

The Art of Regensburg Miscellanies

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In many respects, Clm. 14731 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich is a perfectly typical miscellany—both a primary and secondary miscellany in Greti Dinkova-Bruun's useful terminology.¹ Comprising 94 folios, it is a relatively small volume, measuring 18.5 x 13 cm. The primary miscellany, folios 1 to 83, was executed between 1145 and 1152 and contains a rich assortment of texts and a smattering of pictures. The bulk of this part of the manuscript, folios 1 to 51, is taken up by the *Imago mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis, while the rest contains, according to the 1876 Munich library catalogue, "varia excerpta."² The second part, from folios 84 to 94, is a description of the Holy Land added sometime in the fourteenth century. The entire volume was produced in the monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, arguably the most venerable Benedictine foundation in Bavaria, with roots reaching back to the eighth century.³ In dealing with Clm. 14731, we are confronted with the usual questions. What motivated the creation of this particular collection of texts? What was the original and/or subsequent function of the volume? From an art-historical perspective, what insights can the images

¹ See Dinkova-Bruun's essay in this volume. Here I will only deal with the primary miscellany in Clm. 14731. This essay represents work for a broader study of illustrated miscellanies, *Laboratories of Thought in Twelfth-Century Germany*, in which I hope to expand on some of the materials and issues herein.

² Karl Halm, *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* 4,2 (Munich: Libreria regia Palmiana, 1876), 224 (no. 1699).

³ On St. Emmeram, see in general the essays in *St. Emmeram in Regensburg. Geschichte-Kunst-Denkmalpflege. Beiträge des Regensburger Herbstsymposiums vom 15. – 24. November 1991*, Thurn und Taxis-Studien 18 (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1992); Franz Fuchs, "Das Reichsstift St. Emmeram," in *Geschichte der Stadt Regensburg*, ed. Peter Schmid (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2000), vol. 2, 730–44; and, for the eleventh and twelfth centuries in particular, Claudia Märkl, "Regensburg in den geistigen Auseinandersetzungen des Investiturstreits," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 42:5 (1986): 144–91.

provide about the book's production and use? More broadly, what place does this primary miscellany have—both textually and visually—within the context of twelfth-century Regensburg? Finally, what might Clm. 14731 tell us about miscellanies in general?

Table 1 (in the appendix at the end of this contribution) provides a summary list of the book's contents; although I have not yet identified the sources of all the different texts, the table should give a sufficient overview of the book as a whole.⁴ In brief, Honorius' encyclopedic *Imago mundi* is followed by the *Letters of Paul and Seneca*, excerpts from Augustine's *Confessions*, and passages derived, *inter alia*, from patristic sources, Isidore, Bede, Zachary of Besançon, and Rupert of Deutz, dealing with such subjects as measurements, wisdom, the reckoning of Easter, interpretations of the gospels, and, in the final section that includes five pictures, wonders of the world. One can be sympathetic to the 1867 catalogue for simply calling the approximately 50 individual texts between folios 54 and 83 "varia excerpta," and to Elisabeth Klemm in her 1980 catalogue entry for similarly labelling them "Kurze Texte verschiedenen Inhalts und Miniaturen."⁵ Still, Clm. 14731 has fared poorly in the scholarly literature, among both textual scholars and art historians.

The earliest scholar to deal with Clm. 14731 at any length was Albert Boeckler in his magisterial 1927 work on the Regensburg-Prüfening school of book illumination.⁶ He introduced the manuscript by saying that it "offered more archaeological than artistic interest," though he did not actually explain what he meant by "archäologisches Interesse." Boeckler was similarly vague with regard to the place of the images within the manuscript; these represent the Table of the Temple Showbread, Noah's Ark, the Labyrinth, Jericho, and a world map (Figures 1–4, below). Although they were related to the text of the "Seven Wonders of

⁴ It is my hope that others more competent in textual history will be motivated to investigate further the nature and sources of these different texts. The first nineteen have been clarified by Friedrich Helmer (as in n. 11 below).

⁵ Elisabeth Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek 1: Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg. Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980), v. 1, 31–32, and v. 2, figs. 56–58.

⁶ Albert Boeckler, *Die Regensburg-Prüfening Buchmalerei des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München* 8 (Munich: A. Reusch, 1924), 64–65, 108–09.

the World," the group "ist aber ohne Beziehung zu diesem."⁷ After offering a brief description and iconographic reading of each of the book's pictures, including the "kunstlose Weltkarte," Boeckler concluded: "But for the artistic development of the Regensburg-Prüfening forms, the manuscript, on account of the humble quality of its drawings, is insignificant."⁸ Such qualitative judgements disappeared in Klemm's 1980 catalogue entry, which provided enhanced iconographic and comparative materials and brief explanations of the texts in immediate proximity to the pictures. But like Boeckler, Klemm did not probe sufficiently the question of the relationship of the pictures to the texts; for example, the text of the Showbread Table, and by extension the image, is "independent of the following description of the Seven Wonders of the World."⁹ As will become evident, the pictures are indeed related to the adjacent texts, although it is necessary first to consider the textual contents of the miscellany more closely before examining the images.

The foremost scholar to consider the texts of Clm. 14731 has been Valerie Flint in her studies of Honorius Augustodunensis.¹⁰ Flint made the astute observation that Clm. 14731 and Clm. 536 have a number of texts in common; my Table 1 indicates the 19 (of approximately 47) texts that the two manuscripts share, 18 of which come in exactly the same order at the beginning of the two volumes.¹¹ Based on the dedication

⁷ Boeckler, *Buchmalerei*, 64, "without connection to this [text]."

⁸ Boeckler, *Buchmalerei*, 65, "Für die künstlerische Entwicklung der Regensburg-prüfeningischen Formen aber ist die Handschrift bei der geringen Qualität ihrer Zeichnungen belanglos."

⁹ Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, 32: "unabhängig von der nachfolgenden Beschreibung der sieben Weltwunder."

