



MAURITS VANDECASTEELE, *A scholarly book collection claimed by the Dominicans of Ghent (Flanders) in 1349*, in «Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum» (ISSN 0391-7320), 78, (2008), pp. 31-49.

Url: https://heyjoe.fbk.eu/index.php/afp

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A SCHOLARLY BOOK COLLECTION CLAIMED BY THE DOMINICANS OF GHENT (FLANDERS) IN 1349

BY MAURITS VANDECASTEELE

1. Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, N. De Pauw published and discussed a document of 1349 concerning a dispute, mainly on a relatively large number of books, in which the Dominicans of Ghent were involved. A closer examination of the edition raised the suspicion that agreement with the original seemed doubtful in some places. Collation confirmed that suspicion and resulted in the conclusion that the transciption as given by De Pauw is highly unreliable. In 1974, A. H. Thomas based a general survey of the book collections of the Dominicans in the Low Countries partly on data supplied by De Pauw, which gave rise to several conjectures and wrong interpretations². Thus a new edition appeared indispensable, also considering that the document escaped the attention of the editors charged with the publication of the medieval book lists of the Southern Netherlands³.

¹ N. DE PAUW, Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Middelnederlandsche letterkunde in Vlaanderen, in Nederlandsch Museum. Tijdschrift voor Letteren, Wetenschappen en Kunst, II, Gent 1879, pp. 140-145.

² A. H. Thomas, Boekenbezit en boekengebruik bij de dominikanen in de Nederlanden vóór ca. 1550, in Contributions à l'Histoire des Bibliothèques et de la Lecture aux Pays-Bas avant 1600. Studies over het Boekenbezit en Boekengebruik in de Nederlanden vóór 1600, Bruxelles/Brussel 1974, pp. 417-475, passim.

³ A. Derolez & B. Victor (eds.), Corpus catalogorum Belgii. The medieval booklists of the Southern Low Countries. Volume III. Counts of Flanders. Provinces of East Flanders, Antwerp and Limburg, Brussel 1999 (no mention).

2. BACKGROUND

In 1349, the Dominicans of Ghent, officially established in the town since 12284, had a problem with the estate left by a deceased member named Jan van Coudenhoven. As appears from a judgment passed by the highest civil court of Ghent on 13 December 1349, the friars still held part of that estate. It merely consisted of personal goods, such as clothes, linen and utensils, partly left in the late friar's cell and partly entrusted to the court before the judgment. The most important part of the estate, comprising no less than eighteen books or volumes was, however, in the possession of the deceased friar's mother. The fact that the Dominicans had to appeal to a court in the matter of the books, shows that they had been unable to recover that part of the estate or, in other words, that the woman had refused to return it.

Particular data in the document shed some light on former negotiations between both parties. As explicitly stated in the judgment, the Dominicans had previously asked the defendant to buy the items, to which she had apparently agreed. This explains why the judgment contains a copy of a list (provided by the friars themselves) giving not only the title of the books, but also their price. Two volumes in the list are unpriced and noted as "Jam huc eam" and "Jam huc ipsum", which means that they had been returned, whether or not by the defendant. After having heard both parties, the court judged that the woman was quit of any claim, considering that she was willing to purchase the books. Furthermore, the Dominicans discharged the defendant from an oath in that respect. The document does not mention the destination of the other goods left behind by the late friar.

Overall, the court's sentence may be regarded as surprising, since clerical goods were withdrawn from the legitimate owners, albeit on condition of compensation. This remarkable process can be explained by the Dominicans' own provisions. Since the foundation of the Order,

⁴ W. SIMONS et al., Het Pand. Acht eeuwen geschiedenis van het oud dominicanenklooster te Gent, [Tielt 1991], pp. 37-41.

⁵ Then commonly referred to as *Jacobine* (and variants thereof) after one of their first foundations in the neighbourhood of the Paris hospice *Saint-Jacques* (cf. R. Aubert, *Jacobins*, in DHGE, XXVI, Paris 1997, col. 579).

⁶ Twenty-four according to De Pauw (*Bijdragen* ..., p. 141), who apparently counted the writings instead of the volumes, and only fifteen according to Thomas (*Boekenbezit* ..., p. 443).

personal use of books by a friar had been allowed, provided that the person involved did not consider this favour definitive; after his death, the books had to be transferred to the local library or were given to other members. It is clear that this provision could be applied only if the person involved died in a place where the Dominicans had jurisdiction. The fact that they had to proceed proves that Jan van Coudenhoven died unexpectedly and under circumstances far beyond their authority; this would explain why his personal goods were still with the friars at the time of the legal proceedings. The question how the book collection came into his mother's hands, cannot be answered. Considering that Dominicans were not allowed to deposit their books with any person outside the Order, untraceable events must have led to that situation.

The Dominicans had finally been faced with the problem that they could not recover the books of a late friar, which was a serious loss. Thus they chose for a very ingenious solution, namely sale, a possibility offered by their own provisions of 1265°. Such a solution appeared to be advantageous to both parties involved: on the one hand, the Dominicans were sure to receive money for goods that, after legal proceedings, might definitively have been allotted to the defendant without any compensation; on the other hand, a compromise with the friars permitted the defendant to risklessly invest in goods which were in demand at that time, and which could easily be resold if necessary.

The book collection must have changed ownership for a considerable sum, the real value of which is, however, hard to determine. Although the Flemish groat (*groot* or *grotus*) had been coined since 1337 %, the prices in the book list are mainly expressed in French money, namely florins and ecus (*scuta*); these are (with one exception) regarded as being equivalent and to correspond with 12 to 14 groats. An examination of official documents of the period reveals that these values are rather arbitrary. So the Ghent municipal account for 1348/1349 also reckons with the same coins as those of

⁷ Cf. Thomas, *Boekenbezit* ..., pp. 422 and 429-430. Data on the regulations of the Order concerning books are also found in K. W. Humphreys, *The book provisions of the mediaeval friars*. 1215-1400, Amsterdam 1964, pp. 18-45 (unfortunately, dates of decisions at general and provincial chapters are not always given).

