

OBSCURITY AND MEMORY
IN LATE MEDIEVAL LATIN MANUSCRIPT CULTURE:
THE CASE OF THE *SUMMARIUM BIBLIE*

Lucie Doležalová

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Lucie Doležalová

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Reviewed by
Greti Dinkova-Bruun
and Farkas Gábor Kiss

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List of Abbreviations

BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Bibl.	Bibliothèque
BJ	Biblioteka Jagiellońska
BL	British Library
BoL	Bodleian Library
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
BU	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka
HB	Herzogliche Bibliothek
KB	Kongelige Bibliotek
KNM	Knihovna národního muzea
MA	Městský archiv (City archive)
ML	Monastery Library
MYK	Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)
NL	National Library
RB	Stegmüller, Friedrich. <i>Repertorium biblicum medii aevi</i> . 11 vols. Madrid: Consejo superior de investigación científica, 1950-1980.
UB	Universitätsbibliothek
UL	University Library
SB	Stiftsbibliothek
SSB	Staats- und Stadtbibliothek
StB	Stadtbibliothek
VK	Vědecká knihovna (Research Library)
ZB	Zentralbibliothek

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Obscurity in the Middle Ages: Text, Manuscript, Memory

Any enquiry concerned with the past sets a challenge of distinguishing the special from the normal, the extraordinary from the everyday, the unique from the pattern. This is problematic not only due to our distance in time (a fact that we simply have to take into account) but also due to the character of our sources: what we have to work with are generally specific fragments, we are never getting the whole picture. Our grasp and understanding of the past is unavoidably a construct. With the subject of obscurity, we are entering an especially fragile world where the lack of evidence is particularly painful and it is hard not to mix our present day ideas of the obscure with the medieval ones.

For this reason, before moving to the discussion of the active application of obscurity within the late medieval culture of memory, this volume opens with an overview of the two *explicit* medieval discourses on the subject of obscurity, the scriptural and rhetoric-poetical discourse. The actual focus of this study, the case of the biblical mnemonic aid *Summarium Biblie*, is emblematic: during the Middle Ages it was an extremely popular (even omnipresent) text which is, at the same time, very obscure to us, making its practical usability already in the Middle Ages questionable today. The tension between its assumed limits as a textual tool, and its actual most favorable medieval reception is precisely what leads to a careful re-consideration of the medieval approach to obscurity, which is the subject of this book.

As with any manuscript study, and especially with a study of manuscripts of widely diffused texts, the picture presented here is not complete: some codices remain to be consulted and many others undoubtedly wait to be discovered. While this book is in this respect unavoidably still a work in progress, it presents and discusses patterns not likely to be affected by further findings. Not offering exhaustive treatment and final answers, it hopes to contribute to the dynamic discourse on the fascinating textual and manuscript culture of the Latin Middle Ages.

1. Obscurity and the canon

Deciding between what is clear and what is obscure is obviously dependent on all types of contexts—linguistic, cultural, or social—and thus

closely linked to the problem of canonicity and normativity. We perceive as obscure what does not fit the established categories and does not follow the set rules. Since these categories and rules are neither fixed nor ultimate, what is considered obscure changes together with them. The “exceptional” is usually what remains outside of the established “norm,” and thus its status is fluid and dependent on the perspective taken. What enters the picture as obscure might very quickly become the norm, pushing what was originally clear to the obscure peripheries. The evaluation is not fixed in any way either—there are and always will be admirers of the centers as well as admirers of the peripheries.

An excellent example is Medieval Latin itself: it is generally accepted that the sense of the norm in the Latin language in the Middle Ages was much weaker than in the Classical period. The “correct” was still usually distinguished from the “incorrect” (often unclear), but not always in a coherent way and not on all levels.¹ Medieval Latin is characterized by a high tolerance to variants, and a lack of concern for a systematic use of the “correct” language. E.g., there are almost no rules for Medieval Latin spelling after Late Antiquity (with occasional waves of attempts at returning to the classical rules)—spelling changes not only depending on time and space (which are not arbitrary, since they reflect the actual pronunciation), but even within a single text copied by one scribe.²

A number of medieval texts are considered obscure today and they were considered obscure in the Middle Ages as well. Some apt examples are the *Hisperica famina* (ca. 6th-10th c.),³ the *Epitomae* and *Epistolae* by Virgilius Maro Grammaticus (prob. 7th c.),⁴ the *Occupatio* by Odo of Cluny (926-942),⁵

¹ See, e.g., Peter Stotz, “Normgebundenheit, Normen-Entfaltung und Spontaneität im mittelalterlichen Latein,” in *The Dawn of the Written Vernacular in Western Europe*, ed. Michèle Goyens and Werner Verbeke, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series 1, Studia 33 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 39-49.

² See, e.g., Peter Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, 5 vols. (Munich: Beck, 1996-2004), or Greti Dinkova-Bruun, “Medieval Latin,” in *A Companion to the Latin Language*, ed. James Clackson (Malden, MA: Wiley, 2011), 284-302.

³ See, e.g., Andy Orchard, “The *Hisperica Famina* as Literature,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000): 1-45; Gabriele Knappe, “On Rhetoric and Grammar in the *Hisperica famina*,” *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994): 130-62; John Carey, “The Obscurantists and the Sea-Monster: Reflections on the *Hisperica famina*,” *Peritia* 17-18 (2003-2004): 40-60. See also Michael Lapidge, “The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth Century Anglo-Latin,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975): 67-111.

⁴ Edited most recently by Bengt Löfstedt, *Virgilius Maro Grammaticus: Opera Omnia* (Munich: KG Saur, 2003). Previous editions are Giovanni Polara, trans., L. Caruso and G. Polara, eds., *Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, Epitomi ed Epistole*, Nuovo medio-evo 9 (Naples: Liguori, 1979), and Johannes Huemer, ed., *Virgilio Maronis grammatici opera* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1886).

Atto of Vercelli's *Polipticum* (10th c.).⁶ There is also a great number of relevant writings in vernacular.⁷ All these texts employ words and phrases of unknown meaning, and are thus difficult to understand and interpret. Usually, their purpose is unclear, too, and it is often suggested that their aim was to baffle the readers.⁸

Another common characteristic of these texts is that they were not widely diffused and do not seem to have had a large influence. The *Epistolae* and *Epitomae* survive in a single manuscript (and part of the text is actually missing) and almost no traces exist of their medieval reception. There are two manuscripts of Atto's *Polipticum* (in one of them the text is made clearer through changed word order and glosses) and virtually no evidence of reception. The *Hisperica famina* is a different case: even though it was also apparently not much widespread, the hisperic style is not restricted to this one text; a cultural milieu favoring this type of obscure writing seems to have existed in seventh- to eighth-century Ireland. Similarly, the very complex and till this day much obscure scaldic poetry distinguished a spe-

⁵ See, e.g., Margit Sterl, "Sprachliche Untersuchungen zur *Occupatio* des Odo von Cluny," PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1987; Jan Ziolkowski, "The *Occupatio* by Odo of Cluny. A Poetic Manifesto of Monasticism in the Tenth Century," in *Lateinische Kultur im X. Jahrhundert. Akten des I. internationalen Mittellateiner-kongresses Heidelberg, 12. - 15. IX. 1988*, ed. Walter Berschin, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24/25 (1989/1990): 559-67.

⁶ Edited by Georg Goetz, *Attonis qui fertur Polipticum quod appellatur Perpendicularum*, Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 32.7 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1922); see also Carla Frova, "Il *Polittico* attribuito ad Attone vescovo di Vercelli (924-960 ca.): tra storia e grammatica," *Bulletino dell'istituto storico italiano* 90 (1982/3): 1-75.

⁷ The most relevant recent volume is *Obscuritas: Retorica e poetica dell'oscuro. Atti del XXVIII Convegno Interuniversitario di Bressanone (12-15 luglio 2001)*, eds. Giosuè Lachin and Francesco Zambon, *Labirinti* 71 (Trento: Università degli Studi di Trento, 2004). For studies on obscurity in Medieval German literature, see also Alessandro Zironi, *Enigmi di sapienza nel Medioevo tedesco* (Padova: Unipress, 2001), Tomas Tomasek, *Das deutsche Rätsel im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1994); in Medieval French, see, e.g., Jeff Rider, "The Perpetual Enigma in Chrétien's Grail Episode," *Arthuriana* 8:1 (1998): 6-21.

⁸ In fact, it seems that the more obscure a text is on the literal level, that is, the more difficult it is to decode its simple, face value meaning, the more likely it is that the text's meaning would be interpreted as the demonstration of the skill of its author. The most obscure texts are self-referential acts, metalinguistic endeavors: they cannot hope to transfer a specific message about the outside reality, but they can aptly show that language is not always a sufficient means of transferring a message, that real communication is impossible. This kind of a message might have not been the one intended by the author but it is the only decodeable message after the level of obscurity rises up to incomprehensibility.

cific culture of a given time and place.⁹ Nevertheless, these texts usually remained in the “periphery” during the Middle Ages.

In addition to texts that were obscure for the medievals and are still perceived as obscure today, there are texts that seem quite obscure to contemporary scholars but they were not viewed as obscure during the Middle Ages and were fully integrated into the mainstream culture; their obscurity was not considered striking or unusual but natural. A particular example of such a text is the focus of this volume. Here it is not assumed that “obscure” was equated with “unusual, special, exceptional” in the Middle Ages; instead the focus is placed on its primary meaning of “unclear, difficult to understand,” and its role in medieval Latin manuscripts is examined.

2. Medieval discourses on obscurity

In order to try to retrieve what was perceived as obscure during the Middle Ages,¹⁰ the argument develops around two main medieval discourses that explicitly address the subject of obscurity, exegetical and rhetorical-poetic discourse. Each of them has a different perspective and approach and yet they are complementary in forming the implicit medieval about the concept.

a) *Subduing pride by toil? Scriptural obscurity*

Sed multis et multiplicibus obscuritatibus et ambiguitatibus decipiuntur, qui temere legunt, aliud pro alio sentientes, quibusdam autem locis, quid uel falso suspicentur, non inueniunt: ita obscure dicta quaedam densissimam caliginem obducunt. Quod totum prouisum esse diuinitus non dubito ad edomandam labore superbiam et intellectum a fastidio reuocandum, cui facile inuestigata plerumque uilescent.

But hasty and careless readers are led astray by many and manifold obscurities and ambiguities, substituting one meaning for another; and in some places they cannot hit upon even a fair interpretation. Some of the expressions are so obscure as to shroud the meaning in the thickest darkness. And I do not doubt that all this was divinely arranged for the purpose of subduing pride by toil, and of preventing a feeling of satiety in the intellect, which generally holds in small esteem what is discovered without difficulty.

Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, 2.6

From all the possible obscurities, it is the obscurity of the Scriptures—an ongoing challenge to the exegetes—that is discussed the most throughout

⁹ See, e.g., Jónas Kristjánsson, *Eddas and Sagas. Iceland's Medieval Literature*, trans. Peter Foote (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1988).

¹⁰ For a general definition, see Dietmar Till, “Obscuritas,” in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vol. 6, ed. Gert Ueding (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003), cols. 358-86.

the Middle Ages. The Scriptures, as well as the entire world, are the reflection of God's will and nature and can never be completely grasped in this life. The most frequently quoted biblical passage in this context is St. Paul's *per speculum in enigmate* (1 Cor 13,12).¹¹

In the passage quoted above, Augustine, within his most influential "theory of signs," presents his notion of scriptural enigma:¹² enigmas in the scriptures are intentional and we must work hard to understand them. The toil causes us to be more modest, and it gives us greater appreciation for what we learn. Augustine proceeds to offer an example of scriptural enigma:

Quid enim est, quaeso, quod si quisquam dicat sanctos esse homines atque perfectos, quorum uita et moribus christi ecclesia de quibuslibet superstitionibus praedicat eos, qui ad se ueniunt et imitatione bonorum sibimet quodammodo incorporat; qui boni fideles et ueri dei serui deponentes onera saeculi ad sanctum baptismi lauacrum uenerunt atque inde ascendentes conceptione sancti spiritus fructum dant geminae caritatis, id est dei et proximi. Quid est ergo, quod, si haec quisquam dicat, minus delectat audientem, quam si ad eundem sensum locum illum exponat de canticis canticorum, ubi dictum est ecclesiae, cum tamquam pulchra quaedam femina laudaretur: dentes tui sicut grex detonsarum ascendens de lauacro, quae omnes geminos creant, et sterilis non est in illis? Num aliud homo discit, quam cum illud planissimis uerbis sine similitudinis huius adminiculo audiret?

For why is it, I ask, that if any one says that there are holy and just men whose life and conversation the Church of Christ uses as a means of redeeming those who come to it from all kinds of superstitions, and making them through their imitation of good men members of its own body; men who, as good and true servants of God, have come to the baptismal font laying down the burdens of the world, and who rising thence do, through the implanting of the Holy Spirit, yield the fruit of a two-fold love, a love, that is, of God and their neighbor; how is it, I say, that if a man says this, he does not please his hearer so much as when he draws the same meaning from that passage in Canticles, where it is said of the Church, when it is being praised under the figure of a beautiful woman, 'Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are shorn which came up from the washing, whereof every one bears twins, and none is barren among them?' Does the hearer learn anything more than when he listens to the same thought expressed in the plainest language, without the help of this figure?

¹¹ *Nunc videmus tanquam per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem...* In the Douay-Rheims Bible: "We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face. Now I know in part; but then I shall know even as I am known." King James Version: "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." Within this volume, I cite the Vulgate always according to the Clementine version available at: <http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/html>, and its English translation according to the Douay-Rheims Bible at <http://www.drbo.org> (both accessed August 20, 2012).

¹² See, e.g., Robert A. Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs," *Phronesis* 2:1 (1957): 60-83.

He notes here that the same information could have been put much more simply and clearly, but proceeds to make a comment that sounds disarmingly honest:

Et tamen nescio quomodo suavius intueor sanctos, cum eos quasi dentes ecclesiae uideo praecidere ab erroribus homines atque in eius corpus emollita quasi demorsos mansos que transferre. Oues etiam iucundissime agnosco detonsas oneribus saecularibus tamquam uelleribus positis et ascendentes de lauacro, id est de baptisate, creare omnes gemonis, duo praecepta dilectionis, et nullam esse ab isto sancto fructu sterilem uideo.

And yet, I don't know why, I feel greater pleasure in contemplating holy men, when I view them as the teeth of the Church, tearing men away from their errors, and bringing them into the Church's body, with all their harshness softened down, just as if they had been torn off and masticated by the teeth. It is with the greatest pleasure, too, that I recognize them under the figure of sheep that have been shorn, laying down the burdens of the world like fleeces, and coming up from the washing, i.e., from baptism, and all bearing twins, i.e., the twin commandments of love, and none among them barren in that holy fruit.

He describes "the greater pleasure" resulting from contemplating the enigma but refuses to explain its source:

Sed quare suavius uideam, quam si nulla de diuinis libris talis similitudo promeretur, cum res eadem sit eadem que cognitio, difficile est dicere et alia quaestio est. Nunc tamen nemo ambigit et per similitudines libentius quaeque cognosci et cum aliqua difficultate quaesita multo gratius inueniri. Quid enim prorsus inueniunt, quod quaerunt, fame laborant; qui autem non quaerunt, quia in promptu habent, fastidio saepe marcescunt; in utroque autem languor cauendus est. Magnifice igitur et salubriter spiritus sanctus ita scripturas sanctas modificauit, ut locis apertioribus fami occurreret, obscurioribus autem fastidia deterget. Nihil enim fere de illis obscuritatibus eruitur, quod non planissime dictum alibi reperiatur.

But why I view them with greater delight under that aspect than if no such figure were drawn from the sacred books, though the fact would remain the same and the knowledge the same, is another question, and one very difficult to answer. Nobody, however, has any doubt about the facts, both that it is pleasanter in some cases to have knowledge communicated through figures, and that what is attended with difficulty in the seeking gives greater pleasure in the finding. For those who seek but do not find suffer from hunger. Those, again, who do not seek at all because they have what they require just beside them often grow languid from satiety. Now weakness from either of these causes is to be avoided. Accordingly the Holy Spirit has, with admirable wisdom and care for our welfare, so arranged the Holy Scriptures as by the plainer passages to satisfy our hunger, and by the more obscure to stimulate our appetite. For almost nothing is dug out of those obscure passages which may not be found set forth in the plainest language elsewhere.

Throughout the passage Augustine stresses that the obscure and enigmatic character of Scripture is intentional. It does not carry a new meaning in itself (the same message can be found elsewhere in the Bible in a direct

form); rather, its importance lies in the fact that it brings about toil for those encountering the text, because it is the fruits of hard work that are appreciated the most. For Augustine, the fact that the results achieved through much toil give greater pleasure is an actual observation. He does not intend to elaborate on it on a theoretical level.

Today's reader of this text (as well as of most medieval exegetical treatises) is primarily baffled by the apparent certainty of the author that a particular biblical passage should really carry the proposed meaning. Having concerns for the time and the context of its origin, we may have difficulty in accepting without question that a passage from the Song of Songs refers to Christian Saints.

However, medieval exegesis worked within a different framework, with different suppositions, concerns, and concepts, and thus, obviously, with different results. Is it even relevant to ask to what degree medieval exegetes were certain of the correctness of their interpretation when facing obscurity or an enigma? It obviously differs greatly among authors, as well as within particular texts—sometimes one solution is proposed with absolute certainty, other times several suggestions are made with the author not ready to support one of them wholeheartedly, yet other times several very vague ideas are presented. Common to most medieval exegesis is the certainty that a meaning *is* present, and the feeling of necessity for trying to understand it (although we are doomed to fail at grasping it fully)—both of these feelings were also expressed by Augustine in the passage quoted above.

Later exegetes and theologians largely drew on Augustine in this respect. Developing the well-established parallel between reading and eating, they compared approaching Scripture to getting the nut out of its hard shell, or sweet honey out of the honeycomb—thus showing the pleasure that follows toil.¹³ Throughout the Middle Ages the sacred page is

¹³ E.g., Hugh of St. Victor in his *Didascalicon* V.2: *unde modo mirabili omnis divina scriptura ita per Dei sapientiam convenienter suis partibus aptata est atque disposita, ut quidquid in ea continetur aut vice chordarum spiritualis intelligentiae suavitatem personet, aut per historiae seriem et litterae soliditatem mysteriorum dicta sparsim posita continens, et quasi in unum connectens, ad modum ligni concavi super extensas chordas simul copulet, earumque sonum recipiens in se, dulciorem auribus referat, quem non solum chorda edidit, sed et lignum modulo corporis sui formavit. sic et mel in favo gratius, et quidquid maiori exercitio quaeritur, maiori etiam desiderio invenitur.* At the same time an image of simple sweetness of the Scriptures exists, not accompanied by any toil and hardships. Or, the original difficulty of the Scripture is contrasted to its exegesis: some exegetes present their writings as the opposite of obscurity; using the same parallel they explain that what they offer is a careful and easily accessible selection, they stress that they had to sweeten the food so that the young eat it more willingly, or that they provide a good choice of different types of

viewed as an encoded message that cannot be fully decoded in this life; it presents a great enigma, an eternal challenge. Engaging with it, however, is a praiseworthy act bringing one closer to God.¹⁴

b) Obscurity in rhetoric and poetics

The second type of medieval discourse on obscurity takes a completely different starting point: it is concerned with creating rather than interpreting obscurity. Obscurity becomes a means of encoding the intended meaning—a strategy that is either suggested or met with disapproval within rhetoric and poetic treatises but never questioned.

In rhetoric, the word *obscuritas* is used in definitions of *aenigma*, which is discussed as a rhetorical trope. Enigma is generally classified as a type of allegory, distinguished from the other types precisely by its obscurity. In the Middle Ages the ancient opinions concerning a definition seem to be largely lost,¹⁵ and the meaning given by Donatus' (4th c., teacher of Jerome) in his *Ars maior* is quoted again and again:

*Allegoria est tropus, quo aliud significatur quam dicitur... Huius species multae sunt, ex quibus eminent septem: ironia, antiphrasis, aenigma, charientismos, paroemia, sarcasmos, astismos... Aenigma est obscura sententia per occultam similitudinem rerum, ut: 'mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur ex me,' cum significet aquam in glaciem concrecere et ex eadem rursus effluere.*¹⁶

Allegory is a trope by which something else is meant than what is said. [...] There are many of its types, among them seven are most prominent: irony, antiphrasis, enigma, charientism, paroemia, sarcasm, astism. [...] Enigma is an

food, so that one does not have to eat too much (does not have to go through huge volumes) and get a stomach ache.

¹⁴ This is, of course, a very complex issue presented here in a simplified manner. For basic details, see Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre senses de l'écriture* (Paris: Aubier, 1959-1964); Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd corr. ed. (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1982).

¹⁵ For obscurity in Antiquity, see e.g., Manfred Fuhrmann, "Obscuritas. Das Problem der Dunkelheit in der rhetorischen und literarästhetischen Theorie der Antike," in *Immanente Ästhetik—Ästhetische Reflexion: Lyrik als Paradigma der Moderne*, ed. Wolfgang Iser, *Poetik und Hermeneutik 2* (Munich: Fink, 1983 [1st ed. 1966]), 47-72.

¹⁶ Donatus, *Ars maior*, *De tropis*, 17. The translation here and elsewhere, unless otherwise noted, is mine. Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* (book 8, chapter 6, par. 126, line 24) is basically the same, although not as influential: *sed allegoria, quae est obscurior, 'aenigma' dicitur*. Donatus reappears in, e.g., Hugh of St. Victor's *De grammatica* and William of Ockham's *Summa logicae* (part 3, 4, chapter 6). In *De schematibus et tropis* Bede repeats the same but changes the example: *Enigma est obscura sententia per occultam similitudinem rerum, ut: 'pennae columbae deargentatae, et posteriora dorsi eius in specie auri' cum significet eloquia scripturae spiritalis diuino lumine plena, sensum uero eius interiorem maiori caelestis sapientiae gratia refulgentem, uel certe uitam sanctae ecclesiae praesentem, uirtutum pennis gaudentem, futuram autem, quae in caelis est, aeterna cum domino claritate fruituram* (CETEDOC).

obscure expression through a hidden similitude of things, as: ‘mother bore me and will soon be born out of me,’ which signifies water becoming ice and flowing again out of ice.

From among the many followers of Donatus, Sedulius Scotus claims most simply: *enigma est obscuritas* (“enigma is an obscurity”).¹⁷ However, *enigma* appears as a sub-species of allegory, not necessarily only in grammars and rhetoric, but also in exegetical texts, e.g., Augustine’s *aenigma est obscura parabola quae difficile intellegitur* (“enigma is an obscure parable that is difficult to understand”)¹⁸ or Andrew of St. Victor’s (c.1110–1175) phrase *Aenigma non quaelibet, sed obscura et quasi problematica allegoriae species esse dicitur* (“enigma is said to be not just any, but an obscure and, as if puzzling, type of allegory”).¹⁹ We also encounter it slightly refashioned in the context of preaching, such as in *Summa de arte praedicandi* by Thomas de Chobham (1160-ca.1233):

Parabola autem et paradigma et enigma sunt communes modi significandi in theologia et in philosophia [...] Philosophi tamen distinguunt quatuor genera similitudinum, scilicet ycos, paradigma, parabola et enigma. Omnia igitur ista per similitudines attenduntur. [...] Enigma est obscure similitudinis obscura sententia. In hoc enim solo differt enigma a predictis tribus: quod obscuriorem habet similitudinem et sententiam quam predicta tria [...] Hinc enigma solet obscura parabola dici. Ycos autem et paradigma in sacra pagina non leguntur. Parabola autem et enigma sepe.

Parable and paradigm and enigma are common types of signification in theology and philosophy... But philosophers distinguish four types of similitudes, which are ycos, paradigma, parable and enigma. All these are achieved by similitudes... Enigma is an obscure statement of obscure similitude. Only in this aspect does enigma differ from the above mentioned three, that its similitude and its statement are more obscure than in the above mentioned three... Thus enigma is often called obscure parable. Ycos and paradigma are not read in the Sacred Page, but parable and enigma are often.

Whatever the particular context, *aenigma* functions as the term and *obscuritas* as its main distinguishing characteristic. Within the context of other types of allegory, enigma is the problematic one, where the connection between what is said and what is meant is far from clear. At the same time, there is an underlying assumption that enigma does have a recoverable meaning, a clear solution. Yet, none of these texts deal with the actual methods and intricacies in creating and solving an enigma.

¹⁷ *Sedulius Scotus in Donati Artem maiorem*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, Grammatici hibernici carolini evi III-1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977).

¹⁸ *Ennarationes in Psalmos* (Psalm 48, sermon 1, par. 5, line 28).

¹⁹ Andreas de Sancto Victore: *Expositiones historicae in libros Salomonis, Expositio historica in Parabolis* (CETEDOC).

According to the above quoted definitions, enigma is an expression that makes sense on the level of vocabulary, grammar and syntax, but either its reference to reality is suspicious (as in the example of a mother being born out of her child), or its context suggests that it should be understood as referring to something other than what it initially seems (e.g., Augustine's teeth as a flock of sheep from the Song of Songs). The concept of obscurity is, however, potentially a larger one: it can also include cases with unclear or non-standard syntax, grammar, vocabulary, or all of these. It is exactly in opposition to *perspicuitas* (clarity) that *obscuritas* is most often discussed in rhetoric. This topic was previously addressed in detail by Quintillian, who speaks in favor of clarity when giving advice to his readers on style.²⁰

Within twelfth- and thirteenth-century arts of poetry, obscurity is conceived as a kind of decoration of the speech (*ornatus*). The authors share the idea that the poet has a clear message to transmit, but that he does not and should not do so directly—he makes it difficult (obscure), and thus more interesting for his readers. At the same time however, he should be careful to not use obscurity excessively. These were the ideas of Matthew Vendôme²¹ as well as Geoffrey of Vinsauf,²² although they differ in their presentations: Matthew is very clear, while Geoffrey's art of poetry is in itself a poem actively applying all the devices discussed, including obscurity.

Jan Ziolkowski demonstrated in detail the medieval oscillations between recommending clarity and suggesting obscurity. He concluded that there is no general rule for success—sometimes clarity is condemned as a too “cheap” way of attracting readers, other times it is obscurity. It is impossible to draw a clear dividing line between how much obscurity makes the work attractive before it becomes repulsive—too many other aspects that have influence on the reception of a text are always present, such as the cultural and social milieux, or tradition.²³ In any case, what seems to be truly characteristic of the Middle Ages is that there is no attempt to eliminate

²⁰ E.g., Quintillian; see Päivi Mehtonen, *Obscure Language—Unclear Literature. Theory and Practice from Quintilian to the Enlightenment* (Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2003), and Päivi Mehtonen, “Obscurity as a Linguistic Device: Introductory and Historical Notes,” *Danish Yearbook of Philosophy* 31 (1996): 157-68.

²¹ See, *Mathei Vindociensis Opera III. Ars Versificatoria*, ed. Franco Munari (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1988); Matthew of Vendôme, *The Art of Versification*, trans. Aubrey E. Galyon (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1980).

²² See *Galfridus de Vinsauf, The Poetria Nova and Its Sources in Early Rhetorical Doctrine*, ed. Ernest Gallo (Paris: Mouton, 1971); English translation by Margaret Frances Nims, *Poetria nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967).

²³ Jan Ziolkowski, “Theories of Obscurity in the Latin Tradition,” *Mediaevalia* 19 (1996): 101-67.

obscurity altogether, or to redefine it as a subjective feature (as occurred with the 19th c. romantic concept of the genius, or the 20th c. concept of the subconscious).

c) Encountered vs. created obscurity

The two medieval discourses addressing the notion of obscurity, that is, biblical exegesis and rhetoric-poetics, present two different approaches to obscurity due to the different positions of the authors of these texts. Biblical exegetes are those who encounter obscurity and try to understand and decode it. Since the particular obscure text that they are struggling with has the highest possible authority, they do not dismiss it, and they do not doubt that there is a meaning behind it. Obscurity for them is a challenge (which does not mean that the commentaries they create strive for absolute clarity).²⁴

As opposed to this, within rhetoric and poetics, obscurity is something to be actively employed, it is a way of encoding the message. It may be recommended as a refreshing strategy to draw more attention to one's text, or it may be advised against as bothersome and burdensome to readers. Literature will always move between the two extremes of the absolutely clear (boring, dull) and absolutely obscure (incomprehensible). In addition, the unresolved (or unresolvable) obscurity is sometimes appreciated; it seems that it is not necessary to fully understand in order to enjoy.²⁵

Two more examples of these two basic approaches are in place. In his *De dialectica*, Augustine speaks of three kinds of obscurity:

Unum est quod sensui patet, animo clausum est: tamquam si quis malum punicum pictum videat, qui neque viderit aliquando nec omnino quale esset audierit, non oculorum est, sed animi, quod cuius rei pictura sit nescit. Alterum genus est, ubi res animo pateret, nisi sensui clauderetur: sicuti est homo pictus in tenebris. Nam ubi oculis apparuerit, nihil animus hominem pictum esse dubitavit. Tertium genus est, in quo etiam sensui absconditur, quod tamen si nudaretur nihilo magis animo emineret, quod genus est omnium obscurissimum: ut si imperitus malum illud punicum pictum etiam in tenebris cogeretur agnoscere.

The first is when something is manifest to the senses but is closed to the mind, as, for example, if someone sees a picture of a red apple, who has never seen an apple or heard what it is; his failure to know what it is a picture of is due not to

²⁴ See Päivi Mehtonen, "Scriptural Difficulty and the Obscurity of Historia," in *Historia: The Concept and Genres*, eds. Päivi Mehtonen and Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, *Commentationes humanarum litterarum* 116 (Helsinki: Societas scientiarum Fennica, 2000), 51-67.

²⁵ I addressed this topic in the context of the reception of the obscure but very popular opuscle *Cena Cypriani*; see *Reception and Its Varieties: Reading, Re-Writing, and Understanding 'Cena Cypriani' in the Middle Ages*, Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 75 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2007), 253-58.

his eyes but to his mind. There is another kind of obscurity when the thing would be manifest to the mind if it were not closed to the senses, as in the case of a picture of a man which is in the dark; for as soon as it is visible to the eyes the mind will in no way doubt that a man is pictured. There is a third kind of obscurity, the most obscure of all three, when something is hidden to the senses and even if it were to be revealed nothing more would be clear to the mind, as when a man with no knowledge of apples tries to recognize a picture of an apple in the dark.²⁶

He bases his division on the point of view of the spectator—the one encountering obscurity. The objects he describes here as “obscure” (a picture of an apple and a picture of a man), are not obscure in themselves. It is the lack of knowledge, or the lack of sensual perception, or both, that makes them obscure to the viewer. The obscurity is then a result of various types of “impediments” to perception. Without impediments there is no obscurity, and thus it might seem that obscurity is something imposed and removable. Yet, the implicit framework of this discussion is different: being human in this passing world is an unavoidable impediment—obscurity is a fact of terrestrial existence.

An opposite approach to the types of obscurity, one rooted in the rhetoric-poetic discourse is found by Virgilius Maro Grammaticus (probably living in the first half of the seventh century,²⁷ perhaps in Ireland²⁸), the author of the two already mentioned unquestioningly obscure treatises on grammar, *Epitomae* and *Epistolae*. These texts are formed on the model of Donatus’ *Ars maior* and *Ars minor* but the non-negligible difference in comparison to Donatus lies in the fact that Virgilius’ grammar deals with fictional grammatical rules and features, uses fabricated words, and cites

²⁶ *Augustine: De dialectica*, trans. D. Darrell Jackson, Synthese Historical Library 16 (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing, 1975), 104-05.

²⁷ This assumption (which is not unanimously accepted) is based on Virgilius’ dependence on Isidore of Seville and on being quoted in some sources from the second half of the seventh century. The first full surviving manuscripts come only from the ninth and tenth centuries.

²⁸ Although there is no direct evidence, his Irish origin is much promoted by Michael Herren (“Some new light on the life of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 79, section C [1979]: 27-71), and his works are often seen as precursors to the specific Irish poetic tradition later developed in *Hisperica famina* and culminating in James Joyce’s *Finnegan’s Wake*. Vivien Law thought that the author might have been English, see Vivien Law, *Insular Latin Grammarians* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982), 87. Virgilius himself makes an indirect mention of his origin in Gaul. Abbo of Fleury calls him *Tolosanus* (of Toulouse). He was also considered to be a Jew: many of the strange words he uses seemed to be of Hebrew origin. The most curious (and the least accepted) is the idea of Leo Wiener, who sees Virgilius as coming from an Arabic culture and who interprets most of his obscurities as words of Arabic origin (Leo Wiener, *Contributions Toward a History of Arabico-Gothic Culture* [Piscataway: Gorgias Press LLC, 2002], 21).

nonexistent authorities. Its most famous passages include a fourteen-day debate over the vocative of *ego* and the discussion of twelve types of Latin-ity. The purpose of these texts has been much disputed.²⁹

Among other things, Virgilius discusses a strategy that he calls *scindera-tio fonorum*, the breaking of words. The term encompasses a number of practices on different levels: the change in order of verses, the change in order of words, or splitting up a word and placing each of its parts at a different spot in a sentence. When concerned with an individual word, the order of syllables or letters in a word are changed, or the word is transformed by adding or omitting some of its letters or syllables, as well as changing some letters or syllables. Thus, on this level, *scindera-tio fonorum* is basically any transformation of a word into a word composed of the same or partly different letters. Virgilius gives three reasons for this practice:

Ob tres causas fona finduntur: prima est ut sagacitatem discentium nostrorum in inquirendis atque in inveniendis his quaeque obscura sunt adprobemus. Secunda est propter decorem aedificationemque eloquentiae. Tertia ne mystica quaeque et quae solis gnaris pandi debent passim ab infimis ac stultis facile repperiantur, ne secundum antiquum sues gemmas calcent.

The words are cut apart [and then mixed] for three reasons: first, so that we establish the acuteness of the perception of our students in searching and discovering these obscure things. Second, because of the ornamentation and construction of the speech. Third, so that mystical mysteries and those which should be apparent only to the knowledgeable, would not by chance be easily found by the inferior and the stupid, so that, according to an ancient saying, the swine would not tread on precious stones.³⁰

These are very general reasons, and could be easily taken as three types of aims when creating an obscurity. Indeed, obscurity may be a riddle, a means of education, or, as seen with rhetoric and poetics, a way of ornamenting the speech, or a way of encoding secret messages.

From these reasons, the third one is most often interpreted as the most crucial, or even as the only relevant one. Vivien Law employs it to interpret

²⁹ Previous scholarship considered it to be a parody; see Paul Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1963), 9-10; Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984), 14; Martha Bayless, *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996). However, Vivien Law pointed out, the work seems to be a bit too long for that purpose, and should be rather taken seriously, see Vivien Law, *The History of Linguistics in Europe from Plato to 1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 120. Aldo D. Scaglione calls Virgilius “hermetic, cabbalistic and pseudo-Asianist” in *The Classical Theory of Composition: From Its Origins to the Present: A Historical Survey* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 119.

³⁰ Epitome 10 (Huemer, *Virgilio* 76; Polara, *Virgilius*, 128). Here and everywhere within the volume the translations are mine unless noted otherwise.

the whole of Virgilius Maro's grammar as hiding mystical truths on divine and human knowledge.³¹ Michael Herren quotes it when suggesting that Virgilius himself uses scrambling *Maro-Roma-mare* to hide, in a sophisticated way, the fact that he came from Ireland—the land by the sea.³²

Virgilius' second possible reason for *scinderatio* is referred to by scholars when they identify this strategy in medieval poetry, e.g., in the works of Aldhelm³³ or Arbeo of Freising.³⁴ This practice was indeed not an uncommon poetic strategy, but no other medieval author explicitly describes it. Scholars usually do not assert that poets were actually familiar with Virgilius' work; rather they state that their strategies conform to his *scinderatio*.³⁵

In a way, both reasons create an exclusive relationship between the encoding author and the reader who succeeds in decoding. Obscurity (in the form of *scinderatio*, or in another form) thus results in creating an elite, that is, a group of those who understand. To date, Virgilius' first reason has been primarily neglected, perhaps for seeming too obvious. But it is exactly this reason—"so that we establish the acuteness of perception of the students" (*sagacitatem discentium adprobare*)—that is, in my opinion, the most important for the Late Middle Ages, especially since it places the *scinderatio*, and the practice of creating of obscurity in general, in the wider

³¹ Vivien Law, *Wisdom, Authority, and Grammar in the Seventh Century: Decoding Virgilius Maro Grammaticus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), or her "Learning to Read with the *oculi mentis*: Virgilius Maro Grammaticus," *Literature and Theology* 3 (1989): 159-72.

³² See Michael Herren, "The Pseudonymous Tradition in Hiberno-Latin: An Introduction," in *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400-900: Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, eds. John O'Meara and Bernd Naumann (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 126. I do not find Herren's analysis sufficiently grounded.

³³ See Kevin R. Duney, "Allegorical Theory and Aldhelm's Obscurity," in *Allegoresis. The Craft of Allegory in Medieval Literature*, ed. J. Stephen Russell (New York: Garland, 1988), 3-26; or Vivien Law, "The Latin and Old English Glosses in the *ars Tatuini*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 6 (1997): 85.

³⁴ See Lothar Vogel, *Vom Werden eines Heiligen: Eine Untersuchung der 'Vita Corbiniani' des Bischofs Arbeo von Freising*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* 77 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), 173; or Harald Wunder, "Arbeo von Freising," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. Kurt Ruh (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), vol. 1, col. 420.

³⁵ See, e.g., A. F. Ozanam who states this about Alcuin's verse *Te cupiens appel—peregrinis—lare camoenis* (Antoni F. Ozanam, *La civilisation chrétienne chez les Francs* (Paris: Jacques le Coffre, 1849), 523; or Michael Lapidge, "The Hermeneutic Style," 147. There are, of course, exceptions. E.g., Abbo of Fleury and Atto of Vercelli explicitly mention Virgilius. Direct influence is also claimed in the case of several Irish poets: it has been argued that Virgilius' grammar had a strong impact on Irish poetry and language—in many cases two variants of a word existed side by side, one of them supposedly better fitting for poetry.

context of education, thus making it a social and cultural rather than an elite phenomenon.³⁶

3. Obscurity and memory

During the Late Middle Ages, both the described discourses continue to coexist side by side but obscurity appears also at the very centre of cultural context: within education. Obscurity was a means of teaching, it operated as a riddle that the students should solve, because information acquired in such an indirect way would stick to their memory better. As a didactic method, it uses Augustine's idea of pleasure following toil.

A suitable example of the theoretical discussion of the use of obscurity for memory are the treatises on the art of memory, *artes memoriae*.³⁷ Already as texts these treatises often seem obscure—it is not quite clear what their authors mean, and whether it could have possibly been useful to anyone. For these reasons, they have also been neglected or interpreted as a passtime of very few intellectuals for a long time. Yet, recent research shows very clearly that the art of memory was applied in practice by both students and preachers,³⁸ and is, again, perhaps obscure in the meaning of “not clear,” but definitely not obscure in the meaning of “outside the mainstream,” or “marginal.” The treatises are obscure because they were never meant to be self-explanatory, they were intended to be accompanied by an oral elucidation.

At the same time, obscurity plays an important role within the precepts of these treatises, too. Creating obscurity—creating an image that is unusual, striking, and unclear as far as its meaning is concerned—is suggested as the basic strategy for remembering. The modern supposition that there was a cultural progression leading from the complicated to the

³⁶ This context for *Epistolae* and *Epitomae* in general is often mentioned but not explored from this specific perspective. Vivien Law interpreted Virgilius' work in the context of adjusting Donatus for non-native speakers of Latin. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín presented Virgilius as an excellent teacher, liked by his students for being able to make grammar fun; see Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, “Hiberno-Latin Literature to 1169,” in *Prehistoric and Early Ireland: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, vol. I, ed. D. Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 388–89.

³⁷ There is ample literature on the topic. See, e.g., Sabine Heimann Seelbach, *Ars und Scientia. Genese, Überlieferung und Funktionen der mnemotechnischen Traktatliteratur im 15. Jahrhundert. Mit Edition und Untersuchung dreier deutscher Traktate und ihrer lateinischen Vorlagen* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000).

³⁸ For a detailed discussion of the actual practice of the art of memory in Poland, see Rafał Wójcik, ‘*Opusculum de arte memorativa*’ *Jana Szklarka. Bernardyński traktat mnemotechniczny z 1504 roku*, *Prace Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej* 28 (Poznań: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 2006); and in the Czech lands, see Lucie Doležalová, “*Fugere artem memorativam?* The Art of Memory in Late Medieval Bohemia (a Preliminary Survey),” *Studia mediaevalia Bohemica* 2:2 (2010): 221–60.

simple based on the gradual increase in knowledge is actually far from self-evident. As Niek Veldhuis aptly showed, the ancient cuneiform script was so complex not because its users were unable to create a simple script, but because they wanted to make an elite group out of the scribes on whom the rest of the society was thus dependent.³⁹ Similarly, Paul Saenger argues that the introduction of spaces in Latin script was due to the rise of silent reading; before, when all reading was pronounced (even if quietly), the lack of spaces was intentional so that one would be forced to proceed slowly. Therefore, the “innovation” of introducing spaces was simply an appropriation of writing to a new context, not “progress” in writing.⁴⁰

Thus, “making things difficult” may often have been a very conscious process. By not being offered the message in the most simple and straightforward way, the audience was encouraged to think, to wonder, to interpret. Once they found the solution, it stuck in their minds better because of the efforts they had to make—exactly as the authors of *artes memoriae* stressed in theory and the authors of the mnemonic tools applied in practice. The art of memory is a specific example of making things difficult for oneself, of complicating one’s own access to stored knowledge on purpose, in order to keep one’s mind active. At the same time, the art is personal. It is explicitly acknowledged that what suits the memory of one person may be useless for another, and thus everyone should create mnemonic aids to fit his or her own memory.

While this works fine in theory, there are many problems in practice, some of which are associated with the application of obscurity in the Middle Ages, others with retrieving its meanings and function today. This practice is different from ours: mnemonic tools are not where we usually expect to encounter obscurity. Textual tools in general (e.g., vocabularies, tables of contents, concordances) are meant to help access other texts, they are supposed to be clear, well-arranged, and comprehensive. They present the same material as the original text, but in a different way so as to help the reader find and/or use the information presented in the original.⁴¹ Mnemonic tools have the same characteristics but should also be easily memorable and should help in retrieving the basics of the original text without having to browse through it physically.

³⁹ Nicolaas Christiaan Veldhuis, “Elementary Education at Nippur. The Lists of Trees and Wooden Objects,” PhD diss., University of Groningen, 1997.

⁴⁰ Paul Saenger, *Space between Words. The Origins of Silent Reading* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1997).

⁴¹ For a more general study on condensation in the Middle Ages and beyond, see Paul Gerhard Schmidt, “Die Kunst der Kürze,” in *Dichten als Stoff-Vermittlung. Formen, Ziele, Wirkungen. Beiträge zur Praxis der Versifikation lateinischer Texte im Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Stotz (Zurich: Chronos Verlag, 2008), 23-40.

A great number of medieval tools do not follow these basic rules and seem disorganized and unhelpful today.⁴² The tables of contents for medieval codices often lack some of the items, or even present them in a different order. Encyclopedias and various lists were originally not alphabetical: throughout the Middle Ages the “logical order” often violates the alphabetical order.⁴³ Concordances are frequently only partial and the order of the entries sometimes seems random.⁴⁴ The way in which medieval tools for memory are “memorable” can also be considered unusual today. Many of the texts are versified—which is striking in itself⁴⁵—but the rules of metrical or rhythmical poetry are often only loosely observed. Some of the words are obscure and their relationship to the original is difficult to understand, and often repetition creates a sense of confusion for the modern reader. Exactly what we find crucial about a textual tool today—a strictly observed order, clarity, and completeness—is frequently missing in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the evidence of their reception shows that they were much copied and used in the Middle Ages. Rather than making hasty conclusions about medieval deficiency, a closer look at the specificities of the culture combining obscurity and memory so often and with so much enthusiasm is in place.

⁴² For a number of relevant recent discussions on the topic, see Peter Stotz, ed., *Dichten als Stoff-Vermittlung*.

⁴³ Cf. Peter Binkley, ed., *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts* (COMERS Congress, Groningen, July 1996) (Leiden: Brill, 1997), especially the contribution by Christel Meier, “Organization of Knowledge and Encyclopaedic *Ordo*: Functions and Purposes of a Universal Literary Genre,” 104-26.

⁴⁴ See Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, “*Statim Invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page,” in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 201-25; Kimberly Rivers, “Memory, Division, and the Organization of Knowledge in the Middle Ages,” in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts*, 147-58; Jacques Le Goff, “Pourquoi le XIIIe siècle a-t-il été un siècle d’encyclopédisme?” in *L’enciclopedia medievale. Atti del Convegno “L’Enciclopedia Medievale”*, San Gimignano, 8-10 ottobre 1992, ed. Michelangelo Picone (Ravenna: Longo, 1994), 23-40.

⁴⁵ Medieval versified didactics is an exciting subject that has attracted attention of many scholars. See, e.g., Thomas Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter. Analyse einer Gattung*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Bernhard Pabst, “Ein Medienwechsel in Theorie und Praxis. Die Umstellung von prosaischen auf versifizierte Schultexte im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert und ihre Problematik,” in *Dichten als Stoff-Vermittlung*, 151-74; Vivien Law, “Why Write a Verse Grammar?” *Journal of Medieval Latin: A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin* 9 (1999): 46-76; Rolf Max Kully, “Denk- und Merkverse als Gebrauchspoese,” in *Ze hove und an der strazen: Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters und ihr ‘Sitz im Leben’. Festschrift für Volker Schupp zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Anna Keck and Theodor Nolte (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1999), 134-51; and also Catherine Atherton, *Form and Content in Didactic Poetry* (Bari: Levante, 1997).

II. The Case of the *Summarium Biblie*

1. Form and content

The poem that the discussion is focused on has never been critically edited.⁴⁶ In manuscript Lilienfeld, SB, 145 (s. XIV) (Fig. 1), it begins:⁴⁷

*Sex prohibet peccant abel enoch archa fit intrans
egreditur dormit variantur turris it abram
loth reges credit fuga circumcisio risus
sulphur rex gerare parit offert sara rebecca
post geminos puteos benedicit scala sorores
virgas abscedit luctatur munera dina
benom gens esau vendunt thamar impia tres tres
preficitur veniunt redeunt post tristia norunt
omne genus quintam languet benedictio ioseph.*⁴⁸

Six prohibits they sin Abel Enoch ark is built they enter
exits sleeps they are diversified tower goes Abram
Loth kings believes escape circumcision laughter
sulphur king of Gerara gives birth offers Sara Rebecca
afterwards the twins the wells blesses the ladder sisters
the rods separated fights gifts Dinah
Benon Esau's progeny they sell Thamar impious three three
presides they go they return afterwards sadness they recognize
the whole people the fifth wails benediction Joseph

⁴⁶ Several editions are in existence but none of them is critical. The poem was included in a number of incunables of the Vulgate Bible: at least four in Venice (Nicolaus Jenson, 1479; Hieronymus de Paganinis, 1492; Simon Bevilaqua, 1494 and 1498) and one in Basel (Johann Froben, 1495). It is also found in the *Biblia Maxima* by Jean de la Haye (Paris, 1660) at the beginning of the first volume of this 19-volume Bible edition (*Biblia cum tabula noviter edita*). It appears on f. 2r-8v entitled as: *Incipit Tabula super Bibliam per versus composita: omnes libros Biblie continens omniaque capitula et de quo agitur in eisdem capitulis*. Later, it appeared among biblical mnemonic aids and arts of memory (Madrid, 1735), or, as a type of an index to "Colección de sermones panegíricos originales" (Madrid, 1849). Further research needs to be carried out on the early print editions of the *Summarium*, which, however, will probably be of limited relevance in the search for the original version of the text.

