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scholarly debate on how best to edit all kinds of texts, especially ones that defy the traditional method of Lachmannian genealogical *recensio* (see 6.2). Interesting solutions have been suggested. For instance, Alexander Andr e proposes an expanded single-manuscript edition of the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Gospel of John, Barbara Crostini an electronic edition of the interrelated visual and textual material in a Greek catena on the psalter extant in a single manuscript witness, Greti Dinkova-Bruun an edition of the original text and later versions of a section of Peter Riga's commentary on the Bible surviving in several hundred manuscripts, and Andrew Hicks a synoptic edition of the anonymous late mediaeval commentary tradition on Martianus Capella (G ransson et al. 2016). The obstacles are manifold, requiring all kinds of possible solutions to underscore the creative and dynamic nature of textual transmission in a manuscript culture.

1.3 Book production and collection

Outi Merisalo

The impact of the modalities of book production on the transmission of texts is still often ignored by editors of texts with little interest in book history, including palaeography, codicology, and library history. The subsequent media revolutions (passage from the rotulus to the codex form, introduction of the Carolingian minuscule, invention of the art of printing, and so on) have, however, deeply influenced what was transmitted and in what form. This chapter will outline the development of book production and collection from Antiquity to the modern period.

1.3.1 Book production and libraries in Antiquity

The earliest information on mechanisms of book production in ancient Greece comes from fifth-century BC Athens. Normally, the author would be responsible for having the work both copied and distributed, but there is already evidence of commercial booksellers. Book production is evidently connected to the intense debate about the general desirability of books, which pitted the Sophists, who are in favour of the written word, against figures, such as Plato and Aristophanes, convinced of the deleterious effect of written transmission on how individuals analyse, internalise, and interpret ideas. According to the latter, written culture encourages superficiality as memorising is no longer necessary.

From the seventh century BC onwards, the book form of the Greek world had been the papyrus rotulus. Since the material was exclusively produced in Egypt, its availability in other regions was, of course, subject to fluctuations in imports connected to war and so on. The earliest evidence for book collections in the Greek world goes back to the sixth century BC (Nielsen 2006). In late fifth-century Athens,

such figures as the politician Euclides (archon, 403–402 BC; König, Oikonomopoulou, and Woolf 2013, 87) were known to have a private library. In the fourth century, private collections increased in number and size, for example Aristotle's considerable library in the Lyceum grove in Athens (Vössing 2006). In the same period, commercial book trading covered not only mainland Greece but also southern Italy (*Magna Graecia*) and Sicily in the west, as well as Asia Minor as far as the Greek cities of the Black Sea in the east.

With the fragmentation of the short-lived empire created by Alexander the Great (356–323 BC), the successor states ruled by dynasties established by his generals, such as Seleucus, Antiochus, and Ptolemy, consolidated a new political, cultural, and linguistic reality characterised by the status of Greek as a new all-round language of communication in the Middle East. The libraries established by Hellenistic rulers were prevalently public in nature (Vössing 2006). From the point of view of book collections, the establishment of the Mouseion (Μουσεῖον) research centre and library by Ptolemy I Soter and Ptolemy II Philadelphus in Alexandria at the beginning of the third century took library collections to a new level. Despite the traditional name associated with the cult of the Muses, there is no obvious model for this research centre with a well-appointed library. Ptolemy I, appreciative of learning just like Alexander, who had been taught by Aristotle himself, recruited the Peripatetic philosopher Demetrius of Phaleron, another disciple of the Stagirite, as administrative counsellor. The research centre, organised as a cult association with a priest as head and scholars as members, was financed by the state. In addition to the library, the Mouseion housed an observatory as well as zoological and botanical collections. The scope of the library was to make available the knowledge of the whole world, οἰκουμένη, in Greek and, when necessary, in translation (e.g. the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Old Testament; Glock 2006). Both editorial techniques (philology; Zenon of Ephesus, ca. 325–260 BC) and scholarly bibliography were developed, especially by Demetrius of Phaleron. The collections were accessible to rulers and members of the Mouseion. Contrary to what has been believed (e.g. Plutarch *Caesar* 49), the Mouseion library was not burnt down during the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. The fire in Alexandria's harbour only destroyed a book depository, not the entire library, in 47 BC (Vössing 2006). From Augustus onwards, the Mouseion was subsidised by the emperors and pursued its original mission well into the third century AD (Glock 2006). The collection survived virtually unscathed until the rebellion of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, in ca. AD 270, when the palace quarter was destroyed (Glock 2006). Ptolemy III had established another library in Alexandria, the Serapeum, for religious, non-Greek texts; it is probable that this library assumed most of the functions of the Mouseion after AD 270. It was closed down by Emperor Theodosius in 391 (Glock 2006). The last known scholar of the Mouseion was the mathematician and astronomer Theon at the end of the fourth century.

