HELLINGA
FESTSCHRIFT/FEESTBUNDEL/MÉLANGES

Forty-three Studies in Bibliography presented to Prof. Dr. Wytze Hellinga on the occasion of his retirement from the Chair of Neophilology in the University of Amsterdam at the end of the Year 1978

Wytze Hellinga aetatis suec LXIII

Nico Israel, Amsterdam, 1980
e. twenty-three names appear in sufficiently accurate and full forms in Ledeboer (and in the Cat. Horn).

Besides a short biography of Ledeboer, the authors give an account of the researching and writing of his chief bibliographical works and a survey of how they were received at the time.

The conclusion is that there is a serious need of a new list of Dutch printers and booksellers and that such a list must be based first of all on all books (in other words: an STCN), possibly supplemented by further data from other sources, so far as they can be checked.

J. P. GUMBERT

The sizes of manuscripts

Some statistics and notes

In the middle of the fifteenth century a Carthusian monk of Utrecht complained that the formatio of two older booklets was bad, being longa et non secundum exigenciam eius lati: tall and not so wide as it ought to be. Evidently this monk knew things about book sizes which modern codicologists do not know. After all, the sizes of manuscript books have often been considered of little importance; there even exist catalogues of MSS. which do not mention measurements, and monographs about MSS. from which it is impossible to discover their size.

For an experimental research into the sizes of manuscripts I decided to limit myself to the dimensions of the page: the dimensions of the written space and their relations to those of the page are important, but I saw no easy way of handling them.


I shall quote MSS. from these collections with abbreviated shelf-marks. Also I shall refer to them as 'Parisian' or 'Viennese' MSS.; and in fact, although of course not every MS. now in Paris was written in France, still a large proportion of them was; in the same way Vienna provides an abundant sampling of Austrian and Bohemian MSS., with MSS. from France and elsewhere in a decidedly minor role. For all their mobility MSS. have stayed in their country of origin more often than not.

My assistants collected and sorted the data of altogether 2305 MSS. The diagrams for specific periods give, for every size, the number of MSS. from that period having that size — thus, in the first diagram, there is one MS. of 14 x 9 cm., there are six of 20 x 14 cm., and ten of each of the sizes 25 x 18, 26 x 18, 28 x 19, 30 x 21, 32 x 22. To arrive at these figures I have rounded the measurements given for the MSS. down to the nearest full centimetre — thus I have treated everything from '30,0' to '30,9' as 30 cm. Greater precision seemed to be unnecessary in view of the fact that there are several more important sources of imprecision in the material:

1. The MSS. themselves
   — The leaves of a book are often of unequal size.
   — Parchment has a tendency to shrink slightly (paper seems to be much more constant in size; in MSS. containing both materials the parchment leaves have often become noticeably smaller than the others).
   — Most MSS. have been cropped by binders, sometimes repeatedly. But I should
The sizes of manuscripts

1. Sizes of parchment MSS. from the eight to the thirteenth centuries (* = two paper MSS.)

2. The authors of the Manuscrits datés
   — In measuring so many thousands of MSS. they must inevitably have made some errors.
   — They certainly made some errors in reporting their findings. Thus P. 12385 is said to be '28,2 x 13,8 cm.', but as the written space is 23,4 x 15, we probably must read '28,2 x 23,5'. P. 12422 '39,5 x 20 cm.', written area 30 x 13; the MS. is said to be very similar to P.12423, which is 30 x 21 (written area 20 x 13) and to P.12424, which is 26 x 17 (written area 19 x 13); so we must read '29,5 x 20'. W. 11 '179 x 82 [mm.], Schriftpiegel 204 x 37'; the plate shows one of the columns to be 60 mm. wide, so we must probably read '279 x 182 (204 x 137)'. W. 4253 '195 x 320, Schriftpiegel 210 x 115' — read 295 x 320? (S.

3. The makers of the present article
   — In writing and counting so many tiny index cards some errors must have occurred, not all of which will have come to light during further work.
   — In arranging, copying and recopying the diagrams I certainly made errors. The fact that my totals seldom seem to add up quite correctly is proof of that. But I checked most of the more extraordinary findings. Notwithstanding these imperfections (some of which are inherent in the material, while others could be overcome by the use of a small computer) I am confident that the results are substantially reliable.

