
manuscript cultures

DOI: 10.15460/mc

eISSN 2749-1021

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Sofia Orsino | Padua

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Sofia Orsino Università di Padova 

sofia.orsino@unipd.it

DOI: 1015460/e8y4nc25

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Peer-reviewed article

Submitted: 06 August 2025 | Accepted: 4 May 2026 | Published: 30 June 2026

Recommended citation:

Sofia Orsino (2026),

‘Describing Complex Objects: Notes for a Catalogue of Twelfth-Century Logical Manuscripts’,

José Maksimczuk, Yoav Meyrav, and Caterina Tarlazzi (eds),

Medieval Manuscripts of Logic (= *manuscript cultures*, 25[2]): 139–170.

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Verlag der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky

Article

Describing Complex Objects: Notes for a Catalogue of Twelfth-Century Logical Manuscripts

Sofia Orsino | Padova**Abstract**

This paper examines twelfth-century Latin logical commentaries as complex written artefacts, focusing primarily on their codicological rather than their purely textual features. Commentaries on the logical works of Porphyry, Aristotle, and Boethius produced in the French schools of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries appear to have been transmitted mostly as individual units later assembled into composite manuscripts. This preliminary survey – a first step towards a catalogue of such manuscripts – suggests that a structural and historical approach can reveal important aspects of their modes of production and circulation. The evidence indicates that most commentaries were originally produced as booklets and may have circulated unbound for use within school contexts.

Keywords

Latin manuscripts, codicology, philosophical manuscripts, twelfth-century schools

1. Introduction: the study of twelfth-century logical commentaries

The Latin manuscripts that transmit twelfth-century commentaries on logic pose several challenges to cataloguers. These manuscripts generally contain anonymous and unedited works. Most of them survive in single copies, frequently in an incomplete state, and the texts form seemingly unorganised compilations. For manuscripts of this kind, a textual analysis helps establish dating and geographical areas of interest in which the circulation of a certain work is likely to have taken place. However, working on the textual side requires more skills than those of a cataloguer, codicologist, or palaeographer alone. Such work involves specialised training to handle the philosophical vocabulary and to recognise implicit quotations and references to contemporary authors. In relation to this, manuscripts of logical commentaries remain among the lesser-known objects in Western manuscript studies, and much of what we know about them relies on the opinions of the scholars who have focused on the texts.

In recent decades, the works transmitted in these manuscripts have attracted increasing attention from scholars of medieval philosophy – notably Lambertus Marie de Rijk, Niels Jørgen Green-Pedersen, John Marenbon, Yukio Iwakuma, Sten Ebbesen, Heine Hansen, Irène Rosier-Catach and, more recently, Irene Binini and Caterina Tarlazzi. Their research has contributed to a more precise understanding of these works as a group and of the intellectual milieux in which they

emerged. As a result, numerous twelfth-century commentaries have now been identified and some critical editions have begun to appear.¹

Conversely, the manuscripts have often remained marginal to the primary scholarly focus, examined mainly in support of textual work rather than in their own right. Furthermore, traditional cataloguing approaches have long failed to capture the complex material articulation of such written artefacts; often, they only allowed scholars to identify material breaks in chaotic sequences of texts. This situation has sometimes led to misleading reconstructions of contexts of production, dating and circulation.² For the most part, questions regarding the production and circulation of the extant copies of these logical commentaries have remained unanswered.³

A recent interdisciplinary five-year research programme now makes it possible to reconsider these codices as promising objects of study not only for textual analysis, but also as material artefacts. As such, they can bring new evidence for the history of the learned book in Europe before the universities.⁴ A full descriptive catalogue of these codices adopting a ‘syntactical’ approach is currently in preparation,⁵ but some preliminary observations can already be offered.

In the following pages, I will present the textual perspective, analyse the recurring codicological features of logical commentaries, and explore possible scenarios for their production and circulation through three case studies.

¹ For an overview of the main contributions, editions, and previous research in this area of study, see Green-Pedersen 1974; Marenbon 2000; Marenbon 2011; Marenbon 2013b; and Marenbon and Tarlazzi 2018. Yukio Iwakuma has so far privately transcribed dozens of unedited works and generously made them available to other scholars in the field; his work is the starting point for many editions currently in progress.

² Just to give an example, the codex Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Lat. 67, which contains a series of grammatical and logical commentaries, had long been considered to originate from the monastery of St Albans, near London. Yet careful analysis of the material breaks reveals that this provenance can be inferred only for one of the six codicological units in the codex, owing to the presence of a note of possession. See the catalogues Coxe 1973, 31, and Thompson 1982, II, 64–106, where an attempt is made to distinguish the codicological units. The forthcoming catalogue will more clearly distinguish the units and their provenance.

³ Cf. Marenbon and Tarlazzi 2018, 229.

⁴ The ‘Polyphonic Philosophy’ project, led by Caterina Tarlazzi, aims to analyse all twelfth-century logical commentaries and the manuscripts that transmit them. More information about the project can be found on the website <<https://pric.unive.it/projects/polyphonic-philosophy/home>>. The provisional list of the forty manuscripts under analysis is available online at <<https://pric.unive.it/projects/polyphonic-philosophy/digital-index>> (last accessed on 25 November 2025). I am now able to add a new manuscript to this list: Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 200, which contains two new and unedited commentaries, one on Boethius’ *De syllogismis categoricis* (pp. 175^a–191^b) and the other on Aristotle’s *De interpretatione* (pp. 193^a–208^b). In the catalogue Pellegrin and Bouhot 2010, 276, the two logical commentaries were correctly presented as ‘Commentarius in Boethii De syllogismo categorico’ and ‘Commentarius in Aristotelis De interpretatione’, but the manuscript has so far escaped any attention of scholars of medieval logic. The two commentaries are currently in the process of being transcribed for publication by Charles Girard, Pietro Podolak, Caterina Tarlazzi, Bianca Darcey and myself.

⁵ The catalogue is intended to address the two dimensions of the manuscript – ‘génétique’ and ‘stratigraphique’ (Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, 7); for ‘syntactical’ types of description, see Andrist 2015, 515–520. For the need of a ‘holistic’ approach to medieval manuscripts in codicology, see Maniaci 2018a, 11–12. On this topic, a collective discussion involving Patrick Andrist, Irene Ceccherini, Teresa De Robertis, and Marilena Maniaci took place during two joint seminars organised by Irene Ceccherini (PI of the PRIN project *Books of Science. Vernacular Mathematics and Medicine Books in Fourteenth-Century Italy*) and myself at the Ca’ Foscari University of Venice and at the University of Florence in 2024 and 2025.

2. The textual perspective

As noted above, a primarily text-focused approach has led to the first significant results. These findings can also serve as a starting point for codicological investigations.

From a textual perspective, ‘twelfth-century logical commentaries’ denote (even incomplete or fragmentary) works derived from masters’ lectures on Boethian logical works (his translations and treatises).⁶ These exegetical works usually include a general introduction to the authoritative work; a coherent and well-integrated selection of quotations;⁷ a literal analysis; an analysis of the questions and issues raised by the text; and the masters’ philosophical views. Twelfth-century logical commentaries were often not intended to be mere instruments for accessing the basic literal sense of the ancient philosophers’ words, but rather as expositions of philosophical issues. Owing to their greater cohesion, these commentaries also differ from what historians of medieval philosophy refer to as ‘sets of glosses’ – collections of simpler explanations of an author’s words, generally found in the margins of the authoritative works.⁸

These logical commentaries first appeared in the late eleventh century as a deeper and more developed way of accessing the works of Porphyry (c.233/4–305 CE), Aristotle (384–322 BCE) and Boethius (c.480–584 CE). They were strongly influenced by the reception of Boethius’ logical commentaries.⁹ They concern what Peter Abelard (1079–1142) described as the seven main readings on which the study of logic was based in his time: Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, Aristotle’s *Categoriae* and *De interpretatione*, and Boethius’ *De divisione*, *De differentiis topicis*, *De syllogismis hypotheticis* and *De syllogismis categoricis*.¹⁰ After a master had orally commented on the above-mentioned works in front of his pupils, his comments were written down, revised, often further developed, and then copied as a full text interspersed with lemmata taken directly from the authoritative works. Although it is likely that significant parts of the logical works by Porphyry, Aristotle and Boethius were known by heart, obviously the ancient works were also available in other manuscripts, as also suggested by medieval library inventories and by many surviving twelfth-century codices.¹¹

⁶ Cf. Marenbon and Tarlazzi 2018.

⁷ On the internal organisation and meaning of prologues to logical commentaries, see Podolak 2024.

⁸ The distinction between glosses and commentaries emerges in Marenbon 2000, II. 98. The terms *glosa* and *commentum* are used differently in medieval sources than in contemporary secondary literature on the history of medieval philosophy; a general overview of their usage in manuscripts and library inventories is provided by Munk Olsen 2009, 5–8. What contemporary scholars refer to as ‘commentaries’ were described in the original rubrics as ‘glosae’ or ‘glosulae’. Since my research has relied primarily on the work of historians of medieval philosophy for identifying the manuscripts that transmit logical texts, I will follow their terminology here and use the term ‘commentary’.

⁹ For a general survey and bibliography on this peculiar moment for the history of logic, see Marenbon 2011. On the rising logical schools of the twelfth century, see Luscombe 1969, and on the new role of the masters, Giraud 2010.

¹⁰ Abaelardus, *Dialectica*, ed. De Rijk 1970, 146: 10–17. As has been pointed out, the *Isagoge*, *Categoriae*, *De interpretatione*, and *De differentiis topicis* were the most studied and therefore most copied works; see Marenbon and Tarlazzi 2018, 215–216; Marenbon 2023, 306–307.

¹¹ Marenbon and Tarlazzi 2018, 217 presents lists of twelfth-century manuscripts of the logical Boethian translations and treatises, as well as of the Boethian commentaries.

By the end of the twelfth century, however, this curriculum of reading had begun to change, including new or newly translated logical works as well.¹²

As mentioned earlier, the criterion used to define the object of study in history of philosophy is strictly textual. ‘Logical commentaries’ are considered to be those pieces of exegetical literature that address Boethius’ own logical treatises and his translations of Porphyry and Aristotle and are provided with introductory chapters and a certain textual cohesion. There are over 130 identified logical commentaries of this kind.¹³

As a matter of fact, a pattern in their material transmission has already emerged as well. These commentaries are *always* found as the main content of a codex (or of a part of a codex), never in the margins of any of the seven authoritative works mentioned above.¹⁴ The manuscripts are always small and modest. Additionally, the commentaries appear to have been copied no later than the very beginning of the thirteenth century.¹⁵

As my codicological survey will show, codicological and palaeographical analysis can confirm these modes of production were a common practice and expand our understanding of them.

