Medieval Learning and Literature

Essays presented to

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In two parts which were together soon after pt. I was completed, since a hand of pt. I reappears in a song added to pt. II, fol. 92ᵛ.

I. Written by three hands: (1) fols. 1–18ᵛ, (2) fols. 19–22ᵛ, (3) fols. 23–68ᵛ, in long lines, 35 per page. Ruled with lead point. 1^6, $2–3^6$, $4–5^4$, $6–7^6$; catchwords. 222 × 158 mm (168 × 100).

II. fols. 69–91ᵛ, s. XIII¹, France; fol. 92ʳᵛ, s. XIII/XIV. Manuscript seen.

Richard de Fournival, *Biblionomia*, item 84.

Taken from L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, ii (Paris, 1874), p. 529.

Censorini exceptiones florum ex operibus quorumdam sanctorum et phylosophorum moralium: primo quidem de libro Macbrobii Saturnariorum vel Saturnarium. Secundo proverbia quorumdam philosophorum. Tercio de epystolis beati Jheronimi. Quarto de libro Epuleii Madaurensis de Deo Socratis. Quinto de epystolis Plinii secundi. Sexto de harenga Tullii pridie quam in exilium iret. Septimo cum senatui gratias egit. Octavo de epystolis Sidonii. Nono de libro Senece de beneficiis. Decimo de epystolis eiusdem ad Lucilium. Undecimo sententie quorumdam philosophorum. Duodecimo de libro Tullii Tusculanarum. Tercio decimo de libro Agellii noctium Atticarum. Quarto decimo de comedia Plauti que dicitur Allularia. In uno volumine cuius signum est littera [K].

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The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio *and* Compilatio *on the Development of the Book*[1]

It is a truism of palaeography that most works copied in and before the twelfth century were better organized in copies produced in the thirteenth century, and even better organized in those produced in the fourteenth. During the course of the twelfth century the monastic culture gave way to the culture of the schools. There were new kinds of books—a more technical literature—and new kinds of readers. The monastic *lectio* was a spiritual exercise which involved steady reading to oneself, interspersed by prayer, and pausing for rumination on the text as a basis for *meditatio*.[2] The scholastic *lectio* was a process of study which involved a more ratiocinative scrutiny of the text and consultation for reference purposes.[3] The two kinds of reading required different kinds of presentation of the texts, and this is reflected in changes in features of layout and in the provision of apparatus for the academic reader. For this reason it seems to me that from the twelfth century onwards developments in the *mise-en-page* of texts were bound up with developments in methods of scholarship

[1] I am grateful to Dr. N. R. Ker, Mr. A. J. Piper, and Dr. B. Smalley who read various drafts of this paper and who contributed valuable criticisms and suggested various references. I am also grateful to my pupil A. J. Minnis for valuable discussion. References innocently suggested by Dr. R. W. Hunt have also found their way into this paper. The errors, omissions, and the views expressed are entirely my own.

[2] For a contemporary description of the monastic *lectio* see the account given in the *Life of Christina of Markyate*, ed. C. H. Talbot (Oxford, 1959), pp. 92–3, of Christina's reading of the psalter when she finally achieved religious solitude. For a modern account see J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York, 1961), pp. 19 and 89.

[3] For a contemporary description of the scholastic *lectio* see the prologue to Abelard's *Sic et Non* (printed *P.L.* clxxviii. 1339); cf. M.-D. Chenu, *Introduction à l'étude de S. Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris, 1954), pp. 118–19.

and changes in attitude to study. What follows is speculation on the nature of some of the influences at work, and an attempt with the aid of a few illustrations to explain how some of the changes took place in the physical appearance of books.

In the twelfth century the principal apparatus for the academic reader was the gloss, and the principal developments in the *mise-en-page* of the book in the twelfth century centred on the presentation of the gloss. Inherited material—the *auctoritates*[1]—was organized in such a way as to make it accessible alongside the text to be studied. During the course of the twelfth century the content of the gloss to the Bible became stabilized and producers of books introduced refinements of presentation culminating in the layout of copies of what are probably the most highly developed of glossed books, the commentaries of Peter Lombard on the Psalter and the Pauline Epistles (cf. pl. IX). The whole process of indicating text, commentary, and sources was incorporated into the design of the page, presumably by a process of careful alignment worked out beforehand in the exemplar. The full text of the Psalter or Epistles was disposed in a larger, more formal version of twelfth-century script in conveniently sited columns, and the size of the columns was determined by the length of the commentary on that particular part of the text. In the commentary itself the *lemmata* were underlined in red. Each of the *auctores* quoted in the commentary was identified by name in the margin, again in red, and the extent of the quotation was also marked. As the final refinement each of the *auctores* was given a symbol consisting of dots or lines and dots which was placed both against the name in the margin, and against the beginning of the *auctoritas* or quotation in the body of the commentary.[2] The practice of indicating sources in the margin derived from earlier manuscripts[3] is here systemat-

[1] *Auctoritates* were texts rather than persons. They are *sententiae* or ideas excerpted from their immediate context in a work and divorced from the wider context of the writings of an *auctor*. 'Auctoritas: id est sententia digna imitatione' (Hugutius Pisanus, *Magnae deriuationes*, s.v. *augeo*). Cf. Chenu, op. cit., pp. 109–13.

[2] On the system of indicating sources and the use of *puncti*, see *Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum*, iv (Rome, 1971), prolegomena, 68* and 138*.

[3] For illustrations of the practice in 9th-century manuscripts see New Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles of Ancient MSS &c*, 1st ser. (London, 1903–12), pl. 236 of Cambridge, Pembroke Coll., MS. 308 (given to St. Remi by Archbishop Hincmar, 845–82); and 2nd ser. (London, 1913–30), pl. 120 of Paris B.N. MS. lat. 9575, dated 811.

ized, and becomes the ancestor of the modern scholarly apparatus of footnotes.

The *mise-en-page* of such copies of the Lombard's commentaries is one of the major achievements of twelfth-century book production. It reflects in practical and visual terms a dominant attitude to the ordering of studies found in the first half of the twelfth century, and expressed in statements like the following from the prologue to the *De sacramentis* of Hugh of St. Victor: 'omnes artes naturales divinae scientiae famulantur, et inferior sapientia recte ordinata ad superiorem conducit.'[1] In the commentary each phrase of scripture was expounded in the order in which it occurred in the Bible text. The *ordo* followed in the gloss was the *ordo narracionis* of the text, and within this framework the *auctoritates* were subordinated to the study of the sacred page. The Bible text was sufficiently familiar to the reader so that no further ostensible guide to the arrangement of the material was required, and in such circumstances no further developments were stimulated.

The opportunity for further developments in the presentation of texts came as a result of the drive to reorganize inherited material in a new, systematic way, to make *auctoritates* not only accessible but accessible in terms of new ways of thinking. By the mid twelfth century scholasticism had developed new techniques for the handling of *auctoritates*, which were employed in texts like the *Quatuor libri sententiarum* of Peter Lombard and the *Concordia discordantium canonum* of Gratian. To think became a craft. The application of scholastic method demanded closer scrutiny of the arguments, and the reorganization of the material according to topics produced the need for more ostensible guides to the new organization to facilitate reference. The shape of *mises-en-page* to come is foreshadowed in the experiments seen in early copies of the *Sentences*, and in the apparatus introduced into copies of Gratian in the second half of the twelfth century.

In early copies of the *Sentences* (like that in pl. X, produced before 1169) not only are the sources indicated in red in the margin, as in the glossed books, but there are also some attempts to indicate and emphasize the organization of the subject-matter inherent in the text, a groping towards the clearer definition of what came to be known as the *ordinatio* of the work. Rubrics at the

[1] *De sacramentis Christianae fidei*, prol. cap vi (printed *P.L.* clxxvi. 185).

beginning of each chapter define the topic under discussion, but in this early copy there are also other rubrics placed in the margin at certain points, sub-headings like 'prima causa', 'secunda', 'tercia', 'obiectio', 'responsio', which serve to identify stages in the argument within the chapter, and sometimes even within a quotation from one of the sources. Whether Peter Lombard was himself responsible for all these rubrics[1] or whether some were added by commentators[2] is not important in the context of my argument. The *ad hoc* nature of these devices in these early surviving copies[3] demonstrates first that readers felt the need for more ostensible help in finding their way about in a highly sophisticated and technical argument, and secondly that the producers of books had not yet developed a recognized procedure for coping with this problem.

Twelfth-century copies of Gratian illustrate how the commentators set about producing an apparatus designed to make the work easier to consult. Gratian appears to have divided his work into three parts, and the second (dealing with judgements) into *causae*.[4] In the surviving twelfth-century manuscripts each of these parts was indicated by a number carried in a running-title.[5] By the second half of the twelfth century the first and last parts had been further divided by commentators into *distinctiones*.[6] Each of these new subdivisions was numbered and to facilitate reference the numbers were inserted in the margin at the appropriate point. Within the text the *dicta* of Gratian were distinguished from the

[1] Cf. I. Brady, 'The Rubrics of Peter Lombard's Sentences', *Pier Lombardo*, vi (1962), 5–25; and the prolegomena to the edition of the *Sentences* previously cited, pp. 138*–41*.

[2] Cf. *Opera omnia S. Bonaventurae* (Quaracchi edn.), i (1882), lxxxiii.

[3] In Bristol, City Libr., MS. 4, a copy of the *Sentences* made in the second half of the 12th century, the rubrics (including those at the beginning of each chapter) were omitted by the copyist. He has subsequently inserted them all in the margins. See the illustration (of II, cap. 23–4) in N. Mathews, *Early Printed Books and MSS in the City Reference Library Bristol* (Bristol, 1899), p. 65 and pl. 11. A comparable practice occurs in a late-12th-century copy of Langton's commentary on the Pentateuch (Bodleian Libr., MS. Canon. Pat. Lat. 186) in which contemporary hands have entered the headings 'moraliter', 'allegorice', and 'mystice' in the margins to indicate the stages in the commentary.

[4] Cf. A. van Hove, *Prolegomena* (Antwerp, 1945), 344.

[5] For a typical first page see R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), pl. 47 (no. 134).

[6] F. Gillman, 'Rührt die Distinktioneneinteilung des ersten und des dritten Dekretteils von Gratian selbst her?' *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, cxii (1932), 504–33.

texts of the *auctoritates* by means of *paragraphi*.[1] Also by the second half of the twelfth century the work was preceded by a *materia operis* which acted as a kind of synoptic introduction and which indicated the topics dealt with in each section.[2] Such copies demonstrate the value of ostensible guides in such a work, and indicate that the academic reader was becoming more demanding.