⁴⁷ This section is using parts of my previously published article "*Biblia quasi in saculo: Summarium Biblie* and other medieval Bible mnemonics," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 56 (2007): 5-35.

⁴⁸ For this text, see f. 17v of the Lilienfeld manuscript.

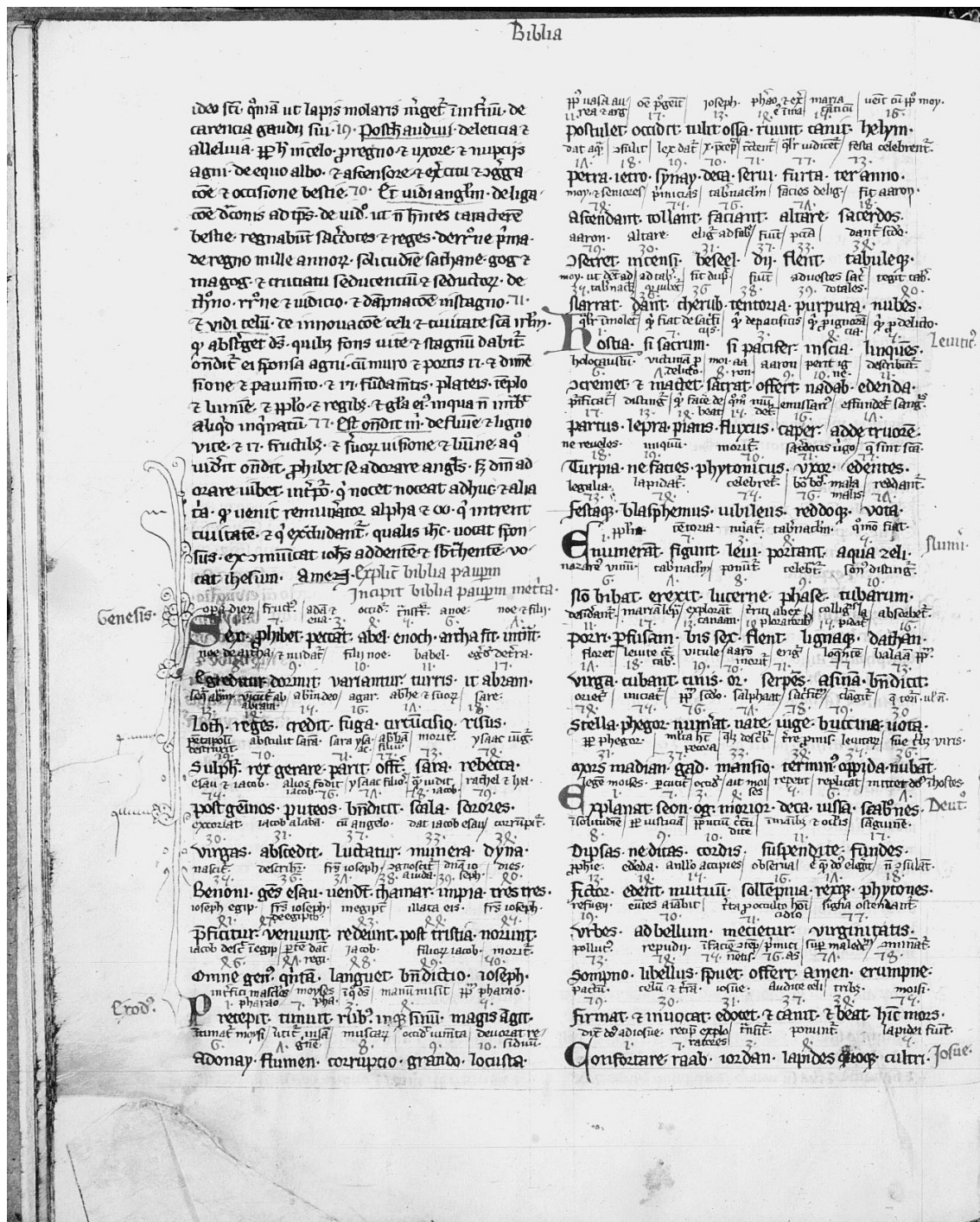


Fig. 1: Ms. Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek 145 (s. XIV), f. 17v; *Summarium Biblie* (here entitled *Biblia pauperum metrica*)

This text is completely unintelligible, it is a list of unconnected words. Had the type been practiced in the Middle Ages, one would call it a nonsense poem. In reality, it is not an obscure poem but a mnemonic aid aimed at helping one remember the Bible. It is usually called the *Summarium Biblie*. Every word (sometimes but very rarely two, or even more) stands for one biblical chapter. Thus the whole Bible (except for the Psalms)⁴⁹ is presented

⁴⁹ A subchapter is dedicated to the omission of the Psalms below.

in a little over 200 hexameters. The text has been attributed to Alexander de Villa Dei (Alexander de Villedieu or Déols, ca. 1175-1240),⁵⁰ the author of a very popular versified grammar *Doctrinale puerorum* (composed ca. 1200).⁵¹

Why would anyone write such an extremely condensed text, and why would anyone read it? The answer is surely linked to the rise of the universities and the rise of the mendicant orders whose members saw their primary mission in preaching. These two late medieval phenomena made it necessary to think of ways of processing information in a faster and more efficient way, and to create tools for quick orientation within a given text.⁵²

In a way, chapter divisions, tables of contents, indices, and concordances are signs of decline in reading as such: early medieval monastic Bibles were usually not divided into chapters at all: the monks were simply reading them and meditating on them in order to get closer to God. The student or the preacher, on the other hand, needed to be able to find (as opposed to read) a relevant place in the Bible quickly in order to follow a lecture or to prepare a sermon. Only this new audience was interested in the kind of information that the *Summarium* provides (e.g., to remember in which chapter of the Book of Genesis Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dreams). Division and organization of the Bible allow the readers to search but also to avoid continuous reading.

a) A verse list

The technique applied in composing a poem from individual, syntactically unrelated, keywords, each referring to a much larger text, is not unique to the *Summarium* and was actually widespread during the Middle

⁵⁰ See Christine Wulf, "Alexander de Villa Dei," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, eds. Wolfgang Stammer, Karl Langosch, and Kurt Ruh (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 59-61.

⁵¹ Ed. Dieter Reichling, *Das 'Doctrinale' des Alexander de Villa Dei. Kritisch-exegetische Ausgabe mit Einleitung, Verzeichniss der Handschriften und Drucke nebst Registern* (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1893; repr. New York: B. Franklin, 1974). See also Philip J. Ford, "Alexandre de Villedieu's *Doctrinale puerorum*: a medieval bestseller and its fortune in the Renaissance," in *Forms of the 'Medieval' in the 'Renaissance': A Multi-disciplinary Exploration of a Cultural Continuum*, ed. George Hugo Tucker (Charlottesville: Rookwood Press, 2000), 155-71; or Jesús-Manuel Uribe García, "Manuscritos, incunables e impresos arcaicos del *Doctrinale* de Alexander de Villa-Dei, conservados en archivos y bibliotecas españoles," *Documenta et scripta* 54 (1993): 285-309. On the author, see Reinhold F. Gleis, "Alexander de Villa Dei (ca. 1170-1250), *Doctrinale*," in *Lateinische Lehrer Europas. Fünfzehn Portraits von Varro bis Erasmus von Rotterdam*, ed. Wolfram Ax (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), 291-312.

⁵² For an excellent detailed study see Kimberly Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice. Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, *Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

Ages. Bernard Bischoff records the practice as already existing in the Carolingian era, citing a mnemonic aid for Virgil's writings:

*Ty for dic si cur pri for pas quo te meri extre
Quid faciat nunc actenus et te protinus atque
Arcopat inter sic tuut atque ea panditur otur.*

This verse list is, however, not made of keywords but simply of incipits of Virgil's works.⁵³ Bischoff further cites a similar poem on *Regula Benedicti* (inc.: *De gener. ab. consul. strumen. ob. tacet. humilitate...*⁵⁴). However, even he states that the heyday of this kind of poetry is to be associated with the Later Middle Ages.⁵⁵

Most widely diffused among this type of texts were surely the *cisioiani*, versified calendars. In these poems, two verses are dedicated to each month of the year. The number of syllables of each couplet equals the number of the days in the particular month. The positions which correspond to a particular saint's day or other immovable feasts in the month are occupied by the beginning syllables of the appropriate name; the remaining syllables (and sometimes even full words) are simply used to fill up the remaining verse space.⁵⁶ Thus, when successfully memorized, used, and understood, the *cisioianus* helps to recall the precise day of the month during which a feast for a particular saint is celebrated.⁵⁷

⁵³ Verse 1 serves to recall the Eclogues (*Ty[tyre tu patule], for[mosum], dic [mihi]...*), verse 2 *Georgica*, and verse 3 *Aeneis*; cf. Bernard Bischoff, "Anecdota Carolina," in *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters. Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker zum 4. September 1931*, ed. Walter Stach et al. (Dresden: Baensch Stiftung, 1931), 7, quoted from Cod. Gudianus, lat. fol. 70 (the text by Virgil here was copied in the 9th c., but these verse additions in question, found on f. 3r, are from the 10th century and by another hand).

⁵⁴ Altogether 12 verses in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. lat. fol. 332, last folio recto (Bischoff, "Anecdota," 8).

⁵⁵ "Die Blütezeit jener Versemacherei, die mit dem Material einer nicht mehr als lebendig empfundenen Sprache arbeitet, ist das spätere Mittelalter" (Bischoff, "Anecdota," 7).

⁵⁶ The name of this mnemonic type, *cisioianus*, is derived from the beginning of the poem for January: *cisio-janus-epi-sibi-vendicat-oc-feli-mar-an / prisca-fab-ag-vincen-ti-pau-po-nobile-lumen* (1 Circumcision, 6 Epiphany, 13 octava Epiphaniae, 14 Felix, 16 Marcellus, 17 Anthony, 18 Prisca, 20 Fabian and Sebastian, 21 Agnes, 22 Vincent, 24 Timotheus and Titus, 25 Paul's conversion, 26 Polycarp).

⁵⁷ Cf. Rolf Max Kully, "Cisiojanus: Studien zur mnemonischen Literatur anhand des spätmittelalterlichen Kalendergedichts," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 70 (1974): 93-123; Hermann Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* I (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1891), 24-25; for particular studies from the Czech environment, e.g., Julie Nováková, *České cisiojány od 14. století* (Czech *cisioiani* from the 14th c.), *Studie ČSAV* 3 (Prague: Academia, 1971), Zuzana Silagiová, "Cisioianus debet dici. Cisioján v komputistické praxi," (Cisioianus in the practice of computus), in *Pulchritudo et sapientia. Ad honorem Pavel Spunar*, eds. Zuzana

But there are poems similar to the *Summarium*, or rather several versions of similar poems, created to remember virtually any text that was used at medieval schools and universities, e.g., Peter Lombard's Sentences, the *Decretum Gratiani*, or *Decretalia* (which will be discussed below). In addition to these widely diffused mnemonic poems, there are many other experimental texts.⁵⁸ Jean Gerson (1363-1429) was one among many to write a Gospel harmony, which he called *Monotessaron*,⁵⁹ and he added a poem to it in the manner of the *Summarium*, recalling with each of its 150 words an item from the sequence of the Life of Christ (inc.: *Verbum. mutus. ave. montana. puer. liber. ortus*). In superscript he supplied the numbers of the chapters where the items appear in the Gospels.⁶⁰

Even the attribution of the *Summarium* to Alexander may have been made according to its formal similarity with his *Doctrinale*. Built on Priscian's grammar, *Doctrinale* is extremely condensed and many of its verses sound nonsensical. In medieval manuscripts the text is usually accompanied by explanatory glosses, either interlinear, or surrounding the text on wide margins, or both. Although frequently criticized for obscurity and incompleteness, the *Doctrinale* was a true medieval bestseller, surviving in more than 300 manuscripts.⁶¹ Alexander wrote a number of other texts but none of them reached comparable circulation. Like the *Summarium*, many passages of the *Doctrinale* look quite incomprehensible at first, too. An apt example is *Doctrinale* I, 46-51:

Silagiová, Hana Šedinová, and Petr Kitzler (Prague: Filosofický ústav AV ČR, 2008), 188-204.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Jakob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters aus Handschriften gesammelt* (Aarau: H.R. Sauerländer, 1905), 185. Also in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 383 (s. XV, French origin), f. 21v-24r, there is, e.g., what looks like a similar poem of 112 verses composed of keywords accompanied by interlinear glosses, inc.: *Olla. patella. tripes. coclear. lanx. fuscina. cratis... Allux. articulus. tals. talus. tibia. poples*, but it is actually the so-called *Dictionarius metricus* (or *Dictionarius versificatus*) sometimes attributed to John of Garland (d. ca. 1272). It is found also in mss. Munich, BSB, clm. 4146, Douai, BM, 438, and Metz, BM, 169. Cf. Hauréau, *Notices*, 27 II 81, and Bruno Laurioux, "Olla patella: préliminaires à une étude de la lexicographie alimentaire au moyen âge," in *Par les mots et les textes. Mélanges de langue, de littérature et d'histoire des sciences médiévales offerts à Claude Thomasset*, eds. Danièle James-Raoul and Olivier Soutet (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005), 465-81.

⁵⁹ *RB*, no. 4486 (3 mss.); ed. *Opera* (Paris, 1521), f. 3-25.

⁶⁰ See Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print. Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), with images from Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 4738, f. 18v (from the Carthusians of Brno). The poem is preserved also in a number of other mss. and edited in *Opera*, Paris, 1521, f. 3-5.

⁶¹ Cf. Reichling, *Doctrinale*. See also Carla Piccone, "Scribere clericulis paro *Doctrinale nouellis*. Il *Doctrinale* di Alessandro de Villedieu tra teoria e prassi," in *Dichten als Stoff-Vermittlung*, 175-89.

*Er vel ir ur aut um vel us aut eus pone secunda.
i genitivus erit; sed quando rectus habebit
ir aut ur aut eus, genitivus eum superabit.
um par fiet et us, sed quod fit in er, variamus.
er s p iuncta superabit et er sine muta;
s t si praesit, genitivus non superabit*

Only when read together with Priscian's grammar (which was its model) does it suddenly make sense:

*Er vel ir ur aut um vel us aut eus pone secunda.
i genitivus erit; sed quando rectus habebit
ir aut ur aut eus, genitivus eum superabit.
um par fiet et us, sed quod fit in er, variamus.
er s p iuncta superabit et er sine muta;
s t si praesit, genitivus non superabit*

Priscianus: Secunda declinatio terminationes habet nominativi sex: in *er*, in *ir*, in *ur*, in *us*, in *eus*, in *um*. Genitivus secundae declinationis in omni nomine *i* longa terminatur. Exceptis illis, quae *s* vel *sp* vel *n* ante *er* habent, et *a* ferendo vel gerendo compositis, quae accepta *i* faciunt genetivum una syllaba vincentem suum nomina-tivum, ut *miser*, *miseri*, *prosper*, *prosperi*. In *er* correptam desinentia *s* et *t* antecede-ntibus, nisi sint possessiva, quorum in *is* desinunt feminina, *er* in *ri* mutant et faciunt genetivum ut hic *Auster*, *Austri*, hic *oleaster*, *oleastri*.

–*er* or –*ir*, –*ur* or –*um* or –*us* or –*eus* put to the second. –*i* will be the genitive; but when it will have the ending –*ir* or –*ur* or –*eus*, the genitive will overcome it. –*um* and –*us* will be the same but what ends in –*er* varies. –*er* connected to *s* [or] *p* will take over and –*er* without the mute; if *s* [or] *t* precedes, the genitive will not take over.

Priscian: The second declension has six endings in the nominative: –*er*, –*ir*, –*ur*, –*us*, –*eus*, –*um*. The genitive of the second declension is always terminated by long –*i*. Except for those that have *s* or *sp* or *n* before –*er*, and bring or make composites, which, excepting –*i* make the genitive with adding one syllable to their nominative, as *miser*, *miseri*, *prosper*, *prosperi*. If *s* and *t* precede –*er*, if they are not possessive (of which the feminines change into –*is*), –*er* is transformed into –*ri* and makes the genitive *Auster Austri*, *oleaster, oleastri*.

Like all the other texts of this type, this is a mnemonic tool that does not help one understand on its own; the versified material has to be understood first and only then does the tool become useful for memorization.⁶²

⁶² For further examples of obscure mnemonic verses within Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale* and medieval versified grammars in general, see Pabst, "Ein Medienwechsel," 158-160; and Carla Piccone, *Dalla prosa ai versi: forme, usi, contesti della versificazione mediolatina*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters (Bern: Peter Lang, in print), Manfred Kraus, "Grammatical and Rhetorical Exercises in the Medieval Classroom," *New Medieval Literatures* 11 (2009): 63-89; see also Ludwig Benkert, *Der historiographische Merkvers* (Neustadt: C.W. Schmidt, 1960), 36-68; on

One could perhaps make a formal distinction between texts that employ full words (like the *Summarium*) and those that use only parts of words (like the *cisioiani*), which are consequently even more obscure if unexplained. Nevertheless, by themselves all these verses are obscure; only in relationship to the larger texts to which they refer do they become meaningful and useful. For this reason they usually appear with relevant explanatory glosses in the manuscripts.

All these texts call to mind Horace's famous *brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio* ("I attempt to be brief and I become obscure"⁶³). Brevity so extreme that it resulted in obscurity—*obscura brevitatis*—was criticized throughout the Middle Ages,⁶⁴ and, at the same time, became unquestioningly widespread towards its end. The specific strategy of using the form of a list for mnemonic purposes is worthy of a separate study.⁶⁵

b) Retelling and remembering the Bible

It is not necessary to stress the importance of the Bible in medieval culture. In addition to its existence in various forms and contexts and on different levels within medieval society, the Bible was also frequently retold in many ways for varied purposes.⁶⁶ The most successful of the

the diffusion of *versus memoriales*, see Dorothea Klein, "Ad memoriam firmiorem. Merkverse in lateinisch-deutscher Lexikographie des späten Mittelalters," in *Medium Aevum deutsch. Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur des hohen und späten Mittelalters. Festschrift für Kurt Ruh zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Dietrich Huschenbett (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979), 131-153; on *versus differentiales*, see Alexandru N. Cizek, "Antike Memoria-Lehre und mittellateinische *versus differentiales*," in *Culture of Memory in East Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, ed. Rafał Wójcik (Poznań: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 2008), 43-52; and his "Docere et delectare. Zur Eigenart der *versus differentiales* im Novus Grecismus Konrads von Mure," in *Dichten als Stoff-Vermittlung*, 191-212.

⁶³ *Ars poetica* I, 25.

⁶⁴ E.g., by Aegidius of Corbeil in the prologue to his *De pulsibus: ...qui Charybdim confusionis volens effugere, lapsus est in Scyllam obscurae brevitatis...*; ed. Ludwig Choulant, *Aegidii Corboliensis Carmina medica* (Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1826), 25. Brevity should always be *lucida brevitatis* (cf. Pabst, "Ein Medien-wechsel," 153-57).

⁶⁵ For a general treatment of literary lists, see Robert E. Belknap, *The List. The Uses and Pleasures of Cataloguing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of List: An Illustrated Essay*, trans. Alastair McEwen (New York: Rizzoli, 2009); Francis Spufford, *The Chatto Book of Cabbages and Kings: Lists in Literature* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1989); L. Doležalová, ed., *The Charm of a List: From the Sumerians to Computerised Data Processing* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

⁶⁶ For a general discussion, see Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt, 1982). See also, e.g., André Vernet, *La Bible au Moyen Age. Bibliographie* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1989); Ezio Franceschini et al., eds., *La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 1963); Giuseppe Cremscoli, "Il riuso della Bibbia," in

medieval biblical retellings was, without doubt, Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, a curious text written around 1170 by Petrus Comestor (born in Troyes, died ca. 1178 in Paris).⁶⁷ It is a summary of biblical history, comprehensive and reader-friendly. It is not based exclusively on the Bible but includes information from Flavius Josephus and other historical sources, references to the works of the Church Fathers, to the correspondence of the two Testaments, and to moral meaning—thus addressing all three levels of Scriptural signification. It also presents Christian doctrine as well as a great amount of information from various fields of knowledge. The success of the *Historia scholastica* in the Middle Ages was immense;⁶⁸ very soon it became incorporated into the university curriculum.⁶⁹ Previously the text was not studied much due to its supposedly low literary quality and lack of originality. In a way, the medieval omnipresence of the *Historia scholastica* is a curse: so many manuscripts of its text exist that to date no modern editor has dared to prepare a new edition of the complete text.⁷⁰ Yet due to its popularity and extremely wide circulation, scholars increasingly recognize that it shaped the knowledge of and approach to the Bible in the Late Middle Ages to a significant degree.⁷¹

Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo I (16-21 aprile 1998), *Settimane di studio sull'alto medioevo* 46 (Spoleto: CISAM, 1999), 413-31; *Retelling the Bible: Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*, eds. Lucie Doležalová and Tamás Visi (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011).

⁶⁷ See, e.g., David E. Luscombe, "Peter Comestor," in *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Honour of Beryl Smalley*, eds. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History, Subsidia* 4 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 109-29.

⁶⁸ For this reason it is usually mentioned in studies on the Bible in the Middle Ages, such as *La Bibbia nel medioevo*, ed. Giuseppe Cremonesi and Claudio Leonardi (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1996); *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), or Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., John Van Engen, "Studying Scripture at the Early University," in *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bibelexegese*, ed. Robert E. Lerner (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 1996), 17-38.

⁷⁰ Only the Book of Genesis has been edited recently: Agneta Sylwan, ed., *Petri Comestoris Scolastica Historia. Liber Genesis*, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 191 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005). Thus, we have to work with the edition in *Patrologia latina*: J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus* 198, col. 1053-644. See also a review of Sylwan's edition by Mark J. Clark, "How to Edit Comestor's *Historia scholastica*," *Revue bénédictine* 116 (2006): 83-91.

⁷¹ See, e.g., James H. Morey, "Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible," *Speculum* 68, No. 1 (1993): 6-35; Maria Sherwood-Smith, "Die *Historia Scholastica* als Quelle biblischer Stoffe im Mittelalter," in *Die Vermittlung geistlicher Inhalte im deutschen Mittelalter: Internationales Symposium, Roscrea 1994*, eds. Timothy R. Jackson, Nigel F. Palmer, and Almut Suerbaum (Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag, 1996), 153-65; Mark J. Clark, "The Commentaries on Peter Comestor *Historia scholastica* of Stephen Langton, Pseudo-Langton, and Hugh of St.

A text comparable to the *Historia scholastica* is the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* (also called *Arbor historiae biblice*, *Compendium veteris testamenti*, *Genealogia historiarum*, or *Summa historiae bibliae*)⁷² prepared by Comestor's contemporary and successor in Paris, Peter of Poitiers (Petrus Pictaviensis, ca. 1130-1215).⁷³ It is a biblical tool created in order to help students remember the sequence of biblical genealogy and consequently the biblical contents. It is organized as a genealogical tree with marginal notes describing the figures from whom Christ descended, important events in their lives, their relatives, and other details. It was intended to be painted on classroom walls. It is, obviously, much more substantially condensed than *Historia scholastica*, and is more directly focused on the portraits of the selected individuals.

A number of prose Bible retellings survive from the later Middle Ages. They usually proceed chapter by chapter, often include the chapter incipits, and have a clear mnemonic function. Biblical concordances and dictionaries, also intended to help memorization and orientation, might also be included in this discussion, although in these texts the "retelling" aspect often disappears. But drawing the lines of categorization is difficult: e.g., most medieval biblical dictionaries contain stories although not in the same order as the Bible.⁷⁴

Cher," *Sacris erudiri* 44 (2005): 301-446; Klaus Peter Schumann, "Petrus Comestor und Petrus Lombardus in Minden? Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der dominikanischen Partikularstudien im spätmittelalterlichen Westfalen," in *Manipulus Florum: Aus Mittelalter, Landesgeschichte, Literatur und Historiographie. Festschrift für Peter Johanek zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Ellen Widder, Mark Mersiowsky, and Maria-Theresia Leuker (Münster: Waxmann, 2001), 151-69. See also Lucie Doležalová, "The Dining Room of God: Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and Retelling the Bible as Feasting," in *Retelling the Bible*, 229-44.

⁷² See *RB*, no. 6778, where numerous manuscripts are listed.

⁷³ See, e.g., Philip S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers* (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1936), 118-22; Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 209-215; Stella Panayotova, "Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium in Genealogia Christi*: the early English copies," in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, eds. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 327-41.

⁷⁴ The examples are too numerous to be noted here. A great number of them are recorded in *RB*, such as a hitherto unedited text, more of a biblical dictionary, by Petrus de Bruniquello (Brunichellus, de Bruniquel, de Rupe Maura, probably Frenchman, an Austin Friar, later Bishop of Città Nuova in Istria, d. 1328), *Liber super historias veteris et novi testamenti juxta ordinem alphabeti* (inc.: *De abstinencia. Abstinentes voluit Deus esse primos parentes. Dixit enim Adae*, written in 1319 and dedicated to Berengario Fredol, Bishop of Tusculano; *RB*, no. 6435 lists 10 mss. but there are many more). One manuscript, currently being sold by Enluminures (ref. no. 243; written in Northern Italy 1425-1450), also contains a poem condensing the contents of this rather long text, inc.: *Comunia manue concepture filium filium proprii liberatorem angelus apparet. Judic. 13*.

Medieval retellings of the Bible that are in verse (both rhythmic and accentual),⁷⁵ on the other hand, have received more attention from scholars, and form a much more clearly distinguishable group. Christian poetic retellings of the Bible originate in Late Antiquity and their primary concern seems to be language. Some classically educated Christians were concerned with the language of the Bible not following the usual norms. The aim of the biblical versifications by Juvenius, Proba, Sedulius, Cyprianus Gallus, and others was to please the ear, to present the correct contents in an appropriate style, that of Virgil and the Classical Latin poets. Although the case is, of course, not so simple, and it would be misleading to claim that these poets changed only the style and not the contents, their verse retellings form a specific group substantially different from the later ones.⁷⁶

Following the biblical poetry of the Carolingian era,⁷⁷ the great boom of full-scale Bible epics appeared in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. By far the most widely diffused was Peter Riga's *Aurora*,⁷⁸ but there were many others, such as Lawrence of Durham's *Hypognosticon*, or Alexander of Ashby's *Brevissima comprehensio historiarum Biblie*.⁷⁹ These authors, as

⁷⁵ For general information on medieval poetry, see Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1958) (published in English with an introduction by Jan Ziolkowski at The Catholic University of America Press in 2004). A brief overview is found in Frederic James Edward Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953). As for individual studies, see, e.g., Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Why Versify the Bible in the Later Middle Ages and for Whom? The Story of Creation in Verse," in *Dichten als Stoff-Vermittlung*, 41-55; or Dieter Kartschoke, "'Biblia versificata'. Bibeldichtung als Übersetzungsliteratur betrachtet," *Vestigia Biblicae* 4 (1982): 23-41.

⁷⁶ There is ample literature on the individual poets as well as on this type of poetry in general. See, e.g., Michael Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1985); see also, e.g., Martin Bažil, *Centones Christiani. Métamorphoses d'une forme intertextuelle dans la poésie latine chrétienne de l'Antiquité tardive*, Collection des Études augustinienes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 47 (Paris: Études augustinienes, 2009).

⁷⁷ See Francesco Stella, *La poesia carolingia latina a tema biblico*, Biblioteca di medioevo latino 9 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1993).

⁷⁸ Paul E. Beichner, ed., *Aurora. Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata: A Verse Commentary on the Bible* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965), 2 vols. A new edition is under preparation by Greti Dinkova-Bruun.

⁷⁹ Cf. Greti Dinkova-Bruun, ed., *Alexandri Essebiensis Opera Omnia. Opera poetica*, CCSM 81 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); Susanne Daub, ed., *Gottes Heilsplan – verdichtet. Edition des Hypognosticon des Laurentius Dunelmensis* (Erlangen: Palm und Enke, 2002). See also Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Versifications from Late Antiquity to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: History or Allegory?," in *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity: The Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation*, eds. W. Otten and K. Pollmann, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 87 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 315-42; and other articles by the same author.

they themselves said, composed their poetry in order to facilitate the memorization of biblical events. They not only shared this aim with Comestor, but some of them (e.g., Peter Riga or Alexander of Ashby) even used his *Historia scholastica* as their main source, and thus created retellings of a retelling.

The tendency to stress the mnemonic aspect of the verses gradually comes to the fore in the biblical poetry of the Late Middle Ages: the texts become much more like verse tools than poems. They summarize the Bible more substantially and more systematically: e.g., Peter of Rosenheim (1380-1433) dedicates two lines to each biblical chapter, thus creating a long series of only vaguely related couplets.⁸⁰ Lastly comes our *Summarium Biblie* (as well as several other poems similar to it from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see the discussion below) with its extreme condensation. Humanistic and early modern biblical poetry returns to late ancient models but retellings of the whole Bible are rare after the Middle Ages.

In addition to full-scale biblical retellings, mnemonic aids for particular parts or subjects of the Bible were also written. Some examples are the various short verses clarifying the family relationships of the three Marias,⁸¹ verses on the ten plagues of Egypt,⁸² the Decalogue,⁸³ or various

⁸⁰ For a detailed discussion of his *Margarita Bibliae* and other comparable texts written by Guido Vicentius of Ferrara and Johannes Schlitpacher de Weilheim (1403-1482), see Sabine Tiedje, "The Roseum Memoriale Divinorum Eloquentium Petri de Rosenheim: A Bible Summary from the Fifteenth Century," in *Retelling the Bible*, 335-53; as well as Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Versification and Memory in the Later Middle Ages," in *Culture of Memory in East Central Europe*, 53-64. See also Jean Michel Massing, "From Manuscript to Engravings. Late Medieval Mnemonic Bibles," in *Ars memorativa. Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Gedächtniskunst 1400-1750*, ed. Jörg Jochen Berns and Wolfgang Neuber (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), 101-15. An excellent collection is Francesco Stella, ed., *La scrittura infinita. Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica* (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001).

⁸¹ The most popular one begins *Nupta fuit Ioachim mater prius Anna Maria* and was ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux (Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum. Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. II (Leuven, 1897), no. 12629) but there are many variants on this theme (see, e.g., *ibid.*, no. 1112 or 23009), many also in prose.

⁸² The most popular was that ascribed to Hildebertus Cenomanensis, inc.: *Prima rubens unda, ranarum plaga secunda*; RB, no. 8379 and 10238; its variant is edited in PL 171, col. 1436; a more recent edition is found in Scott A. Brian, *Hildeberti Cenomannensis episcopi Carmina minora* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1969), no. 34. Additionally, several more condensed texts are known—e.g., the one attributed to William de Montibus, begins: *Sanguis rana culex musce pecus ulcera grando / brucus caligo mors pignera prima necando* (see Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus: The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* [Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992], no. 1046); another inc.: *sanguis rana culex vesicae musca locusta* (RB, no. 11304).

other topics or stories.⁸⁴ The most popular subject seems to have been the genealogies of Christ (that is, Matthew 1:1-17 in verse⁸⁵).

2. Elusive text

a) Manuscript transmission

In addition to looking for the theoretically possible contexts and textual parallels of the *Summarium*, a scrutiny of the manuscript evidence will offer a kind of a test of the suggestions made. What did the text look like? Were the proposed associations already in existence in the Middle Ages? An analysis of the context in which the *Summarium* was copied and read in the Middle Ages will allow us to grasp its medieval role and meaning. Due to the amount of the surviving material the following treatment of the codex contents cannot be exhaustive; its aim is to show basic patterns in the reception of the text.⁸⁶

To date I have not found a single manuscript that confers authorship on Alexander;⁸⁷ this attribution seems to be much later and was perhaps made solely on the basis of the similarity between the *Doctrinale* and the *Summarium*—as shown above, both are greatly condensed texts that need explanation in order to be understood and used. The author most frequently mentioned in the manuscripts is Albert the Great (Albertus Magnus, d. 1280).⁸⁸ Also for his authorship there is no evidence and it

⁸³ Very popular was a different poem based on the very same idea beginning *Prima rubens unda deitatem mens colae munda*, which was attributed to Engelbert of Admont (1250-1331).

⁸⁴ Also *Versus de personis Veteris Testamenti exemplis vitiorum et virtutum* (inc.: *Lucifer, Antiochus, Nemroth, Nebuchodonosor, Phariseus*; cf. Bloomfield, *Incipits*, no. 2984, p. 257; no. 5928, p. 512; and no. 61, p. 19). Among the shorter verses, one of particular interest is a biblical anthology consisting of 103 poems on the Old and the New Testament that forms a part of manuscript XVI Q 14 from the York Minster Library. It was discussed and edited by Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII): The Biblical Anthology from York Minster Library (Ms. XVI Q 14)," *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002): 61-109.

⁸⁵ For an example of an extensive poetic retelling of the genealogy, see Greti Dinkova-Bruun, ed., *The Ancestry of Jesus. Excerpts from 'Liber generationis Iesu Christi filii David filii Abraham' (Matthew 1:1-17)*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 28 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005).

⁸⁶ The following section is partly based on my article "Mémoriser la Bible au bas Moyen Âge? Le *Summarium Biblicum* aux frontières de l'intelligibilité," *Cahiers électroniques d'histoire textuelle du LAMOP* 3 (2010): 1-45.

⁸⁷ He is indicated as the author only in ms. London, BL, Add. 20009, on f. 3r: *Horum carminum 212 author est Alexander Villadeus*, but it is an addition by a substantially later hand.

⁸⁸ Vyšší Brod, ML, SXCI (s. XIV): *Alberti nunc magni Byblia docti. Que paupertatis tytello cognominatur. Quam tantum metro scriptitat exámetro* (f. 304v); Sankt Florian, SB, XI.32 (s. XIV), f. 218r: *Biblia pauperum quam edidit albertus magnus*; Munich, BSB,

seems to be based on the fact that Albert authored a number of didactic texts.⁸⁹ Curious is the ascription to Johannes Chrysostomus (ca. 349-407) appearing in two manuscripts, Munich, BSB, cgm. 341 (s. XIVex, Bavaria) and Vatican City, BAV, lat. 1027 (written in 1453 in France). The former is secure about the attribution: *Noui veterisque testamenti tabula per iohannem crisostimum compendiosius versifice compilata* ("Table of the New and the Old Testament compiled in a condensed verse form by Johannes Chrysostomus"), while the latter presents this in a rather hesitant manner: *Expliciunt versus supra utrumque testamentum; quidam dicunt Cristosomum (!) composuisse quamvis grecus fuerit* ("The verses on both the Testaments finish [here], some say that Chrysostomus composed [them] although he was a Greek," f. 7v). Also this suggestion does not seem to rest on firm grounds and I was not able to find its source. Similarly, another late copy, Chicago, Newberry library, Ms. 16,⁹⁰ names as the author Bartholomaeus Tridentinus (Bartholomew of Trento).⁹¹ I was not able to detect any possible link here either. The question of authorship (and thus also of dating) has to remain open for the time being.

The present analysis concentrates on the text's transformation and variation during the Late Middle Ages rather than on an attempt to identify its original version. However, it should be emphasized that each of the supposed thirteenth-century manuscripts that has been consulted has in actuality proven to be a fourteenth-century addition (or a later one). Thus there is no known thirteenth-century copy of the text at present. As a result, it is possible that the *Summarium* was not written until the early fourteenth century.

Similarly vague is the case with the text's title: the title *Summarium Biblie* is not documented in the manuscripts of the text, which usually have no title at all. From among the surviving titles (see the discussion below),

clm. 3447: *Alberti Magni Biblia metrica* (later added on the volume spine and in the table of contents on f. 1); and Melk, SB, 1059, where the attribution to Albert was added in the 17th century.

⁸⁹ E.g., also a summary called *Philosophia pauperum* is ascribed to him, see Bernhard Geyer, ed., *Die Albert dem Grossen zugeschriebene Summa naturalium (Philosophia pauperum)* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1938). It was, however, surely not written by him, see Martin Grabmann, *Die Philosophia pauperum und ihr Verfasser Albert von Orlamünde*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 20:2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1918).

⁹⁰ The codex is a Vulgate Bible from the second half of the 13th century but the *Summarium*, together with the attribution, was added only in the 16th century.

⁹¹ A Dominican hagiographer and papal diplomat, born in 1200 in Southern Tirol, died in 1251 or after. See Bruno W. Häuptli, "Bartholomäus von Trient," in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Lexikon* 22 (2003), cols. 56-61, available at: http://www.kirchenlexikon.de/b/bartholomaeus_v_tr.shtml (accessed August 20, 2012).

the most diffused is without a doubt *Biblia pauperum*.⁹² This title is traditionally used by scholars for an entirely different work—a condensed Bible that always juxtaposes a scene from the Old Testament with a corresponding one from the New Testament and accompanies these by rich illuminations.⁹³ However, these works were not called *Bibliae pauperum* in the Middle Ages; this title was added later and appears in a single manuscript.⁹⁴

It is very difficult to estimate the number of surviving manuscript witnesses of the text of the *Summarium*. In his *Repertorium biblicum* Stegmüller lists a total of 11 versions with 47 manuscripts.⁹⁵ Thus far I have securely identified 336 manuscripts, but there is no doubt that the actual number is substantially higher. The difficulties associated with this manuscript search are many: the text is often not included in the manuscript catalogues, because it is brief, often lacks a title, and gives the appearance of an index. Especially within Bible codices, where it is frequently copied, older catalogues rarely signal its presence. The actual incipit of the text is recorded in different ways when the glosses are also included. This occurs in particular when the glosses grow to cover several lines per keyword and appear within the main text itself following each keyword, not between the lines of the poem. The incipit *Sex opera dierum*, or *Opera sex dierum* is not a very revealing one—a number of biblical paraphrases begin with the same words, and one may miss the *Summarium* in this form even if consulting the particular manuscript itself rather than merely searching the catalogues.⁹⁶ Sometimes the *Summarium* is accompanied by a prologue taken from a different text, and thus passes unnoticed. There are many manuscripts that contain only a part of the text, and most frequently this is the New Testament (inc.: *Natus adoratur lotum*).⁹⁷

⁹² Cf. Franz Josef Worstbrock, “*Libri pauperum*. Zu Entstehung, Struktur und Gebrauch einiger mittelalterlicher Buchformen der Wissensliteratur seit dem 12. Jahrhundert,” in *Der Codex im Gebrauch*, ed. Christel Meier et al., Münstersche Mittelalterschriften 70 (Munich: Fink, 1996), 41-60, esp. 49. Also Worstbrock states that the title *Biblia pauperum* or *Biblia pauperum metrica* is more frequent than other titles for the *Summarium* and notes seven Latin manuscripts, one German, and two medieval catalogue references.

⁹³ See, e.g., Gerhard Schmidt, *Die Armenbibeln des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Graz: Böhlau, 1959), or his *Die Wiener Biblia pauperum. Codex Vindobonensis 1198* (Graz: Styria, 1962).

⁹⁴ Cf., e.g., Christoph Wetzel, “Die Armenbibel, ein Mißverständnis,” in *Biblia pauperum. Armenbibel. Die Bilderhandschrift des Codex Palatinus latinus 871 im Besitz der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1995), 9.

⁹⁵ *RB*, no. 1175-82.

⁹⁶ This is the case of, e.g., Admont, SB, 592 or Sankt Gallen, SB, 972b, where the *Summarium* looks like a biblical condensation in prose.

⁹⁷ But not exclusively; e.g., Vienna, Schottenstift, 19 (from 1465/66) has, on fols. 274v-276v, only the verses from the Proverbs (inc.: *Predicat. extranea. melior.*) until the end of the Old Testament.

Although it is thus certain that a great number of further copies wait to be discovered, the present number already indicates that the text was in no way a unique or marginal curiosity but a well known and greatly widespread piece of writing. Finally, it is reasonable to suppose that a number of medieval copies were destroyed because the text was frequently transmitted on independent quires and was thus more delicate.⁹⁸

In spite of the proven popularity of the text, there seem to be little external traces of its reception. But this “lack” might be in appearance only: as the text had no established title (see the following chapter), there was likely no established way of referring to it either. In addition, the written (that is, material) way of its transmission might have been only secondary: it seems that the verses were primarily meant to be learnt by heart and stored in one’s memory. E.g., the manuscript Vatican City, BAV, lat. 1027 (from 1453), is an explicit proof that youths learned the *Summarium* by heart—the beginning of the text, on f. 6v, says: *Hos versus adolescentulus cordetenus studui* (“as a boy I learned these verses by heart”). Or, in London, BL, Add. 22025, f. 30v, there is a note *per hos uersus omnes libros biblie menti tradimus* (“through these verses we preserve in our mind all the books of the Bible”). Thus, a whole area of the reception of the *Summarium*, the oral transmission, is now lost to us, we can only search for its traces in the surviving manuscripts.

b) Titles

Usually the *Summarium* does not contain a title at all. Some of the manuscript titles are (in alphabetical order):

[*Argumenta capitum omnium biblicorum versibus hexametris comprehensa*]⁹⁹
*Aurora minor*¹⁰⁰ [!]
Biblia [!]¹⁰¹
*Biblia 218 versibus metricè compilata*¹⁰²
*Biblia acurtata*¹⁰³
*Biblia metrica*¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ E.g., Prague, NL, I F 43 is a fragment of 10 folios with the *Summarium* and a brief *Ordo librorum bibliae*, or Munich, BSB, clm. 27462 is an 8-folio fragment with the *Summarium* and a Gospel concordance. Within some of the miscellanies, the *Summarium* appears in a distinctly different hand than the rest, and its first and last pages are darker, suggesting that it was originally transmitted separately.

⁹⁹ Older catalogues’ title, e.g., for Melk, SB, 1059.

¹⁰⁰ Sankt Florian, SB, XI.32, f. 227r: *Explicit Biblia pauperum que alio nomine dicitur aurora minor*.

¹⁰¹ Vatican City, BAV, lat. 1290.

¹⁰² Munich, BSB, clm. 8367.

¹⁰³ Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 3737.

¹⁰⁴ Munich, BSB, clm. 18906, and clm. 3447 (within the table of contents contemporary with the codex).

*Biblia pauperum*¹⁰⁵
*Biblia pauperum metrica*¹⁰⁶
*Biblia pauperum seu metrica*¹⁰⁷
*Biblia pauperum metrica edita*¹⁰⁸
*Biblia sub breuiloquio*¹⁰⁹
*Biblia tota versificata per libros et capitula seriatim distincta continens novum et
vetus testamentum*¹¹⁰
*Capitula biblie metrificata*¹¹¹
*Capitula veteris et novi testamenti tocus biblie*¹¹²
*Compendium Biblie*¹¹³
*Compendium novi testamenti*¹¹⁴
*Compendium siue tractatus tocus Biblie*¹¹⁵
*Compendium tocus biblie*¹¹⁶
*Indices metrici biliorum*¹¹⁷
*Isti sunt super totam Bibliam et fere quolibet dictio comprehendit unum
capitulum*¹¹⁸
*Metra registri Biblie*¹¹⁹
*Metra super Bibliam*¹²⁰
*Metra super duo testamenta*¹²¹

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- ¹⁰⁵ Admont, SB, 203, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. theol. 36, Lilienfeld, SB, 145 (s. XIV), London, BL, Add. 20009, Melk, SB, 918, Munich, BSB, clm. 4358, 4627, 5444, 9529, 14094, 14670, Munich, UB, 4^o 13 (at explicit), 2^o 677 (at explicit), Nuremberg, StB, Cent. I, 81, Prague, KNM, XVIII B 18, Sankt Florian, SB, XI.32, Sankt Gallen, SB, 972b, Uppsala, UB, C 195, Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 1122; See also Alfred Weckwerth, "Der Name 'Biblia pauperum'," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 83 (1972): 1-33, esp. 19; Worstbrock, "*Libri pauperum*," 57, states that this title, very frequent within miscellanies, never appears within the Bible, but I found it in six biblical mss. (Munich, UB, 4^o 13, Munich, BSB, clm. 4627 and 5444, Nuremberg, SB, Cent. I, 81, Prague, KNM, XVIII B 18, and Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 1122).
¹⁰⁶ Munich, BSB, clm. 8947 (front table of contents) and 15606 (at explicit), Oxford, BoL, Auct. D. 4. 10, Lilienfeld, SB, 145.
¹⁰⁷ Herzogenburg, SB, 102.
¹⁰⁸ Munich, UB, 2^o 677 (front table of contents).
¹⁰⁹ Amiens, BM, 1; in Rouen, BM, 10 (A.32), a later added title reads: *Biblia sub brevi eloquio*.
¹¹⁰ Munich, BSB, clm. 14023.
¹¹¹ Chicago, Newberry Library, 16.
¹¹² Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 459 (at explicit).
¹¹³ Munich, BSB, clm. 27032.
¹¹⁴ Olomouc, VK, M II 34.
¹¹⁵ Munich, BSB, clm. 15956 (at explicit), Wrocław, BU, IV Q 161a (at explicit).
¹¹⁶ Graz UB, 611 (at explicit); Munich, BSB, clm. 27011; sale at Christie's, lot 9/ sale 7725 (London, King Street, June 3, 2009).
¹¹⁷ Munich, BSB, clm. 3581.
¹¹⁸ Munich, BSB, clm. 14023, Paris, BnF, lat. 1865, Vienna, ÖNB, 1111, Graz, UB, 611, Grenoble, BM, 5 (13th c.), Melk, SB, 1793, Munich, BSB, clm. 4358 (at explicit, close to this but longer).
¹¹⁹ Munich, BSB, clm. 3447, f. 365v (at explicit).
¹²⁰ Munich, BSB, clm. 26847.

*Metrum super Bibliam*¹²²
*Noui veterisque testamenti tabula compendiosius versifice compilata*¹²³
*[Quotus biblie metricus]*¹²⁴
*Registrum Biblie*¹²⁵
*Registrum continens libros et capetula [!] Veteris et Novi testamenti*¹²⁶
*Registrum biblie compendiosum*¹²⁷
*Registrum Metricum totam continens Bibliam*¹²⁸
*Registrum tocus Biblie tam novi quam veteris testamenti*¹²⁹
*Summa sive rhythmica argumenta capitum Novi Testamenti*¹³⁰
*Summaria compilacio metrificata docens quid communis et vtilius continetur in
vnoquoque capitulo tocus biblie, vnum quodlibet verbum vnus capituli summam
tenet*¹³¹
*Tabula biblie*¹³²
*Tabula que cuiuslibet biblie libri proprietatem denotat*¹³³
*Tabula super bibliam per versus composita universos libros biblie continens
omniaque capitula et de quo agatur in eisdem*¹³⁴
*Tractatus sive compendium totius biblie*¹³⁵
*Versus quibus quodlibet verbum continet fere unum capitulum de Biblia*¹³⁶
*Versus pro universa Biblia mentetenus comprehendat*¹³⁷
*Versus secundum Bibliam*¹³⁸
*Versus super Bibliam*¹³⁹
*Versus super capitula Biblie*¹⁴⁰
*Versus super capitula tocus Biblie*¹⁴¹
*Versus super totam Bibliam et fere quelibet dictio comprehendit capitulum*¹⁴²

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- ¹²¹ Munich, BSB, clm. 7711.
¹²² Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Magd. 164.
¹²³ Munich, BSB, cgm. 341.
¹²⁴ Older catalogue title for Munich, BSB, clm. 5444.
¹²⁵ Mainz, StB, I 22 (at explicit); Munich, BSB, clm. 3070 (at the front table of contents); Schlögl, SB, 67 (incipit).
¹²⁶ Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, R II 66 (at explicit).
¹²⁷ Graz, UB, 665 [lost since WWII].
¹²⁸ Munich, BSB, clm. 27462.
¹²⁹ Göttweig, SB, 298.
¹³⁰ Incunable Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1479.
¹³¹ London, Lambeth Palace Library, 534 and New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Marston 255.
¹³² Munich, BSB, clm. 9411 and 27412.
¹³³ London, BL, Add. 22025.
¹³⁴ Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 4129.
¹³⁵ Prague, NL, XI A 14 (at explicit).
¹³⁶ Vatican City, BAV, lat. 1290.
¹³⁷ Vatican City, BAV, lat. 945.
¹³⁸ London, BL, Add. 24361 (at explicit).
¹³⁹ Munich, BSB, cgm. 341 (at explicit).
¹⁴⁰ Munich, BSB, clm. 7989.
¹⁴¹ Zurich, ZB, Rh 184. Olomouc, VK, M I 161, contains only the part of the *Summarium* on the Gospels and the title reads: *Versus super capitula ewangelistarum*.
¹⁴² Munich, BSB, clm. 15956 and Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 1111.

