

were should be researched. I can imagine that it would be mainly a technical problem. One line of a title only takes up a little space on a page; the pressure of the press on that small surface might become too great, so that all kind of damage (to book, press and/or letter material) could occur. It will be for a good reason that the title page fairly soon took up the whole surface of the page, with or without the help of large part-titles cut out of wood and title words and figurative woodcuts. All this to distribute the mechanical pressure. On the other hand it might (also) have been connected with the kind of text? Or with the intended public?

Reflecting on these kinds of questions may, as is apparent, be very fruitful for our historical book-technical knowledge. By this I mean both the historical book-technical knowledge of the printed book and that of the manuscript. For that very reason I have – as codicologist – embarked upon the field of the study of incunabula. The borderline between codicology and the study of incunabula is indeed in certain areas artificial and should be razed as soon as possible. Exactly in the borderland between codex and print the interference occurs, in which Gerard Leeu plays such an important role. In this borderland the study of incunabula is codicology and codicology is the study of incunabula.

The issues, the *inventio* of the questions, however small, and the finding of probable answers; the understanding . . .

and then spontaneously the exclamation rises to our lips: that is what we do it for.⁵⁵

55 J.P. Gumbert, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 12.

ERIK KWAKKEL

A meadow without flowers What happened to the Middle Dutch manuscripts from the Charterhouse Herne?*

Monasterium sine libris est sicut pratum sine floribus
(Jacobus Louber, Charterhouse Basel)

INTRODUCTION

'Desen boec es der broedere van Sente pauwels in zoninghen gheheeten te roe-dendale' [This book belongs to the brethren of St Pauls in Zonien called the Red Valley]. The ex libris inscription in the oldest surviving copy of the *Song of Songs* in Middle Dutch prose, found in the second booklet of Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 920, leaves little room for debate: it belonged to Rooklooster, a priory situated in the Forest of Soignes, just outside the city of Brussels.¹ The Paris booklet, copied not long after the translation had been finished around 1384, is one of many fourteenth-century Middle Dutch manuscripts that have come down to us through Rooklooster. The surviving part of the priory's library (fifty vernacular and over a hundred Latin manuscripts), consists of twenty-three Middle Dutch codices copied prior to 1400, in which a staggering 109 independently produced booklets are bound together.² Because of its size and date, the collection is an important source for our understanding of devotional literature in Dutch vernacular.

This essay deals with the vernacular library of another religious house in the region: the Carthusian monastery Herne (est. 1314).³ While Rooklooster has been studied extensively because of its large Middle Dutch book collection, the interest of literary historians in Herne is mainly due to the people who lived there.

* This essay is based on a paper presented at the *Seminar in the history of the book to 1500* (Oxford, July 2000) and on the outcome of my Ph.D. thesis (cf. note 2). I wish to thank Ms R.C. Davison for English-language corrections.

¹ The booklet consists of fos. 46-61 (ex libris inscription on fo. 61v.). For Rooklooster, see W. Kohl, E. Persoons & A.G. Weiler, *Monasticon Windeshemense: I Belgien* (Brussel 1976), pp. 108-30 and *Monasticon Belge*, tome IV: *Province de Brabant* (Liège 1970), pp. 1089-103.

² The surviving Middle Dutch manuscripts are listed in K. Stoker & Th. Verbeij, *Collecties op orde. Middelnederlandse handschriften uit kloosters en semi-religieuze gemeenschappen in de Nederlanden*, 2 vols. (Leuven 1997), vol. 2, pp. 332-48. The 109 booklets in the fourteenth-century manuscripts are described in E. Kwakkel, *Die Dietsche boeke die ons toebehoeren. De kartuizers van Herne en de productie van Middelnederlandse handschriften in de regio Brussel (1350-1400)* (Leuven 2002), appendix. For the Latin manuscripts, see Kohl, Persoons & Weiler, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 115-16.

³ For Herne, see *Monasticon Belge*, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 1429-56; J. de Grauwe, *Historia cartusiana*

An important resident for the study of Middle Dutch literature is the so-called 'Bijbelvertaler van 1360' [Bible translator of 1360].⁴ During the second half of the fourteenth century he translated twelve 'classics' of monastic literature, from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (1357) to Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* (1388). Most important is his translation of large parts of the Bible (including the *Song of Songs* found in the Paris manuscript), which he produced in at least four different sessions (from 1360-1 until after 1384).⁵ This high number of translations is striking, since the translator lived in a time when it was still in dispute whether or not spiritual texts should be made available in Dutch vernacular.⁶ A second inhabitant of Herne important to the study of Middle Dutch literature is 'Broeder Gerard' [Brother Gerard].⁷ In the 1350s he collected various texts by the mystical author Jan van Ruusbroec (†1381) and copied them in one large manuscript. Gerard added an interesting prologue to this collection, which survives in two fifteenth-century manuscripts.⁸ The prologue not only gives us some insight into the life of the author, it also reveals some details about the vernacular literary culture in Herne. In his prologue Gerard states, for instance, he was not the only resident who copied Ruusbroec's works.⁹ Considering that the inhabitants of Herne were interested in Middle Dutch literature, and collected and copied these texts, the most striking feature of the surviving part of Herne's library is the virtual absence of Middle Dutch texts:

Belgica (Salzburg 1985), pp. 10-38 and A. Gruys, 'Kartuizers in de Nederlanden (1314-1796). Klein monasticon en literatuuroverzicht van de geschiedenis der Zuid- en Noordnederlandse kartuizen', in: *De kartuizers en hun Delftse klooster. Een bundel studiën, verschenen ter gelegenheid van het achtste lustrum van het Genootschap Delfia Batavorum* (Delft 1975), pp. 168-71.

4 C.C. de Bruin, 'Bespiegelingen over de "Bijbelvertaler van 1360". Zijn milieu, werk en persoon. I. Ontwikkelingsgang en huidige stand van onderzoek', in: *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 48 (1967-8), pp. 39-59; C.C. de Bruin, 'Bespiegelingen over de "Bijbelvertaler van 1360". Zijn milieu, werk en persoon. II. Was de vertaler van 1360 leek of geestelijke?', in: *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 49 (1968-9), pp. 135-54; C.C. de Bruin, 'Bespiegelingen over de "Bijbelvertaler van 1360". Zijn milieu, werk en persoon. III. Zijn werk', in: *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 50 (1969-70), pp. 11-27 and M.M. Kors, 'Bijbelvertaler van 1360 OCart (?)', in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 11 (Berlin etc. 2000), pp. 249-56.

5 For the translations, see Kors, art. cit. (n. 4).

6 In the prologue to Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, the translator says: 'vele geleerde liede begangen ende lachten dat men lecken menschen de scripture in dietsche maect' [many scholars slander and complain because lay people have been presented the bible in Dutch]. In another prologue he remarks 'I am sure they will disapprove of my work and attack it in public' (cf. T. Coun, *De oudste Middelnederlandse vertaling van de Regula S. Benedicti* (Hildesheim 1980), p. 202).

7 Cf. *Jan van Ruusbroec 1293-1381* (Brussel 1981), pp. 85-6 and Th. Mertens, 'Omstreeks 1362: Jan van Ruusbroec bezoekt de kartuizers te Herne', in: *Nederlandse literatuur. Een geschiedenis*, ed. M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen (Groningen 1993), pp. 58-61.

8 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 3416-24 and Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 693 (cf. H. Kienhorst & M.M. Kors, 'Corpusvorming van Ruusbroecs werken', in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 72 (1998), p. 20). The original manuscript of *Broeder Gerard's* has not survived.