¹⁰ Valerie Flint, "The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis," *Revue bénédictine* 87 (1977): 97–127, esp. 114; Valerie Flint, "Honorius Augustodunensis. Imago Mundi," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* (1982): 7–153, esp. 26–28, 41.

¹¹ These contents are also found in the same order in Clm. 14348, a thirteenth-century St. Emmeram manuscript. See in general Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, 58–59, and for a more detailed consideration, see Friedrich Helmer, *Katalog der Handschriften aus dem Benediktinerkloster St. Emmeram in Regensburg. Vorläufige Beschreibung* (Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2009), available on line at: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/projekt-BSB-Emmeram-pdfs/Clm%2014348.pdf>, accessed 7 April, 2012. The relationship of these three manuscripts is considered in Table I below.

page depicting Abbot Wernher on fol. 1 and the conclusion of the papal list at the end of the *Imago mundi* with Lucius II (1144–45), Clm. 536 can be securely dated between 1143 and 1145 and localized to Prüll, a monastery founded in 997 just outside Regensburg's southern walls.¹² A hospital and hostel are attested at the site in 1130, and in the early 1140s Wernher, from Admont, was appointed abbot and furthered the Hirsau reform in Regensburg. In her analysis of Clm. 536, Flint argued that the manuscript is among a group of books that communicated the claims of twelfth-century Benedictine monks to engage in pastoral care. Among the items in Clm. 536 that Flint adduced for her pastoral reading of the manuscript are a bestiary, a lapidary, and "a fascinating series of mixed Latin and German charms, formulae, aphorisms, miracle stories, [and] the Vision of Wettin. It also has the same supposed pronouncement of Pope Boniface IV on the rights of monks to sacerdotal office."¹³ Such a reading of Clm. 536 makes sense in light of the fact that Prüll ran a hospital. But most of the texts specific to a pastoral function or its defense are not in Clm. 14731 (in fact, they mostly occur in a single gathering in Clm. 536, fol. 81–90, suggesting that not all the contents of this manuscript were conceived originally to have a pastoral function). It is also telling that one of the texts Flint singled out is a passage about lucky and unlucky days (Clm. 536, fol. 62v), but this very passage was erased in Clm. 14731 (fol. 56v).

From a textual standpoint, then, despite the overlap of a certain number of texts, Clm. 14731 has none of the medical materials in Clm. 536, nor does it seem particularly pastoral overall; therefore, we should be wary of also seeing Clm. 14731 in light of a presumed pastoral agenda of the St. Emmeram monks. For the most part the miscellany includes a rather different set of works. One group tends to emphasize the relation-

¹² On the manuscript, see Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, 202–03. For Prüll, see Alois Schmid, "Ratisbona Benedictina. Die Regensburger Benediktinerklöster St. Emmeram, Prüll und Prüfening während des Mittelalters," in *Regensburg im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit*, ed. Martin Angerer and Heinrich Wanderwitz (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag, 1995), 179–81; and *1000 Jahre Kultur in Karthaus-Prüll. Geschichte und Forschung vor den Toren Regensburgs. Festschrift zum Jubiläum des ehemaligen Klosters* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1997).

¹³ Flint, "The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis," 114. For a consideration of the medical aspect of this manuscript, see Bernard Schnell, "Das 'Prüller Kräuterbuch.' Zum ersten Herbar in deutscher Sprache," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 120 (1991): 184–202.

ship of the Old and New Testament, particularly in the writings of Rupert of Deutz and Zachary of Besançon. Another leitmotif that runs through this manuscript much more than Clm. 536 is that of ancient knowledge and wonders. Although both manuscripts contain Bede's description of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world (but in very different parts of the respective manuscripts), Clm. 536 immediately follows that with Seven Wonders at the birth of Christ, seven physical and spiritual gifts of humans, and then the medical items—material consistent with a pastoral function. Clm. 14731, on the other hand, continues with passages about the Palladium, places in the Holy Land, Noah's Ark, Orpheus and Creation, and Divinations. In theory, these texts could be meaningful in a pastoral collection, given that some of the works shared by Clm. 536 and Clm. 14731 include at the beginning passages from Augustine about creation, predestination, and the revelation of secret things. Both also have a short passage based on Pope Gregory the Great about wonders in the Old Testament. But several texts specific to Clm. 14731 suggest a much greater preoccupation with different kinds of knowledge and their authorization and, like the numerous glosses throughout the manuscript (Clm. 536 has virtually none), convey the pronounced scholarly nature of Clm. 14731.

Knowledge is an essential theme in both manuscripts. The *Imago mundi* of Honorius is an account of the cosmos according to a Christian worldview encompassing such subjects as astronomy and magic.¹⁴ The pseudepigraphical *Letters of Paul and Seneca* that follow can be understood as a demonstration of the compatibility of pagan and Christian philosophy, though clearly the Christian view is superior.¹⁵ The subsequent Augustine passages, drawn from books 12 and 13 of the *Confessions*, deal with creation, predestination, revelation, and knowledge, while the Gregory excerpts then focus on several wonders of the Old Tes-

¹⁴ See, for example, Valerie Flint, "World History in the Early Twelfth Century: the 'Imago Mundi' of Honorius Augustodunensis," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. Ralph H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 211–38, esp. 220–24.

¹⁵ Claude W. Barlow, ed., *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam <quae vocantur>*. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 10 (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1938); "The Correspondence of Paul and Seneca," in *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, ed. James Keith Elliott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 547–54.

tament, like the Rod of Moses and the Red Heifer.¹⁶ On the next folio (57) is an excerpt attributed to Isidore on the difference between knowledge and wisdom; *scientia* is limited to temporal subjects, while *sapientia* is devoted to more eternal, spiritual matters.¹⁷ After a few more shared texts, the contents of the two manuscripts diverge dramatically. While Clm. 536 continues with the *Physiologus*, the consideration of different theological sevens, and the material related to healing, Clm. 14731 turns primarily to gospel expositions. The first lengthy section, from 61–64, is excerpted from Zachary of Besançon's opening preface to his gospel harmony, written in the 1130s.¹⁸ What is striking about the passages selected is the emphasis on the applicability and compatibility of philosophical categories to the gospels, with recourse to quotations from Origen, Boethius, and Ambrose.