⁸ Thomas, Boekenbezit ..., p. 430.

⁹ Thomas, Boekenbezit ..., p. 422.

¹⁰ H. Van Werveke, De muntslag in Vlaanderen onder Lodewijk van Male, Brussel 1949, pp. 24-25.

the book list, but defines their values as follows: one florin corresponds with 17 groats, one ecu with 221/3 groats 11. But also in this case the data must be regarded as relative, considering, for example, that the town lost income in 1347/1348 because mediocre money had to be exchanged for better one 12. Hence the prices mentioned in the book list are likely to be estimated market values, highly depending on the alloy and weight of the circulating coins. The only useful item found in the municipal accounts of that time which might give an idea of the total value of the books claimed (some 65 florins or ecus), is the price of one ox, varying between 33 and 35 ecus 13.

As previously shown ¹⁴, the van Coudenhovens were wealthy Ghent citizens who played an active part in the municipal affairs in the first half of the fourteenth century. Considering the rather unusual acquisition of a book collection, the defendant must have belonged to the same family.

3. Survey of the book collection

3.1. Writings of general interest

3.1.1. Besides the Bible [2]¹⁵, the list mentions a Summa Johannis sive Raymondi [1]. Both De Pauw and Thomas identify this Johannes with Johannes Belethus, the author of a Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis written about 1160¹⁶. The possibility of two authors given by the original document clearly shows that the named Johannes should be identified with Johannes Friburgensis OP († 1314). The latter is in fact well known as the compilator of a Summa confessorum, a manual for the confessor that is closely related with the Summa de casibus of Raymundus de Pennaforte OP († 1275): the two works are similarly framed and both contain four books composed of identical chapters ¹⁷. Thus a confusion between these writings, and hence between their

¹¹ N. DE PAUW & J. VUYLSTEKE, De rekeningen der stad Gent. Tijdvak van Jacob van Artevelde. 1336-1349, III, Gent 1885, p. 284 (2 November 1348).

¹² DE PAUW & VUYLSTEKE, De rekeningen ..., p. 261.

¹³ DE PAUW & VUYLSTEKE, De rekeningen ..., p. 354 (account of 1348/1349).

¹⁴ DE PAUW, Bijdragen ..., pp. 140-141.

¹⁵ Numbers in square brackets further refer to those of the edition at the end of this contribution.

¹⁶ DE PAUW, Bijdragen ..., p. 143; THOMAS, Boekenbezit ..., p. 464 (no. 34).

¹⁷ P. MICHAUD-QUANTIN, Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XII-XVI siècles), Louvain 1962, p. 44.

authors, is obvious. Moreover, the *Summa de casibus* was also distributed in a shortened version with comments by Johannes ¹⁸, which is likely to add to the confusion as to the real author.

The list also mentions another *summa*, but with a more detailed title, namely *Summa de casibus* [3]. This volume may be identical to one of the writings mentioned above, though it may also simply be one of the many pastoral manuals compiled by different authors in the thirteenth century ¹⁹. Furthermore, a *Summa de casibus* may be anonymous ²⁰.

- 3.1.2. The volume entitled *Textus naturalis* [5], better known as *Textus philosophie naturalis* ²¹, contains the 'Libri naturales' of Aristotle²². It is not, as previously stated, a synonym of the *Physica* ²³, which is only part of the 'Libri naturales'.
- 3.1.3. The book described as Textus de anima posteriorum et priorum [9] contains three writings of Aristotle. The first is the Liber de anima, part of the 'Libri naturales'. Posteriorum and priorum are common denominations ²⁴ of the Libri posteriorum analyticorum and Libri priorum analyticorum ²⁵, both belonging to the 'Libri logicales'.
- 3.1.4. The volume called *Nova logica* [11] refers to four works of Aristotle, constituting part of the 'Libri logicales' and the last ones translated into Latin. They include the two *Libri analyticorum*, the *Topica* and the (*Sophistici*) *Elenchi*.

¹⁹ L. HÖDL, Summa, Summenliteratur, in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, IX, Freiburg 1964, col. 1167.

²⁰ Cf. J. Van den Gheyn, Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. Tome troisième. Théologie, Bruxelles 1903, p. 29 (ms. 2793-2796).

²¹ Cf. L. Gargan, Lo studio teologico e la biblioteca dei domenicani a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento, Padova 1971, p. 202; A. Vernet et al., La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle. I. Catalogues et répertoires, Paris 1979, p. 634.

²² Further details on the Latin translations of Aristotle are based on G. LACOMBE et al., Aristoteles latinus, I, Bruges/Paris 1957², pp. 45-54.

²³ Thomas, Boekenbezit ..., p. 462 (no. 17): "Textus naturalis [= physicorum]".

²⁴ Cf. T. Gottlieb, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs ... I. Band. Nie-

derösterreich, Wien 1915, p. 397 (R35): "Aristotelis ... priorum, posteriorum". See also book [12].

²⁵ Cf. H. FISCHER, Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen. Neubearbeitung. I. Band: Die lateinischen Pergamenthandschriften, Erlangen 1928, p. 219 (ms. 192). See also book [14].

¹⁸ A. DE POORTER, Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville de Bruges, Gembloux/Paris 1934, pp. 286-287 (ms. 244-245).

3.2. Writings of particular authors

3.2.1. The identification of the work described as *Postilla magistri Thome Anglici super ij nocturnos psalterii* [4] has posed some problems in the past. De Pauw transcribed the last part of the title as "super ij pf^{ni"}, interpreted as 'super ij psalterii' by Thomas ²⁶. The latter could have saved himself the trouble to search for the identity of Thomas Anglicus ²⁷, at that time already known as Thomas Waleys OP, who died about 1350 ²⁸.