The striking variety only reconfirms that the text did not have a fixed name. In addition, in a number of copies, different titles are given at the explicit and at the incipit of the *Summarium*.¹⁴³ The titles or notes near the end of the work indicate very clearly which features of the text were seen as crucial during its transmission. Some stress that it is brief (*summa, summaria compilatio, sub breuiloquio* or *compendium*), others that it is in verse (*versus, metrica, per versus, versificata*, etc.), others again that it comprises the whole Bible (*super totam Bibliam, totius Biblie*), and finally some point out that it is composed systematically with almost every word referring to a biblical chapter (*quelibet dictio comprehendit capitulum, unum quodlibet verbum unius capituli summam tenet*).

Some of the titles are quite long and describe the use of the text. E.g., Munich, BSB, clm. 5444 (from 1470), f. 452v:

Versus subscripti qui sunt in numero 215 et intitulantur Biblia pauperum continent numerum, ordinem et materiam omnium librorum et capitulorum veteris et novi testamenti prout Biblia distinguit. Unde multum utiles sunt volentibus materiam et ordinem capitulorum aliquoties lecte firme memorie commendare seu auctoritates Sacre Scripture allegare.

The verses written below which are 215 in number and are entitled “the Bible of the Poor” contain the number, order, and subject of all the books and chapters of the Old and the New Testament into which the Bible is divided. Thence they are very useful for those wishing to firmly place in their memory the subject and order of the chapters read several times(?) or to relate the authorities of Sacred Scripture.

Yet, the most noteworthy fact about the *Summarium* titles is that they are not specific to this text but are used also for other biblical mnemonics. The observation that the biblical mnemonic retellings (whether in prose or in verse) seem to form a distinct group is discussed in detail below.

c) *An appendix to the Summarium?* Sunt genes ex le...

A number of specific texts re-appear in the vicinity of the *Summarium*. Its most frequent companion by far is a brief (6-9 verse) poem on the order of the biblical books. Various versions of this piece exist; some are true verses, others are not, some contain only the first syllables of the names of the biblical books and add their ends together with the number of chapters as superscript glosses. They also differ in the order of the books they present. E.g., one version that accompanies the *Summarium* in Klosterneuburg, SB, 151, f. 91r, reads:

*Sunt genes ex le nu deu iosu iu ruth reg paral es ne
Thob iudith hester iob david salomonque sap eccle*

¹⁴³ E.g., Schlägl, SB, 67, has *incipit registrum biblie* and *explicit biblia versificata*.

*Ys je tre bar es dany post osee iohel amos abdy
 Jo mi naum post aba sophonias ag zacha mala
 post macha scribe mathe mar cum luque iohanne
 Ro corin et gal ephe phy co thes tymo ty phil et hebre
 Actus canonicas precedunt post apo scribas
 una Iacob pe due tres iohann sunt unica iu.*¹⁴⁴

An example of a longer version is found in Paris, BnF, lat. 221, (late 13th-14th c., with mnemonics added in the 15th c.), on f. A verso:

*Sunt genes ex le nu deu io iudi ruth re parali
 Es noe [!] tob iud hest iob da par ecclesiastes
 Cant sap ecclesias ysa ie tren bar eze dani
 Post osee ioel amos abd io mi naumque
 Abba sophonias agge zacha malachias
 Post machabe scribe math mar lucam que iohannem
 Roma Corinth gal ephe Philip colo tessalonique
 Timoth tyt philemon docet ultimo paulus hebreque
 actus canonicas precedent post apo scribas
 una iacobi pe due tres sunt iohan unica iude.*

A similar text proposing a slightly different order is the one that appears, e.g., on f. 1r of Prague, NL, VI B 11:

*Profert capitula distincta mille trecenta
 et quadraginta minus uno biblia tota.
 Gen ex le mu[!] deuter josue iudicum ruth
 reg paralip esdras nem tob judith hester et Job psal
 par sces can sapit ec is yer tren baruch ezech dan
 os johel am ab yon mich na bak soph age zach mal
 mach matheus marcus lucas que iohannes
 ro cor gal ephe phil col tes tim tit phile heb la
 actus iacob petrus iohan iudas appokalipsis.*¹⁴⁵

Other verses give both the order and the number of chapters of each biblical book. Compare, e.g., with:

*L genesis minus exo decem le vigen dat et epta.
 dant nume triginta sex inde deu duo demit...*¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Cf. RB, no. 8616, as *Versus de numero capitulorum Bibliae*, also as *Versus valentes ad sciendum numerum et ordinem librorum Bibliae*, et quot capitula quilibet liber habeat or *Versus utiles ad tenendum memoriter nomina et ordinem librorum Bibliae* (3 mss. noted).

¹⁴⁵ Another very frequent version begins: *Post pentateucum sequitur Iosue Iudicum Ruth / Hinc Regum paralipomenon Job postea Psalmi...* Together with the *Summarium* found, e.g., in Melk, SB, 1059, p. 288.

¹⁴⁶ Thus it is, e.g., in Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 1728, see RB, no. 8615; this text is also very frequently joined with the *Summarium*.

Sometimes both the version without the numbers of chapters and the one with them appear consecutively in the manuscript.¹⁴⁷ Yet other verses include the contents of the chapters in a greatly condensed form, as, e.g., the verse beginning *Intrat in Aegyptum Genesis liber, Exodus exit*.¹⁴⁸ Stegmüller notes several very similar versions.¹⁴⁹ Only very rarely do these verses have a separate title or a rubric, e.g., *Isti uersus utiles sunt ad retinendum memoriter nomina et ordinem librorum biblie*,¹⁵⁰ *Versus valentes ad sciendum numerum et ordinem librorum Biblie et quot capitula quilibet liber habeat*,¹⁵¹ or *Quis divinorum numerus sit et ordo librorum*.¹⁵² Few manuscripts include an attribution to Guillelmus Brito (William the Breton, ca. 1165-ca.1225),¹⁵³ the author of popular *Summa Britonis*—another biblical tool explaining difficult words from the Bible in alphabetical order. Two versions of the above mentioned verses were included within the *Summa*,¹⁵⁴ but William's authorship remains uncertain.

These verses can, in all their variations, be seen as a further summary of the existing summary of the *Summarium*. Since they are so brief and are usually copied without a mention of an author or a title immediately after the *Summarium*, they often seem to be an inherent part of it, a condensed repetition or a structure overview at its end.

¹⁴⁷ E.g., Graz, UB, 1049, f. 74r, Rouen, BM, 176, f. 113, or Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 1728.

¹⁴⁸ See *RB*, no. 11373.

¹⁴⁹ *RB*, no. 11372, vol. 7, p. 370, no. 11372: *Ter denis Bibliam distingue libros, minus uno. Sunt Genes. Exo. Levi. Numero. Deutero. Josueque. Expl: Aggae. Zachari. Malachias. Versus super libros Bibliae*, Uppsala, UB, C 137 (s. XIV) f. 1v; or *RB*, no. 10884, vol. 7, p. 254, inc.: *Ter denis Bibliam distingue libris minus uno. Sunt Genesis.... [Continentia librorum Bibliae, Gen.-Act., metrice]*, Pommersfelden, Gräflisch Schönbornsche Schloßbibliothek, 257 (Erfurt, St. Peter), f. 117-23.

¹⁵⁰ Graz, UB, 1295, f. 43v; Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery W. 59 (s. XIII; here *utilis est* is used for *utiles sunt*), Uppsala, UB, C 172, f. 126r.

¹⁵¹ Basel, UB, B XI 6, f. 134r.

¹⁵² Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 12538, f. 17r.

¹⁵³ E.g., Bordeaux, BM, 38 (s. XIII), Douai, BM, 59 (s. XIII-XIV), or Paris, BnF, lat. 51.

¹⁵⁴ *Summa Britonis sive Guilelmi Britonis expositiones vocabulorum bibliae*, vol. 1, ed. Lloyd W. Daly and Bernadine A. Daly (Padova: Antenore, 1975), xxi-xxii. Cf. also Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, vol. IV (1892): 185-86.

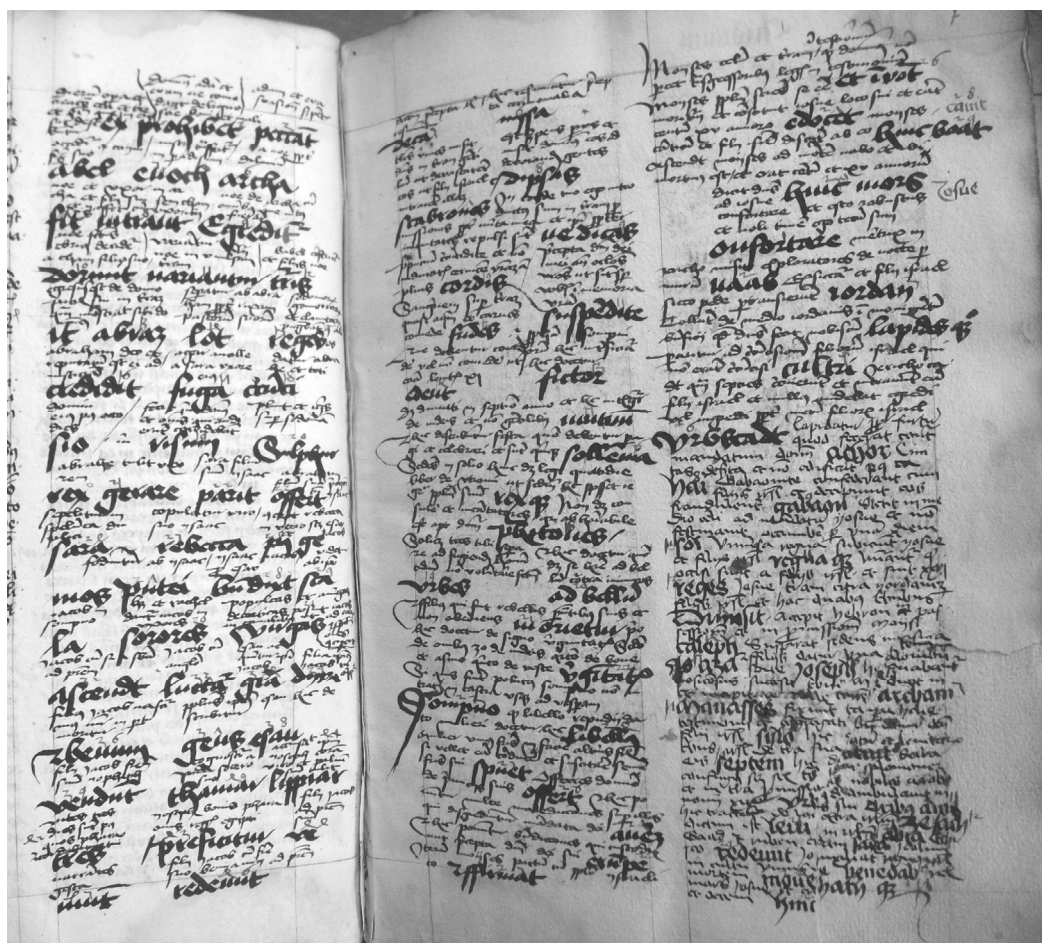
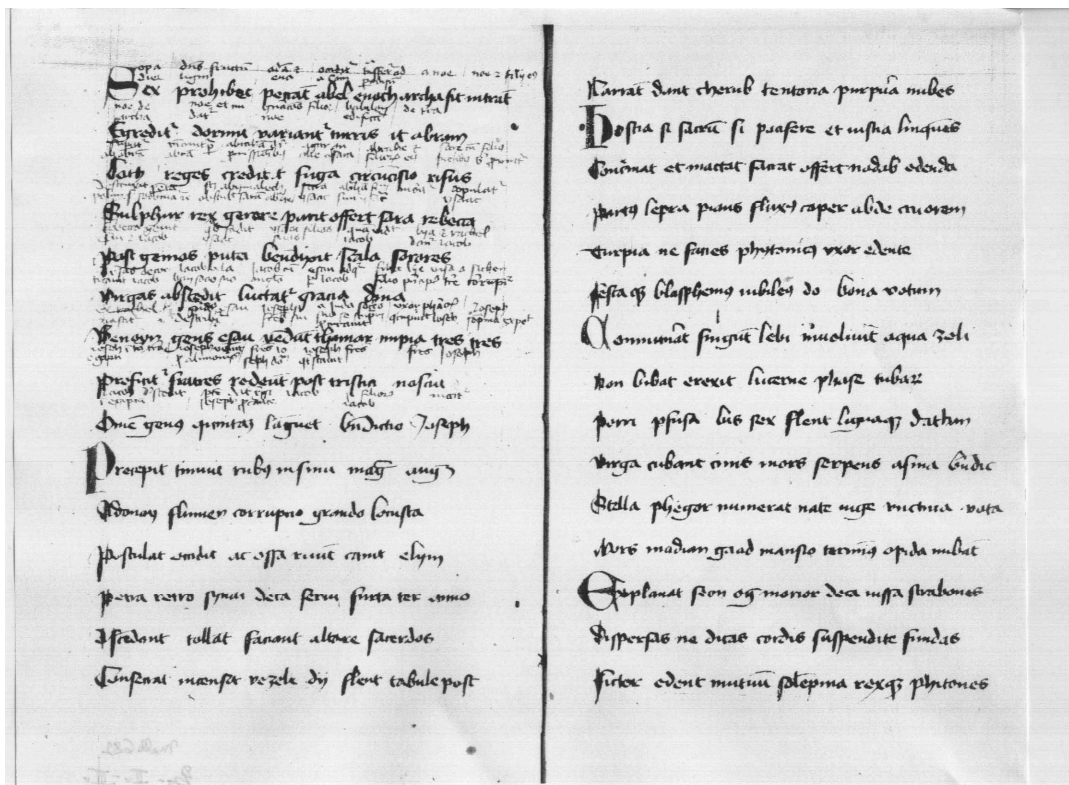


Fig. 2b: Ms. Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M II 60 (s. XV med), f. 6v-7r

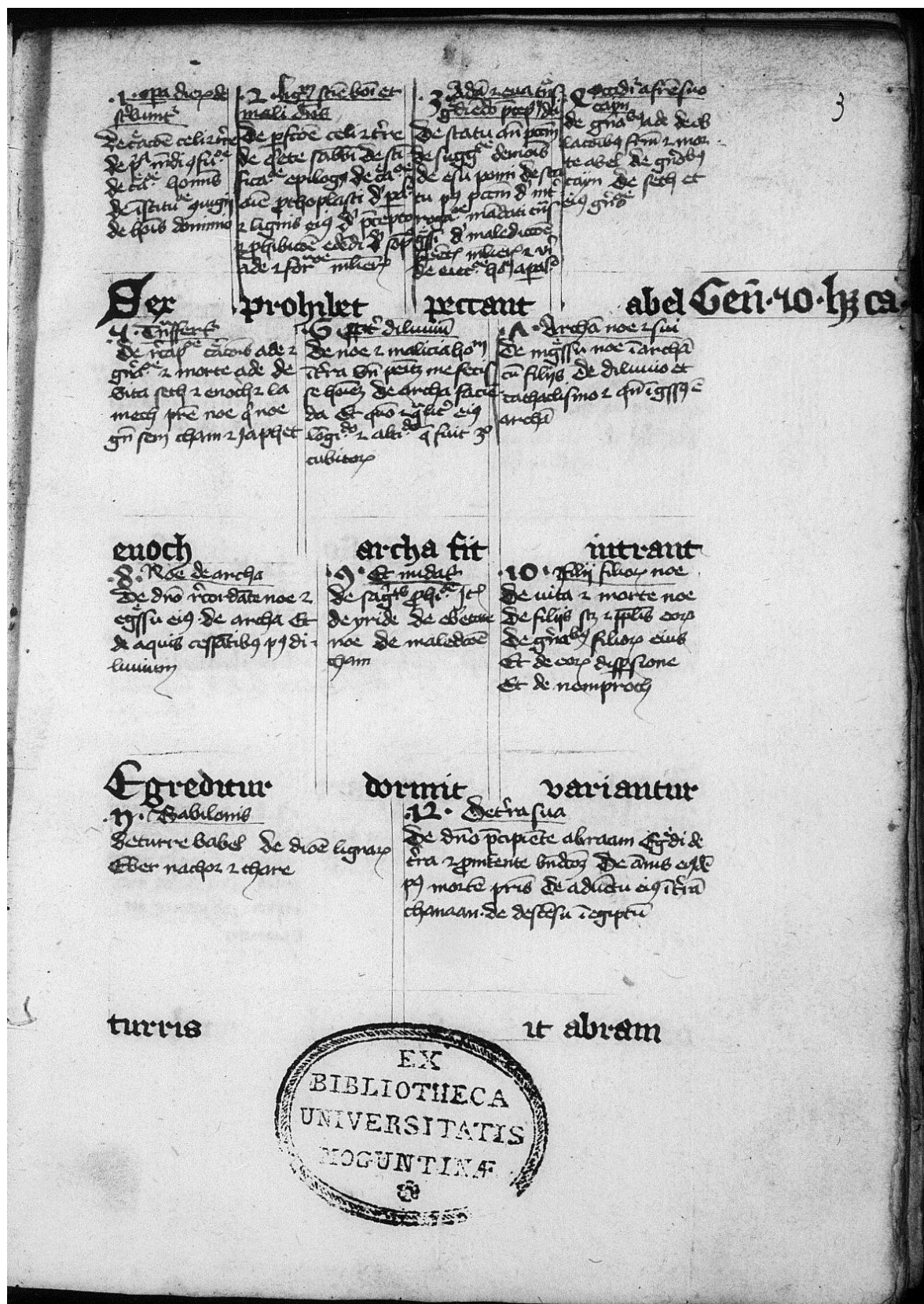


Fig. 2d: Ms. Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs I 570 (s. XV), f. 3r

cap. 7. Inapit biblia paupere
zum. lib. gen. 1.

cap. 7.
p. 1.
b. 1.

Sex. In principio creavit
Deus celum et terram. Sex
spa imicazū dierū. Pri
ma die diuinit luce atenebris
Secūda diuinit aq̄s que subhi
mamores erant alijs que
sup̄ firmamētū erat. Tercia
creauit arietes. Quarta
solē, lunā et stellas. Quinta
volatilia et pisces. Sexta
iumentā et bestias et hominē
et reptilia et bēdixit eis.

2. **Paradisus.** Tunc profecti sūt
celi et terra. Adam et eua
agnoscione ligni sūt boni
et mali. Requirit sūt
quattuor flūia paradisi p̄
san tyā. Tigris, eufrates,
eufrates. Tulit hominē et collo
cauit ī paradiso. Adam dat
nōia iumentis et volatilibus
et bestis. Non ē bona hōi
esse solū. Eua creatur ex
sta adam et nōia uirgo.

3. **Peccat.** Erat autē usq̄
nudi et adam et eua comē
dentes de ligno sūt boni et
mali excauant se maledicā
tur q̄d. Adam maledicta ē
ra. Adā maledicta ē paries
Quia p̄ peccatū eris vestitū
tur aq̄s pellicis opudat
de paradiso. Cherubim collocat
adāstadiā p̄dēt.

4. **Abel.** Adam agnouit eua
uxorē. Abel mēstatur aca
m. Abel et abel fratres
despat amāor ē mēstatur

mea. **Enoch.** hic ē liber genera
tionis. Enoch natus ē. Ambia
uitq̄ cū deo t̄ non apparuit
quia tulit illa dū. Des
cendit nōia p̄m et mors
ip̄a. Noe natus ē. Am
chudon. Noe genuit filios
tres. Shem, ham et iaphet.

5. **Etzechia.** Omnis
p̄s hominē multiplicare sūt
etiam. Etzechia autē ius
sūm. Nōens deus q̄ m
ta malicia ē. Etzechia aut
penitet me sūt hōmīnē
q̄yantes autē etzechia
Noe v̄ ius. Atq̄ p̄fecti
sūt. Omnia que t̄ terra.
sūt consumitū. Recor
noe omnia que p̄parat illis.

6. **Intant.** Dixit dū ad. 1.
noe. Ingrede. Intant. 1. 2.
etiam et noe et filij ei et alian
cia et ames. Et clausit eua
dū de arca. Et factū ē di
luuiū. Et dicitur. Consumpta
que omnia caro que maneat
sup̄ terrā. Remisit autē
solus noe et q̄ ē eo erat. E
rat autē aq̄e sup̄ terrā. Et
et dū dū.

7. **Etzechia.** Etzechia. 8.
dū ē autē dū. Intant
archa mēstatur. Etzechia.

Fig. 2e: Ms. Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 972b (s. XV), p. 3

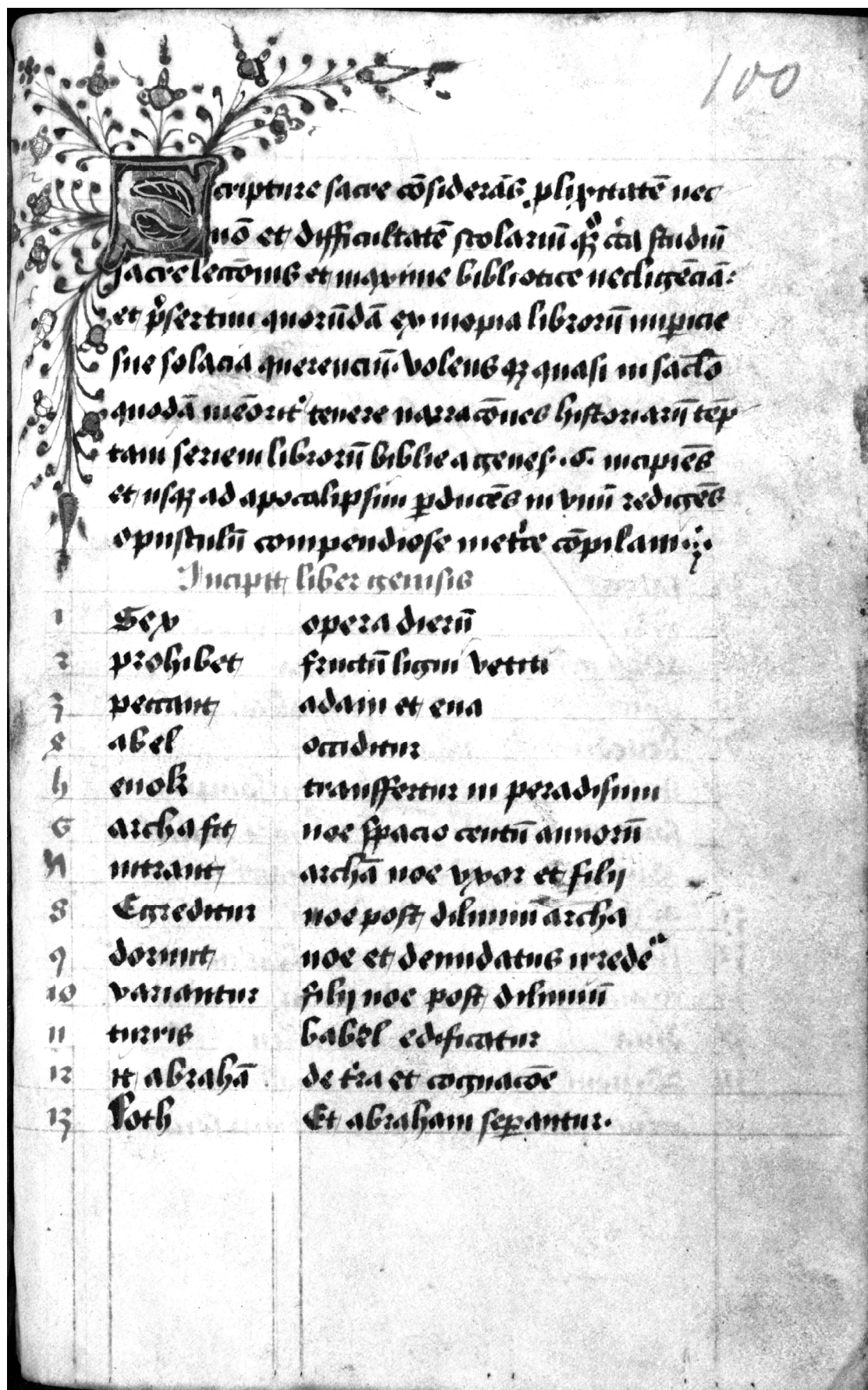


Fig. 2f: Ms. Oxford, Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Marshall 86 (s. XV med),
f. 100r

Ogni die. Ino addi. addi 2 una. omdit². in fin. in. anse
 2. creas. una ne. addi. suafione. affum. fin. in. p. ip². di.
 teliz. be. Deliquo. uice. spenito. suo. addi. su. p. emmunt.

noe z'vor noe dearcha noe frons d' fily yaffer fit a
d m archam cu amilub q ofus : deida in vnu famy fultio
fily sui sen intera fuerit archa fit suo corum p' fiente

intrant. Egredit^r. Dormit. vaian^t tñs

Agay	abimhe	sare dubiou
1 demepotia	2 fannlie	degaytu
2 veit mra amany	2u0	

Abraham. Loth rexes credit fuga mansio risus
 aburrit quia abimelech ab fara abraham
 mutates se puit fara uxore filii sui
 amor abrahæ i egro ysaac ysaac
 vixit copulatur ysaac
 duar dinesopotia
 moit

Post gemas putei Gaudiat scilla sorores iugas aptat.

flucta? grana dyua Bennoni ges faw vendut

cognosca dñm ioseph dico pñ ioseph ad pñem t cõpñem illis illa
 iuda scio adna sua et qd ioseph dñs ioseph sunt iacob m bñm m dapho
 suo sapiente t amem mñm dñm dñs t cõm nãmico gr

resuit De gen^o c^onta. Ranguet b^ondino yoseph

fairo tiffue	moises	one m	aphsa uxor	pharoa pum
moyses 2 fe	moises	quo eat	moysi uxor	simone moysi et
moyses fratre	moyses	deus	filia sui	aron

¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ^{467</}

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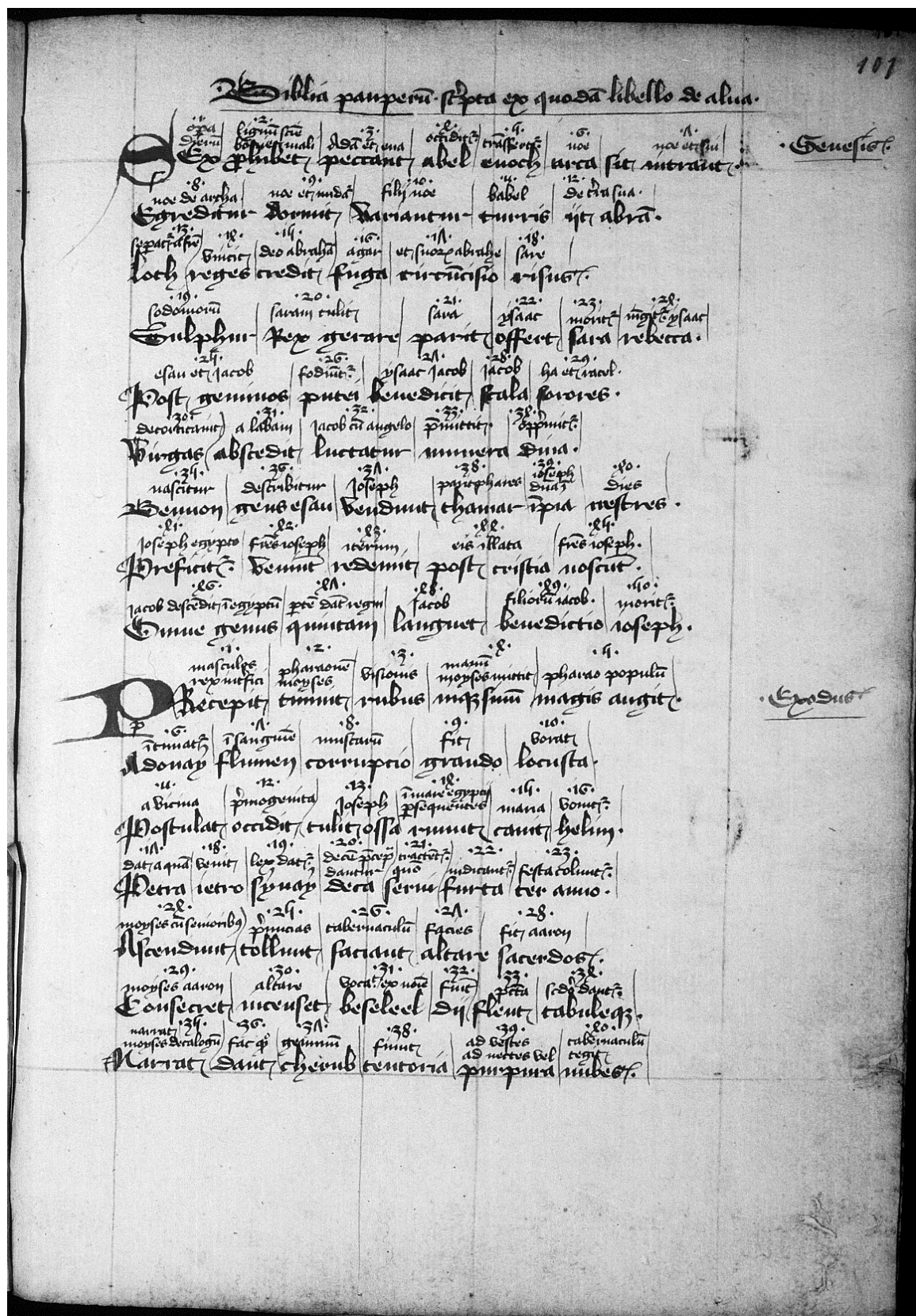
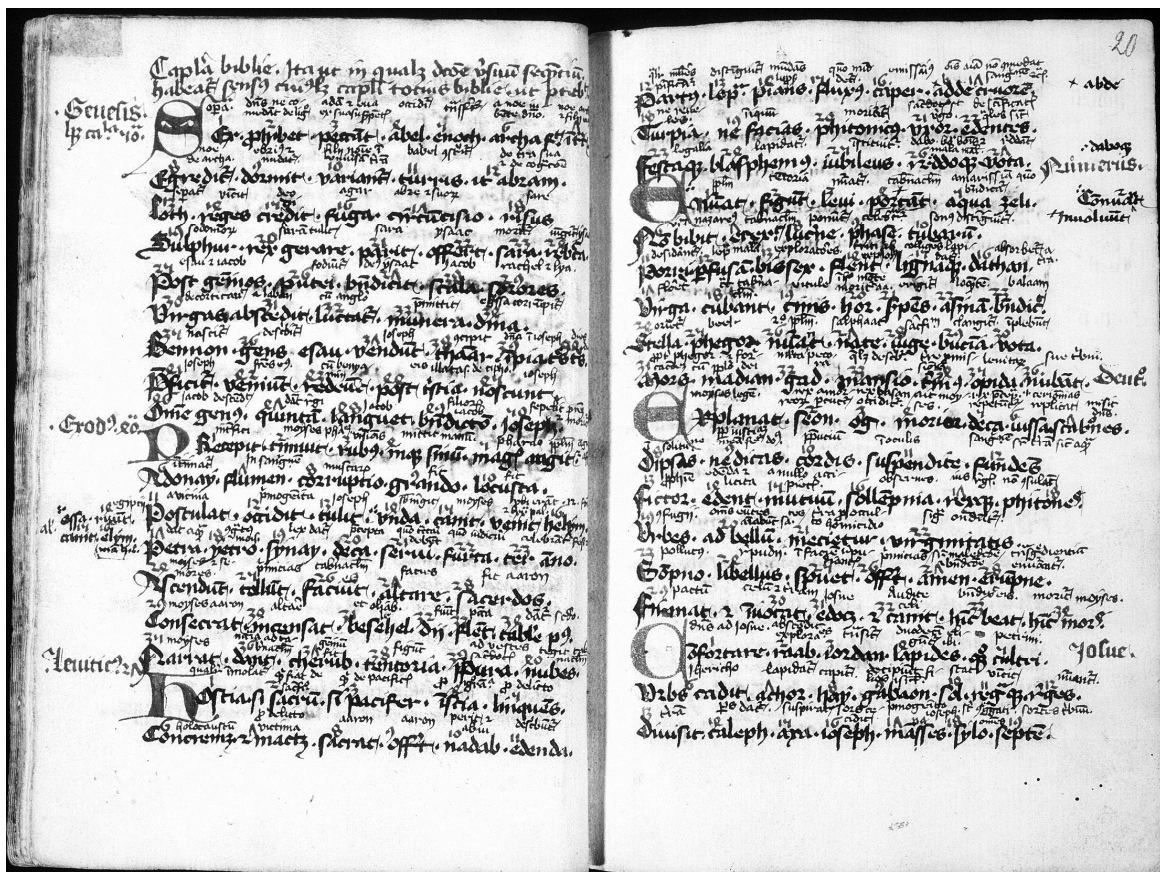


Fig. 2i: Ms. Cologne, Stadtarchiv, GB folio 188 (s. XV in), f. 101r



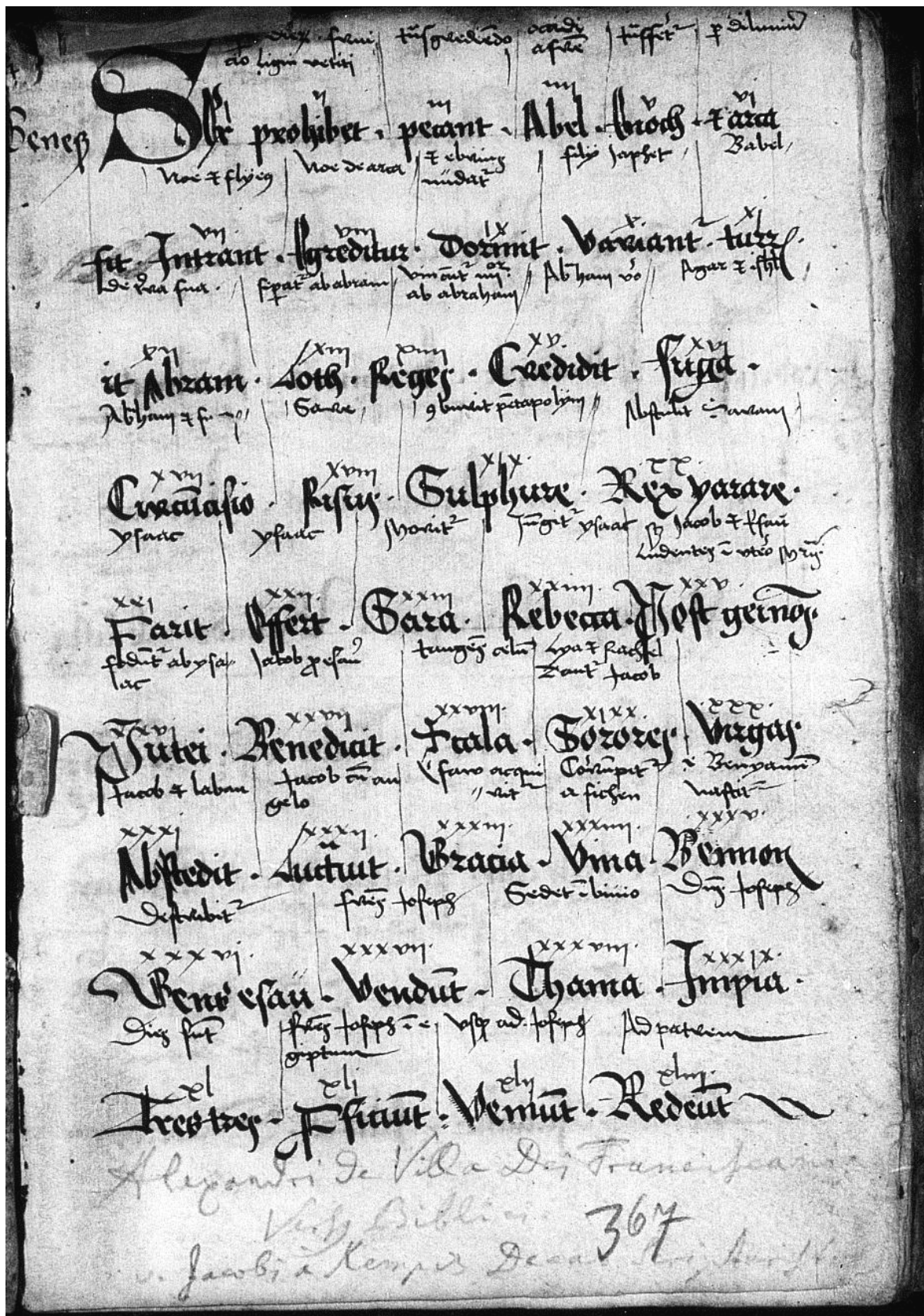


Fig. 21: Ms. Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek, 297 (s. XV), f. 367r

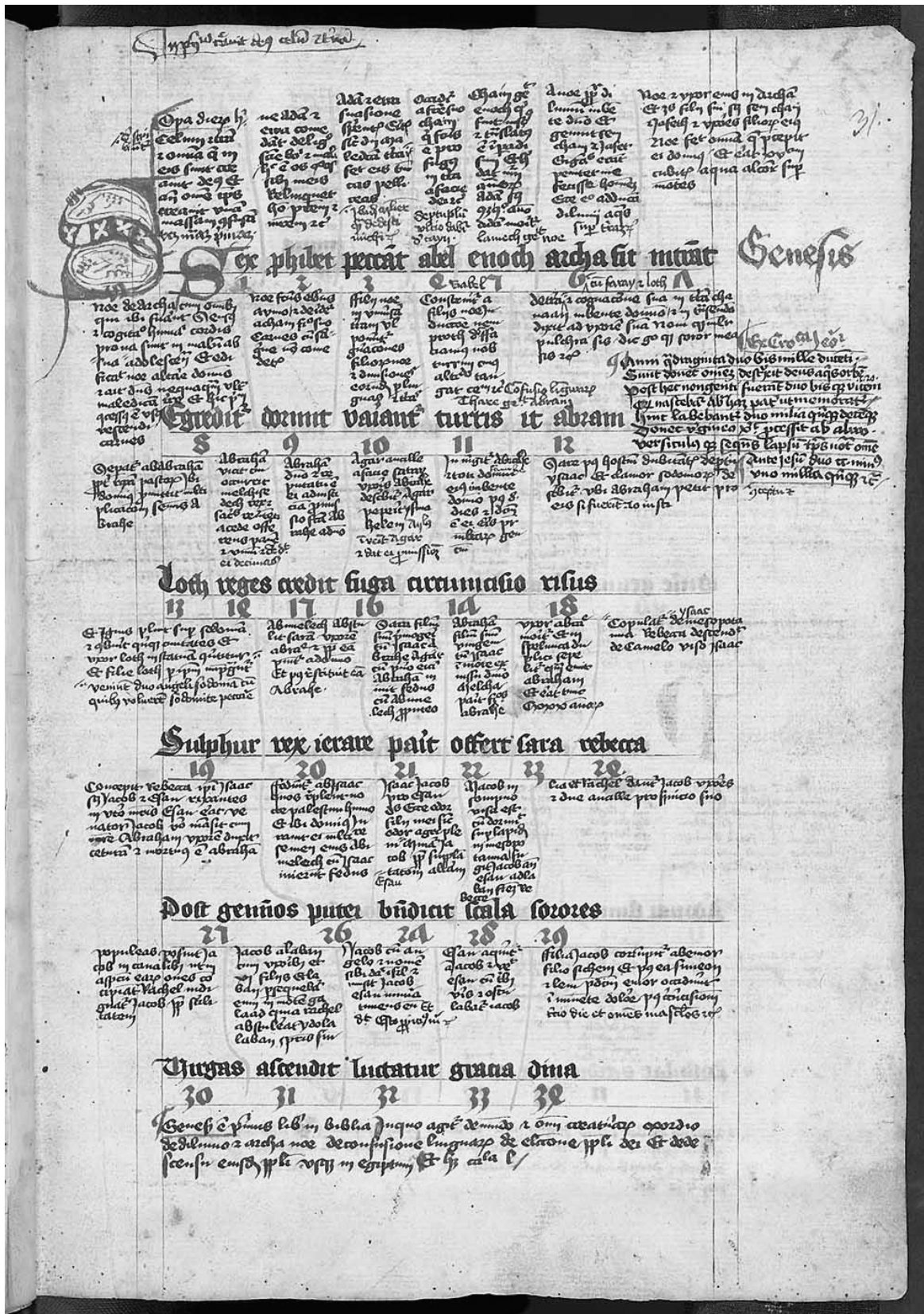


Fig. 2m: Ms. Prague, National Library, VIII D 15 (s. XV), f. 31r

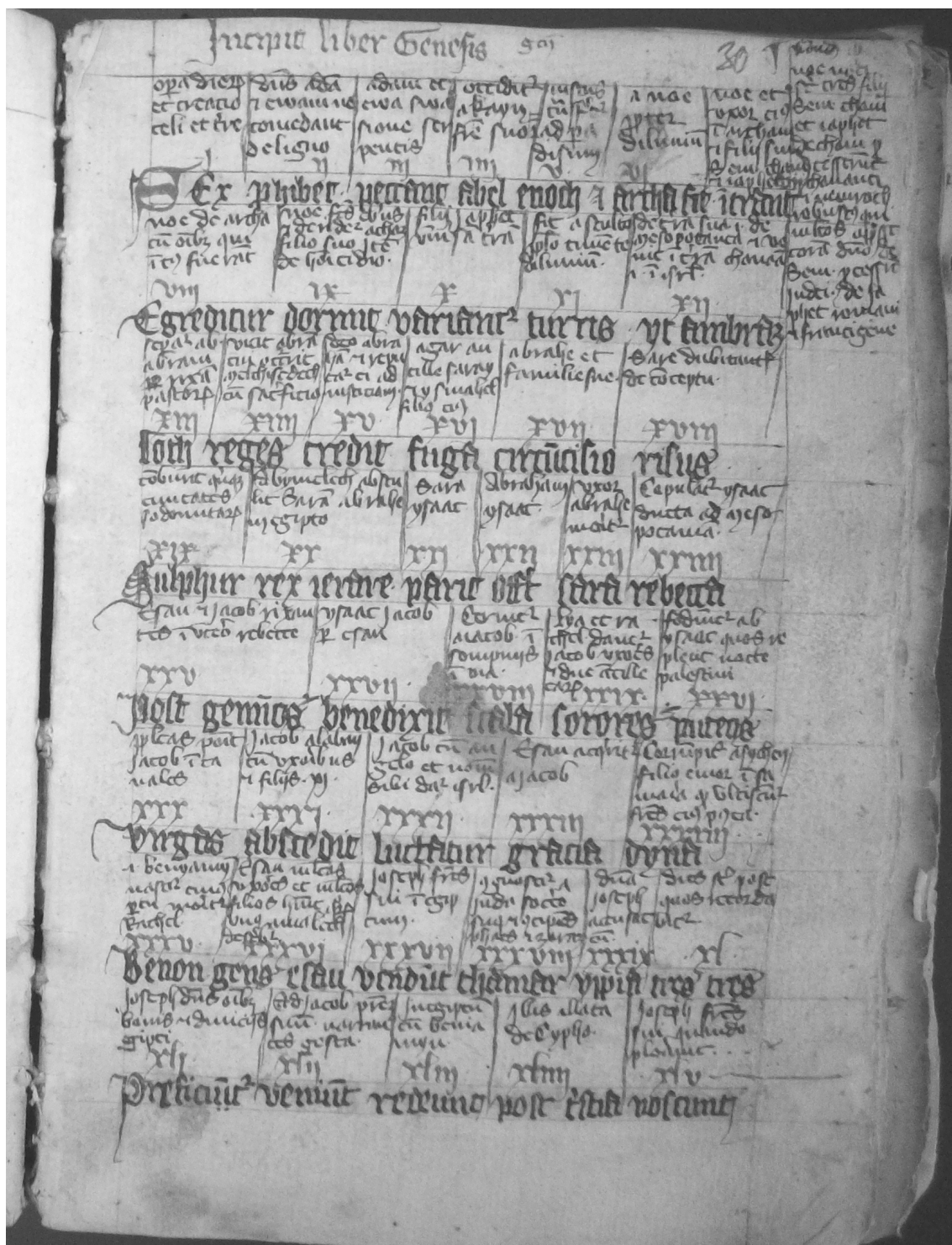


Fig. 2n: Ms. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, G 11
(rukopisy Františkova muzea v Brně), 905, f. 30r

Opem sep drey	fructum signi uite	Adam et eua				
Ex philet	philet	peccant	enoch			
opasep drey	fructu signi uite	Adam et eua	occidit a caym	transfert	noe	Arctam
Ex philet	philet	peccant	abel	enoch	arctasit	mtunt
noe de archa	noe et mudatur	filij noe	Babel edificat	et terra exijt		
Egredit	dormit	vaunt	turris	et abram		
et abrahā vintur	Abrahā dixit	Saray agar	Abrahā suorum	pare		
Lot reges	credit	fugat	cananiso	visus		
Adam desinit	abstulit fructum	Sara ysaac	Abrahā filii	mont	ysaac duxit	
Sulphur	rex	icore	parit	offert	Zara	rebeca
gemit rebecca	iacob	ysaac dicit ti sit apale	ysaac jacob	inopnis appuit	lyam et rachel	
et esau	gemios	putei	benoit	sala	forores	
deatua vint	iacob a laban	iacob om angelo	esau atq aquit	corrupt a sychem		
Virgis	abstedit	luctatur	gracia	dyna		
napatur	deputat	fratres joseph	corrupt	dna joseph	forma phadmes	
Benon	gens esau	icedit	thamir	impia	tres	tres
joseph egyptio	joseph in egypto ut erant	fratres adpatre	allata a joseph	fratres joseph		
Presiat	fratres	redunt	post esau	nosunt		
iacob dicit in egyptum	ptem dabi tis regi	iacob	iacob dicit filij	mont		
Omne gen	qntum	lauglet	ben	benito	joseph	
pharao dimaplos	pharao moysen	ardet	oxyres m mst et p c m m	pharao	populu	
Recepit	timuit	rubz	in fumi	magf	augit	
mtuat moysi	itit m pignoz	mistay	fit	duarit		
Adonay	flume	corrupto	grida	lacusta		
uapa p exient	pmogeni ca	joseph edant	imare	oxyres antici	populu	uenit
Populat	ocidi	at ossa	nuit	amit	elym	
dat aqua	gener moysi dat qstui	lex dat	p pcepta qnt	idrupt restituta	festa celebrat	
Petra	ictio	synay	deca	hui	fructa	ter anno