9 W. de Vreese, 'Bijdragen tot de kennis van het leven en de werken van Jan van Ruusbroec [I]', in: *Het Belfort. Maandschrift gewijd aan Letteren, Kunst en Wetenschap*, 10 (1895), pt. 2, p. 13.

among the 41 surviving manuscripts, not a single vernacular book is found.¹⁰ What happened to the Middle Dutch books from the Charterhouse?

In the eyes of Jacobus Louber, prior of the Charterhouse in Basel (1480-1501), Herne, with its empty library, is like a meadow without flowers.¹¹ However, the Middle Dutch manuscripts from the monastery are by no means lost. This essay describes how many vernacular books from Herne ended up in the priory Rooklooster, some thirty kilometers to the Northeast. As will become clear below, this observation has far-reaching implications for our understanding of the vernacular book culture in both religious houses. Our first stop is Rooklooster.

ROOKLOOSTER

Rooklooster was established in 1374 by three priests from Brussels. Until the priory was forced to close its gates in the 1780s, it was inhabited by regular canons following the Rule of St Augustine. The presence of so many vernacular books has made Rooklooster one of the most thoroughly studied religious houses in the Low Countries. Most studies focus on the late fourteenth-century scribal activities of the inhabitants. The *communis opinio* is that a great many vernacular books were produced in the local scriptorium, both for use in the priory's library and for people outside the monastic community, while the inhabitants also translated a number of Latin texts.¹² The activities of the local scribes and translators were supervised by the librarian of the priory, who has been dubbed 'librarian van Rooklooster'. He wrote several ex-libris inscriptions in books, produced eight manuscripts (some in cooperation with others) and corrected three books of other scribes. He also made a book list with the heading 'Dit sijn die dietsche boeke die ons toebehoeren' [These are the Dutch books that belong to us],

10 In the on-line database *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta* (www.leidenuniv.nl/ub/bnm) 39 Latin codices surviving from Herne are listed (see also A. Gruys, *Cartusiana. Un instrument heuristique*, vol. 2 (Paris 1977), pp. 266-7). Two other Latin copies are: a Bible in Malmesbury (cf. N.R. Ker, *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries*, vol. 3 (Oxford 1983), pp. 331-2) and London, British Library, MS Harley 3162 (cf. *A catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts in the British Library*, vol. 3 ([London] 1808), pp. 6-7). I wish to thank Ian Doyle (University Library Durham) for calling my attention to these two manuscripts.

11 Jacobus Louber writes: 'Monasterium sine libris est sicut civitas sine opibus, castrum sine muro, coquina sine suppellectili, mensa sine cibis, hortus sine herbis, pratum sine floribus, arbor sine foliis' (Sieber, *Informatorium bibliothecarii carthusiensis domus vallis beatæ margarethæ in Basilea minori* (Basel 1888), p. 4).

12 R. Lievens, 'De lijst der Dietse boeken van Rooklooster', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 86 (1970), pp. 234-9; A. Derolez, "'Toebehoeren", "hebben" en de lijst der Dietse boeken van Rooklooster', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 87 (1971), pp. 151-6; R. Lievens, 'Naschrift', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 87 (1971), pp. 156-60; J. Deschamps, *Het Weense handschrift van de Tweede Partie van de "Spiegel Historiae"* (Kopenhagen 1971), pp. 75-81 and Stooker & Verbeij, op. cit. (n. 2), vol. 1, p. 290.

which states the vernacular books in the collection at the time (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 1351-72, fo. 1v.).¹³

Although many studies have been published on the late fourteenth-century vernacular book culture in the priory, the surviving manuscripts hardly have been studied from a codicological or paleographical point of view. Particular codices have been given attention, such as the copies of Jan van Ruusbroec, the products of the *librarius* and the gospel books that survive from Rooklooster, but the 23 fourteenth-century manuscripts were never studied as a group.¹⁴ The Ph.D. thesis this essay is based on, in which the oldest manuscripts surviving from Rooklooster are studied both codicologically and paleographically, aims to fill this gap.¹⁵ The study's main conclusions challenge the traditional view of the vernacular book culture in the priory. Based on paleographical observations it becomes clear that virtually no vernacular manuscripts were produced in Rooklooster: a precise dating of the manuscripts reveals that ninety percent of the copies present in the library about 1400 were made prior to the founding date of 1374. The few manuscripts that were produced locally are of poor quality (as far as script, mise-en-page and parchment are concerned).¹⁶ More importantly, the paleographical study of the 23 manuscripts reveals that the main scribe of the priory, the 'librarius van Rooklooster', was not responsible for any of the surviving ex libris inscriptions, nor had he made the famous Middle Dutch book list.¹⁷

These conclusions have far-reaching implications for our understanding of the local book culture. Evidently, the priory did not accommodate a group of translators and scribes producing Middle Dutch texts and manuscripts on a large scale, nor was the 'librarius van Rooklooster' the leader of such a group. In fact, with the ex-libris inscriptions and the book list out of the picture, it becomes clear the latter was not a librarian at all. A study of the surviving books from the priory leads to the conclusion the true librarian was Arnold Cortte, of whom over twenty ex libris inscriptions have survived in Middle Dutch and Latin manu-

¹³ Deschamps, op. cit. (n. 12), pp. 75-8 for the scribe and his products; *Willem de Vreese: Over handschriften en handschriftenkunde*, ed. P.J.H. Vermeeren (Zwolle 1962), pp. 61-70 for the book list. De Vreese identified five ex libris inscriptions from the *librarius*: two in Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 3067-73 (fos. 79v. and 154v.), one in Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 3091 (fo. 1r.) and two in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 8217 (fos. 12v. and 126v.); cf. W. de Vreese, *De handschriften van Jan van Ruusbroec's werken*, 2 vols. (Gent 1900-02), vol. 1, pp. 18, 269 and 272, vol. 2, pp. 650 and 659.

¹⁴ De Vreese, op. cit. (n. 12), nos. 37, 55 and 80 for the copies of Ruusbroec; Deschamps, op. cit. (n. 13), pp. 75-8 for the books of the *librarius* and J.A.A.M. Biemans, *Middel nederlandse bijbel-handschriften* (Leiden 1984), nos. 8, 65, 66, 67 and 69 for manuscripts with biblical texts.

¹⁵ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2). A description of the manuscripts is found in the appendix.

¹⁶ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 34-45.

¹⁷ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 45-52. For the misidentification of the book list, see Kienhorst and Kors, art. cit. (n. 8), p. 8.

scripts, as well as a number of headings and a *fenestra*.¹⁸ Also in dispute is the traditional localization of the 'librarius van Rooklooster'. The book list and the ex-libris inscriptions were the only indications the scribe lived in Rooklooster. No arguments can be derived from the surviving books that back up the traditional localization. In fact, philological observations point out it is very likely he was *not* an inhabitant of the priory, as textual studies show the scribe did not use the books present in the priory as exemplars.¹⁹ Since the 'librarius van Rooklooster' was neither librarian, nor a regular canon of Rooklooster, in this essay he will be more appropriately called 'Speculum scribe', after his largest product, the second part of the Dutch translation of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod. 13.708, fos. 33r.-205v.).

With the low output of the local scriptorium, Rooklooster fits the profile of fourteenth-century monastic book production in the Low Countries.²⁰ However, the results of the paleographical study of the 23 oldest manuscripts present a problem: if the regular canons did not make these books, who did?

FROM ROOKLOOSTER TO HERNE

In spite of his renewed profile, the role of the Speculum scribe has not yet been played out. His manuscripts are the key to unlocking the mystery of the 'alien' books' origins. The answer to the question of where they were made, lies beyond the books surviving from the Rooklooster-library: locating other products from scribes found in the 23 fourteenth-century manuscripts from the priory might lead to the source of the most significant book collection for the study of Middle Dutch literature. For this purpose a database was constructed in which all surviving fourteenth-century codices containing Middle Dutch spiritual prose were described (over 500 booklets in several hundred codices).²¹ Specific paleographical features of each hand were documented in the database. Special attention was given to key players, such as the Speculum scribe and the copyists with whom he worked. Ultimately, the search led to a religious house where many books in the Rooklooster-library were made: the Charterhouse Herne near the city of Edingen, some thirty kilometers from Brussels.