The turning-point in the history of the presentation of a text for the academic reader came in the thirteenth century when the rediscovered Aristotelian logic and the consequent interest in more rigorous philosophical procedures entailed the adoption of principles which demanded a more precise method of dissecting and defining human knowledge. The thirteenth-century position is spelt out in the *Summa* attributed to Alexander of Hales: '. . . modus definitivus debet esse, divisivus, collectivus, et talis modus debet esse in humanis scientiis, quia apprehensio veritatis secundum humanam rationem explicatur per divisiones, definitiones, et ratiocinationes.'[3] The change from the early twelfth-century attitude is reflected in general discussions about the structure of knowledge and the subordination of the sciences to the study of theology, and can be seen by comparing the statement from Hugh of St. Victor quoted above[4] with the following statement by Bonaventura: 'Sunt ergo quatuor genera scripturarum, circa quae oportet ordinate procedere et exerceri. Primi libri sunt sacrae scripturae, secundi libri sunt originalia sanctorum, tertii sententiae magistrorum, quarti doctrinarum mundialium sive philosophorum.'[5] Bonaventura takes a comparable view of the hierarchy of studies, but he specifies the studies he is referring to—he is more *definitivus*. However, what is important is the shift of

[1] *Paragraphi* occur in the earliest surviving copy in England (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., MS. 6), and they can be seen in the plates of the late-12th-century Danzig MS. from Bologna reproduced in *Studia Gratiana*, i (1953), tavv. xx, xxvii, and xxxv. The tradition that the practice goes back to Gratian himself has been questioned by A. Vetulani, 'Le Décret de Gratien et les premiers décrétistes', *Studia Gratiana*, vii (1959), 318–19.

[2] The text (beginning *In prima parte agitur*) has been printed in *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, ii (1875), 171–96. See J. Rambaud-Buhot, 'L'Étude des manuscrits du Décret de Gratien', *Studia Gratiana*, i (1953), 124. On the term *materia* see H. Kantorowicz, *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 38.

[3] *Summa theologiae* (Quaracchi edn., 1924), Tractatus introductorius, quaestio i, art. 1, cap. 4, ad secundum.

[4] p. 117.

[5] *Collatio xix in Hexaemeron*, in *Opera* (Quaracchi edn.), v (1891), 421.

emphasis. Whereas Hugh's use of the terms 'recte ordinata' emphasizes the ordering of studies within the structure of knowledge, Bonaventura's use of the terms 'ordinate procedere et exerceri' emphasizes the need to recognize the principles of order inherent in each branch of knowledge and to follow the appropriate procedure. The procedure to be followed is dictated by the nature of the subject to be studied: 'Ordo diversimode traditur a diversis, sed oportet ordinate procedere ne de primo faciant posterius.'[1] Thirteenth-century scholars saw different fields of study as autonomous branches of knowledge, each with its own appropriate mode of procedure, and they insisted upon organization and method in the various procedures.[2]

With the recognition of the principle that different kinds of *ordo* were appropriate in different kinds of study, the organization of an individual work came under closer scrutiny. For the first time scholars formulated a definition which included the disposition of material within a text into books and chapters. This is found in commentaries in which the work of an author, and in particular his way of handling material, was defined more precisely according to a revised technical vocabulary based on the Aristotelian notion of the four causes. In Jordan of Saxony's commentary on *Priscianus minor* (*c.* 1220) Priscian's mode of procedure and the form in which his work was arranged were described for the first time as two aspects of a single thing, the formal cause:

> Causa formalis huius scientie est forma tractandi et forma tractatus. Forma tractandi est modus agendi qui est principaliter diffinitivus, divisivus, probativus, improbativus et exemplorum suppositivus; forma tractatus est forma rei tradite que consistit in separatione librorum et capitulorum et ordine eorundem.[3]

The *forma tractandi* is here reduced to the terms of the *modus definitivus*, and the *forma tractatus*—the disposition of the material into books and chapters—is defined as the physical manifestation of that mode of procedure. In Kilwardby's *Notule super Priscianum minorem* the relationship between mode of procedure and disposition of material is maintained, but the term *ordinatio* is introduced to convey the notion described by Jordan of Saxony as *forma tractatus*: 'Causa formalis consistit in modo agendi et in ordinatione partium doctrine.'[1] A generation later Nicholas of Paris tidied up the terminology in his commentary on Aristotle's *Perihermeneias*: '. . . causa formalis tractatus que est ordinatio librorum partialium et capitulorum.'[2] Academic discussion bent on more precise definition focused on the ostensible arrangement of a work and formulated the concept of *ordinatio*, thus providing a theoretical foundation for attempts to meet the readers' practical needs.

[1] *Opera*, v, 421.

[2] Cf. S. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, I, Quaestio i, art. 1, ad secundum.

[3] Quoted from Leipzig Univ. Libr. MS. lat. 1291 by M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, iii (Munich, 1956), 234. On Jordan as the first commentator to employ this kind of terminology see J. Pinborg, *Die Entwicklung der Sprachtheorie im Mittelalter*, Beiträge, xlii (1967), 25.

In such circumstances the structure of reasoning came to be reflected in the physical appearance of books. There was more ostensible 'packaging' of the text, and in copies of the works of thirteenth-century writers the *ordinatio* of the work was more clearly defined. The rubricator inserted the number of the relevant *quaestio*, *distinctio*, or chapter in the margin at the appropriate point, and the stages in the argument were carefully indicated by means of *litterae notabiliores* and paraph marks. *Lemmata* were underlined. The scribes would mark the divisions by inserting one or two parallel diagonal lines as a guide to the rubricators. A typical *mise-en-page* of the text of a commentary on the *Sentences* would follow something like the following pattern:

> Ad intelligentiam huius partis duo principaliter queruntur ¶ primo . . . ¶ secundo . . . ¶ circa primum queruntur tria ¶ primo . . . ¶ secundo . . . ¶ tercio . . . Circa primum . . . ¶ item . . . ¶ item . . . ¶ contra . . . ¶ contra . . . ¶ responsio . . .

and so on (pl. XI).[3] Moreover, new aids to reference were introduced which helped to identify the disposition of the material. In

[1] Quoted from Oxford, C.C.C. MS. 119, and Paris B.N. MS. lat. 16221 by R. W. Hunt, 'The Introductions to the "Artes" in the Twelfth Century', *Studia mediaevalia in honorem R. J. Martin* (Bruges, 1948), p. 107. Compare the use of similar terminology in the commentary of Elias Brunetti on the *Topics* of Aristotle (1248–56) printed by Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, iii. 147.

[2] Quoted from Munich Clm. 14460 by B. Sandkühler, *Die frühen Dantekommentare und ihr Verhältnis zur mittelalterlichen Kommentartradition*, Münchener romantische Arbeiten, xix (Munich, 1967), 41.

[3] My examination of a random selection of copies of works by Alexander of Hales, William of Auxerre, and Bonaventura surviving in French and English libraries supports the impression given in J. Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e^ et du XIV^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1935), p. 46 and plates, that the practice seems to have become standard by the mid 13th century.

addition to marginal numbers thirteenth-century scribes and rubricators developed and extended the use of running-titles, and introduced the analytic table of contents as a guide to the *ordinatio* and to facilitate the readers' access to component parts of a work.

The use of running-titles was an ancient practice[1] which had been somewhat neglected, perhaps because in the process of the monastic *lectio* they had become redundant. In the twelfth century we find them used again, particularly in the systematically arranged collections of canon law, like the *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres,[2] and later in copies of Gratian.[3] But in the first half of the twelfth century they were used somewhat *ad hoc*, and neither the form nor the placing of the running-titles was consistent. During the thirteenth century the potential of running-titles was explored and realized. They were used frequently in all kinds of texts, and were often made conspicuous by the use of the colours red and blue, and occasionally emphasized further by the addition of flourishes. In Reims MS. 864 (s. XIII), a copy of the *Libri naturales* of Aristotle, each letter of the running-titles has been adorned with flourishes.[4] The form of the titles became more consistent, they became more informative and were placed in such a way that they gave a more precise indication of the beginning of a new division of the text. In early copies of the *summae* of Thomas Aquinas (like Troyes MS. 982, s. XIII ex.) the running-titles consist not merely of the number but also the *titulus* of each *quaestio*, and whenever a new division occurs in the text the new running-title is carefully placed over the appropriate column (cf. pl. XVI). In plate XI, a copy of a commentary on the *Sentences*, the roman numeral in the centre of the top margin indicates the number of the book. The abbreviated title for *Distinctio* is placed over the first column, and the number of the *Distinctio* is placed over the second column,

[1] See E. A. Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers*, i (Oxford, 1972), 199.

[2] In Troyes MS. 480, an early-12th-century copy of the *Panormia*, the running-titles lack consistency. Occasionally the number of the division is written out in full (e.g. 'secunda pars'), sometimes either word or both words have been abbreviated, and sometimes the words have been replaced by a number. Sometimes the running-titles occur on the recto only, sometimes (e.g. at the beginning of a new division) on both pages of the opening. The running-titles cease after the beginning of the last division. In Troyes MS. 1519, a late-12th-century copy of the same work, the running-titles have been written out in full on the recto of the first dozen or so leaves of the text, after which a numeral has been used consistently throughout the rest of the volume.

[3] See above, p. 118.

[4] *Aristoteles Latinus, Codices*, i (Rome, 1938), no. 735.

thus indicating that both columns contain the commentary on this section of the text.

The analytical table of contents listed the major topics discussed, in the order in which they occurred in the text. The placing of chapter-headings before each book of the text was an ancient practice;[1] but in the thirteenth century they were brought together in one place and arranged in tabular form. The scheme of the table was often emphasized by the use of red ink for the major headings and black for the subheadings as in Troyes MS. 820, a copy of Bonaventura on the *Sentences*. In many thirteenth-century manuscripts the table of contents occurs in a separate booklet which has been added to the beginning or end of a book some time after it had been written,[2] but by the beginning of the fourteenth century the table was copied by the scribe as part of the book, as in Troyes MSS. 161, 187, and 624, copies of the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas. In Reims MS. 680, a thirteenth-century copy of Gratian preceded by the usual *materia* or synoptic introduction, an analytical table of contents has been added at the end and headed 'Incipit ordinatio vera omnium capitulorum et palearum et paragraphum in libro decretorum.' The twelfth-century apparatus has been reinforced by a more up-to-date guide to Gratian's *ordinatio*.

The new interest in the organization and procedure within an individual work—the concern to study an argument from beginning to end, which led to the formulation of the concept of *ordinatio*—also stimulated a desire to see the *auctoritates*, the individual *sententiae*, in their full context. There was a return to the *originalia*, the works of the *auctores in toto*.[3] New copies were made, fat volumes embracing as many as possible of the writings of a single *auctor*, and constructed from independent 'booklets' or units, each of which contained a complete long work or a group of shorter works. Precedent for such collections was perhaps provided by the copies of the *Corpus vetustius* of Aristotle's *Libri naturales* which

[1] It occurs, for example, in the late-6th-century copy of Gregory the Great's *Cura pastoralis*, copied at Rome in the lifetime of the author, and now Troyes MS. 504 (*C.L.A.* 838). Cf. B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, ii (Stuttgart, 1967), 319.