The *Postilla* ('exposition') is a voluminous work, either completely or partly conserved in a relatively large number of manuscripts ²⁹. Both in old catalogues and in surviving manuscripts the writing is designated as follows:

- "postilla super psalterium" (olim Bologna, Dominicans, before 1386³⁰; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 30³¹);
- "super psalterium" (olim London, Carmelites and Franciscans, before 1536/1540³²; olim Bury St Edmunds and olim Crowland, Benedictines, before 1536/1540³³; Eichstätt, *Universitätsbibliothek*, Cod. st 145³⁴);
- "moralitates super psalterio" (Bamberg, *Staatsbibliothek*, ms. Q.VI.4³⁵);
- "moralitates psalterii" (Clermont-Ferrand, *Bibliothèque* municipale, ms. 30³⁶).

²⁶ DE PAUW, Bijdragen ..., p. 142; THOMAS, Boekenbezit ..., p. 453 (note 216).

²⁷ Thomas, *Boekenbezit* ..., p. 465 (no. 42).

²⁸ See B. SMALLEY, Thomas Waleys O.P., in AFP, XXIV(1954), pp. 50-107.

²⁹ Cf. SMALLEY, Thomas ..., pp. 67-69; F. STEGMÜLLER, Repertorium biblicum medii aevi. Tomus V: Commentaria. Auctores R-Z, Matriti 1955, pp. 396-398; SOPMÆ, IV, pp. 403-404.

³⁰ M.-H. LAURENT, Fabio Vigili et les bibliothèques de Bologne au début du XVI^e siècle d'après le ms. Barb. lat. 3185, Città del Vaticano 1943, p. 218 (no. 206).

³¹ Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements, XIV, Paris 1890, p. 6.

³² K.W. Humphreys, *The friars' libraries*, [London] 1990, pp. 179 (no. 7) and 219 (no. 17).

³³ R. Sharpe et al., English Benedictine libraries. The shorter catalogues, [London] 1996, pp. 96 (no. 10) and 125 (no. 2).

³⁴ H. Hilg, Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt. Erster Band. Aus Cod. st 1 - Cod. st 275, Wiesbaden 1994, p. 49.

³⁵ F. Leitschuh, Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg, I, Wiesbaden 1966², p. 794.

³⁶ Catalogue général ..., XIV, p. 6.

Such specifications make it clear that the work contains a commentary on the Psalter. Considering that the longest version conserved breaks off on psalm 38,2, one has rightly supposed that the work has never been completed ³⁷. A note in a manuscript written in the early fourteenth century permits to conclude that the *Postilla* resulted from Waleys' lectureship in Bologna about 1326 ³⁸.

The book list defines the subject of the *Postilla* as "super ij nocturnos psalterii". This means that the work has rather early (before 1349) been related to the liturgy, more particularly to the night office. During a so-called nocturn, consisting of three parts, three or nine psalms at a time were read and commented ³⁹. So it was obvious to regard Waleys' work as a fine source for lessons on a psalm. As appears from the following designations, this early conception of the work has been maintained in the course of time:

- "exposicio super duos nocturnos psalterii" (olim Padua, Dominicans, before 1390⁴⁰);
- "lectura super duobus nocturnis" (olim Padua, Dominicans, before 1459⁴¹);
- "super duos nocturnos psalterii" (olim Vienna, Dominicans, before 1513⁴²; Oxford, *Exeter College*, ms. 39⁴³);
- "lectura super duos nocturnos psalterii" (olim London, Dominicans, before 1536/1540⁴⁴);
- "expositio moralis duorum nocturnorum psalterii" (Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 52⁴⁵);
- "postilla super secundum nocturnum pṣalterii" (Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1086⁴⁶);

³⁷ SMALLEY, *Thomas* ..., p. 66.

³⁸ Smalley, *Thomas* ..., pp. 51, 56 and 68.

³⁹ G. PODHRADSKY, Lexikon der Liturgie. Ein Überblick für die Praxis, Innsbruck [1962], col. 227-228.

⁴⁰ GARGAN, Lo studio ..., p. 192 (no. 10): anonymous, but the title clearly refers to Waleys' Postilla.

⁴¹ GARGAN, Lo studio ..., p. 241 (no. 132): mentioned as a work of Thomas Anglicus and followed by the anonymous *exposicio* from the inventory of 1390.

⁴² GOTTLIEB, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge ..., p. 411 (U13).

⁴³ SMALLEY, Thomas ..., pp. 67-68; A. G. WATSON, A descriptive catalogue of the medieval manuscripts of Exeter College Oxford, Oxford [2000], p. 66.

⁴⁴ HUMPHREYS, The friars' libraries, p. 201 (no. 18).

⁴⁵ DE POORTER, Catalogue ..., p. 71.

⁴⁶ Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements ..., II, Paris 1855, p. 448. Despite the explicit, this manuscript contains the commentary on psalms 1-37, i.e. the two nocturns (cf. J.-Р. ВОUНОТ et al., La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle. II. Les manuscrits conservés. Pre-

"postilla super primum nocturnum" (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 462547).

Such specifications clearly disregard the fact that it has never been Waleys' aim to compose a work for use during nocturns. That the Postilla has wrongly been given another destination, can be demonstrated on the basis of the psalm order of the time, in use since the thirteenth century: psalms 1-3 and 6-20 were read during a nocturn on Sundays, psalms 26-37 during a nocturn on Mondays 48. Divergent contents of conserved manuscripts permit to advance that the copyists have rather arbitrarily contributed to the spread of Waleys' commentary for possible use during nocturns. A number of manuscripts do indeed represent the following anomalies:

- the manuscript with the longest redaction of the *Postilla*, described as a commentary on the two nocturns (Oxford, Exeter College, ms. 39), breaks off on psalm 38,2, thus covering more than the second nocturn; moreover, it contains psalms that do not belong to one of both nocturns 49:
- manuscripts with commentary on psalms 1-37, whether or not designated as "super duos nocturnos", seem to be adapted to the psalm order of the time; they do, however, overlook the actual length of the work;
- in a manuscript breaking off on psalm 29,2, the latter is rightly regarded as belonging to the "secundum nocturnum" 50, which does, however, neglect the overall scope of the work:
- several manuscripts contain commentary on one nocturn only; they appear to have correctly proceeded in the case of

mière partie. Manuscrits bibliques, patristiques et théologiques, [Paris/Turnhout 1997], p. 260). Thus the relevant note in STEGMÜLLER (Repertorium ..., p. 396, no. 8245) should be corrected.