But it is in the Wonders section at the end of Clm. 14731, with its accompanying diagrams, that the philosophical bent of this miscellany comes through most strongly. This begins on folio 78, after the gospels

¹⁶ Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina [henceforth CCSL] 27, ed. Lucas Verheijen (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981); and Augustine, *Confessions*, translated with an introduction and notes by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), Bk. 12, 20, 29 (CCSL, 230–31; Chadwick, 260–61), Bk. 12, 21, 30 (CCSL, 231–32; Chadwick, 261), Bk. 13, 11, 12 (CCSL, 247–48; Chadwick, 279–80), Bk. 12, 29, 40 (CCSL, 238–40; Chadwick 268–70).

¹⁷ The text is based closely on Isidore's *Differentiarum*, book 2, *Liber de Differentiis Rerum*, 147 and 148, PL 83, col. 93B. The definitions of wisdom are based on Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*, 4 (*eloquentia constat ex verbis et ex sententiis*), and Augustine, *De trinitate*, 14, 22 (*disciplinam qua in evitandis malis bonisque appetendis actio nostra versatur*). The source of the Isidore passage is not noted in Helmer's catalogue entry on Clm. 14348. Except where otherwise noted, all translations (and mistakes) are my own.

¹⁸ See most recently Ulrich Schmid, "... so that those who read the [biblical] text and the commentary do not correct one after the other" (Zachary of Besançon). Some observations on the textual traditions of two twelfth-century Latin Gospel Harmony Commentaries," in *Paratext and Megatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Aurelius Augustinus den Hollander, Ulrich Schmid, and Willem Frederik Smelik (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 136–51, with further bibliography. The text itself is printed in PL 186, cols. 11–620, esp. 19–22 (*Saepissime praemissa recapitulant evangelistae . . . In commune, quia omnes homines ex uno patre nati sunt. Unde apostolus: 'Si quis frater nominatur fornicator' et cetera*); 23–24 (*Restat nunc . . . dispositione distribuit*); 25 (*Ambrosius super Lucam . . . admiranda mysteria revelantur*); 36 (*Epylogus brevis: Est summi natura boni super omnia simplex . . . Tres igitur faciunt personae, quod Deus, omne*).

section of the miscellany ends with Zachary of Besançon's second preface, which thus serves as a bookend around several excerpts from Rupert of Deutz's *De gloria et honore Filii hominis super Matthaeum*.¹⁹ Zachary's text ends with the first word on the last line of folio 77v, which then continues immediately with a short paragraph that serves as a conclusion to this gospels section and as a transition to the subsequent wonders part of the miscellany. It reads:

You should understand the first, the middle, and the last things as prohibitions, precepts, and persuasions, or those things that were in force before the law, that were in force under the law, and that are in force during the time of grace. Jerome calls "canon" the sequence of the Old and the New Testament. For he set prologues before the books of the evangelists. To remember all things and to sin in absolutely nothing is more characteristic of divinity than of mortality. "Unless someone should see a statue of Hercules, he cannot infer how large Hercules was." Augustine, in his Book of Questions on Exodus, says, "The Israelites did not commit theft by despoiling the Egyptians, but rather they rendered a service by God's command, just as when the minister of a judge kills a guilty man." Under the [old] law there was the shadow of the obscurity of figures. In the gospel there is a clear image, the distinction of truth.²⁰

There is nothing unusual about the way the relationship between the Old and New Testaments is expressed here; nor is the reference to Jerome

¹⁹ The excerpts are taken in sequence from each book of Rupert's work (excluding, curiously, book 7, though with additional passages from books 6 and 8). For the text, which was written around 1125, see Rupert of Deutz, *De gloria et honore Filii hominis super Matthaeum*, ed. R. Haacke, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis [henceforth CCCM] 29 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979); and Christel Meier-Staubach, "Ruperts von Deutz literarische Sendung. Der Durchbruch eines neuen Autorbewußtseins im 12. Jahrhundert," in *Aspekte des 12. Jahrhunderts. Freisinger Kolloquium 1998*, ed. Wolfgang Haubrichs, Eckart Conrad Lutz, and Gisela Vollmann-Profe (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2000), 29–52. In general, see John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), esp. 350–60 for comments on the *De gloria*.

²⁰ *Prima media perfecta intellige prohibitiones, praeceptiones, persuasiones, vel ea quae ante legem, quae in lege, quae in tempore gratiae. Canonem dicit Ieronimus veteris et novi testamenti seriem. Ipse enim libris evangelistarum prologos praeposuit. Omnium habere memoriam et penitus in nullo peccare divinitatis magis quam mortalitas est. Nisi quis statuam Herculis percipiat, non potest conicere quantus Hercules fuerit. Augustinus libro quaestionum Exodi, "Israelite furtum non fecerunt spoliando Egyptios sed Deo iubenti ministerium praeberunt, quemadmodum cum minister iudicis occidit reum." In lege fuit umbra obscuritatis figurarum. In evangelio est imago clara distinctio veritatis.*

especially remarkable. But the unattributed citation from Augustine, "Unless someone should see a statue of Hercules, he cannot estimate how great Hercules was," seems particularly out of place.²¹ In its original Augustinian context the consideration of Hercules was part of a discussion about the magnitude of the soul; its use here appears to be a way to implicate matters of classical knowledge in a Christian theological discourse. This becomes patent with the Augustinian reference to the plundering of the Egyptians. Although used explicitly as a rationalization for judicial killing, Augustine's explanation of the Israelites' activity evokes in this context his argument in the *De doctrina christiana* about the utility of pagan philosophy to Christians, and it thus serves as a validation for incorporating pagan material in theological discussions.²² Because both classical and Old Testament items are included in the wonders section that immediately follows, this short paragraph, which seems to have been written *de novo* by a Regensburg monk, should be seen as a justification for such deliberations.