[2] For example as in Laon MS. 141, Nijmegen, Univ. Lib. MS. 61, and Troyes MS. 982.

[3] Cf. J. de Ghellinck, '"Originale" et "Originalia"', *Bulletin Du Cange*, xiv (1939), 95.

circulated in the schools by the mid thirteenth century.[1] The necessary compression of a large work into a 'booklet' was achieved by the adoption of very small handwriting and the copious use of abbreviations. The process can be illustrated from manuscripts containing the works of Augustine. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 568 comprises eight booklets: one containing the *De trinitate* with its list of capitula, Epistle 174, and the relevant passages from the *Retractationes*; another booklet containing the *Super Genesim* together with a list of the *quaestiones* and the relevant passages from the *Retractationes*; a third booklet containing the whole of the *Retractationes*, and five booklets containing shorter works. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS. 108 comprises four booklets: one containing the *Enchiridion* and Epistle 137, another containing the *De doctrina Christiana* together with sixteen of Augustine's letters, a third containing the *Super Genesim* and other works, and a fourth containing the *De trinitate*.[2] In such volumes running-titles assume greater importance, and in copies of the *Libri naturales* of Aristotle (for example, Bordeaux MS. 421, Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ee. 2. 31, and Reims MS. 864)[3] elaborate decorated or historiated initials help the reader to locate the different works in the corpus.

However, earlier texts had not been written according to thirteenth-century principles, therefore thirteenth-century readers required thirteenth-century guides to the *ordinatio*. More often than not this involved a redefinition of the *ordinatio* to make it accessible to the reader in thirteenth-century terms. Although earlier divisions (like the chapter-headings or *Breviculi* to the *De civitate Dei* and the *De trinitate* of Augustine)[4] were resurrected, scholars also produced independent means of access in accordance

[1] Cf. G. Lacombe in *Aristoteles Latinus, Codices*, i. 49; Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford, 1936), i. 442–3, iii. 480–2.

[2] Further examples of 13th- and 14th-century collections of works by Augustine which were built up in this way include Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS. 34, Gonville and Caius Coll., MS. 100, Oxford, Merton Coll., MS. 55, and Troyes MS. 860.

[3] *Aristoteles Latinus, Codices*, i, nos. 453, 260, and 735.

[4] The *breviculi* are printed in *De civitate Dei* ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Corpus Christianorum (Series Latina), xlvii-xlviii (1955); and *De trinitate* ed. W. J. Mountain, Corpus Christianorum, l (1968). Cf. C. Lambot, 'Lettre inédite de S. Augustin relative au *De Civitate Dei*', *Revue Bénédictine*, li (1939), 109–21; H.-I. Marrou, 'La Division en chapitres des livres de la cité de Dieu', *Mélanges J. de Ghellinck* (1951), pp. 235–49; R. W. Hunt, 'Manuscripts containing the Indexing Symbols of Robert Grosseteste', *Bodl. L.R.* iv (1953), 241–55; idem, 'Chapter Headings of Augustine *De Trinitate* ascribed to Adam Marsh', *Bodl. L.R.* v (1954), 63.

with new ways of thinking. Grosseteste produced a set of *tituli* to the *Ethics* of Aristotle.[1] Robert Kilwardby produced a series of synopses of works of the Fathers variously called *intenciones, capitula*, or *conclusiones*.[2] They kept to the order of the existing *ordinatio* but they divided each chapter into smaller sections and analysed and summarized the contents of each section. The summaries were designed to bring out the distinctive qualities of each book by dividing up the material according to a mode of procedure which was in line with current notions of the dissection of knowledge. As Kilwardby himself said in another context, 'ordinatio partium doctrine in divisione patebit'.[3] In addition to these synopses certain commentaries were also influential. Whereas commentators on the Bible depended on existing divisions of the text, commentators on other texts had to divide and subdivide the text in order to expound it. Some commentators, like Averroes on Aristotle and Alexander of Hales on the *Sentences*, were regarded with special respect and their divisions of the texts came to be regarded as standard.[4]

Once an apparatus has been produced for a text it is inevitable that copies of that text will be produced or adapted for use alongside the apparatus. New divisions were introduced into old books. The precedent was undoubtedly provided by the 'Parisian' division of the Bible into standard chapters for convenience of reference. Troyes MS. 1046 indicates that this was known in France in 1203, but the commentaries of Peter Comestor and Peter the Chanter, as well as those of Langton, indicate that it had its predecessors.[5] In the thirteenth century the scholars of St.

[1] Cf. *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop*, ed. D. A. Callus (Oxford, 1955), p. 64.

[2] Cf. D. A. Callus, 'The "Tabulae super Originalia Patrum" of Robert Kilwardby O.P.', *Studia mediaevalia in honorem R. J. Martin* (Bruges, 1948), pp. 243–70; idem, *Dominican Studies*, ii (1949), 38–45; idem, 'The Contribution to the Study of the Fathers made by the Thirteenth-Century Oxford Schools', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, v (1954), 139–48.

[3] Quoted by R. W. Hunt, 'Introductions to the "Artes" in the Twelfth Century', p. 107.

[4] On the influence of Alexander of Hales's commentary on the division of the text of the *Sentences* see I. Brady, 'The *Distinctiones* of Lombard's Book of Sentences and Alexander of Hales', *Franciscan Studies*, xxv (1965), 90.

[5] B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1952), pp. 222 ff.

Jacques produced a *Concordantia*, and further subdivided the chapters of the Bible into equal parts indicated by letters of the alphabet for use alongside this reference work.[1] However, this subdivision is rarely found in manuscripts: the principle on which it was based was simple enough to be applied *ad hoc* by readers who used the concordance alongside an unmarked text.[2] In copies of the *Sentences* the Lombard's own division of the text into chapters was supplemented by a new division into *distinctiones*, a practice attributed to the influence of the commentary of Alexander of Hales.[3] In the earliest copies (cf. pl. X) these have been inserted by thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hands, often in arabic numerals.[4] Similar developments can be seen in copies of Aristotle. Taking the *De anima* as an example, Avranches MS. 221 (s. XII) is free of apparatus and no divisions have been inserted. In Douai MS. 698 (s. XIII) the text has been divided into smaller units by means of layers of paraphs inserted by successive rubricators and readers. In Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ee. 2. 31 (s. XIII–XIV) paraphs inserted in the text are accompanied in the margin by numbers preceded by the word 'commentum', which relate the text to sections of the commentary of Averroes.[5] In copies of the Fathers we find various systems of chapter division,[6] and numerous copies have been provided with marginal numbers which relate to the various kinds of apparatus prepared by Robert Kilwardby.[7] In some copies we find line numbers and column numbers.[8] In Keble College, Oxford, MS. 26 (cf. pl. XIII), a copy of

[1] Cf. the article by E. Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. *Concordances*.

[2] In Oxford, Oriel Coll. MS. 77, for example, it is used in the first ten folios only.

[3] I. Brady, loc. cit.

[4] For example, as in Bodleian Libr. MSS. Barlow 15 and Laud Misc. 695 and 746.

[5] *Aristoteles Latinus, Codices*, i, nos. 401, 479, and 260. For an illustration of the practice of numbering sections of the commentaries see the reproduction from Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana, Cod. lato destro xxiii. 6 (containing commentaries by Avicenna, Averroes, and Albertus Magnus, copied by Bartholomaeus de Ledula at Évreux and Paris in 1320–1) in New Palaeographical Society *Facsimiles*, 2nd ser., pl. 21.

[6] See the references cited above, p. 124 n. 4; p. 125 nn. 1 and 2; and N. R. Ker, 'The English Manuscripts of the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great', *Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu Ehren*, ed. A. Rosenauer and G. Weber (Salzburg, 1973), p. 82.

[7] See below, p. 132 n. 1 and pl. XVI.

[8] Continental scholars have stated that all MSS. containing numbering of lines were certainly written in England, and probably in Oxford; see P. Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, iii (Stuttgart, 1960), 58.

the *Sentences* produced in the second half of the thirteenth century, the *distinctio* numbers have been furnished by the rubricator, and a professional scribe has added the commentary of Peter of Tarentaise. In at least one booklet of MS. Bodley 568 (Augustine, s. XIV) the Kilwardby numbers were copied by the scribe. In Peterhouse, Cambridge, MS. 56 (*De anima*, s. XIV) text and commentary were copied alternately by the scribe who numbered each section of the commentary. In each case the apparatus had been supplied before the book came into the hands of the reader.

Thirteenth-century scholars paid close attention to the development of good working tools based on scientific principles. The drive to make inherited material available in a condensed or more convenient form led them to recognize the desirability of imposing a new *ordinatio* on the material for this purpose. In the thirteenth century this led to the development of the notion of *compilatio* both as a form of writing and as a means of making material easily accessible. Compilation was not new (it is implicit in the work of Gratian and Peter Lombard);[1] what was new was the amount of thought and industry that was put into it, and the refinement that this thought and industry produced. The transmission of these refinements on to the page led to greater sophistication in the presentation of texts.

The role of the compiler was defined by Bonaventura alongside those of the scribe, the commentator, and the author:

> . . . quadruplex est modus faciendi librum. Aliquis enim scribit aliena, nihil addendo vel mutando; et iste mere dicitur scriptor. Aliquis scribit aliena addendo, sed non de suo; et iste compilator dicitur. Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua tamquam annexa ad evidentiam; et iste dicitur commentator non auctor. Aliquis scribit et sua et aliena, sed sua tamquam

[1] However, the term *compilator* was not applied to either writer in the 12th century. Gratian was seen by 12th-century commentators as a *compositor* (see the quotation in J. F. Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, i (Stuttgart, 1875), p. 254). In the prologue to the *Sentences* Peter Lombard describes his literary activity as follows '. . . hoc volumen . . . compegimus ex testimoniis veritatis . . . in quatuor libros distinctum'. For another example of a 12th-century antecedent to the notion of *compilatio* see B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 232–3. The title *Compilatio* in the new sense seems to have been applied first to the systematic collections of decretal letters produced at Bologna at the end of the 12th century, see van Hove, *Prolegomena*, 356.

principalia, aliena tamquam annexa ad confirmationem et debet dici auctor.[1]

The compiler adds no matter of his own by way of exposition (unlike the commentator) but compared with the scribe he is free to rearrange (*mutando*). What he imposed was a new *ordinatio* on the materials he extracted from others. In the words of Vincent of Beauvais: 'Nam ex meo pauca, vel quasi nulla addidi. Ipsorum igitur est auctoritate, nostrum autem sola partium ordinatione.'[2] The *compilatio* derives its value from the authenticity of the *auctoritates* employed, but it derives its usefulness from the *ordo* in which the *auctoritates* were arranged.[3]

Vincent of Beauvais elevated *compilatio* into a literary form[4] which served as a vehicle for others. He was the most ambitious of compilers, but he was also the most articulate about his mode of procedure, and for this reason he is a good example. In the *Speculum maius* the *ordinatio* operates at two levels: at one level it involves the adoption of a general scheme or structure in which the compiler can incorporate most conveniently the particular materials he has selected; at another level it involves the choice of a critical procedure by which the diverse *auctoritates* can be divided up and redeployed according to the nature of the subject-matter. At the higher level of *ordinatio* Vincent sought to enclose natural science, Christian doctrine, and the history and achievements of the human race within the general framework of a 'speculum', or mirror of the universe. The scheme of his book was

[1] *In primum librum sententiarum*, proem, quaest. iv. Printed *Opera* (Quaracchi ed.), i (1882), 14, col. 2.