⁴⁷ Tabvlae codicvm manv scriptorvm praeter graecos et orientales in bibliotheca palatina vindobonensi asservatorvm, III, Vindobonae 1869, p. 331.

⁴⁸ [P. C. LANGEVELD], Psalmordening, in Liturgisch woordenboek, [II], Roermond 1965-1968, col. 2327-2328,

⁴⁹ References to psalms 21-24 in this manuscript are found in SMALLEY, Tho-

mas ..., pp. 68, 80, 83 and 84.

50 Olim Bologna, Dominicans, before 1386 (LAURENT, Fabio Vigili ..., p. 218, no. 206). According to STEGMULLER (Repertorium ..., p. 396, no. 8245, and p. 398, no. 8247) also ms. London (British Library, Royal 2 E. VI) and ms. Vatican (Bibliotheca Apostolica, lat. 5888) end on psalm 29,2. The former, however, is an incomplete copy; the latter appears to end on psalm 29,13 (cf. SMALLEY, Thomas ..., pp. 67-68).

the second nocturn (covering psalms 26-37), but not at all for the first nocturn (comprising psalms 1-25);

- the only manuscript covering a first nocturn that appears correct and that ends on psalm 20, namely ms. 32 of *Eton College* 51, still contains commentary on psalms 4 and 5; this is also the case in ms. 4625 of the *Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek* of Vienna, described as "super primum nocturnum" 52.

In some instances, Waleys' *Postilla* has been provided with a *Tabula* or index. The number of tables mentioned by Stegmüller – totalling three, with very divergent contents ⁵³ – does, however, not correspond with the reality. As a matter of fact, the following manuscripts still contain a *Tabula*, whether or not complete ⁵⁴:

- Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 30: volume written in 1354, the extent of which is still unknown; due to loss of a quire, the end of the work and the beginning of the index are missing 55;
- *Eton College*, ms. 32: the index not only uses the 376 section numbers in the margins of the commentary on psalms 1-20, but also subdivisions a, b and c in these sections ⁵⁶;
- Issogne, Castello dei Challant, inv. 1841: comprises the Postilla in two parts (psalms 1-29 and 30-37), both followed by an index⁵⁷;
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 4625: contains an index with unclear contents 58.

⁵¹ N. R. Ker, Medieval manuscripts in British libraries. II. Abbotsford-Keele, Oxford 1977, p. 661.

 $^{^{52}}$ Details kindly communicated by the librarian Mr. N. Baker (Eton) and by the curator Dr. E. Gamillscheg (Vienna).

⁵³ STEGMÜLLER, Repertorium ..., pp. 396-397: Basle, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. A II 26; Cambridge, Pembroke College, ms. 262; Oxford, Exeter College, ms. 39.

⁵⁴ Some lost manuscripts also appear to have had a *Tabula*: olim Vienna, collection Johann Gwerlich, about 1430 (GOTTLIEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge ...*, р. 418); olim Cîteaux, before 1480 (*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, V, Paris 1889, р. 344, no. 41). An apparently lost table (with unclear contents) is announced in ms. Q.VI.4 of the *Staatsbibliothek* in Bamberg (cf. Leitschuh, *Katalog ...*, p. 794).

⁵⁵ Catalogue général ..., XIV, p. 6.

⁵⁶ KER, Medieval manuscripts ..., p. 661.

⁵⁷ H. V. Shooner, Codices manuscripti operum Thomae de Aquino. Tomus II. Bibliothecae Gdańsk-Münster, Roma 1973, p. 66.

⁵⁸ Tabylae ..., p. 331.

Besides these manuscripts there are two others with indices that could further be examined. The first, written on parchment about 1400, is conserved in Utrecht (*Universiteitsbibliotheek*, ms. 303)⁵⁹ and contains a remarkable index of at least two hands (fol. 203r-216v). The Tabula opens with a series of entries that cover the letter a. ranging from "[A]bscondere - debet homo bona opera" to "auxilium - nostrum solum est in domino". This enumeration is followed by the note "in secundo nocturno", after which a new series of entries is starting with a, now introduced by "Abscondens - peccata graviter punitur". Thus one should expect tables covering one of the two nocturns. This is not the case, since the two lists comprise references to both nocturns, which simply means that indices from different manuscripts were copied 60. The information available did not permit to determine the extent of these double lists. At the end, the Tabula has single lists only (such as the letter x), containing references to both nocturns (in a later cursive hand). The last entry is "Zelotipus - in iesu anime nomine", a reference to psalm 17,27. Remarkably, data in the Tabula referring to psalm and verse of the Postilla are throughout followed by one or more letters ranging between a and h. Obviously, the aim was to facilitate the localization of a passage or phrase in the commentary with the help of letters written in the margins (as done in the manuscript of Eton College); such a system has, however, not been materialized 61.

The second manuscript with an interesting *Tabula* is that of Bruges (*Stadsbibliotheek*, ms. 52), described in the catalogue as a parchment convolute consisting of three parts: (1) commentary on psalms 26-37 (fol. 1-125, fourteenth century); (2) incomplete index covering the two nocturns (fol. 126-175, thirteenth century); (3) continuation of the index (fol. 176-179, fourteenth century)⁶². Irrespective of the fact that the second part cannot have been written in the century mentioned, the overall representation of the catalogue is far from correct. Personal examination showed that the so-called

⁵⁹ Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae universitatis rheno-trajectinae, Trajecti ad Rhenum/Hagae comitis 1887, p. 98.