3. A cluster of shared features in detail

From the viewpoint of codicology, the features first identified by historians of medieval philosophy require further clarification and analysis.

The vast majority of the codices in which these logical commentaries are found are composite manuscripts, usually comprising several codicological units.¹⁶ Only three manuscripts (out of forty) are physically unitary, ‘homogeneous’ manuscripts¹⁷ containing only one commentary (they are: Milan, Archivio Capitolare della Basilica di Sant’Ambrogio M2; Oxford, BL, D’Orville 207; Padua, BU 2087). More commonly, the commentaries are just the content of one or more codicological units within a composite manuscript. Thus, to analyse patterns in their production, we should consider those parts of a manuscript that (a) were ‘worked in a single operation’; (b) contain at least one logical commentary and (c) are potentially separable from others (that is, they are delimited by the boundaries of a quire or group of quires, in addition to other major discontinuities).

¹² Marenbon 2011, 184–185.

¹³ For the sigla used for naming the commentaries, I follow the conventional system of titles. These conventional titles consist of a combination of a letter (referring to the authoritative work commented on: P = *Isagoge*; C = *Categories*; H = *De interpretatione*; D = *De divisione*; B = *De differentiis topicis*; SC = *De syllogismis categoricis*; SH = *De syllogismis hypotheticis*), and a number assigned to each commentary; see, for instance, Marenbon 2000.

¹⁴ Marenbon and Tarlazzi 2018, 217. Unlike the tradition of the biblical glosses, which were derived from reading the Church Fathers and traditionally written in the margins, only the earlier ‘sets of glosses’ mentioned above seem to have been copied in this way. As a book, a glossed manuscript is also a very different and more complicated thing to copy; see, for instance, De Hamel 1984, 14–27.

¹⁵ These features were listed in Marenbon and Tarlazzi 2018, 221.

¹⁶ The codicological unit was defined by Gumbert as ‘a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation (unless it is an enriched, enlarged or extended codicological unit), containing a complete text or set of texts (unless it is an unfinished, defective or dependent unit)’; Gumbert 2004, 23–26.

¹⁷ Maniaci 1996, 76.

The manuscripts often contain codicological units of diverse dating and contents, but the codicological units complying with (a), (b) and (c) are all datable to the ‘long twelfth century’.¹⁸ So far I have identified at least seventy-three of them.¹⁹ All are made of parchment; all are made with quires of four bifolia presenting outer hair sides; and they are all hard-point ruled, with texts beginning above the top line.²⁰ An analysis of the script can further refine this dating. The script is always a transitional Caroline minuscule with emerging aspects of the so-called Gothic system. The balance between Caroline minuscule and Gothic elements indicates, it seems, that the *littera antiqua* formed the basis of copyists’ training. Habits pertaining to the *littera textualis* were only beginning to appear, to an extent that can be seen as typical of middle-to-late twelfth-century book scripts.²¹ My dating of most of the manuscripts thus places them in the second half or towards the end of the twelfth century, based on comparisons with dated hands.²²

The seventy-three units also share the following six codicological features. To begin with, (I) most of the units are made of whatever parchment was available, without a strong aesthetic concern. This is evidenced by the use of less refined or even inferior skins, thicker and darker parts,²³ and palimpsest sheets, as in the case of Padua, BU 2087, which was copied over a grammatical textbook.²⁴ Good parchment was used occasionally.²⁵

As direct inspection indicates, (II) codicological units are consistently small, both in dimension – with an average size of 213 × 138 mm – and in number of sheets. Logical commentaries are indeed works of limited extension but were also produced as portable objects.²⁶ Most of them stay within c.8 folios and occupy one quire.²⁷

¹⁸ For the use of this chronological designation, referring to the period from the late eleventh to the early thirteenth century, see, for instance, Kwakkel 2012.

¹⁹ The number is provisional as I still have to examine three manuscripts.

²⁰ Ker 1960; Palma 1988.

²¹ This script has also been referred to as *Praegothica*; see Derolez 2003, 56–71. My references for the use of the historical terms *littera antiqua* (for the Caroline minuscule) and *littera textualis* (instead of Gothic script) are Lieftinck 1959; Casamassima 1985, 70–72.

²² For the dating, it is also worth highlighting that the scripts found in these manuscripts are generally not easy to compare with average twelfth-century dated manuscripts, in terms of page and script dimensions. A first set of observations concerning the scripts is presented in Orsino 2025a. I also presented a more detailed analysis of the functioning of the scripts employed in the logical commentaries at the Apices session of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine 2025. On the features of this transitional script and its development over time, see Petrucci 1968; Tomiello 1996; Kwakkel 2012. On the rise of the *littera textualis*, see also Bischoff 1992, 127–136; Zamponi 1988; Zamponi 1989.

²³ Darker and more fragile skin is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Lat. 67, fols 20–88. Clumps of hair were left on the edges of several sheets in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165 (e.g. fol. 27).

²⁴ Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 2087 is almost entirely a palimpsest manuscript, as detailed in Orsino 2025b.

²⁵ See, for instance, Assisi, BSC, Fondo Antico Comunale 573 and Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 134.

²⁶ This is also true for the unitary manuscripts of only one commentary, ranging between 16 and 48 sheets.

²⁷ For instance, this is the case for the commentaries: C8 in London, British Library, Royal 7. D. XXV and Munich, BSB, Clm 14458; P11 in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 63 sup.; P16 in Munich, BSB, Clm 14458; P17 in Paris, BnF, Lat. 3237; C12 in Paris, BnF, Lat. 7094A; P3 in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Lat. 67 and Paris, BnF, Lat. 13368; D1 in Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 134; B8 and H11 in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. Lat. 230. Many also stay within c.16–32 fols, e.g. the commentaries P13 in Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Amplon. Oct. 5; C27 in Milan, Archivio di Sant’Ambrogio M 2; P10 and C10 in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 63 sup.; B16 in Munich, BSB, Clm 14458; C26 in Bodleian Library,

In addition to that, (III) the layout is most frequently arranged in two columns throughout most of the corpus.²⁸ This feature is so common that it represents a hallmark of this group of manuscripts. Furthermore, (IV) the pages were prepared and used in a highly economical manner, with very narrow margins and a ruled frame almost overlapping the edges of the page. The pages contain the maximum possible number of lines, resulting in average units of ruling of 3.4 mm.²⁹ Finally, (V) the units are virtually without decoration, with only one exception.³⁰

Given all the above, (VI) the script is a key aspect. Several aspects suggest that it is meant to facilitate reading while also occupying as little space as possible.³¹ Indeed, the average letter dimensions are so small that copyists must have been quite skilled to keep them regular.³² Nonetheless, they do not seem to have aimed at a neat appearance of the pages.

All the features so far highlighted by historians of medieval philosophy are, thus, confirmed by this codicological analysis. For instance, the combination of small dimensions, densely written pages, and the almost complete lack of decoration form the material basis for the ‘poverty’ evoked by Marenbon and Tarlazzi.³³

4. Patterns of production

The manuscripts of logical commentaries escape traditional codicological definitions. These manuscripts (even those that only contain logical commentaries) lack overall cohesion, both in the order of the texts and in the consistency of their material aspects. However, the units containing logical commentaries appear similar for the reasons mentioned above. Within the same manuscripts, the commentaries may well be copied by hands dating to the same period and showing recurring features (or even by one and the same hand), and may also display a similar layout. Even so, for the most part, the units do not appear to have been planned as parts of the same codex. In short, they cannot be described as ‘modules’ of a planned logical manuscript.³⁴ This is evidenced, for instance, by the order of their contents, or by strong material discontinuities, such as in the *mise en page*.

D’Orville 207; B14 in Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 910; B12 in Paris, BnF, Lat. 7093 and C8 in Paris, BnF, Lat. 13368 and Vatican City, BAV, Reg. Lat. 230.

²⁸ The layout is in two columns for fifty-three out of seventy-three units analysed (fragments excluded). The others are in full lines.

²⁹ The average measures and all other data presented here have been calculated taking into account all the seventy-three units that contain logical commentaries (small fragments excluded). The maximum dimensions found so far are 275 × 165 mm (in Paris, BnF, Lat. 17813) and the minimum are 119 × 87 mm (in Limerick, University Library, ex-Cashel, Bolton Library 1).

³⁰ Lunel, BM-Musée Médard T054 shows one finely illuminated initial on fol. 8^{ra}. A reason could lie in the fact that Peter Abelard was recognised as the author of the commentary. Only a few manuscripts have simple red-inked initials, e.g. Milan, Archivio Capitolare di Sant’Ambrogio M 2, and Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 833.

³¹ Zamponi 1989, 330–331; Saenger 1997, 120–122; Tomiello 1996.

³² On average, the bodies of the letters are approximately 1 mm high.

³³ ‘The manuscripts containing them stand out for their poverty’; Marenbon and Tarlazzi 2018, 221.

³⁴ For the concepts of ‘module’ and ‘modularity’, see Maniaci 2004, 76; Rudy 2016, 15–25; Maniaci 2018a, 18–19; Andrist 2024, 314–315.

At the same time, the identification of what we have so far referred to as ‘codicological units’ is sometimes problematic. This is due to the lack of strong evidence for identifying what was ‘worked in a single operation’ – mostly because the textual boundaries and even the completeness of the texts are sometimes unclear. Additionally, significant changes in the script and in the *mise en page* can be found even within one and the same page.

Some sections of the current manuscripts likely circulated separately. Darker outer leaves or small damages not shared by other parts in the same codex suggest their independent circulation. In a few cases, external evidence – such as medieval inventories³⁵ – confirms that these were small, unbound booklets.³⁶ However, there are few obvious elements attesting to their separate circulation. Original quire numbers or catchwords are rare, as well as ownership notes or signs of use.³⁷ Furthermore, the bindings are for the most part modern, made in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

For all these reasons, the description of such artefacts remains challenging. The cataloguer may be in doubt whether some parts were worked together; whether some others were produced to be later bound together; and finally, how to describe these scenarios.