[2] *Speculum maius*, apologia actoris (first recension), cap. iii (cf. edition pr. Venice 1591, General Prologue, cap. iv). All my quotations from Vincent of Beauvais are printed from the text of the first recension as preserved in Dijon MS. 568 (329). In the text printed at Venice 1591 the 'apologia actoris' is printed as a General Prologue but the version on which it is based is post-Vincent.

[3] The significance of the notion of *compilatio* in the preparation of books for use in the liturgy is suggested by the Dominican lectionary, and the incipit which occurs in the MS. Archetype (Santa Sabina, Rome, MS. XIV L 1, fol. 142) 'Iste est liber lectionarius ordinis fratrum predicatorum diligenter compilatus et correctus et punctatus et versiculatus.' Cf. L. E. Boyle, 'Dominican Lectionaries and Leo of Ostia's *Translatio S. Clementis*', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, xxviii (1958), 371.

[4] The novelty of this literary form may be inferred from the fact that Hugh of St. Cher and Nicholas of Lyra describe II Maccabees as a *compilacio*, whereas Peter Comestor and Stephen Langton had previously described it as a *recapitulatio* of I Maccabees.

intended to mirror the scheme of reality. In working out his scheme, with commendable humility he followed the example of the Almighty '. . . ut iuxta ordinem sacrae scripturae, primo de creatore, postea de creaturis, postea quoque de lapsu et reparatione hominis, deinde vero de rebus gestis iuxta seriem temporum suorum, et tandem etiam de iis que in fine temporum futura sunt, ordinate disserem.'[1] In the *Speculum naturale* he follows the chronological order of the six days of creation given in the Book of Genesis. At the lower level of *ordinatio* his procedure was influenced by the *modus definitivus* of his own age. Since, according to Alexander of Hales, '. . . apprehensio veritatis secundum humanam rationem explicatur per divisiones, definitiones, et ratiocinationes',[2] Vincent achieves the subordination of his material by dissecting his *auctoritates* and redeploying the diverse materials into discrete, self-contained chapters. In the *Speculum naturale* the third, fourth, and fifth days of creation give him the opportunity to review all that was then thought about minerals, vegetables, and animals. By dividing his work into books and chapters he is able to include as many as 171 chapters on herbs, 134 chapters on seeds and grains, 161 chapters on birds, and 46 chapters on fishes. In the *Speculum historiale* by the same process of redeployment into discrete units he includes such material as the account of the ancient gods, and the 'biographies of leading authors'[3] of antiquity accompanied by extracts from their works—all subordinated within the framework of universal history. In all, the *Speculum maius* is divided into 80 books and 9,885 chapters: it is the classic example of the principle of *compilatio* which emerged in the thirteenth century, 'divide and subordinate'.

The age of the compiler had arrived. The term *compilatio* becomes more frequent in the titles of works produced from the thirteenth century onwards,[4] although not all compilations were so called. The works range from the highly ambitious and sophisticated works of Vincent of Beauvais, Bartholomaeus Anglicus,

[1] *Speculum maius*, apologia actoris (Dijon MS.), cap. iii.

[2] See above, p. 119. On the possible dependence of Vincent on Alexander of Hales for some of his ideas see L. Lieser, *Vincenz von Beauvais als Kompilator und Philosoph* (Leipzig, 1928); and M. Gorce, 'La Somme théologique de Alexandre de Hales, est-elle authentique?', *The New Scholasticism*, v (1931), 62.

[3] B. Ullman, 'A Project for a New Edition of Vincent of Beauvais', *Speculum*, viii (1933), 321.

[4] P. Lehmann, 'Mittelalterliche Büchertitel', *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, v (Stuttgart, 1962), 21.

and Brunetto Latini on the one hand, to much humbler works like the Franciscan compilation in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. B. IV. 19 on the other.[1] From the thirteenth century onwards all the compilations which follow this literary form operate by the same method: by disposing the material into clearly defined books and chapters, or other recognizable divisions based on the nature of the subject-matter, as in the following examples selected at random. John Ashenden begins his *Summa judicialis de accidentibus mundi*: 'Intencio mea in hoc libro est compilare sentencias astrologorum de accidencium prognosticacione que accidunt in hoc mundo ex corporum superiorium volubilitate.'[2] He arranges his *auctoritates* according to the nature of the material into two books, each of which is divided into twelve *distinctiones* which in turn are further subdivided into chapters. The *Compendium morale* of Roger of Waltham is compiled 'de virtuosis dictis et factis exemplaribus antiquorum' disposed in thirteen *rubricae* relating to government and political virtues.[3] Even the *florilegium*, the collection of excerpts from the Fathers, was made to conform to this new logical arrangement. The 'liber qui vocatur Flores Bernardi' is a collection of excerpts from a single *auctor* redistributed according to the nature of the subject-matter: '. . . quia de diversis rebus mentionem facit, secundum diversitatem rerum quibus loquitur libros in diversos distinguitur et decem librorum tractatibus concluditur.'[4] As a literary form *compilatio* influenced works in vernacular literature. The process of *ordinatio* at the higher level may be detected in the general schemes of the *Decamerone*, the *Confessio amantis*, *Les Cent Balades* and the incomplete *Canterbury Tales*. The *Canterbury Tales* is divided according to pilgrims rather than into books and chapters, yet the attitude of compiler seems to lie behind Chaucer's words in the General Prologue:

> Thogh that I pleynly speke in this mateere,
> To telle yow hir wordes and hir cheere,
> Ne thogh I speke hir wordes proprely.
> For this ye knowen al so wel as I,
> Whoso shal telle a tale after a man,
> He moot reherce as ny as evere he kan

[1] Cf. A. G. Little, *Liber Exemplorum ad usum praedicantium*, British Society of Franciscan Studies, i (1908).
[2] Bodleian Lib., MS. Digby 225.
[3] London, British Lib., MS. Royal 7 E. VII.
[4] Lincoln Coll., Oxford, MS. lat. 29.

> Everich a word, if it be in his charge,
> Al speke he never so rudeliche and large,
> Or ellis he moot telle his tale untrewe
> Or feyne thyng, or fynde wordes newe.[1]

In the context of the structure of the work these words seem to parallel those of Vincent of Beauvais, 'Nam ex meo pauca, vel quasi nulla addidi. Ipsorum igitur est auctoritate, nostrum autem sola partium ordinatione.'[2] In both cases the writer claims to be adding nothing of his own, but Vincent of Beauvais's scholarly reticence has become a constituent device of a literary form which enables a writer to disclaim responsibility for the statements he records.

The notion of *compilatio* not only gave rise to a sophisticated literary form but also promoted the development of a new kind of apparatus for use alongside existing texts: the *tabula* or alphabetical index. By employing a new *ordinatio* the *tabula* provided a means of access to subordinate topics within the existing *ordinatio* of a work. These were extracted and defined, thus being made available for use in the context of different arguments. The range of *tabulae* was wide: there were standard *tabulae* (like those prepared by Robert Kilwardby on the Fathers and the *Sentences*)[3] and those prepared by individuals for their own use. They were a most convenient form of quick reference work, and the practices of compiling and collecting *tabulae* became popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In many manuscripts subordinate topics in the text were entered as sub-headings in the margins. Sometimes a *tabula* was bound up with the work it refers to: Oriel College, Oxford, MS. 43 (s. XIV in.) contains a copy of Fishacre on the *Sentences* accompanied by a comprehensive *tabula*, and in Merton College, Oxford, MS. 55 a *tabula* has been added to the booklet containing the *De civitate Dei*. More frequently we find collections of different *tabulae* bound together: Peterhouse, Cambridge, MS. 147 (s. XIII–XIV) comprises nine booklets containing *tabulae* on works by Augustine, Anselm, and Chrysostom; Durham, Cathedral Library, MSS. B. III. 27 and 28 (s. XIV) are

[1] *The Canterbury Tales*, General Prologue, lines 727–36. Mr. A. J. Minnis has discussed applications of the notion of *compilatio* in vernacular literature in his forthcoming Ph.D. Thesis for the Queen's University of Belfast, 'Medieval Discussions of the Rôle of the Author.'
[2] See above, p. 128.
[3] Cf. Callus, 'The "Tabulae super Originalia Patrum" of Robert Kilwardby O.P.'

two collections of booklets which between them contain *tabulae* to works by Gregory, Anselm, Isidore, Augustine, and Bernard; Peterhouse, Cambridge, MS. 184 (s. xv) includes *tabulae* on Aristotle's *Libri naturales* and *Ethics*.

A *tabula* easily 'slides into' a more sophisticated compilation. It can be produced as a simple concordance related to copies of the *originalia* by a system of numbered divisions,[1] or less conveniently to a particular copy by references to folio and column.[2] The entries can be amplified into a series of definitions in alphabetical order, or further supported by extracts from the *originalia*, thus becoming independent of the copies of the texts. In the late twelfth century William de Montibus had recognized the value of alphabetical order as a means of making material easily available to the preacher, and had experimented with this order in his collections of *distinctiones* and in his *Proverbia*.[3] In the late thirteenth century a new kind of compilation begins to appear, influenced by the more sophisticated arrangement of the scholarly *tabulae* and promoted by the new accessibility of the material. The *Alphabetum auctoritatum* of Arnulph of Liège appeared in 1276, the *Tabula exemplorum secundum ordinem alphabeti* in 1277, the *Speculum laicorum* between 1279 and 1292, and the *Alphabetum narrationum* in 1296.[4] These were the first of many, and their content ranges from collections of *flores patrum* like the *Manipulus florum* of Thomas of Ireland[4] to the digests of Aristotle's *Libri naturales* and *Ethics*.[5] They represent one of the end products of the complex interaction between the applications of the notions of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Because a *compilatio* is essentially a rearrangement, the new *ordinatio* employed by the compiler must be clearly defined and the new division of the material made obvious to the reader.