¹⁸ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 21-4. Cortte also copied (parts of) some Latin manuscripts (F. Masai, M. Wittek & A. Brouts, *Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique*, vol. 2 (Bruxelles etc. 1972), nos. 100 and 104).

¹⁹ When a certain text survives in both the (reconstructed) Rooklooster-library of c.1400 and in a product of the 'librarius van Rooklooster', the two have very different readings (cf. Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 45-52). *Ibid.* Chapter 2 for additional arguments the *librarius* was not an inhabitant of Rooklooster: a scribe with whom he worked together on several occasions, can be located in another community (see also below).

²⁰ 'If there is one remarkable fact about the Dutch books in the fourteenth century, it is the modest role, in fact the virtual absence from book production, of the monasteries' (J.P. Gumbert, *The Dutch and their books in the manuscript age* (London 1990), p. 22).

²¹ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), Introduction.

The main arguments for this shift are based on the manuscripts made by one of the three people who cooperated with the Speculum scribe. This person will be called 'Necrology scribe' here, although traditionally, based on a misinterpretation of a colophon copied by the scribe, he is called Vranke Callaert.²² The Necrology scribe is present in four manuscripts of the Speculum scribe. Two of them have been known for some time: the epistolary Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2849-51 and the multi-text codex Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 3093-95.²³ Two other manuscripts are new identifications: Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 1805-08 (Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*) and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS S.n. 12.857 (gospels).²⁴ During the production of three of these manuscripts, the two scribes in question worked together, which indicates that they were living in the same environment.²⁵ In the epistolary MS 2849-51, for instance, one of them copied the main text while the other improved the translation (illus. 1). The script of the Necrology scribe has some interesting paleographical features. The most important observation for his localization is the fact that he used a littera textualis in different grades: a high grade script for copies that needed to look good (a high quality littera textualis), a middle grade for books for everyday use (a littera textualis with some cursive elements) and a low grade for notes and short texts (a littera textualis resembling a littera cursiva).²⁶

To date, only the middle grade script has been known. It was used both for MS 2849-51 and MS 3093-95 – though a paleographical survey shows that the scribe occasionally used his high grade script in these books as well.²⁷ The localization of the scribe, however, is based on three manuscripts copied in the high grade littera textualis, which have been found with the help of the database mentioned above. The first of these three is Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 21536-40. The Necrology scribe copied the necrology of Herne found in the fourth booklet (fos. 191-224) – hence his name (illus. 2). The paleographical observation that the ductus of the entries in the necrology are greatly varied indicates that the necrology was made in Herne: every time a benefactor died, his name was put in the necrology and over time changes in ductus occurred. If the necrology had been made *pro pretio* by somebody outside the monastery,

22 Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 55-65 for the scribes with whom the Speculum scribe cooperated. The colophon in question ('Hier gaet ute der minnen gaert / Dien ic u dietschte. vranke callaert'; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 3093-95, fo. 36v.) is from the translator of the text, not from the scribe who copied it.

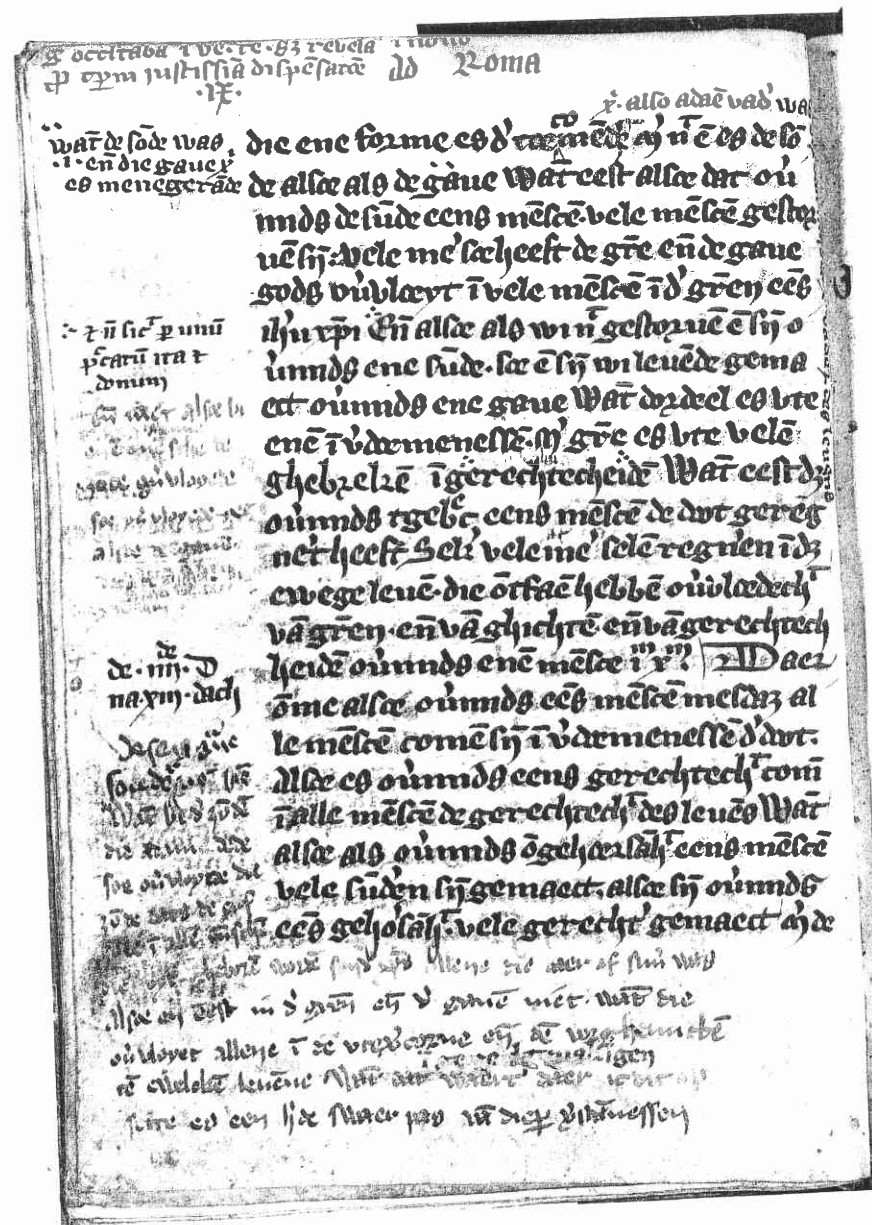
23 T. Coun, "Alsoe soudic dat dietschen". Vranke Callaert als vertaler van Latijnse geestelijk proza', in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 69 (1995), pp. 39-40.

24 Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 65-72.