The definitions presented in *La syntaxe du codex* provide a conceptual framework for analysing problematic codicological situations. I will focus particularly on the ‘Unit of Production’ (UniProd), defined as ‘the ensemble of codices and/or parts of codices that are the result of an act of production’. In the cases examined here, I will also use the sub-definitions:

- ‘Unit of production Material and Content (UniProd-MC)’, understood as ‘a group of material elements (writing support, ink and pigments, sewing thread) together with a content’ (a single commentary or an organised set of commentaries);
- ‘Unit of Production Content (UniProd-C)’, this means the addition of content – for the manuscripts under analysis, typically other commentaries or logic-related works – on the unused space of a UniProd-MC.³⁸

4.1. Multiple-text units

Zooming in on the seventy-three UniProds-MC containing logical commentaries, we find that eighteen transmit just one complete commentary each. Apart from some fragments of which

³⁵ This is the case for Assisi, BSC, Fondo Antico Comunale 573; Munich, BSB, Clm 14458 and 14479. Study books such as these were rarely considered a patrimonial good; consequently, they were rarely recorded in library inventories.

³⁶ In this paper, the term ‘booklet’ is used in its ordinary meaning, that is, ‘little book’.

³⁷ For example, annotations along the edge of the inner margin clearly reveal that this part was unsewn. The only such case is found in Paris, BnF, Lat. 17813. There, a short text was added in the internal margin of the last blank column of a logical commentaries in the thirteenth century.

³⁸ Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, 59–61.

the original aspect is impossible to determine,³⁹ the others contain a set of texts. Thus, they are ‘multiple-text’ units.⁴⁰

When the commentaries collected are the result of a single operation, they usually appear selected according to a principle. At times, they were arranged in a sequence that follows the order of the logical curriculum (*Isagoge*, *Categories* and *De interpretatione*; *De divisione*, *De differentiis topicis*, *De syllogismis hypotheticis*, and *De syllogismis categoricis*), or parts of it. This is the case for Assisi, BSC, Fondo Antico Comunale 573, which contains commentaries on the *Isagoge* (P3), *Categories* (C14), *De interpretatione* (H9), and *De divisione* (D8). It is also the case for Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 833, which contains a series of commentaries that almost completely follows the logic curriculum from the *Isagoge* up to *De syllogismis hypotheticis* (P28, C24, H23, D9, SC5, SH7). In both cases, the commentaries have been copied (by a single scribe) without visible interruptions. However, these two examples do not represent standard collections or a widely attested corpus. Rather, each set of texts is transmitted as such only by the mentioned witnesses. For instance, some commentaries transmitted by Assisi, BSC, Fondo Antico Comunale 573 are in distinct UniProds-MC, paired with other texts, in other manuscripts of logical commentaries.⁴¹

When new contents are added as a result of a new ‘act of production’, the texts are separated by at least two other discontinuities (e.g. of *mise en page* and hand or script). Sometimes, the new text is added in the spare space and does not come with another material support. In the manuscripts under analysis, the added texts are *always* either shorter twelfth-century logical commentaries or logic-related works. More precisely, when one or more UniProds-C are added in the unused spaces of an already existing twelfth-century UniProd-MC,⁴² they contain logical commentaries and/or exegetical works connected to the language-focused disciplines of the *trivium*.⁴³ Thus, the piece or pieces of content of the UniProds-MC and the UniProds-C are well connected. At the same time,

³⁹ Given the little information we have on these fragments, it is impossible to say what they originally looked like. These are Hereford, Cathedral Library O. VIII. 12 (two small pieces of parchment measuring 112 × 52 and 82 × 25 mm), and Munich, BSB, Clm 29520 (5) (part of a bifolium). Both fragments show traces of reuse as parts of a binding. Another reused fragment is in Oxford, Merton College 253, where fols 181–183 were used as end-leaves and pastedowns. They were detached and lifted in the last quarter of the twentieth century (as suggested to me by Julia Walworth, Fellow Librarian of Merton College, Oxford, whom I wish to thank).

⁴⁰ In the past, the misleading terms *miscellanea* and *miscellany* were used to refer to multiple-text manuscripts. For the more up-to-date terminology of multiple-text manuscripts (also from different traditions) and the debate on them, see Maniaci 2004; Friedrich and Schwarke 2016; Maniaci 2016, 36; Maniaci 2018a; Maniaci 2018b; Bausi, Friedrich and Maniaci 2020; Brita and Karolewski 2021. These units are also called ‘Multitextual MonoProd’ in Andrist 2020, 308, 318, 321–322.

⁴¹ For instance, P3 is also transmitted by Paris, BnF, Latin 13368; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Lat. 67; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 134; Vatican City, BAV, Reg. Lat. 230; but these manuscripts also transmit other commentaries than those found in Assisi, BSC, Fondo Antico Comunale 573; see Iwakuma 2008, 45–48.

⁴² This corresponds to the ‘A2’ transformation model discussed in *La syntaxe du codex*. So far, I have not yet encountered cases for the ‘A3’ transformation model (‘ajout de contenu et de support matériel avec contenu’: the addition of a content and a content with its material support) among manuscripts containing logical commentaries (Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, 64–65).

⁴³ On the relationship between grammar, logic and rhetoric, see Goubier and Rosier-Catach 2020, 148–158. A very few UniProds-C added in the blank spaces of UniProds-MC of logical commentaries are not logic-related. This is the case of Limerick, University Library, ex-Cashel Bolton Library 1, containing P32, to which Costa Ben Luca’s *De differentia inter animam et spiritum* and Ocreatus’s *Helcep Sarracenicum* were added. These contents too seem connected to teaching.

the UniProds-C bear independent contents. These UniProds-C are not, say, passages mistakenly skipped in the original copying (and thus added later), nor can they be regarded as texts functional to the commentaries.⁴⁴ They are just other logical commentaries or logic-related works in their own right. However, these collected contents did not constitute standard sets either. Or, at least, there are no (extant) instances of copies made after them.

The texts gathered in Munich, BSB, Clm 14458, fols 95–102 represent a paradigmatic case. The unit originally contained C8, a commentary on the *Categories*. A sophism was added on fol. 96^r (in the margins), and a short discussion on *universales substantiae* ('universal substances') was added on fol. 102^r on the spare blank space at the end of the quire.⁴⁵ The sophism and the short discussion on *universales substantiae* are two UniProds-C added to the UniProd-MC of C8. Both contents are copied by similar hands also dating to the twelfth century but are independent from each other and from the commentary on the *Categories*. Similarly, in Berlin, SBB Lat. Oct. 624, fols 65–80, a commentary on Boethius' *De syllogismis hypotheticis*, SH1, was added in the blank pages after a commentary on the *Sophistici Elenchi* (fols 65^{ra}–73^{va}) and P25, a commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* (fols 73^{va}–76^{rb}). The commentary on the *Sophistici Elenchi* and P25 are the result of the same act of production and constitute a UniProd-MC. By contrast, SH1 was added with a different *mise en texte*, at the end of the quire (fols 76^{rb}–80^{vb}), by another twelfth-century hand. Therefore, SH1 stands as a UniProd-C. These three commentaries do not form a set; neither do they result from the same 'act of production', as confirmed by many discontinuities. Nonetheless, in both instances, the texts were all copied during the twelfth century. Content, script and dating indicate that the production occurred within the same setting.⁴⁶ The aim was presumably to assemble works likely to be read (or actually read) in the same environment. Therefore, *trivium* schools appear to be the most likely settings of production.

4.2. UniProds-MC

Traditionally, when a manuscript contains several UniProds-MC, one can envisage at least two scenarios: either these units were joined according to a principle or by chance.⁴⁷ Composite manuscripts are usually classified under one of these two categories. However, in the case of logical

⁴⁴ For an updated discussion on the notion of 'paratext', see Andrist 2022 and the related definition of 'paracontent' in Ciotti, Kohs, Wilden, Wimmer and the TNT Working Group 2018. An interesting discussion on the 'accessory texts' of the Italian Giant Bibles is found in Maniaci 2018b. The texts I refer to as UniProds-C found along with logical commentaries, however, appear neither as 'writings correlated in some way, both synchronically and diachronically, to the history of the manuscript and its content' nor as 'occasional micro-texts' (Maniaci 2018b).

⁴⁵ Another interesting case is discussed in Orsino, Podolak and Tarlazzi, in press, concerning Vatican City, BAV, Reg. Lat. 230, where the same hand that copies a group of commentaries is also responsible for the addition of an independent logic-related discussion.

⁴⁶ For the definition of 'setting', see Wimmer, Bondarev, Karolewski, and Lorusso 2015, 5–6.

⁴⁷ Manuscripts that result from units assembled by chance have traditionally been called 'factitious' composite manuscripts; Agati 2003, 405; Maniaci 2016, 28. They are all '*paratactic* constitutive parts of the book' where one '*stratum*' can be removed without damaging others (Andrist 2015, 512).

commentaries, the reality is often more nuanced. For instance, units now in the same manuscript may have been brought together at different stages, for different reasons.

The examined manuscripts contain UniProds-MC of logical commentaries paired: (a) with other twelfth-century UniProds-MC of logical commentaries; (b) with twelfth-century UniProds-MC containing logic-related works; (c) with UniProds-MC dating from the twelfth century and containing school texts (medical, astronomical, rhetorical, grammatical, philosophical or theological works); (d) with UniProds-MC containing later logic-related treatises; or (e) with UniProds-MC of completely unrelated works, such as late-antique poetry and canonical collections.

For the joining of logical commentaries with (d) and (e), differences in date, size and content suggest that the UniProds-MC were not originally intended to be bound together (even in the absence of other evidence of their independent circulation). In such instances, the units have been assembled at a later stage, perhaps purely for preservation purposes. In other terms, these are distinct codicological units.

The assembly of logical commentaries with (a), (b) or (c) – other twelfth-century UniProds-MC containing logical commentaries or school texts – may instead reflect the intention of an owner who wished to form such a collection.⁴⁸ These UniProds-MC presumably originate from the same setting. When several units of this kind are bound together, it is sometimes difficult to say whether some or all of the UniProds-MC were meant to form one and the same codex. For most, their compilation does not seem pre-planned, but likely took place in school contexts as well.

The manuscripts under analysis present diverse scenarios. All the hypotheses and findings resulting from our analysis of them have implications for the study of the commentaries, since the relationships between texts that are transmitted together are significant.⁴⁹ Furthermore, they also matter for manuscript studies, as they may document modes of book production and circulation in the twelfth century.