[1] See pl. XVI. A list of copies of the *De trinitate* with the Kilwardby numbers in the margins is given by R. W. Hunt in *Bodl. L.R.* v (1954), 68 n. 2.

[2] Cf. the example cited by N. R. Ker, 'The English Manuscripts of the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great', p. 83; and p. 136 n. 2 below.

[3] Cf. H. MacKinnon, 'William de Montibus: a Medieval Teacher', *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), p. 37.

[4] Cf. M. A. and R. H. Rouse, 'The Texts called *Lumen Anime*', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, xli (1971), 14; H. G. Pfander, 'The Medieval Friars and some Alphabetical Reference-books for Sermons', *Medium Aevum*, iii (1934), 19.

[5] See M. Grabmann, *Methoden und Hilfsmittel des Aristotelesstudiums im Mittelalter*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt. 5 (Munich, 1939).

Nobody was more aware of this than Vincent of Beauvais. He tells us in the *apologia* to the *Speculum* that he has divided his work into books and chapters to make it easier for the reader: 'Ut huius operis partes singulae lectori facilius elucescant, ipsum totum opus per libros, et libros per capitula distinguere volui.'[1] These divisions had to be carefully and clearly labelled: '... quia multorum librorum florem quendam, atque medullam in unum volumen compegi; totum sub certis titulis ordine congruo redegi.'[2] He improves the usefulness of the work by prefixing to each book a detailed table of the *tituli* of each chapter. He gave considerable thought to the method of indicating his sources. He considered as precedents the practices developed in copies of the works of the Lombard and Gratian. He decided to follow the practice he found in the latter, to place the names in the body of the text rather than in the margins lest they be misplaced by a careless scribe: 'nequaquam in margine sicut sit in psalterio glosato et epistolis pauli vel in sententciis, sed inter lineas ipsas sicut in decretis ea inserui.'[3] If, as seems likely, the Dijon copy of the first recension of the *Speculum maius* was a presentation copy to Louis IX,[4] then not only were all these features employed in this copy, but it is also one of the earliest manuscripts I have seen which exploits to the full the potential of running-titles discussed above.[5] The *Speculum* survives in a large number of copies most of which follow this pattern (pl. XII) and its impact on the standard of presenting texts should not be underestimated. Compilations were handy books. The notion of *ordinatio* developed by the commentators was realized, the disposition of material into books and chapters was made manifest in the layout of these books, and the concomitant apparatus of headings, running-titles, *tabulae*, and other devices was disseminated along with the compilations.

The dissemination of this apparatus for indicating the *ordinatio* led to much greater sophistication in the production of books. Features of the apparatus can be found even in well-produced copies of vernacular texts which do not presuppose an academic readership. The indication of proper names, by underlining them or placing them in boxes, can be found in manuscripts of *Piers*

[1] *Speculum maius*, apologia (Dijon MS.), cap. ii.

[2] Ibid., cap. iii.

[3] Ibid., cap. ii.

[4] Cf. C. Oursel, 'Un Exemplaire du *Speculum maius* de Vincent de Beauvais' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, lxxxv (1924), 251; also Ullman, loc. cit.

[5] p. 122.

Plowman and the English *Brut*.[1] The most spectacular example is the Ellesmere manuscript of the *Canterbury Tales*. Here we find almost all the trappings of *ordinatio*: sources and topics are indicated in the margins, and the word '*auctor*' is placed alongside a sententious statement. The text is well disposed in its sections, and each section is carefully labelled by means of full rubrics. There are running-titles, and the final touch is the introduction of pictures of each of the pilgrims (the basis of the division of the work) in order to assist the reader to identify them with the General Prologue. Last but not least is the way in which *Sir Thopas* has been laid out: the bracketing serves to emphasize the 'drasty' rhymes and the stanza division is carefully followed.

Perhaps the best way to demonstrate the increasing sophistication introduced by the interaction between *ordinatio* and *compilatio* is to compare the way in which an early thirteenth-century scribe and an early fifteenth-century scribe treated two different kinds of alphabetical compilation. New College, Oxford, MS. 98 is an early thirteenth-century copy of the *Proverbia* of William de Montibus and an anonymous collection of *narrationes*, late twelfth-century compilations disposed in alphabetical order (pl. XIV). The 'key' alphabetical words, often preceded by the preposition 'de', are placed in red at the end of the last line of the preceding entry, in script of the same size as the rest of the text. The large coloured initials at the beginning of each entry do not form part of the alphabetical sequence. The reader has to find his way about the compilation by means of the rubrics. By contrast, in University College, Oxford, MS. 67, an early fifteenth-century copy of the *Alphabetum narrationum* of Arnulph of Liège (pl. XV), the first word of each entry is the alphabetical 'key' word: it begins with a *littera notabilior* in blue occupying two lines, and the rest of the word or phrase is underlined in red. At the beginning of a new section of the alphabet, the initial occupies three or four lines, and there is another *littera notabilior* in the top margin. A further refinement is the introduction of cross-references. In these the first letter is preceded by a paraph, but occupies only one line and is in the same ink as the rest of the entry. To distinguish it as a separate entry, the letter is splashed with red. Following the *Alphabetum narrationum* in this manuscript there is an 'opusculum narrationum' in which the stories are disposed under headings or sections. In the list of titles which precedes it, each section is numbered, and in the body of the text the beginning of each section is further emphasized by means of numerals added in the margin.

[1] Cf. W. W. Greg, *Facsimiles of Twelve Early English Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge* (Oxford, 1913), pl. vii; M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500* (Oxford, 1969), pl. 21.

The late medieval book differs more from its early medieval predecessors than it does from the printed books of our own day. The scholarly apparatus which we take for granted—analytical table of contents, text disposed into books, chapters, and paragraphs, and accompanied by footnotes and index—originated in the applications of the notions of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* by writers, scribes, and rubricators of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. By the fourteenth century the reader had come to expect some of these features, and if they had not been supplied by scribe or rubricator the reader himself supplied the ones he wanted on the pages of his working copy. Troyes MS. 718 is a very roughly made copy of Ockham's commentary on the second book of the *Sentences*. A reader has subsequently worked through the manuscript inserting his own paragraph marks in the text with corresponding marks in the margins accompanied by numerals, and headings like 'contra' and 'responsio' to indicate the stages in the argument. Readers have also added two sets of running titles: the first set placed in the centre of the top margin refers to the *Distinctio* of the *Sentences* being commented upon, the second set placed in the top right-hand corner refers to Ockham's *quaestio* number. Citations in the text have been underlined. Peterhouse, Cambridge, MS. 89 (s. XIII) is a copy of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* which was assigned to Friar William de Tatewic who 'manu sua a principio usque ad finem diligenter correxit et notabilia specialia in marginibus titulauit et per decursum alphabeti in separatis quaterniis per modum tabulae designauit.'[1] In some late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts scribes or readers have copied in the margins the indexing symbols of Robert Grosseteste.[2] In

[1] Cf. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1899), p. 106.

[2] R. W. Hunt, *Bodl. L.R.* iv (1953), 241–55. Some of the apparatus and notes on patristic texts which Grosseteste prepared for his own use were later copied and prefixed to Bodleian Lib., MS. Bodley 785, see R. W. Hunt, 'The Library of Robert Grosseteste', *Robert Grosseteste Scholar and Bishop*, ed. D. A. Callus (Oxford, 1955), pp. 122–3.

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. B. II. 22, an eleventh-century copy of the *De civitate Dei*, a fourteenth-century hand has divided the text into chapters, and indicated subordinate topics in the margin. When this manuscript served as an exemplar for Durham MSS. B. II. 23 and 24 this apparatus was copied along with the text.[1] In Oriel College, Oxford, MS. 31 (fols. 191–193) we can see someone compiling his own *tabula* on some *quodlibet*s of Henry of Ghent. What appears to be another example of a first draft of a *tabula* survives at Durham on the dorse of an *obit* roll of Bishop Hatfield (d. 1381).[2]

Librarians and others responsible for the custody of books also introduced features of the new apparatus. In the mid fourteenth century Bishop Grandisson worked his way through books in Exeter Cathedral Library inserting inscriptions of ownership, guides to the *ordinatio*, and comments of his own. Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 691, is a twelfth-century copy of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. At the beginning of the volume Grandisson inserted a small quire containing a fourteenth-century synoptic table of contents. He numbered each entry in this table then worked through the manuscript dividing the text into books and chapters to agree with the divisions in the table, and finally added running-titles. In MS. Bodley 732, a twelfth-century copy of Bede's commentary on Luke, he divided up the text indicating the chapter numbers in the margins and adding running-titles in pencil. Later he replaced the pencilled running-titles with ones in ink. He inserted headings in MSS. Bodley 94, 230, and 377, and paragraph marks in MSS. Bodley 132 and 230. Later in the fourteenth century Henry Kirkstede was engaged in a similar kind of activity at Bury St. Edmunds.[3] At Durham *tabulae* and *compendia* were acquired for the convent in 1390 by William Appleby.[4] A fifteenth-century librarian of Gunville Hall bound a booklet containing Kilwardby's *Intenciones* along with copies of the texts

[1] Cf. R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the end of the Twelfth Century*, no. 33.

[2] Durham, Dean and Chapter Muniments, Loc. i: 2. The references seem to be to folio and column, and therefore the *tabula* seems to have been drawn up for use alongside a particular MS. Directions found in Oxford, New Coll. MS. 112 for the use of such a *tabula* are printed by Lehmann, *Erforschung*, iii. 45.

[3] See further R. H. Rouse, 'Bostonius Buriensis and the Author of the *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesie*', *Speculum*, xli (1966), 490–1.

[4] Cf. R. B. Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400–1450* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 370 n. 4.

of Augustine to which they relate (Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS. 108). William Seton had *Tabulae alphabeticae in varios auctores* copied for him when he was Bursar of Durham College, Oxford, in 1438, and the volume subsequently passed into the Cathedral Library (MS. B. III. 29).[1]

Why were these academic notions of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* translated so rapidly into practical terms in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? First, by the thirteenth century an organized book trade existed to cater for academic needs in Paris and elsewhere. The members of this trade consciously strove to achieve uniformity in matters of format and features of layout,[2] adopting and developing new ideas in response to new demands from the readers. Secondly, the orders of friars were founded in the thirteenth century to manifest a new conception of the apostolic life, and (especially in the case of the Dominicans) to preach against heresy. They formed the personnel for an essentially orthodox evangelical activity which of necessity had to pay close attention to good working tools, and to develop still further the craft of establishing and utilizing the processes of discussion based upon texts which were regarded as *auctoritates*. All the scholarly activity in the convents situated at the universities was directed towards making material available in easily accessible form to the preacher in the field. The title of Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles* speaks for itself, and elsewhere he elaborates upon his intentions in phrases like 'scripta componere quidam modus docendi est.'[3] The search for *originalia*,[4] the production of new copies, and the collection of these ideas into new compendia to make them more readily accessible to the student and the preacher were essential to the fulfilment of the evangelical purpose of the new orders. In this context the definition of *ordinatio* led to the development of the notion of *compilatio* both as a form of writing and as a means of making material easily accessible. The orders of friars provided the institutional framework in which such an activity could evolve

[1] *B.R.U.O.* iii. 1671–2.