Ptolemy III and Berenice II established the Ptolemaeum gymnasium, with a library, in Athens in the third century BC, and Attalus I an institution specialising in

bibliography and bibliophily, evidently modelled on the Mouseion, in Pergamon in ca. 200 BC (Clayman 2014, 140; Vössing 2006).

While the Latin language was committed to writing as early as the seventh century BC, book culture seems to have spread but slowly outside official circles and the upper echelons of society (Petrucci 1992, 35–36; see also 1.1.1 above). The situation radically changes in the second century BC, when, through conquest, the Romans come into direct contact with the Hellenistic culture described above. On the Italian peninsula, even the prosperous upper classes of the towns become increasingly literate. Important libraries of the East are brought to Rome as booty, such as that of Perseus, king of Macedonia, by L. Aemilius Paullus after the battle of Pydna in 168 BC, and that of the philosopher Apellicon, who acquired parts of the libraries of Aristotle and Theophrastus, appropriated by Sulla during the conquest of Athens in 86 BC.

In the first century BC, there is ample evidence for both private and public libraries. While volumes of early Latin-language literature, such as the translation of the *Odyssey* by Livius Andronicus (ca. 284–ca. 205 BC) and the epic poetry of Quintus Ennius (239–169 BC), seem to have been difficult to find, knowledge of Greek language and culture, as well as owning books, seems to have become an essential element of the education of middle- and upper-class Romans. Furthermore, in the first century, with formal schools becoming increasingly common, the need for books increased. Private libraries, such as those of Cicero (106–43 BC), who had Greek- and Latin-language collections not only in his city residence on the Palatine Hill but also in his houses in Tusculum, Cumae, and Antium, are well documented (Vössing 2006). From the early imperial age onwards, there is ample evidence (e.g. Petronius, Seneca, Pliny the Younger, Juvenal, and Martial) for different phases of publishing: first, both private and public readings of work in progress, then copies made for friends, and finally commercial publishing. The copies were produced either through dictation or visual copying, or a combination of both methods. Commercial publishers employed a large number of scribes producing copies contemporaneously. A corrector controlled the quality of the output, though complaints about the bad textual quality of Latin books abound (e.g. Cicero *Epistolae ad Quintum* 2.5.6; Martial *Epigrammata* 2.8.1). By the end of the first century AD, a good distribution network covering all of the Empire catered for the needs of customers.

While the constant increase in private libraries (Persius, Martial, Silius Italicus, and Pliny the Younger, among others, in the first century AD) testifies to the appreciation of book culture among the upper classes, from the first century BC books also became increasingly accessible through the establishment of public libraries, the first of which were those of the politician and historian C. Asinius Pollio in the Atrium Libertatis near the Capitoline Hill in 39 BC, with Greek- and Latin-language sections (P. L. Schmidt 2006; Förtsch 2006; Nielsen 2006), and, even more importantly, of his friend Octavian, soon to become Augustus, near the temple of Apollo on the Palatine in 28 BC (Nielsen 2006). At the beginning of the second century AD,

Emperor Trajan placed two libraries on his Forum, one for Greek- and the other for Latin-language books. By the mid-fourth century AD, there were twenty-eight or twenty-nine public libraries in the city of Rome (Nordh 1949, §97.9; Brodersen 2006; but see Vössing 2006 on doubts regarding the number).

1.3.2 Libraries and archives in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

Book production radically changes from the fourth to the sixth century AD with the legalisation and triumph of Christianity after the Edict of Milan (AD 313). Whereas commercial editing houses at first compete successfully with well-established Christian structures based on parish and diocesan writing centres, by the sixth century the latter prevail even in the Eastern Empire. Until the end of the Byzantine Empire (1453), the state maintains the imperial library, whereas the political complexity of the former Western Roman Empire after AD 476 is reflected in the book production carried out by the monastic scriptorium (Binder 2006; for the development of the scriptorium throughout the Middle Ages, see Gamper et al. 2015).