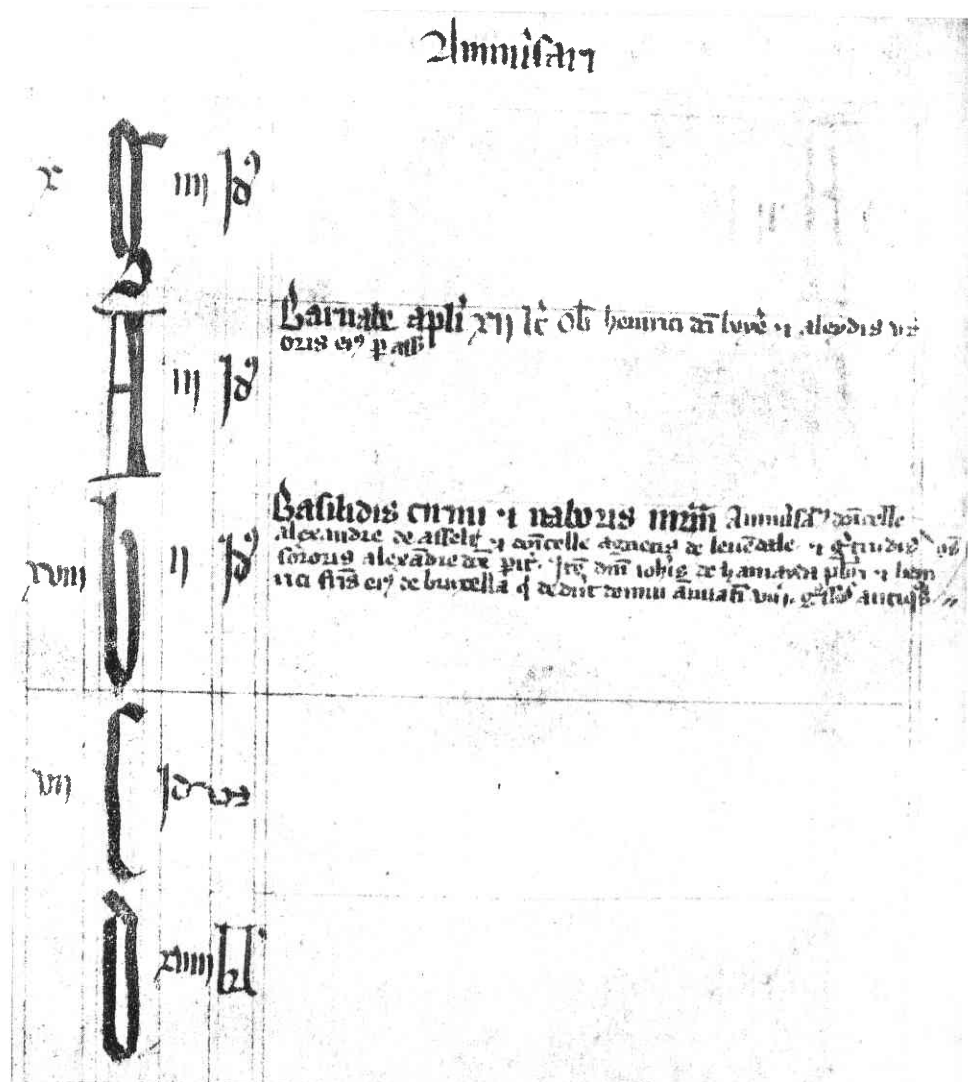
25 Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 121-8; see also pp. 55-65.

26 Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 65-72.

27 Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 65-72 and Pl. 18, 19 and 27. In MS 2849-51 it was used for some rubrics, in MS 3093-95 for the heading of the first text (*Der minnen gaert*).



1. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2849-51, fo. 22v. (actual size): Middle Dutch epistolary copied by the Speculum scribe and corrected by the Necrology scribe.



2. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 21536-40, fo. 204v., detail (actual size): necrology of Herne, copied by the Necrology scribe – notice the different grades of littera textualis the scribe used (high grade and middle grade).

the text would have been copied without interruption, in which case the entries would have had the same ductus.²⁸

Another argument for his localization in Herne comes from Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 394-98, the second manuscript in which the Necrology scribe used his high grade script. It survives from the Benedictine convent Vorst near Brussels, where it was used in the chapter house. The manuscript was made by four cooperating scribes, including the Necrology scribe. We are dealing with a group of Carthusians of Herne. This is illustrated by the paleographical observation that the person who copied the *martyrologium* on fos. 5r-76v. is also found on one of the blank leaves of MS 21536-40 (fo. 165v.), the codex with the Necrology of Herne mentioned above.²⁹

The third newly identified codex is Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2485, also surviving from Vorst.³⁰ This book, which will be discussed in more detail below, contains the oldest copy of the Middle Dutch Rule of Benedict translated by the Bible translator of 1360. Because the scribe of MS 2485 used the original of the translator as exemplar, as has been suggested in the 1980s, it is very likely he was a Carthusian of Herne, since this is the community where the translator lived.³¹

With these three new findings the Necrology scribe can be localized in Herne. As a result, it becomes clear some scribes traditionally tied to Rooklooster were in fact Carthusians of Herne, such as the *Speculum* scribe and the persons who helped him to produce Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* in Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 1805-08 and Heinrich Seuse's *Horologium aeternae sapientiae* in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS S.n. 65. The relocation of these scribes opens new roads of research. Our next stop is Herne.

HERNE

In the late-fourteenth century, seventeen people lived in Herne: fourteen monks and three lay brothers.³² A striking number of these inhabitants were involved in the production of Latin and Middle Dutch manuscripts. Apart from the previously mentioned Carthusians – the *Speculum* scribe, the Necrology scribe and the five people with whom they worked together in Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MSS 394-98 and 1805-08, and in Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS S.n. 65 – no less than six local hands can be identified with the help of a local correction sign.

²⁸ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 72-6.

²⁹ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 82-5.

³⁰ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 77-82.

³¹ Coun, op. cit. (n. 6), pp. 132-42 and 192.

³² A list of inhabitants was made in 1390: E. Lamalle, *Arnold Beeltsens et Jean Ammonius. Chronique de la Chartreuse de la Chapelle à Hérimnes-lez-Enghien* (Leuven 1932), pp. 17-18.

In Herne, mistakes in the text were sometimes marked with a struck-out d, which was placed in the margin (illus. 3).³³ This practice, which is found in no other community, is probably an adaptation of the insular custom of correcting omissions with the struck-out letters h (an insular abbreviation for *haec*) and d (for *deorsum* or *deletum*): the first letter was put in the (lower) margin with the omitted text next to it, the latter marked the position in the text where the omission occurred. The struck-out d from Herne is one of many continental adaptations of this insular practice.³⁴ In Herne, mistakes pointed out by the struck-out d have almost always been corrected on erasure – some of the signs have been erased after the correction was put through; others have remained in the margin. In some cases, however, the main hand placed the correct text next to the struck-out d in the margin, instead of writing the words on erasure. This is significant for the study of local book production, because it helps to trace local hands. When words have been copied next to the sign, a paleographical identification can be made (the letter d alone is usually insufficient). Apart from the *Speculum* scribe and the *Necrology* scribe, who both used the correction sign several times, three new scribes can be identified: the first one copied a large part of the first booklet of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 1351-72 (fos. 1-70), the second copied the third booklet of Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2499-510 (fos. 114-41) and the third scribe copied Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2877-78. Three additional local scribes can be traced because they worked with one of the inhabitants of Herne identified so far.³⁵

The total number of identified scribes from Herne is thirteen. The aspect of their script (without exception a *littera textualis*) indicates that all of them were active in the period 1350-1400. A considerable number of Latin and Middle Dutch manuscripts survive from these thirteen Carthusians. To date, 46 independently produced booklets (found in thirteen different manuscripts), have been identified as local products, including the *Song of Songs* mentioned in the introduction (Appendix, section A).³⁶ Another nineteen surviving booklets (in eight manuscripts) were owned by the Carthusians – as is apparant from the presence of local hands in the margins – while there are no indications these booklets were also made in Herne (Appendix, section B).³⁷ A remarkable number of the local products are written in Middle Dutch vernacular: 40 of the 46