5. Case studies

By interpreting the codicological evidence, examining the hands, and analysing the order and completeness of the texts, we can form hypotheses about the construction of a codex. The following three case studies will illustrate recurring patterns in the copying, collection and preservation of these commentaries. The first (§5.1) is that of a manuscript in which the logical commentaries are the content of a codicological unit that was bound together with some unrelated others at some later point. The second (§5.2) focuses on a manuscript composed entirely of twelfth-century materials, among which logical commentaries represent the vast majority. Finally, the third (§5.3) is a manuscript in which both of the aforementioned scenarios are present – a group of logical booklets from the twelfth century, later bound with unrelated units.

⁴⁸ This is the case with Munich, BSB, Clm 14458 and 14779, which were joined by Dionysius Menger; the catalogue is in MBK, IV.1, 154–161, 271.

⁴⁹ Marenbon and Tarlazzi 2018, 223–224.

5.1. Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 134

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 134 is a composite manuscript. The different contents and dates provide clear evidence that its three parts were brought together by chance. Based on palaeographical evidence, the first codicological unit (pp. 1–76) contains the *Carmina* by Prudentius and dates to the tenth century.⁵⁰ The third unit (pp. 148–264) contains Boethius' *Opuscula sacra* with marginal glosses and dates from the late eleventh century. Between these two codicological units there are three twelfth-century logical commentaries: the first, on the *Isagoge* (P3), occupies pp. 77^a–96bis^a, the second, on the *De syllogismis hypotheticis* (SH3), occupies pp. 96bis^a–133^b and the third, on the *De Divisione* (D1), occupies pp. 134^a–147^b.

The fifteenth-century binding confirms that the joining happened during the reorganisation of the library of Sankt Gallen under Abbot Ulrich Rösch (1457–1491).⁵¹ This event could explain why different codicological units, which are only similar in size, were bound together under the same cover.⁵²

In the section where logical commentaries are found, the first hand, A, copied the entire commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* (P3) and began to copy the commentary on the *De syllogismis hypotheticis*, SH3 (pp. 77^a–104^b) (see Fig. 1). A second hand, B, continued copying SH3 until page 125^b, at which point hand A reappears to copy the last pages of that commentary (pp. 126^a–133^b). Another commentary, D1, was copied by hand C on the last quire of this unit (pp. 134^a–147^b). These three hands, A, B and C, are very similar: A and B clearly worked together, but all three of them probably belong to the same setting.

There are no quire boundaries between P3 and SH3 and the hands collaborate. D1 instead is copied by another hand on a distinct quire (pp. 134–147). Between this quire and the group of quires of P3 and SH3 (pp. 77–133) there are at least three coincident discontinuities: in content, quire and hand. However, a closer look at the texts reveals that SH3 is incomplete and D1 is missing a substantial amount of text at the beginning. Since SH3 and D1 are also transmitted in other manuscripts, it is possible to reconstruct the missing portions of both. A comparison with another witness of SH3, Orléans, BM 266 (pp. 78b–118a), which has a similar script and layout, indicates that SH3 is missing only about nine lines. A comparison with another witness of D1, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 910, fols 92ra–104rb (which, instead, is incomplete at the end), suggests that a larger portion is missing at the beginning of D1. Given the similar layout, script size, and degree of abbreviation, the missing part of D1 may originally have occupied at least twelve folios in Sankt Gallen.⁵³ Considering the usual number of folios for each quire, one may speculate that this loss (nine lines + twelve fols) corresponded to around two quires and that D1 was not written

⁵⁰ The manuscript has been fully digitised and is available at <<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/>> (last accessed on 1 December 2025).

⁵¹ Lenz 2014, 455–457. The quires also bear fifteenth-century quire signatures.

⁵² Also, all three units are in parchment, but of a different type each. The margins of the units do not appear to have been heavily trimmed, meaning that they already had a similar size.

⁵³ The foliation was added after the loss of folios occurred. The observations concerning the missing bits are based on the transcriptions generously provided by Yukio Iwakuma.

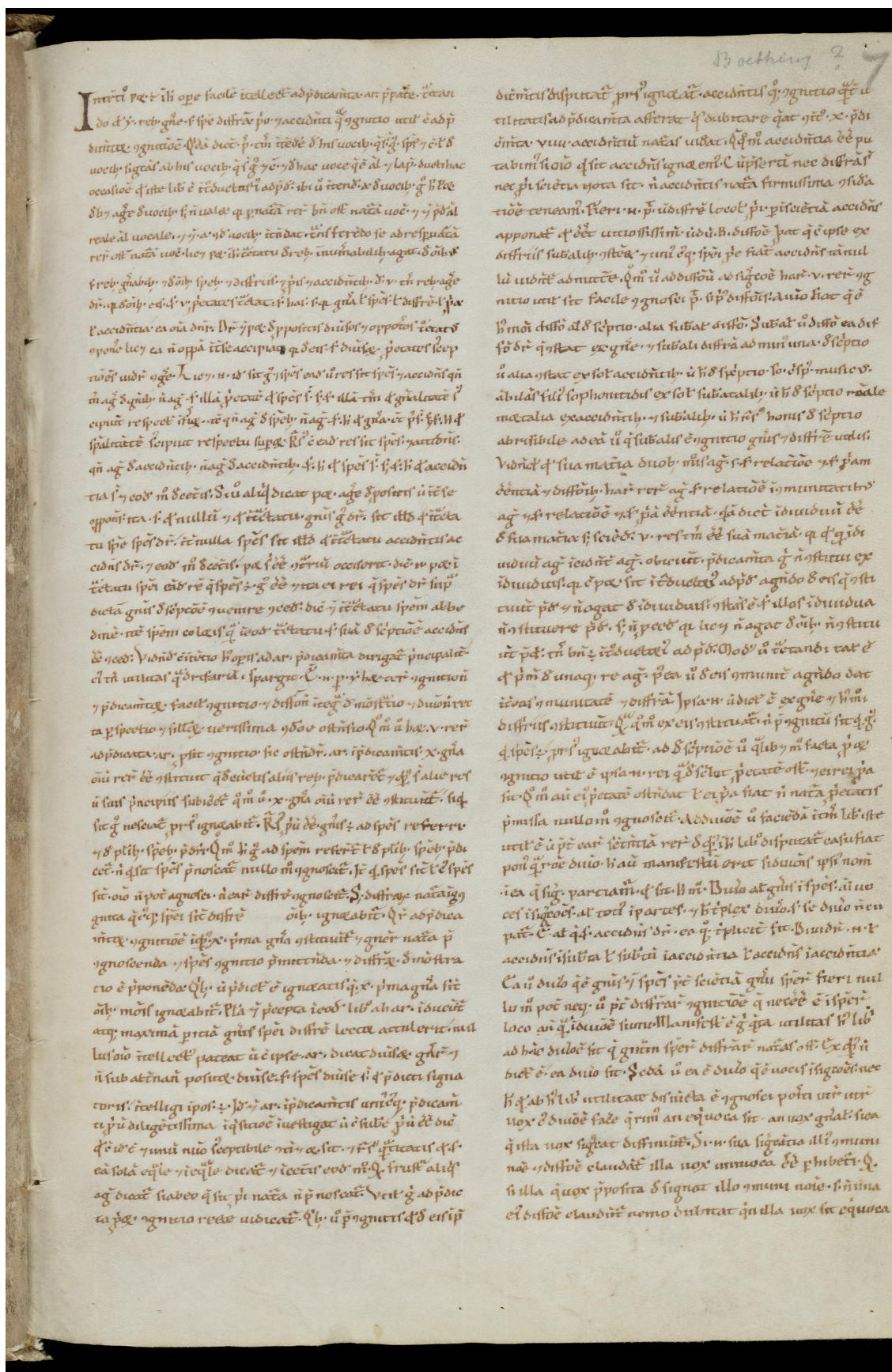


Fig. 1: Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 134, p. 77.

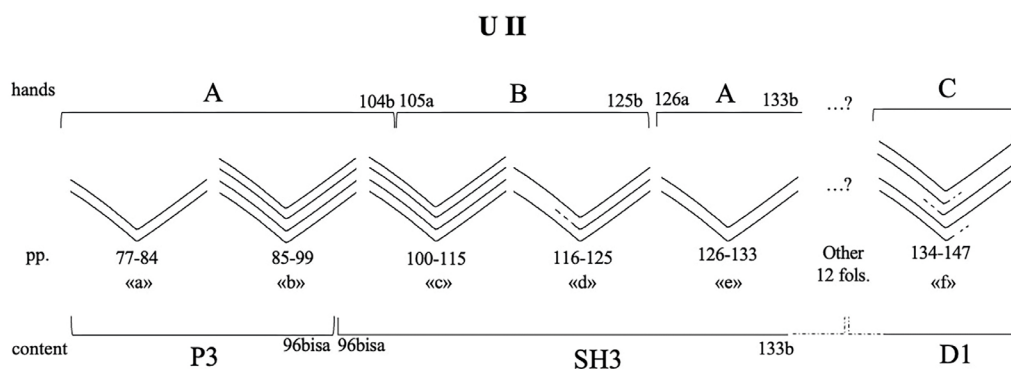


Fig. 2: Scheme of the quire structure and of the distribution of hands and texts in Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 134, pp. 77–147.

on a distinct group of quires from SH3 (see Fig. 2). However, one cannot rule out the possibility that the loss may have been even greater than these twelve folios, and that it occurred across two originally separate UniProds-MC.

Concerning the hypothesis that P3, SH3 and D1 always represented the sole content of an earlier monoblock unit – and at least P3 and SH3 actually did – we should note that the selection of texts does not reproduce the order of the logical *curriculum* exactly and yet appears as the result of a single act of production. Leaving aside D1, it would indeed be correct to have P3 first, since the logical curriculum actually began with the reading of the *Isagoge*. However, with SH3 the copyist seems to jump to the very last work to be studied.

This is a paradigmatic example of a composite manuscript, in which a group of several logical commentaries is now joined with unrelated codicological units. The collection of logical commentaries appears disorderly, yet it probably resulted from choices made by a group of copyists working together. Major discontinuities divide commentaries P3 and SH3 (pp. 77–133) from D1 (pp. 134–147). Thus, pp. 77–133 and pp. 134–147 appear as distinct UniProds-MC. Nonetheless, these two UniProds-MC clearly circulated together. The presence of the other units with no logic-related contents, instead, is a result of the fifteenth-century joining (Appendix, Table 1).