Fig. 2o: Ms. Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 42, f. 134r

1 Dicitur opa	2 filiu hym	3 adag et ena	4 ocadit a laim	5 p'te diluuii	6 noe et filij eius
7 Ex phibent	8 p'tiam	9 abel	10 enoch	11 et archa fit	12 intrant
13 noe et filij de archa	14 noe et mudat	15 filij nichel	16 babylon edificat	17 de tra sua	18 it abram
19 sepat vicit	20 abram	21 agar et ysmael	22 abie et suoz	23 qam	24 p'at
25 p'at	26 p'at	27 p'at	28 p'at	29 p'at	30 p'at
31 p'at	32 p'at	33 p'at	34 p'at	35 p'at	36 p'at
37 p'at	38 p'at	39 p'at	40 p'at	41 p'at	42 p'at
43 p'at	44 p'at	45 p'at	46 p'at	47 p'at	48 p'at
49 p'at	50 p'at	51 p'at	52 p'at	53 p'at	54 p'at
55 p'at	56 p'at	57 p'at	58 p'at	59 p'at	60 p'at
61 p'at	62 p'at	63 p'at	64 p'at	65 p'at	66 p'at
67 p'at	68 p'at	69 p'at	70 p'at	71 p'at	72 p'at
73 p'at	74 p'at	75 p'at	76 p'at	77 p'at	78 p'at
79 p'at	80 p'at	81 p'at	82 p'at	83 p'at	84 p'at
85 p'at	86 p'at	87 p'at	88 p'at	89 p'at	90 p'at
91 p'at	92 p'at	93 p'at	94 p'at	95 p'at	96 p'at
97 p'at	98 p'at	99 p'at	100 p'at	101 p'at	102 p'at
103 p'at	104 p'at	105 p'at	106 p'at	107 p'at	108 p'at
109 p'at	110 p'at	111 p'at	112 p'at	113 p'at	114 p'at
115 p'at	116 p'at	117 p'at	118 p'at	119 p'at	120 p'at
121 p'at	122 p'at	123 p'at	124 p'at	125 p'at	126 p'at
127 p'at	128 p'at	129 p'at	130 p'at	131 p'at	132 p'at
133 p'at	134 p'at	135 p'at	136 p'at	137 p'at	138 p'at
139 p'at	140 p'at	141 p'at	142 p'at	143 p'at	144 p'at
145 p'at	146 p'at	147 p'at	148 p'at	149 p'at	150 p'at
151 p'at	152 p'at	153 p'at	154 p'at	155 p'at	156 p'at
157 p'at	158 p'at	159 p'at	160 p'at	161 p'at	162 p'at
163 p'at	164 p'at	165 p'at	166 p'at	167 p'at	168 p'at
169 p'at	170 p'at	171 p'at	172 p'at	173 p'at	174 p'at
175 p'at	176 p'at	177 p'at	178 p'at	179 p'at	180 p'at
181 p'at	182 p'at	183 p'at	184 p'at	185 p'at	186 p'at
187 p'at	188 p'at	189 p'at	190 p'at	191 p'at	192 p'at
193 p'at	194 p'at	195 p'at	196 p'at	197 p'at	198 p'at
199 p'at	200 p'at	201 p'at	202 p'at	203 p'at	204 p'at
205 p'at	206 p'at	207 p'at	208 p'at	209 p'at	210 p'at
211 p'at	212 p'at	213 p'at	214 p'at	215 p'at	216 p'at
217 p'at	218 p'at	219 p'at	220 p'at	221 p'at	222 p'at
223 p'at	224 p'at	225 p'at	226 p'at	227 p'at	228 p'at
229 p'at	230 p'at	231 p'at	232 p'at	233 p'at	234 p'at
235 p'at	236 p'at	237 p'at	238 p'at	239 p'at	240 p'at
241 p'at	242 p'at	243 p'at	244 p'at	245 p'at	246 p'at
247 p'at	248 p'at	249 p'at	250 p'at	251 p'at	252 p'at
253 p'at	254 p'at	255 p'at	256 p'at	257 p'at	258 p'at
259 p'at	260 p'at	261 p'at	262 p'at	263 p'at	264 p'at
265 p'at	266 p'at	267 p'at	268 p'at	269 p'at	270 p'at
271 p'at	272 p'at	273 p'at	274 p'at	275 p'at	276 p'at
277 p'at	278 p'at	279 p'at	280 p'at	281 p'at	282 p'at
283 p'at	284 p'at	285 p'at	286 p'at	287 p'at	288 p'at
289 p'at	290 p'at	291 p'at	292 p'at	293 p'at	294 p'at
295 p'at	296 p'at	297 p'at	298 p'at	299 p'at	300 p'at
301 p'at	302 p'at	303 p'at	304 p'at	305 p'at	306 p'at
307 p'at	308 p'at	309 p'at	310 p'at	311 p'at	312 p'at
313 p'at	314 p'at	315 p'at	316 p'at	317 p'at	318 p'at
319 p'at	320 p'at	321 p'at	322 p'at	323 p'at	324 p'at
325 p'at	326 p'at	327 p'at	328 p'at	329 p'at	330 p'at
331 p'at	332 p'at	333 p'at	334 p'at	335 p'at	336 p'at
337 p'at	338 p'at	339 p'at	340 p'at	341 p'at	342 p'at
343 p'at	344 p'at	345 p'at	346 p'at	347 p'at	348 p'at
349 p'at	350 p'at	351 p'at	352 p'at	353 p'at	354 p'at
355 p'at	356 p'at	357 p'at	358 p'at	359 p'at	360 p'at
361 p'at	362 p'at	363 p'at	364 p'at	365 p'at	366 p'at
367 p'at	368 p'at	369 p'at	370 p'at	371 p'at	372 p'at
373 p'at	374 p'at	375 p'at	376 p'at	377 p'at	378 p'at
379 p'at	380 p'at	381 p'at	382 p'at	383 p'at	384 p'at
385 p'at	386 p'at	387 p'at	388 p'at	389 p'at	390 p'at
391 p'at	392 p'at	393 p'at	394 p'at	395 p'at	396 p'at
397 p'at	398 p'at	399 p'at	400 p'at	401 p'at	402 p'at
403 p'at	404 p'at	405 p'at	406 p'at	407 p'at	408 p'at
409 p'at	410 p'at	411 p'at	412 p'at	413 p'at	414 p'at
415 p'at	416 p'at	417 p'at	418 p'at	419 p'at	420 p'at
421 p'at	422 p'at	423 p'at	424 p'at	425 p'at	426 p'at
427 p'at	428 p'at	429 p'at	430 p'at	431 p'at	432 p'at
433 p'at	434 p'at	435 p'at	436 p'at	437 p'at	438 p'at
439 p'at	440 p'at	441 p'at	442 p'at	443 p'at	444 p'at
445 p'at	446 p'at	447 p'at	448 p'at	449 p'at	450 p'at
451 p'at	452 p'at	453 p'at	454 p'at	455 p'at	456 p'at
457 p'at	458 p'at	459 p'at	460 p'at	461 p'at	462 p'at
463 p'at	464 p'at	465 p'at	466 p'at	467 p'at	468 p'at
469 p'at	470 p'at	471 p'at	472 p'at	473 p'at	474 p'at
475 p'at	476 p'at	477 p'at	478 p'at	479 p'at	480 p'at
481 p'at	482 p'at	483 p'at	484 p'at	485 p'at	486 p'at
487 p'at	488 p'at	489 p'at	490 p'at	491 p'at	492 p'at
493 p'at	494 p'at	495 p'at	496 p'at	497 p'at	498 p'at
499 p'at	500 p'at	501 p'at	502 p'at	503 p'at	504 p'at
505 p'at	506 p'at	507 p'at	508 p'at	509 p'at	510 p'at
511 p'at	512 p'at	513 p'at	514 p'at	515 p'at	516 p'at
517 p'at	518 p'at	519 p'at	520 p'at	521 p'at	522 p'at
523 p'at	524 p'at	525 p'at	526 p'at	527 p'at	528 p'at
529 p'at	530 p'at	531 p'at	532 p'at	533 p'at	534 p'at
535 p'at	536 p'at	537 p'at	538 p'at	539 p'at	540 p'at
541 p'at	542 p'at	543 p'at	544 p'at	545 p'at	546 p'at
547 p'at	548 p'at	549 p'at	550 p'at	551 p'at	552 p'at
553 p'at	554 p'at	555 p'at	556 p'at	557 p'at	558 p'at
559 p'at	560 p'at	561 p'at	562 p'at	563 p'at	564 p'at
565 p'at	566 p'at	567 p'at	568 p'at	569 p'at	570 p'at
571 p'at	572 p'at	573 p'at	574 p'at	575 p'at	576 p'at
577 p'at	578 p'at	579 p'at	580 p'at	581 p'at	582 p'at
583 p'at	584 p'at	585 p'at	586 p'at	587 p'at	588 p'at
589 p'at	590 p'at	591 p'at	592 p'at	593 p'at	594 p'at
595 p'at	596 p'at	597 p'at	598 p'at	599 p'at	600 p'at
601 p'at	602 p'at	603 p'at	604 p'at	605 p'at	606 p'at
607 p'at	608 p'at	609 p'at	610 p'at	611 p'at	612 p'at
613 p'at	614 p'at	615 p'at	616 p'at	617 p'at	

Sencj						
opa die riny p toy ara ao celi z arce	deus ne comdat deliquo detico piencie boni et mali	trans gredien do p tuy ada z ewa	Adam coquit ewam zign filios abel z caym abel oia di. arce	trans tur in pari dysim	Amoe ppter dilu vum	Archim ne filij eius
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hic ppter peccatum abel enoch tunc ppter						
Noc z fi ly sui de archa pt diluuium	ppter p porem dnu tmu datur in detendis sub	tribus p noc filioz abelis di mpe sunt mpe qe ciny in regionibz	habet ad fiam cot diluuium debeant ibi uide regionibz	Deia cognate lora fura videt pte z conallum illorum ibiqz des apput di ibiqz famet facta est z ibi uorem apert famt porem	8	9
Egredimur domus dnu tunc ppter						
Scpt ababira ham	quatuor ababira ham p porem	Abraham deo z re porem qz ci ad mpeam	Sma fugit ape ager qui ager concepit	Abrahe z famlie p pcepto do mni	En m gelus m amit ci ppter mpe tunc pua mpe	10
Hic reges ardidit pua domus pua						
Combust domus z porem mpeam	Ab mali cult mpe	pom aa	Sma pua	Abra ham p hiny p pua	montu qz abra ham de plena d adplos	11
Hic reges ardidit pua domus pua						
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Hic reges ardidit pua domus pua						
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Hic reges ardidit pua domus pua						

Fig. 2q: Ms. Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 167, f. 1r

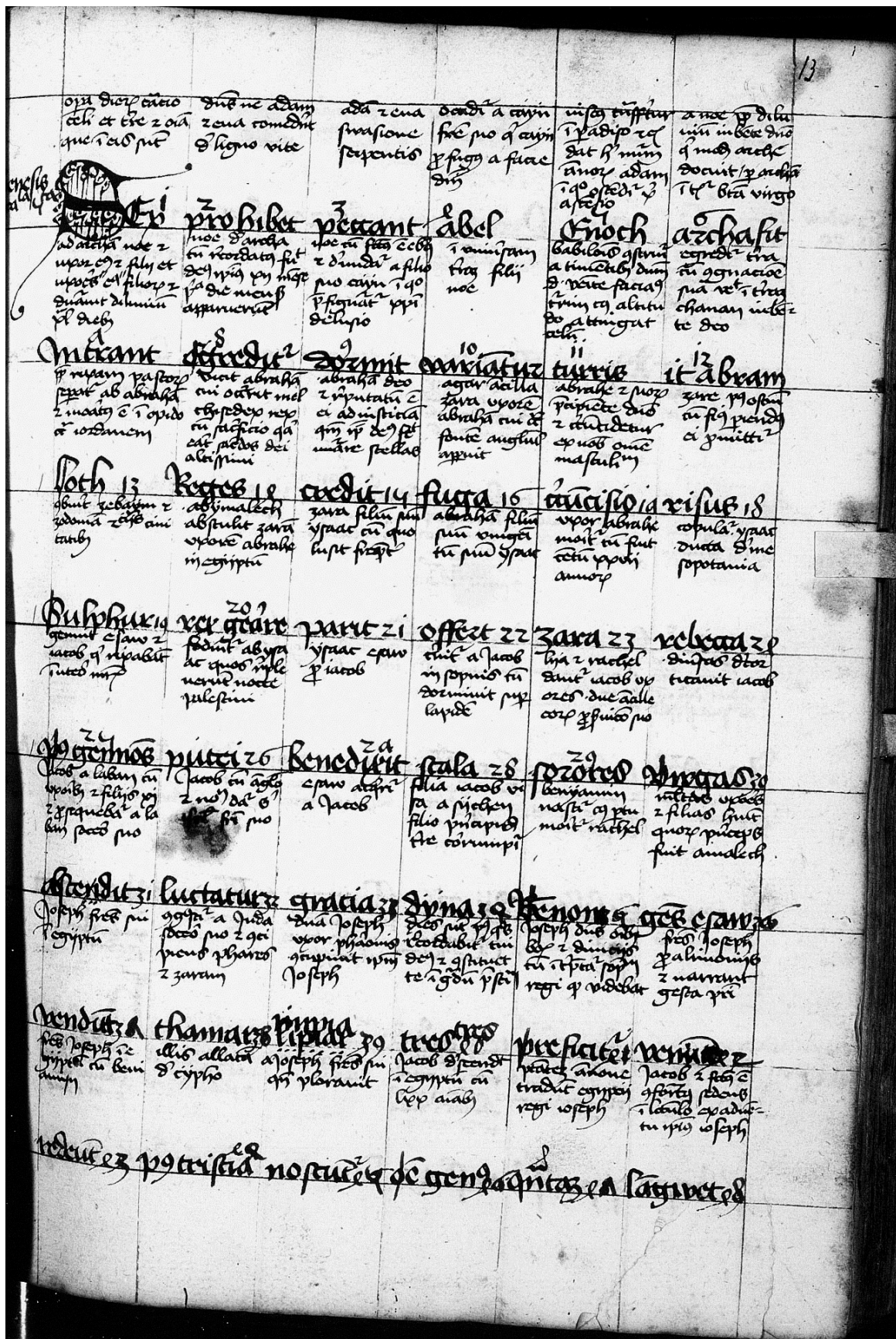


Fig. 2r: Ms. Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 445, f. 13r

d) Layouts

The text of the *Summarium* appears in a variety of layouts (see Fig. 2). Some preserve the verse structure by copying one verse per line, others do not. Often we find vertical lines dividing the keywords, or even “boxes” around them. The layout also depends on the length and level of integration of the glosses which are usually included. They are most frequently in superscript, together with the chapter number, over the particular keyword, but sometimes, as in Oxford, BoL, Marshall 86, the chapter keywords are written in a column and the glosses in a parallel column at the side, in letters the same size as the keywords. Or, as in Gallus Kemli’s copy (St. Gallen, SB, 972b) they cover a whole paragraph following the keyword. In Admont, SB, 592 the *Summarium* and its explanatory notes cover 295 manuscript folios.

A very peculiar manuscript is Prague, NL, I A 35, in which the keywords are copied in a strange order (Fig. 3): every line of a page consists of four keywords but always three of them follow each other. Thus, the keywords are distributed on the first two pages in this way:

f. 277r:				f. 277v:			
1	2	3	19	20	21	37	38
4	5	6	22	23	24	40	41
7	8	9	25	26	27	43	44
10	11	12	28	29	30	46	47
13	14	15	31	32	33	49	50
16	17	18	34	35	36	2	3

Although every keyword is numbered in this manuscript, it is still quite confusing.

The varieties of presentation of the text on the manuscript page thus does not depend only on the length of the glosses included. Perhaps it is also due to the fact that the text was meant to be memorized: since the written form was not its primary means of transmission, it did not become settled, and each layout is a reflection of an individual’s “mental image” of the text.

277. 268.			
Opā diez creatō celi & t're & oīa que in eis sūt & dās pūch d' geseoph.			
Dñs ne ada & eua comedet deligno vite			
Adā & eua s'vasiōe s'pent & d' d' adāz h'bi es i'q' r'fioe p'f' grat' g'fessio			
Aburēt febr'y et sodoma & g' v. itū venert duo ang'le respe sednte loth f'orib' ciuitat'			
Sex 1			
Ondit' a cayn fr' suo q' cayn p'fugies afacie dñi.			
Prohibz &			
Lulus t'fessit i' pa dñi & h' dat nūm anoz adāz in quo ondit' & asensio			
Peccant 3.			
Anoe p' dilu' mben te dñs q' modū arde decut' p'archaz i' t'le gi b'ia ego maria			
Eulphur 19			
Abrahāz filius suū vingetū p'f'ac in quo figat' x' an af'f'is			
Abel 8			
Enoch 11			
Archa fit 6			
Offert 22			
Noe & uxor ei' et filij & uxores filioz ei' & dñauit dñi u' 88 diebz			
Noe de archa cū re cordat' fuit dñs ip' & x' em mte p' dñe mens' appuert			
Noe fuit ebri' a vino & dñudat' a filio suo cham i' q' p'figat' x' p' delusio			
Peleca qut' Esau & iacob qui r'xabit in v'co m'is.			
Intrant 1			
Egredit' 8			
Dormit 9			
P'gemos 24			
In vniūsam t'ram filij Noe			
Babelois g'frenitua atimētibz d' d' ne natoe sua & venit i' nite faciam' frim cūq' alitudo atig' at celā			
Egredit' d'etra d' cog tatu' & ei adu'staz qm' ip' d' feat m'ac stellas			
Cermit' a iacob in sep'nis cū dormi sup' lapide f'm duo lata scale aspiat' & militas & x' fuit g' d'			
Variant' 10			
Turris 11			
it abram 12			
Stula 28			
p'p' x'ram pastor sep'at' abrahāz & mo rit' & i' opido m'ioz danez			
Vint' abrahā cui om'it' m'el' d' m' rex cū sac'ficio q' eāt sac'dos d'et' alij f'			
Abrahā deo & repu tatu' & ei adu'staz qm' ip' d' feat m'ac stellas			
Iacob adlaban cū uxoribz & filijs x' & p'f'q'ba alabāz f'ot'lo suo			
Loth 13			
Reges 14			
Credit 14			
Ascendit 31			
Agar ancille azara uxorē abrahā cui m' fontē ang'ls apput alm			
Abrahā & suoz p'ri p'iente dñs & t'cia d'at' exuot' omē m'as alm			
Tare p'q' hostiū cū filij p'ient' d' ei p'mitt' f'el'q' p'ient' d' ei p'mitt'			
Filia iacob v'isa q'v'at' p'ncip'is t'ce corr'p'tur			
Fuga 16			
Circūfio 17			
Fusus 18			
Dyna 32			

Fig. 3a: Ms. Prague, National Library, I A 35 (s. XV, partly 1451), f. 277r, a special layout of the *Summarium*

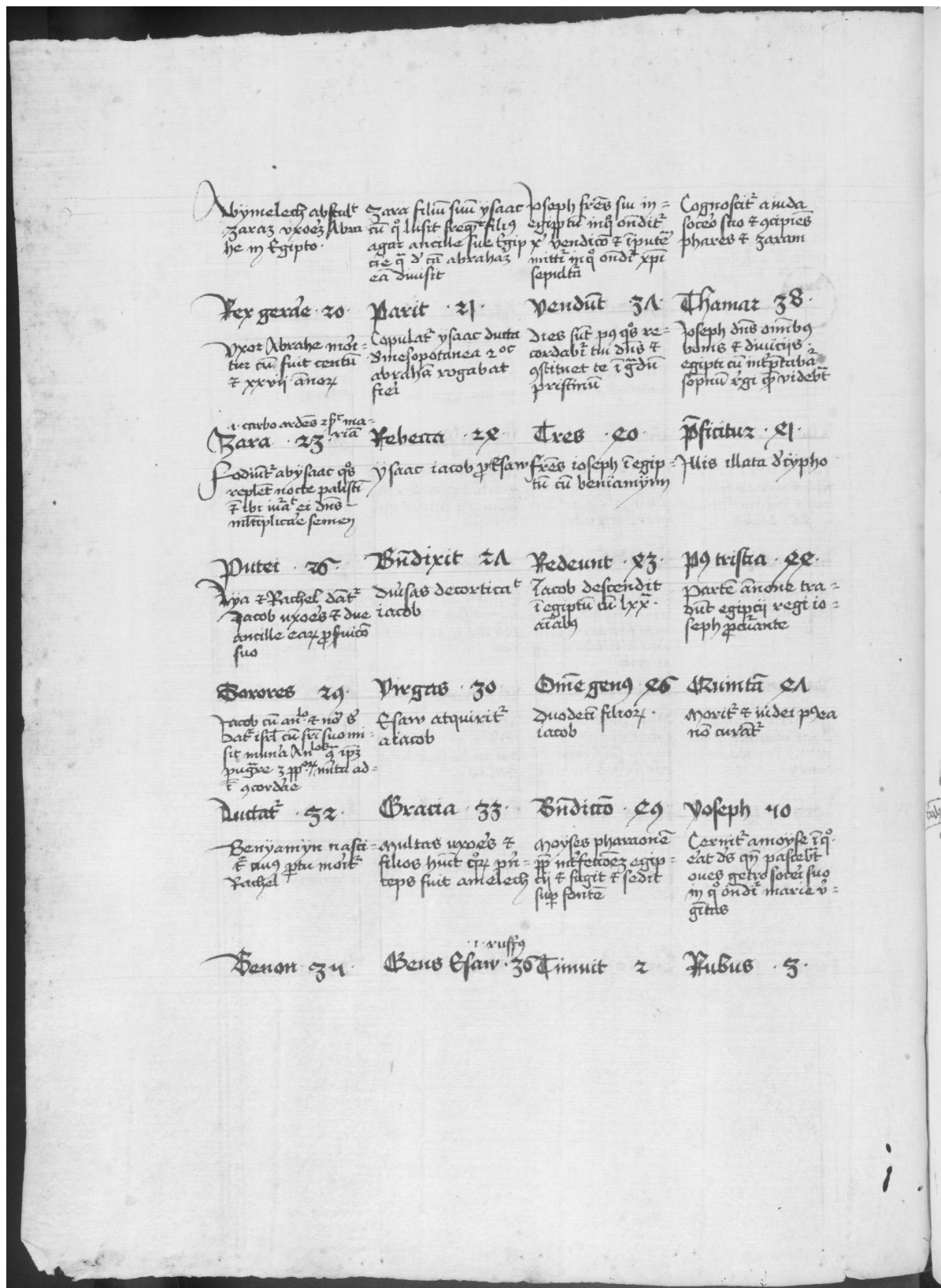


Fig. 3b: Ms. Prague, National Library, I A 35 (s. XV, partly 1451), f. 277v, a special layout of the Summarium

e) Variation within the glosses

The glosses vary greatly in length. E.g., the first word of the Gospel according to Matthew, *natus* ("born"), is glossed:

Christus ("Christ," e.g., Lilienfeld, SB, 145)

Christus in Bethlehem ("Christ in Bethlehem," e.g., Oxford, BoL, Lyell Empt. 7)

est Christus in Bethlehem ("is Christ in Bethlehem," e.g., Znojmo, MA, II 304)

liber generationis ("book of the generation," e.g., Kremsmünster, SB, 153 or Vienna, ÖNB, 4535)

dominus liber generationis ("the lord, book of the generation," Kremsmünster, SB, 167)

dominus liber generationis. Christus in bethleem luc. 23 ("the lord, book of the generation. Christ in Bethlehem. Luke 23," Uppsala, UB, C 172)

dominus liber generationis. Cum esset desponsata ("the lord, book of the generation. As she was espoused," Mainz, StB, I 22)

Christus de Maria virgine. De genealogia et ortu nostri salvatoris in Bethleem Iudee. Cum esset desponsata mater eius ("Christ from the Virgin Mary. On the genealogy and the origin of our Saviour in Bethlehem in Judea. As his mother was espoused," Mainz, StB, I 570)

Maria peperit filium suum primogenitum ac vocavit Ihesum. Liber generationis Ihesu Christi. Cum esset desponsata mater Ihesu Maria Joseph hoc autem totum factum est ut dictum per prophetam 'ecce virgo concipiet et pariet' ("Mary gave birth to her firstborn son and called [him] Jesus. Book of the generation of Jesus Christ. As the mother of Jesus, Mary, was espoused to Joseph. But all this was done as it was said by the prophet: 'behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son'," Sankt Gallen, SB, 972b, by Gallus Kemli)

In addition to length, the glosses also vary in their content: often the same keyword is glossed in quite different ways. E.g., chapter 11 of the Second Book of Kings is summarized as *Athalia*, which is usually glossed *regnat* ("[Athalia] rules"),¹⁵⁵ *mulier regnavit VII annis* ("woman ruled for seven years")¹⁵⁶ but also *interficitur* ("[she] is killed").¹⁵⁷ Another example is found in the second chapter of the Book of Jonah which has glosses to *piscis*: *deglutiuit Ionam* ("fish: swallowed Jonah")¹⁵⁸ or *eum euomit* ("vomited him out").¹⁵⁹

It is perhaps possible to say that there are two basic types of glosses: some supply the continuation of the biblical quotation from the particular chapter of the Bible from which the keyword was taken, others are explanatory. E.g., the glosses for Genesis 40, for which the keyword is *tres tres*

¹⁵⁵ E.g., Lilienfeld, SB, 145.

¹⁵⁶ E.g., Oxford, BoL, Marshall 86.

¹⁵⁷ Paris, BnF, lat. 2477.

¹⁵⁸ Oxford, BoL, Bodley 798.

¹⁵⁹ Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 119.

("three three")¹⁶⁰ are: *adhuc dies sunt* ("are yet the days"¹⁶¹), which is a quotation appearing in 40:12 (*tres propagines tres adhuc dies sunt* = "the three branches are yet three days") and 40:18 (*tria canistra tres adhuc dies sunt* = "the three baskets are yet three days"), or the gloss *dies pistoris et pincerne* ("the days of the butler and the baker"¹⁶²), which is an explanation.¹⁶³

The character of the *Summarium* glosses is dependent on the character of the biblical books themselves. E.g., Genesis tells a story and the glossators use their own words to summarize it. Paul's Epistles, on the other hand, rather consist of individual passages important for Christian doctrine, and thus the *Summarium* often simply provides the beginnings of the most frequently quoted passages for each chapter. It was then customary for the glossators to merely continue the quotation, sometimes exactly as it is in the Bible, other times in their own words, condensing the original and changing the word order.

Thus, a part of the main text of the *Summarium* can be approached as a list of very brief (one- or two-word) biblical quotations, and the glosses accompanying it can consequently be seen as a direct continuation of these quotations. E.g., a gloss to the keyword to I Timothy 6: *oriuntur* ("[they] originate/come," taken from 1 Tim 6:4) may be:

invidiae etc. ("envies, etc.," e.g., Lilienfeld, SB, 145)

invidiae et ceteris pugna verborum ("envies, etc., strives of words," Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 14426)

invidiae ex pugnis verborum ("envies from strives of words," Oxford, BoL, Lyell Empt. 7)

contentiones ex malis ("contentions out of bad things," Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 4535)

ex pugna verborum ("out of strife of words," Oxford, BoL, Bodley 798)

The biblical verse 4 to which this alludes reads in its entirety: *Superbus nihil sciens sed languens circa quaestiones et pugnas verborum ex quibus oriuntur invidiae, contentiones, blasphemiae, suspiciones malae* ("He is proud, knowing nothing, but sick about questions and strifes of words; from which arise envies, contentions, blasphemies, evil suspicions"). This verse is never fully quoted in the gloss, but different versions of its condensed contents are included.

Furthermore, quite often a mere scribal error within the keyword leads to its corruption, which provokes an attempt at an explanation of the new

¹⁶⁰ The choice is due to the fact that in this chapter, the butler and the baker have dreams of three branches on a vine and three baskets, which Joseph interprets as referring to three days, after which one shall be executed and the other promoted.

¹⁶¹ An example of this gloss is found in Paris, BnF, lat. 2477.

¹⁶² This gloss is found in the 1660 De La Haye edition of the *Summarium*.

¹⁶³ This distinction is, of course, not a strict one; e.g., Lilienfeld, SB, 145, f. 17v, has only *dies* in the gloss, which could be both.

keyword within the gloss. Some of the changes are only morphological: the keyword changes form (in case, number, person, or tense) and thus the gloss, supplying the missing elements in order to create a meaningful clause, also changes its grammatical form. E.g., Genesis 26: *puteos: quos fodit Iacob* ("wells (acc. pl.): which Jacob dug," e.g., Lilienfeld, SB, 145) or *putei: fodiuntur* ("wells (nom. pl.): are dug," e.g., Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 119). In the first instance the keyword is an object, so the gloss provides a subject and predicate; in the second the same keyword is a subject, so the gloss offers a predicate. Other, more substantial keyword mistakes result in a complete change of the gloss.

The variety of the glosses accompanying the *Summarium* shows that they were often not seen as an inherent part of the text. At the same time, however, it would be far from correct to view each set of the glosses as the individual creation of a particular scribe or interpreter of the text. In general the glosses are very closely related to one another, in several manuscripts they are the same and were obviously copied together with the main text. Thus, it seems that some of the copyists adopted the glosses, while others created their own. Can we speak about authorship in such cases?¹⁶⁴ A case in point is the glosses to the *Summarium Biblie* in Prague, NL, I G 11a, which were described as the work of Crux of Telcz (Oldřich Kříž z Telče) who copied all the texts in the manuscript.¹⁶⁵ Although thus far I have not encountered the same set of glosses in any other manuscript, it would be an overstatement to consider Crux of Telcz as the author of one particular version of them. Although the exact word order, word choice, and the amount of details provided in the glosses vary, the goal is always the same: to evoke the specific contents of a biblical chapter. This was carried out with many or few words, but there is only a limited space for authorship here; the content of the glosses to the same keywords, more broadly conceived, actually usually remains the same.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ The problem of the tension between the notion of a copyist and of an author is a complex one and relevant not only to glossing but to all medieval writing. In a witty and innovative way it is addressed in Aidan Conti, "Scribes as Authors, Transmission as Composition: Towards a Science of Copying," in *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages*, ed. Slavica Ranković, Papers in Medieval Studies 22 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), 267-88. See also other chapters in this indepth volume.

¹⁶⁵ Jaroslav Kadlec, "Oldřich Kříž z Telče," *Listy filologické* 4 (1956): 98.

¹⁶⁶ For more details of the *Summarium* glosses and their analysis as a reflection of orality, see Lucie Doležalová, "The Charm and Difficulty of a Fragment: The Cases of *Cena Cypriani* and *Summarium Biblie*," in *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Text, Relations and Their Implications*, ed. Slavica Ranković with Leidulf Melve and Else Mundal, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 283-301.

f) Length of the biblical books

Variations in the number of the chapters in the *Summarium* is caused by the occasional wrong division of the text of the work: since a single keyword usually represents a chapter, in cases where two words are present, the copyists have sometimes understood them as two keywords referring to two different chapters. A very frequent example is that of Genesis 40, which is represented by two words: *tres tres* (see above). These are sometimes mistaken to represent two chapters, and consequently Genesis is given 51 instead of 50 chapters (Fig. 4).¹⁶⁷ The opposite also occurs: e.g., the second and third chapters of the Book of Revelation are represented by *bis bine* ("twice two") and *tres* ("three"). These indicate the seven letters to the seven churches, four in the second chapter and three in the third, and thus they are both usually accompanied by the same gloss: *ecclesiae docentur* ("churches are instructed"). The gloss was consequently sometimes only superscript once above all three words (*bis bine tres*) and thus they were interpreted as together representing one chapter, giving the Apocalypse 21 instead of 22 chapters.¹⁶⁸

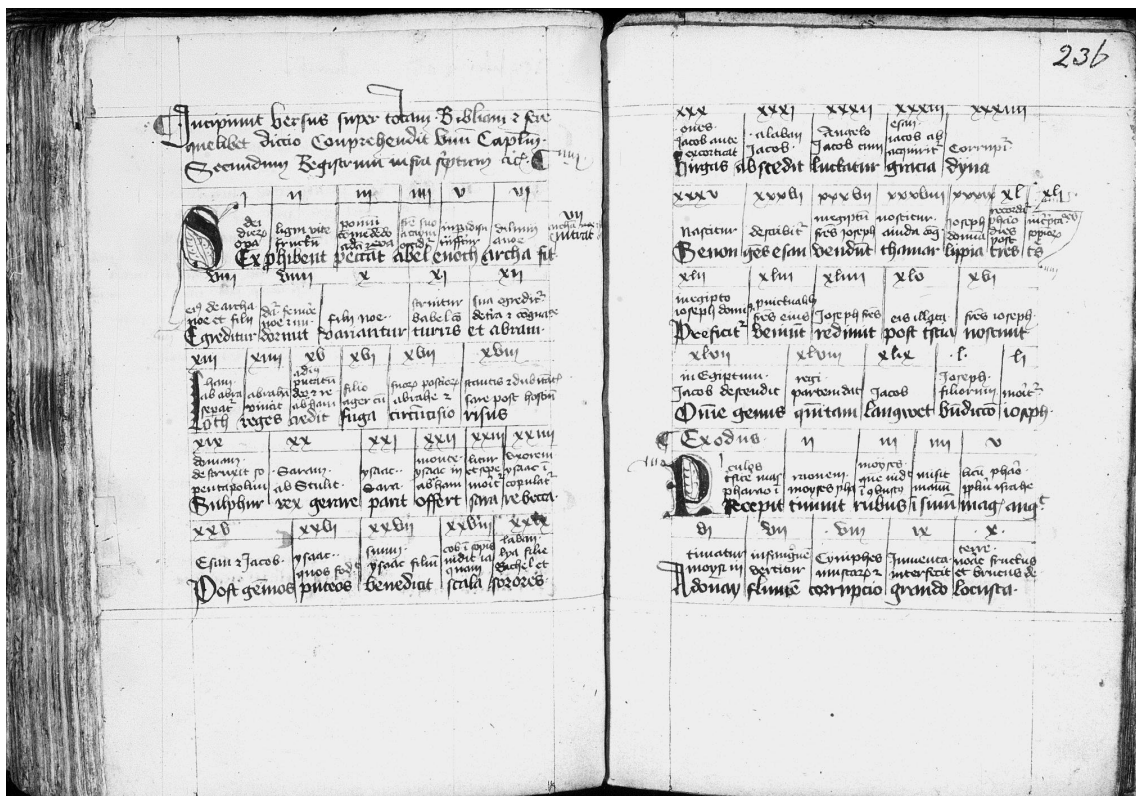


Fig. 4: Ms. Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 1793 (s. XV), f. 235v-236r, Genesis with 51 (instead of 50) chapters

¹⁶⁷ This is the case of, e.g., Melk, SB, 1793, or Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 4535 (from 1402).

¹⁶⁸ This is not the only occasion when the same gloss is superscript over several keywords following each other. E.g., the last line of the Gospel of John reads: 18. *illusur*. 19. *moritur*. 20. *surrexit*. 21. *se manifestat*., and, e.g., in Lilienfeld, SB, 145, f. 19r, each of the words is glossed *Ihesus*.

A special example is that of the Book of Abdias which, being so short, was probably never divided into chapters within the Bible. In the *Summarium* it is summarized in one full verse: *Legatum misit et erit saluatio Syon* ("He sent ambassador and there will be salvation of Syon"). It is difficult to judge whether this summary perceived the Book of Abdias as one or two chapters. The book consists of 21 verses, and *legatum misit* is taken from verse 1 of the book (*et legatum ad gentes misit*, "and he hath sent an ambassador to the nations"), while *et erit saluatio Syon* refers to verse 17 (*et in monte Sion erit saluatio*, "and in mount Sion shall be salvation"). In some manuscripts of the *Summarium* the chapter numbers are missing here, and so it seems that the whole line was understood as the summary of the undivided book. However, as it is most unusual within the *Summarium* to devote six words to a single chapter, its copyists, not concerned with the actual division within the Bible, frequently divide the verse into two, three, four, or even five separate chapters.

The variety of the chapter numbers is, however, still greater, and does not reflect only mistakes in the copying and interpreting of the *Summarium* but also clearly indicates that the biblical chapter division itself had not yet been completely settled. In several cases, e.g., in the Book of Esther,¹⁶⁹ the manuscript variants of the *Summarium* reflect the varying length of some of the biblical books which corresponds to the different number of chapters in the Hebrew and Greek texts. In other instances the specific division of a book of the Bible into chapters had apparently not been decided. This is the case of the Third Book of Ezra and the Book of Neemias, which are often excluded from the Bible as apocryphal. Within the *Summarium*, the Third Book of Ezra typically has 27 keywords. However, Dietrich Engelhus, using the *Summarium* to create his own biblical summary (for which see below), writes:

Nota dicta capitula 9 dividunt alii per 27 capitula ut patet in versibus subsequentibus. Tota tamen materia comprehenditur in dictis versibus 4. ideo sufficient.

Note that others divide the mentioned 9 chapters into 27 as is clear from the following verses. Yet, the whole matter [of the biblical book] is contained in the four declared verses, therefore they should be sufficient.

He proceeds to adopt four hexameters from the *Summarium*, those for III Ezra 7-27.¹⁷⁰ Prague, NL, I A 35, on f. 285r, contains explicit evidence of the hesitation about the number of chapters in Neemiah within the *Summarium*: *In Nee numerum vix audeo ponere certum. Nam varie varios video distinwere(sic) libros. Aliqui VIII, quidam XIII, alii XV* ("For Neemiah I hardly

¹⁶⁹ For a detailed analysis of the representation of this book within the *Summa-rium*, see below.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Franz Josef Worstbrock, "Die *Biblia metrica* des Dietrich Engelhus und ihre Überlieferung," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 36 (1980): 184-85.

dare to put a certain number since I see various people dividing books in various ways. Some [put] 8 [chapters], others 14, others 15”).

Another case where it is not easy to decide whether the variation is due to a difference in Bible division or to a misunderstanding within the *Summarium* appears among three brief Epistles by Paul, i.e., II Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, all covering a single, often much corrupted line within the *Summarium* in which Titus is sometimes divided into two chapters and other times into three, and Philemon is occasionally omitted altogether.

g) Order of the biblical books

Another variation occurs within the order of books. The sequence of the books within the Bible itself was, in spite of the influence of the Paris Bible, still not completely determined in the fifteenth century. The book that most frequently altered its position is the Acts of the Apostles, sometimes appearing immediately after the Gospels and sometimes inserted among the epistles between the canonical and uncanonical ones. The Book of Baruch also changed places: sometimes it preceded and other times it followed the Book of Lamentations.¹⁷¹ In some cases the manuscripts of the *Summarium* include explicit marginal notes addressing this problem of order. E.g., Vatican City, BAV, lat. 945 and lat. 1027, contain the added note: *Canonica Iacobi debet poni inter actus apostolorum et primam Petri* (“the canonical [epistle] of Jacob should be placed between the Acts of Apostles and the First [Epistle] of Peter”). These variations are reflected in the *Summarium*, too, and, in addition, they can be found within the above discussed *Sunt gen. ex. le...*, the poem accompanying it. Other changes of order within the *Summarium* are likely to be scribal errors, there does not seem to be a conscious attempt at proposing a different order of biblical books.

h) The absence of the Psalms

The *Summarium* does not in fact cover the whole Bible: it does not include the Psalms. It is most unlikely that they were omitted because they were thought too difficult to summarize—the author was obviously not afraid of summarizing Leviticus, Deuteronomy, or the Canticles. The omission is more probably linked to the function of the *Summarium* as an aid for memory: no particular need was felt for an additional mnemonic aid for the Psalter since traditionally all of the Psalms were learned by heart in monasteries, cathedrals and other schools.¹⁷² Omitting the Psalms from biblical mnemonic tools was quite a frequent practice. In addition—and this might

¹⁷¹ On the position of Baruch, Dietrich Engelhus wrote: *Nota liber Baruch debet stare ante Iezechielem, post Ieremiam* (quoted by Worstbrock, “Die Biblia metrica,” 186).

¹⁷² See, e.g., Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, esp. 94, and 100-06.

be an important clue—the Psalms were often omitted from the late medieval Bibles, too.

Usually no indication is given of the omission of the Psalms after The Book of Job and before the Book of Proverbs in the manuscript copies of the *Summarium*. In only a very few cases do we find a brief note such as: *hic debent esse Psalmi* (“here there should be Psalms”) or *post Iob sequitur Psalterium* (“after Job follows the Psalter”).¹⁷³ In some cases the need for completeness seems to have been felt but manifested itself at other places: in several codices the *Summarium* is followed or preceded by a list of the first verses of the Psalms,¹⁷⁴ which reflects the way in which they were learned in the Middle Ages. Some manuscripts give other aids for remembering the Psalms. E.g., manuscript Cologne, HA, GB 4° 113 contains the *Summarium* followed by mnemonic verses on the Psalms in the same style as the *Summarium* verses.¹⁷⁵

It is only within the later printed versions that the absence of the Psalms is as a rule indicated at the appropriate place in the *Summarium* and their contents are then briefly summarized. Thus, e.g., the 1660 De La Haye edition includes a note where the Psalms would normally occur:

*Hunc librum Psalterium sequitur cuius hic mentio quidem non habetur. Est enim in quo agitur de Christi diuinitate, humanitate, passione, resurrectione, ascensione, aduentu ad iudicium, et de poenis peccatorum, et beneficiis Dei atque eius laudibus, et habet Psalmos CL.*¹⁷⁶

This book is followed by the Psalter, which is not mentioned here. It is the one which narrates the divinity, humanity, passion, resurrection, ascension of Christ, his coming to judge, and the punishments of the sinners, and the favors of God and his praises; and it includes 150 Psalms.

The absence of the Psalms within the *Summarium* may be puzzling because one of the ideas behind its composition seems to have been to have the Bible in a small manageable space. Without the Psalms, the Bible summarized through the *Summarium* is not the *whole* Bible, and the text is thus imperfect and inconsistent. On the other hand, medieval readers clearly do not seem to have been concerned with the omission of the Psalms from the *Summarium*. The *Summarium* was a tool to remember the Bible but they did not need such tool for the Psalter since they already remembered them.

¹⁷³ Prague, NL, I E 15, f. 6r.

¹⁷⁴ E.g., miscellanies Prague, NL, F I 35 and I G 11a, Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly, 1640 O. LVI, or Göttweig, SB, 298 (336), f. 138v-40r. In Paris, Bibl. de l' Arsenal, 119, fragments of the Psalms precede the *Summarium*.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Tiedje, “The Roseum Memoriale,” 353.

¹⁷⁶ On p. 4.

i) Keyword variants

Like that of most medieval texts, the transmission of the *Summarium Biblie* was not uniform: in addition to the very different glosses, the individual manuscript versions contain additions, omissions, copying mistakes and their corrections or further corruptions within the main text. Deciding between what is the original reading and what is a correction or corruption is not easy as the text has not been critically edited. Yet, the level of variation within its transmission is still much greater than the medieval norm. Compared to the transmission of sermons or legends, e.g., the *Summarium* has no large portions of texts added or omitted, nor is it similar in paraphrasing, summarizing, or in the addition of completely new material: the *Summarium* maintains the set structure of the Bible, and the variants occur within this framework. Its transmission is instead more comparable to the greatly condensed and even obscure texts, such as the previously mentioned *Doctrinale puerorum* of Alexander de Villa Dei,¹⁷⁷ or the *Cena Cypriani*.¹⁷⁸ Yet, the degree of variation is surprising even in a medieval context and makes it difficult to speak about the “text” of the *Summarium* at all.

The keyword corruption of the *Summarium* is not so striking when we consider the character of the text: it is composed of unrelated keywords, and thus there is no syntax or other point of reference except for the Bible. Thus, a word that becomes corrupted is very likely to be further corrupted, or, eventually exchanged for a new word related to the particular biblical chapter. But the chance of correction back to the original keyword is minimal.

When faced with the large number of variants one is at a loss regarding which methodology should be applied to determine the “original” version. One possible factor is the maintenance of the verse meter: many of the manuscripts violate the meter harshly, and those are quite unlikely to preserve the original reading. But “meaningfulness” is a much more problematic concept. It seems that the author of the *Summarium* did not select the simplest and most obvious keywords but often created true riddles. Of course not every manuscript variant presents a problem, nor is each copy of the *Summarium* a completely new version of the text. Nevertheless, an appropriate description of the modes of this text’s transmission is a challenge. While the indicated patterns of the variation of the text are doubtlessly valid, only selected available manuscripts have been closely studied,

¹⁷⁷ Wolfgang Maaz, “Zur Rezeption des Alexander von Villa Dei im 15. Jahrhundert,” *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch: Internationale Zeitschrift für Mediävistik* 16 for 1981 (1982): 276-81.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Doležalová, *Reception and Its Varieties*, 140-245; and the discussion below.

and thus the present analysis of the actual variants might not be representative of the whole tradition.

α) Spelling errors

Among the manuscript variants it is often difficult to distinguish between spelling errors and semantic shifts. They are both present in a much greater number in the *Summarium* manuscripts than in other medieval texts, but the difference between them depends largely on interpretation: frequently a spelling mistake results in a semantic change and it might be difficult to separate them from one another.

In any case, simple copying mistakes are very common. The very first word, *sex* (six—referring to the six days of creation in the first chapter of Genesis), is frequently corrupted in the manuscripts: we find *lex* (rule, law),¹⁷⁹ *rex* (king)¹⁸⁰ and even *tres* (three).¹⁸¹ This corruption is due to the fact that the initial *S* was often omitted when the text was originally copied: a larger illuminated initial was planned but later rendered incorrectly. The same occurs in the beginning of several other books, e.g.:

III Regum: *Suna* becomes *Anna*¹⁸²

II Iohannis: *Electe* becomes *Flecte*¹⁸³

Epistola Iacobi: *Suffert* becomes *Auffert*¹⁸⁴

Many more copying mistakes arise from the specific character of the text: the *Summarium* has no syntax; it is comprised as list of words; thus once a word becomes corrupted, it is more likely to become further corrupted than it is to be corrected. Examples of obvious spelling mistakes are numerous:

Exodus 27: *altare* vs. *altera*

(“by the altar” vs. “another one”; description of the altar)

Exodus 40: *nubes* vs. *miles*

(“cloud” vs. “soldier”; God in the cloud over the sanctuary)

Numbers 26: *numerant* vs. *mirant*

(“they count” vs. “they wonder”; counting of the Levis)

Often a change of catchword brought about a change in the gloss as well—the poor copyist often struggled to find a connection between the new catchword and the particular chapter.

¹⁷⁹ All the 4 mss. from Admont, SB (142, 203, 433, 592), Lyon, BM, 245, and Zwettl, SB, 81.

¹⁸⁰ Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 20.

¹⁸¹ Copenhagen, KB, Ny Kgl. Saml. 3 b fol.

¹⁸² E.g., Klosterneuburg, SB, 208.

¹⁸³ E.g., Klosterneuburg, SB, 445.

¹⁸⁴ E.g., Klosterneuberg, SB, 428.

β) Conjunction addition or omission

Typical for the *Summarium* are variants that do not affect the intended biblical link semantically, such as the frequent additions and the omission of *et*, or *-que*. Adding or omitting this short word without altering the selected keywords seems to have been the easiest way to make them correspond to the meter, but some of the copyists were obviously not interested in maintaining the verse form of the *Summarium* and thus disregarded the issue altogether.

γ) Morphological variants

Other frequently found variants are morphological. Nouns and adjectives often oscillate between various cases and singular and plural (e.g., *sompnio* vs. *sompnia* in Deuteronomy 24); most frequently between nominative and accusative case (e.g., *putei* vs. *puteos* in Genesis 26, or *piscis* vs. *piscem* in Jonah 2). Verbs move between singular and plural (e.g., *prohibet* vs. *prohibent* in Genesis 2), past and present tense (e.g., *precepit* vs. *precipit* in Exodus 1, *postulat* vs. *postulavit* in III Esdras 10), indicative and subjunctive (e.g., *concremet* vs. *concremat*, or *mactet* vs. *mactat* in Leviticus 6 and 7), between active and passive voice (e.g., *vendunt* vs. *venditur* in Genesis 37, or *ungunt* vs. *ungitur* in I Paralipomenon 29). These variants do not affect the biblical links semantically. Some of them seem to result from copying errors, others consciously restore the exact word appearing in the Bible, yet others make the keyword fit the gloss in such a way that the word and the gloss together constitute a meaningful clause. For understanding the events of Genesis 37, and also for the rhythm of the line, it makes no difference whether the reader encounters *vendunt: fratres Ioseph* ("brothers sell Joseph") or *venditur: Ioseph a fratribus* ("Joseph is sold by brothers"). This type of variation results in the morphological adjustment of the gloss as well. Although they do not affect the meaning, together these factors make the *Summarium* much less stable than a typical medieval narrative text.