[2] J. Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e^ et du XIV^e^ siècle*, p. 46.

[3] *Supplementum*, quaestio 96, art. 11.

[4] On the preparation of the *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum* and the *Tabula Septem Custodiarum super Bibliam*, two of the earliest 'union catalogues', see M. R. James, 'The List of Libraries Prefixed to the Catalogue of John Boston and Kindred Documents', *Collectanea Franciscana* (British Society of Franciscan Studies, x, 1922), 37; R. H. Rouse, *Speculum*, xli (1966), 471.

rapidly: the big compilers like Vincent of Beauvais and Hugh of St. Cher had smaller compilers to help them. Compiling became an industry. Richard de Bury comments on the activity of the members of the two orders ' . . . qui diversorum voluminum correctionibus, expositionibus, tabulationibus ac compilationibus indefessis studiis incumbebant'.[1] In this kind of situation a scholar of very humble talents could be given a task in which he could feel that he was contributing to something of importance. The compilations produced were both autonomous compilations and apparatuses designed to be used alongside a text. With the dissemination of the compilations, the notion of *compilatio* both as a form of writing and as a kind of book was disseminated too. We find writers both in academic circles and outside adopting and adapting the form to suit their own academic or artistic purposes. The expectation of readers was changed, and this is reflected in changes in the physical appearance of books. A writer organized his work for publication,[2] and if he did not do so then a scribe would, for inside many a scribe there lurked a compiler struggling to get out. The production of books became more sophisticated, and the increasing number of books and the increasing demand for readily accessible information led scholarly librarians to provide yet more bibliographical aids, in the form of tables of contents, and *tabulae*; for of the making of books there is no end.

M. B. PARKES

NOTES TO PLATES IX–XVI

PLATE IX

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. 2. 8 (S.C. 2337), fol. 105 (scale 2:3). Peter Lombard, *Commentarii super Psalmos* (Ps. 45: 12–Ps. 46: 1–6). Copied in England in the late twelfth century. O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, iii (Oxford, 1973), no. 231. Compare the layout of text and commentary and the method of indicating sources here (discussed above, p. 116) with the *ad hoc* layout of the early glossed book illustrated in pl. V. The Bodleian manuscript belonged to Exeter Cathedral Library.

[1] *Philobiblon*, ed. M. Maclagan (Oxford, 1969), p. 92.

[2] As, for example, John Capgrave (cf. P. J. Lucas, 'John Capgrave, O.S.A. (1393–1464), Scribe and Publisher', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, v (1969), 1–35).

PLATE X

Oxford, St. John's College, MS. 49, fol. 12^{v} (scale 7:10). Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in Quatuor libris distinctae* (Book I, Dist. x, cap. ii, 3–Dist. xi, cap. i, 4). Copied in France early in the second half of the twelfth century. An inscription on fol. 2 records that the volume belonged to Hilary, bishop of Chichester 1147–69 (see the catalogue of *Archbishop Laud Commemorative Exhibition*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1973, no. 4). Note the rubrics in the text to indicate the beginning of each chapter, and (in the left-hand margin) the indication of sources and compare with pl. IX. Rubrics in the right-hand margin 'prima causa', 'secunda', 'tercia' which indicate stages in the argument are discussed above, p. 118. The *distinctio* number has been added by a late thirteenth-century hand (see above, p. 126).

PLATE XI

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 3050, fol. 76 (scale 2:3). Peter of Tarentaise, *In primum librum Sententiarum* (I, Dist. xxi). Copied in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century (see J. Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscripts universitaires du XIII^{e} et du XIV^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1935), p. 90). Note the pecia mark in the right-hand margin. Compare with the previous plates and note here the use of *litterae notabiliores* and paraphs to indicate stages in the argument (discussed above, p. 121) and the running-titles (discussed above, p. 122).

PLATE XII

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 287 (S.C. 2435), fol. 74^{v} (scale 9:16). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* (V, caps. xvii–xx). A fourteenth-century copy, chosen at random, which illustrates the layout typical of well-produced manuscripts of this work including Dijon MS. 568 (329), the thirteenth-century copy which was probably made for presentation to Louis IX. Note the use of titles in red at the beginning of each chapter, the indication of sources in red in the body of the text, and the use of running-titles (here 'tempora ptholomei') which follow the principle of Vincent's own rearrangement 'iuxta seriem temporum' (see above, pp. 129 and 133).

PLATE XIII

Oxford, Keble College, MS. 26, fol. 17^{v} (scale 2:3). Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in quatuor libris distinctae*, Book I, Dist. x, cap. ii. 5–Dist. xi, cap. i. 3. Copied in France (Paris?) in the second half of the thirteenth century. Compare with pl. X (an earlier copy of the same text) and note here the running-title and the *distinctio* number inserted by the rubricator, and the various kinds of apparatus added for and by readers.

Exact references to passages of the Bible cited as authorities in the text have been added in a very small hand close to the boundaries of the written space; extracts from the commentary of Peter of Tarentaise (F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium commentariorum in sententias Petri Lombardi* (Würzburg, 1947), no. 690) added in the margins in a formal book hand of the early fourteenth century. In the bottom margin a single fourteenth-century cursive hand has added a series of glosses and, in the bottom left-hand corner of the page, a verse summary of the contents of the book (Stegmüller, op. cit., no. 14), see J. de Ghellinck, 'Medieval Theology in Verse', *Irish Theological Quarterly*, ix (1914), 336–54; idem, *Le Mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle* (Bruges, 1948), pp. 272–273. Note also the paragraph marks inserted in the text in the second column.

The addition of the commentaries and the verse summary, and the omission of the twelfth-century system of indicating the sources of the *auctoritates* in the margin with corresponding *puncti* in the text, probably reflect a change in the way in which the *Sentences* was read. By this date it was no longer regarded primarily as a harmony of *auctoritates* but as a textbook in its own right.

PLATE XIV

Oxford, New College, MS. 98, fol. 138 (scale 7:8). 'Anonymi cuiusdam narrationes alphabeticae.' Copied at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Compare the layout of this alphabetical compilation with that of the next plate, and see the discussion above, p. 134. From the library of Ely Cathedral Priory.

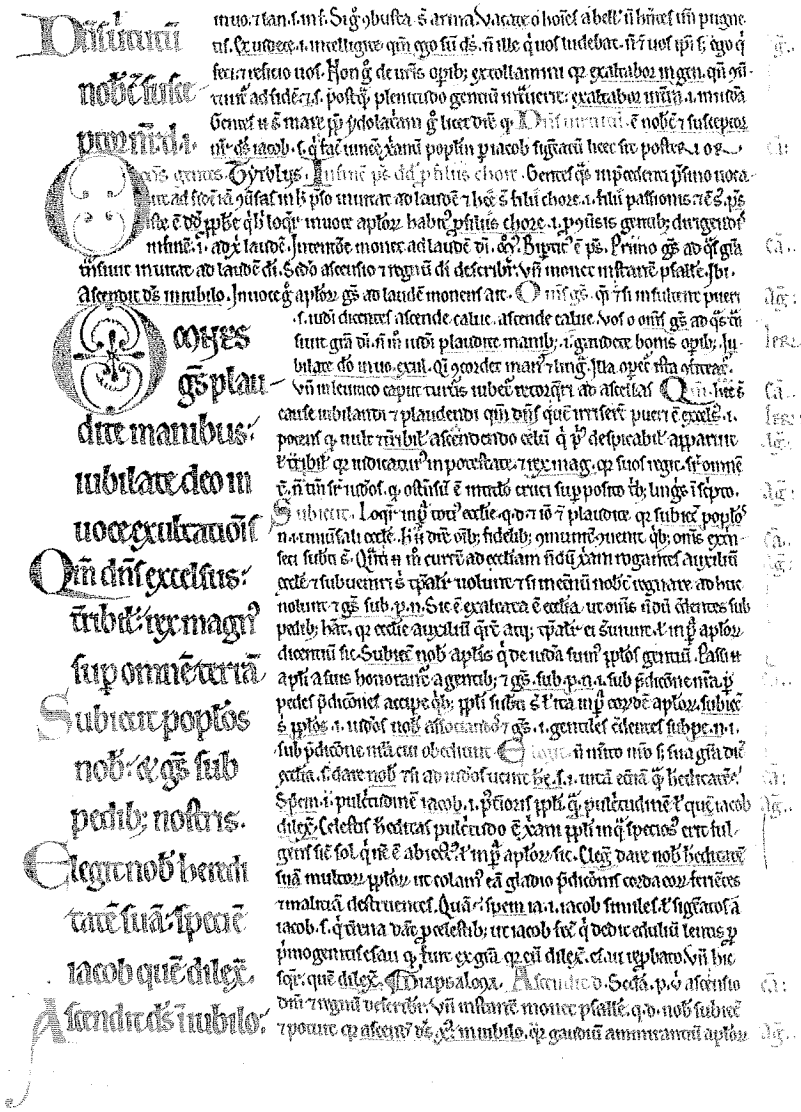
PLATE XV

Oxford, University College, MS. 67, fol. 52^v (actual size). Arnulph of Liège, *Alphabetum narrationum*. Copied at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Compare with previous plate and see the discussion above, p. 134. Formerly in the possession of the Dominicans at Beverley.