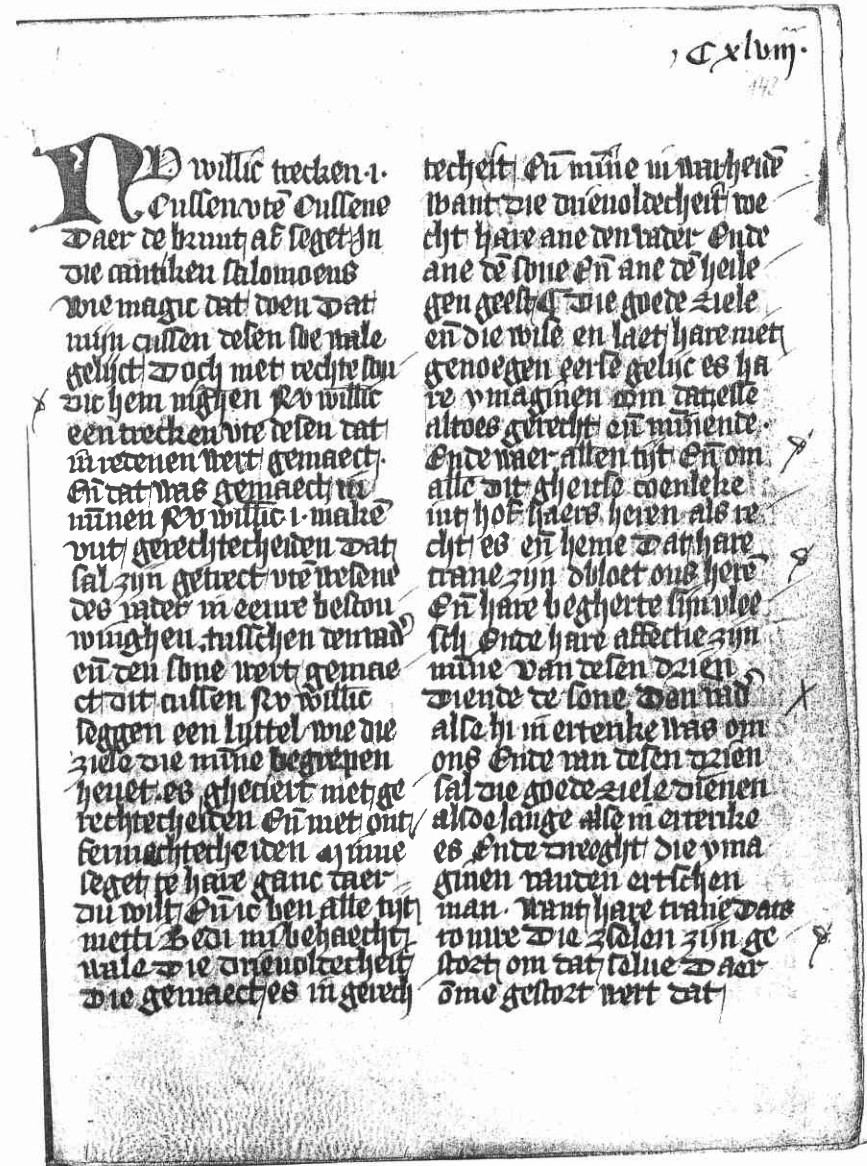
³³ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 108-12.

³⁴ For the insular practice, see M. Budny, 'Assembly marks in the Vivian bible and scribal, editorial, and organizational marks in medieval books', in: *Making the medieval book: techniques of production. Proceedings of the fourth conference of the Seminar in the history of the book to 1500, Oxford July 1992*, ed. L.L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills 1995), pp. 208-9. For the continental offspring (including the struck-out d from Herne), see Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 110-12.

³⁵ For the local scribes, see Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 112-21.

³⁶ For the local products of Herne, see Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 112-21 and Table 6.

³⁷ For books with provenance Herne, see Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 112-21 and Table 7.



3. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2877-78, fo. 148r. (actual size): a product of Herne that has been corrected with the help of a local correction sign – notice the struck-out d in the margins and the correction (L. 9) on erasure in the first columns.

surviving booklets. This high number is perhaps somewhat deceptive as the study of Herne has been primarily focused on the surviving Middle Dutch manuscripts. It is clear, however, that during the second half of the fourteenth century Herne produced significantly more vernacular manuscripts than any other religious house in the region Brussels.³⁸

Another striking feature of book production in Herne is that the Carthusians copied manuscripts *pro pretio* for people in the outside world. This is most likely a sign of the times as during the period 1350-1400 Middle Dutch spiritual literature was very much in demand in the region Brussels.³⁹ Herne was an important source to purchase these texts. The Bible translator of 1360, who made devotional Latin texts available in Dutch vernacular, was 'based' in Herne, while many of his fellow brethren were experienced scribes. Based on the colophons the Bible translator of 1360 added to his translations, it becomes clear that lay people from the region turned to the Charterhouse for vernacular texts: at least seven of his translations were commissioned and paid for by wealthy citizens of Brussels. Two of them are known by name: Jan Taye and Lodewijc Thonijs.⁴⁰ People like Taye and Thonijs received their translation in a 'dedication copy' produced by local scribes. Fortunately, one of these copies survives: Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2485, a newly identified product of the Necrology scribe. This manuscript gives an indication what the books made for lay people looked like.

MS 2485 contains the Middle Dutch version of the *Regula Benedicti* translated by the Bible translator of 1360. The book was copied directly after the translation was finished in 1373.⁴¹ The bill for the translation and its 'maiden' copy was paid for by Lodewijc Thonijs, an important benefactor of the monastery.⁴² The colophon of the text states that he commissioned the translation to give it to his sister Mary, who was a nun at the Benedictine convent in Vorst, near Brussels.⁴³ The ex libris inscription 'Apartien a forest' (fo. 1r.) reveals that MS

³⁸ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 112-21 and pp. 156-62.

³⁹ G. Warnar, 'Een sneeuwvui in het Zoniënwood. Middel nederlandse geestelijke letterkunde ten tijde van Jan van Ruusbroec', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 113 (1997), pp. 101-15 and G. Warnar, 'Jan van Ruusbroec and the social position of late medieval mysticism', in: *Showing status. Representation of social positions in the late Middle Ages*, ed. W. Blockmans & A. Janse (Turnhout 1999), pp. 379-85. See also G. Warnar, 'Mystik in der stadt. Jan van Ruusbroec (1293-1381) und die niederländische Literatur des 14. Jahrhunderts', in: *Deutsche Mystik im abendländischen Zusammenhang. Neu erschlossene Texte, neue methodische Ansätze, neue theoretische Konzepte. Kolloquium Kloster Fischingen 1998*, ed. W. Haug & W. Schneider-Lastin (Tübingen 2000), pp. 693-702.

⁴⁰ Kors, art. cit. (n. 4) and Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 139-40, Table 8. Jan Taye received large parts of the Bible in at least four different sessions (from 1360-1 until after 1384), such as the books of Jeremy and Ezekiel (in 1384), shortly thereafter followed by the books of Solomon. Lodewijc Thonijs received a translation of *Regula Benedicti* (in 1373) and of Cassian's *Collationes* (in 1383).

⁴¹ Coun, op. cit. (n. 6), pp. 132-42.

⁴² Coun, op. cit. (n. 6), pp. 189-93.