The FIRST DIAGRAM shows the sizes of 350 MSS. from the 8th to the 12th century, 163 from the 13th. (By far the majority of them come from Paris, Vienna contributes a mere 10-15%)

The most striking aspect of this diagram is, that the MSS. are aligned so nicely along a straight line, and that this line virtually coincides with the line corresponding to the famous proportion \(a\sqrt{2} : a\) (i.e. the points on that line correspond with MSS. where the proportion of height to width = \(a\sqrt{2} : a = a : a\sqrt{2}\)). It is not a matter of course for books to have this proportion (even though it still governs our standard sizes and may seem natural to us); if one looks at Greek papyrus codices, one finds surprisingly different results.

We can express the proportion as a decimal fraction (for a book 30 x 21 the value width: height would be 0.70; this value will be greater if the book is (relatively) broader and smaller if it is narrower). Almost all the MSS. of our period will be found to have proportions between 0.60 and 0.80, and the majority of them between 0.67 and 0.72.

Few of the MSS. at the 'broad edge' of our field (0.80) are from the 13th century; and the few (relatively) even broader examples are older: 26 x 22 (0.84) P. 9376, 1005; 30 x 25 (0.83) P. 12302, 989; the broadest is 17 x 15 (0.88) P. 13989, 816.
The sizes of manuscripts

Older MSS. show more divergence at the 'narrow edge' as well. For the 13th century
$21 \times 12 (0.57)$ P. 1543, 1370, is the slenderest specimen; the five isolated instances to
the left of the field are:

- $31 \times 17 (0.55)$ W. 743, before 800;
- $27 \times 13 (0.48)$ P. 9449 (trooper), 1059;
- $32 \times 15 (0.47)$ P. 9448 (trooper), 986;
- $29 \times 12 (0.41)$ P. 10477 (computus), 1182;
- $36 \times 14 (0.39)$ P. 6898 (ritual), 1094.

Tall MSS. (of 44 cm. and over) are not frequent in the 13th century, where they are
descendants of the giant books from the abbeys of the 11th and 12th centuries (like $31$
$x 34$ P. 3853, St.-Amand 1534) — although there are older specimens (like $49 \times 37$ P. 1
(Vivian bible), Tours 845).

Small MSS., however (of 16 cm. and less), are slightly more frequent in the 13th
century than before (although $14 \times 9$ P. 7474 dates from 841).

Finally two MSS on paper are marked on the diagram by an asterisk:

- $32 \times 21$ P. 3348A (Raym. Lullus, author's origins), before 1298;
- $17 \times 13$ P. 3416 (Boethius de Dacia), c. 1295.

Both are typical early 'students' books', in current hands.

The second diagram contains 366 MSS. of the 14th century: 148 from the first, 218
from the second half. (Thus there are more than twice as many MSS. from the 14th as
from the 13th century, though it is probable that less MSS. were produced in the
14th, at least in France. There are two reasons for this. In the first place a higher per-
centage of MSS. was now provided with a date, so that out of a smaller total a larger
proportion can be described in Manuscrii Dati. In the second place Vienna now con-
tributes more to the total (30% in the first, 55% in the second half of the century);
the Parisian MSS. in themselves do not show such a spectacular growth.)

Manuscripts on paper now begin to be numerous. They call for two remarks.

- We have treated MSS. composed from parchment and paper as MSS. on paper.
- In order to distinguish between parchment and paper MSS., we have noted the
sizes and numbers of parchment MSS. as in the preceding diagram; the sizes of paper
MSS. are marked with a box; in a similar box repeated to the right (shifted by ten
units), the corresponding numbers of paper MSS. are given. Thus, in the second dia-
gram, three parchment MSS. are noted at $19 \times 13$; the box calls attention to the fact
that there are also paper MSS. of that size; in the corresponding box to the right it is
seen that the number of these is one. Similarly, there are in all twenty MSS. of $29 \times
21$: two on parchment, and — as is clear from the repeated box at the right — 18 on
paper.

Considering parchment MSS. first, the first half of the century is hardly to be
distinguished from the preceding century in its close adherence to the 'main line' and
its avoidance of large sizes (small books, down to 14 cm., do occur — they are mostly
French scientific or theological books, like $15 \times 11$ P. 1390 (logic), France 1318).