The final section of the miscellany begins on fol. 78 not with the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, a text it shares with Clm. 536 and that was presumably in the exemplar, but instead with a short passage about the Temple showbread. Opening with a paraphrase of Hebrews 9:2, the exposition on the showbread is freely based on Bede's *De tabernaculo* 1,

²¹ *De Quantitate Animae* 3,4 (*Anima quanta sit*): PL 32, col. 1037; Augustine, *The Greatness of the Soul and The Teacher*, trans. Joseph Colleran, Ancient Christian Writers 9 (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1950), 16–17.

²² Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, 2, 40; PL 34, col. 63 or Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, CCSL 32, Joseph Martin, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), 73–75. I cannot explain why the Regensburg monk chose to quote not from the *De doctrina* itself but rather from the *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, Exodus 2.39 (PL 34, col. 607, or Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, ed. Iohannes Fraipont, CCSL 33 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1958], 85). Moreover, this passage from Augustine was cited by both Ivo of Chartres, *Decretals*, 13.2 (PL 161, col. 803B—*Quod filii Israel non fecerint furtum spoliando Aegyptios*. August. lib. Quaest. [quaest. 39 ad c. XI Exod.]), and Peter Abelard, *Sic et Non*, 157 (PL 178, col. 1607C—*Quod liceat homines interficere, et non*). The text in Clm. 14731 is closer to Ivo and Abelard than to Augustine himself. Because there are other passages in Clm. 14731 based on Ivo, it is likely that this was the source of the Augustine quote. On the diffusion of the Augustinian trope, see Joseph de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du XIIe siècle*, Museum Lessianum, section historique 10 (Bruges: Éditions De Tempel, 1948), 94–95.

7.²³ In short, the twelve loaves are compared to the twelve apostles, the doctrine they spread, and the popes; just as the loaves are replaced one by one, so too are the apostles, in the form of the pope.²⁴ What makes this page particularly notable, however, is the large drawing of the "mensa

²³ PL 91, cols. 411–14, *Vasorum mensae et panum propositionis descriptio*; Bede: *On the Tabernacle*. Translated by Arthur G. Holder (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), 27–31, "The Vessels for [the Table] and the Loaves of Proposition, and the Incense."

²⁴ "In templo domini erat mensa et propositio panum." *Per mensam accipimus sacram scripturam unde illud "parasti in conspectu mensam meo" in qua erant .xii. panes id est .xii. apostolorum doctrina. Qui benedicuntur post ostium quia per fidei acceptionem, quae ostium est ingrediendi ad eum, debet unusquisque sacram verbi doctrinam cognoscere. Illi panes ponebantur in mensa prima sabbati et quotienscumque aliquis eorum auferebatur, quacumque de causa, mox alius in eius loco ponebatur et hoc fiebat usque ad septimum sabbatum in quo omnes simul auferebantur. Per .xii. panes, ut diximus, .xii. apostolos intelligimus, quorum quotiens aliquis moritur, alius eius sub loco, ut Petro defuncto Clemens, successit, et sic per ceteros. Quod adhuc de episcopis fit qui vicem tenent apostolorum et hoc fit usque in .vii. aetatem et tunc omnes auferentur quia non erit necesse ut aliquis doceatur, quia sicut ipse dixit per os Ieremiae, "A maiore usque ad minorem omnes eum cognoscent." "Et in unoquoque pane lucidissimum thus" quod ostendit quod unusquisque sacerdos debet habere puras cogitationes et deo offerre orationes in quibus delectetur ut in thuris odore.* ("In the temple of the Lord there was the table and the showbread [Hebrews 9,2]. Through 'table' we understand Sacred Scripture, from which we get this: 'You prepared a table in my sight' [Ps 22,5]. On the table there were twelve loaves of bread, that is, the teaching of the twelve apostles; the [loaves] are blessed after the doorway, because through the acceptance of faith, which is the doorway of approaching him, each ought to recognize the sacred teaching of the Word. Those loaves were placed on the first Sabbath table, and however many times one of them was taken away, whatever the reason, soon another one was put in its place. And this was done all the way up to the seventh Sabbath, when they were all taken away at the same time. Through the twelve loaves, as we said, we understand the twelve apostles: for as soon as one dies, another takes his place, just as Clement succeeded Peter after he had died, and the same with the others. This practice continues with the bishops, who hold the place of the apostles, and it will continue until the seventh age; and then they all will be taken away, because it will not be necessary that anyone be taught. For, just as He Himself said through the mouth of Jeremiah: 'All from the greater to the lesser will recognize him.' 'And in each loaf there was brightest incense' that showed that every priest should have pure thoughts and offer to God prayers in which He may delight as in the fragrance of incense.") Although the bulk of the passage is based on PL 91, col. 412; Holder, 30–31, Bede himself mentions neither the verse from Hebrews nor that from Psalms.

propositionis" that structures the page (Figure 1). It is clear that the drawing was executed first and the text written in around it. What was the function of this relatively simple image of the Temple table and the loaves?

Perhaps what is most important about the picture is not any specific visual information it provides, for it adds very little to the textual passage under it, but its very presence on the page and in the manuscript. As the very first image in the miscellany, it announces that the subject matter here is of special importance and deserves extra attention. More specifically, it seems to be an overt expression of the final lines of the transitional paragraph just above the representation: *In lege fuit umbra obscuritatis figurarum. In evangelio est imago clara distinctio veritatis*: "In the [old] law there was the shadow of the obscurity of figures. In the gospel there is a clear image, the distinction of truth." The contrast between the darkness of the era of the Law and the clarity of the era of Grace was a venerable topos, and by rendering the Temple table as a *figura*, the Regensburg monk responsible for the miscellany more tangibly articulated the obscured meaning and physicality of the Old Testament that only becomes intelligible and spiritual through the New Testament.²⁵

²⁵ For the concept of "figura," see in general, *Der Begriff der Repraesentatio im Mittelalter*, ed. Albert Zimmermann and Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971); *L'Image: fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Jérôme Baschet and Jean-Claude Schmitt, Cahiers du Léopard d'Or 5 (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1996), and Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Imago: de l'image à l'imaginaire," in *L'Image*, 29–37. On artistic expressions of the contrast between old and new, see Herbert L. Kessler, "Medieval Art as Argument," in *Iconography at the Crossroads*, ed. Brendan Cassidy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 59–70. For a further consideration of these issues, see Adam S. Cohen, "Art, Exegesis, and Affective Piety in Twelfth-Century German Manuscripts," in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Religious Reform and Intellectual Life in Twelfth-Century Germany*, ed. Alison Beach (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 45–68.