Thanks to the triumph of the Benedictine Rule (sixth century; for St Benedict, see Böckmann 2006), which incorporates the copying of books into the monastic way of life as part of bodily work, and the authoritative defence of ancient, non-Christian literature as part of Christian culture by a series of important ecclesiastics such as Cassiodorus (sixth century), monastic communities form important book collections of both ancient and contemporary works. These collections, which ensure the transmission of ancient texts that had survived the book-format revolution, are continuously enriched and renewed, facing new challenges such as the next media revolution: the adoption of the Carolingian minuscule in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, an essential instrument of the reforms carried out by Charlemagne (r. 768–814) in his new Roman Empire of the West (Bischoff 2009, 179 ff.). In fact, the vast majority of manuscript volumes preserved until modern times date from the period after the eighth century (Bozzolo and Ornato 1980, 84). In the Carolingian Empire, subsequently divided into three parts at Verdun in 843, the thriving monasteries, such as Corbie, Fleury, Tours, and St Gall, among others, are an essential part of the economic, cultural, and religious structures of society, with their scriptoria disseminating texts deemed important in the new script (Bischoff 1961–1981; Pellegrin 1988). Charlemagne's court library, no doubt modelled on the Byzantine imperial one, is part of the network of libraries ensuring the dissemination of texts in the new medium. The texts not considered worth recopying have a high probability of disappearing in the subsequent centuries, when Carolingian minuscule, a kind of trademark of the Western Church and western feudal society, spreads even in newly (re)conquered areas such as the Iberian peninsula from the year 1000 onwards, and in the territories acquired by the Church of Rome in eastern and northern Europe.



Fig. 1.3-1: Duke Humfrey's library in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dating from the late fifteenth century. Source: commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Duke_Humfrey%27s_Library_Interior_6,_Bodleian_Library,_Oxford,_UK_-_Diliff.jpg&oldid=269845871.

It is only with the establishment of the universities as ecclesiastical institutions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the position of the scriptorium changes. Some monastic scriptoria successfully compete for the book market with new secular ateliers. The latter abound not only in university cities, such as Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, Bologna, and Padua, where secular scribes reproduce university texts through a highly efficient system of multiple copying based on the rental of *peciae* (each containing a relatively short segment of text; see Murano 2005), but also elsewhere, to address the needs of the new, dynamic bourgeoisie gaining access to literacy. Universities, such as the Collège de Sorbonne or Balliol College in Oxford, actively develop book collections both through acquisition and through donation (Delisle 1868, 180–182; Nebbiai, Angotti, and Fournier 2017; Mynors 1963, 247; Merisalo 2012, 108). These collections are accessible to members of the community but in many cases also to outsiders. From the thirteenth century onwards, princely, royal, and imperial courts, and indeed the papal Curia (Manfredi 2010), develop increasingly important book collections, seen as an essential element of the prestige of the ruler. Cases in point are, for example, the libraries of the kings of France and England, several times dispersed and reconstituted in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, those of the dukes of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, and the Vatican

Library, also incorporating remnants from earlier papal libraries, officially established as a public library in 1475 by Sixtus IV (Manfredi 2010, 199–225). In Florence, in addition to the private library of the Medici, the library of the humanist luminary Niccolò Niccoli (d. 1437) is opened as a public library thanks to the financial input of Cosimo de' Medici the Elder (Ullman and Stadter 1972). Even north of the Alps, important private libraries are assembled, such as that of Hartmann Schedel (d. 1514), a Padua-educated humanist physician and author of a Latin *Cronica* and its German version, the *Weltchronik* (1493), who seems to have allowed other scholars to use his collection (Stauber 1908; Wagner 2014; Merisalo 2016, 830).