In the second half of the century there is a wider spectrum: there is a MS. as (rela-
tively) broad as $0.80,$ and there are several quite slender ones ($32 \times 19 (0.59)$ P. 7880
(Homerus), Italy 1369). Of large sizes, many come from Southern Europe (including

2. Sizes of parchment and paper MSS. of the fourteenth century (Paper sizes within
pairs of boxes).
Italian legal folio); but the largest is 54 x 36 W.s.n.2643 (Wolfraum v. Eschenbach), Prague 1387. Of small sizes, the smallest is 12 x 9 P. 13801 (Comm. on Rule of Benedict), France 1354.

It should be noted that the distribution of MSS. along the 'axis' has become somewhat uneven. Up to the middle of the century all heights (implying suitable widths) had been more or less equally well represented; now 'thin spots' begin to occur, sizes which seem to be avoided. But the evidence does not (yet) allow us to discern favourite size groups.

Paper MSS. are growing in importance. Up to 1340 there are only five; after that date, 100 — 93 of which in Vienna, where they constitute a majority of 67%, whereas only 20% of Parisian books of that period are on paper. The five oldest paper MSS. are:

38 x 28 P. 12796 (Templar law-suit, not a real book), Paris 1311;
31 x 23 P. 61390 (Aristotle), Italy 1321;
31 x 19 W. 10989 (Benedictine constitutions), Austria 1337;
20 x 14 W. 376 (sermons), Austria 1339;
30 x 21 W. 5329 (philosophical reports), Germany 1340.

This sample already suggests the most striking feature of paper MSS.: their distribution into distinct format groups.

At the top there are several MSS. of 38.4 x 26.28. Evidently these are folios from sheets of 64 x 40 (theoretical size; probably the sheets were actually somewhat larger before binding, but still distinctly smaller than the 61 x 44 known as the Bolognese leaf). These MSS. are all in Paris: one (dated 1311) has been quoted above, one is an Italian Livy of 1388 (P. 5727) and three are legal MSS. from Spain and Southern France, 1386-90 (P. 4572. 15414, 15417).

The largest group has its centre of gravity at 29 x 21. These must be either quartos of the preceding size, or (more probably) folios from sheets ca. 42 x 29 (Briquet already gave 43 x 30 as the most frequent paper size; the next, 45 x 31, is slightly larger). A smaller group centres on 20-21 x 14; they must be the quarto of the preceding size, and are found almost exclusively in Vienna.

Two isolated, unusually broad MSS., 23-24 x 21 (c. 90) W. 2921 (chronicle), W. 3754 (sermons), Austria 1397-8, must be on paper of an unusual make.

The third diagram presents 647 MSS. of the first half of the 15th century. The share of Viennese MSS. is still growing; it is now nearly 70%.

Parchment MSS. are even more unevenly distributed than in the preceding half century. A few are broader (33 x 27 (o.81) P. 15877, Paris 1440) or narrower (25 x 12 (0.48) P. 6708, France 1425) than the main body; few are large. Small sizes are coming into vogue, mainly for breviaries, books of hours, and theological texts; the smallest is 7 x 5 W. 2075 (diurnal), Austria 1450.

The first thing to be remarked about paper MSS. is their large number. In Paris their share grows, from 38% in the first quarter of the century to 48% in the second; in Vienna it is (in both quarters) no less than 81%.

The division into format groups is particularly clear in the first quarter; later it becomes less distinct through the increasing use of intermediate sizes.
A lone MS. is 45 x 28 P. 4548 (legal). Italy (?) 1419 (its sheet size of 56 x 45 fits in with the rule). The group of 40 x 28 (folios from 56 x 40) is continued from the preceding century; they are, again, Southern or Austrian MSS. The groups around 29 x 21 and around 21 x 14 (presumably mainly folios and quartos from sheets 42 x 29) are present in strength; there even emerges (only in Vienna) a group around 14 x 10, evidently the octavos of the series (the oldest specimen is 14 x 9 W. 3013 (poetry), Germany 1404). These groups, however, have a considerable fringe; and further there are MSS. which definitely do not fit into these groups and therefore must derive from sheets of less common sizes. The MSS. of 33 x 4 cm. height (sheet size 46 x 34, not far from the mean) as well as those of 24 x 6 cm. (quartos from 32 x 40?) are almost exclusively Italian (whereas in the main groups Italian MSS. are a small minority among our material). It is apparent that Italy had its own habits concerning sizes. A closer look into the large clusters of the main formats would probably reveal more detail there as well.