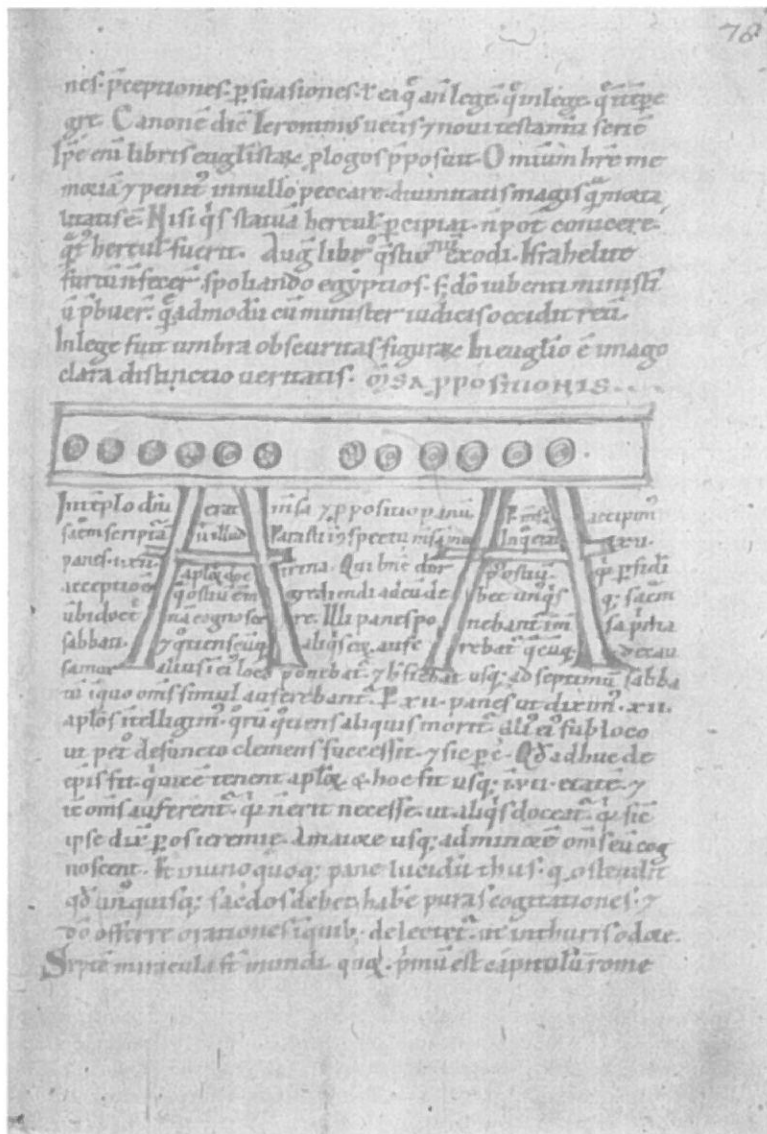


Figure 1: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14731, fol. 78r, Table of the Temple Showbread (*Mensa propositio*nis). See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

The Temple showbread passage ends on the penultimate line of fol. 78, and the same scribe continued immediately with the Seven Wonders of the ancient world: the Capitolium in Rome, the Lighthouse in Alexandria, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Statue of Bellerophon, the Marble Theater of Eraclea, a bath heated by a single candle, and the Temple of Diana in Ephesus. This text, which runs until the top of fol. 79, is taken almost verbatim from the *De septem mundi miraculis* conventionally attributed to Bede, though the extensively detailed description of the Temple of Diana at the end has been reduced to a simple, "because of the magnitude and multitude of its columns."²⁶ The appearance of the Seven Wonders text is not wholly surprising, for it was included already in Clm 536, attesting to a wider interest in the topic in twelfth-century Regensburg. But, as noted above, Clm. 536 then follows the Seven Wonders with a series of theological sevens (e.g., wonders at the birth of Christ), while Clm. 14731 extends the consideration of ancient wonders by turning to a mélange of subjects in texts and images whose common theme seems to be their antiquity, peculiarity, and connection to knowledge. In brief these include the Palladium, Sebastes/Neapolis (Shechem) and other sites in the Holy Land, Noah's Ark, Orpheus and Creation, Divinations, the Labyrinth, Jericho, and a map of the world with reference to the sons of Noah.

Like the Temple table, the text about Noah's Ark on fol. 80 is also accompanied by a picture, which here takes up more than half the page (Figure 2).

²⁶ PL 90, col. 961–62. On the Seven Wonders and their reception in the Middle Ages, see Kai Brodersen, *Reiseführer zu den sieben Weltwundern. Philon von Byzanz und andere antike Texte* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1992), and Kai Brodersen, *Die sieben Weltwunder. Legendäre Kunst- und Bauwerke* (Munich: Beck, 1996), esp. ch. 9. The only wonder in the Bede text not accounted for in earlier such lists is the self-heating bath (number 6). Although Brodersen, *Die sieben Weltwunder*, 106, suggested that it was the product of Bede's frigid Northumbrian climate, it is likely that there is a textual source yet to be identified.