1.3.3 Libraries and archives in the modern period

With the advent of printing in the second half of the fifteenth century, both book production and book collections enter another period of revolutionary change. The new *ars artificialiter scribendi*, incomparably cheaper than handwriting due to the elimination of the salary of the scribe, supersedes the traditional modes of production by the end of the century. As regards transmission of texts, this media revolution constitutes another bottleneck: the texts not deemed interesting are not transferred into the new medium and risk disappearing. Libraries react to the media revolution by actively purchasing printed books: for example, the library of the Collège de Sorbonne establishes, in addition to the manuscript collections, a special section of printed volumes that will continue until the seventeenth century (Delisle 1868, 200). The Reformation, with the abolition of monasteries, sets the old monastic collections in flux, with handwritten books either wandering into other libraries or being recycled in, for instance, bindings (e.g. in the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden: approximately 50,000 manuscript fragments; see Ommundsen and Heikkilä 2017). Texts only preserved in old handwritten books constitute objects of interest for historians for centuries to come, such as Jacques Bongars (1554–1612), whose manuscripts went to the Burgerbibliothek in Berne (see burgerbib.ch/en/the-holdings/bongarsiana-codices), and philologists, such as Pierre Daniel (1531–1604). Luxury manuscripts, still produced in the sixteenth century, have an aesthetic, representative, and financial value for their owners. Indeed, a well-appointed book collection housed in representative buildings, on a par with *Wunderkammern*, that develop into fully-fledged museums, is consolidated as a set part of the self-representation of political leadership, whether of kings, emperors, popes, or a republic. The old and new libraries are made more accessible through systematic cataloguing, especially from the sixteenth century onwards (e.g. the Vatican Library; Montuschi 2014, 243–543). Donations and acquisitions of entire collections make important developments possible, for example in the case of the library of the dukes, later electors, and finally kings of Bavaria (Stauber 1908). The dispersal of library holdings is also intensified by military operations. During the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), entire

collections of handwritten and printed books are transferred as highly appreciated booty to the libraries of victorious powers, for example in the acquisition of important private and public libraries by Sweden (Walde 1916–1920) and the transfer of a large part of the Palatine Library from Heidelberg to Rome (Montuschi 2014, 279–336). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, accessibility of collections is enhanced on the one hand by detailed printed catalogues, for example Bandini's catalogue of the Laurentian Library in Florence (Bandini 1774–1777, 1778; see also Siponta De Salvia 1986), and such monumental overviews of European library collections as Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum* (Montfaucon 1739) on the other. The decades of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era (1790s–1815) witness the transfer of ecclesiastical collections into central repositories (most systematically in France) or simply onto the book market, where they are acquired by such collectors as the Venetian Jesuit Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727–1805) or Giacomo Morelli (1745–1819), librarian of the Biblioteca Marciana (Valentinelli 1868, 136 ff.; Zorzi 1980, 235 ff.).

The nineteenth century is a period of consolidation of important state-run and institutional collections of a public nature, such as the Bibliothèque royale/de la Nation (1790)/impériale (1804–1815)/royale (1815–1849)/nationale (1849–1851)/impériale (1851–1871), and again nationale (1871–) of France, often considerably enriched through the turbulent book market of the Napoleonic era, as well as the formation of large private libraries made possible by large fortunes generated by industrialisation, such as that of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), dispersed between the last decades of the nineteenth century and 2006 (see Munby 1951–1960; Bell 2009). In the United States, Congress establishes a library in 1800, which develops into the most important collection in the country and the national library (Cole 2018). Cataloguing and recataloguing projects (e.g. Italy: Mazzatinti 1890–2013; France: Libri et al. 1849–) enhance the accessibility of these collections, and the historicising and contextualising approach to the study of writing and book production represented by such scholars as Léopold Delisle (1826–1910; see Vieillard and Gosset 2004), Wilhelm Wattenbach (1819–1879), and, last but not least, Ludwig Traube (1861–1907; see Merisalo 2017) throws light on the formation and development of collections. Such a work as Delisle's *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale/Nationale* (Delisle 1868) is still the basis of any research on the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The development of reproduction techniques, for example heliography and photography, also contributes to the accessibility of collections. Such an epochal political event as the unification of Italy (1861, 1870) forcefully impacts the book market, with the confiscation of the libraries of ecclesiastical institutions and their incorporation into state-run libraries, such as the Biblioteca nazionale of Rome, that of Florence (see Fava 1939), and the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. Some libraries, such as the Königlische Bibliothek in Berlin, proceed to undertake vigorous acquisition campaigns, such as that of five hundred manuscripts for the Phillipps collection in 1889 (see staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-

staatsbibliothek/abteilungen/handschriften/abendlaendische-handschriften/sammlungen/mss-phill/), among others.