⁴³ In English translation, the colophon reads: 'This rule was translated for Lodewijc Thonijs of

2485 actually ended up in the convent and it is not unlikely Thonijs had brought the book there personally.⁴⁴ Though rudimentary as far as its physical appearance is concerned, MS 2485 is a good quality manuscript: codicologically, paleographically, as well as philologically. The manuscript is made up of quaternions, with an extra bifolium added for the prologue and the Table of contents, while the parchment used for the quires is of very good quality: the material feels remarkably soft and the leaves do not make any sound when they are turned. The script is not strikingly beautiful, yet the Necrology scribe used his scripts with care: a high grade littera textualis for the main text and the smaller middle grade for the glosses. The glosses have been separated from the main text with a paragraph, a practice that was recommended by the Bible translator of 1360.⁴⁵ Finally, MS 2485 has been carefully corrected. The scribe even enhanced the clarity of the text by explaining difficult or ambiguous words. The corrections and alterations have been done in a subtle way, by means of words written on erasure and with the help of 'low key' marginal and interlinear corrections.⁴⁶

Another manuscript made *pro pretio* is Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 394-98.⁴⁷ The manuscript was ordered by the Benedictine convent Vorst and was copied between 1373 and 1383. Making this book was a more complicated task, because it consisted of various texts, including a complicated obituary. The book is the joint product of four experienced scribes. Each one produced a separate booklet, with the same pricking, ruling and dimensions of the written space. The first contains a calendar, the second a martyrology, the third a Latin *Regula Benedicti* and the fourth the Middle Dutch translation of that rule as well as an obituary of the Benedictine convent of Vorst. The four booklets were bound together after completion. The final product is a large codex of very good quality that will have cost the Benedictines a large sum of money.

However, not all local products of Herne were as attractive as these two manuscripts. For instance, while MSS 2485 and 394-98 were made of good parchment – in fact, both books were made from the same kind of parchment – the parchment of the third newly identified book of the Necrology scribe, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 21536-40, is of poor quality. The parchment has been badly prepared, and very often the shape of the animal can still be seen at the edges of the leaves. The script is also of poor quality. Although the

Brussels so it could be a guide for Marie, his sister, and her fellow nuns in Vorst, and for those who will join them in the future. May they understand the rule and know what to do. Anyone who is helped by this translation, pray for their souls and for the ones who did all the work.' (translated from the Middle Dutch edition in Coun, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 38).

⁴⁴ Coun, op. cit. (n. 6), pp. 189-93.

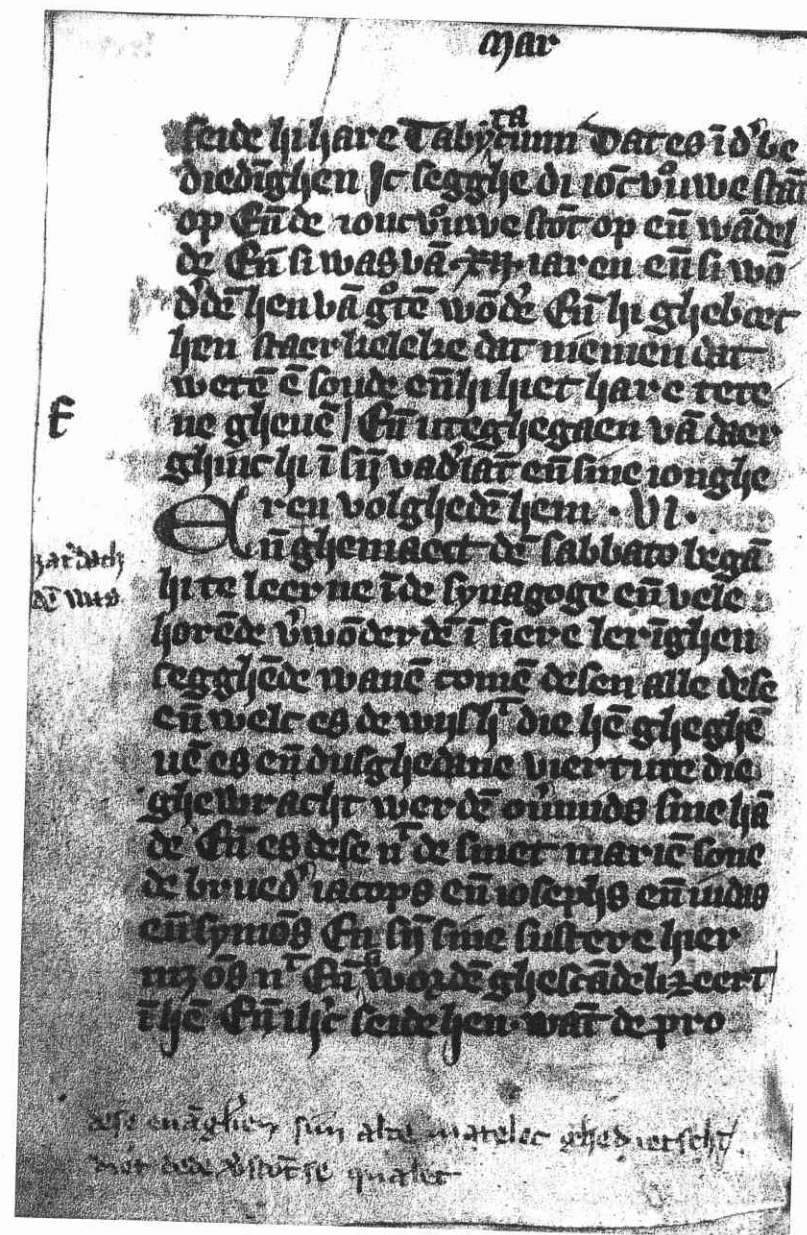
⁴⁵ In the prologue of his bible translation, the translator says: *Die meyninghe van sulken woerden salic te eniger stat daer neven uute setten met eenre paragrafen*, 'I will put the meaning of words [that need explaining] separate from the text with a paragraph' (Coun, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 204).

⁴⁶ Coun, op. cit. (n. 6), pp. 142-3 and 152-4.

⁴⁷ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 82-5.

Necrology scribe used a high grade littera textualis, the letters do not seem to have been copied with great care (illus. 2). The striking differences in appearance of MSS 2485 and 394-98, and MS 21536-40, is easily explained: the first two books were copied for money, while MS 21536-40 was made for use within Herne. The same inferior quality script and writing material is found in many Middle Dutch books from Herne. This is noticeable, for instance, in the products of the Speculum scribe. His copies are remarkably small (six of them measure between 100 and 165 mm high), they have been made of poor quality parchment and have been copied in a poor quality littera textualis.⁴⁸ Moreover, most of his books contain a large number of corrections (in plain sight) in the margins – as is the case, for instance, in the Brussels epistolary made in cooperation with the Necrology scribe (illus. 1).

The fact that many Herne-manuscripts have been carefully corrected would have met with the approval of Guigo I (†1137), since the ‘architect’ of the Carthusian order prescribed these activities in his *Consuetudines*.⁴⁹ Still, it is unlikely that manuscripts like the products of the Speculum scribe – low quality books with lots of marginal corrections – were made *pro pretio*. Moreover, one of his manuscripts (the gospel book Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS S.n. 12.857) contains an explicitly negative remark concerning the quality of the text. It has been written by the Necrology scribe, who copied the (red) initials and tried to correct some of the most obvious mistakes in red ink at the same time. In the lower margin of fo. 95v., clearly frustrated, he states: ‘dese evangelien sijn alte matelec ghedietscht, diēt dede verstont se qualec’ [these gospels have been translated poorly, the translator did not know what he was doing] (illus. 4). It is very likely that manuscripts like the Brussels epistolary and the Vienna gospels were made to be used in the Charterhouse itself. After all, the primary goal of copying in Carthusians houses was making texts available for the residents – copying for friends and for money came at a distant second and third – and for this purpose low quality books, if carefully corrected, would do nicely.⁵⁰ However, this observation brings with it a problem: if the products of the Speculum scribe and many other books from Herne were not made for Rooklooster, how did they end up in the priory?



4. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS S.n. 12.857, fo. 95v. (slightly reduced): Middle Dutch gospels copied by the Speculum scribe. The text has been (partly) rubricated and corrected by the Necrology scribe – notice the correction in the left margin and the remark about the quality of the translation in the lower margin.