⁶⁰ In this respect it should be noted that ms. 262 of *Pembroke College* in Cambridge contains two tables as well; the first entry of the first table is also "Abscondere", but this seems to be the only item common to both manuscript indices. The existence of two tables is mentioned in SMALLEY (*Thomas ...*, p. 67), but not in STEGMÜLLER (*Repertorium ...*, p. 397, no. 8246,2).

⁶¹ Information kindly provided by the curator Drs. K. van der Horst.

⁶² DE POORTER, Catalogue ..., p. 71.

first two parts have an identical layout (two columns of 38 lines). and that they were written by one and the same hand in the fourteenth century. As mentioned in the catalogue, the index does indeed break off on the entry "Nocere" (fol. 175v), being the end of the original. Thus the Bruges manuscript is an unfinished copy. This also appears from the basic layout of fol. 176, where the index has been continued: both sides have a frame ruling identical to that of the preceding folios, whereas fol. 177-179 have not been ruled. The continuation, on two columns of 50 lines, was written about 1400 by a careless hand and is now hardly legible due to fading.

The most important feature of the Bruges manuscript is the introductory text of the extensive Tabula: "Ad evidentiam et intellectum habendum sequentis tabule que est super expositione morali duorum nocturnorum psalterii quam fecit idem qui tabulam sequentem composuit" (fol. 126r). Whether, as advanced, the author of the *Postilla* is really the same person who compiled the index, is no longer traceable. The introduction remains, however, a valuable item of reference to investigate the 'authenticity' of the various indices that are still available. So the Tabula in ms. 39 of Exeter College (Oxford), also unfinished, is preceded by an introductory text which is presumably the same as that of the Bruges manuscript 63. Moreover, published data suggest that the index of both manuscripts is probably identical⁶⁴. Remarkably, the last entry and its guiding phrase in the completing part of the Bruges manuscript correspond with the explicit of the first index in ms. 262 of Cambridge (*Pembroke College*): "Xristus - ad erigendum genus humanum ps 37.23"65. Furthermore, the reference to that passage of the Postilla is worded as follows in the index of ms. A II 26 of the Basle *Universitätsbibliothek*: "Xristiani

⁶³ Cf. Stegmuller, Repertorium ..., p. 397 (no. 8246,4), where the introductory phrase, transcribed up to "morali", is corresponding with that of the Bruges manuscript. In WATSON, A descriptive catalogue ..., p. 66, the transcription is limited to "Ad euidenciam et intellectum habendum sequuntur [sic] tabule ...". Due to the excessive fee charged by the University of Oxford for photographic reproductions, the original could not be examined.

⁶⁴ The guiding phrases following the entries "abominari" and "ebrius" in the manuscript of Oxford, as given in STEGMULLER (Repertorium ..., p. 397, no. 8246,4), correspond with those of the Bruges manuscript. The first ten entries in the Tabula of the latter manuscript are "abhominari, abussus, ablactare, abortire, abscondere, absentia, absinthium, accedere, accelerare, accipere" (fol. 126r-v); the last ten entries of the original table are "nasa, navis, nebula, necessitas, negligere, nescire, nichil, nidus, niger, nocere" (fol. 175r-v).

65 Cf. Stegmüller, Repertorium ..., p. 397 (no. 8246,2).

vincuntur passionibus quas multi pagani vicerunt" 66. This shows that the tables accompanying Waleys' *Postilla* have been compiled by different people. Further investigation into the existing indices would probably elucidate the problem of the 'authenticity' of the *Tabula* and the relationship between the various redactions.

Finally, attention should be paid to a lost manuscript of the Postilla which has so far not been mentioned in the literature on Waleys. The manuscript in question once belonged to the Gräflich Fürstenbergsche Bibliothek at Herdringen (Arnsberg, Westphalia). where it had the shelf number Ms. 51. By request of the Deutsche Commission der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, the philologist A. Bömer drew up an inventory (in 1905 and 1906) of the manuscripts present in that library. The description of Ms. 51, which is still available 67, was partly reproduced by the author himself in a later publication. The volume is described as a composite on paper that, according to two library identifications, once belonged to the Benedictines of Saint-Jacques in Liège. The first seven quires, covering fol. 1-80, contained the Expositio psalterii ascribed to Thomas Anglicus, written by one hand in the second half of the fourteenth century; another hand added the note "sed non est nisi usque ad xxxvii psalmum" 68. As the description does not mention an explicit, one might conclude that the manuscript comprised the two nocturns; considering the small number of folios, this seems improbable. Data from an old catalogue of the conventual library. compiled about 1667 by the later abbot N. Bouxhon⁶⁹, confirm this presumption. One of the shelf marks mentioned by Bömer, namely Ax60, corresponds with that given by Bouxhon to the volume. The latter's description shows that the manuscript contained only the first nocturn, followed by an index: "Thomas Anglicus, Supra primam partem psalterii - Tabula moralitatum psalterii Thomae Anglici" 70.

How and when the Fürstenbergs came into possession of the volume, is not clear. Since their collection comprised 59 manuscripts

⁶⁶ STEGMULLER, Repertorium ..., p. 396 (no. 8245,1).

⁶⁷ Berlin, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, drawer 147 (with thanks to Dr. J. Wolf for the information provided).

⁶⁸ A. BOMER, Eine vagantenliedersammlung des 14 jahrhunderts in der schlossbibliothek zu Herdringen (Kr. Arnsberg), in Zeitschrift für deutsches altertum und deutsche litteratur, 49(1907), pp. 161-163.

⁶⁹ Cf. C. MORTIAUX-DENOÈL, Le fonds des manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Jacques de Liège. I. Jusqu'à la vente de 1788, in Revue bénédictine, 101(1991), pp. 159-160.