In the FOURTH DIAGRAM we see 602 MSS. from the third quarter of the 15th century alone. Vienna is losing some of its position: it provides only 52% of the total. Of parchment MSS., it is to be noted that there are again a few quite narrow books, with proportions down to 24 x 11 (0.43) P. 6558 (Plato), Florence 1472; they are all Italian (except the narrowest, 21 x 13 (0.38) P. 16020 (Bibliothèque Nationale), Netherlands 1469; but this is an extraordinary text). Both large MSS. (up to 56 x 35 W.s.n. 12333 (chronicle), Austria 1451) and small ones (down to 9 x 6 W. 2011 (breviary), Austria 1455) are present. Paper now has the upper hand even in Paris (55%; in Vienna it is still 84%). The main series of formats is still evident: 40 x 28 (folio from 56 x 40; still almost exclusively Southern or Italian), 29 x 21 (quarto from same, or folio from 42 x 29), 21 x 14 (this and the preceding group are represented by hundreds of specimens, one third to one fourth of which are in Paris), 14 x 10 (the octavo, mainly in Vienna) and even 9 x 7 (this would be the sedecimo; in Vienna only, for prayer books). But the intermediate sizes take a larger share, blurring the picture; the groups 44 x 29 and 34 x 23 are again, mainly Italian-Austrian, but the group 26 x 19 is not. There are some strikingly broad MSS. (29 x 23 (0.91) P. 4529 (Annals), Belgium 1462).

Finally the FIFTH DIAGRAM shows the retreat of the hand-written book in the fourth quarter of the 15th century; a mere 300 MSS. (60% from Vienna). Parchment MSS. continue much the same: very narrow MSS. are mostly Italian; there are more large MSS. (outside our diagram there are 63 x 42 and 65 x 44, W.s.n. 2557 and 2568 (both Graduals), Bohemia 1490, 1499) and there is a continuing trend towards smaller sizes. Paper is going down relatively, in Vienna to 73%, in Paris even to 46%. Again the main series (now continued downward to 6 x 5 W.s.n. 3544 (prayers), Germany 1482 — a 32½?) and various groups of intermediate sizes (those around 34 and around 26 cm. high are again Italian) are seen. There are a few particularly narrow paper MSS.
5. Sizes of parchment and paper MSS. from the last quarter of the fifteenth century

(∗ = paper MSS. within single boxes)

At the end of our search, can we understand the Cauthusin's complaint? The first of the MSS. he censured is from the 13th century; it measures 25 × 46 (0.64) and is perfectly normal for its time. The second, from the 14th, measures 26 × 16 (0.69) and is somewhat slendrier than most. For the 15th century as well, when the complaint was made, they seem to be nothing really out of the way. Yet, by that time, books of 25 × 17 are very much more frequent than those of 25 × 16; of this latter size, there are in Paris, against 4 specimens from the 9th-10th centuries, one from the 15th, and that from Italy (P. 3387); in Vienna there is one in all, W. 2446, also Italian. Similarly, of books measuring 26 × 16, there are in Paris three French books, the latest dating from 1360, and three Italian volumes from 1375 to 1462. A Sienner might have liked the volumes in question better than the monk of Utrecht did.

Evidently our diagrams in their present state are not sufficient to understand the finer points of medieval book sizes. But the fact that we have been able (on the basis of our card index, not of the diagrams as printed) to point more than once to a particular position of Italian books among the others suggests that an analysis on the lines of the present enquiry, incorporating more material aid, especially, introducing regional differentiation, will be very rewarding. Our impression that scribes (or paper manufacturers) in Italy preferred other sizes of paper than did those in France may be confirmed, or modified. The shifts in taste which we seem to observe (the avoidance of large sizes from the 13th to the mid-15th century, except for the late 14th; the fact that narrow books, after the 14th century, appear to be mainly Italian) will be seen in more relief. It will be possible to look deeper into the relation between parchment and paper sizes. Perhaps also an answer may be found to the question why printers (according to Haeleus) preferred the sheet size 30 x 30-35 (which makes folios 30-35 x 25 and quarto 25×25) of the size which is certainly not prominent among the manuscript books here presented.