This pattern is also repeated with strong similarities in Assisi, BSC, Fondo Antico Comunale 573. Even clearer are the structures of Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Amplon. Oct. 5; London, British Library, Royal 7. D. XXV; Oxford, Corpus Christi College 233; Paris, BnF, Lat. 3237; and Vienna, ÖNB 2237, where units containing one or more logical commentaries are combined with codicological units of different dates and contents.

5.2. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 910

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 910 is mainly composed of logical commentaries and logic-related works.⁵⁴ All the contents date from around the twelfth century, and all the hands can be assigned to approximately that same century.

⁵⁴ The manuscript is fully digitised and available at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr>> (last accessed on 1 December 2025).

A series of logical texts, beginning immediately after a commentary on Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae* (fols 1^{ra}–33^{vb}), is interrupted by a commentary on Priscian's *Institutiones* (fols 133^{ra}–140^{vb}). The commentary on Priscian can be seen as related to logic as well, since it deals with language-focused aspects of philosophy.⁵⁵ The manuscript once also included a unit corresponding to the now missing fols 122–132. This unit, containing a commentary on Terence's *Comedies*, was removed and placed in another manuscript, Paris, BnF, Lat. 8302 (now fols 36–46 there).⁵⁶ The table of contents of Arsenal 910, written on the first guard by the fifteenth-century librarian André Hausselet (prior in Saint-Victor of Paris in 1471–1495), shows the state of the book at the end of that century.⁵⁷ There, the librarian mentions the commentary on the *De consolazione philosophiae* (fols 1–33) and then gives general information about fols 58–121 as 'Commenta sive glose quedam super quedam opera Boetii significative super Topica et librum Divisionum eiusdem a folio 58 usque 121' ('Some commentaries or glosses on works by Boethius, particularly on the *Topics* and on his book *Of the Divisions*. This is from folio 58 up to folio 121'). This is followed by a mention of the now removed commentary on Terence's *Comedies* and all the other contents from fol. 141 to the end. Therefore, the commentary on Terence was removed in the period between André Hausselet's note and the making of the new binding. This dates back to the seventeenth century and thus provides a *terminus ante quem*.

Based on the major and coincident discontinuities, we can identify ten UniProds-MC and one UniProd-C (Appendix, Table 2). Fol. 57 is a fragment measuring 180 × 44–100 mm and constitutes a UniProd-MC (UniProd-MC III). The folio is a slip of parchment of an irregular shape, bound perpendicularly to the other folios (see Fig. 3). It contains the beginning of D5, a commentary on Boethius' *De divisione* (of which no other witnesses survive), seemingly copied on a rather casual material support.⁵⁸ The hand appears in this unit only.

The texts of UniProds-MC II–X are commentaries of varying length and completeness on a range of logical works, including on the *De differentiis topicis*, the *De interpretatione*, the *De divisione*, the *De syllogismis hypotheticis*, and the *Categoriae*. They never follow the order of the logic curriculum.

Overall, the units appear to form an unorganised collection of commentaries with a particular interest in grammar and logic. Nonetheless, UniProd-MC VII and UniProd-C I are mostly copied by the same hand; one hand (among others) is shared across UniProds-MC IV (fols 58–82), VIII (fols 141–144) and X (fols 163–200). The hand can be identified by the shapes of the ligature &, the g, the x and the paragraph signs (see Figs 4a–b). This scribe (I) completes the copy of commentary B13 in UniProd-MC IV; (II) copies, in one go, SH5, C21 and logic-related notes in UniProd-MC VIII;

⁵⁵ The commentary on Priscian is deemed close to the teaching of William of Champeaux. See *Glosa Victorina*, ed. Fredborg. 2011, VIII–IX.

⁵⁶ Ouy 1999, II, 561. The manuscript is fully digitised and available at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr>> (last accessed 25 November 2025).

⁵⁷ This type of table of contents can still be read in many books coming from the library of Saint-Victor, as described by Ouy 1999, I, 42–44.

⁵⁸ The manuscript as a whole is 197–208 × 113–134 mm. For more details, see Appendix, Table 2.

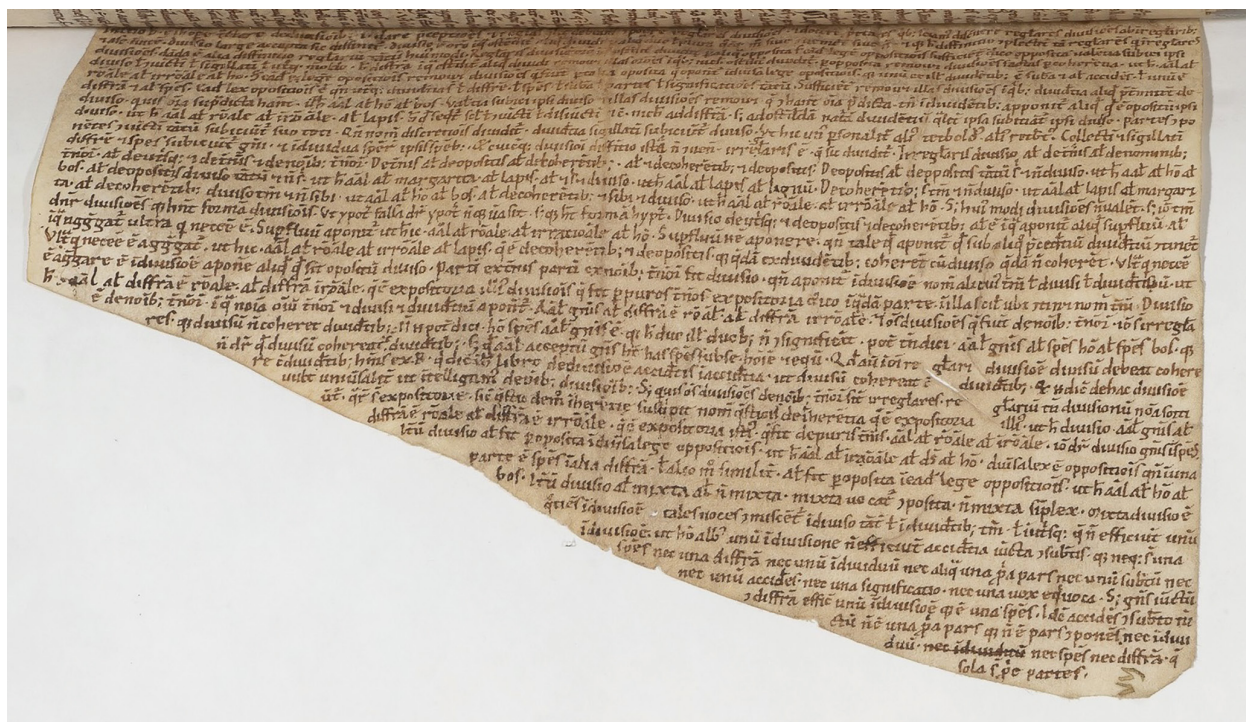
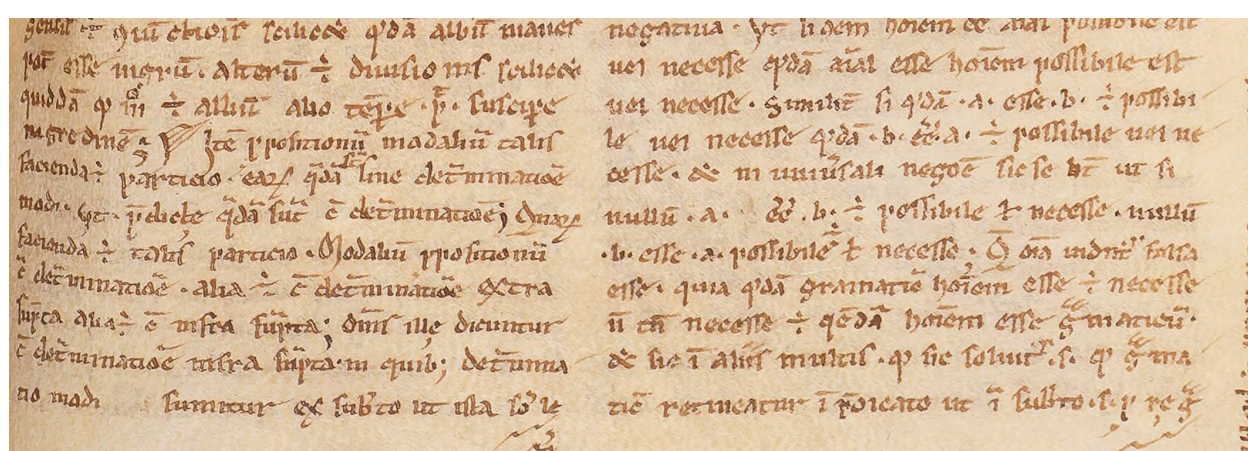
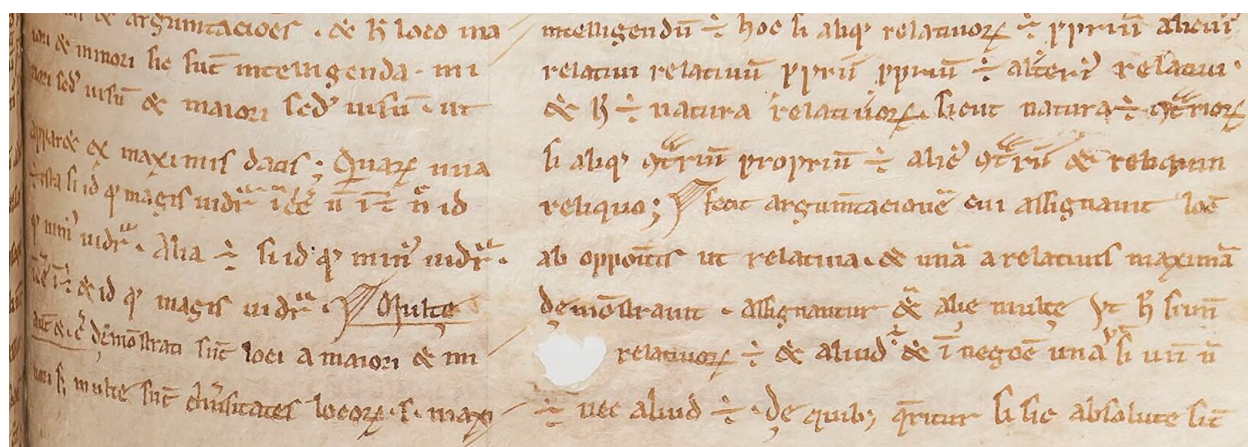
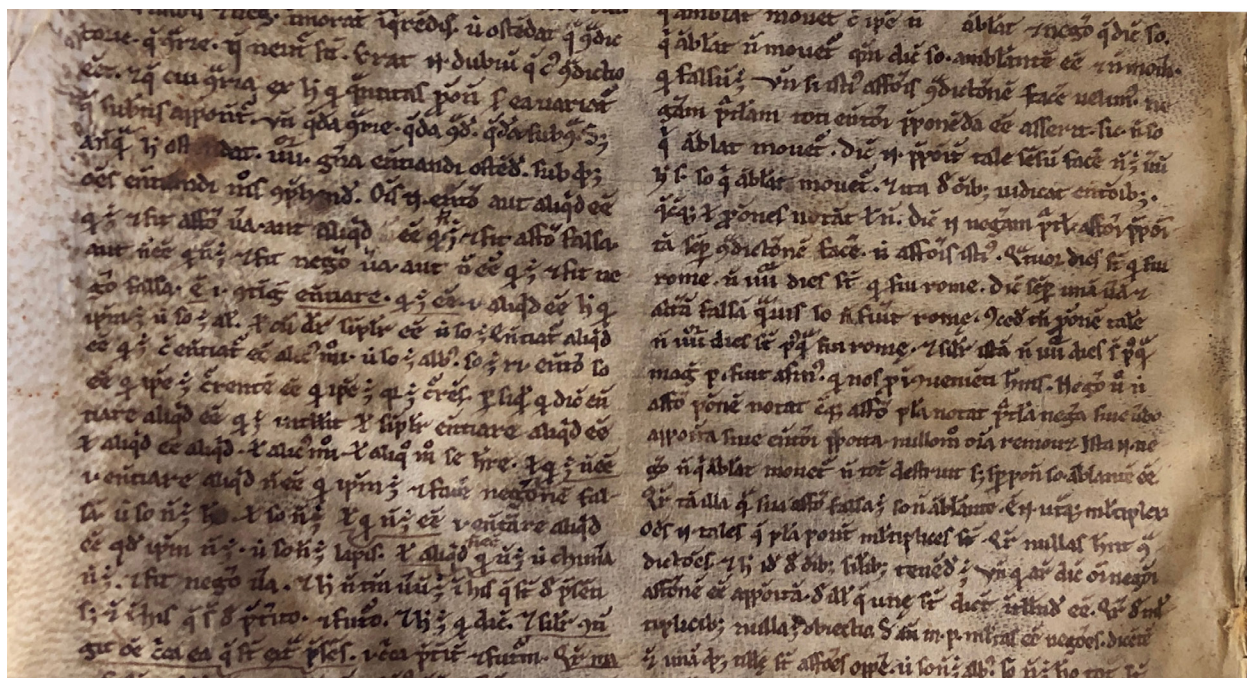
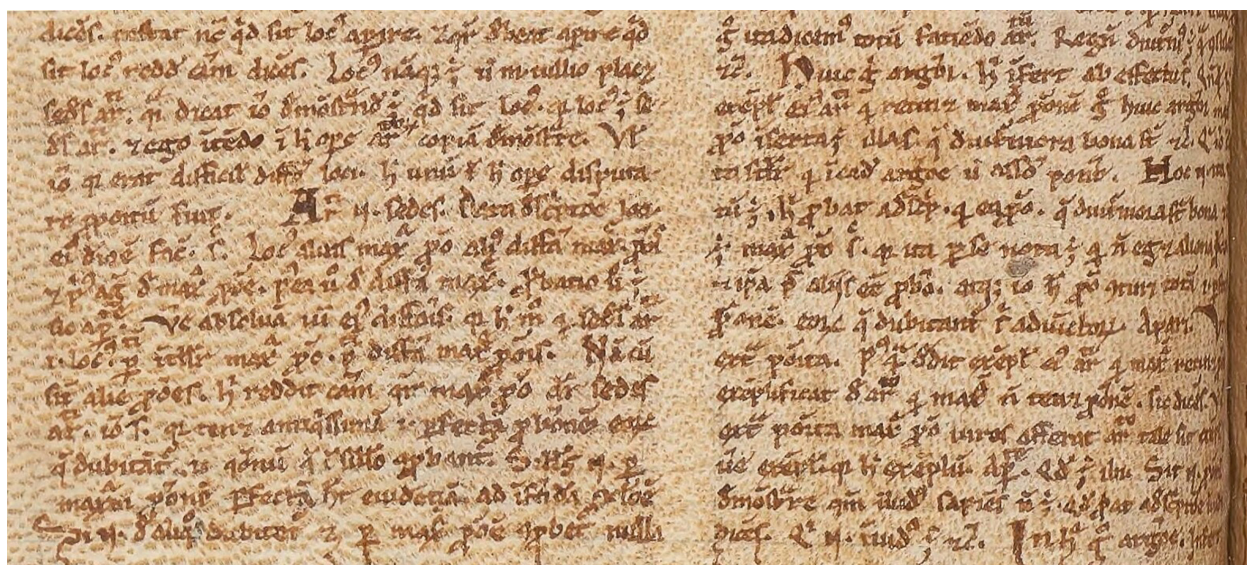