⁷⁰ Mortiaux-Denoël, Le fonds ..., p. 166.

from the Liège monastery, it may be assumed that they acquired all items at the public auction of the library in 1788, after the convent had been secularized in 1785. Following the first World War, all Liège manuscripts from the Herdringen collection were transferred to the University of Louvain. In May 1940, ms. Ax60 (then catalogued as ms. G.65) perished with a large number of other manuscripts in the fire of the library⁷¹.

3.2.2. The list mentions four manuscripts with work by Thomas Aquinas OP († 1274), called "beatus thomas"; three of them contain commentary on writings of Aristotle.

The Scriptum methaphysice super .xiiij. libros [6] is a remarkable description of a work by Thomas better rendered as In XII libros Metaphysicorum expositio 12. As a matter of fact, Thomas has not known all fourteen books of Aristotle's Metaphysica in Latin translation until shortly before his death, so that his commentary has been limited to books I-X and XII 13, which explains the latter title. Thus the mention in the list of "xiiij libri" should apply to Aristotle, rather than to Thomas. It can, however, not been excluded that the listed writing effectively comprised commentary on the fourteen' books of Aristotle: a manuscript with Thomas' commentary, followed by an anonymous comment on books XIII-XIV, still exists 14.

The Scriptum physicorum super diuersos libros naturales [7], previously simply defined as "Scriptum physicorum" 75, should be read as 'Scriptum physicorum et Scriptum super diuersos libros naturales'. Meant is the *In VIII libros Physicorum expositio* 76, followed by commentary on a number of shorter writings belonging to the 'Libri naturales'.

The Scriptum super de anima et posteriorum [12] contains two known commentaries, collected in one volume.

⁷¹ C. MORTIAUX-DENOEL & É. GUILLAUME, Le fonds des manuscrits de l'abbaye Saint-Jacques de Liège. II. Dispersion et localisation actuelle, in Revue bénédictine, 107(1997), pp. 358 and 376.

⁷² P.-A. WALZ, Écrits de Saint Thomas, in DThC, XV, Paris 1946, col. 637.

⁷³ Cf. D. Salman, Saint Thomas et les traductions latines des Métaphysiques d'Aristote, in Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge, VII(1932), pp. 85-120.

⁷⁴ C. H. LOHR, Medieval Latin Aristotle commentaries. Authors: Robertus-Wilgelmus, in Traditio. Studies in ancient and medieval history, thought, and religion, XXIX(1973), p. 165.

⁷⁵ THOMAS, *Boekenbezit* ..., p. 466 (no. 45).

⁷⁶ WALZ, Écrits ..., col. 637.

The designation *Questiones de terminatione* [10] does not directly correspond with one of Thomas' works. As previously suggested 77, the (obviously corrupt) title probably refers to a number of writings formerly called "determinationes [x] questionum" 78, also known as *Responsiones* 79. In the list, the volume is valued at one florin, or as much as book [12] which must have comprised some hundred folios 80. Since the *Responsiones* cover only a limited number of folios, the price given may mean that the volume contained other writings of Thomas as well.

- 3.2.3. Listed are three works by Egidius Romanus OESA († 1316), simply referred to as "egidius". They all contain commentary on the following writings of Aristotle: the *De generatione* (et corruptione) [8], belonging to the 'Libri naturales', the *Libri elenchorum* [13] and the *Liber de anima* [18]⁸¹.
- 3.2.4. The list includes one volume with a number of writings by Albertus Magnus OP († 1280), mentioned as "dominus albertus" [14]. The first writing is described as *tria commenta super veterem logicam*. 'Vetus logica' is a general designation for six works which had been available in Latin for some time: the *Isagoge* of Porphyrius, as well as the *Predicamenta* and *Periermenias* of Aristotle (all translated by Boethius); the *Liber sex principiorum* (attributed to Aristotle, but probably written by Gilbertus Porretanus); the *Liber divisionum* and the *De differentiis topicis* of Boethius⁸². Considering that Albertus commented on five of these works⁸³, the extent of the

⁷⁷ THOMAS, *Boekenbezit* ..., p. 466 (no. 43).

⁷⁸ Cf. G. MEERSSEMAN, Laurentii Pignon catalogi et chronica accedunt catalogi stamsensis et upsalensis scriptorum O.P., Romae 1936, pp. 24, 59 and 70-71. The designation "determinacio [x] questionum" is still used in a manuscript of 1463 (cf. VAN DEN GHEYN, Catalogue ..., p. 16, ms. 2453-2473).

⁷⁹ Cf. Divi Thomae Aqvinatis ... opvscvla omnia ..., Venetiis 1593, fol. 79r-83v. See also SOP, I, pp. 333-334, and WALZ, Écrits ..., col. 638.

⁸⁰ By way of illustration it might be useful to note that Thomas' commentary on the *Liber de anima* and the *Analytica Posteriora* covers 120 folios on two columns of 41 lines in a manuscript of the fourteenth century (DE POORTER, *Catalogue* ..., p. 570, ms. 493).

⁸¹ See also C. H. LOHR, Medieval Latin Aristotle commentaries. Authors A-F, in Traditio, XXIII(1967), pp. 328, 330 and 331.

⁸² Cf. A. VAN DE VYVER, Les étapes du développement philosophique du haut moyen-âge, in Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, VIII(1929), pp. 425-452.

⁸³ Cf. W. FAUSER, Die Werke des Albertus Magnus in ihrer handschriftlichen Überlieferung. Teil I. Die echten Werke, Monasterii Westfalorum 1982, p. V.

above "tria commenta" remains obscure 84. They possibly cover the *Isagoge*, the *Predicamenta* and the *Liber sex principiorum*, being the contents of a manuscript entitled "commentum magistri alberti super libros veteris loyce" 85.