δ) Semantic variants

The most noteworthy variants are the semantic ones because they transform the biblical relationship and necessitate a substantial change in the accompanying glosses as well. One frequent but not very creative type is the exchange of the original keyword for a word included in the gloss. E.g., for I Thessalonians 3 we find either the keyword *fidem* with the gloss *bonam*, or the keyword *bonam* with the gloss *fidem* (both concerned with "good faith," the main subject of the whole chapter¹⁸⁵).

¹⁸⁵ Yet, the exact phrase *fidem bonam* or *bonam fidem* does not appear in the Bible. *Fides* is mentioned four times, *bona* not at all.

On other occasions a completely different keyword is chosen, which might suggest an attempt to improve the *Summarium* but might also mean that the scribe did not understand the link between the keyword in his model and the biblical chapter or the keyword in his model was illegible, and so he decided to create an alternative himself. E.g., Genesis 33, the reconciliation of Jacob and Esau, is represented by *gratia* (favor) or *munera* (gifts). The word *gratia* is repeated three times in the biblical chapter, and Jacob eventually says: *sed si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis accipe munusculum de manibus meis* (Gen 33:10, “if I have found favor in thy eyes, receive a little present from my hands”), after which Esau accepts the gifts (the word *munus*, or *munera* does not appear in the chapter; there is only the quoted *munusculum*).¹⁸⁶ Both the keywords are meaningful and it is difficult to suggest which might have been the original one.

Another example is found in the second chapter of the Book of Jonah, when Jonah is swallowed by the fish. Most manuscripts summarize the story with the word *ortus*. This word, meaning “risen,” “apparent,” or “born,” does not make much sense in this particular context unless we consider it as alluding (quite distantly) to Jonah’s eventual escape from the whale at the end of the chapter. I am convinced that this was indeed the original word used in the poem, but that it actually stood for *oratus* (“he prayed”) and was shortened in order to maintain the rhythm of the line.¹⁸⁷ The biblical chapter is well known for Jonah’s prayer inside the fish; however, *ortus* must have seemed obscure to later scribes who often exchanged it with *piscis* (“fish”),¹⁸⁸ *piscem* (“fish,” acc. sg.),¹⁸⁹ or *cetus* (“whale, sea monster”),¹⁹⁰ all alluding much more straightforwardly to the contents of the biblical chapter.

ε) Radical additions, omissions, order changes

Finally, more radical variants also occur, that is, omission of entire lines of text, changes in the order of the verses, or creation of new versions of entire books. One example of such very radical changes is found in Prague, NL, I F 43 from the second half of the fourteenth century, where completely new versions for several of the biblical books (such as some of the Prophets,

¹⁸⁶ There is no attempt at exclusivity in the choice of the keywords. *Gratia* is also the catchword for Ad Titum, chapter 2, while *munera* is used for the First Book of Kings, chapter 6.

¹⁸⁷ The complete line which summarizes the entire Book of Jonah, reads: *Post sortes. ortus. conuertuntur. dolet ipse.* (“Afterwards lots. Risen. They are turned [from their evil ways]. He has pity.”)

¹⁸⁸ E.g., in Znojmo, MA, II 304, Prague, NL, I F 35 or Prague, NL, I G 11a.

¹⁸⁹ E.g., in Budapest, UL, 50, Prague, Library of the Academy of the Sciences of the Czech Republic, 1 TB 3.

¹⁹⁰ E.g., in Paris, Bibl. de l’Arsenal, 119, f. 366r, or Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 4535, f. 193v.

Matthew, Luke, or the Acts of Apostles) are given, and most of the other books are radically changed as well. Or, Oxford, BoL, Lyell Empt. 7,¹⁹¹ Klosterneuburg, SB, 428 and also 503 offer a completely different version of the entire Apocalypse of John¹⁹² and most of the New Testament epistles. Compare, e.g., the last line (that is, the last five chapters) of the Apocalypse in Znojmo, MA, II 304, f. 235v (and many other surviving manuscripts):

reges meretricem terre	agni beati ¹⁹³	mortui	ornatam uiro suo	dicit sponsus ¹⁹⁴
18	19	20	21	22
flebunt.	ad cenam.	surgunt.	sponsam.	venio iam.

[They shall bewail: the kings of the earth [shall bewail] the whore. To the supper: [raise]. The bride: adorned for her husband. I am already coming: the bridegroom says—give every man according to his deeds.]

Oxford, BoL, Lyell Empt. 7, f. 16r:

omnes amatores terre super babilonem cum iudicatur 18 plangent.	contemptores mundi super eam 19 exultant.	omnes mortui scripta in libris suis 20 iudicantur.	celestis Hierusa- lem describitur cum ornatu 21 civitas.	et o principium et finis 22 Alpha.
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[They shall lament: all those who love the earth [shall lament] over Babylon when it is judged. They rejoice: those who hate the world [rejoice] over her. They are judged: all the dead [are judged according to] the writings in their books. The City: heavenly Jerusalem is described with adornment. Alpha: and omega, beginning and end.]

Notes on the biblical relationships and noted differences:

- 18: The word *flebunt* ("they shall bewail") is repeated three times in the chapter (verses 9, 11, and 15—in the latter it appears as *flentes*), *plangent* ("they shall lament") appears only in line 9, beside *flebunt*: *et flebunt et plangent se super illam reges terrae* ("and the kings of the earth shall bewail her and lament her")
- 19: *Ad cenam* ("to the supper") refers to verse 9: *beati qui ad cenam nuptiarum agni vocati sunt*, while *exultant* ("they rejoice") refers to verse 7: *gaudeamus et exultemus et demus gloriam ei quia venerunt nuptiae agni et uxor eius praeparavit se*.

¹⁹¹ The manuscript was written in Paris in 1457-1458 by Desiderius de Birstorff. The *Summarium* (f. 2r-16v) is followed by another very popular Bible mnemonics, *Rosarium Bibliae* by Peter of Rosenheim, and a selection of other brief texts. On Desiderius, see Augustin Calmet, *Bibliothèque lorraine, ou Histoire des hommes illustres* (1751), col. 121. Although these glosses are very particular, they cannot be ascribed to Desiderius without hesitation, as he himself writes at the end that he merely *transcribed* the text (f. 16r: *Explicit Biblia metrificata per me Desiderium de Birstorff... transcripta*).

¹⁹² While the Lyell contains only the new version, both Klosterneuburg manuscripts include also the original immediately following it.

¹⁹³ The gloss continues: *qui vocati sunt*.

¹⁹⁴ The gloss continues: *redde unicuique secundum opera sua*.

- 20: Neither *surgunt* (“they rise”) nor *iudicantur* (“they are judged”) appear in the chapter and they are replaced by derivatives (*resurrectio, in ressurectione, iudicati sunt, iudicatum est*) clearly describing the chapter contents.
- 21: *Sponsam* (“bride”): this is an exact quotation from verse 2: *sponsam ornatam viro suo*; *civitas* (“city”) appears more frequently (verses 2, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23).
- 22: *Venio iam* (“I am already coming”) does not appear as such, but a corresponding phrase appears three times: verse 7: *et ecce venio velociter*, line 12: *ecce venio cito*, and line 20: *etiam venio cito amen*. *Alpha* appears in verse 13: *ego alpha et omega primus et novissimus principium et finis*.

There are many more similar occasions, and at times it is difficult to decide whether we should speak of radical changes within the *Summarium*, or already of a completely different version of the text (see chapter II.4).

ζ) The collation by medieval scribes

A number of manuscripts were obviously contaminated. We find versions where more variants to the keywords are noted, or corrections from other manuscripts appear. Such is the case in Prague, NL, I G 11a, which includes the edition of the *Summarium* copied by Crux de Telcz (Oldřich Kříž z Telče), based on at least two different *Summarium* manuscripts (Fig. 5), that is, in Prague, NL, I A 41, which is linked to it and contains two sets of glosses to many of the keywords (Fig. 6), and Vyšší Brod, ML, XCI with a number of corrections, and many others.

The fact that the copyists worked from two different manuscripts to produce a new version suggests that they were interested in the text’s meaning and tried to create a reading that would make sense and thus be useful. However, they frequently copied from only one model and added the variants from another manuscript at a later stage, making no decisions about which version was preferable but simply gathering options. In any case, on the basis of this information it seems that comparing and collating manuscripts—at least in the transmission of the *Summarium*—was a much more frequent activity than it is normally supposed.

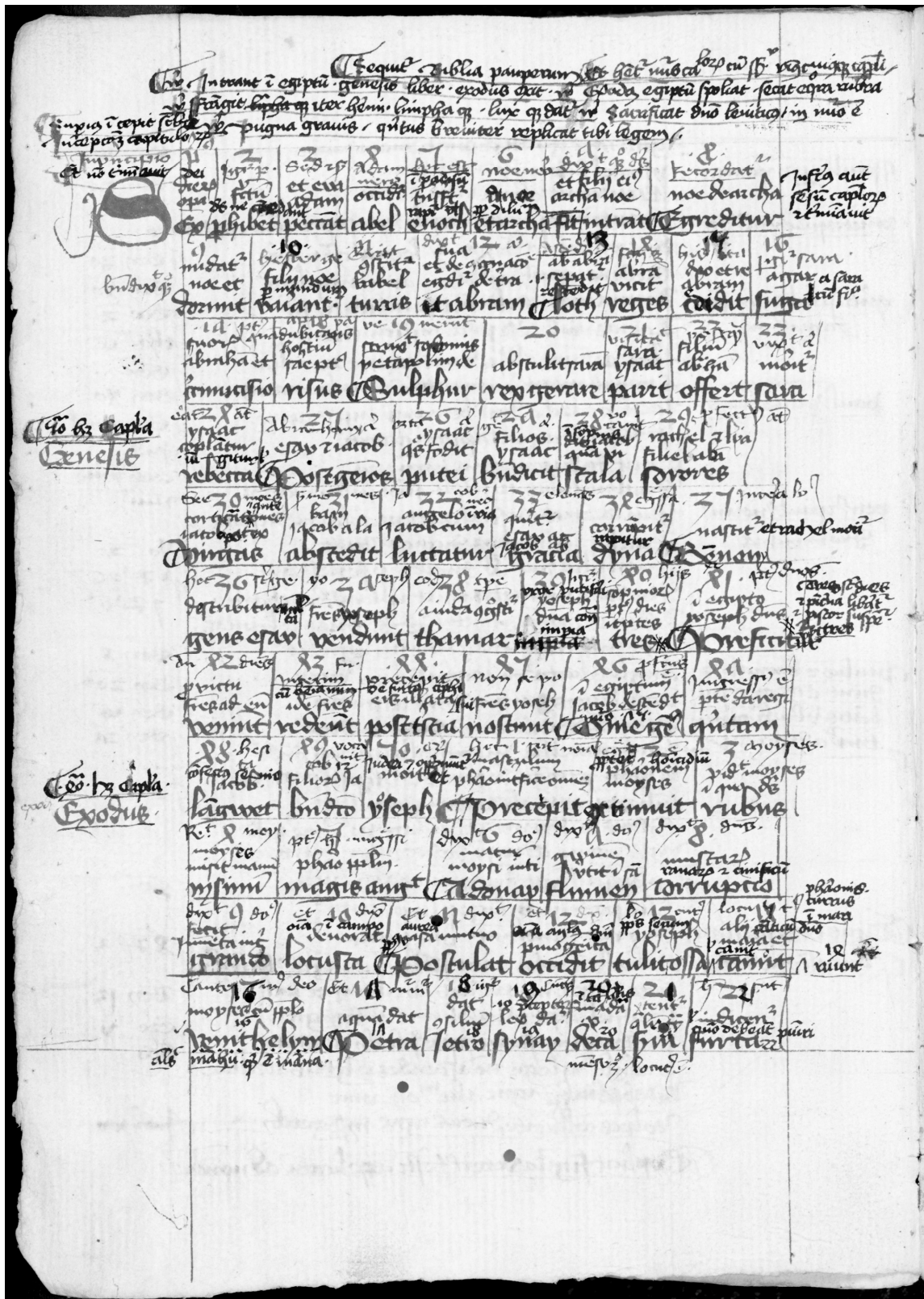


Fig. 5: Ms. Prague, National Library, I G 11a (Bohemia, s. XV), f. 7v, the Summarium copy by Crux de Telcz

169.

Ερπιδίς

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j) Case 1: The Book of Esther

A particularly complex example is that of the Book of Esther, which is preserved in a long and a short version in the Bible itself. As opposed to the Hebrew Bible, there were six passages added in the Greek Septuagint. These substantial additions¹⁹⁵ scattered within the book change the focus or the story.¹⁹⁶ Jerome grouped them at the end of the book, thus creating 6 new chapters after the original 10. It was supposedly Stephen Langton (d. 1228) who kept this order and added the chapter and verse numbers (as he did for the whole Bible).¹⁹⁷ Today, the presentation of the book varies: protestant Bibles consider the additions apocryphal and either exclude them altogether or group them at a separate place within the book, while Catholic Bibles keep them, either in Jerome's arrangement or restored to their original places.¹⁹⁸

This situation is reflected in the *Summarium*, but not precisely: some manuscripts include six keywords and others 16. The manuscripts with six keywords are too many to be considered a mere one-time mistake: there are 35 among the *Summarium* manuscripts that have been transcribed so far, that have this surprisingly short version of Esther. Its most frequent reading found in 15 manuscripts is:

1. *respuit*. 2. *hester*. 3. *aman*. 4. *honoratur*. 5. *epistola*. 6. *sompnus*.¹⁹⁹
1. he expelled. 2. Esther. 3. Aman. 4. he is honored. 5. letter. 6. sleep.

The verse refers to the biblical book of the Vulgate in the following way:

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 1. <i>respuit</i> | Est 1: (verse 12: <i>renuit</i> and <i>contempsit</i> ; <i>respuit</i> does not appear) king Assureus turns against queen Vashti when she refuses to appear naked at the feast |
| 2. <i>Hester</i> | Est 2: Esther introduced in the chapter |
| 3. <i>Aman</i> | Est 3: Aman introduced in the chapter |
| 4. <i>honoratur</i> | Est 6: the king commands Aman to honour Mardochai (the stem <i>honor</i> - repeated 8 times in the chapter) |
| 5. <i>epistola</i> | Est 8: the letter of Aman against the Jews is superseded by a new letter by the king in their favour (Est 13: copy of the letter sent by Aman to destroy the Jews—in Septuagint at the end of Est 3) |

¹⁹⁵ They are 107 new verses added to the original 167.

¹⁹⁶ Most importantly, unlike in the Hebrew, God is explicitly mentioned here and everything happens through his agency.

¹⁹⁷ For a discussion of the Bible division see the contribution by Paul Saenger in *Form and Function of Late Medieval Bible*.

¹⁹⁸ Cf., e.g., B. Sibley Towner, "Additions to Esther," *Mercer Commentary to the Bible 5: Deuterocanonicals/ Apocrypha* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1994), liv-lvi.

¹⁹⁹ Budapest, UL, 50, Klosterneuburg, SB, 208, Cracow, BJ, 284, London, BL, Add. 20009 (the third version), Munich, BSB, clm. 4358, 14023 (the first version), 14670, 15956, and 27462, and in Munich, UB, 4° 13, Prague, NL, III A 16, St. Gallen, SB, 1068, Uppsala, UB, C 572 [*esder* for *esther*], Vatican City, BAV, lat. 945 and 1290.

6. *sompnus* Est 10: the dream of Mardocheus (Est 11: the dream described—in Septuagint at the beginning of the book)

The manuscript variants, with few exceptions,²⁰⁰ are restricted to chapter 4, where the alternatives to *honoratur* are:

honoratus.²⁰¹

honor hinc. [5. *epistola*]²⁰²

honor hinc. [5. *et epistola*]²⁰³

honor. [5. *hinc epistola*]²⁰⁴

honor. [5. *hinc et epistola*]²⁰⁵

hortatur.²⁰⁶

ornatur.²⁰⁷

oriatur.²⁰⁸

The first four variants are linked to honour and are thus referring to the honour Mardochai received from Aman. The remaining versions seem to represent textual corruptions made through a misreading of a manuscript abbreviation: neither *ornatur* (“is adorned”) nor *oriatur* (“rises”) appears in Chapters 3-8 of *Esther*, nor is their meaning related to the events narrated there. In any case, this brief version in the *Summarium* is curious and it is difficult to imagine not only how it came to being (perhaps by an omission of part of the text?) but especially why it became so persistently widespread.

In addition to this version, there are two other groups that present *Esther* in sixteen chapters. One, thus far evidenced in 11 manuscripts, continues the short version, adding two more lines with 10 new keywords. They are:

7. *suspensus*. 8. *anulum*. 9. *fili*. 10. *fons*. 11. *hinc attulerunt*.

12. *nuntiat*. 13. *orat*. 14. *hester*. 15. *et corruit*. 16. *rex artaxerses*.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁰ E.g., the reading *sompnias* instead of *sompnus* in chapter 6 in Znojmo, MA, II 304; or *respicit* for *respuit* in chapter 1 in Uppsala, UB, C 218, and *respondit* in ch. 1 in Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyanaeum, R II 66.

²⁰¹ Munich, BSB, clm. 7989.

²⁰² Basel, UB, A XI 66 (1st version), Klosterneuburg, SB, 445, London, BL, Add. 24361.

²⁰³ Munich, BSB, clm. 4627, Uppsala, UB, C 10 (1st version) and C 218.

²⁰⁴ London, BL, Harley 1748.

²⁰⁵ Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 20.

²⁰⁶ Vyšší Brod, ML, XCI (here later corrected into *honoratur*), Munich, BSB, clm. 9529 and 14094.

²⁰⁷ London, BL, Add. 20009 (the first version, f. 11r), Prague, NL, I G 36, Uppsala, UB, C 637 (s. XIV), and Zurich, ZB, Rh 184.

²⁰⁸ Paris, BnF, lat. 2477.

²⁰⁹ Brno, MZK, 108 [the 2nd and 3rd lines added on a separate piece of paper], Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 524 [*nunccius* for *nuntiat*; *et* omitted], Munich, UB, 4^o 809 [the 2nd and 3rd lines added without gloss on the top of the page, f. 113r], Prague, NL, I A 35, I E 15, XI A 14, Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 459, Wrocław,

7. he is hanged. 8. ring. 9. sons. 10. fountain. 11. they brought here.
12. he announces. 13. she prays. 14. Esther. 15. and he fell. 16. king Artaxerses.

The result is rather peculiar, since in this version, the keywords refer to chapters: 1-3, 6, 8, 10, 7-13. Considering that in two of the manuscripts the second and the third lines are added later (see Fig. 7),²¹⁰ this is very probably an enlargement of the version of six chapters, a correction made by a copyist who would have noticed that *Esther* actually has 16 (rather than 6) chapters in Jerome's Vulgate.

The other group, witnessed by 29 manuscripts,²¹¹ has different keywords for chapters 4-6. Besides moving *honoratur* to the sixth place where it belongs, this version gives:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 4. <i>scidit</i> = "he tore" | Est 4,1: [<i>Mardochaeus</i>] <i>scidit vestimenta sua</i> ("he rent his clothes") |
| 5. <i>inuitat</i> = "she invites" | Est 5,4: <i>Si regi placet, obsecro ut venias ad me hodie</i> ("If it please the king. I beseech thee to come to me this day") |

Thus the whole most frequently encountered *Summarium* version of *Esther* reads:

1. *respuit*. 2. *hester*. 3. *aman*. 4. *scidit*. 5. *inuitat*. 6. *honoratur*
7. *suspensus*. 8. *anulum*. 9. *fili*. 10. *fons*. 11. *hinc attulerunt*.
12. *nuntiat*. 13. *orat*. 14. *hester*. 15. *et corruit*. 16. *rex artaxerses*.

Two "keywords" are the same, i.e., *Hester*, the one for chapter 2 where she first appears and the other for chapter 14 containing her prayer. But since she is the main character of the book, almost any of the chapters could be described by the same word. Some of the selected keywords do not appear in the biblical text (1. *respuit* or 5. *inuitat*) but describe the chapter events. Yet, mostly the keywords come directly from the biblical text and either recall the exact passage (e.g., 10. *fons* = "fountain, stream"; Est 10,6: *Parvus fons, qui crevit in fluvium* = "The little fountain which grew into a river," i.e. the beginning of Mardochai's dream), or bring to one's mind what happens,

BU, I F 222 [*corruebat* for *et corruit*, *artaxersi* for *artaxerses*], I F 296, I Q 27 [*artapsis* for *artaxerses*], I Q 369.

²¹⁰ In addition to those, in Uppsala, UB, C 10, only the second line is later added in the margin, the third line is dropped. Thus Esther has 11 chapters in this version.

²¹¹ Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Riant 93 (*et honoratur, sibi* for *fili*), Cracow, BJ, 286, London, BL, Add. 22025, Munich, BSB, clm. 3070 (*et* omitted), 3447 (2nd version; *honorat*), 4627, 14023 (2nd version), 15606, 27462 (2nd version), and 27481, Munich, UB, 2^o 677, Olomouc, VK, M II 31, M II 60 (*ac honoratur; artoxerses*), Oxford, BoL, Lyell Empt. 7 (*honorat; lime* for *hinc*) Prague, NL, I A 41, I F 35, VI B 11 (*annunciat* for *nuntiat*), VIII D 27, and X B 16, Prague, Library of the Academy of Sciences, 1 Tb 3 (*ac honoratur; artaxersis*), Prague, Nostic library, f. 1, St. Gallen, SB, 972b (*arthaxersis*), Uppsala, UB, C 172 (*Mardocheus* for *scidit, honorat*, and some more but these are later corrections) and C 195, Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 8, and Vat. lat. 1027, Wrocław, BU, I F 506, I O 6, and I Q 1.

sometimes in quite a complex way. E.g., chapter 8. *anulum* ("ring"), might refer both to Est 8,2: "And the king took the ring which he had commanded to be taken again from Aman, and gave it to Mardochai" showing the symbol of Mardochai's advancement, but it might also recall Est 8,10 "And these letters which were sent in the king's name, were sealed with his ring...", stressing the new letters that were written in order to reverse the earlier ones by Aman. Or it might refer to both.

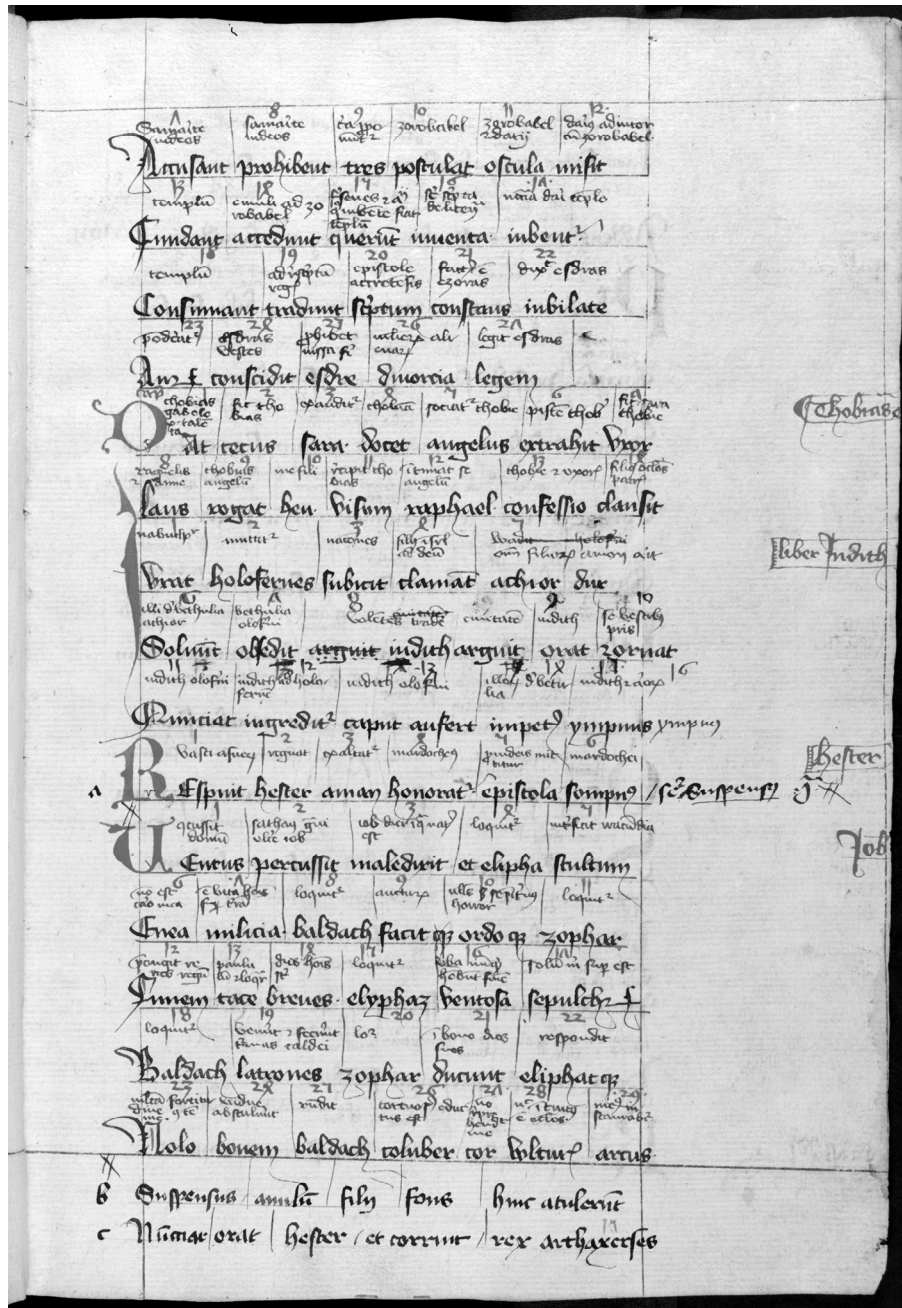


Fig. 7: Ms. Prague, National Library, XI A 14 (Bohemia 1417-1436), f. 8r; originally a single verse representing the Book of Esther (in the middle of the page), with a later marginal note: *sequitur "suspensus" infra* and the two later added verses down on the page

Additionally, many unique versions exist. A kind of a dead-end are three manuscripts that belong to the latter group but exchange the order of the second and the third line.²¹² Obviously, such a change makes the *Summarium* even more difficult to understand. But there are also ten other manuscripts which have a very special version of the 16 *Esther* chapters. Each of them is a witness of a new attempt at creating some better-fitting keywords. Only the first three words *respuit. hester. aman.* are unchanged in all witnesses but one, while most of the remaining ones are altered.²¹³

A very curious version is found in Uppsala, UB, C 356:

Respuit. hester aman. dolet. invitat. decorat.
suspensus. noua lux. occidunt. exiguus fons.
dicta. prius. reperuit. reliquis. in sex. capitellis.

The most puzzling last line, in my opinion does not summarize the book of Esther but is the scribe's note referring to the fact that he found the book

²¹² *respuit. hester. aman. scidit. inuitat. honoratur. / nuntiat. orat. hester. et corrui. rex artaxerses. / suspensus. anulum. filii. fons. hinc aquilinum[!] in Kloster-neuburg, SB, 503, f. 142v; the other one, Klosterneuburg, SB, 428, f. 132v, has attulerunt, not aquilinum, but reads lutat for inuitat. In Munich, UB, 4^o 13 (the second version), there is aman instead of anulum.*

²¹³ *Respuit. hester. aman. scidit. petit. ac honoratur. / suspensus. adar. iugulant. fons. ecce dracones. / nuntiat. exemplar. orat. blanditur. epistula. (Lilienfeld, SB, 145, f. 18v), respuit. hester. aman. sacco. reniat. diadema. pendet. / honoratur. occidunt. aptat. idemque. / nuntiat. exemplar. suscepit. corrui. exit. (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 1144), respuit. hester. aman. uirgam. crucem. diadema. / suspensus. noua lux. ulti. fons. ecce dracones. / ad mortem. gentem. libera. uidi. uariantur. (Prague, NL, I F 43), respuit. hester. aman. scidit. inuitat. decoratur. / suspensus. anulum. filii. fons. atque dracones. / defert. litteraque. luctus. regina. repellit. (Yale University, Beinecke Library, Marston 255), respuit. hester. aman. mandat. veniens. honoratur. / pendet. mutantur. dominantur. sompnus. et alter. / scriptum. nudatur. hinc palida. sitque precatur. (Munich, BSB, clm. 5444, and cgm. 341), respuit. hester. aman. hortatur. regalibus. noctem. / pendet. anulum. filii. fons. hinc attulerunt. / nuntiat. orat. hester. et corrui. rex artaxerses (Munich, BSB, clm. 12391, by Maurus von Weihestephano), respuit. hester. aman. sacro. poscens. honoratur. / suspensio. scribunt. vindictam. dicta. reuolue. / fons creuit. somnium. scribit. narrans et. adoratur. (Munich, UB, 8^o 344), Exultat. hester. aman. adicit. prandia. noctem. / defert. litera. luctus. tenera. reuocat. inde. / conqueritur. reuocat. cedunt. frons. atque dracones. (St. Gallen, SB, 336), Rennuit. hester. aman. spargens. stantem. nichil. hostis. / summaque. suspensi. sors utraque. fons. moraretur. / subiectos. corpus. memor inquit. callida fraude. (Munich, BSB, clm. 3010, and 3447 [1st version, see below]).*

of Esther in six *Summarium* chapters in his model. Yet, in this copy it is divided, numbered and glossed as if each word stood for a chapter.²¹⁴

Last, but not least, a number of manuscripts were very obviously compared and collated. Most frequently, the copies include first the brief, 6-chapter, version and then, as if correcting it, they either add two more lines or include also one of the long versions in full. E.g., Prague, NL, I G 11a had originally the brief version, but a part of it was crossed out at a later stage and the remaining keywords from the long version were added in the lower margin.²¹⁵ Basel, UB, A XI 66 also has the brief version within the main text,²¹⁶ and the whole long one is added on an inserted piece of paper; Munich, UB, 4^o 809 has the brief version and the extra two lines are added, without gloss (but with further corrections), in the top margin of the page;²¹⁷ Prague, NL, VIII D 15, f. 38v, combines all the three versions; and Munich, UB, 4^o 13 has the short version immediately followed by the full long reading. The two versions in this manuscript are not separated and the chapters are counted continuously, so *Esther* here ends up containing 22 chapters.²¹⁸ Munich, BSB, clm. 27412 and clm. 6411 both collate the two versions of the first lines, thus comprising 18 chapters in total, beginning:

*Respuit. hester. aman. scidit. invitat. honoratur. epistola. sompnus.*²¹⁹

In Munich, BSB, clm. 14023 (Bible) and 27462 (copied separately), there is the short version followed by the long one with an explanatory note in between:

Hester

Respuit Hester Amon honoratur epistola sompnus.

Nota quod hic liber scilicet Hester alias quotatur in octo capitula, quia quintum et sextum capitulum quodlibet in duo subdividitur. Sed attende quod praeter prescripta capitula que dicit se Ieronimus de hebreo extraxisse in edicione vulgata

²¹⁴ The glosses are: : *dicta: inter paruus fons. prius: in prioribus capitulis. reperuit: Mardocheus in dictione tua. reliquis: in astis[?] ultimis. in sex: capitulis repetuntur. capitellis: prius dicta.*

²¹⁵ F. 10v, the main text: *respuit. hester. aman. ~~honoratur. epistola. sompnus~~*; addition down: *scidit. inuitat. honoratur. / suspensus. anulum. filii. fons. hinc attulerunt. / nunciat. orat. hester. et corruit. rex artaxerses.*

²¹⁶ *Respuit hester aman honor huic [!] epistola sompnus.*

²¹⁷ *Respuit hester aman scidit inuitat honorat / suspensus anulum ~~fili~~ occiduntur fons ~~hinc attulerunt~~ sompnus / nunciat orat hester et corruit artaxerses.*

²¹⁸ F. 167r. It also switches the last two lines, so the whole looks confusing indeed:

Respuit. hester. aman. honoratur. epistola. sompnus

Respuit. hester. aman. scidit. invitat. honoratur.

nuntiat. orat. hester. et corruit. rex artaxerses.

suspensus. aman. filii. fons. hinc attulerunt.

²¹⁹ Munich, BSB, clm. 6411, f. 398v and 27412, f. 163r-v.

*et ibi in primo*²²⁰ *ponitur de sompno Mardochei et de hoc vide per subscriptos versus.*

Hester

Respuit. hester. amon. scidit. inuitat. honoratur.

suspensus. anulum. filii. fons. hinc attulerunt.

nuntiat. orat. hester. et corruit. rex artaxerses.

Note that this book, that is, *Esther*, is otherwise divided into eight chapters, because the fifth and the sixth chapter is each divided into two. But note that beside the above noted chapters which Jerome says to have extracted from Hebrew in [his] Vulgate edition, and there at the beginning [a chapter] is placed on the dream of Mardocheus, and about that, see the verses below.

Here we have an explicit (although surprising) note that the chapters without the Greek additions numbered 8 rather than 10, and thus, it seems that the division made by Langton (or someone else) in the thirteenth century, was not the only one possible. In addition, the manuscripts providing only the 6-chapter version of *Esther* within the *Summarium* usually do not include any reflections on this number, they seem to be content with it. An exception is Munich, BSB, clm. 14094, where *Esther* has (on f. 14r) the *Summarium* version with six chapters but there is a note beside it: *c<apitula> 16 debent esse* ("there should be 16 chapters").

A special example of collation is Munich, BSB, clm. 3447, which contains two long versions of *Esther* as explicit alternatives, first an unusual one and then the typical long one introduced by *Hester aliomodo* ("Esther in a different way").²²¹ In Munich, BSB, clm. 14670, the *Summarium* accompanied by glosses is copied on every verso of folios 18v-48v, while on the recto of the same folios, there is an alphabetical biblical summary chapter by chapter,

²²⁰ For *primo* there is *principio* in Munich, BSB, clm. 27462.

²²¹ *Rennuit. hester. aman. spargens. stantem. nichil. hostis. summaque. suspensi. sors utraque. fons. moraretur. subiectos. corpus. memor inquit. callida fraude.* (with slight changes, this one is found also in Munich, BSB, clm. 3010.)

Hester aliomodo

respuit. hester. aman. scidit. inuitat. honorat.

suspensus. anulum. filii. fons. hinc attulerunt.

nunciat. orat. hester. et corruit. rex artaxerses.

This manuscript is the first volume of a Bible, covering the Old Testament from Genesis till Ecclesiasticus. Within the Bible text itself, the *Summarium* keywords together with the explanatory glosses are repeated by the relevant chapters. The interesting thing is that the first word is within the biblical texts in both cases *rennuit*, a word that does appear in the chapter, unlike the otherwise omnipresent *respuit*. It seems that when the *Summarium* is copied together with the Bible, it becomes textually closer to it.

presenting every biblical chapter in half a verse.²²² As for *Esther*, the *Summarium* has the 6-chapter version here, while the summary on the opposite page to it counts sixteen chapters.²²³

The exceptional and problematic versions of *Esther* in the *Summarium* are thus much more frequent than the one which represents the book adequately.

k) Case 2: The Song of Songs

Another fitting example is the *Summarium*'s presentation of the Song of Songs, standardly divided into eight chapters within the Bible with no alternatives or difficulties in this division. It is thus all the more striking that by far the most frequent *Summarium* version consists of only seven chapters. Moreover, the complete variation is, again, quite complex and difficult to grasp.

The first keyword is invariably *oscula* (referring to the beginning of the first poem, *osculetur me osculis oris sui*, "let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth") in all the manuscripts.²²⁴ The second word is *flos* (again appearing in the very first line, *ego flos campi*, "I am the flower of the field"),²²⁵ with an exception in a manuscript that reads *fons* (for which there are no grounds, so it must be a confusion with the following keyword); similarly, the fourth is *fons* (this time not appearing in the first line but in the twelfth and fifteenth stanzas, *fons signatus* "a fountain sealed up" and *fons hortorum* "a fountain of gardens"), omitted in one manuscript and once misspelled as *foris* "outside" (with no possible connection to the Bible). The third chapter is represented by *noctes*, *nocte*, or *noctem*, "nights," "by night," or "night" (acc. sg.), (the first line of the Vulgate reads: *per noctes* "through nights")—a good example of the frequent instability of the grammatical cases in the *Summarium* in general, similar to the word for the fifth chapter, *mel* or *melle*, "honey" or "by honey" (in the middle of the first line: *comedi favum cum melle meo* "I have eaten the honeycomb with my honey"). Thus, the

²²² Inc.: *Assunt sex opera, Bini vetant edere ligna / Cuncta ruunt esa, De grandis Abel necis astu / Enoch translatus, Facit hic archam Noe iustus*; this text is, to my knowledge, so far unnoticed.

²²³ *Assureus spernit, Bona tunc Hester loca querit
Cui Amon infestus, Diuisa ueste uidemus
En vocat illa regem Facit [lacuna] invitus honorem
Grauem suspendit, Hinc annulus creditur[?] istinc[?]
In decem natis, J fons paruus modo creuit
Legavit cartas[?], Mox eunuchus dedit illas
Nunc prece letus Heber, Orans vota dedit Hester
Praua cauet iugiter, Quid rex uult scribere semper.*

²²⁴ With one exception: *osculo* in Uppsala, UB, C 218.

²²⁵ In one manuscript, Prague, NL, I A 35, the keyword is *ego flos*.

first five chapters of the Song of Songs appear in a fairly standard form (exceptions are discussed below) as:

1. <i>oscula</i>	kisses
2. <i>flos</i>	flower
3. <i>noctes / nocte / noctem</i>	night / nights
4. <i>fons</i>	fountain
5. <i>mel / melle</i>	honey

Much more problematic are the remaining chapters. In addition to the two most frequent versions (marked by spaces between letters), a wide variety is found:

6	7	8
revertere	parua ²²⁶	
revertere	parva	quis ²²⁷
revertere	parva	quis mihi ²²⁸
revertere	parva	multe ²²⁹
revertere	ascendam	parua ²³⁰
rever	tua	parua ²³¹
revertere	quid	parua ²³²
revertere	quam	parua ²³³
revertere	quam pulchra	parua ²³⁴
revertere	quam pulchra	paruas ²³⁵
revertere	quam	quis ²³⁶
revertere	-	quis ²³⁷
re	vinea	soror ²³⁸

²²⁶ Cracow, BJ, 284, Klosterneuburg, SB, 208, 445, 503, Munich, BSB, clm. 3010, 4358, 7662 (has *flos* for *fons*, ch. 4), 7989, 9529, 14094, 14670, 15956, Munich, UB, 8^o 344, Oxford, BoL, Lyel Empt. 7 (here there is *fons* for *flos* in chapter 2), Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 1144, Paris, BnF, lat. 2477 (here, *fons* for chapter 4 is omitted), Prague, NL, I A 41, I G 36, and XI A14, St. Gallen, SB, 336, 1068 (*refertere* for *revertere*), Uppsala, UB, C 195 and C 356, Vatican City, BAV, lat. 945 and 1290, Pal. lat. 20, Vyšší Brod, ML, XCI, Znojmo, MA, 304 (has *foris* for *fons*, ch. 4), Zurich, ZB, Rh 184.

²²⁷ Vatican City, BAV, lat. 1027.

²²⁸ Uppsala, UB, C 10 and C 218.

²²⁹ Uppsala, UB, C 172. However, *revertere* and *parva* are corrections written over an erased text, and thus the keywords were probably originally *quo. quid. multe*, as cited below. The glosses continue the quotation and thus support this suggestion.

²³⁰ Munich, BSB, clm. 12391 (Maurus von Weihestephán).

²³¹ Munich, BSB, cgm. 341.

²³² Basel, UB, A XI 66.

²³³ Munich, BSB, clm. 3070.

²³⁴ Munich, BSB, clm. 27412.

²³⁵ Munich, BSB, clm. 6411 [surely related to clm. 27412].

²³⁶ Uppsala, UB, C 637 (s. XIV).

²³⁷ New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke library, Marston 255.

²³⁸ Munich, UB, 4^o 809; glosses: *re[vertere Sunamith]. vinea [mane surgamus ad vineas]. soror [nostra parva].*

revertere	ergo parua	palmaque ²³⁹
revertere	paruaque	palmam ²⁴⁰
revertere	palmamque	parua ²⁴¹
grex	palmaque	parua ²⁴²
grex	parua	palmaque ²⁴³
grex	palmaque	nostra parua ²⁴⁴
grex	palmam	nostra parua ²⁴⁵
grex	palma	queparua ²⁴⁶
grex	palma	parua ²⁴⁷
grex	palma ²⁴⁸	
grex	reuertere	parua ²⁴⁹
grex	vertere	parua ²⁵⁰
dentes	reuertere	parua ²⁵¹

Between the two most common versions (*grex. palmaque. parua* and *reuertere. parua.*) it is the former that most obviously corresponds to the Bible because it presents eight rather than seven chapters, and *parua* (“small”) definitely refers to chapter 8 and not 7. Nevertheless, the more widespread of the two seems to be the latter, preserved in 29 manuscripts as opposed to 11 witnesses which contain the first variation. Further 6 copies supply the keyword for the eighth chapter but keep *parua* on the seventh instead of the eighth place, other 6 copies move *revertere parua* to the 7th and 8th position and supply a keyword for the 6th chapter (*grex* or *dentes*), and seven further copies keep *revertere* on the sixth position, move *parua* to the eighth and provide keyword for the seventh chapter (*palmamque, ascendam, quam, quam pulchra, quid, or tua*). The all seem to be attempts at correcting the 7-chapter version of the Canticles as if that was the original which they adjust in order to refer to the Bible more directly.

However, there are other possible ways in which the corruption might have occurred. Of course, the 7-chapter version might have appeared through a corruption of the original 8-chapter version. A special is Uppsala,

²³⁹ Wrocław, BU, I Q 27 (has both *mel* and *melle* side by side for chapter 3).

²⁴⁰ Olomouc, VK, M II 31.

²⁴¹ Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 8.

²⁴² Brno, MZK, 108, Budapest, UL, 50, Munich, BSB, clm. 3447, 4627, and 27481, Prague, Library of the Academy of Sciences 1 TB 3, Prague, NL, I E 15, III A 16, X B 16, Prague, Nostic library, Ms. f 1, Wrocław, BU, I F 506.

²⁴³ Prague, NL, VI B 11.

²⁴⁴ Olomouc, VK, M II 60.

²⁴⁵ Prague, NL, I A 35 and VIII D 15; perhaps Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 459 as well (this is difficult to discern as the end looks more like *olmam. non preva*).

²⁴⁶ Prague, KNM, XVIII B 18.

²⁴⁷ Prague, NL, I F 35.

²⁴⁸ Cracow, BJ, 286.

²⁴⁹ Wrocław, BU, I Q 369, Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyanaeum, R II 66.

²⁵⁰ Wrocław, BU, I F 222, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College library, 524.

²⁵¹ Munich, BSB, clm. 14023 and 27462.

UB, C 572 (written 1424 in Salcza), which has 6. *res*[?] – crossed out, with no gloss, 7. *reuertere*, 8. *parua*. Thus, perhaps the scribe could not read the sixth keyword in his model (*grex*?) and so erased it from his copy and gave it no gloss. A subsequent copyist might have then omitted the keyword altogether, thus ending up with 7-chapter version of the Canticles. In any case, however, the fact that the 7-chapter version became so widespread is remarkable.

In some cases the keywords end up at an incorrect position (*reuertere* is used on the seventh rather than the sixth spot, and *palmaque* is in the eighth rather than the seventh), but even though they vary, they can be related to the text of the Canticles.

Chapter 6

<i>grex</i> = flock	Sg 6,4: <i>capilli tui sicut grex caprarum quae apparuerunt de Galaad</i> ("Thy hair is as a flock of goats, that appear from Galaad")
	Sg 6,5 <i>dentes tui sicut grex ovium</i> ("Thy teeth as a flock of sheep")
<i>dentes</i> = teeth	the same Sg 6,5
<i>revertere</i> = return	Sg 6,12: <i>Revertere, revertere, Sulamitis! revertere, revertere ut intueamur te</i> ("Return, return, O Sulamites: return, return that we may behold thee")

Here the variants *grex* and *revertere* divide the group. *Re* and *rever* are obviously shortened forms of *revertere*, while *dentes* appears in a single manuscript and might have moved to the keyword from what was originally the gloss to *grex*. In my opinion, it is possible that *grex* was not favored as a keyword for chapter 6 because it appears twice (although in the plural) in chapter 4 in very similar phrases: 4:1-2 *Capilli tui sicut greges caprarum quæ ascenderunt de monte Galaad. Dentes tui sicut greges tonsarum...* ("Thy hair is as flocks of goats, which come up from mount Galaad, thy teeth as flocks of sheep..."). These phrases thus do not clearly designate chapter 6 in one's mind.

Chapter 7

<i>quid</i> = what	7,1: <i>quid videbis in Sulamiten nisi chorostrorum</i> ("what shalt thou see in the Sulamites but the companies of camps?")
<i>quam</i> = how	7,1: <i>Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui in calceamentis</i> ("How beautiful are thy steps in shoes")
<i>quam pulcha</i> = how beautiful—the same 7,1	
<i>palma</i> = palm tree	[7,7: <i>statura tua adsimilata est palmae</i> ("thy stature is like to a palm tree")] or: 7,8: <i>Dixi: Ascendam in palmam</i> ("I said: I will go up into the palm tree")
<i>palmamque</i> = and the palm tree—the same 7,8	
<i>ascendam</i> = I will go up—the same 7,8	
<i>vineae</i> = vineyard	7,8 <i>erunt ubera tua sicut botri vineae</i>

("thy breasts shall be as the clusters of the vine")
 7,12 *mane surgamus ad vineas*
 ("let us get up early to the vineyards")
tua = your 7,8 *erunt ubera tua sicut botri vineae*
 ("thy breasts shall be as the clusters of the vine")

All the variants have a connection to the Bible and only *tua* is very weak as a keyword since the word appears many times in the Canticles. Within this particular chapter, it could refer to Sg 7,3 *Duo ubera tua sicut duo hinnuli* ("Thy two breasts are like two young roes") or Sg 7,7 *Statura tua assimilata est palmæ, et ubera tua botris* ("Thy stature is like to a palm tree, and thy breasts to clusters of grapes"), but the copyist of the manuscript includes the gloss *ubera erant sicut botri si floruisset* ("[your] breasts were clusters [of vine] if it flourished"), which links the keyword to Sg 7,7. Since the preceding keyword in this manuscript is the unique *rever*, perhaps *tua* is a corruption or correction from *-tere*—the original *revertere* becoming *rever. tua*. But this cannot be proven.

Chapter 8

<i>quis (mihi)</i> = who (to me)	8,1: <i>quis mihi det te fratrem meum sugentem...</i> ("Who shall give thee to me for my brother")
<i>parua</i> = small	8,8: <i>soror nostra parva, et ubera non habet...</i> ("Our sister is little, and hath no breasts")
<i>nostra parva</i> = our small	the same 8,8
<i>soror</i> = sister	the same 8,8

In addition to these variants based on the two basic groups, three more versions exist that are even further from those already discussed. Here the copyists may also have encountered the seven-chapter version and decided to rework the end of the verse completely:

4	5	6	7	8
[fons]	<i>laus</i>	<i>grex</i>	<i>veni</i>	<i>fortis</i> ²⁵²
[fons	<i>melle]</i>	<i>quo</i>	<i>quid</i>	<i>aque multe</i> ²⁵³
<i>quam</i>	<i>surgeque</i>	<i>lilia</i>	<i>quid</i>	<i>que</i> ²⁵⁴

The copyist of the third of these unique versions was quite creative, as he was on other occasions as well within the *Summarium*. He offered *laus* ("praise") for the fifth chapter, and although this word does not appear anywhere in the chapter, it is apt in describing its contents. Similarly the other two new words do well in recalling the contents of the respective songs:

²⁵² Prague, NL, I F 43.