Fig. 3: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 910, fol. 57.



Figs 4a–b: Details of pages copied by the same hand in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 910, fols 79' above and 184' below.



Figs 5a–b: Comparison between Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 910, fol. 110^v above and Paris, BnF, Lat. 15015, fol. 187^v below.

and (III) copies H10, H25 and a sophism in UniProd-MC X (fols 163–200). These commentaries as a whole do not constitute an organised collection or corpus. Moreover, the variations in script and changes in ink may indicate that the copying took place independently for I, II and III.

The presence of recurring hands in different UniProds-MC points to a common setting. This holds true even when the same hand recurs in parts of different codices. This is the case with the hand of UniProd-MC VI, fols 105–121. The same hand that copies B8 and B12 in UniProd-MC VI is also found in the sole unit of Paris, BnF, Lat. 15015 that contains a logical commentary, H15 (fols 180–199).⁵⁹

⁵⁹ As far as I can tell, this is the only case of one and the same hand appearing in more than one manuscript of logical commentaries.

The shapes of some letters, such as *g* and *Q*, of some abbreviations, notably of the Tironian *et* and *est*, as well as the treatment of the ascenders at the bottom of some pages all confirm that this is one and the same hand (see Figs 5a–b). This is the sole occurrence of the same hand across two manuscripts so far. It is unlikely that these two units were planned as parts of the same book (even though the H- and B-commentaries belong to a coherent section of the logical curriculum, as *De differentiis topicis* was read right after *De Interpretatione*). The units differ in the *mise en page*, *mise en texte*, and in the parchment used. Additionally, the scribe draws some major initials in black in the unit of Arsenal 910; in Lat. 15015 the copyist only draws a few paragraphs signs. These two UniProds-MC, though, do appear to have been used together. This is suggested by the catchwords added by the same thirteenth-century reader on both units.⁶⁰ Although there is no other evidence of an earlier binding that held together UniProd-MC VI of Arsenal 910 and the UniProd-MC of fols 180–199 in Lat. 15015, they were likely kept together for some time, perhaps even without a proper binding. This likely traces back to the library of Saint-Victor, to which both manuscripts belonged.

Returning to the structure of the manuscript, the UniProds-MC of Arsenal 910 appear to have been gathered at an early stage. It is likely that the units were copied in the setting of a school, without the aim of forming an organised codex. Once copied, they were just collected under a provisional binding. This hypothesis would have made the use of the individual units (or even of small groups of units) easier. For instance, it would have enhanced the circulation of UniProd-MC VI with the unit now in Lat. 15015; as well as the removal of the unit now in Paris, BnF, Lat. 8302.

Such cases are also represented by Orléans, BM 266 and Munich, BSB, Clm 14458. In these manuscripts too most of the units contain logical commentaries. They gather groups of commentaries that may already have circulated together, without having been conceived from the outset as parts of the same codex.

5.3. Paris, BnF, Latin 13368

Finally, Paris, BnF, Latin 13368 is a composite manuscript as well.⁶¹ It brings together very different units in terms of their materiality, although all of them date from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. I identify four codicological units:

- I. Folios 1–8 are slightly earlier than the others and contain the *Rule of Saint Augustine* in one quaternion.
- II. Folios 9–20 form a juridical collection of canons, known as collection ‘TC’.⁶²
- III. Folios 21–127 contain a collection of excerpts from the Church Fathers, copied by several contemporary hands and now incorrectly assembled.
- IV. Folios 232–255 contain exegetical notes on the Psalms.

⁶⁰ The letters are too few to attempt a more precise dating for this reader’s interventions.

⁶¹ The manuscript is fully digitised at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr>> (last accessed on 1 December 2025).

⁶² Fowler-Magerl 1997.

Between folios 128 and 231 there are more than fifteen twelfth-century logical commentaries and logic-related works.⁶³ This section does not seem to have been ‘worked in a single operation’; thus, it cannot be described as a codicological unit. Rather, several coincident and strong discontinuities divide the section into eight UniProds-MC (Appendix, Table 3). The commentaries are loosely collected, without an apparent order. Some were copied by the same hand, but all result from distinct ‘acts of productions’.

By shifting our terminology from codicological units to Units of Production, Lat. 13368 can be described as consisting of twelve UniProds-MC. The first three coincide with the aforementioned codicological units I (fols 1–8), II (fols 9–20) and III (fols 21–127).

UniProd-MC IV (fols 128–167) contains the so-called literal commentaries, H4, D7, P5 and C5. The first three commentaries are introduced by titles mistakenly attributing each to Peter Abelard. These misleading titles were added by a late twelfth-century hand that appears only in this unit.⁶⁴ The order of the texts actually reverses the common reading order of *Isagoge* – *Categories* – *De interpretatione* – *De Divisione*, but they still represent the first four readings in the curriculum.