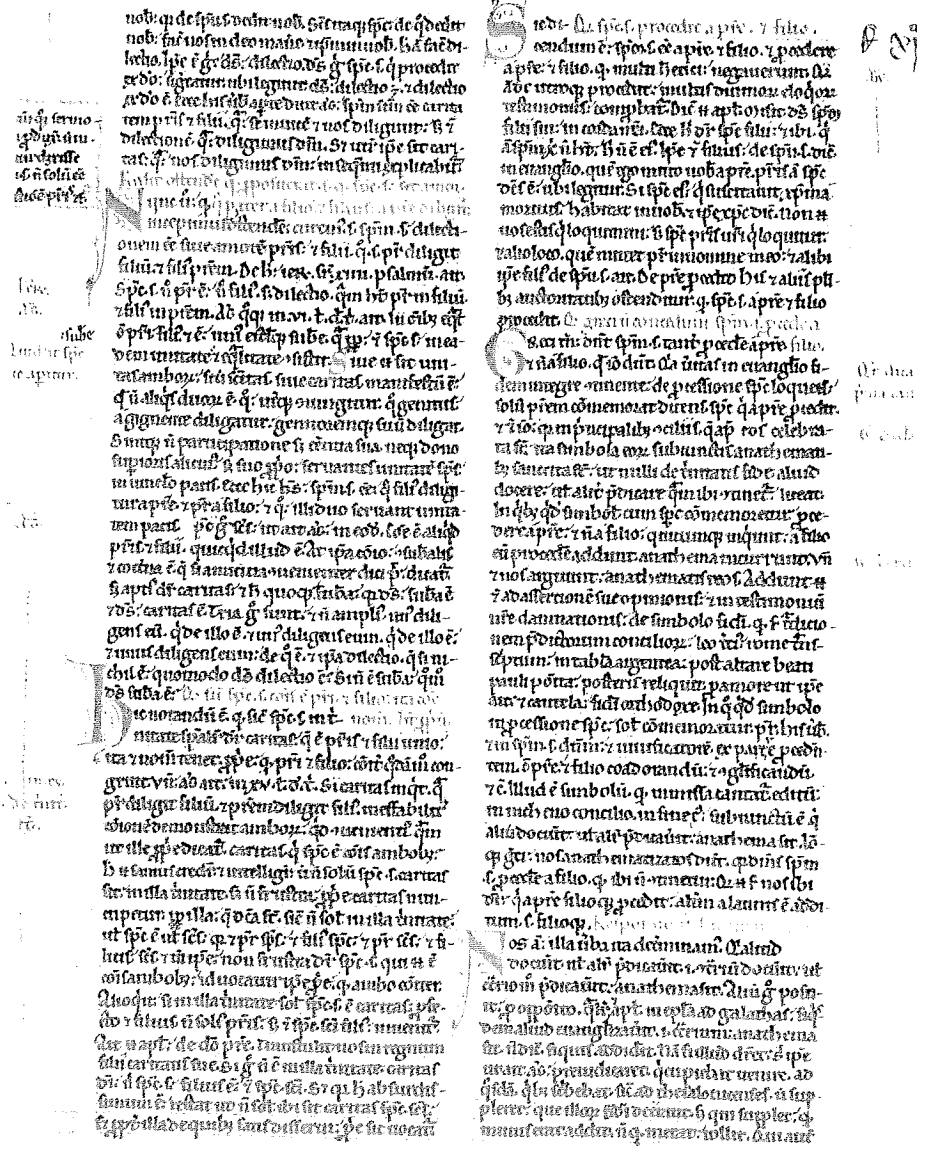
PLATE XVI

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 568 (S.C. 2008), fol. 242^v (scale 13:20). A collection of works by Augustine copied in England at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The plate illustrates the end of the *De videndo deo* and the beginning of *Epistola* 152. The text of the *De videndo deo* has been divided into sections by means of red paragraph marks, and each new division is indicated by a number in the margin (the Kilward-by divisions). The *Epistola* follows the previous text without interruption and is marked only by a rubric and a comparatively undistinguished initial. However, the new running-title is placed directly over the column

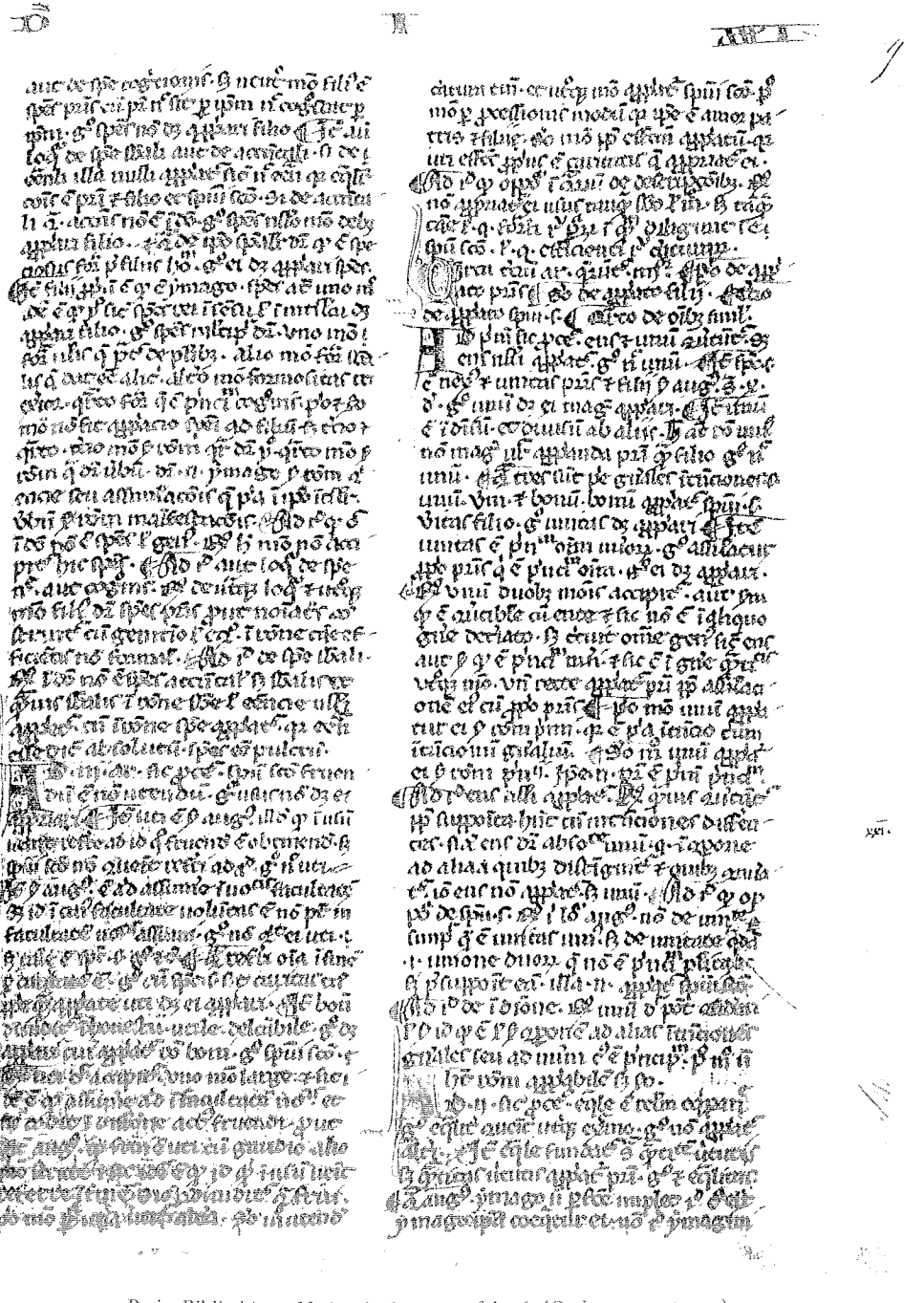
in which the new text occurs, and not centrally as in the rest of the text. On fol. iii of the volume there is a table of contents in a fourteenth-century hand, and a fifteenth-century inscription 'pertinet conventui'. It has been suggested by M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, i (Munich, 1926), pp. 23–5, that the utilitarian appearance of such copies is typical of manuscripts which belonged to the mendicant orders (cf. the remarks of Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J. J. Berthier (Rome, 1888–9), i, p. 448).



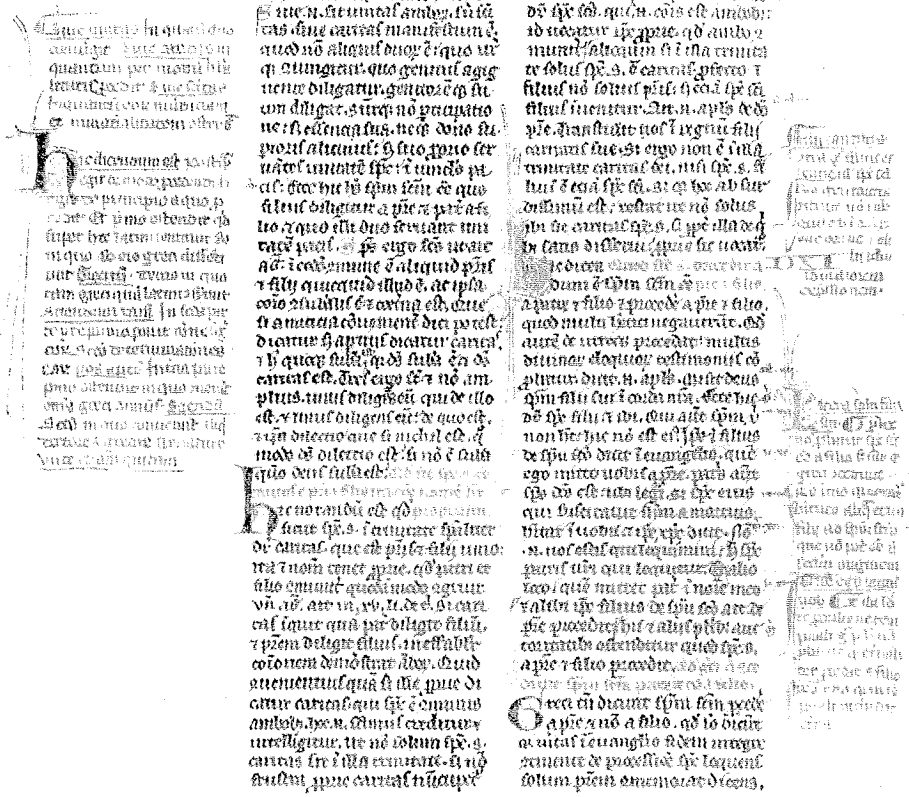
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. 2. 8, fol. 105. (*Scale* 2:3, *see p.* 138)



Oxford, St. John's College, MS. 49, fol. 12v. (*Scale* 7:10, *see p.* 139)