²⁵³ Cambridge, MA, Houghton library, Riant 93, Klosterneuburg, SB, 428, Munich, UB, 2^o 677 and 4^o 13, Wrocław, BU, I F 296; and, with a variant *multe* for *aque multe*, also most probably in the original reading of Uppsala, UB, C 172 (before it was corrected by a later hand).

²⁵⁴ Lilienfeld, SB, 145.

<i>veni</i> = come	Sg 7,11: <i>veni dilecte mi egrediamur in agrum</i> ("come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field")
<i>fortis</i> = strong	Sg 8,6: <i>fortis est ut mors dilectio</i> ("for love is strong as death")

The second version is witnessed in five manuscripts.²⁵⁵ The third changes the words for chapters 4-8 using a simple and clear strategy of selection: the copyist chose words appearing within the first verse of each song, usually the very first one.²⁵⁶ One exception is *que* for chapter 8, which might be a mistake for the more suitable *quis*; another is *surge* ("arise"), which stands for chapter 5 but appears at the end of chapter 4 in the Bible. This is similar to the choice of *quo* for the sixth song (above), which is actually the first word of the last verse of the fifth song.

This overview outlines the individual improvements effected by various copyists who were faced with a corrupted text. In addition, just as in the previous case, at least three manuscripts were manifestly collated. One includes the variants as variants found in other manuscripts, introducing them by *alii* ("others"). It must have been based on the seven-chapter version of the Canticles, as it keeps the division into seven:

*oscula. flos. noctes. fons. melle. reuertere alii grex. parua alii palmaque.*²⁵⁷

The other two of them present two alternatives to the last three keywords, one after each of them, the other putting all three alternatives at the end of the verse. Because one begins with a seven-chapter version and the other with an eight-chapter version, their Song of Songs has ten and eleven chapters respectively:

*oscula. flos. noctes. fons. melle. mel. reuertere. grex. parua. palmamque.*²⁵⁸
*oscula. flos. nocte. fons. mel. grex. palmaque. parua. quo. quid. aque multe.*²⁵⁹

The result is, again, rather confusing.

* * *

Both these case studies seem to reconfirm the suspicion that the division of the Bible could not have been truly settled in the fifteenth century.

255 If counting Uppsala, UB, C 172, then in six. The keywords refer to:
quo = where Sg 5,17: *Quo abiit dilectus* (“Whither is thy beloved gone”)
quid = what Sg 7,1: *quid videbis in Sulamiten* (“what shalt thou see in the Sulamites”)
aquae multae = many waters Sg 8,7: *aquae multae non poterunt extinguere caritatem* (“Many waters cannot quench charity”)

²⁵⁶ 4. *quam* = first word of the song 4; 5. *surge* = first line of the last verse of the song 4; 6. *lilia* = first line of the song 6; 7. *quid* = first word of the song 7; 8. *que* = first word of 8,5 (the first word of the first line of song 8 is *quis*).

257 Munich, BSB, clm. 15606, f. 146v.

258 Prague, NL, I G 11a, the copy of Cruz de Telcz.

259 Prague, NL, VIII D 27.

Another possibility is that the copyists were not deeply concerned with the referential value of the *Summarium*. A third explanation is provided in a general remark at the explicit of the *Summarium* in Munich, BSB, clm. 4358:

*Explicit tractatus totius biblie et fere quodlibet verbum continet unum capitulum ita quod semper vel modicum post vel ante inuenies illud et non erit tibi difficultas querendi.*²⁶⁰

Here ends the treatise of the whole Bible and almost every word contains one chapter so that you find it always either a little bit after or a little bit before, and you will have no difficulty in searching.

Thus, at least one reader of the *Summarium* interpreted the keywords not as words chosen to recall the contents of a particular chapter but as words taken from the biblical sections *around* every new chapter, helping the reader to find these within the Bible.

The presented variety within the summaries of single books of the Bible in the *Summarium* shows clearly how instabile the transmission of the text is. The fact that the text of the Bible was not divided into fixed chapters even as late as the fifteenth century, this fact could not possibly be the only reason for the unsettled transmission of the *Summarium*. The variants arise to some degree also because the *Summarium* is not a typical text but rather a list of words, and thus it is much more easily corrupted. But the above examples also reveal creativity in the keyword selection, and prove that the copyists were comparing and collating manuscripts much more frequently than it is normally assumed. Again, in the transformations of the *Summarium*, we witness, on the one hand, a careful philological work, comparison, collation, and creativity in attempting to develop an efficient mnemonic tool, and, on the other, a neglect for the referential value of the text, confusion, and obscurity.

1) Towards a text

The deeper one immerses oneself into studying the manuscript transmission of the *Summarium*, the more elusive the text becomes. The individual versions are textually very far from one another, many of the keywords are meaningful, but many remain obscure. The fact that a strikingly great number of the manuscripts is contaminated and collated makes it impossible to create a traditional edition by applying the Lachmann's method. I previously thought that the reading of Lilienfeld, SB, 145, a manuscript from the early fourteenth century, was likely to be near the original version.²⁶¹ Yet, subsequent scrutiny revealed that this version is unique on many occasions. It might still be near the original, of course, but then the original

²⁶⁰ On f. 20r-v.

²⁶¹ See Lucie Doležalová, "*Biblia quasi in saculo*."

would have been corrupted very early, and it was the new version that became most widespread.

Thus far I have not managed to identify a manuscript or a group of manuscripts that I could claim to be near the root of the tradition. Philipp Roelli from the University of Zurich ran my transcriptions of the *Summarium* through his program for text comparison,²⁶² and had a kind of a genealogical tree generated. Unfortunately, no computer program created thus far has been able to “root” the tree (i.e. to specify the near-original version), and to account for the collations. This is a serious drawback as manuscript collation took place in transmitting the *Summarium* very frequently. The rough groups that are generated in this way, however, are useful, and although they do not suggest which of the readings should be selected as a basis of an edition, they help to eliminate the manuscripts that are of little relevance for a study of the variations of the text.

The interest in the particular form in which the texts appear in the medieval manuscripts as propagated by Bernard Cerquiglini or Stephen G. Nichols brought about changes in the conception as well as in the editing of medieval texts.²⁶³ As a result, editors have been more concerned with avoiding the production of artificial versions unsubstantiated by the manuscript tradition. Frequently, text editions present not the “best” (the closest to the “original”) but simply one, or even the most unique manuscript version, and the manuscript tradition is explored as an elucidating source of the reception of a particular text.

At the same time, the primary task of editors is still to present a text in a reader-friendly format, and thus, only a limited space is available for an admiration of *all* the variants; most of them are eventually neglected.²⁶⁴ This practice does not seem to have very grave consequences: the manuscript variants indeed tend to be numerous, and when one attempts to

²⁶² For details on his method, see Philipp Roelli, “Towards Generating a Stemma of Complicated Manuscript Traditions: Petrus Alfonsi’s *Dialogus*,” *Revue d’histoire des textes* n.s. 5 (2010): 307-21.

²⁶³ Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante. Histoire critique de la philologie*, Des Travaux (Paris: Seuil, 1989), and the “New Philology” *Speculum* volume of 1990 Ed. Stephen G. Nichols.

²⁶⁴ See, e.g., Richard Trachsler, “Les Fables de Marie de France. Manuscrits et éditions,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 44 (2001): 45-63; Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann and Estrella Pérez Rodríguez, “Text im Wandel und editorische Praxis: Der lateinische *Contemptus sublimitatis* (*Dialogus creaturarum*) in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung,” in *Didaktisches Erzählen: Formen literarischer Belehrung in Orient und Okzident*, ed. Regula Forster and Romy Günthart (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 21-40; and also Lucie Doležalová, “The Thin Borderline between the Same and the Different: Reproducibility of Medieval Manuscripts,” in *Reproducibility—Arts, Science, and Living Nature: 10th Villa Lanna Meeting on «Science, or Else?» Prague, January 11-13, 2008*, ed. Amrei Wittwer, Elvan Kut, Vladimir Pliska, and Gerd Folkers, Collegium Helveticum Heft 5 (Zurich: Collegium Helveticum, 2008), 81-87.

analyze all of them, the work becomes tiresome and often simply not manageable. In addition, a great majority of textual variants are mere scribal mistakes that do not allow one to make any conclusions about the way the particular text was read and interpreted.

I believe that the best way to represent the text of the *Summarium* is through a digital edition that will allow the reader to choose a particular manuscript reading, or to compare several of them, to find which is the most widespread, to consult a digital image of the actual manuscript concerned, etc. Digital editing also allows for easier adjustments by the editor when new important manuscript witnesses are discovered. I am currently at work on such an edition.²⁶⁵

At the same time, however, a digital edition including the manuscript images will not make the *text* of the *Summarium* easily consultable and graspable. The elusive character of the text will remain, it will not be suppressed but rather come to the fore as one of the main characteristic features of the text.

3. Physical contexts

The character of the actual use and function of the *Summarium* during the Middle Ages can be revealed through the discussion of its physical context. As a method, it is rather straightforward: judgement and evaluation of the text itself is postponed, while its physical surroundings are examined. It is like analyzing a person's character through examining his or her close friends—certainly not the only relevant method but one that is worthwhile even if only as an exercise. In case of medieval texts, it is one of the methods that can actually be used (which, because of the lack of sources cannot be said about many other ones).

The *Summarium* is primarily transmitted in two types of codices: the Bibles and miscellanies. Miscellanies with the *Summarium* are most frequently codices containing material useful for preachers and/or students, thus representing manuscripts originating in both monastic and university environments. They are not restricted to a particular monastic order or region,²⁶⁶ and they usually comprise a great number of short texts, among them other biblical retellings, mnemonic aids for the Bible, various

²⁶⁵ This will be a result of a sub-project within a larger project led by Stephen G. Nichols and supported by the Mellon foundation, entitled "Innovative Scholarship for Digitized Medieval Manuscripts Delivered in an Interoperable Environment" (2011-2013). Together with F.G. Kiss, E. Poleg, and R. Wójcik, I address these issues in a study "Old Light on New Media: Medieval Practices in a Digital Ages," submitted to *Digital Philology*.

²⁶⁶ Moreover, in the Czech lands they appear both in the Catholic and the Hussite environment. E.g., Olomouc, VK, M I 161 belonged to Catholics, while Prague, NL, XVIII B 18, to the Hussites.

summae and *libri pauperum*, sermons, brief tracts, moral considerations, or general medieval “bestsellers.”

a) *The Summarium within Bibles*

At present I have traced some 90 Bible codices containing the *Summarium*, that is, about one fourth of the identified *Summarium* manuscripts appear together with the Bible. However, I am convinced that the actual ratio is much higher, perhaps even 50%. While in case of the miscellanies the contents of the codex tend to be described in more detail in manuscript catalogues, Bibles are often catalogued simply as Bibles. Thus the *Summarium* copies are often easier to find within the miscellanies. This idea is confirmed by the Czech cases that I have studied in greater detail: 19 of the 37 *Summarium* manuscripts of Czech origin (i.e. 51%) are found in biblical codices.

It is not surprising to find the *Summarium* within the Bible. In fact, the *Summarium* is a text that makes better sense *together* with the Bible—one actually needs the Bible in order to understand it. Thus, putting the two texts side by side physically is meaningful and practical,²⁶⁷ although the *Summarium* is not without competition in this regard.²⁶⁸

The *Summarium* appears either at the beginning or at the end of the biblical codices and only rarely do we find it somewhere else within the book.²⁶⁹ It is sometimes preceded or followed by other addenda, such as *Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum*,²⁷⁰ concordances, *capitula* or lists of *lectiones*. Very frequently the *Summarium* is copied by a hand that is

²⁶⁷ See, e.g., Karl Stackmann, “Die Bedeutung des Beiwerks für die Bestimmung der Gebrauchssituation vorlutherischer deutschen Bibeln,” in *De captu lectoris. Wirkungen des Buches im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfgang Milde and Werner Schuder (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988), 273-88; Christine Wulf, “Tituli, Kapitelreihen, Buchsummarien. Überlegungen zu texterschließenden Beigaben in vorlutherischen Bibeln,” *Vestigia bibliae* 9/10 (1991): 385-399.

²⁶⁸ E.g., the so-called “Bible kněze Michala” (The Bible of the Priest Michal) from 1423, kept in Prague, NL, VI E 14 presents condensed contents of each biblical book after the individual prologues and before the actual text of the book. It includes various other notes, among them the brief poem on the order of the biblical books inc.: *Sunt Genes. ex. le.* (see above). But it does not include the *Summarium*. (For more on the competition with the *Summarium*, see chapter II.4.)

²⁶⁹ Among the manuscripts noted and viewed, 21 present the *Summarium* at the very beginning, 11 near the beginning, 23 at the very end, and 23 near the end. In 5 codices part of the *Summarium* appears at the beginning with its continuation in the end. In one codex, Prague, NL, VI B 11, the *Summarium* is inserted very unexpectedly in the middle of the Book of Job. This is, however, a special case indeed and it is likely that it is the result of an error as after the *Summarium* the Book of Job begins again rather than continuing from the point of interruption.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Eyal Poleg’s contribution in *Form and Function of Late Medieval Bible*, eds. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (Leiden: Brill, in print).

substantially later, and thus it is certain that it was not part of the original creating of the codex.

While within the miscellanies glosses to the *Summarium* sometimes become long descriptions, within the Bibles the *Summarium* tends to be accompanied only by interlinear notes of a few words, or is left without glosses all together. Long chapter descriptions are not necessary as the full-text version of the Bible is close at hand.

In its contents the *Summarium* usually corresponds to the Bible in which it appears. Thus the particular version of the *Summarium* mirrors the order and number of the biblical books in the copy of the Bible to which it is attached.²⁷¹ If only part of the Bible is included, only the relevant part of the *Summarium* tends to be copied in it.

In several codices, the *Summarium* may even have operated as a table of contents to the Bible. E.g., in Olomouc, VK, M I 161,²⁷² it is included in its entirety at the end of the codex, and, in addition, the appropriate *Summarium* keywords are added to the relevant chapters within the biblical text itself.²⁷³ Munich, BSB, clm. 3447 contains the Old Testament from Genesis to Ecclesiasticus with the relevant *Summarium* keywords next to the biblical chapters, and, in the end, the relevant part of the *Summarium* (Gen-Eccl) again altogether with superscript glosses. A special but not unique occurrence is the copying of the relevant verses from the *Summarium* at the beginnings of the individual books of the Bible. Among others,²⁷⁴ we find this way of presenting the *Summarium* also in Munich, BSB, clm. 14001 (codex from the second half of the twelfth century with additions from the first quarter of the fourteenth century), which includes Old Testament from Genesis to the Fourth Book of Kings: the relevant *Summarium* verses are added on top of each page where a particular book begins (see Fig. 8).

Yet, the complete correspondence between the Bible and this tool to it does not always occur. In the first place, it is important to recall that the *Summarium* does not include verses for the Psalms, and thus, it does not give an overview of the *whole* Bible, unless it appears with a Bible that lacks the Psalms, as is the case in, e.g., Olomouc, VK, M II 31 or Prague, NL, I A 39.

²⁷¹ A good example is the enormous codex Munich, BSB, clm. 14023 (written in 1450, owned by the monastery of St. Emmeram).

²⁷² The Bible was previously owned by Bernardines in Olomouc; see Miroslav Boháček and František Čáda, *Beschreibung der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Wissenschaftlichen Staatsbibliothek von Olmütz* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1994), no. 32.

²⁷³ This is, however, only the case within the New Testament, with which the codex opens. Within the Old Testament that follows, the *Summarium* keywords are not included within the Bible itself.

²⁷⁴ E.g., in Munich, BSB, clm. 28543 (from 1463/64), which is not a full Bible but only the Gospels, the relevant verses of the *Summarium* are copied at the beginning of each Gospel.

The omission of the Psalms seems to bother readers more when the *Summarium* is copied with the Bible than when it is found in miscellanies and mnemonic verses are sometimes added for the Psalms as well.²⁷⁵

In addition, in many cases the *Summarium* copy included in a biblical codex has clearly been taken from elsewhere without concern for its correspondence to the particular Bible it accompanies. They each present a different order of books and a different number of chapters without any correction or attempt at reconciliation. As discussed above, the Song of Songs is very often represented by only seven *Summarium* keywords even though it contains eight chapters; or, the Book of Genesis, which has 50 chapters in the Bible, is often incorrectly divided into 51 within the *Summarium*.

Thus, one cannot simply conclude that the *Summarium* within the Bibles worked as a table of contents or as a practical mnemonic tool. In some cases it is made to fulfill this function, in other cases it seems to be included without concern for its potential as a useful reference tool.

b) The Summarium within late medieval miscellanies

Medieval miscellanies may be defined simply as codices that are not easy to categorize as far as their contents are concerned, or as a group of “left-overs” within both medieval catalogues of library holdings and contemporary catalogues of medieval manuscripts. At the same time, it should be kept in mind that they are the single largest kind of medieval manuscripts, which until recently was not considered in its own right as of scholarly interest as a distinct group.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ These are not inserted at the place in the *Summarium* where the Psalms should be, but appear after or before its text. Most frequently we simply find a list of the first verses of each Psalm, but several other texts are constructed differently even though they have the same mnemonic aim.

²⁷⁶ Recent volumes on the topic include Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere, eds., *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale Cassino 14-17 maggio 2003*, a special issue of *Segno e testo: International Journal of Manuscripts and Their Transmission* 2 (2004); Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996); R. Jansen-Sieben and H. van Dijk, eds., *Codices miscellaneorum*, a special issue of *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique* 60 (1999); and L. Doležalová and Kimberly Rivers, eds., *Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies: Composition, Authorship, Use* (Leiden: Brill, accepted for publication).

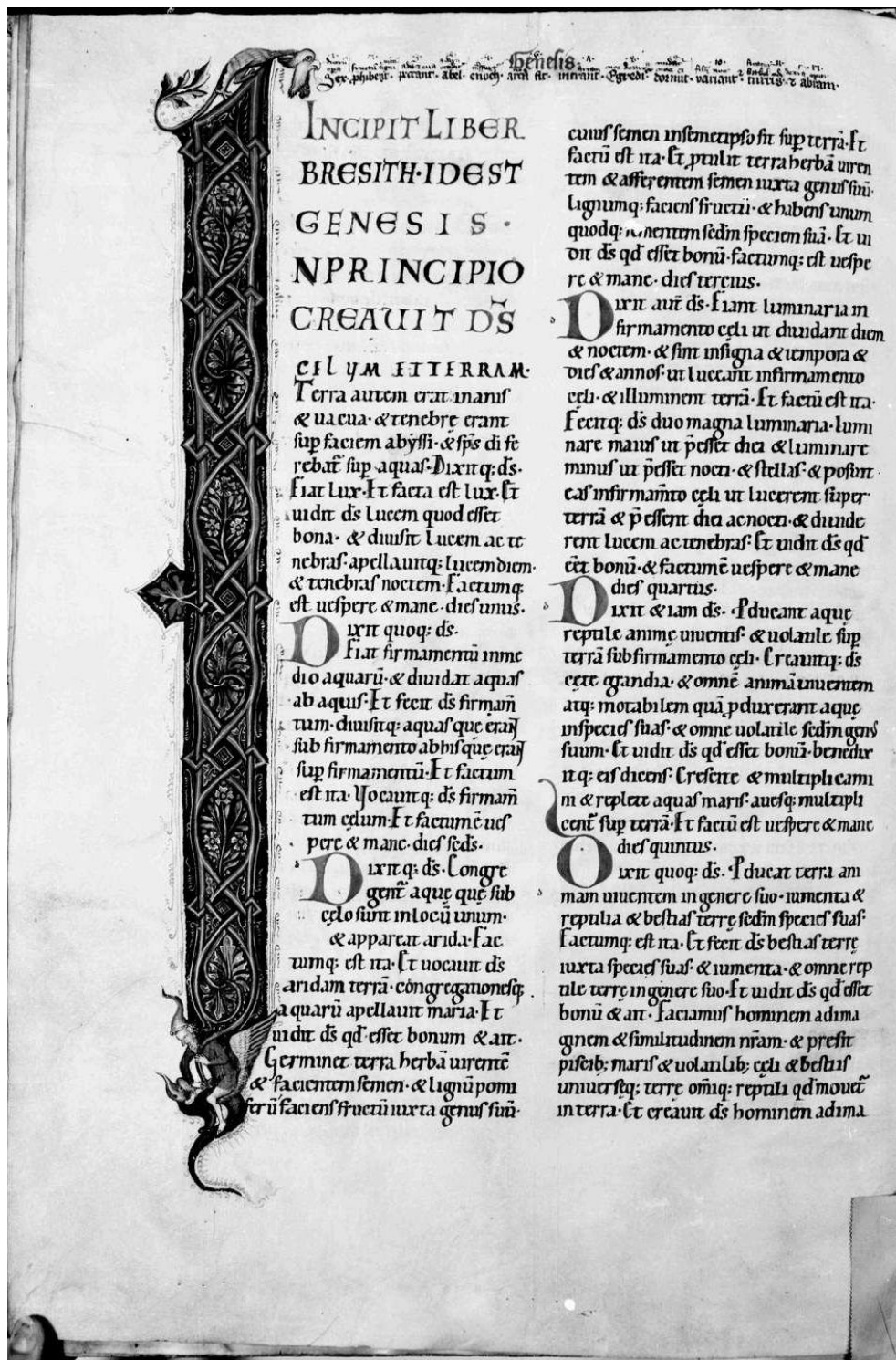


Fig. 8: Ms. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 14001, f. 5v (s. XIV, Germany or Austria); Bible in which the *Summarium* is superscript on top of the pages where relevant Bible books begin

Surely, one cannot simply claim that the apparent variety has a unity and that there is a clear purpose behind the seeming randomness. Yet, an exploration of texts in their material contexts means entering an exciting world full of very relevant material waiting to be interpreted. This is in itself not a new approach. It has already been justified (e.g., as “materialist

philology” suggested by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel in *The Whole Book*) and the basic terminology has already been developed (e.g., by J. Peter Gumbert,²⁷⁷ Marilena Maniaci,²⁷⁸ or Denis Muzerelle²⁷⁹). Late medieval miscellanies indeed often seem to have served as personal encyclopedias, as a source of condensed knowledge otherwise available only in thick volumes. The fact that they combine history and fiction, personal devotion and general advice, or science and entertainment, is perhaps the characterizing feature of this “genre” centered on easily accessible, selected, and practically useful information.

The studies currently carried out usually establish an argument for a unity of purpose or use behind a specific miscellany. It should, however, be kept in mind that an intent to the compilation is not the rule. As Vincent Gillespie states: “Miscellany manuscripts are frequently governed by an inscrutable internal logic and even more often by the random acquisition of material.”²⁸⁰ On the other hand, even a “random” collection is never absolutely random: one can only gather what is accessible at a certain time and place, which means the choice is certainly not unlimited and is dependent on historical, cultural, and social conditions. The tension between randomness and order, the question of the recoverability of intent, or the problems in identifying meaning form part of any historical enquiry. The material context of medieval texts is the most immediate context in which they originated and were received, a context that may be tedious to process and tricky to interpret but is undeniable, palpable, and exciting.

It is in my opinion impossible to classify the miscellanies containing the *Summarium*. They are too varied: some of the volumes (e.g., sermon collections) are quite unified and easily describable with the *Summarium* added at the end or the beginning, others are very miscellaneous. If there is a pattern, it concerns rather concrete texts or types of texts that are often included in the immediate vicinity of the *Summarium*.

²⁷⁷ J. Peter Gumbert, “Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogenous Codex,” in *Il codice miscellaneo*, 17-42.

²⁷⁸ Marilena Maniaci, *Terminologia del libro manoscritto* (Rome: Istituto centrale per la patologia del libro, 1996).

²⁷⁹ Denis Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique. Répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits* (Paris: CEMI, 1985). For a further bibliography, see the contributions of Alessandro Zironi and Eva Nyström in *Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies*.

²⁸⁰ Vincent Gillespie, “Vernacular Books of Religion,” in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475*, eds. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall, Cambridge Studies in Publishing and Printing History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 325.

α) Biblical retellings and mnemonics

The physical vicinity of the *Summarium* is dominated by biblical mnemonics. An observable fact of the manuscript tradition of these tools in general is the almost fluid transformation of their manuscript presentation as poetry or prose. When there are glosses, they are sometimes fully integrated into the main text. The words that were originally cut short are restored, an act that aids comprehension but violates the meter. In other copies they are omitted again to create a succinct poem. It seems that the authors, as well as the copyists, hesitated between the brevity offered by the extreme abridgement, and the clarity offered by the simple prose retelling.

Biblical mnemonics is surely not a genre or a literary type (these texts share a single feature, which is the facilitation of access to the Bible) but the function they have seems enough to link them very closely in a late medieval context. The group character is established most strongly by the fact that these texts do not have a fixed title; instead, their titles are almost freely interchangeable. The titles used for the *Summarium* listed above are used with other full-scale biblical mnemonics and even several of the high medieval biblical retellings as well, and there does not seem to be a system.²⁸¹

In addition to their fluctuating titles, also the attached prologues seem to have a generic function and move among the texts of this group: the already mentioned *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* of Peter of Poitiers is sometimes accompanied by a prologue:

Considerans scripturae sacrae prolixitatem necnon et difficultatem, scholarium quoque circa studium sacrae lectionis, maxime illius, quae in historiae fundamento versatur, negligentiam quorundam quoque ex inopia librorum imperitiae suae solatium quaerentium, volentibus quasi in sacculo quodam memoriter tenere narrationes historiarum, tentavi seriem sanctorum patrum, a quibus per Leviticum et regalem tribum Christus originem habuit, cum eorum operibus in unum opusculum redigere...

Considering the length as well as the difficulty of the Sacred Scripture, and also the scholars' negligence of the study of the sacred page, especially that which deals with the background of history, as well as [the negligence] of those [scholars] in need of consolation for their ignorance because of their lack of books, for those wishing to hold the stories of the [biblical] history in their memory like in some small bag, I tried to edit into one opuscle the succession of the saintly fathers from whom—through Leviticus and the royal tribe—Christ originated, together with their deeds...

²⁸¹ E.g., in Lilienfeld, SB, 145, there is a prose retelling of the Bible entitled *Biblia pauperum*, immediately followed by the *Summarium* entitled *Biblia pauperum metrica* (see also Fig. 1).

The prologue stresses the abundance and difficulty of the existing texts and scholarship, in which one easily becomes lost, together with the consequent need for condensation and abbreviation. This is a topos that reappears in medieval prologues, in which many medieval authors present themselves as the mere mediators of previously expressed thoughts—as those who condense, select the most important texts and order (but never compose or invent) them, so that one would not have to go through large existing volumes but simply have their core at hand. This is connected with their display of modesty by calling their works *opuscula*.²⁸² One would, therefore, not be surprised to find a similar prologue in front of a similar text.

Yet, in Oxford, BoL, Marshall 86 on f. 100r²⁸³ and in two more manuscripts,²⁸⁴ a text that is not merely similar but almost identical is attached to the *Summarium Biblie*:

Scripture sacre considerans prolixitatem nec non et difficultatem scolarium quoque circa studium sacrae lectionis et maxime bibliotice [!] negligenciam et presentim quorundam ex inopia librorum impericie sue solacia quaerencium. Volensque quasi in saculo quodam memoriter tenere narrationes historiarum, temptavi seriem librorum biblie a genesis scilicet incipiens et usque ad apocalipsim perducens in unum redigens opusculum compendiose metricè compilavi.

Considering the length as well as the difficulty of the Sacred Scripture, and also the scholars' negligence of the study of the sacred page, as well as [the negligence] of those [scholars] in need of consolation for their ignorance because of their lack of books, and wishing to hold the stories of the history in memory as in some small bag, I tried [and], compiled the succession of the books of the Bible beginning from the Genesis and arriving till the Apocalypse within one opuscle in a metrical manner.

The two differ basically only in the brief description of the text that follows—a genealogy in the first case, a poem in the second. Although tracing the exact transmission and adaptation of this prologue²⁸⁵ as well as an analysis of the whole large group of biblical mnemonic texts is a task exceeding the scope of the present study, its reoccurrence is an important feature stressing the functional unity of the group.

²⁸² Another reappearing feature, missing here, is to point out that the author would not dare to write the present text but he was (repeatedly) asked to do so by his friends (colleagues, students, or superiors). The author then usually asks the readers to be benevolent and proceeds to encourage anyone more able to correct his attempt.

²⁸³ The manuscript previously had the shelfmark Add B.28, and is described in the second volume of Madan's *Summary Catalogue* no. 5297, p. 1001-1002. It consists of five originally independent parts from the first half of the fifteenth century. The fifth part, on f. 100r-107v, contains only the *Summarium* up to the Fourth Book of Kings.

²⁸⁴ Clermont-Ferrand, BM, 44, f. 147r, and Munich, BSB, clm. 14023, f. 643r.

²⁸⁵ Beside the quoted manuscripts, the same prologue seems to precede Innichen, SB, III c 11 as well. In Heidelberg, UB, Pal. Germ. 110, it is attached to Peter of Rosenheim's *Roseum memoriale* in its German translation.

The particular texts of this type that appear in the *Summarium*'s physical vicinity are many. We repeatedly find the older "bestsellers" discussed above, Petrus Comestor's prose retelling *Historia scholastica*,²⁸⁶ Petrus Riga's versified *Aurora*,²⁸⁷ and Petrus Pictaviensis' *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*.²⁸⁸ The *Summarium* is further copied together with its contemporaries: Petrus Rosenheim's *Roseum memoriale*,²⁸⁹ Guido Vicentinus' *Margarita*,²⁹⁰ or Johannes Schlitpacher's *Fragmentum biblie*.²⁹¹

Quite a few manuscripts include several texts such as this side by side. E.g., Vatican City, BAV, lat. 945 (s. XIV) has (alongside the *Summarium*) two biblical prose retellings: the so-called *Compendium litteralis sensus totius divine scripture*²⁹² written in 1319 by Petrus Aureoli (1280-1322)²⁹³; and a text entitled *Liber sententiarum capitulorum totius biblie per ordinem*—a list

²⁸⁶ The *Historia scholastica* appears together with the *Summarium* in Munich, BSB, clm. 7989, and, in a shortened version in Augsburg, SSB, fol. 92. In Vatican City, BAV, lat. 1290, the *Summarium* is followed by a summary of the *Historia scholastica*. We also find the *Historia* in Angers, BM, 27 (23), which, however, is a 13th c. manuscript to which the *Summarium* was added in the 14th c.

²⁸⁷ An example of *Aurora* is found in Munich, BSB, clm. 9529, Prague, NL, VIII D 27, or Vyšší Brod, ML, 91.

²⁸⁸ The transmission pattern of the last mentioned is special: many of the surviving manuscripts feature the work on a long parchment (often folded in order to fit the codex), accompanied by illuminations and various layouts that support its mnemonic function. The glosses often address theological questions and provide quotations from church authorities. For details see Stella Pantayotova, "Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium*"; Hans-Eberhard Hilpert, "Geistliche Bildung und Laienbildung: Zur Überlieferung der Schulschrift *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* (*Compendium veteris testamenti*) des Petrus von Poitiers (+1205) in England," *Journal of Mediaeval History* 11:4 (1985): 315-31; Aurora Di Mauro, "Un contributo alla mnemotecnica medievale: Il *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* in una redazione pisana del XIII secolo," in *Il codice miniato: rapporti tra codice, testo e figurazione. Atti del III Congresso di Storia della Miniatura*, ed. Melania Ceccanti and Maria Cristina Castelli (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 453-67. Together with the *Summarium* it is found, e.g., in Eichstätt, UB, 205, Oxford, BoL, Auct. D. 4. 10, Ottobeuren, Bibliothek der Abtei, O.53 (48), Prague, Library of the Academy, I Tb 3, or Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 4535.

²⁸⁹ E.g., Graz, UB, 665 (lost), Munich, BSB, clm. 14670.

²⁹⁰ E.g., Gotha, HB, 108.

²⁹¹ E.g., Augsburg, SSB, fol. 193.

²⁹² Inc.: *Venite ascendamus ad montem domini... Gregorius xxiii moralium exponens illud Iob*; also called *Breviarium Bibliorum* or *Divisiones librorum utriusque testamenti*; here on f. 1r-182r. It was a popular work surviving in at least 40 mss. (without the *Summarium* it is also copied, e.g., in Prague, NL, IV C 4; IX C 9, and XIII C 6) and printed at least 14 times between 1476 and 1647 (cf. *RB*, no. 6422). The most recent edition is: Philibert Seeboeck, *Compendium litteralis sensus totius diuine scripture: editum a fratre Petro Aureoli...* (Quaracchi: Typ. Coll. S. Bonaventura, 1896).

²⁹³ Or Aureolus, d'Auriol; a Franciscan philosopher and theologian, archbishop of Aix (from 1321).

of the first sentences of each biblical chapter followed by a summary of its contents.²⁹⁴

The *Summarium* manuscript Lilienfeld, SB, 145, on f. 161r, contains a curious mnemonic poem combining the Decalogue with the ten plagues of Egypt, beginning:

*Unus adoretur Deus et sanguis minuetur
vanum videtur nomen nec rana timetur*

One God should be worshipped and the blood will diminish
the name seems in vain so that there is no fear of frogs

Also every subsequent line consists of a precept followed by a plague—if the precept is kept, there will be no such plague.²⁹⁵

Three times we find, together with the *Summarium*, a poem created in the very same way on the Gospel parts in the order they are to be read at mass during the liturgical year. In Wrocław, BU, I O 6 they directly precede the *Summarium*, in Wrocław, BU, I F 323 and I Q 158 they are separate from it. In the former they are entitled *Versus super ewangelia dominicalia totius anni* (“Verses on the Sunday gospels of the whole year”). They begin:

²⁹⁴ On 185r-272v; inc.: *In principio creavit deus celum et terram. De operibus sex dierum. De distinctione et ornatu eorum. De formatione et perfectione hominis. 2. Igitur perfecti sunt celi. Deus requiescat ab opera. Describitur paradysus. Homo introducitur. Datur preceptum. Et imponuntur nomina. Formatur eva... Apocal. Cap. 22: Et ostendit michi. De fluvio procedente de throno agni... de inopinato adventu ad iudicium. Vocat christus accipiendam gloriam. In fine ponitur Iohannis contestacio. Amen.* The Psalms, Song of Songs, and Baruch are omitted.

²⁹⁵ In the Lilienfeld manuscript the whole reads:

*Unus adoretur Deus et sanguis minuetur
vanum videtur nomen nec rana timetur
sabbata sacrentur per qua cynifes abigentur
patris honorentur carnes musceque prementur
si non occides peccorum nil morte relides
non mechando vides sic vulnera turgida rides
cum non furatur nec grandinis igne tonatur
si non testatur res facta locusta fugatur
fratris nolle thorum tenebris illustrat aurorum
nec res velle thorum salvat primogenitorum.*

To my knowledge, the same poem also appears in Prague, NL, I G 39 (a miscellany from Bohemia 1360-1380), on f. 82v, entitled: *Remedia contra decem plagas sunt decem precepta* (“The remedies for ten plagues are ten commandments”). See Victorin Doucet, *Commentaires sur les Sentences*, Supplément au répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmüller (Florence: Ad claras aquas, 1954), no. 18, 19. G. E. Mohan, “Initia operum Franciscanum (XIII-XV S.),” *Franciscan Studies* 38 (1978) 377-498, at p. 486, attributes it to Mauritius de Portu Fildaeus. A poem of a similar type combines the Old Testament prophets with the *Symbolum apostolorum* which is already divided among the individual apostles (together with the *Summarium*, e.g., in Graz, UB, 309).

Castellum. signum. vinclis. vox. anna. remansit.
Castle. sign. chains. voice. Anna. remained.²⁹⁶

Each keyword calls to memory the particular Gospel passage to be read on the particular Sunday at Mass: *castellum*—Luke 21, *signum*—Luke 21, *vinculis*—Matthew 11, etc. There are several other manuscripts of this text (which to my knowledge is still unedited).²⁹⁷

* * *

It is very clear that biblical retellings and mnemonic tools form a thematic group, but it is a group that is not necessarily transmitted together. Typically, one selects one or a few of the texts from the group to copy and omits the majority of them. The reason is clear: the use of the texts. No one needs to have too many tools for remembering the contents of biblical chapters. When several biblical memory aids are copied together, each of them offers something different, e.g., a longer summary of the Bible together with the brief *Summarium* are accompanied by a few verses on the order of biblical books and the number of chapters they contain; this is the observable pattern in the *Summarium* manuscripts. At the same time, there are codices that compile a number of biblical mnemonics one after the other, thus providing a variety of tools related to a single text. This is not an exception in medieval manuscript culture; Siegfried Wenzel makes the same observation about the transmission of *artes praedicandi* and explains:

But why were arts of preaching collected and copied in groups of two or three or even more? At least part of an answer may be found in the opening words of *Quamvis*: "Although in regard to sermon making a certain art cannot be handed on..." *Certa ars*, I suggest, here means "a fixed or uniform technique," a suggestion that gains strength from the expansion of this phrase in one manuscript to *unica et certa ars* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 423). Indeed, while *artes praedicandi* may agree in the basic structure of the scholastic sermon they teach, they differ in the details with which they treat individual aspects, in their

²⁹⁶ The whole reads:

Castellum. signum. vinclis. vox. anna. remansit.
idria. lepra. nauis. zyzania. vinea. semen.
crux. temptans. catuli. regnum. panes. lapides. laus.
unctio. pax. pastor. modicum. vado. rete. pneuma.
mansio. credetis. diues. iuga. dragmaque. misertus.
rethe. racha. panes. a falsis. villicus. et flens.
phariseus. surdus. yericho. lepra. querite. naym.
idrops. mandatum. paralyticus. ite. regendus.
serve. miseratus. sum tibi. reddite. filia. panes (Wrocław, BU, I O 6, f. 2r); in Wrocław, BU, I F 323, the incipit is *castallum*[!].

²⁹⁷ E.g., Cracow, BJ, 715, f. 28r; cf. Jean-Pierre Rothschild, *Bibliographie annuelle du Moyen Age tardif* 7 (1997): no. 928; *Repertorium initiorum manuscritorum latinorum medii aevi: A-C*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse.

emphases on one sermon part or another, and of course also in the illustrative examples they provide... It seems, then, that if you wanted to give helpful instruction on sermon making, copying out two different works was better than one, and three was even better.²⁹⁸

Also within the *artes memoriae*, the necessity to make mnemonic aids personal, fitting individual needs is a point made repeatedly. So perhaps the situation with biblical mnemonics is comparable: they differ in details and emphases, and thus each suits a different reader. When compiled, they, together, should allow everyone to find something according to their tastes and needs.

β) Non-biblical mnemonics

A number of mnemonic verses to standard medieval school works were written in exactly the same style as the *Summarium*, that is, with metrical verses or unrelated juxtaposed keywords each summarizing a whole chapter and usually accompanied by interlinear glosses. These appear together with the *Summarium* very frequently, thus forming a coherent group of mnemonic tools (rather than texts on the Bible). The link to mnemonic function seems stronger than the thematic link to the Bible.

Most frequently encountered near the *Summarium* (and probably most popular in general) are mnemonic aids to Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and to canon law (that is, Pope Gregory IX's *Decretalia*, sometimes together with *Decretum Gratiani*). They appear in its immediate vicinity in several codices²⁹⁹ (Fig. 9) and further from it in others, while the space between is often filled by other biblical mnemonic verses.³⁰⁰ What can we make out of

²⁹⁸ Sigfried Wenzel, "The Appearance of 'Artes praedicandi' in Medieval Manuscripts," in *Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies*.

²⁹⁹ The exact order of the texts varies. E.g.:

Basel, UB, A. XI. 66 (*Summarium*, *Decretalia*, [...] *Sentences*)

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, 524, London, BL, Add. 20009, and Graz, UB, 1295 (*Summarium*, *Sentences*)

Copenhagen, KB, Ny. Kgl. Saml. 3b fol. (*Summarium*, *Decretalia*; this ms. consists of only 16 folios which contain these two texts only)

Mainz, StB, I 22 (*Summarium*, *Decretalia*)

Munich, BSB, clm. 12391 (*Summarium*, *Decretalia*, *Decretum*)

Munich, BSB, clm. 14670 (*Summarium*, one other bibl. mnem., *Decretum*, *Decretalia*, *Sentences*)

Munich, UB, 8° 344, Munich, BSB, clm. 15606 (*Decretalia*, *Sentences*, *Summarium*)

³⁰⁰ E.g.: Graz, UB, 665 (*Decretum*, other mnemonics, *Summarium*)

Munich, UB, 2° 677 (f. 114r *Decretalia*; f. 181r *Summarium*)

Prague, NL, I F 35 (*Summarium*, aid for Psalms, abbreviation for legal texts, *Decretalia*)

Wrocław, BU, I O 6 (*Summarium*, other aids, *Sentences*, canon law, other aid, *Decretum*, other, *Decretalia*)

Wrocław, BU, I Q 158 (*Sentences*, *Summarium*, other mnemonics, *Decretalia*)

this combination of the Bible, Peter Lombard, and canon law? Various theological and legal texts appear side by side in a majority of the *Summarium* manuscripts, and witness a shift in theological concerns: moral theology addresses a number of everyday life questions with specific circumstances that have to be taken into account, and thus often encounters canon law, which becomes its inherent part.³⁰¹ Most importantly, these were the basic texts taught at late medieval universities which each student had to know.

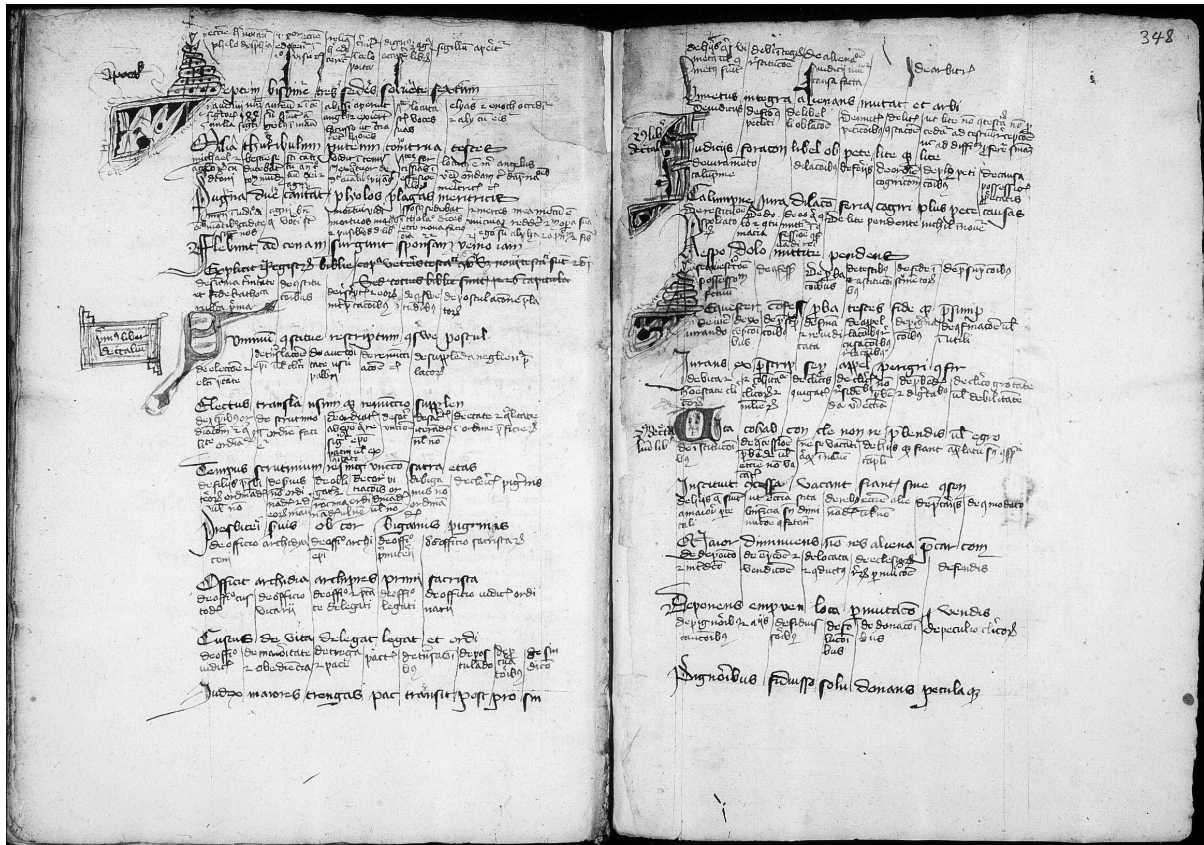


Fig. 9: Ms. Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, Hs I 22 (from 1413), f. 347v-348r, here the *Summarium* is immediately followed by verses on *Decretalia* with the very same layout

The verses on the Sentences usually begin: *Res. tres. vestigium. genuit. natura. volando*. I have traced 30 manuscripts so far but there are surely many more.³⁰² More variation occurs within the verses on the *Decretalia*.

³⁰¹ See Daniel Hobbins, "The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract," *The American Historical Review* 108:5 (2003): 1308-1337 (accessible online).

³⁰² Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum*. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), no. 16652, lists 13; the problem with finding the mss. is the same as in the case of the *Summarium* discussed above. An alternative but less frequent incipit is *Res. tres. mens. genuit. essentia. velle. potestas*. (to my knowledge in two mss). London, BL, Add. 20009, fol. 259v, begins unusually: *Quid. dictum. ratio. pater. esse. volendoque. quirir*.

Among several versions,³⁰³ the most common incipit is probably *Summum. constitue. rescriptum. consue. postul* (found in at least 30 manuscripts³⁰⁴). A special example is Basel, UB, A XI 66 (containing the *Summarium*). It includes, on fols. 34r-38r, a completely different version of the verses on the *Decretalia*, entitled *Capitula librorum quinque Decretalium*. The verses appear first (up to f. 35r), followed by a prose description. The verses include often only parts of words, which are then continued in the superscript gloss. Thus, it begins: *Desum[ma trinitate et fide catholica habet duo capitula...]*, *cons [de -titucionibus habet 13 capitula]*. The chain of keywords continues: *res. con. post. ele. tran. aucto. re. supplen. de temp. scu. or. e. sac. sacra. fil. ser. ob. et. cor. debig. decleri* to come to a very curious sequence: *offi. offi. offi. offi. offi. offi. offi. offi. offi. offi. offi.* Although the glosses explain that it is *offi[cio archidiaconi]*, *offi[cio archipresbyteri]*, *offi[cio sacriste]*, etc., one can hardly resist wondering about the efficiency of such a tool.

Several of the *Summarium* manuscripts also contain a very brief summary of the *Decretalia*, revealing only the contents of each of the books:

*Iudex, iudicium, clerus, sponsalia, crimen
hec tibi designant que quinque volumina signant.*³⁰⁵

Judge, judgement, clerics, marriages, crime,
these point out for you what the five volumes [of the *Decretalia*] express.

The most rare among these are separate verses on the *Decretum Gratiani* (inc.: *Ast. vendens. intrans.*³⁰⁶) because the *Decretum* itself was frequently integrated into the *Decretalia* to form a basic collection of canon law, and thus also the mnemonic verses on it are usually included in the verses on the *Decretalia*.

Similar to the memorization of the Bible, the extreme condensation into one keyword per chapter is not the only way of creating mnemonic aids for these texts. Also the alternative condensations are found in the company of the *Summarium*. E.g., Helwicus Magdeburgensis³⁰⁷ wrote, shortly before 1252, a longer aid to remember the Sentences (inc.: *Res et signa sunt*

³⁰³ E.g.: *summa. constituens. rescriptum. consueque. postul.* in at least four mss. (Walther, *Initia*, no. 18752 knows three), or *summam. constitue. rescriptum. consue.* (which Walther, *Initia*, no. 18763 notes in a single ms.).

³⁰⁴ Walther, *Initia*, no. 18797 cites 10 mss.