UniProd-MC V (fols 168–179) contains a series of logic-related works: *De generibus et speciebus*, *De propositionibus modalibus*, some sophisms, part of a commentary on the *Isagoge* (P9), and the beginning of a commentary on the *Categories* (C22), which covers less than a page. UniProd-MC VI (fols 180–183) displays a different hand and layout, but it contains a commentary on the *De interpretatione* (H12). The series seems to reproduce the sequence *Isagoge* – *Categories* – *De interpretatione*, which is typical of the logical curriculum. For this reason, we can imagine that UniProd-MC VI may have been produced independently, but was placed here with the aim of following the order of the logical readings. The group formed by UniProds-MC V and VI may also have circulated in this form for some time.⁶⁵

UniProd-MC VII (fol. 184) is a fragment measuring 36 × 132 mm and contains a note on *ad aliquid*. During the restoration of 1985–1988,⁶⁶ each quire was laid out and sewn onto a paper structure to solve the problem of an overly tight binding. As a consequence, loose sheets and fragments, such as fol. 184, were stitched in separately, and nothing remains to indicate their original position. The content of fol. 184, a short note on the lemma *ad aliquid* (beginning ‘queritur si ad aliquid est generalissimum’) seems linked to commentary C11, which begins on fol. 185.⁶⁷ UniProd-MC VIII (fols 185–194) indeed transmits a group of commentaries, among which C11 (185^{ra}–191^{ra}). C11 covers Chapters 10–14 of Aristotle’s *Categories*, and the fragment of fol. 184 contains a sort of additional, independent note normally part of Chapter 7 (but this note could have had a different textual tradition). Even if this bit of exegesis could belong to C11, the fragment was

⁶³ The pieces of content of this section are listed in detail in Iwakuma 2008, 45–47.

⁶⁴ These works are now thought not to be directly by him; see Marenbon 2013a, 30–31. Arguments against the attribution of these commentaries to Abelard have also been advanced in Martin 2011 and Cameron 2011.

⁶⁵ This was perhaps a ‘potential’ Unit of Circulation (UniCirc); see Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, 61.

⁶⁶ I would like to thank Maxence Hermant, *Conservateur en chef* at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, for the details on the conservation history of this manuscript.

⁶⁷ Iwakuma 2008, 47.

produced independently and was then joined with UniProd-MC VIII (fols 185–194) due to their textual closeness.

Folios 195–223 contain two more developed commentaries, C8 and P3. Once again, the structure is somewhat obscured by the restoration. Fol. 214 (containing part of C8) is now sewn at the beginning of the quire of fols 215–223 (transmitting P3), but there is a violation of the ‘Gregory rule’ between fols 214 and 215.⁶⁸ Additionally, the dimensions and layout of the page of fols 195–214 and 215–223 differ evidently. We can thus identify UniProd-MC IX (containing C8) as a quire formed by fols 195–214, and UniProd-MC X (containing P3) as constituted by fols 215–223. The last folios of P3 are now damaged. The missing part corresponds only to a few final passages, as the printed edition (which is based on other witnesses as well) shows,⁶⁹ and it may have corresponded to a single folio. C8 is incomplete at the end as well, but how much is missing cannot be assessed precisely yet.⁷⁰

After P3 there are eight loose leaves. Most likely, they were originally part of a distinct UniProd-MC (UniProd-MC XI in my reconstruction). This unit transmits two more logical commentaries, B7 and H11. The original quire composition, layout and position cannot be fully reconstructed. The external pages appear darker and heavily damaged.

The state of preservation of UniProds-MC IX, X and XI would suggest that they lacked a cover for some time. This would have left the last folios vulnerable to damage and loss. UniProds-MC IX (fols 195–214), X (fols 215–223) and XI (fols 224–231) may also have circulated independently.

It is worth observing that one and the same hand writes the texts of UniProds-MC VI, VII, IX, X, and XI. This scribe was perhaps a logician, student or scholar, who seems to have copied logical commentaries at his disposal at different times, without the plan of a complete manuscript in mind.

If the eight distinct UniProds-MC of fols 128–231 had formed a volume, it would have clearly been a useful tool for the study of logic. However, very early on fols 128–231 were bound with fols 1–127 and 232–255, as evidenced by a late twelfth-century table of content on fol. 8^v. The note (tracing back to the library of the Abbey of Fleury-Sur-Loire) reads: ‘Decreta antica. Ieronimus super Ieremiam. Glose super Dialecticam’.⁷¹ The title ‘Decreta antica’ refers to the collection of canons of fols 9–20; ‘Ieronimus super Ieremiam’ alludes to the patristic anthology of fols 21–127. Given that ‘Glose super Dialecticam’ should refer to the commentaries of fols 128–231, one can therefore infer, by this table, that the entire manuscript Paris, BnF, lat. 13368 was already in its present form in the late twelfth century. Although the content of UniProd-MC I (*Rule of Saint Augustine*, fols 1–8) is not mentioned, the note is on that very unit, making it obvious that it, too, belonged to the manuscript.

⁶⁸ The so-called ‘Gregory rule’, named after Caspar René Gregory (1846–1917), states that the hair side of the parchment always faces the hair side of the next folio, and likewise, the flesh side always faces the flesh side of the successive folio.

⁶⁹ Iwakuma 2008, 192.

⁷⁰ The editions of the various known versions of C8 are currently in preparation and will be published as one of the outcomes of the ERC-funded project ‘Polyphonic Philosophy’.

⁷¹ Mostert 1989, 35, 234.

The use of the title ‘Glose super dialecticam’ for folios 128–231 may also indicate that these folios formed a ‘unit of circulation’ prior to their binding with the other codicological units.⁷² It is well possible that a stable binding was later lost, allowing fols 128–231 to circulate independently again for a time. In fact, the section containing logical commentaries also presents an individual modern foliation (1–100). A possible explanation for this is that, around the eighteenth century – when such foliation was added – it was still possible to extract and use this section as a separate booklet, either because the binding was heavily damaged or because it was not present at all.

The history of this manuscript is a peculiar one. Similar – yet less articulated – gatherings of UniProds-MC containing logic as well as unrelated contents, can also be seen in Berlin, SBB, Lat. Oct. 624; Munich, BSB, Clm 14779; and Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 283.

6. Conclusions

Analysing their collation, texts, scripts and discontinuities allows us to bring some order to the often chaotic textual sequences in manuscripts containing logical commentaries. This analytical approach helps to differentiate between what, most probably, was copied in one go and what resulted from different operations. Thus, cataloguing practice must, first and foremost, provide well-selected and well-organised codicological and palaeographical data. But it must also try to provide plausible reconstructions of the production and circulation of the codices and their parts.

The selection of the commentaries copied together in multiple-text units may have depended as much on the interest of those involved in the copying process as on the availability of the exemplars. However, the articulation of most of the logical commentaries in UniProds-MC and UniProds-C dating to the same century seems also related to a mode of transmission.

The case studies have shown that each commentary (or, in some cases, each set of commentaries) was the result of a single independent act of production. In other words, twelfth-century logical commentaries were mostly produced as distinct UniProds-MC (and occasionally as UniProds-C). This pattern of production may be explained both by the average length and by the practical utility of the commentaries. As mentioned, the commentaries (or the sets of shorter commentaries) tend to span one or two quires. Their length varies considerably, depending on how each section is developed, or on how many lemmata are discussed. Nonetheless, once a commentary was copied, it formed a handy booklet, which was likely regarded as a practical study tool. However, their perceived value was not sufficient to justify the expense of an individual binding, so these units were probably first used as unbound booklets (perhaps under a provisional cover), and were later bound together with other units – given that small and slender manuscripts are prone to being lost.

The frequent association of units of the same kind also sheds light on the settings from which these units originate and in which they were later bound. The commentaries are linked to a specific type of teaching that emerged in the late eleventh-century schools of northern France and attracted scholars from across Western Europe. The analysis of the layers⁷³ forming these manuscripts

⁷² Cf. Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, 61.

⁷³ For the use of ‘layer’ and ‘stratum’ cf. Andrist 2015.

supports the hypothesis that this cultural and social milieu served as the context not only for their production and independent circulation as booklets, but also for their binding with similar units.

Acknowledgements

The research for this article was funded by the Horizon Europe research and innovation programme under the European Research Council (ERC), grant agreement no. 101041596. Funded by the European Union. Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

I wish to thank the editors of this issue of the journal, the referees for their careful readings, and the colleagues with whom I have discussed terminology and the findings presented in this paper. All mistakes that remain are mine.

Table 1: The structure of Sankt Gallen 134.

Cod. Units	UniProd	fols	Quires	H × W (mm)	Layout	ll. / rr.	Hands		Content
I	-MC I	1–76	1–3 ⁸ (1–16; 17–32; 33–48), 4 ⁶ (49–60), 5 ⁸ (61–76)	204 × 156	20 [149] 35 × 11 / 8 [112] 8 / 17	21 / 21	1	early 10 th c.	Prudentius, <i>Cathemerinon liber</i> (2–55); Id., <i>Peristephanon</i> (56–76)
II (?)	-MC II	77–133	1 ⁴ (77–84), 2–3 ⁸ (85–99; 100–115), 4 ⁵ (116–125), 5 ⁴ (126–133)	204 × 152	10 [175] 19 × 17 [59 (5) 58] 13	49 / 49	2: A (77 ^a –104 ^b ; 126 ^a –133 ^b); B (105 ^a –125 ^b)	mid 12 th c.	P3 (77 ^a –96bis ^a) SH3 (96bis ^a –133 ^b)
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		... SH3 D1...
	-MC II(?)	134–147	1 ⁷ (134–147)	205 × 153	9 [175] 21 × 9 [60 (6) 57] 21	49 / 49	1 : C		D1 (134 ^a –147 ^b)
III	-MC III	148–264	1–6 ⁸ (148–163; 164–179; 180–195; 196–206; 207–222; 223–238), 7 ⁹ (239–256), 8 ⁴ (257–264)	204 × 156	32 [146] 26 × 4 / 5 / 20 / 6 [92] 6 / 20 / 3	18 / 18	1	mid 11 th c.	Boethius, <i>Opuscula sacra</i> (148–175)

Table 2: The structure of Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 910.