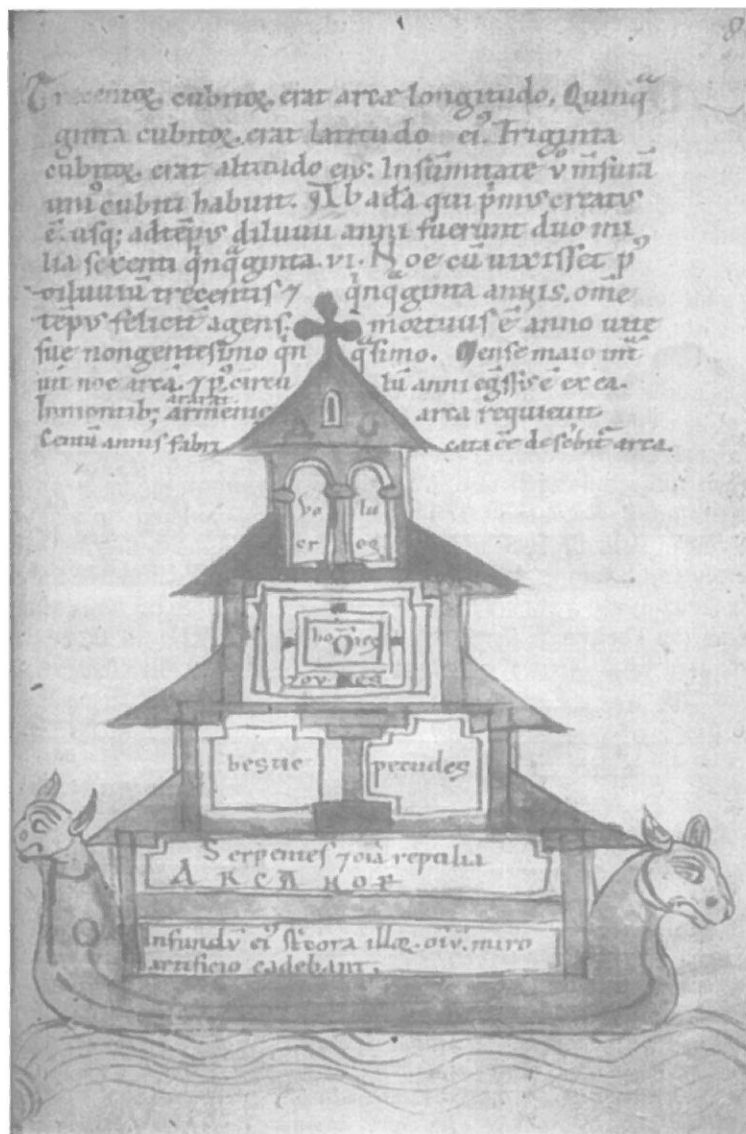


Figure 2: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14731, fol. 80r, Noah's Ark. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

It is similar in form to an image in a twelfth-century Benediktbeuern miscellany, but in that instance the picture is connected to a Pseudo-Bedan text in which the Ark is interpreted as a type of the Church.²⁷ In Clm. 14731, although the Ark is surmounted with a cross and the letters A and O appear in the gable, the paragraph above is remarkably free of any theological content. Instead, the focus is on various numerical aspects of the ark, such as its size and the years it took to build. The single titulus that goes beyond being a simple label—"In the bottom of it the excrement of all of them fell by wonderful artifice"—similarly tilts away from theology and expresses more the remarkable nature of the Ark.²⁸ In this regard, the inclusion and treatment of the Ark in this section of the manuscript is more in keeping with the list of ancient wonders given by Gregory of Tours at the beginning of the *De cursu stellarum*, but this was not adapted by Bede and there is no evidence the Regensburg

²⁷ On the manuscript, Clm. 4556, see Günter Glauche, *Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuern: Clm 4501–4663*, Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 85–89. For the text, see PL 90, col. 1179–80. Fundamental on the subject of the Ark as a type of the Church is Joachim Ehlers, "Arca significat ecclesiam. Ein theologisches Weltmodell aus der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 6 (1972): 171–87. For images of Noah's Ark in general, see Andreina Contessa, "Noah's Ark and the Ark of Covenant in Spanish and Sephardic Medieval Manuscripts," in *Between Judaism and Christianity. Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 171–89, with further bibliography.

²⁸ *In fundum eius stercora illorum omnium miro artificio cadebant*. I have not been able to find the source or interpretation of this titulus, nor of the passage as a whole. *Trecentorum cubitorum erat arcae longitudo, quinquaginta cubitorum erat latitudo eius. Triginta cubitorum erat altitudo eius. In summitate vero mensuram unius cubiti habuit. Ab Adam qui primus creatus est usque ad tempus diluvii anni fuerunt duo milia sexenti quinquaginta .vi. Noe cum vixisset post diluvium trecentis et quinquaginta annis, omne tempus feliciter agens, mortuus est anno vitae suae nongentesimo quinquasimo. Mense Maio intravit Noe arcam et post circulum anni egressus est ex ea. In montibus Ararat Armeniae arca requievit. Centum annis fabricata esse describitur arca.* ("The length of the ark was 300 cubits, its width was 50 cubits. Its height was 30 cubits. In the highest part it had a measure of 1 cubit. From Adam, who was created first, until the time of the flood, there were 2656 years. Noah, when he had lived 350 years after the flood (passing this span of time happily), died in the 950th year of his life. Noah entered the ark in the month of May, and after the passing of a year, exited it. The ark rested on Mount Ararat in Armenia. The ark is said to have been made in a hundred years..")

miscellany compiler knew that work.²⁹ In any event, the impressive image in Clm. 14731 that dominates the page effectively communicates the marvelous-ness of the structure as quantified by the numerical information of the text.

The next several texts are devoid of illustration. Two deal directly with ancient cosmology and knowledge: an account of creation in the name of Orpheus and Hesiod (called Thesiod),³⁰ and a long quotation on

²⁹ The text is printed in Gregory of Tours, *De cursu stellarum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum 1, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1885), 854–72, esp. 857–58. A translation is available in *Monks, Bishops, and Pagans: Christian Culture in Gaul and Italy, 500–700. Sources in Translation, including The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. and trans. William Coffman McDermott (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 209–18.