⁴⁸ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), Pl. nos. 10, 17-18, 30, 33-5, 46-8; see also the appendix (cf. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MSS 1805-08, 2849-51, 2905-09, 3093-95; Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 1374; Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MSS Cod. 13.708, S.n. 65, S.n. 12.857).

⁴⁹ For Guigo and his *Consuetudines*, see A. de Meyer & J.M. de Smet, ‘Guigo’s “Consuetudines” van de eerste kartuizers’, in: *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, klasse der letteren*, 13 (1951), pp. 3-99. For the correcting of texts, see P. Lehmann, ‘Bücherliebe und Bücherpflege bei den Karthäusern’, in: P. Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte abhandlungen und aufsätze*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart 1960), pp. 126-7 and 140-1.

⁵⁰ For the users of manuscripts produced by Carthusians, see J.P. Gumbert, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser und ihre Bücher im frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leiden 1974), p. 309.

FROM HERNE TO ROOKLOOSTER

Apart from the two manuscripts from Vorst, all Herne-manuscripts mentioned here have survived through the library of Rooklooster. Most of the migrated books hold no clues as to how they arrived at their destination. In three cases, however, it is possible to reconstruct through which channels the books entered the priory.

Two Middle Dutch manuscripts from Herne came into the possession of the regular canons through donations of citizens. The first one is the gospel book Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2979, copied about 1350 (at an unknown location) and corrected in Herne by the Speculum scribe at the end of the period 1350-75. The ex libris inscription in the back indicates the gospel book was brought to Rooklooster when it was still occupied by hermits (1368-73), probably by one of the three priests from Brussels who founded the hermitage.⁵¹ The second case is a Middle Dutch copy of Seuse's *Horologium aeternae sapientiae* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 8224). This manuscript, whose translation was very flawed, was also corrected in Herne, as is demonstrated by the presence of a struck-out d on fo. LIXr. The owner after Herne was Ghijsbrecht Spijsken, a citizen of Brussels, who donated the manuscript to Rooklooster in 1388, as is stated in the donation inscription in the back of the codex.⁵²

Considering the *pro pretio* activities the Carthusians undertook for citizens of Brussels, it is not a surprise manuscripts from Herne owned by these people can be pointed out. Although interesting since it suggests the Carthusians might have sold second-hand manuscripts as well as new books (MSS 2979 and 8224 were probably not produced locally), it is clear donations by citizens from the region Brussels can hardly be the only explanation for the manuscript migration. It is not very likely that all of the 65 booklets (found in nineteen manuscripts) from Herne in the Rooklooster library were purchased by citizens and subsequently donated to the priory. An additional explanation is offered by the third book whose journey to Rooklooster can be traced: Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2877-78.

While it is only certain MSS 2979 and 8224 were at one point owned by Herne, the Brussels manuscript was definitely copied by a local scribe. The texts in MS 2877-78, the complete works of the beguine Hadewijch, have been carefully corrected with the help of the local correction sign. The struck-out d is found over forty times in the margins (illus. 2). On fos. 78v. and 153r. the sign is accompanied by text copied by the main hand (which illustrates that the

⁵¹ For the hermitage, see Kohl, Persoons & Weiler, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 125; for MS 2979, see Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 144-5 and appendix. The ex-libris inscription reads 'Dit boec es der roeder clusen' (fo. 168v.) [This book belongs to the Red Hermitage].

⁵² Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 145-6 and appendix.

scribe lived in Herne). The Brussels manuscript has been studied intensely because of its contents and some interesting provenance details have been revealed. As was demonstrated in the 1930s by Prosper Verheyden, MS 2877-78 was bound by the Brussels stationer and bookbinder Godevaert de Bloc, whose name appears (blind-tooled) on both covers: *godefridus scriptor me fecit*.⁵³ Godevaert de Bloc had a shop in the *Bergstraat*, a street opposite the church of St Gudele and the heart of the local book trade. Godevaert de Bloc appears several times in the accounts of duke Wenscelas of Brabant: he was paid for binding and repairing Latin and French manuscripts, for supplying parchment and paper, and once for delivering a Middle Dutch manuscript.⁵⁴

Though contemporary documents indicate Godevaert de Bloc was a resourceful man practicing several trades within the book trade, the question remains how the Middle Dutch manuscript from Herne ended up in his shop – and how the book subsequently ended up in Rooklooster. Considering that the Carthusians of Herne bound their own books, it is clear MS 2877-78 was not sent to Godevaert de Bloc to be bound.⁵⁵ Based on the facts concerning the local book production discovered so far, another explanation is far more plausible. As a stationer, Godevaert de Bloc acted as an intermediary between readers purchasing books, and the artisans who made them. Considering the *pro pretio* activities the Carthusians deployed at the request of citizens of Brussels during the period 1350-1400 – translating Latin texts, copying manuscripts, and possibly selling second-hand books – it is very likely the Carthusians of Herne made MS 2877-78, whose contents were particularly popular in town, at the request of the stationer. Incidentally, the Carthusians of Herne are known to have had other contacts in the commercial book world. On one occasion in the 1360s, they borrowed a Middle Dutch manuscript from a Brussels notary in order to copy the text for their own library (apparently without consent of the author, which caused quite a stir), while as early as c.1340 a Latin manuscript was purchased from a local stationer with money that was donated for this purpose.⁵⁶ One particular event may very well have brought Godevaert de Bloc and the

⁵³ P. Verheyden, 'Huis en have van Godevaert de Bloc, scriptor en boekbinder, 1364-1384', in: *Het Boek*, 24 (1936-7), pp. 129-45 (with a reproduction).

⁵⁴ De Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne. Études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris 1851), pp. 279-92, nos. 4354, 4364 and 4369 (binding), nos. 4395, 4399 and 4400 (binding and repairs) and no. 4370 (delivery); cf. Verheyden, art. cit. (n. 53), p. 130 for supplying writing material.

⁵⁵ One book binding from Herne has survived (cf. Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 77-82 see also *ibid.*, p. 152, n. 63).

⁵⁶ In his prologue to the Ruusbroec collection (see above), *broeder Gerard* says: 'het hadde ons heymelic gheleent uut te scrijven een priester die her Jans notarius gheweest hadde, dien hi nochtan verboden hadde dat hijs niet voir(t)setten en soude' [the book [Ruusbroec's *Rijcke der ghelieve*] was loaned to us in an underhand way by a priest who had been working as Jan van Ruusbroec's notary, although he had been forbidden to pass on the text] (De Vreese, art. cit. (n. 9), p. 13).

inhabitants of Herne in contact with each other. Driven out of their monastery in 1381 by the war between Ghent and Bruges, they stayed in a refuge in Brussels until 1384. Because the Carthusians copied on such a regular basis, a trip to a local book store must have been one of the first things they did when they arrived in town.

The connection between Godevaert de Bloc and the Carthusians brings us halfway from Herne to Rooklooster. By sheer luck, we are able to map the remaining part of the way. In the cartulary of Rooklooster two documents survive which shed more light on the enterprise of Godevaert de Bloc. After working in the book trade for almost twenty years, he went out of business in 1383. His houses, including all his possessions, went up for sale. Eventually, the stationer's belongings were purchased by Rooklooster – the cartulary holds a copy of the transaction document.⁵⁷ Apart from less useful things such as six swords and two bows and arrows, the regular canons also acquired some valuable objects, such as a collection of binding tools. Regarding the manuscript migration from Herne to Rooklooster, one particular entry in the inventory is significant. Nearing the end of the list the inventory maker scribbled down: 'libraria dicti Godefridi cum omnibus suis libris' [Godevaert's book shop with all his books].⁵⁸ The explanation for the migration of a number of books from Herne to Rooklooster probably lies here: with the purchase of Godevaert de Bloc's belongings, the regular canons of Rooklooster became owners of the stationer's stock of manuscripts, among which the Hadewijch-manuscript, which lay ready in the shop to be sold.⁵⁹

IN CONCLUSION

The Brussels stationer Godevaert de Bloc provides the most plausible explanation for the presence of so many Latin and Middle Dutch Herne-manuscripts

The book purchased c.1340 is London, British Library, MS Harley 3162. A note in the book reads: *Et fuit emptus Bruxelle cum pecunia elemosinaria, circa annum incarnationis 1340, tali intentione ut non vendetur, nec alias alienaretur, sed ad usum hujus domus in perpetuum remaneret* (cf. *A catalogue*, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 7). It is likely that the manuscript was bought from a stationer, since the Brussels book trade was well-developed in the 1340s (cf. Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 170-5).