³⁰⁵ I know of 17 mss., Walther, *Initia*, no. 9895 lists 10.

³⁰⁶ Only two manuscripts are known to me.

³⁰⁷ He was a lector in Magdeburg after Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and later in Erfurt, died 1252. He wrote also *Denarius sive Decacordus*, ed. Ferdinand Doelle, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der sächsischen Franziskanerprovinz vom heiligen Kreuze* 1 (1908): 87-96. It was translated as: *Das Büchlein von den göttlichen Wohltaten*, trans. W. Meyer, in *Franz von Assisi. Aus dem religiösen Geistesleben seiner drei Orden*, Reihe deutscher Texte 2 (Werl in Westfalen, 1926), 27-66.

doctrine duo membra...)³⁰⁸ which quickly became very popular as *Lombardus metricus*. In Munich, BSB, clm. 8947 it is included within *Textus sententiarum metricus*, and is immediately followed by the first sixteen verses of the *Summarium*.³⁰⁹ Or, a longer version of mnemonics for *Decretum Gratiani*, which dedicates half a verse to each chapter (the prologue inc.: *Prima distinctio tractat de iure naturali et divino...*, the text inc.: *Aspice ius binum, bene tunc species cape legum*) is found together with the *Summarium* in Munich, BSB, clm. 14670 and Wrocław, BU, I O 6.³¹⁰

* * *

Clearly, more research on these tools, their composition, authorship and interrelationships needs to be carried out, but the patterns of their transmission in the later Middle Ages will certainly turn out to be comparable to those of the *Summarium*—no fixed way of remembering these important school and university texts exists; instead we find summaries in prose or in verse, among them the extremely condensed poems of the *Summarium* type. One sometimes encounters a combination of different tools for one text (e.g., a prose summary of the *Decretum* followed by the brief verses), or, as shown above, mnemonic aids for each of these texts copied within one manuscript. Especially during the late fourteenth and the fifteenth century, there seems to have been a real fashion of shortening and condensing schooltexts, at times leading to incomprehensibility.

γ) Enumeration lists

A little more distant from the *Summarium*, both in its formal features and within the physical manuscripts, are other, not strictly mnemonic verses that can be seen as lists. The words listed in them belong to the same category—most frequently they are nouns in the nominative, or verbs in a particular form (e.g., third person singular, present tense). Unlike the previous group, these are not so obscure initially because it is clear they are enumerations: no one would consider connecting the words into a meaningful sentence.

³⁰⁸ Expl.: *Ex hoc gaudentes nil ipsis compacientes*. See Doelle, “Beiträge zum Studium und zu wissenschaftlicher Tätigkeit der Franziskaner zu Erfurt I,” *Beiträge*, 65-86, esp. 77-78; Walther, *Initia*, no. 16620, Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi* (Würzburg: F. Schöningh, 1947), vol. 1, p. 19, nos. 18-20; Ludger Meier, *Die Barfüßerschule zu Erfurt* (Erfurt: Aschendorff, 1958), p. 41, no. 1; Christine Stöllinger, “Helwicus von Magdeburg,” *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* XI, 642.

³⁰⁹ It is certain that the whole *Summarium* was originally included. It is described as *Biblia pauperum metrica* in the table of contents at the beginning of the codex, and two more items are indicated as having been inserted after it, but f. 285v with the beginning of the *Summarium* lines is now the last surviving page of the codex.

³¹⁰ I am aware of 5 more manuscripts but there are surely many more.

In the *Summarium* manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College library, 524, the *Summarium* is immediately followed by the verses for the Sentences, after which comes a section with several brief sermons and tracts.³¹¹ The first of them is entitled *De effectibus dominici corporis et sanguinis* ("On the effects of the Lord's body and blood," inc.: *Sapore diuini faui quisquis estuas*)³¹² and is concerned with the effects of communion. As a closer inspection reveals, the brief tract evolves around list-like mnemonic verses on the subject, inc.: *Liberat. emollit. purgat. solidat. pia lux est*. This version is, to my knowledge, found only in this manuscript. However, other list-like mnemonic verses on the same subject, the effects of the Eucharist, seem to have been widespread. The most popular must have been:

Inflamat, memorat, sustentat, roborat, auget
Hostia, spem purgat, reficit, vitam dat et unit;
Confirmatque fidem, munit fomitemque remittit.
Quot stellae in caelo vel guttae in flumine fontis,
*Tot sacramenta tui reperis in corpore Christi.*³¹³
 It lights up, brings to memory, supports, invigorates, extends
 the host purifies hope, restores, gives and unites life,
 and confirms faith, strengthens, sends away prejudice
 As many as there are stars in heaven or drops in the flow of a fountain,
 so many sacraments you find for yourself in the body of Christ.

I have treated the medieval transmission of these and similar verses elsewhere;³¹⁴ yet, this material remains vast and largely unexplored, and so no substantial conclusions may be drawn at this stage. What is clear is that this type of versified enumeration was very popular.

But is it appropriate to call them "mnemonic verses"? As it turns out, not only a unified version of the verses, but even an authoritative or a theological concept which should be remembered through them is missing. The actual effects (although mostly 12 in number) are different in each version. What is then to be remembered here? In my opinion, these texts are in reality not mnemonic but meditative. One should keep in mind some (any) effects of the Eucharist, to remind oneself of its importance in his or her life in a more efficient way. Rather than simply remembering that Eucharist is crucial, one

³¹¹ See Jan Odstrčilík, "The Effects of Christ's Coming into the Soul: A Case Study on a Group of Anonymous Treatises in ms. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 524," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, in print.

³¹² It covers folios 112v-26v.

³¹³ I am aware of 14 mss. of the poem. Walther, *Initia*, no. 26 and 9326 notes 4 mss.; Rothschild, *Bibliographie annuelle* 11 (2001): no. 3651 notes one ms. To my knowledge, it has not yet been edited.

³¹⁴ Lucie Doležalová, "Verses on the Effects of the Eucharist: Memory and the Material Text in Utraquist Miscellanies," in *Situating Religious Controversy: Textual Transmission and Networks of Readership*, ed. Pavel Soukup and Michael van Dussen (Turnhout: Brepols, accepted for publication).

is invited to ponder on the individual effects within the enumeration and re-create the power of this sacrament in all its weight. In this way, the Eucharist becomes present much more vividly and may influence one's behaviour more thoroughly. The verses can thus serve (and indeed served) both for private meditation and as a structuring device of a sermon or a treatise.

A different type of enumeration verses are related to virtues and vices, another field of great concern in the medieval period. In one form or another, a treatment of virtues and vices is included in a surprisingly high number of late medieval miscellanies. In the *Summarium* copy in Lilienfeld, SB, 145, on f. 161r-v, we find verses that are actually formed by lists of biblical characters exemplifying vices ([*Superbia*] *Lucifer, Antiochus, Nemroth, Nabugo, Phariseus...*) and virtues (*Abel, Virgo, Iesus, humilis et iustificatus...*). In this particular manuscript the text copies the layout of the preceding *Summarium* and can hardly be discerned from it. This is a text that recurs very frequently,³¹⁵ perhaps because it links moral teaching with stories—the names of the figures used to exemplify the virtues and vices evoke their activities and fates vividly, and the whole thus has strong potential for affecting the audience. Again, the names within the lists vary in many of the manuscripts and it seems that the main point is to provide examples rather than a fixed and carefully ordered list. These examples show that the form of list became truly popular in Late Middle Ages and was used also outside the context of strict mnemonics.

δ) A biblical role-play fortune game

In three manuscripts, Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 20 (s. XIV, Bible), in Wrocław, BU, I Q 158 (s. XV, miscellany), and in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. lat. qu. 348 (a miscellany from 1446-1455), the *Summarium* is immediately followed by a rhymed poem inc.: *Vos qui concupiscitis statum vestrum scire* ("You who desire to know your state"), a most curious text.³¹⁶ The two texts appear together also in Cambridge, UL, Ee. VI. 29 (s. XIVmed, misc.). In addition, in the lost Innichen, SB, III c 10, this rhymed poem was immediately preceded (f. 14r-18r) by a text of the same type as the *Summarium*: a condensation of the Gospels, also giving one keyword per chapter, inc.: *Ecce liber. sponsata*.

³¹⁵ So far I am aware of 19 mss. but there must be many more. Walther, *Initia*, no. 169 (*Abel virgo...*) notes 2 mss., no. 10418 (*Lucifer, Antiochus...*) notes 7 mss., Bloomfield, *Incipits*, no. 61 (2 mss.) and no. 2983 (2 mss.), *RB*, no. 1182 has 12 mss.

³¹⁶ This chapter is partly based on my study "A Biblical Role-Playing Game? Interpreting and Contextualizing a Late Medieval Latin Poem inc. *Vos qui concupiscitis*," *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica 3, Graecolatina Pragensia* 24 (2012): 103-13.

This poem is an ambiguous text surviving in at least ten manuscripts from mid-14th till the 16th centuries.³¹⁷ It is written in rhymed goliardic lines and consists of 75-116 four-line strophes. Each strophe is dedicated to one character of the Bible, describing his or her biblical deeds. Positive characters usually alternate with negative ones. The characters are presented in their biblical order of appearance: from Adam, Cain, Abel, Lamech, and Noah to the Virgin Mary, Herod, Mary Magdalene, Zaccheus, Judas, the good thief, Paul, and Ananias.³¹⁸ Scholars have described the poem in various ways: Franz J. Worstbrock writes that it is a poem “welches die gesamte Bibel in der Folge ihrer Bücher auf 75 *figure virtutis ac vicii* abschreitet”;³¹⁹ Montague Rhodes James describes it as “a series of biblical examples”³²⁰ and Henry Stevenson as *Historia biblica ab Adam ad Ananiam et Saphiram*;³²¹ the catalogue entry of London, BL, Royal 8. B. VI calls it “a history of man by contrasted types of biblical persons from Cain and Abel to Ananias and S. John;”³²² and the catalogue entry for Cambridge, UL, Ee. VI. 29, together with Bloomfield maintain that it is “a series of spiritual directions.”³²³

In an introduction to his unpublished critical edition of the text, Steven J. Killings argues that the poem is actually a biblical play that was performed in Cambridge in 1352 or 1353 when the Corpus Christi College was founded.³²⁴ It is true that there is a record that on that occasion a play was

³¹⁷ For their list, see below. Walther, *Initia*, no. 20819 notes nine, *RB*, no. 9329,3 notes only the lost Innichen ms. A critical edition is easily at hand in Steven J. Killings, “*Vos qui concupiscitis* or *Ludus filiorum Israel: A Critical Edition*,” PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2002; available online at: <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk4/etd/NQ78424.PDF> (accessed August 20, 2012).

³¹⁸ In fact the manuscripts end with different characters, either linked to the death of Christ or stretching up to the Acts of Apostles.

³¹⁹ Franz Josef Worstbrock, “*Libri pauperum*,” 49.

³²⁰ An unpublished handwritten description of Cambridge, UL, Ee. VI. 29, kindly provided by Cambridge University Library.

³²¹ Henry Stevenson et al., *Codices Palatini latini bibliothecae Vaticanae descripti praeside I. B. cardinali Pitra* (Rome: Ex typographeo Vaticano, 1886), 3.

³²² *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts of the Old Royal and King's Collection* (London: K.G. Saur, 1997); the description is also available online at <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/DESC0010.ASP> (accessed August 20, 2012).

³²³ Bloomfield, *Incipits*, no. 6542, p. 565; and *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1857), 268.

³²⁴ Killings, “*Vos qui*,” 8-9.

performed, but that play is referred to as *Ludus filiorum Israel* (Play of the sons of Israel) and no details are known concerning its contents.³²⁵

The manuscripts come from two geographical areas: England and Central-Eastern Europe. Interestingly, a study of the textual variants within the text leads to almost the same division, and also a scrutiny of the textual context in which the poem was transmitted during the Middle Ages ends up in creation of the same two groups. The English copies,³²⁶ place the poem primarily into the context of goliardic poetry and satire, in general contemporary compositions, mostly of literary character. The Central European copies³²⁷ include the poem primarily in biblical and moral context. Except for Vatican City, Pal lat. 20, which is a Vulgate Bible, all the surviving codices are miscellanies. Their contents are varied, linked to preaching, liturgy, and practical theology with a number of texts concerned with virtues and vices.

The *Summarium* and our poem were very probably perceived as of the same type in the Middle Ages. The *Vos qui concupiscitis* poem is actually entitled *Compendium historiarum Biblie* in G, and it bears the frequent generic title of a great number of biblical mnemonic aids and retellings (including the *Summarium*), *Biblia pauperum*,³²⁸ in K. Like the *Summarium*, the *Vos qui concupiscitis* is in verse, which facilitates its memorization. Like the *Summarium*, it retains the Biblical order. Although the *Vos qui con-*

³²⁵ Several suggestions have been made, e.g., "...we may conjecture that it was akin to the play of the poltroon knight given by the English bishops at the council of Constance, 1415, and embodied in the various cycles – best represented, however, by Parfre's Kyllynge of the Children of Israell in the Digby manuscript," in Charles Mills Gayley, *Plays of our Forefathers and Some of the Traditions Upon Which They Were Founded* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), 126; "...it could belong to that minstrel activity which, according to Alan Nelson, characterized dramatic activity from 1342 to 1456," in Fernando Cioni, "Stages at the University of Cambridge in Tudor England," in *English Renaissance Scenes: From Canon to Margins*, eds. Paola Pugliatti and Alessandro Serpieri (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 127-54, at 128; or "...probably the Exodus or departure out of Egypt, with the episode of the Red Sea," in William Godwin, *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer, the Early English Poet I* (London: T. Davison, 1804), 135.

³²⁶ C: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 177 (s. XV, Cambridge?), E: Cambridge, UL, Ee. VI. 29 (s. XIV, owned by Thomas Southwell), G: Cambridge, UL, Gg. I. 1 (s. XIV ex., East England, perhaps Seyny monastery); H: London, BL, Harley 3138 (s. XV, Carmelite convent in London, written by Roger Alban); R: London, BL, Royal 8.B.VI (s. XVI in., England).

³²⁷ B: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, theol. lat. qu. 348 (s. XV: 1447, 1448; Carthusian monastery in Eppenberg, Germany, most written by Petrus Mule, fl. 1450); [I: Innichen (San Candido), SB, III c 10 (s. XV) – lost since 1970]; K: Kremsmünster, SB, 16 (s. XV, 1433, 1437, Austria?); L: Erlangen, UB Erlangen-Nürnberg, 423 (s. XIV, Cistercian monastery in Heilsbronn, Germany); P: Vatican City, BAV, Palatinus latinus 20 (s. XIV and XV, Central Europe?); W: Wrocław, BU, I Q 158 (s. XV med, Poland?).

³²⁸ F. 235v: *Explicit Carmen bonum quod respicit Bybliam totam unde dictum est seu intitulator Byblia pauperum* (cited in Worstbrock, "Libri pauperum," 49).

cupiscitis is by no means an exhaustive representation of the Bible, it does cover it from Adam till the death of Christ (and sometimes till the characters from the Acts of Apostles), presenting the biblical characters as prototypes of all possible virtues and vices. Thus, it indeed is a kind of *compendium* or encyclopedia of the Bible, providing the most important Christian moral information in an easily accessible way—which justifies the *Biblia pauperum* title, too.³²⁹

However, a closer look at the poem shows that it is not a simple biblical history, or a mere representation of virtues and vices on biblical examples. Almost all the strophes include a direct address to the biblical character. E.g.:

*O Lamech miserrime, audi quod fecisti
Bigamia veneris primus induxisti
Et in vulnus proprium duos occidisti
pro quo profundissime ad penas ruisti.*

Oh, you most miserable Lamech, hear what you have done,
you were the first to engage in sexual bigamy
and you killed two to your own misfortune
for which you fell very deep to be punished.³³⁰

³²⁹ This seems to be a much more plausible context than that of a play to be performed by a guild founding the Corpus Christi College in Cambridge. All the known provenances of the manuscripts, including the earliest exemplars, point to monastic environments. Killings compares the poem to plays like *Ordo prophetarum*, which also features a great number of characters and does not include much interaction. Yet, the *Ordo* is united by the subject: all the prophets speak of the coming of Christ, who is indeed born in the end. It is true that in *Vos qui concupiscitis*, Christ is not represented, while a number of other characters are explicitly linked to him. But being a precursor of Christ is an inherent part of medieval Christian characterization of, e.g., Iob, Gideon, or Daniel, and thus occurred as natural associations to the author's mind. In addition, the *Vos qui concupiscitis* does not have any kind of plot or conclusion, it simply lists the biblical characters and stops with one of them.

³³⁰ Other examples include:

*Tu es Agar filius Ysmael vocatus
Sagax sagitarius et ad bellum natus
Cunctis aduersarius nullus tibi gratus
tu es pacis nescius semper pugne datus. //*
*Tu Loth plagam Sodome iustus euasisti
Angelos hospicio dum tu recepisti
Montis supercilio tamen delinquisti
Dum per vini poculo incestu ruisti. //*
*Tu Loth uxor uteris vacillantibus alis
Dum post tergum respicis in figuram salis
Versa es ut poteris detur forma talis
Ne fiunt proni vetitis et ruant in malis* (all cited here according to C; for mss. variants, cf. Killings's edition).

There is no dialogue between the characters, but one by one they are directly called up in this way. In several cases there is a reference to their presence, e.g., *adest hic* ("is present here").³³¹ The poem is very unified in this respect, keeping this form throughout.

Crucial to the poem's interpretation is in my opinion its very first strophe:

*Vos qui concupiscitis statum vestrum scire
Hec signa tractabitis que dant inuenire
Omnia que poscitis de vobis audire
Quid estis vel eritis hic est reperire.*

Killings, sure of the performative character of the poem translates it:

You who desire to know your habit
will perform these signs which permit (you) to discover
everything that you desire to hear about yourselves.
Here it is (possible) to find out what you are or will be.³³²

Yet, another possible translation is:

You who wish to know your state
will pull these tokens which allow (you) to find
all that you desire to hear about yourselves
what you are or will be is to be found here.

This very clearly states that what follows will help one become familiar with one's "state," that is, all that one desires to know about oneself, and what one is and will be. The Central European manuscripts include a second strophe which basically transmits the same message:

*Hic potes eligere de gestis scripture
Que dant intelligere opere figure
Virtutis aut uicii quid sit tibi cure
Mortis et supplicii, aut uite future.*³³³

Here you can choose from the events of the Scripture
by which act the figures allow [you] to understand
whether you are concerned with virtue, or vice,
with death and punishment, or future life.

Taken literally, the stanza suggests that the person addressed should somehow select (perhaps pull out from among more objects on which they were written) one of the quatrains and associate oneself with it. This supposition is confirmed by C which has the rubric: *Incipit ludus fortuitorum et debet*

³³¹ For Killings, these clauses support the idea of performance.

³³² Killings, "Vos qui," 90.

³³³ Here as in Erlangen, UB, 423, f. 131r.

scribi in rotulo (f. 119r), and an explicit: *Explicit ludus fortuitorum siue fatorum* (f. 120v).³³⁴

Killings interprets the explicit as scribe's hesitation about how to read his (hypothetical) model, where he presumably saw *ludus f'orum*—which would have been there for *Ludus filiorum [Israel]*. This is a witty suggestion but also a very unlikely possibility: if the scribe was hesitating, he would be hesitating at the beginning of the text (where in this case, he wrote simply *Ludus fortuitorum*) rather than at its end. It is also not probable that there would be *f'orum* in the model copied (it is common that the ending *-orum* that is abbreviated, rather than the middle *-ili-*). Finally, this means that the model would either not include *Israel* (so it would have only *Ludus filiorum*), or that the scribe would decide to drop it (but why? it is not impossible to combine it with *fortuitorum* or *fatorum*). Again, when, rather than theorizing, we take this manuscript title seriously, we should conclude that this is indeed not simply a poem but a *ludus fortuitorum*—a fortune game.

In addition, the rubric says that it should be written it on something round (*debet scribi in rotulo*). Killings suggests that a parchment roll is meant on which the names of the biblical characters should be written and attached to the performers so that they are identified more easily.³³⁵ However, the rubric does not speak of the names, it clearly refers to the whole *ludus*; there is no doubt the *ludus* is what is to be written *in rotulo*. Whatever the *rotulus* was (there are many possibilities beside the parchment roll), in my opinion it must have allowed some kind of turning and a random selection (pulling? handling?) of a particular quatrain. The person turning the *rotulus* would then take the biblical character described in the selected stanza as referring to himself or herself.

To my knowledge, no similar fortune-telling game has been previously noted. The Bible was commonly used as a method of prophesying starting from the Late Antiquity, but for this a random biblical line was chosen that was then interpreted as pertaining to one's own life. The same is documented specifically for the Psalms. But associating oneself with a character from the Bible does not seem to have been a common practice.

In addition, although it is true that virtuous characters seem to alternate with the vile ones in the *Vos qui concupiscitis* poem, none of the biblical personages' fates is in fact very attractive: the good often die a premature violent death (Abel), or suffer very much in this life (Virgin Mary), while the

³³⁴ The same rubric appears in R (f. 2r), which is surely dependent on (and perhaps directly copied from) the Cambridge manuscript. The rubric of the London manuscript was, however, copied incorrectly in the catalogue where it appears as *Ludus fortuitorum et dicitur scribim (?) in rotulo*. The explicit was also misread as: *Explicit ludus for. tuitorum siue ratorum*.

³³⁵ Killings, "Vos qui," 21-22.

bad shall suffer longer afterwards (Cain). The fact that this particular fortune telling would make hardly anyone happy is perhaps reflected in the epilogue to the poem, which survives only in H. Its last strophe reads:

*Signa postquam traxeris huius exemplaris
peto, dum tractaveris nunquam irascaris.
Modo tu laudaberis forte post culparis;
Hinc laudem mereberis si tu patiaris.*

My suggestion for translating the passage is:³³⁶

After you have handled the signs of this exemplar
I ask you, while you are handling this, do never get angry.
Now you will be praised, afterwards you might be damned
Thence you will deserve praise if you are patient.

In the context of the game, the address is made here—as well as throughout the poem—to the player, who is asked not to get angry about the lot assigned to him or her. The idea that the text could make someone angry indeed suggests that there is some personal interest in the contents of the poem, and it recalls the popular board game “Mensch ärgere dich nicht.”³³⁷

Looking at the surviving manuscripts of the *Vos qui concupiscitis*, however, the question arises whether, no matter how it was originally meant, the poem indeed operated as a game, or whether it was rather understood only as a biblical poem. With the exception of the rubric in C, the text gives no indication as to whether it was used for fortune telling or merely read. In fact, both ways of its transmission, the literary-satirical and the biblical-moral, make a strong impression that it was understood simply as a literary text or a biblical aid. At the same time, however, if the text were indeed written on a *rotulus* and the game actively played, it is unlikely that the poem would be preserved until today. Only when written down into a codex—that is, only if taken from its original environment and re-claimed by the context of literature—could the text survive as a text.

³³⁶ Again, in Killings’ translation:

After you have performed the signs of this exemplar,
please, while you perform, be not upset.
Now you will be praised, perhaps later you are blamed.
Henceforth, you will merit praise if you are patient (Killings, “*Vos qui*,” 103).

In his explanation, this is “an admonition toward those who are reading, performing or listening to the poem.” As for the upsetting, he suggests that the descriptions “aren’t to be taken as seriously as they may seem,” and the patience is explained through a quotation from an Italian Renaissance play where the audience is asked to be patient with the performers (Killings, “*Vos qui*,” 187-88). In this way, Killings seems to hesitate whether the actors or the audience are addressed here—while the first line definitely refers to the actors, the last concerns rather the audience in his interpretation.

³³⁷ In Czech “Člověče, nezlob se” with the same meaning of “Do not get angry, man.”

This argument can, of course, be also used in favor of the theory that the poem was originally a performance. In fact, the two suggestions are not so different; they both argue for a possibility of the poem working beyond the obvious textual level. They also both imply a kind of impersonation, either by an actor or by an individual playing the game.³³⁸ The degree of personal involvement may seem different in each case but that depends on how seriously the game would be taken. I suggest that it would be more of a simple pass-time, since the players can hardly be expected to fully identify themselves with Virgin Mary, David, or Abraham. In any case, using the poem for playing a fortune-telling game makes the exemplified virtues to be followed and vices to be avoided much more vividly present, just like in a performance. What also links the two ideas is that neither of them can be proven at the moment and thus they serve primarily to point out that texts often are more than a mere sequence of letters to be read.

ε) The *Cena Cypriani*

Five *Summarium* manuscripts³³⁹ contain a recension of the *Cena Cypriani*, in itself a very curious text. “A certain king, Joel by name, organized a wedding feast in the Eastern region, in Cana, Galilee. To this feast, many were invited”—thus begins the *Cena* narrative of a strange dinner party where characters from various parts of the Bible gather, sit down, must cook for themselves, eat and drink (some get drunk and fall asleep), and go home in a festive procession. But since something was stolen at the feast, they are investigated and tortured until the King decides that only one of them, Achan, should be punished on behalf of all. The guests all participate in killing him, they bury him and finally return to their homes.³⁴⁰ The form of the text is just as striking as the story itself: it is a series of brief listings of the characters and their activities at the feast. E.g., the narrating of the final killing begins:

Sed posteaquam probatum est regi, quod Achar filius Carmi solus esset reus furti. Iussit eum commori donavitque eum omnibus. Tunc occasione accepta primus omnium calce eum percussit Moyses, abiit in complexum Iacob, vestem detraxit Thecla, ad terram elisit Danihel, lapide percussit David, virga Aaron, flagello Iesus, medium aperuit Iudas, lancea transfixit Eliezer.

³³⁸ In this way, they recall a similar debate over the *Cena Cypriani*, discussed in the following chapter, an enigmatic biblical opuscle, which might have also been performed, and, in my opinion, it might also originally have been a kind of a “party game.” See my “The *Cena Cypriani*, or A Game of Endless Possibilities,” in *Der Kommentar in Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. Wilhelm Geerlings and Christian Schulze (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 119-30.

³³⁹ St. Gallen, SB, 972b, Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 93e, Munich, BSB, clm. 23799, Sankt Florian, SB, XI.32, and Vatican City, BAV, lat. 1027.

³⁴⁰ The text was edited by Christine Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption*, Classica Monacensia 3 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992), 14-35.

But afterwards it occurred to the king, that Achan, son of Charmi, was the only one to blame for the theft. He ordered his death and gave him to all. Then they seized the opportunity, Moses, the first of all, kicked him, Jacob came to close quarters with him, Thecla tore off his clothes, Daniel knocked him down, David beat him with a stone, Aaron with a rod, Jesus with flagellations, Judas cut his stomach, Eliezer stabbed him with a lance.³⁴¹

Here, unlike in the *Summarium*, it is immediately quite clear *what* is happening but it is not always clear *why* it is happening—each attribution creates a tiny biblical riddle. The actions of each character at the feast is associated to his or her actions in the Bible, and thus one needs to know the Bible very well in order to enjoy the text. The level of understanding of the text itself is further complicated by its dependence on the *Vetus Latina* rather than the Vulgate Bible version. Because of this, several allusions must have been incomprehensible to medieval readers and many remain so even today.³⁴² The medieval recipients of the text obviously struggled while searching for the meaning of these riddles, which is illustrated by the fact that they often changed them, omitted them, added new riddles, etc.³⁴³ Four distinct medieval rewritings of the text survive, and, in addition several

³⁴¹ Modesto, *Studien*, 34.

³⁴² See Doležalová, *Reception*, passim. Here I will give only one example: a character called Molessadon is repeatedly associated with salt. This name, however, appears neither in the Bible nor in the surviving *Vetus Latina* fragments. A 12th c. commentator of the *Cena Cypriani*, Herveus Burgidolensis, explains the link thus: [*Molessadon salem.*] *Molessadon quoque est Adonisedech rex Hierusalem, qui convocavit alios quatuor reges ut quinque pugnarent contra Gabaonitas. Et cum viderent se nil posse contra filios Israel qui Gabaonitas tetuebantur, intraverunt speluncam et inde educti suspensi sunt in patibulis. Molessadon ergo misit salem, id est condimentum sapientie cordibus multorum, ne quis ad pugnam venire presumeret contra filios Israel. Significat autem cum aliis quatuor regibus quinque sensus corporis, qui nuper conversos debellare non valentes demergunt se in profundum terreni apperitus, sed inde turpiter educti suspenduntur ut cunctis cernentibus cruciati pereant.* Scholars have not been able to come up with better suggestions either—usually, Molessadon is identified with Melchisedech. Strecker bases the connection on the fact that the king is associated with the Dead Sea area which is rich in salt. Modesto suggests that as a priest, Melchisedech had to salt the meat of sacrificial animals. I previously suggested that this is a close textual allusion linked to Genesis 14,18: *Melchisedech rex salem proferens panem et vinum...*, created by playfully disregarding the *panem et vinum* and interpreting *salem* not as the name of the city but as salt. And yet, there is a very simple solution: Molessadon was one of the names of Lot's wife (see Francis Lee Utley, "The One Hundred and Three Names of Noah's Wife," *Speculum* 16:4 (October 1941): 438; see also: M. R. James, "Inventiones Nominum," *Journal of Theological Studies* 4 (1902-3): 243. The source of this information is Albi, cod. 29 from the 8th c.

³⁴³ E.g., Hrabanus Maurus changed the above discussed allusion from *salem* (salt) to *panem et vinum* (bread and vine) in his version, attesting to the fact that he had the same biblical verse in mind but obviously did not understand the original link either.

curious individual manuscript versions that could perhaps also be called separate rewritings. Not all changes, however, reflect an attempt at a new interpretation of an allusion. There are numerous corruptions and mistakes that are difficult to approach, especially because we lack information about the 'original' version.

The incomprehensibility is even more striking, however, as far as the overall meaning and use of the text are concerned. Its origin remains a mystery: due to its relation to *Vetus Latina* and its other stylistic features, scholars assume it was written in Late Antiquity, probably in the second half of the fourth century. There is, however, no proof of this and the earliest manuscript comes only from the ninth century. The *Cena Cypriani* was ascribed to St. Cyprian, one of the early Church Fathers, bishop and martyr of Carthage, without being linked to his works as far as its form or content are concerned.

While earlier scholarship neglected or dismissed the *Cena Cypriani*, in the second half of the twentieth century it received attention from a number of scholars charmed by its intertextuality, wit, and parodic character. They expounded complicated theories about the "subversive" nature of the text and disputed its original meaning, most frequently setting the text into the context of *risus paschalis* and medieval popular culture.³⁴⁴ In his famous novel, *The Name of the Rose*, Umberto Eco describes young medieval monks secretly copying the *Cena Cypriani*, hiding it under their pillows and laughing at it in private.³⁴⁵

The medieval reception of the text, however, turns out to have been surprisingly straightforward: the *Cena* was frequently copied throughout Europe within the "official" culture. About half of the copies are found in codices with St. Cyprian's writings, the other half in (very miscellaneous) miscellanies, frequently in the vicinity of mnemonic aids. Two of its medieval re-writers, Raban Maur (ca. 776-855 or 856) and John the Deacon of Rome (ca. 825-880), attach prologues to their versions in which they explain that the text should both please the audience and teach them the Bible. Another re-writer, the mysterious Azelinus of Reims, provides a detailed and learned exposé, in which he also stresses the usefulness of the *opusculum*. Peter Abelard (1079-1140) refers to the *Cena* with such casual-

³⁴⁴ See the studies by Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*; and *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982); Martha Bayless, *Parody in the Middle Ages*; and, most recently, the numerous articles by Francesco Mosetti Casaretto (e.g., "Cipriano e il suo doppio: Giovanni Immonide di fronte al problema attributivo della 'Cena'," *Wiener Studien* 115 (2002): 225-59), or "Il riso inatteso di Rabano: la 'Cena Cypriani'," in *Atti del Congresso internazionale 'Homo risibilis'. Capacità di ridere e pratica del riso nelle civiltà medievali (Siena, 2-4 Ottobre, 2002)*, *Ricerche Intermedievali* 1, ed. Francesco Mosetti Casaretto (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2005), 99-119.

³⁴⁵ Umberto Eco, *Il nome della rosa* (Milano: Bompiani, 1980).

ness (he says *legimus et Cenam Cypriani*, i.e., “we read also the *Cena Cypriani*”) that his listeners must have been familiar with it. Hugh of Saint Victor (1096-1141) was asked to explain the text but happily uses the excuse that he does not have the text at hand to escape the task. We have only the commentary by Hervé of Bourgdieu (ca. 1075-1149 or 1150), which is concerned solely with the meaning of the individual allusions and does not say anything on the overall meaning of the text.³⁴⁶ Only rarely does one find glosses or marginal notes in the manuscript copies, and these are again dealing with the explanation of the individual allusions.

There is a detectable tendency in the way the *Cena Cypriani* was gradually appropriated during the Middle Ages: while not much can be stated regarding its original purpose or meaning, in the ninth century it was rewritten twice, once by John Deacon of Rome, when it was put into playful verse, and once by Hrabanus Maurus, who systematized the allusions, put them into order according to the biblical chronology and allegorized the whole story. From the twelfth century two fragmentary versions survive, both are allegorical poems: a very sophisticated *Cena of Arras* and the *Cena Azelini* which destroys the riddle-like character of the original by explaining the actions of the characters at the feast.

During the Late Middle Ages it was Hrabanus’ didactic version that became the most widespread and was further appropriated: titles were provided to the individual catalogues, characters bearing the same name were distinguished from each other (*Maria Magdalena* vs. *Maria Moysi*, etc.), and the objects and activities were specified in more detail. While this tendency made the links to the biblical passages clearer, it sometimes resulted in damaging the plot.³⁴⁷ The story was becoming less of a feast and more a set of biblical allusions or riddles.³⁴⁸ This process culminates in a recently discovered version of the text: *Cena maletractati* (“The feast of the one who was poorly treated,” that is, Christ), probably not written until the fifteenth century.³⁴⁹ In this version, the Bible is represented much more fully: the author introduced more characters from all the biblical books (thus, e.g., we find *dilectus* and *dilecta* from the Song of Songs) and their

³⁴⁶ For a detailed analysis of the medieval context of *Cena Cypriani* and an edition of the commentary by Herveus of Bourgdieu, see Doležalová, *Reception*, 42-54 and 297-349.

³⁴⁷ For a further discussion see Doležalová, *Reception*, 187-229.

³⁴⁸ See my “*Quoddam notabile vel ridiculum*: an unnoticed version of *Cena Cypriani* (Ms. Uppsala, UL C 178),” *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi (Bulletin Du Cange)* 62 (2004): 137-60.

³⁴⁹ For a detailed discussion of the text and its edition, see Lucie Doležalová, “*Cena maletractati*: An Unnoticed Version of *Cena Cypriani*,” in *Parva pro magnis munera. Études de littérature tardo-antique et médiévale offertes à François Dolbeau par ses élèves*, ed. Monique Goullet, *Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia* 51 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 195-244.

order of appearance follows the biblical order. The author employs methods reminiscent of biblical concordances, listing in a sequence all those who played a musical instrument, all who rode an ass, all who kissed, etc. Most strikingly, the author explicitly links the *Cena maletractati* to the art of memory in his prologue: for him the *Cena* explicitly functions as a tool for memorizing the Bible and was composed according to the precepts of the art.

Thus, while the “story” remains more or less the same, and while the Bible stays in the background, the organization and presentation change significantly, and consequently the reader’s experience changes as well. The original *Cena Cypriani* is a kind of a curious and obscure game or test, jumping from place to place and challenging the reader. It gradually transforms towards clarity in structure (e.g., by observing the biblical order of appearance of the characters, or by carefully distinguishing them from each other). The original playful, experimental and obscure text becomes a clearer and more graspable mnemonic tool. And it is as a mnemonic tool that the *Cena* is associated with the *Summarium*: four of the *Summarium* manuscripts have the Hrabanus Maurus recension, and one (Vatican City, BAV, lat. 1027) features the “most mnemonic” *Cena maletractati*. At the same time, however, even with the later “mnemonic” *Cena* versions, it is impossible to speak of complete clarity and comprehension: many of the allusions remain obscure but are now placed within a well-defined framework, and thus they operate in the very same way as the keywords of the *Summarium*.

* * *

The texts and groups of texts discussed here do not describe the physical context of the *Summarium* exhaustively but they do give a kind of indication of the patterns of its transmission. Among other possible case studies of texts repeatedly accompanying the *Summarium* are the *artes memoriae*: three *Summarium* manuscripts³⁵⁰ include treatises on the art of memory (each of them different), thus linking the practical mnemonic aid of the *Summarium* to the theory of memorization.

c) *The context of copying and use*

Obviously, the manuscripts with the *Summarium* include a variety of other texts as well. Among them we repeatedly encounter sermons and various tools for preachers, as well as a variety of texts useful for students, in general texts that were widespread and popular. As far as the age of the texts is concerned, we find both older “bestsellers,” such as Innocentius III’s

³⁵⁰ Prague, NL, I G 11a, Wrocław, BU, I Q 27, and New Haven, Yale Uni., Beinecke Library, Marston 255.

De miseria humanae conditionis,³⁵¹ and very new texts addressing contemporary issues. An example is the Hussite polemics (e.g., manuscripts Brno, MZK, 108, or Budapest, UL, 50), or a number of shorter treatises by Jean Gerson, perhaps the most prominent intellectual figure of the early fifteenth century.³⁵² The list of subjects treated in late medieval tracts at Jean Gerson's time provided by Daniel Hobbins is also very relevant for the context in which the *Summarium* is transmitted. It includes: rents / usury, superstition / magic, the Hussites, simony, the Immaculate Conception, indulgences, propertied monks, the Eucharist, clerical celibacy, excommunication, abstention from meat, moral and venial sins, cult of saints / relics, tithes, astrology, discretion of spirits, Wycliffe (pro / contra), nobility, war / just war, Joan of Arc, ecclesiastical dominion, women's clothing, and marriage.³⁵³

When trying to more precisely specify the types of texts that appear in this context, the most relevant concept seems to be the notion of *libri pauperum* ("books of the poor"), conceived of almost as a genre by Josef Worstbrock with reference to the *Summarium* itself.³⁵⁴ Worstbrock presents *libri pauperum* as summaries of a variety of longer texts, mostly parts of university curricula, created to help the students and preachers remember them. In addition to highlighting this prevailing and clearly visible concern of the *Summarium* miscellanies, and their manifest preoccupation with biblical material, it is also possible to trace their link to Christian morals—there are many texts that are not purely biblical but rather catechetical, or practically theological.

In the Late Middle Ages, written culture was changing in character and in methods of dissemination. The number of people who could read and write grew substantially, especially in connection with the growth of the

³⁵¹ He was still writing as Lothar de Segni around 1196. The work is also called *De contemptu mundi*. With the *Summarium* it is found in: Eichstätt, UB, 199, f. 290r-307r, Klosterneuburg, SB, 428 (as *Liber de contemptu mundi*), Lilienfeld, SB, 145, f. 87r-97v, Leipzig, UB, 534, from f. 121r, and Merseburg, Bibliothek des Domkapitels, 31, f. 72r.

³⁵² See Daniel Hobbins, "The Schoolman as Public Intellectual and *Authorship and Publicity before Print*. We find them in Admont, SB, 203 (*De tepiditatibus et pollutionibus celebrantium*—a text surviving in some 160 mss.), Augsburg, SSB, 193 (*De modo orandi, De valore orationis, De sollicitudine ecclesiasticorum* and *Decem considerationes in orando deum*), Augsburg, SSB, fol. 86 (*De mystica theologia practica*—a text surviving in almost 100 mss.), Eichstätt, UB, 266 (*Ars moriendi*), Cologne, HA, GB f^o 188 (*De consolatione theologiae, De sollicitudine ecclesiasticorum, Regulae morales, Opus tripartitum de praeceptis, de confessione, de scientia mortis*—a text surviving in over 200 mss. and printed 23 times before 1500), Olomouc, VK, M I 161 (*Tractatus de modo vivendi omnium fidelium*, ed. Ellied Du Pin Gerson, *Opera Omnia* (Antwerp, 1706), vol. 2, 538-41). There are many others.

³⁵³ Hobbins, "The Schoolman as Public Intellectual," Appendix.

³⁵⁴ Cf. Worstbrock, "Libri pauperum," esp. p. 49.

universities and the popularity of mendicant orders. Primarily due to the use of paper rather than parchment, books became more easily affordable and thus entered private possessions much more frequently and in larger numbers than before. Since many of the owners were also copyists for their own personal use, we have many autograph manuscripts that display a personal selection of texts. The “copyists” frequently also appropriate, change, or gloss the texts to a degree which sometimes opens up the question of their authorship. Some of them are well-known figures (from among those who copied the *Summarium*, Crux de Telcz or Gallus Kemli), others remain anonymous. It is clear, that the most frequent copyists and readers of the *Summarium* were preachers and students.

The *Summarium* miscellanies are usually difficult to characterize by their contents. The texts included are both old and new, both poetry and prose, both brief and long, both Latin and vernacular. What ties their contents together could perhaps be a link to morals, the Bible, and education. The form of a list, as well as the general character of an opuscle are also encountered most frequently. Yet, what connects them most closely is their use for memorizing. Browsing through the late medieval miscellanies with the *Summarium*, one can easily imagine a student or a preacher writing down and copying the texts that he would have found useful in practice.

All this is not to say that the *Summarium* appeared only within the mainstream—in the *Summarium* manuscripts we obviously find a great number of rare or even unique texts as well—but to stress that as far as its late medieval transmission is concerned it is by no means a text in the margins, an intellectual obscurity, or a singular appearance; rather, it is a text widely disseminated in a variety of contexts, especially among students and preachers. It is a text that was well known and actively used.

4. The *Summarium Biblie* in competition?

Improved, replaced, refused

The *Summarium* was, as the extant manuscripts clearly show, an extremely popular text. However, evidence of attempts at its improvement and failures in its transmission also exist. Although these are presented here as mere case studies of particular manuscripts, together they show that the *Summarium* was clearly not *the* biblical mnemonic aid but simply one amongst many, sometimes favored and other times replaced.

Some alternatives to the *Summarium* were written in the same style. In addition to the many manuscripts noted above that offer new versions for particular books of the Bible, completely new texts were also written. There was a substantial vernacular tradition, too (e.g., a German translation of the

Summarium seems to have been quite widespread³⁵⁵). This analysis shall, however, concentrate only on the Latin alternatives.

Curious in this context is manuscript London, BL, Add. 20009 (a miscellany with texts from the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century, formerly owned by the monastery of St. James of Liège), which includes the *Summarium* three times. According to the table of contents of the manuscript, the first and the third are the same version, while the second one is different.³⁵⁶ While the second version indeed offers a completely new reading for most of the biblical books,³⁵⁷ even the first and the third texts differ from each other.

Again, it is not easy to draw a dividing line between a variant and a new text. E.g., London, BL, Add. 24361 (s. XV, York), includes the *Summarium* (f. 63v-70r), immediately followed (on f. 70v-89v) by another copy of the *Summarium*, in which, however, every *Summarium* keyword is followed by an explanation, and thus a whole verse is devoted to each biblical chapter. The explicit states clearly that its author, Walter Hothom,³⁵⁸ considered his reworking of the *Summarium* a new creation: *Explicit biblia versificata per libros et capitula quod Ewalterus Hothom monachus sensum non metrum sibi benedicat hoc documentum* (f. 89v).

Otto of Riga (a Dominican about whom virtually nothing is known), used the *Summarium* in order to compose his own biblical summary, the *Biblia metrata*.³⁵⁹ This text seems to survive only in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Magdeb. 238.³⁶⁰ At its incipit, it repeats that the purpose of the summary is

³⁵⁵ See, e.g., Nikolaus Henkel, *Deutsche Übersetzungen lateinischer Schultexte*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 90 (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1988), 49-51 and 222-23; and especially Christine Wulf, *Eine volkssprachige Laienbibel des 15. Jahrhunderts: Untersuchung und Teiledition der Handschrift Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Solg. 16.2°*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 98 (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1991), 10, 22-23, 30-33, 111.

³⁵⁶ In the table of contents on f. 2v, the first *Summarium* (on f. 3r-24r) is referred to as *Biblia pauperum*, the second (on f. 255r-60r) as *Item biblia pauperum sed differunt isti versus ab hiis qui sequuntur et ab hiis qui in principio libri ponuntur*, and the third (on f. 260r-63v) *Item biblia pauperum et concordat cum illa que in principio libri ponitur*.

³⁵⁷ I am working on an edition of the text.

³⁵⁸ He was a monk at St. Mary's Abbey in York, I could not find any other references to him.

³⁵⁹ Kühne, "Zur literarischen Tradition," 98-108; Leonid Arbusow, "Das metrische Bibelsummarium des Dominikaners Otto de Riga vom Jahre 1316," in *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands* 1911 (Riga, 1913): 403-09.

³⁶⁰ It is copied in the codex and also appears together with the only exemplar of *Rivulus historiarum Biblie*, another biblical summary, written by Konrad of Halberstadt the

for use by the “poor”: *Incipit biblia metrata pro usu pauperum compilata*.³⁶¹ Udo Kühne argues that it was this text that served as a direct model for another alternative: the *Biblia metrica* composed by Dietrich Engelhus (1362-1434; known primarily as a chronicler³⁶²), in Göttingen in 1407.³⁶³ His *Biblia metrica* (again a possible title for the *Summarium*³⁶⁴) survives partly in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. oct. 212 where it is copied side by side with the *Summarium*, using from it only the verses from Genesis to Job, and then from Proverbs through Micheas.³⁶⁵ Both Otto of Riga’s *Biblia metrata* and Dietrich Engelhus’ *Biblia metrica* are longer than the *Summarium*, often dedicating a whole verse to each chapter. The system of unrelated keywords is kept, only each chapter is represented not by one but by five or six of them. The verses for Genesis in Engelhus’ version begin:

*In prin. sex opera. legimus. perfecta. creata.
Complet. fons. prohibet. adduxit. quid vocet. uxor.
serpens. abscondunt. mulier. maledixit. eiecit.
respicit. occidit. Cayn. edificat. Lamech. et Seth.*

Thus, the poem remains nonsensical; as with the *Summarium*, only when read with the superscript gloss do the texts become meaningful.

Engelhus, unlike Otto of Riga, often includes the true biblical chapters’ incipits, and he repeatedly replaces one of Otto’s keywords for a chapter with a keyword from the *Summarium*. Although none of these strategies is applied consistently, his text thus bears closer resemblance to the *Summarium* than Otto’s does. The introductory verses added to both the *Biblia metrata* and *Biblia metrica* are also fully in line with the *Summarium* tradition, emphasizing that the Bible was abbreviated here for those who were unable to know all of it.³⁶⁶

younger for Archbishop Earnest of Prague after 1354; cf. Kühne, “Zur literarischen Tradition,” 104-05.

³⁶¹ Kühne, “Zur literarischen Tradition,” 99.

³⁶² Hiram Kümper, “Dietrich Engelhus,” in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 25 (2005), col. 373-75; or “Engelhus, Dietrich,” in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, ed. K. Ruh, vol. 2 (1978), col. 556-61.

³⁶³ For a detailed study of the text and its context, see Franz Josef Worstbrock, “Die *Biblia metrica* des Dietrich Engelhus”; and Kühne, “Zur literarischen Tradition.”

³⁶⁴ Kühne argues that the correct title should be *Biblia metrata*, since *Biblia metrica* is too generic (Kühne, “Die *Biblia metrica*,” 97) but, as was shown above, generic titles are the norm for these texts.