³⁰ *Orpheus igitur est qui dicit primum fuisse chaos sempiternum, inensum, ingenitum, ex quo omnia facta sunt; hoc sane ipsum chaos non tenebras, non lucem, non humidum, non aridum, non calidum, non frigidum, sed omnia simul mixta et semper unum fuisse informe; aliquando tamen quasi ad inmanis ovi modum per immensa tempora effectam peperisse ac protulisse ex se quandam speciem, quam illi masculofeminam vocant, ex contraria admixtione concretam; et hoc esse principium omnium, quod primum ex materia puriore processcerit quodque procedens discretionem iiii elementorum dederit et ex duobus, quae prima sunt, fecit caelum; ex aliis vero terram. Ex quibus iam omnia participatione sui invicem nasci dicit et gigni. Haec quidem Orpheus. Subiungit his et Thesiodus; post chaos statim celum dicens fuisse factum esse, et terram. Ex quibus ait progenitos illos xi, quos interdum et xii dicit; ex quibus vi mares, v feminas ponit. Nomina enim dat maribus Oceanus, Cheus, Cryus, Yperion, Iapetus, Cronus, qui et Saturnus. Item feminis: Thyia, Rhea, Themis, Econemosine, Thetis. Quae nomina per allegoriam hoc modo exponunt: Numerum quidem xi sive xii, ipsam dicunt primam naturam, quam et Rheam a fluendo dictam volunt. Reliquas vero x accidentia eius dicunt, quas equalitates appellant. Xii tamen numerum Cronum quod apud nos Saturnum dicunt; hoc pro tempore accipiunt. Saturnum vero et Rheam tempus ponunt et materiam. ("Therefore it is Orpheus who said that first there was everlasting, immense, unbegotten chaos, from which all things were made; that this chaos of course was not darkness, not light, not moist, not dry, not hot, not cold, but everything mixed together and always one unformed thing. At some point, though, as if through a huge egg in an immense amount of time, chaos bore and brought forth from itself a certain species, which they call "masculo-femina," created from a mixture of contrary things. And [he said that] this is the beginning of all things, because first it came from more pure matter and thereafter it produced the division of the four elements, and from the first two elements it made the sky and from the others the earth. From which he says everything is born and begotten by means of their participation with each other. This is what Orpheus said. And Thesiod adds to this view, saying that immediately after chaos*

different kinds of divination in the name of Varro as codified by Isidore of Seville.³¹ Sandwiched between these two is a very unusual passage that offers an exegetical interpretation of Luke 17,34, "[There will be] two men in one bed; one will be taken and the other will be left behind."

The bed, therefore, is this world on which we lie and on which we exist. From this bed, one will be taken up, that is one who is holy and chosen for the kingdom of heaven, and "we will be taken up into the air to meet with Christ in the clouds and thus we will always be with the Lord" (I Thess 4,16). The other will be left behind, this is the sinner, whether the people of the Gentiles or the Jews, who have not accepted the truth, namely that Christ is the son of God; but in the last days they will accept the Antichrist, the fullness of every sin, and therefore they will be driven out on the last day.³²

the sky was made, and the earth. He says that from them came those eleven progeny, which he sometimes calls twelve; of which he lists six males and five females. To the males he gives the names Oceanus, Coeus, Crius, Hyperion, Iapetus, Cronus who is known as Saturn. Likewise to the females [he gives the names] Theia, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Thetis. They explain these names through allegory in this way: the number eleven or twelve they say is the first nature itself, which they wish to call 'Rhea,' from flowing. They say the remaining ten are accidents of her, which they call 'qualities'. They say that the twelfth number is Cronus, who among us is known as Saturn; this they understand as 'time.' Indeed they count Saturn as time and Rhea as matter.") I have not located the source of this passage.

³¹ Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8, 9 ("De Magis"), PL 82, col. 312–13. For an English translation, see Isidore, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, translated, with introduction and notes, by Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 182–83. Several slight word variations suggest that it was Ivo of Chartres (*Decretals* 11, 68: "De variis generibus divinationum," PL 161, col. 761–62), rather than Isidore himself, who was the source for the Regensburg compiler (Ivo is used elsewhere in Clm. 14731), though my knowledge of the manuscript history of both texts does not allow me to assert this with confidence. For a consideration of this passage in Isidore and beyond, see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. Vol. 3: *Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 629–32.

³² *Duo in lecto unus assumetur et alter relinquetur. Lectus igitur hic mundus est in quo iacemus et in quo sumus. Ex hoc lecto unus assumetur, id est sanctus et electus ad regnum celorum et in aera obviam Christo in nubibus rapiemur et sic semper cum Domino erimus. Alter relinquetur, id est peccator sive populus Gentium aut Iudeorum qui non receperunt veritate[m], id est Christum filium dei, sed in novissimis temporibus recipere antichristum plenitudinem omnis peccati et ideo in novissimo die expellentur foras.* Ambrose of Milan, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, 8, 46, referred to the Antichrist in his interpretation of this passage, but

The lack of any identifiable source and the somewhat irregular writing of this paragraph on fol. 80v suggest that this is another original composition by the twelfth-century Regensburg monk, articulating once more the respective status of truth in Christ versus the falsehood of both pagans and Jews. What is especially noteworthy is the placement of this passage in a section on wonders that is filled with examples of both ancient and Jewish learning and marvels, and the implication that the problem of the non-believers is their rejection of knowable truth.

The final texts on fol. 82 of Clm. 14731 make explicit the preoccupation with questions of proper and improper knowledge in the primary miscellany. The first is said to be by Jerome but is in fact a text of Bede, from his *Expositionis allegoricae in Samuelem prophetam*:

He who thinks that they [the readers] should be entirely prohibited from reading secular books disturbs the sharpness of readers and drives them to fail, since it is permitted to them to take up as their own whenever useful things are found (in the books). Otherwise Moses and Daniel would not have allowed people to be educated in the knowledge or letters of the Egyptians and the Chaldeans, whose superstitions and allurements they nevertheless shuddered at equally. Nor would the teacher himself have inserted some of the verses of gentile poets into either his sayings or writings.³³

This is followed by two lines attributed to Ambrose:

We read some things lest [others] be read. We read lest we be ignorant. We do not read that we may be ignorant. We read not so that we may support hold [ideas] but so that we may refute.³⁴

there are no real similarities between his exegesis and that found in Clm. 14731 (PL 15, col. 1788B; Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 14 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1957], 313–14; Ambrose, *Commentary of Saint Ambrose on the Gospel according to Saint Luke*, trans. Íde M. Ní Riain [Dublin: Halcyon, 2001], 285). I have found no closer source.