⁵⁷ Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, archives ecclésiastiques no. 16239, fo. 77r. (*Hoe Jan Rombouts vercochte tsloesters behoef al Godevaert Blocs have ende oec huse voerscreven* [How the possessions and houses of Godevaert de Bloc were sold to the priory by Jan Rombouts] (Verheyden, art. cit. (n. 53), appendix).

⁵⁸ Verheyden, art. cit. (n. 53), p. 144.

⁵⁹ Verheyden, art. cit. (n. 53), p. 141. For stationer's stocks, see C.P.C. Christianson, 'Evidence for the study of London's late medieval manuscript-book trade', in: *Book production and publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. J. Griffiths & D. Pearsall (Cambridge 1989), pp. 100-11 and R.H. Rouse & M.A. Rouse, 'The commercial production of manuscript books in late-thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century Paris', in: *Medieval book production: assessing the evidence. Proceedings of the second conference of the seminar in the history of the book to 1500, Oxford July 1988*, ed. L.L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills 1990), pp. 107-8.

in the library of Rooklooster. While citizens like Ghijsbrecht Spijsken, to whom the Carthusians sold a copy of Seuse's *Horologium*, will have purchased books in Herne occasionally, it is probable that the stationer did so on a more frequent basis. Further studies should reveal exactly how often Godevaert de Bloc asked the monks in Herne to copy books for him. Though the apparent link between Herne and an urban stationer is certainly remarkable, such commercial connections were not unheard of within the Carthusian order. In the fifteenth century, for instance, both the Charterhouse in Cologne and in Vught (a city in the Low Countries) are known to have produced copy texts for local printers.⁶⁰ However, the link with Godevaert de Bloc cannot explain all migrations to Rooklooster. Based on paleographical observations and dated colophons it becomes clear that some books that ended up in Rooklooster were not yet made when Godevaert de Bloc went out of business in 1383.⁶¹ One of these is the Paris booklet with the *Song of Songs*, mentioned in the introduction of this essay. This copy illustrates the possibilities and limitations of future studies based on the oldest books surviving from Rooklooster. It has become clear we are dealing with a booklet made by Carthusians rather than regular canons. As a result it is possible to study vernacular book production by Carthusians. Such a study contributes to our current understanding of book production in Charterhouses, to date shaped by studies of Latin manuscripts, such as Peter Gumbert's dissertation on the Charterhouse Nieuwlicht in Utrecht.⁶² However, the Paris booklet also demonstrates that some vital questions are still waiting for an answer: the ex-libris inscription in the back may have left little room for discussion as to who owned the booklet around 1400, but how it ended up Rooklooster is still very much in debate.

SUMMARY

This study focuses on the fourteenth-century Middle Dutch manuscripts surviving from Rooklooster, a priory inhabited by regular canons and situated just outside the city of Brussels. From the priory's library nearly 50 manuscripts in Dutch vernacular survive, 23 of which were copied prior to 1400. It is believed Rooklooster had an active scriptorium where many vernacular books were

⁶⁰ For Cologne, see R.B. Marks, *The medieval manuscript library of the charterhouse of St. Barbara in Cologne*, 2 vols. (Salzburg 1974), vol. 1, pp. 130-47 and G.C. Williamson, 'The books of the Carthusians', in: *Bibliographica. Papers on books, their history and art, parts IX-XII*, 3 (1897), pp. 212-31; for Vught, see L. Verschuere, 'De bibliotheek-catalogoog der kartuize S. Sophia te Vught', in: *Historisch Tijdschrift*, 14 (1935), pp. 372-402.

⁶¹ Kwakkel, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 181-3.

⁶² Gumbert, op. cit. (n. 50). The only study on vernacular books in Charterhouses is W.D. Sexauer, *Frühneuhochdeutsche Schriften in Kartäuserbibliotheken. Untersuchungen zur Pflege der volkssprachlichen Literatur in Kartäuserklöstern des oberdeutschen Raums bis zum Einsetzen der Reformation* (Frankfurt am Main etc. 1978). This publication does not, however, study the books from a codicological point of view.

produced, both for use in the priory's library and for people outside the monastic community. This essay demonstrates that many of the 23 oldest manuscripts, though traditionally attributed to the local scriptorium of Rooklooster, were made in the Charterhouse Herne, 30 kilometers Southwest of Brussels. This conclusion is based on paleographical observations. As a result, our view of both the vernacular book culture in Rooklooster and Herne needs adaption. While it has become clear that the regular canons rarely copied Middle Dutch manuscripts, the books that can be attributed to Herne (listed in the appendix), demonstrate that many Carthusians were involved in copying manuscripts during the period 1350-1400. Many local products consist of Middle Dutch texts. Another striking feature is the production of manuscripts *pro pretio*. Based on the surviving copies it is clear that this was done for religious houses (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 394-98), citizens of Brussels (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2485), and even for a stationer in town (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2877-78). The latter, whose name is Godevaert de Bloc, went out of business in 1383. A document in the cartulary of Rooklooster shows that the priory purchased his houses and his workshop. The acquisition of his stock of books is a satisfying explanation for the presence of so many books from Herne in the Rooklooster-library.

APPENDIX: MANUSCRIPTS FROM HERNE IN THE LIBRARY OF ROOKLOOSTER

A. Books made in Herne

<i>manuscript, booklet (fos.)</i>	<i>language</i>
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 1351-72, I (fos. 1-70)	Latin
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 1351-72, II (fos. 71-85)	Latin
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 1805-08 (three booklets)	Dutch
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2499-510, I (fos. 1-109)	Latin
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2499-510, III (fos. 114-41)	Latin
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2499-510, V (fos. 149-92)	Latin
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2499-510, VI (fos. 193-218)	Latin
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2849-51 (seven booklets)	Dutch
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2877-78 (two booklets)	Dutch
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2905-09, II (fos. 7-107)	Dutch
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 3091 (one booklet)	Dutch
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 3093-95 (two booklets)	Dutch
Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 1374 (five booklets)	Dutch
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 920, II (fos. 46-61)	Dutch
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 920, III (fos. 62-4)	Dutch
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod 13.708 (eleven booklets)	Dutch
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS S.n. 65 four booklets)	Dutch
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS S.n. 12.857, II (fos. 3-10) & IV (f. 19-I*)	Dutch

total: 46 booklets in thirteen manuscripts

B. Books owned by Herne

<i>manuscript, booklet (fos.)</i>	<i>language</i>
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 1351-72, IV (fos. 176-227)	Latin
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2879-80 (three booklets)	Dutch
Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 2979 (five booklets)	Dutch
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 8224, II (fos. F-160)	Dutch
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 920, V (fos. 71-88)	Dutch
St Petersburg, Academy of Science, MS O 256 (olim XX.I.XIV) (five booklets)	Dutch
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS S.n. 12.858, II (fos. 86-102)	Latin
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS S.n. 12.858, III (fos. 103-18)	Latin
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS S.n. 12.905 (one booklet)	Dutch

total: nineteen booklets in eight manuscripts