The volume also comprised commentary on three books of the 'nova logica', more particularly on the *Libri posteriorum analyticorum*, the *Libri elenchorum* and the *Libri topicorum*⁸⁶.

3.2.5. The identification of the Scriptum Petri de Sancto Amore omnibus notabilibus domini Alberti [15] has posed some problems in the past. De Pauw tacitly assumed 'Petrus' to be a scribal error for 'Guillelmus'87, whose Liber de periculis novissimorum temporum, a pamphlet against the mendicants, was condemned as heretical by a commission headed by Albertus Magnus in 1256. But even if 'Petrus' were an error for 'Guillelmus', is has become clear that Albertus has never laid down his objections in writing 88. Also Thomas regarded a 'Petrus de Sancto Amore' as non-existent, which led to a number of conjectures as to the identity of the work listed 89. The 'Petrus' in question is Pierre Balisson, nephew and heir of Guillelmus, who is mentioned as rector of the University of Paris in 1281 under the name of 'Petrus de Sancto Amore' and who died in 1295%. The man is known as the author of sophisms and of four commentaries on work of Aristotle⁹¹, more particularly conserved Sententia supra librum predicamentorum and Sententia libri perihermenias, a lost Super de generatione et corruptione and a Super posteriorum, previously regarded as lost, but probably rediscovered 92. Since it was

⁸⁴ Thomas (*Boekenbezit* ..., p. 462, no. 8) advances that the "Commentum super veterem logicam [Aristotelis]", which could obviously not been identified, might be a commentary on the *Analytica priora*!

⁸⁵ Cf. FAUSER, Die Werke ..., p. 1 (ms. 1) and p. 421.

⁸⁶ Cf. Fauser, *Die Werke* ..., pp. 18-24. Thomas (*Boekenbezit* ..., pp. 461-462, no. 6) wrongly states that the *Libri topicorum* are part of the *Libri elenchorum*.

⁸⁷ DE PAUW, Bijdragen ..., pp. 143-144.

⁸⁸ Cf. M.-M. Dufeil, Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la polémique universitaire parisienne, Paris 1972, pp. 261-262.

⁸⁹ Thomas, Boekenbezit ..., p. 453 (note 217).

⁹⁰ P. GLORIEUX, La Faculté des Arts et ses maitres au XIIIe siècle, Paris 1971, p. 294; DUFEIL, Guillaume ..., p. 326.

⁹¹ GLORIEUX, La Faculté ..., p. 294; C. H. LOHR, Medieval Latin Aristotle commentaries. Authors: Narcissus-Richardus, in Traditio, XXVIII(1972), pp. 369-370.

⁹² B. FAES DE MOTTONI, Il commento di Pietro di S. Amore agli «Analitici Posteriori» ritrovato?, in Stvdi Medievali, 3rd series, XXVII(1986), pp. 383-405.

not unusual at that time to collect writings of particular authors and commentary of others on a same subject 93, the above *Scriptum* might have comprised a number of Petrus' works supplemented with considerations of Albertus Magnus.

The presence of a work of Petrus de Sancto Amore in the Ghent library argues for the Dominicans' interest in that author. His broader reputation in the Order is shown by the presence in 1513 of two copies of the *Super posteriorum* and of one copy of the *Super de generatione et corruptione* in the Dominican convent of Vienna⁹⁴. Moreover, the *Super posteriorum* is attested as having belonged to the former library of Erfurt⁹⁵.

- 3.2.6. The Questiones domini Durandi supra veterem logicam [16] still belong to an unidentified Durandus. The work, also entitled Questiones in the only copy left, is a commentary on the Isagoge, the Predicamenta, the Periermenias and the Liber sex principiorum %. That on the Isagoge is mentioned as "Questiones Durandi super Porphirium" in the 1513 catalogue of the Vienna Dominicans 97.
- 3.2.7. The Questiones Britonis super veterem logicam et sex principiorum [17] are, for obvious reasons, not mentioned in Thomas' survey: De Pauw transcribed the last work as "sex prov." and interpreted the author as "Britorum" 98. The writer of these Questiones is Radulphus Reginaldi Britonis, who was still alive about 1308 99. Despite the fact that the title of the writing makes a clear distinction between the 'vetus logica' and the Liber sex principiorum, the commentary covers the same four works as those discussed by

⁹³ Manuscripts with writings of Aristotle, provided with commentary from corresponding works of Albertus Magnus, still exist (cf. Fauser, *Die Werke ...*, pp. 7, 19 and 56).

⁹⁴ GOTTLIEB, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge ..., pp. 396 (R29) and 397 (R33).

⁹⁵ P. LEHMANN, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz ... Zweiter Band. Bistum Mainz. Erfurt, München 1928, p. 98.

⁹⁶ See LOHR, *Medieval* ... Authors A-F ..., pp. 401-402. THOMAS (Boekenbezit ..., p. 453) wrongly identifies this Durandus with Durandus de Sancto Porciano († 1334).

⁹⁷ GOTTLIEB, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge ..., p. 407 (T50), where the incipit is "Queratur primo" (in Lohr, Medieval ... Authors A-F ..., p. 401, the incipit is limited to "Quia").

⁹⁸ DE PAUW, *Bijdragen* ..., pp. 142-143.

⁹⁹ Cf. GLORIEUX, La Faculté ..., pp. 297-298, and LOHR, Medieval ... Authors: Narcissus-Richardus ..., pp. 384-386.

Durandus. Thus some manuscripts containing the four comments of Radulphus simply describe the series as questions "super totam artem veterem" or "supra totam veterem logicam" ¹⁰⁰.