³⁶⁵ At the end of the 15th c., the codex was kept at the Carthusian monastery in Salvatorberg near Erfurt under shelfmark B 29. As becomes evident from the library catalogue, a second volume with the remaining part of *Biblia metrica* was also in existence. The denotation of the time and place of the text’s composition appears on f. 4v: *Venerabilis magister Theodoricus Engelhus Bacchalaris theologie oriundus de Einbecke composuit ista metra in Gottingen 1407.*

³⁶⁶ They read:

In 1508, Jacobus Magdalius (Dominican; d. ca. 1520) published a text called the *Compendium Biblie* (again, a title that was also used for the *Summarium*).³⁶⁷ The poem begins after a brief preface and consists of 257 abecedarian hexameters, each covering five chapters and providing a single keyword for each. It also contains glosses.³⁶⁸ The changes to the *Summarium* are undoubtedly attempts at improvement: abecedarian order further aids the memory, and strictly observing the framework of one biblical chapter for one keyword eliminates a number of confusions. At the same time, the glosses form an important part of the text but together with them the whole is substantially longer.³⁶⁹

In addition, we find the *Capitula evangeliorum versifice scripta*, composed of mnemonic verses using the same form as the *Summarium* but only covering the Gospels (except for the final chapters on Christ's crucifixion and the following events, which are omitted from each). They were studied and carefully edited by Greti Dinkova-Bruun,³⁷⁰ who suggests they come from late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century Central Europe.³⁷¹ The text begins:

Abraham. sponsata. nollet traducere. donec.
Bethleem. Egiptum. Rachel. Archelaus. Nazareus.
*Camelorum. uipera. securis. sine. columbam.*³⁷²

*Biblia metrica Christo placeat, maranata
sit cunctis grata. pro talibus est breviata,
qui nequeunt latam scripturam noscere totam,
saltem curtatam partim faciant sibi notam.*
*Nunc ubi texuntur hystoria gestaue bella,
Illic clauduntur solo versu capitella,
ut sunt Pen. Io. Iud. Ruth. Reg. Paral. Es. Nee. Tho. Iud.*
Hester. Iob. Ezechi. Daniel. Ionas. Machabei.
Actus et addantur, sed Euangelia variantur
Sed semper reliquis clauduntur singula binis (f. 4v-5r; Worstbrock, "Die Biblia metrica," 188).

³⁶⁷ It was printed by Quentell in Cologne in 1300 exemplars. Cf. Kühne, "Zur literarischen Tradition," 107.

³⁶⁸ The author says: *Et quia per unam dictionem tenor totius capituli exprimi non potest, glossam interliniarem capitulum fere quodlibet quadriphariam dividendum cuilibet versu supraponere dignum duxi* ("And since it is impossible to express the contents of the whole chapter, I considered it worthy to superpose interlinear gloss to every chapter, dividing almost every verse into four parts").

³⁶⁹ Also, e.g., RB, no. 3973, includes the glosses when he cites the incipit of the Genesis: *Lucis creatio, aquarum divisio, astrorum formatio, animatorum productio...*

³⁷⁰ Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Remembering the Gospels in the Later Middle Ages: The Anonymous *Capitula Euangeliorum Versifice Scripta*," *Sacris erudiri* 48 (2009): 235-73.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 235.

³⁷² Ibid., 262.

Both of the surviving manuscripts include the *Summarium* before this text: Copenhagen, KB, Thott 3 8^{vo} (s. XIV, Bohemia, with interlinear glosses) contains the full *Summarium*, while Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 4543 only the part concerning the Gospels. Thus, *Capitula evangeliorum* clearly supplies a kind of alternative for the *Summarium*. Greti Dinkova-Bruun observes that the anonymous author of the *Capitula evangeliorum* applies the very same strategies as the author of the *Summarium*: *et* and *-que* are added for the keywords to fit the meter, some keywords are not included in full but only their first syllable(s) appear (here, too, abbreviation enables the author to fit the words into the hexameter), sometimes a synonym rather than the exact word from the Vulgate is used, shifts occur between the nominative and accusative case and between the active and passive voice, and summarizing keywords are occasionally used in an attempt to encompass the chapter events.³⁷³ Thus the *Capitula evangeliorum* are not new in method but offer a new version within the same framework, a version about which Dinkova-Bruun writes:

[...] being orderly, complete, and meticulous does not prevent the poem from presenting to its audience a perceptive and nuanced summary of the most salient events in the gospel narrative. [...] The text is deceptively simple and unassuming but when read carefully it reveals itself as a skillful tapestry of masterfully interwoven threads which all lead to a better understanding of the biblical text and, as a result, to an easier recollection of it.³⁷⁴

More versions are doubtlessly still waiting to be discovered.³⁷⁵

The second type of “improvement” made to the *Summarium* is combining it with other biblical mnemonic tools. E.g., biblical manuscript Paris, BnF, lat. 171 (s. XIII) on f. 433v contains a fragment of the *Summarium* (Ge-Le 11), into which the poem on the ten plagues of Egypt (ascribed to Hilbertus Cenomanensis³⁷⁶) is inserted after Exodus without any break.

³⁷³ She also suggests that sometimes when the same story is narrated in more than one Gospel it is referred to by a different keyword, allowing the author to supply (in several steps) fuller information on the event. Other times, when the story narrated was familiar, he uses the same single keyword in each case. Her study also analyzes the composition of the glosses. Ibid., 240-56.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 252.

³⁷⁵ Another, perhaps independent version was the version of the Gospels in the lost manuscript Innichen, SB, III C 10, f. 14r-18r (just preceding *Vos qui concupiscitis*, which was unfortunately lost after the Second World War). It began: *Ecce liber [generationis]. sponsata [cum esset Maria, mater Iesu, Joseph]. magi. fuga. surge. revertens.... expl.: si diligis. hunc volo [scilicet merere donec veniam] tu me [sequere]*. Greti Dinkova-Bruun (in “Remembering,” 251, n. 30) also notes 7 lines entitled *Tituli evangeliorum* included in Peter Riga’s *Aurora* (in the middle of the Gospels versification, Beichner, *Aurora*, vol. 2, p. 481-482, v. 1430-1437), which she promises to study in detail elsewhere.

³⁷⁶ See above, note 34.

Furthermore, the *Summarium* is also found combined with another biblical mnemonic verse (inc.: *Ante fir lux producitur, dividens undas et gregat*³⁷⁷) in manuscript Oxford, BoL, Bodley 801 and Vienna, ÖNB, Pal. lat. 14426 (Fig. 10). In this summary, each biblical chapter is represented by two lines and the corresponding catchword for the *Summarium* is added, together with a short gloss in the margin.

These two manuscripts contain also a prologue with a beginning that, again, is much reminiscent of the prologue sometimes attached to the *Summarium* (see Fig. 2 f) and other biblical mnemonic aids but differing from them in one important aspect:

*Quoniam modernis temporibus nonnulli non solum ex simplicibus, verum etiam, quod deterius est, expertis et sufficientibus promptiores inveniuntur ad disputandum de uno sophismate, quam ad referendum seu quotandum unam historiam biblie. Hoc ut presumo magis proveniat ex memorie labilitate quam ex studii ignorancia seu tepiditate, vere ego qui Iohannes vocor [...] isti defectui qui tamen bonum impedit cupiens obsistere omnisque de cetero volens reddere non solum benivolos seu promptos ad studendum imo eciam facillimos ad retinendum omnium biblie librorum hystorias sub brevissimo compendio statui comprehendere ut confusione seu prolixitate earum vitata et ad brevitatem reducta facilius omni excluso labore imprimi memorie valeant et semel impressae removeri ab eadem fere oblivisci nequeant. Huiusmodi autem processus quo in isto opusculo intendo procedere ne quid esset obscurus sive difficilis simplicibus non erit in metro exámetro seu pentámetro sed potius in stilo rithimico et plano per litteras tamen alphabeti regulato...*³⁷⁸

Since in the modern times, many, not only among the simple ones but indeed even, what is worse, also among the professionals are found more ready to dispute a sophisma, than to refer to or to quote a story from the Bible, which, as I assume, arises rather from the slipping of memory than from ignorance or little interest in study, truly me, who is called John [...] all otherwise wishing to restore [people] not only willing but also ready to grasp and keep the histories of all the books of the Bible within a very brief summary, I established, so that avoiding their confusion or lengthiness and reducing to brevity they could more easily without all toil impress [it] to [their] memory and once having impressed it, they would not wish to remove it from it or forget it. But the strategy of this kind that I intend to apply in this opuscle will not be in hexameter or pentameter, so that it would not be obscure or difficult for the simple ones, but rather in rhythmic and plain style nevertheless limited by the alphabet...

Here, we witness the author of the biblical mnemonic aid proposing rhythmic verses and criticizing metrical poetry for being “obscure or difficult

³⁷⁷ See *RB*, no. 2308 (attr. to Franciscus Gothus), 4127 (attr. to a “Iohannes”), and 4747 (attr. to Iohannes Castellensis = von Kastl (fl. 1339). In *RB* and elsewhere, the incipit is *Ante fit...* However, as Greti Dinkova-Bruun kindly pointed out to me, this does not make sense and the correct reading is *Ante fir[mamentum]...*

³⁷⁸ Here as in Oxford, BoL, Bodley 801, f. 67r. After this, the author discusses the alphabetic character of the text in detail.

for the simple ones." This can be interpreted as a criticism of the *Summarium*, and an attempt at its replacement. At the same time, however, in contrast to its author's explicit statement, the poem that follows is metrical just like the *Summarium*, not rhythmical as announced. The *Summarium* remains present in the text but it loses its metrical form and becomes a further summary of the retelling proposed by Johannes, moved to the manuscript margin.

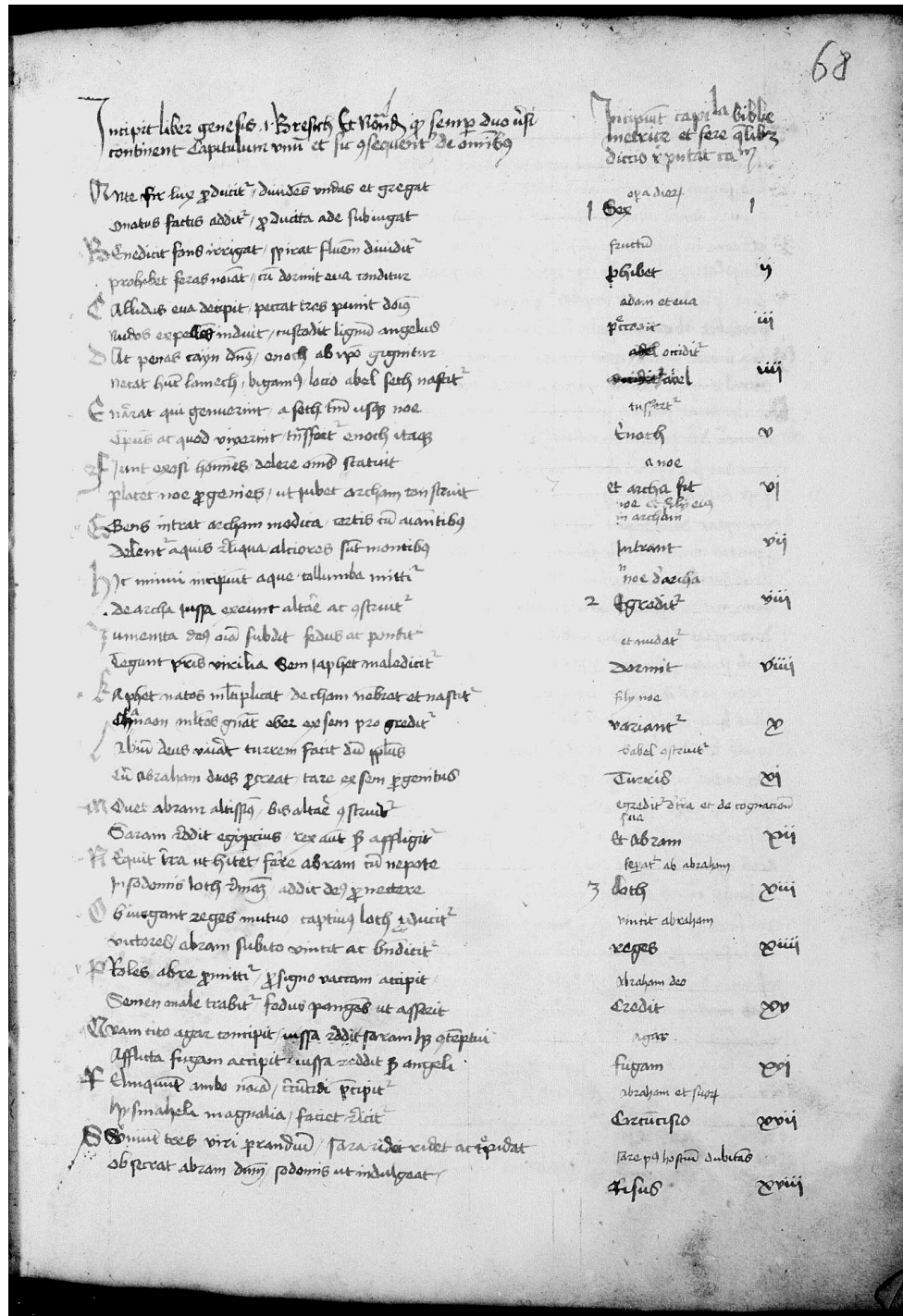


Fig. 10: Ms. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Pal. lat. 14426, f. 68r, the *Summarium* combined with another (anonymous) biblical mnemonic aid, inc.: *Ante fir lux producit*

Most noteworthy among the combinations in this context is the *Biblia pauperum* compiled by Maurus von Weihenstephan in 1479³⁷⁹ from several texts: Petrus de Rosenheim's *Memoriale*, Johannes Schlitpacher's *Fragmentum Bibliae* and his *De divisione scripture*, from the *Summarium*, and from incipits of the biblical chapters.³⁸⁰ Thus it provides several parallel ways to remember the contents of the Bible. To my knowledge, it survives in two manuscripts.³⁸¹ In Munich, BSB, clm. 12391 the texts are very nicely distributed on the page: Schlitpacher's summary is copied in the middle, the *Summarium*'s keywords appear beside each double verse on the left, *capitula* on the right; a brief preface to every biblical book is added over the first verse line, and a summary of the whole book by Rosenheim is given below.

This is surely not a failure of the *Summarium*—it would not have been included were it not considered useful. But it seems to imply that the *Summarium* by itself was not deemed sufficient. And, in addition, the particular version of the *Summarium* is unique here: Maurus introduced a great number of changes to it. In his introduction, he reflects on the fact that various authors divide and order the biblical books in different ways (which he must have witnessed while trying to harmonize all these tools) but suggests that his division and order are correct:

Prefaciuncula in opus sequens scilicet Bibliam pauperum. Videndum est de ordinacione librorum tocius Biblie in qua omnes libri divinarum scripturarum continentur. Et sunt numero 36. Qui licet a quibusdam aliter numerentur et ordinentur, tamen communiter a doctoribus et in libris correctis secundum infra scriptum modum et numerum ordinantur.

A little preface to the following work, that is, the Bible of the Poor. We should consider the ordering of the books of the whole Bible in which all the books of divine scriptures are contained. And they are 36 in number. Which, although they are by some counted and ordered differently, are nevertheless ordered unanimously by the doctors, and in correct books in the way and number [they are] written [here] below.

Less ambitious is a combination of the *Summarium* with Guido Vicentinus' *Margarita Biblie* found in Gotha, HB, 108. This manuscript also contains an excerpt from the *Historia scholastica*, as well as the Psalms incipits.

³⁷⁹ Cf. Munich, BSB, clm. 12391: *Explicit Biblia pauperum per me fratrem Maurum presbyterum et monachum atque in Beichensteuen professum conscripta, et ex diuersis in hunc modum redacta. Anno domini 1479, 14 Kal. Aprilis*. Note the reappearance of the generic title.

³⁸⁰ Worstbrock, "Libri pauperum," p. 48 n. 40, and p. 49 n. 44.

³⁸¹ Munich, BSB, clm. 12391, on fols. 1r-39r, and in Augsburg, SSB, fol. 193 on fols. 1r-47v (the title *Biblia pauperum* appears only in the former manuscript, the latter has no title).

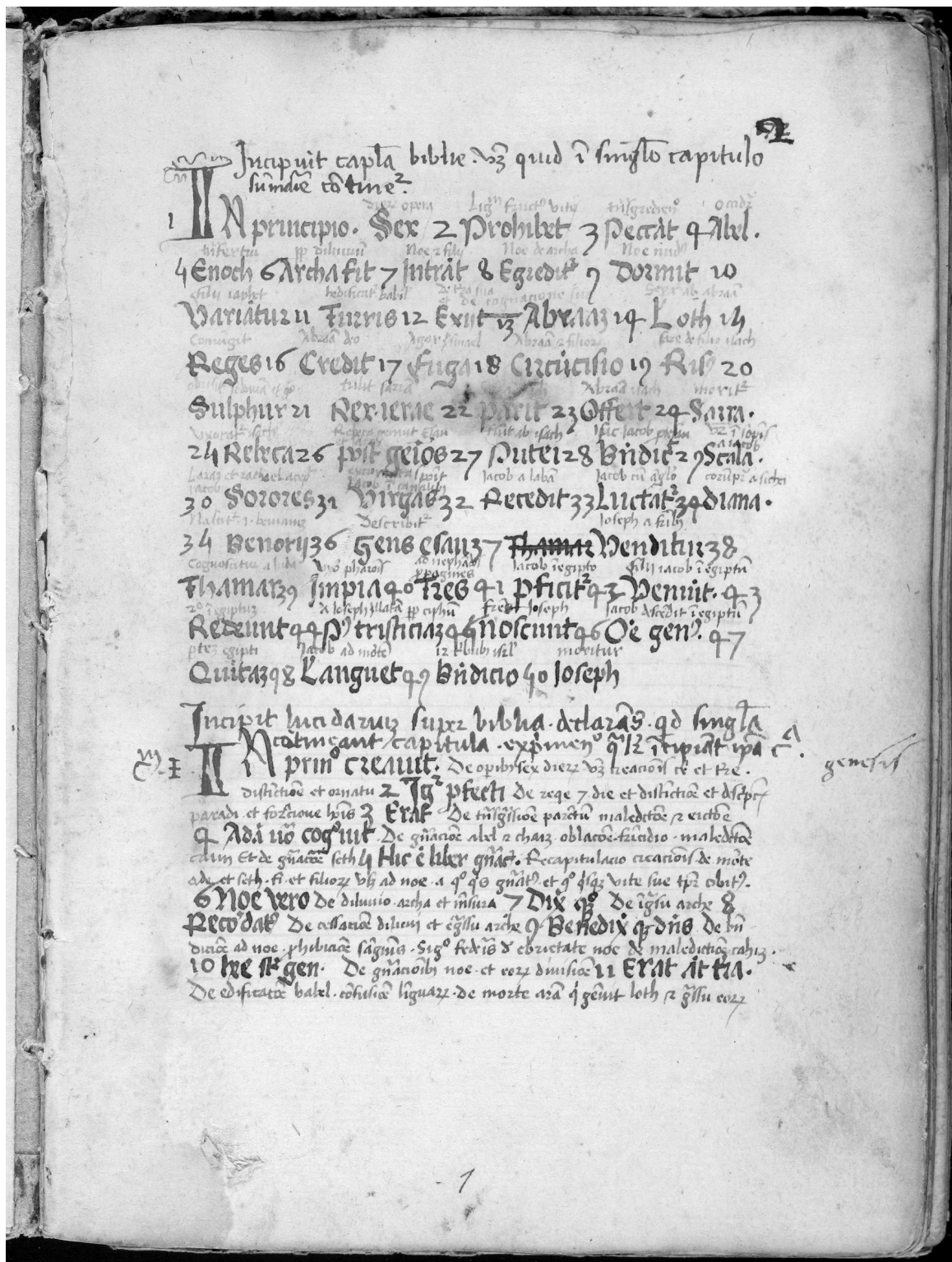


Fig. 11: Ms. University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, 313 (Italy, XV), f. 1r: *Summarium Biblie*, after the book of Genesis, is replaced by another mnemonic aid (based on incipits)

The *Summarium* seems to have been competing with the lists of chapter incipits, too. The incipits are usually used in prose retellings that proceed chapter by chapter: after an incipit, a paragraph or two are devoted to describing the chapter contents. As already mentioned, the

incipits worked very well for recalling the Psalms (which might be one of the reasons that the Psalms were not included in the *Summarium*). In addition, a curious miscellaneous manuscript from fifteenth-century Italy, now kept at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia under shelfmark 313,³⁸² includes a summary of the Bible on folios 1r-11v (Fig. 11). On f. 1r the part of the *Summarium* for Genesis appears with brief superscript glosses, entitled *Capitula biblie*. But the copyist apparently changed his mind after the first book of the Bible and added a new rubric (*Incipit lucidarius super Biblia declarans quod singula canticant capitula, exprimendo qualiter incipient ipsa capitula*). He then returns to Genesis, always quoting the first one to three words from the relevant chapter beginnings. The glosses here are added after the keywords rather than in superscript, but otherwise the layout looks very similar, with the chapter numbers written in red before each keyword, and with the keywords written in a larger and bolder script. It is clear that both the texts were intended to fulfill the same function, but this particular scribe decided that the chapter incipits were more useful than the *Summarium*.

Besides alternative texts, there are at least two biblical tools based on the same idea as the *Summarium*, that is, representing each chapter separately, but they do so in visual way. Closest to the *Summarium* is *Biblia sacra figuris expressa*, which summarizes the whole Bible in this way, always placing ten images on one page in the same layout. This very curious mnemonic Bible has been masterfully studied by Susanne Rischpler.³⁸³ A tool of the very same type exists also for Peter Lombard's Sentences.³⁸⁴ Extremely popular was the anonymous *Rationarium evangelistarum* (ca. 1470, Upper Rhineland), often ascribed to Petrus of Rosenheim, a visual summary of the Gospels in which the images of the chapters are placed on the limbs of the respective symbols for the evangelists—angel, lion, bull, and eagle (Fig. 12).³⁸⁵

³⁸² The manuscript has been digitized and is available online at: http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?q=biblia&id=MEDREN_2486453&size=4¤tpage=8 (accessed August 20, 2012).

³⁸³ Susanne Rischpler, *Biblia sacra figuris expressa. Mnemotechnische Bilderbibeln des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter 36 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2001). One of the manuscripts, Munich, BSB, clm. 697 is available online through <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de> (accessed August 20, 2012).

³⁸⁴ See Susanne Rischpler, "Cœur voyant. Mémoriser les Sentences de Pierre Lombard," in *Medieval Memory. Image and Text*, ed. Frank Willaert et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 3-40.

³⁸⁵ This tool follows the rules for the art of memory very closely. An early print (Pforzheim, 1507) is available through <http://www.zvdd.de> (accessed August 20, 2012).

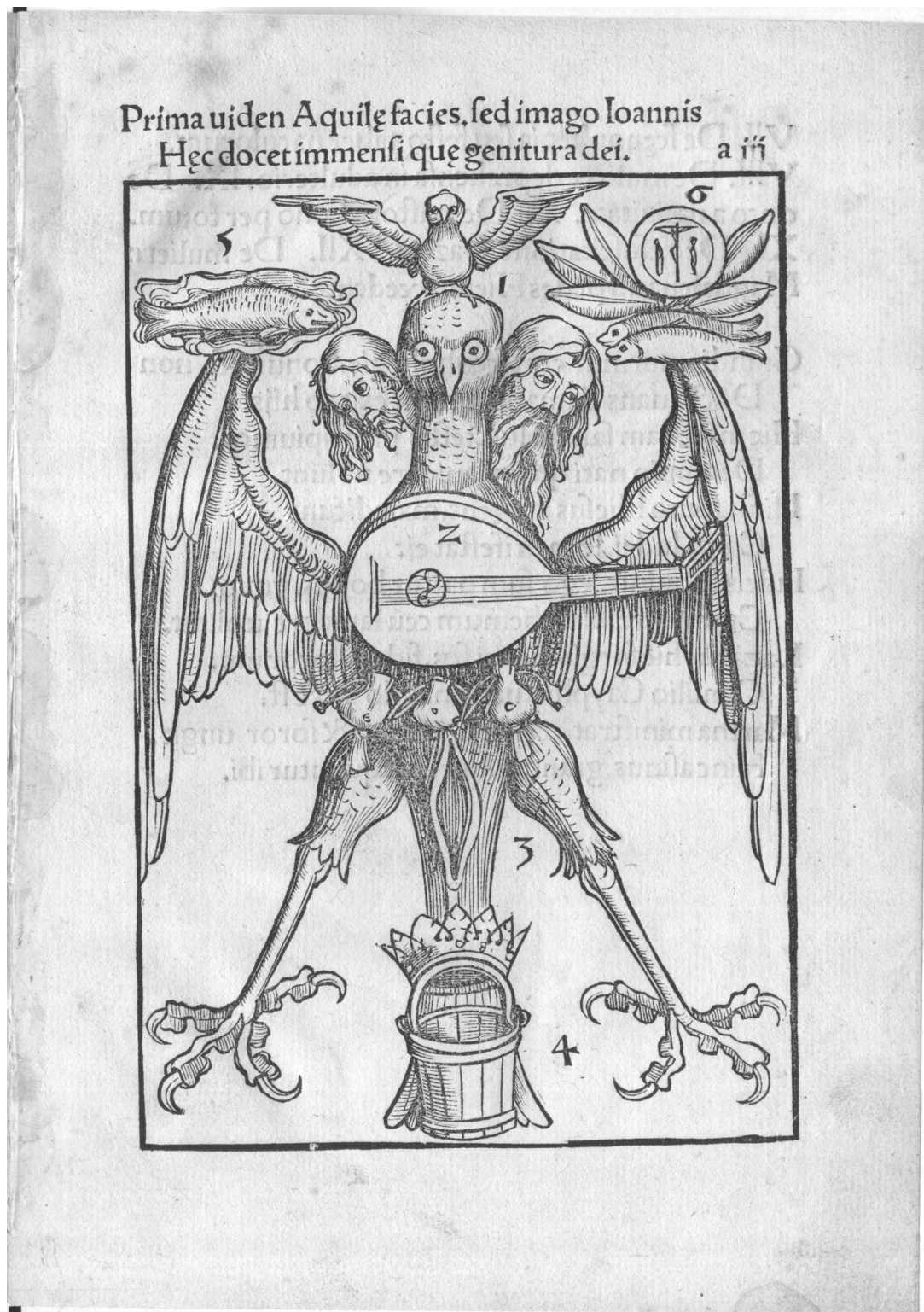


Fig. 12: *Rationarium evangelistarum*, Pforzheim, 1507, prima imago Iohannis (John 1-6)

Monastic libraries held several copies of the *Summarium* during the Late Middle Ages. Seen in the context of the libraries of Melk with 7 copies or Klosterneuburg with 6 copies, it seems that, e.g., in the abbey of St. Gall the *Summarium* was not received very well. One fourteenth-century copy of the *Summarium* exists in the St. Gall monastery library in codex 1068. The codex is a miscellany that was bound together at a later stage. The booklet

containing the *Summarium* was probably originally transmitted by itself. The text is, however, not complete—it ends with *Epistola Iacobi*. The only full copy from the monastery is the one in codex 336 from 1443 (pp. 137-160). Codex 318 contains the portion of the *Summarium* that condenses the Books of Kings. It is an unusual copy: there are the verses for every book, followed by a long commentary to every keyword covering several pages. The scribe of this manuscript planned the same for the Paralipomenon, but the space for the verses as well as for the keywords within the commentary remains void. The commentary is actually not dependent on the keywords at all and works fine without them as a prose condensation of the relevant chapters. Finally, connected to St. Gall was Gallus Kemli, a remarkable wandering monk originally from there, who gathered and copied at least 32 codices. Three of them, now Sankt Gallen 972b, 293, and 692, written in this order, share a number of texts (e.g., Hrabanus Maurus' recension of the *Cena Cypriani*). Kemli here re-included many of the texts but often in a condensed or revised form. Only the first of these manuscripts, however, includes the *Summarium*. At the very beginning of codex 972b the *Summarium* is presented in prose format, each keyword followed by a full-paragraph explanatory commentary. In the subsequent manuscripts, codex 293 and 692, the *Summarium* is replaced by a prose text entitled *Explanatio librorum Biblie* (inc.: *Pentateucon incipitur*), followed by another prose text entitled *Margarita Biblie* (inc.: *Qui memor esse cupit librorum*; different from the previously mentioned versified Bible by Guido Vicentius). This special case of re-copying, re-arranging, and re-writing of entire codices by the same scribe is a very precious occasion when it is possible to prove that the *Summarium* was actually consciously replaced by another text fulfilling the same function.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁶ For details, see my "Multiple Copying and the Interpretability of Codex Contents: 'Memory Miscellanies' Compiled by Gallus Kemli (1417-1480/1) of Sankt Gallen," in *Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies*.

III. An Obscure Mnemonic Tool?

The obscurity of the *Summarium* is unusual; it is not a text “covered, or in darkness,” it is much exposed: it was a standard part of late medieval Bibles and late medieval miscellanies used by preachers and students. Although it is not *the* medieval biblical mnemonic aid but belongs to a whole group of such texts, it was much copied and read. It is obscure primarily as far as its reference to the text of the Bible is concerned. The variety of its textual tradition as well as of the explanatory glosses shows that the medieval readers were very often concerned with its meaning. At the same time, however, it remains to be the case that what we find copied in the manuscripts does not correspond to our idea of a “tool.” As a biblical mnemonic tool, the *Summarium*, in a majority of its copies, fails in several respects: it does not cover the whole Bible (it excludes the Psalms), it sometimes presents different order of the biblical books or a different number of chapters than the particular biblical book, some of the keywords have obscure relationship to the biblical chapter that they are meant to summarize, and it is sometimes copied only partly, or in a confused way. What is such a “tool” good for? How could it ever become so popular? The obscurities are so frequent here that the question arises what portion of them is bearable for the text to be still useful for memorization rather than confusing and misleading.³⁸⁷

A comparison with similar texts might be in place. Alexander de Villa Dei’s *Doctrinale* was actively used despite its clear mistakes for almost three centuries. At the end of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, it was much criticized and there were several attempts to replace it with a “better” Latin grammatical textbook, but they all failed, *Doctrinale* was replaced much later during the humanist era.³⁸⁸ Similarly, as Hiram Kümper shows, two medieval legal collections, the *Sachsenspiegel* or the *Ius*

³⁸⁷ Greti Dinkova-Bruun, “Biblical Versification,” 61-64, asks the same question concerning the *Summarium*, the *Margarita* of Guido Vicentinus, and *Capitula evangeliorum*.

³⁸⁸ Reichling dedicates a whole long chapter to a detailed description of the various criticisms and the late medieval and early modern grammars unsuccessfully competing with *Doctrinale* (see Reichling, *Doctrinale* LXXXIII-CX).

Municipale Maideburgense, were repeatedly copied and much used in spite of being extremely confusing and obscure from today's point of view.³⁸⁹

On the one hand, such situations can often partly be blamed on inertia: it takes time to replace old texts with new ones. Many old texts are still used with additions, omissions, explicitly expressed reservations, pointing to their limitations etc. but often also without these adjustments. The quest for the new is not a feature of the medieval times, during which there is no fear that a text would become less desired when old, thus no need to replace was felt. At the same time, however, there must be more to it.

In their detailed study on the reception of Thomas Murner's card aid for logic (*Logica memorativa* or *Chartiludium logicae*, ca. 1500), Manuel Stoffers and Pieter Thijs trace the way the appreciation of this curious—yet today, again, much obscure—tool changed with the change of mentality in the modern era. Murner's card game is all but clear and coherent reflection (or summary) of the then standard textbook of logic, the *Tractatus* (later known as *Summulae logicales*) by Petrus Hispanus (13th c.). While it was extremely popular and widely used when published, from around 1700 it was vastly criticized and also its active use in the previous era was so unimaginable that it was questioned. They persuasively explain the change in evaluation of the tool by change in mentality and appraisal of imagination rather than memory.³⁹⁰

In my opinion, one of the basic reasons for the medieval success of the *Doctrinale*, the *Chartiludium*, as well as the *Summarium* and a number of other texts was their graspability. Most things in this world are extremely complicated, so complicated that it makes one scared to approach them. Most people prefer clear answers over explicit hesitations and vagueness. Offering a version of the reality, which is understandable, even if not precise (or even if simply wrong) is the first step to success. There is one unquestionable virtue in graspability: one is able to conceive the whole. Even if not quite precisely, one can approach a text or a problem in its entirety and place its aspects into a definite context without getting lost in details.

The *Summarium Biblie*, even if mistaken in particularities, provides a clear overview of the Bible. One can see the order of the books, more or less

³⁸⁹ Hiram Kümper, "*Obscuritas legum: Traditional Law, Learned Jurisprudence, and Territorial Legislation – the Example of Sachsenspiegel and Ius Municipale Maideburgense*," in *Obscuritas in the Middle Ages*, eds. Lucie Doležalová and Jeff Rider (Krems, in print).

³⁹⁰ Manuel Stoffers and Pieter Thijs, "A Question of Mentality: the Changed Appreciation of Thomas Murner's Logical Card Game (c. 1500)," in *Memory and Oblivion. Acts of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art, Amsterdam, 1-7 September 1996*, ed. Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 275-93.

their contents, and perhaps be reminded of several important quotations. The idea, however unrealistic, that by learning some 200 verses one will know the Bible must have been very attractive to the readers of the *Summarium*. These are features that would not suffice in making a mnemonic tool attractive today but they obviously worked well within the medieval culture of memory.

The degree of corruption within the manuscript copies of the *Summarium* is shocking at first. Of course, spelling variants were omnipresent in medieval manuscripts, since there was no fixed way of spelling but it is surprising that also serious flaws—textual corruption that results in incomprehensibility—do not seem to have bothered the medieval readers and copyists too much. We cannot possibly suppose that they, unlike us, simply understood the text, because some of the keyword variants are truly irrelevant to the chapter contents. Thus, we should either suspect that they created an inefficient tool and were naively using it (an explanation very much in line with 19th century scholarship on the Middle Ages), or we should reconsider the medieval concept of a tool and the medieval approach to obscurity.

In my opinion, this case (far from being an isolated one) shows bigger tolerance, or even a welcoming approach to obscurity in the Middle Ages. Obscurity was understood as an inherent part of everyday life. Saint Paul's "now we see as through a looking-glass, darkly" is not only a clause much quoted by theologians and exegetes but also an everyday experience of the medievals. This world is only a reflection of the world to come, and thus it is expected and natural that we do not understand everything. The concepts of efficiency and of "saving time" were not embraced by the Middle Ages. They were completely alien to monastic culture and only slowly emerge with the universities and fierce preaching of the Late Middle Ages. Thus, the mnemonic tools that are gradually developed are indeed shorter and thus can be read faster than the originals, but are not necessarily completely clear. A certain degree of obscurity everywhere is natural and encountering it also within tools is not surprising.

This is not to say that the author of the *Summarium* included obscure key-words on purpose but only to stress that medieval readers would not be struck by encountering them in the text in the same way we are now. They would expect not to understand everything and thus seeing obscurity within a mnemonic tool would not make most of them think the tool was insufficient. Some of them might propose changes but, while doing so, create new obscurities. Only very rarely a truly systematic copyist transforms the whole towards bigger clarity. Finally, the *Summarium* is a condensation of the Bible, and therefore a kind of its reflection. The Bible itself is full of mysteries and obscurities, so there is no reason its reflection should be different.

The case study focused on a text that made the first impression of being obscure in the sense of both unintelligible and marginal. The subsequent contextual analysis showed it to be indeed hardly intelligible but, at the same time, not marginal at all but forming a widely transmitted and fully integral part of medieval Latin culture. The idea of a “widespread obscurity” may have sounded like a contradiction in terms at the beginning but I hope to have shown that it is not.

The case study also attempted to stress the usefulness of examining the physical contexts of manuscripts for textual interpretation. A mere textual analysis is always questionable because any edition of a medieval text is unavoidably a construction. Textual analysis by itself will always be much more reflective of our contemporary views than of medieval perspectives. Study of manuscripts promises to supply information on the level of the integration of the particular text within medieval culture. The manuscript variants and glosses show the ways in which the text was read, understood, and appropriated, while the surrounding texts within the codices indicate the context into which the text was felt to fit. Especially when the subject of the enquiry is a context-bound notion, as is obscurity here, exploring the physical context of a text offers an invaluable and otherwise inaccessible source of further information on its role and level of integration within medieval culture.

Yet, even the scrutiny of manuscripts does not provide the full picture. We obviously miss a great number of written evidence (many manuscripts do not survive or were not traced yet). But even more importantly, our present day “documentary culture,”³⁹¹ which some-times becomes an obsession with textuality (even in its physical form) is a sort of anachronism. Especially texts linked to memorizing did not exist only in their written form but primarily as mental texts and images stored in the memory of the medieval people. Their written form is only secondary; it provides a glimpse into the mental text but not the full picture, and we also lose the surrounding oral explanatory discourse. This practice of transmission would also be responsible for the fact that even very obvious mistakes in manuscripts are rarely corrected by the scribes.³⁹² But this alone cannot explain the repeated copying of an obscure tool.

³⁹¹ Cf. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 8.

³⁹² I addressed this in detail in a study “On Mistake and Meaning: *Scinderationes fonorum* in medieval *artes memoriae*, mnemonic verses, and manuscripts,” *Language and History* 52 (2009): 26-40. An excellent example is offered by Richard Gameson discussing the case when a corrected Bible text was closed in a treasury, while a Bible codex with a number of obvious mistakes was used in liturgy; see Richard Gameson, “Durham’s Paris Bible and the Use of Communal Bibles in a Benedictine

Tracing unquestionable obscurity in much diffused texts leads to the suggestion that a higher level of obscurity was tolerated and even accepted as relevant in the Middle Ages as opposed to the early modern times and the present. Besides the exegetical and poetical-rhetorical discourses, in which obscurity was addressed on the theoretical level, there was widespread “practical” obscurity in many other types of writing, too. It might even sometimes seem that it was the obscure in the sense of “unclear, difficult to understand” that was the textual norm. This “norm” was supported by the leading language, that is, Medieval Latin with no strict spelling guidelines and no settled grammatical rules. This is not to say that the author of the *Summarium* made his text obscure on purpose but only to stress that the medieval approach to texts was fuzzy and approximate rather than clearly definable, distinguishable, and articulate. The medieval people were simply more ready to tolerate obscurity because it formed an integral part of their world. Sometimes they did pursue the objectives of system, order, and efficiency but rarely in a systematic, orderly, and efficient manner. They did not believe obscurity could ever completely disappear. They were not scared of the undescribable, undividable, and ungraspable, they accepted reality as basically unintelligible.

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Appendix: List of manuscripts of the *Summarium Biblie*

The present list of manuscripts of *Summarium* is by no means a final one, it is included here only in order to show that the text was indeed very popular. The manuscripts are listed in alphabetical order according to the cities in which they are currently kept.

Admont, Stiftsbibliothek

142

203

433

592

Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum

R II 66

Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale

1

Angers, Bibliothèque municipale

27 (23)

Ansbach, Staatliche Bibliothek

lat. 1

lat. 18

lat. 58

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek

fol. 53

fol. 56b

fol. 66

fol. 92

fol. 193

fol. 291

fol. 454 [?]

Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek

lat. III. 1. fol. 1 (in German)

lat. III. 1. fol. 1a (in German)

lat. I. 2. fol. 10 [?]

lat. II. 1. fol. 16

lat. II. 1. fol. 45

lat. II. 1. fol. 86

lat. II. 1. fol. 154

Bad Windsheim, Stadtbibliothek

50

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek

Msc. Theol. 36

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek
 A. IX. 2
 A. XI. 66
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu B.
 Magdeb. 69
 Magdeb. 164
 Lat. fol. 967 (attached to an incunabulum)
 Lat. oct. 212
 Theol. lat. qu. 249
 Theol. lat. qu. 348
 Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
 Ms. S 263 [a fragment, digitized, freely accessible online through manuscripta-mediaevalia.de]
 Braunschweig, Stadtbibliothek
 Cod. CXXXII [?]
 Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna (Moravian Library)
 MK 61 [a fragment, digitized, freely accessible through Manuscriptorium]
 108 (II.24) [digitized, freely accessible through Manuscriptorium]
 Brno, Moravský zemský archiv (Moravian Archive)
 G.11, FM 432 = 435
 FM 880 = 905
 Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Országos Széchényi könyvtár
 376
 Budapest, University library
 Lat. 50
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library
 524 [digitized on Parker on the web]
 Cambridge, Emmanuel College
 III.3.10 (243)
 Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College
 140 (80)
 Cambridge, St. John's College
 179, G.11

 Cambridge, University Library
 Ee. Vi. 29
 Gg. IV. 10
 Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library
 Riant 88
 Riant 93
 Chicago, Newberry Library
 16
 Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale
 44 (41)
 Cologne, Historisches Archiv
 GB 2° 188
 GB 4° 113
 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek
 Ny. Kgl. Saml. 3b fol.
 Gl. kgl. S. 61 fol.

Gl. kgl. S. 189 fol.
 Thott 3 8°
 Cracow, Augustine Library
 B 131
 Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska
 284, vol. I and II
 286
 288
 470
 1236
 Edinburgh, University Library
 8
 Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek
 st. 194
 st. 199
 st. 205
 st. 266
 Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek
 119
 Erfurt, Domarchiv
 Th 3
 Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek
 Amplon. F.7
 Amplon. Q.28
 Amplon. Q.79
 Amplon. Q.151 (36)
 Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek
 439/1
 439/2
 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana
 Ricc. 428
 Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek
 663
 666
 Gotha, Herzogliche Bibliothek
 Chart. A 11
 Göttingen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
 8° ms. theol. 4 Cim.
 Göttingen, Stiftsbibliothek
 298 (336)
 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek
 309 (33/33 f.)
 385 (41/24 f.)
 509 (36/38 f.)
 611 (36/34 f.)
 648 (35/38 f.)
 [665 –lost after WWII]
 1264
 1295

Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale
5

Halberstadt, Domgymnasium
25

Halle an der Saale, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
Qu. Cod. 93a-e
Qu. Cod. 129
Qu. Cod. 188

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
Jacobi 14

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek
Sal. X 15

Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek
102

Innichen, Stiftsbibliothek
[III C. 10, lost during WWII]
III C. 11

Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol
629

Ithaca, New York, Cornell University
B.22 [?]

Kassel, Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel und Landesbibliothek
fol. theol. 111
fol. theol. 160

Kiel, Universitätsbibliothek
Bord. 24
Bord. 119

Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibliothek
Pap. 59

Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek
193
208
428
445
503
520

Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv
Best. 701, nr. 198
Best. 701, nr. 202

Korneuburg, Stadtarchiv
1753

Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek
42
153
167
269

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek
107
117
534

Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek
 12
 145
 London, British Library
 Add. 20009
 Add. 22025
 Add. 24361
 Arundel 493
 Harley 1748
 Royal 2.D.1
 London, Lambeth Palace Library
 534
 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale
 245 (177)
 Maihingen, Fürstliche Bibliothek
 I Lat. 2-4^o-26
 II Lat. 1 Fol. 86
 1 Fol. 16
 Mainz, Stadtbibliothek
 I 22
 I 35
 I 263
 I 570
 Melk, Stiftsbibliothek
 83
 165
 681
 918
 1059
 1294
 1793
 Merseburg, Bibliothek des Domkapitels
 31
 Michelstadt, Nicolaus-Matz-Bibliothek
 D 681
 D 682
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
 cgm. 341
 cgm. 4358
 clm. 3010
 clm. 3070
 clm. 3447
 clm. 3581
 clm. 4627
 clm. 5444
 clm. 7662
 clm. 7711
 clm. 7989
 clm. 8367
 clm. 8947

clm. 9411
clm. 9529
clm. 12391
clm. 12704
clm. 14001
clm. 14023
clm. 14094
clm. 14670
clm. 15606
clm. 15956
clm. 18259
clm. 18906
clm. 20202
clm. 23799
clm. 26847
clm. 27011
clm. 27032
clm. 27412
clm. 27462
clm. 27481
clm. 28543
clm. 28644

Munich, Universitätsbibliothek

2^o 677
4^o 13
4^o 809
8^o 190
8^o 344

New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Lib.

Marston 255

Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek

Cent. I.6
Cent. I, 81
Cent. V, 78
Hert. Ms. 1

Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna

M I 161
M II 31
M II 34
M II 60

Ottobeuren, Bibliothek der Abtei

0.53 (48)

Oxford, Bodleian Library

Auct. D. 3. 6
Auct. D. 4. 10
Auct. F. 5. 16
Bodley 798
Bodley 801
Lyell 10
Lyell Empt. 7

Marshall 86 (olim Add. B.28)
 Oxford, Exeter College (Exon. Col.)
 36
 Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria
 700
 727
 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
 119 (22.T.L.)
 1144 (69.B.L.)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
 lat. 171
 lat. 221
 lat. 1010
 lat. 1865
 lat. 2477
 lat. 10421
 lat. 13144
 n. a. lat. 1697
 Paris, Bibliothèque St. Geneviève
 1182
 1184
 Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania
 MS 313 [a fragment available online]
 Pommersfelden, Gräflich Schönbornsche Schloßbibliothek, 177
 Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly (Metropolitan chapter library)
 1640 O. LVI
 Prague, Knihovna národního muzea (Library of the National Museum)
 XVIII B 18 [digitized in Manuscriptorium]
 Prague, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově
 DB III 13
 Prague, Library of the Academy of Sciences
 1 TB 3 [digitized in Manuscriptorium]
 Prague, Národní knihovna (National library) [mostly digitized in Manuscriptorium]
 I A 35
 I A 39
 I A 41
 I E 15
 I F 35
 I F 43
 I G 11a
 I G 36
 III A 16
 VI B 11
 VIII D 15
 VIII D 27
 X B 16
 X G 10
 XI A 14
 XI C 3
 XI E 6

XIV G 17
 Prague, Nostic library
 Ms. f 1 [digitized in Manuscriptorium]
 Retz, Stadtarchiv
 65/19
 Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale
 10 (A.32)
 Salzburg, Erzabtei Sankt Peter
 b VIII 14
 San Marino, California, Huntingdon Library
 HM 26061
 Sankt Florian, Stiftbibliothek,
 XI.32
 Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek
 318
 336
 972b
 1068
 Sankt Paul in Carinthia, Stiftsbibliothek
 79/3
 Sankt Pölten, Diözesanbibliothek
 9
 26
 Schlägl, Stiftsbibliothek
 61
 67
 Schulpforta, Internatsbibliothek
 A6
 Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek,
 297
 Stams, Stiftsbibliothek des Zisterzienserklosters
 41
 Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale
 72
 Stuttgart, Württemberg. Landesbibliothek
 Don. 278
 HB IV 30
 HB IV 6
 HB II 43
 The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum
 MM 10 D 18
 Tours, Bibliothèque municipale
 2
 Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek
 C 10
 C 172
 C 195
 C 218
 C 356
 C 572

C 637
 Utrecht, University Library
 B 249 [?]
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
 Pal. lat. 8
 Pal. lat. 20
 Pal. lat. 459
 Reg. lat. 155
 Vat. lat. 945
 Vat. lat. 1027
 Vat. lat. 1290
 Vienna, Dominikanerkloster
 125 (92)
 155 (125)
 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
 Pal. lat. 1111
 Pal. lat. 1122
 Pal. lat. 1454
 Pal. lat. 3722
 Pal. lat. 3736
 Pal. lat. 3750
 Pal. lat. 4030
 Pal. lat. 4129
 Pal. lat. 4535
 Pal. lat. 4614
 Pal. lat. 4759
 Pal. lat. 5454
 Pal. lat. 9516 (from the 18th c.)
 Pal. lat. 13756
 Pal. lat. 14426
 Vienna, Schottenstift
 19 (50. b. 10)
 91 (102)
 92 (103)
 94 (105)
 95 (106)
 Vorau, Chorherrenstiftsbibliothek
 14 (XXVI)
 144 (CCXLIII)
 241 (from the 17th c.)
 Vyšší Brod, monastery library
 XCI
 Warsaw, Biblioteka narodowa
 Chart. Lat. Fol. I 388
 Wilhering, Stiftsbibliothek
 IX, 124
 Wittenberg Lutherstadt, Lutherhalle
 S 165/1361 [?]
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek
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