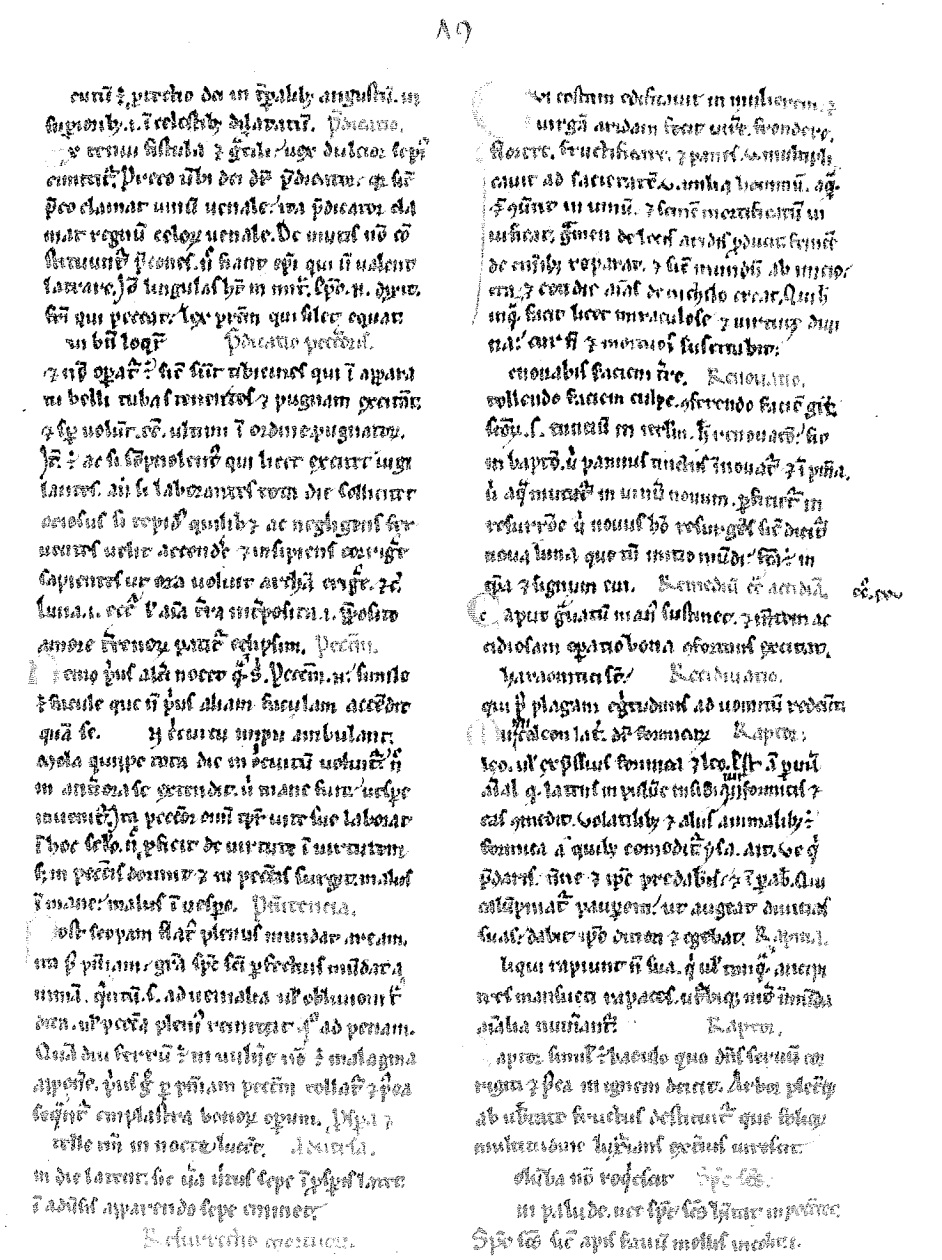


Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 3050, fol. 76. (*Scale 2:3, see p. 139*)



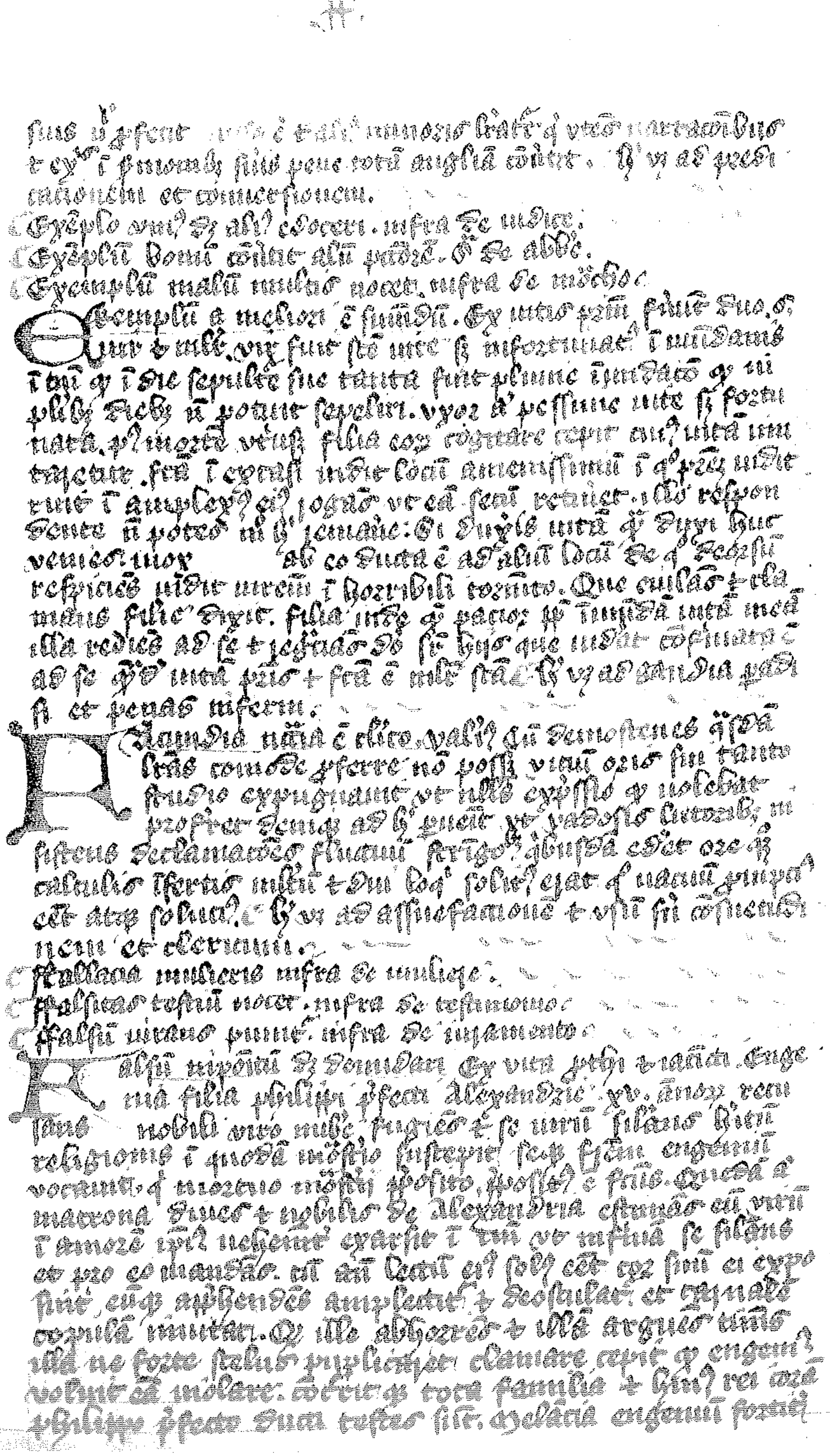
Oxford, Keble College, MS. 26, fol. 17^{v}. (*Scale* 2:3, *see p.* 139)

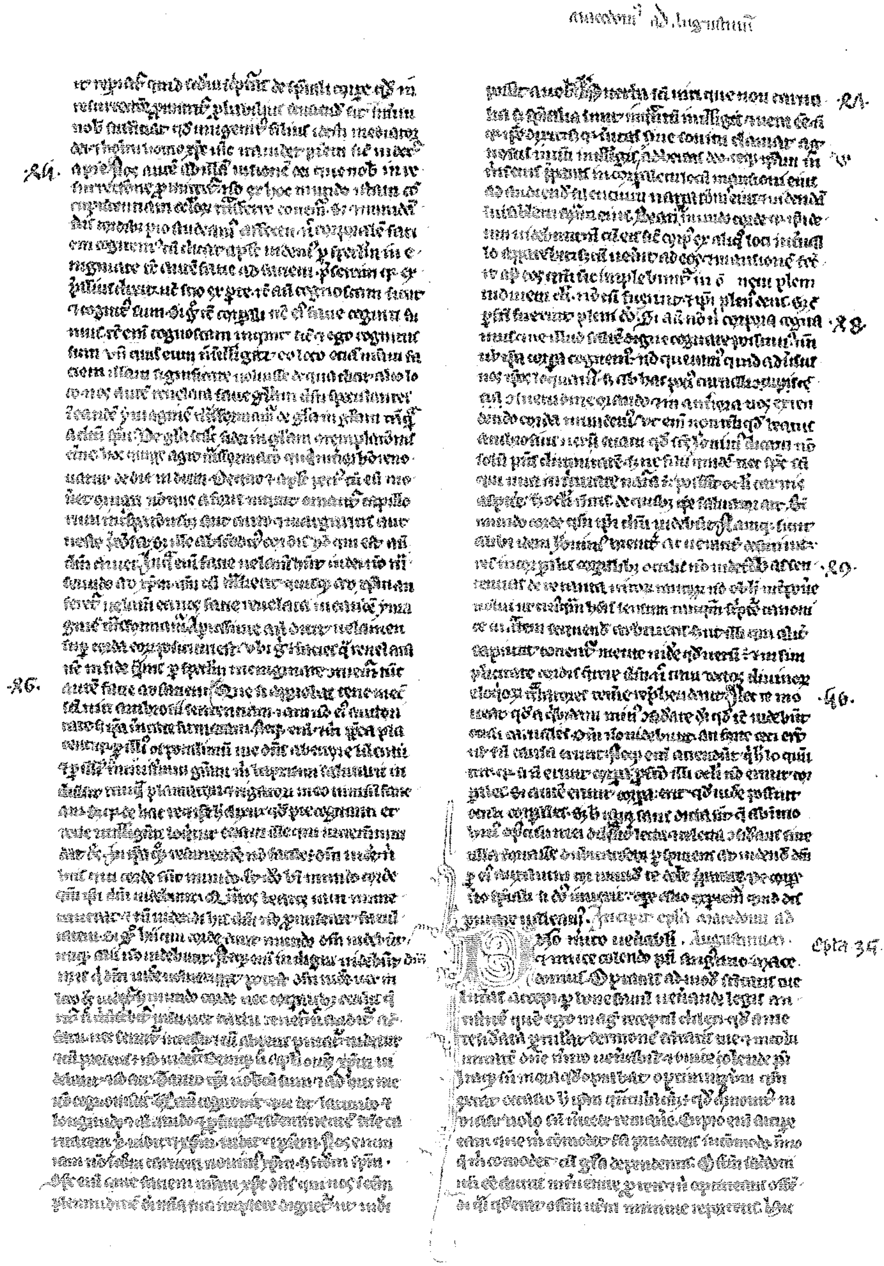
(*left*) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 287, fol. 74^{v}. (*Scale* 9:16, *see p.* 139)



Oxford, New College, MS. 98, fol. 138. (*Scale* 7:8. *see p.* 140)

(*right*) Oxford, University College, MS. 67, fol. 52^{v}. (*Natural size, see p.* 14





Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 568, fol. 242ᵛ. (*Scale 13:20, see p. 140*)