which can be regarded as a separate production phase, as new text was added to existing pages. It also happened that single folia from various manuscripts would be combined into a new physical entity because they were all devoted to the same topic. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 128 C 8, for example, consists of twenty-four leaves (taken from various Latin codices) with commentaries to various Bible books. The new entity was created in the early modern period. See for this case *Schatten van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 91–2.

17 See, for MS Ltk. 344, De Vreese, *De handschriften van Jan van Ruusbroec's werken*, 163–4. Other examples of Ruusbroec collections of type 1 are Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 693 (eleven texts); Brussels MS 1165–67 (eight texts); Brussels MS 3416–24 (five texts); and The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 73 H 17 (three texts); see 57–70, 44–55, 21–43, and 224–8, respectively. All are copied in one hand. A composite Ruusbroec collection will be discussed below (type 3a).

18 See the codicological description in De Vreese, *De handschriften van Jan van Ruusbroec's werken*, 330–4; and Hermans and Lem, *Middeleeuwse handschriften en oude drukken*, 34–5.

19 Hermans and Lem, *Middeleeuwse handschriften en oude drukken*, 34, presents an illustration of fols 122v–3r, where the second hand takes over from the first. Note that while the scribes use a similar *mise en page*, they employ different scripts: the first writes in a cursive hand, the second in a gothic book hand. This change of script is not a usual practice in the later Middle Ages.

20 Some older examples of this practice are the following: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 170 (Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Opera*, ninth century); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 808 (three texts by Alcuin, ninth century); Salzburg, St Peter Stiftsbibliothek, MS a VIII 29 (three texts by Augustine, ninth century). See Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, 99, 135, and 141, respectively. All three are copied by multiple hands.

21 An example of such a procedure is encountered in Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 53 (late tenth century). The book contains Jerome's commentaries on the books of the little prophets. The codex combines the texts in Dombibliothek MSS 52, 54, and 55 (ninth century), which were used as exemplars in the creation of MS 53. See *Glaube und Wissen*, 87. See for this phenomenon also Gumbert, 'One Book with Many Texts,' 33.

22 The same goes for the other types of collections presented here. I will not attempt to make such a distinction in this essay; I assume the scribes of the manuscripts discussed made the selection themselves.

23 Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, 242–5 for the contents and genesis of MS 1374. An example from the French tradition is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 794. The codex consists of three production units copied by a single hand (thirteenth century): part I (fols 1–105) contains four texts by Chrétien de Troyes, part II (fols 106–83) and III (fols 184–433) hold work by other authors. The *mise en page* of the parts, which is identical, suggests the three units were made for use as a set. See the description in Careri et al., *Album de manuscrits français du XIIIe siècle*, 15–18. A minor part of part III is filled with texts by Chrétien.

24 This is the case, for example, in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 920 (five inscriptions); Brussels MS 3067–73 (five inscriptions, see also note 30, below); and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 8217 (one inscription). See Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, 255, 228, 248, and 222, respectively.

25 Lieftinck, *De Middelnederlandse Tauler-Handschriften*, 74–6 (codicology) and 382–99 (edition of the texts).

26 Boffey and Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies,' 308.

27 See, for limp bindings, Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, 285–319. A detailed study of limp bindings is Scholla, 'Libri sine asseribus.'

28 In modern times the original binding was fitted with a pasteboard (eighteenth or nineteenth century) and pastedowns (modern). I owe much of this information to Nigel Palmer (Oxford), whom I wish to thank for examining MS 127 and verifying some of my in situ observations. Another example of a booklet surviving as a single unit is Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 220. It consists of seven quires from the fifteenth century still fitted in their original limp binding. See Robinson, 'A Self-Contained Unit,' 12, 47, 52, and plate 3. It has been suggested that few single booklets have survived, 'because their shelf-life must have been comparatively short' (Boffey and Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies,' 290). It is more likely, however, that few of them have survived in their original physical form; many have come down to us in composite collections, for example of type 2b.

29 Manuscript description in Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, 227–33.

30 Apart from *ex libris* inscriptions on the current flyleaves (fols 1r and 179r), such notations are found on fols 79v (two inscriptions), 133v, 154v, and 164r. The uncommonly complicated genesis of this codex is discussed in Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, 227. A more detailed study is Kwakkel and Mulder, 'Quidam sermones.'