1.3.4 Media revolution: Digitisation

Most of the state collections consolidated in the nineteenth century continue to exist and enrich their collections in the twentieth despite the two World Wars and political upheavals. During World War I, some important collections are destroyed, such as (in 1914) the library of the Catholic University of Leuven, established in 1834, which was reconstituted with international donations only to be destroyed again in 1940 (see Coppens, Derez, and Roegiers 2005). The states emerging from the demise of such political entities as the Austro-Hungarian Empire transform previous state libraries such as the Öffentliche k. k. Universitätsbibliothek (C.k. Věřejná a univerzitní knihovna) of Prague (for the history of the older collections, see Truhlář 1905, iii–xvi) into national libraries (Národní a univerzitní knihovna, 1935–1939/Zemská a univerzitní knihovna, 1939–1941/after incorporation of other Prague libraries, Národní knihovna, 1958–; see National Library of the Czech Republic 2012). In the Soviet Union, the Imperial Public Library, established in St Petersburg by Catherine II in 1795 and forcefully developed in the nineteenth century, survives the Russian Revolution as the Russian Public Library (1917–1925)/Official M. Saltykov-Shchedrin Library (1932–1992)/Russian National Library (1992–; see National Library of Russia 2018). From the early decades of the twentieth century, the accessibility of collections is enhanced by microfilming, which had been developed in the second half of the nineteenth century and was vigorously adopted for reproductions (e.g. the microfilming of millions of pages of British Library collections by the Library of Congress, 1927–1935). Both microfilms and microfiches are still in use in 2019, guaranteeing a lifespan of approximately five hundred years when stored properly (NEDCC 2007). In addition to microfilming campaigns of individual libraries, extensive microfilm collections are created, for example that at the University of Saint Louis, Missouri, which covers more than 37,000 manuscripts of the Vatican Library as well as 3,000 of other origins (lib.slu.edu/special-collections/collections/vfl), or that of the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes in Paris (IRHT; irht.cnrs.fr), currently containing microfilms of approximately 76,000 mediaeval manuscripts (medium-avance.irht.cnrs.fr). Accessibility is also enhanced through reproductions on paper, such as the volumes of the *Catalogue des manuscrits datés*, the oldest and still the most important project of the Comité international de paléographie latine, established in 1953, aiming at cataloguing, including reproductions, all manuscripts bearing the name of the scribe and/or date and/or place of copy (palaeographia.org/cipl/cipl.htm).

The great media revolution was, however, that of digitisation during the last decade of the twentieth century and in the early twenty-first century. Not only were library catalogues transferred from paper and microfilm/microfiche to online plat-

forms in the 1990s, but intensive digitisation campaigns completely changed the accessibility of all types of formats. On the one hand, digital publications by commercial publishing houses transformed the printed collections of libraries; on the other, non-copyrighted older books and, in the 2010s, entire manuscripts became available free of charge through such databases as *Gallica* (gallica.fr; National Library of France), the digital library of the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (digitale-sammlungen.de; Bavarian State Library, Munich), the German database *Manuscripta mediaevalia* (manuscripta-mediaevalia.de), the Swiss database *e-codices* (e-codices.ch), the digitised manuscripts site of the Vatican Library (mss.vatlib.it/guui/scan/link.jsp), or the collaborative digitisation project of the Bodleian and Vatican Libraries funded by the Polonsky Foundation (bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk, 2012–2017). The “Europeana Regia” project (europeanaregia.eu, 2010–2012, run by a consortium of five important research libraries) digitised some 1,000 manuscripts from Carolingian libraries (eighth to ninth centuries), Charles V and his family (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries), and the Aragonese kings of Naples (fifteenth century). Although reproductions, however good, will never supplant the original object, they make it easier to prepare for the indispensable work on originals. So far, digitisation has not induced most libraries to deny access to originals. On the contrary, a considerable increase in user-friendliness in the form of photography of original library holdings being allowed for personal research use, already common in Scandinavia, has occurred in the 2010s in such countries as France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy. Thanks to these policies, library collections are today more universally accessible than ever.

1.4 Textual traditions and early prints

Iolanda Ventura

In this section, I describe and discuss the philological practices developed by humanist and Renaissance scholars and philologists, as well as the role played by philology and textual criticism in the transition from manuscript to print. In order to do so, the focus will lie on selected examples from classical, patristic, and mediaeval literature. The way in which humanist and Renaissance scholars and philologists contributed to the transformation of culture, to the diffusion of literature through the printed editions that replaced manuscripts, and to the transition from manuscript to print – in short the transition from mediaeval to Renaissance culture – will be elucidated. Last but not least, practices and methodologies will be met which are still acknowledged or even imitated by textual scholars today.

1.4.1 The reception of a text as witnessed in print: Philological practices

For the history of texts and books, the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries are a crucial time. The intellectual approach to the book and its content, as well as the