4. Conclusion

The importance of the book list of 1349 is twofold. On the one hand, the list gives an idea of the writings present in the convent of the Ghent Dominicans in the middle of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, it is probably the only document left to illustrate the rich collection of the Ghent library before its sacking in 1566 ¹⁰¹. Besides work written by famous hands, such as Aristotle, Albertus Magnus, Egidius Romanus and Thomas Aquinas, the convent also possessed writings of lesser authors, including Petrus de Sancto Amore and Radulphus Reginaldi Britonis, all belonging to the ordinary study material. Especially important is the mention, so far the earliest, of a copy of Thomas Waleys' extensive *Postilla*, present after less than twenty-five years following its composition.

¹⁰⁰ LOHR, Medieval ... Authors: Narcissus-Richardus ..., p. 386; A: PATTIN, Repertorium commentariorum medii aevi in Aristotelem latinorum quae in bibliothecis belgicis asservantur, Leuven/Leiden 1978, p. 75.

¹⁰¹ Cf. SIMONS, Het Pand ..., p. 53.

EDITION

Ghent (Belgium), Stadsarchief, series 301, no. 1, fol. 41v. Original.

The transcription is diplomatic. Expanded abbrevations are italicized. For the sake of clarity (the original has no breaks), the book list was split up and each volume was numbered.

Kenlijc si allen et cetera ¹⁰² dat alse ¹⁰³ van den contente ghescille debatte ¹⁰⁴ ende ghedinghe dat was tusschen den goeden lieden van den Jacopinen van ghend ane deene side ende der vrouwen van coudenhouen an dander side commende ende sprutende alse van diuerse manieren van bouke die ¹⁰⁵ der Jan van coudenhouen sier moeder vorseit ghelaten soude hebben ende die de Jacopine der vrouwen eisschende waren welke boeke hier naer volghen Jn latine Jnder manieren datse de Jacopine hieschen Dats te wetene

- [1] Summam Johannis siue raymondi xvj scuta /
- [2] biblam 106 .xiiij. 107 scuta.
- [3] summam de casibus .iij. florenos
- [4] postillam magistri thome anglice 108 super ij 109 nocturnos psalterij viij scuta
 - [5] Textus naturalis sex florenos uel .iiij+.110 scuta
- [6] Scriptum methaphysice beati thome 111 super .xiiij. libros ij scuta uel .ij. florenos
- [7] Scriptum physicorum super diuersos libros naturales beati thome iij scuta
- [8] Scriptum egidij supra libros de generatione vnum 112 scutum uel vnum florenum

¹⁰² et cetera] conventional abbreviation.

¹⁰³ alse] added above the first line.

debatte] added above the first line.

¹⁰⁵ die] interlinearly.

biblam] read 'bibliam'; bibla is attested only once (without date) in DU CANGE, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis, I, Niort 1883, p. 650.

^{107 .}xiiij.] with superscript ~ without apparent meaning.

anglice] read 'anglici'.

 $^{^{109}}$ ij] with superscript ' $\omega^{\prime},$ perhaps to interpret as 'oo', an indication to read 'duo(s)'.

^{110 .}iiij+.] '+' means 1/2.

thome] 'r' interlinearly above 't' without apparent meaning.

vnum] interlinearly, followed by expunged 'scutum'.

- [9] Textus de anima posteriorum et priorum 113 vnum scutum uel 114 florenum
 - [10] questiones beati thome de terminatione 115 vnum florenum
 - [11] Nouam logicam .ij. florenos uel xxviij grotos Jam huc eam
- [12] Scriptum beati thome super de anima et 116 posteriorum vnum scutum uel vnum florenum Jam huc ipsum
 - [13] Scriptum egidij super libros elencorum xij grotos
- [14] tria commenta domini alberti super veterem logicam Jtem super libros posteriorum Jtem super libros elencorum et topicorum iij scuta
- [15] Scriptum petri de sancto Amore omnibus 117 notabilibus domini alberti vnum florenum uel xij grotos
 - [16] questiones domini durandi supra veterem logicam .xij. grotos uel .x.
- [17] Questiones britoris 118 super veterem logicam et 119 sex principiorum .x. uel viij. grotos
 - [18] Scriptum egidij supra libros de anima ij. florenos

Jtem .ij. brouke .ij. burstcleedere .ij. paer liinlakene xviij sticken ammelakene ende dwale. een pindel 120 .ij, stickelkine lijnwaeds .ij, messe .ij. paer wanten .i. paer lingeuse 121 .i. hoeftcleet .i. riemleder .ij. paer cleedere iii, sargen cetera misi in camera vestra ad cautelam et in cella. Van welken saken Scepenen vander kuere inde stede van ghend here gillis rijnvisch ende sine ghesellen na eissch na antwerde na tale na wedertale ende na al dats voer hem quam / ende na de copbedinghe 122 die de Jacopine der vrouwen daden So wijsden scepenen vorseit de 123 vrouwe vorghenomt ledech ende quite van den vorseiden eessche mids dat si ghereet was haer eet te doene ende dat de Jacopine haer verlieten van den eede Dit was ghedaen int scependoem heren 124 gillis vorseit up den xiijen. 125 dach in decembre anno domini mº cccº xºlixº

et priorum] interlinearly; 'et' as conventional sign.

¹¹⁴ uel] 'vnum' missing (cf. [8] and [12]).

¹¹⁵ terminnatione] read 'terminatione'.

¹¹⁶ et] conventional sign.

omnibus] interlinearly.

¹¹⁸ britoris] read 'britonis'.

et] conventional sign.

pindel presumably an adaptation of the Latin pendale/pendile ('hanging' or 'curtain'), not attested before the end of the fifteenth century (cf. R. E. LATHAM, Revised medieval Latin word-list from British and Irish sources, London [2004], p. 339).

lingeuse] adaptation of the French lincheus, plural of lincheul, a variant of linsuel, 'sheet' (cf. F. Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française ..., IV, Paris 1885, p. 791). 122 copbedinghe] eye of 'p' written on 's', keeping the latter's tail.

¹²³ de interlinearly.

¹²⁴ heren] interlinearly.

¹²⁵ xiij^{en}.] 'en' as superscript conventional sign.