UniProd	fols	Quires	H × W (mm)	Layout	ll. / rr.	Hands	Content
-MC I	1–33	1–3 ⁸ (1–8; 9–16; 17–24), 4 ⁹ (25–33)	204 × 129	14 [166] 24 × 5 [5 / 54 (4) 52] 14	49 / 49	2: A (1 ^{ra} –16 ^{vb} , 25 ^{ra} –33 ^{vb}); B (17 ^{ra} –24 ^{vb})	Commentary on Boethius, <i>De consolatione Philosophiae</i> (1 ^{ra} –33 ^{vb})
-MC II	34–56	5 ¹⁰ (34–43), 6 ⁶ (44–49), 7 ⁷ (50–56)	206 × 122	13 [165] 28 × 6 [51 (6) 50] 9	58 / 58	4: A (34 ^{ra} –49 ^{vb}); B (50 ^{ra} –51 ^{ra}); C (51 ^{va} –52 ^{vb}); D (53 ^{ra} –55 ^{ra})	B14 (34 ^{ra} –54 ^{vb}) notes on <i>totum</i> (54 ^{vb} –55 ^{ra})
-C I	55 ^{ra} –56 ^{vb}			as above	as above	1* same as in MC VII and MC #	Excerpts (55 ^{ra} –56 ^{ra}) Treatise on Aristotle, <i>Physica</i> (56 ^{ra} – ^{vb})
-MC III	57	1 f. (fragment)	180 × 44–103	Full lines, no margins	36 (rr. not visible)	1	D5 (57 ^{r-v})
-MC IV	58–82	8–9 ⁸ (58–65; 66–73), 10 ⁹ (74–82)	207 × 113	9 [176] 22 × 3 [47 (7) 49] 7	47 / 47	>4 A (58 ^{ra} –65 ^{vb} , 79 ^{va} –80 ^{va}); B (66 ^{ra} –69 ^{va} , 70 ^{ra} – ^{vb} , 71 ^{ra} – ^{vb}); C** (70 ^{vb} –71 ^{ra} , 71 ^{vb} –76 ^{va} , 77 ^{rb} , 78 ^{va} –79 ^{va} , 80 ^{va} –81 ^{rb} , 81 ^{va} –82 ^{rb}), same as in MC VIII, X; D (77 ^{va} –78 ^{va})	B13 (58 ^{ra} –82 ^{vb})
-MC V	83–104	11 ⁸ (83–90), 12 ¹⁰ (91–101), 13 ³ (102–104)	206 × 127	12 [174] 20 × 6 [50 (3 / 3) 53] 12	56 / 56	2: A (83 ^{ra} –91 ^{vb}); B (92 ^{ra} –104 ^{rb})	H21 (83 ^{ra} –91 ^{rb}) B17 (91 ^{va} – ^b) D1 (92 ^{ra} –104 ^{rb}) D1a (104 ^{rb}) 104v blank
-MC VI	105–121	14 ⁶ (105–110), 15 ⁷ (111–117), 16 ⁴ (118–121)	207 × 132	11 [172] 24 × 5 [54 (4) 52] 17	57 / 57	1*** same as in Paris, BnF, Lat. 15015, 180 ^{ra} –199 ^{vb}	B8 (105 ^{ra} –120 ^{vb}) B12 (120 ^{vb} –121 ^{rb}) 121 ^v blank
-MC VII	133–140	17 ⁸ (133–140)	208 × 126	9 [174] 25 × 6 [49 (8) 52] 11	60 / 60	1* same as in C I and MC #	Commentary on Priscian, <i>Institutiones</i> XVII (133 ^{ra} –140 ^{vb})

Mid 12th c.

-MC VIII	141–144	18 ⁴ (141–144)	201 × 134	8 [167] 26 × 7 [55 (5) 56] 11	50 / 50	1** same as in MC IV, X	Mid 12 th c.	Notes on the <i>modales</i> (141 ^{ra–b}) Notes on the free will (141 ^{rb–va}) Notes on the first and second imposition (141 ^{va} –142 ^{rb}) SH5 (142 ^{va} –143 ^{ra}) C21 (143 ^{rb} –144 ^{ra}) Geometrical treatise (144 ^{ra–b}) Logical treatise (144 ^{rb–vb})
-MC IX	145–162	19 ⁸ (145–152), 20 ¹⁰ (153–162)	200 × 123	8 [175] 17 × 3 [46 (7) 54] 13	56 / 56	3: A (145 ^{ra} –152 ^{vb} ; 155bis, 159bis) B (153 ^{ra} –156 ^{vb}) C (156 ^{vb} –162 ^{vb})		C16 (145 ^{ra} –147 ^{rb}) C20 (147 ^{rb} –162 ^{vb}) 155bis' and 158bis' blank
-MC X	163–200	21–23 ⁸ (163– 170; 171–177; 178–185); 24 ¹¹ (186–196); 25 ⁴ (197–200)	197 × 122	9 [165] 23 × 4 [52 (6) 53] 7	49 / 49	1** same as in MC IV, VIII		H10 (163 ^{ra} –186 ^{vb}) H25 (187 ^{ra} –196 ^{ra}) Sophism (196 ^{ra} –200 ^{vb})
-MC# BnF Lat. 8302 [originally in Arsenal 910]	36–47 [122–132]	1 ⁸ (36–43), 2 ⁴ (44–47);	200 × 119	11 [167] 22 × 3 [49 (4) 55] 8	62 / 62	1* same as in C I and MC VII		Accessus to Terence, <i>Comoediae</i> (36 ^{ra} –39 ^{va}) Commentary on Terence, <i>Eunuchus</i> (39 ^{va} –46 ^{va}) 47 ^{r–v} blank

Table 3: The structure of Paris, BnF, Lat. 13368.

Cod. Units	UniProd	fols	Quires	H × W (mm)	Layout	ll. / rr.	Hands		Content
I	-MC I	1–8	1 ⁸ (1–8)	177 × 113	12 [140] 25 × 9 [5 / 77] 4 / 18	37 / 37	1	late 11 th c.	<i>Regula sancti Augustini</i> (1 ^r –6 ^v) 7 ^r –8 ^v blank
II	-MC II	9–20	1 ⁸ (9–16), 24 (17–20)	223 × 142	2 [221] × 7 [60 (6) 62] 7 damaged margins	73 / 73	1	early 12 th c.	<i>Collectio canonum</i> '7C' (9 ^{ra} –20 ^{vb})
III	-MC III	21–127	1–2 ⁸ (21–28; 29–36), 3 ⁸⁺² (37–46), 4–5 ⁸ (47–54; 55–62), 6 ⁶ (63–68), 7 ² (69–70), 8–10 ⁸ (71–78; 79–86; 87–94), 1 f. (95), 11 ⁴ (96–99), 12–14 ⁸ (100–107; 108–115, 116–123), 4 ff. (124–127) (out of order)	220 × 140	(ff. 21–36) 16 [166] 38 × 14 [97] 29 (ff. 37–127) 220 × 130 = 10 [181] 39 × 12 [3 / 56 (4) 55] 4 / 8	(ff. 21–36): 34 / 34 (ff. 37–127): 49 / 49	>3	early 12 th c.	Excerpts from the Church Fathers (21 ^{ra} –127 ^{vb}) 127 ^{r–v} blank
Section containing logical commentaries	-MC IV	128–167	1–5 ⁸ (128–135; 136–143, 144–151; 152–159; 160–167)	219 × 141	9 [168] 39 × 13 [49 (7) 49] 22	50 / 50	2		H4 (128 ^{ra} –145 ^{ra}) 145v blank D7 (146 ^{ra} –156 ^{ra}) P5 (156 ^{ra} –162 ^{vb}) 163r–v blank C5 (164 ^{ra} –167 ^{vb})
	-MC V	168–179	1 ⁸ (168–175), 2 ⁴ (176–179)	215 × 140	6 [182] 28 × 8 / 3 [49 (4) 54] 3 / 14	54 / 54	1		Logical treatises (168 ^{ra} –177 ^{vb}) sophisms (177 ^{vb}) P9 (177 ^{ra} –179 ^{rb}) C22 (179 ^{vA–B})
	-MC VI	180–183	1 ⁴ (180–183)	218 × 130	3 [196] 19 × 4 [56 (3) 60] 7	82 / 82	1* same as in MC VII, IX, X, XI		H12 (fol. 180 ^{ra} –183 ^{vb})
	-MC VII	184	1 fol. (frag.)	36 × 132	/	13 / 0	1* same as in MC VI, IX, X, XI		Note on <i>ad aliquid</i> (fol. 184 ^r) 184v blank
	-MC VIII	185–194	1 ⁸⁺² (185–194)	198 × 123	12 [171] 15 × 5 [43 (4 / 6) 45] 20	54 / 54	1		C11 (185 ^{ra} –191 ^{ra}), D8 (191 ^{rb} –194 ^{va}) Treatise De mediis (194 ^{va–b})
	-MC IX	195–214	1 ⁸⁺¹ frag. (195–203), 2 ² (204–205), 3 ⁸⁺¹ (206–214)	247 × 138	3 [197] 47 × 9 [56 (5) 61] 7	63 / 63	1* same as in MC VI, VII, IX, XI		C8 (195 ^{ra} –214 ^{vb})
	-MC X	215–223	1 ⁸⁺¹ frag. (215–223)	208 × 133	c. 7 [190] 11 × c. 9 [53 (6) 57] 8 damaged margins	63 / 63	1* same as in MC VI, VII, IX, XI		P3 (215 ^{ra} –223 ^{vb})
	-MC XI	224–231	1 ^{8?} (224–231)	214 × 137	c. 7 [190] 11 × c. 9 [53 (5) 58] 8 damaged margins	63 / 63	1* same as in MC VI, VII, IX, X		B7 (224 ^{ra} –225 ^{ra}) H11 (225 ^{rb} –231 ^{vb})
IV	-MC XII	232–255	1–3 ⁸ (232–239, 240–247, 248–255)	209 × 131	7 [188] 14 × 3 / 2 [112] 3 / 11, II. 72	72 / 72	1		Notes on Psalms (232 ^r –294 ^v)

Abbreviations

BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BL = Bodleian Library

BM = Bibliothèque Municipale

BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France

BSB = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

BSC = Biblioteca del Sacro Convento

BU = Biblioteca Universitaria

ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

SBB = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Manuscripts

Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, Fondo Antico Comunale 573

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Lat. Oct. 624

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165

Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Amplon. Oct. 5

Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. VIII. 12

Limerick, University Library, ex-Cashel, Bolton Library 1

London, British Library, Royal 7. D. XXV

Lunel, Bibliothèque Municipale-Musée Médard, T054

Milan, Archivio Capitolare della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, M2

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M 63 sup.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14458

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14479

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29520 (5)

Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 200

Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 266

Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 283

Oxford, Bodleian Library, D'Orville 207

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Lat. 67

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 233

Oxford, Merton College, 253

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2087

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 910

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 3237

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 7094A

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 8302

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 13368

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 15015

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17813

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 134

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 833

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 230

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