31 For the identification, see Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, 21–4; plates 1 and 57 are illustrations of the heading and *ex libris* inscription in MS 3067–73. Many composite volumes surviving from monastic libraries were created in these centuries. They consist of a variety of texts from different ages. The main criterion for selection is usually the size of the booklets (an exception is mentioned in note 45, below).

32 An example is Darmstadt, Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 1088. The codex consists of three production units (thirty-seven leaves in total) that were copied by three different hands. The ruling and *mise en page* of the parts differ, and it is likely that each was produced to be used as a separate entity. See the description in Scholla, 'Libri sine asseribus,' 102–3. Although it is not a single-author collection, MS 1088 illustrates in what

physical format many type 2b collections were used (i.e., in limp bindings) before they ended up in 'real' manuscripts.

33 The genesis is discussed in Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, 220–3.

34 See for the genesis of the twin-set, Kienhorst and Kors, 'Codicological Evidence.'

35 An example from the Latin tradition is Durham Cathedral, MS B. IV. 24 (1050–1100), which holds two production units with the *Regula S. Benedicti*, copied by two different hands: the first part is in Latin, the second in Old English. The parts were produced with the intention that they be bound together. See Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, 85.

36 Mooney, 'Scribes and Booklets,' 241–2 and table 1 at 242. See also Boffey and Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies,' 288–9. Although the Cambridge manuscripts combine the work of not one but two authors, and they are therefore factually outside the scope of this essay, it is evident that the aim of the main scribe was to collect texts from these two authors alone. The manuscripts can be regarded as collections and they therefore suitably underscore the argument made in this essay.

37 See, for the book's contents, Deschamps, *Middelnederlandse handschriften uit Europese en Amerikaanse bibliotheken*, no. 26. For its genesis, see Biemans, 'Het Gronings-Zutphense Maerlant-handschrift,' especially at 211–13.

38 After he finished copying the additional Maerlant texts the scribe added two short texts from an unknown author (fols 225v–32v). An example from the Latin tradition is Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 169. The first part of this codex contains six works by Augustine and was copied around 1100 (fols 1–77r). In the first half of the twelfth century, St Augustine's *Regula ad servos Dei* was added to this collection (fols 77v–91), probably by extending the original production unit. The genesis can be reconstructed from the facts provided by the description in Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, 153.

39 Some units were extended more than once. An example outside the scope of this essay is the seventh production unit of Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 920. Originally it consisted of two letters by Hadewijch (fols 120r–6r), copied in the period 1325–50. The same hand added an excerpt from a Gospel Harmony, starting on the last blank page of the Hadewijch quire and adding new leaves (fols 126v–31v). At a later stage the same hand added three other excerpts from the Gospel Harmony (fols 132r–44v). The second extension was started on the blank remainder of the previous quire and was continued on newly prepared leaves. The stages of production can be deduced from the significant variation in ink colour and *ductus* as well as from variation in the type of parchment that was used for

the extensions, which varies in colour and structure. See Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, 254–9 for the genesis of MS 920.

40 Examples from the Middle Dutch tradition are Brussels MS 1805–08, with Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* (extension consists of extra prologue); and Brussels MS 2873–74, in which four sermons were added, following a copy of Hugo Ripelin of Strassburg's *Compendium theologiae veritatis*. See Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, 205 and 215, respectively.

41 The rationale behind the chosen physical appearance of a codex is explored in Kwakkel, 'Cultural Dynamics of Medieval Book Production.'

42 A scribe using a medium-quality book hand copied an average of four to six pages per day, while somebody using a high-grade script produced little over two pages. See Gumbert, 'The Speed of Scribes,' especially at 62–3 and 68–9.

43 From Bruges Charterhouse a list of lent-out manuscripts survives, dating from the late fourteenth century. The list names private individuals and monastic houses that borrowed books, and the titles of the objects. Returned books were crossed out. See Derolez, *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, 27–8.

44 The case of Schoonhoven is discussed in Kwakkel, *Dietsche boeke*, 162.

45 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 191 A is a Latin composite manuscript from the Benedict Abbey of St Jacques near Liège, Belgium. The book contains over ten production units copied independently in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The dimensions of the parts vary significantly and as a result the binder was not able to trim the pages (if he had, the units with the largest dimensions would have lost a part of the area of written space). The bookblock is therefore uneven, and some parts stick out.

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Author, Reader, Book

Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice

Contents

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