3 I regret that I was unable to use the Dutch volume(s), because there the dimensions of the written area alone are given, not those of the page.
4 M. W. M. Hekker and E. A. Verheggen, *De hand boeken* (Maastricht 1979), pp. 37. 7. 8. I am grateful to the librarians of these institutions for their co-operation.
5 Note that many MSS. of the Vienna volumes (especially of vol. 1) cannot be used because their dates are unreliable. — Note also that the Paris volumes describe the whole MS., even if only a part is dated; thus, one is easily misled into thinking that P. 14907 is on 'papier escravit parch.', whereas the dated part is on parchment only.
De boeken uit het klooster van de Wilhelmiten te 's-Hertogenbosch

Van de vele kloosters die zich tot het begin van de zeventiende eeuw in of nabij de stad 's-Hertogenbosch bevonden, was het bij de orde van de Wilhelmiten aangesloten klooster Baseldonk of Porta Coeli een van de oudste. Het had bij de opheffing van deze vestiging na de protestantiseringsstrijd van de stad in 1629 ruim vier eeuwen deel uitgemaakt van de Bossche samenleving, zij het in een weinig opvallende wijze. Het aantal kloosterlingen was nooit groot geweest, en de monniken waren niet gewoon door culturele of wetenschappelijke activiteiten op de voorgrond te treden. Mede als gevolg hiervan vertoonde ons kennis van de geschiedenis van Baseldonk grote lacunes. Daar komt nog bij dat de meeste boeken en documenten uit Baseldonk al in de tijd van de beeldenstorm verloren zijn gegaan. Toch bevindt zich onder de restanten nog interessant materiaal, vooral met betrekking tot de periode van ongeveer 1500 tot 1560. Ons onderzoek is daarom vooral gericht op het plaatje van het klooster in de Bosseheuvel tijdens de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw, en hier in het bijzonder op het boekenbezit van Baseldonk en de rol die het boek er verder heeft gespeeld. Ter inleiding volgt eerst een summier overzicht van de geschiedenis van de orde, toegespitst op de lotgevallen van het klooster in Den Bosch, en met speciale aandacht voor de persoon die ons het meest interesseert, prior Simon Pelgrorn.

Willemus van Malavalle, de patroon van de orde, was een van de vele kluizers die zich in de twaalfde eeuw hadden gevestigd in de Italiaanse landstreek Toscane. Na zijn dood in 1157 ontstond op de plaats van de kluis, gelegen in een zeer onherbergzaam gebied, een gemeenschap van heremietenen die wij als het eerste Wilhelmitenklooster kunnen beschouwen. De orde die hieruit voortkwam, de Ordo Eremitarum S. Guilielmus, verbreidde zich in de loop van de dertiende eeuw over Italië, Frankrijk, België en Duitsland. Ten noorden van de Alpen was Baseldonk de eerste vestiging. Van hier uit stichtte men kloosters in Bievre (1249) en Hauzenberg (1278). Andere vestigingen in het gebied van Noord-Frankrijk tot Brabant waren de kloosters van Aalst, Beveren, Valenbont en Berendagne.

De officiële naam van het convenant in Den Bosch hield Porta Coeli, maar men sprak meestal over Baseldonk naar de naam van de stichter Winand van Basel. Deze had omstreeks 1200 een groep kluizers bijeengebracht, die zich in 1244-5 zou aansluiten bij de orde van de Wilhelmiten. De kloostergebouwen lagen aanvankelijk buiten de stad, niet ver van de St. Teunispoort, en hier bereikten de Wilhelmiten, hoewel zij begonnen waren als een heremietengemeenschap met een streng levenwijze, een tamelijk grote welstand. Aan deze vestiging kwam een eind toen in 1542, uit vrees dat de in Brabant rondtrekkende benden van Maarten van Rossum de gebouwen als steunpunt zouden gebruiken, alles tot op de grond moest worden afgebroken. Nu vestigden de Baselaars zich onder de energieke leiding van prior Simon Pelgrorn binnen de stadswallen op een gedeeltelijk gebouwd terrein op de