³³ Bede, *In Samuelem prophetam allegorica expositio*, 2, 9; PL 91, col. 589–90 or CCSL 119, ed. David Hurst (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), 121. *Turbat acumen legentium et deficere cogit, qui eos a legendis secularibus libris omnimodo estimat prohibendos, quibus ut ubilibet inventa sunt utilia quasi sua sumere licet. Alioquin Moyses et Daniel sapientia vel litteris Egiptiorum Chaldeorumque non paterentur erudiri quorum tamen supersticiones simul et delicias horrebant. Nec ipse magister gentium aliquot versus poetarum suis vel dictis vel scriptis indidisse.*

³⁴ Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, 1,1; PL 15, col. 1533B; Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, 7; Ambrose, *Commentary*, 6. *Legimus aliqua ne legantur. Legimus ne ignoremus. Legimus non ut ignoremus. Legimus non ut*

Finally, the section concludes with a passage captioned "The opinion of a certain wise man":

Who runs with death toward water and drinks the water without death? Whose footprints are never found, either on the earth or on the water? It is the serpent whose footprints do not appear when it runs. And when it arrives at water, before it drinks, it vomits out its venom, and then it drinks. And so should we act that, when we need to approach the altar of God, we put aside the worst poisons, namely rage, hatred, envy, falsehood, sin, bitterness, lust, evil pride. These are the poisons of [our] souls. Let us set them all aside first, and so approach the altar of God...³⁵

It is worth quoting these passages at length because their selection and content indisputably speak to the intellectual predilections behind the compilation of Clm. 14731. They help contextualize the opening passage (which cites the plundering of the Egyptians), and the middle text (which expounds on "two men in one bed") that, together with these final excerpts, structure this section of the miscellany to demonstrate the value and legitimacy of pagan knowledge.

Taken as a whole, the various components of the primary miscellany's last seven folios communicate not only a fascination with ancient marvels and ideas, but also the need to cloak these and bring them within a Christian worldview. The miscellany's last three pages present images that articulate this most clearly. Folios 82v and 83 feature an unusual double-page opening that juxtaposes Theseus and the Minotaur in the

teneamus sed ut repudiemus. The repetition of the "ignoremus" phrase is not in Ambrose.

³⁵ This sermon is printed in *PL* 17, col. 653–54, as Ambrose, *Sermo XXIV*, 10. *De Sancta Quadragesima VIII*, though the sermon is now attributed to Pseudo-Ambrose. See, for example, Richard Finn, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire. Christian Promotion and Practice, 313–450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 52, n. 72. Although the caption "The opinion of a certain wise man" (*Sententia cuiusdam sapientis*) suggests that the Regensburg compiler was already aware that the sermon was not by Ambrose, it is hard to know what the source was or was thought to be. *Qui cum morte currit ad aquam et sine morte bibit et vestigia illius nusquam inveniuntur neque super terram neque super aquam. Serpens est qui cum currit, vestigia illius non apparent. Et cum venerit ad aquam, priusquam bibit, evomit venenum suum et sic postea bibit. Ita et nos faciamus ut, quando ad altare dei accedere debemus, deponamus venenum pessimum scilicet iracundiam, odium, invidiam, falsitatem, iniquitatem, amariciam, cupiditatem, malam superbiam. Hec sunt animarum venena. Ista omnia prius deponamus. Et sic ad altare dei acce[dere].*

Labyrinth with a representation of Jericho, also depicted as a kind of labyrinth (Figure 3).³⁶

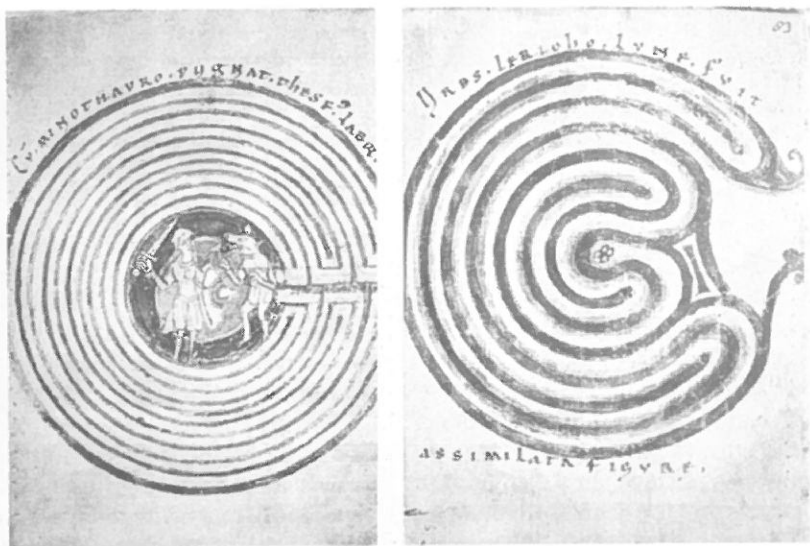


Figure 3: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14731, fol. 82v-83r, Labyrinth / Jericho. See also the colour plates at the end of the volume.

The labyrinth had many possible meanings in the Middle Ages, and the interpretive key here is provided by the reference to Jericho as the moon, making it a symbol of the sinful world; by extension, Theseus's battle against the Minotaur can be understood as Christ's victory over sin and death.³⁷ In the context of the whole book, however, what is notable is the

³⁶ I have discussed these images at greater length in Cohen, "Art, Exegesis, and Affective Piety." The tituli accompanying the pictures read: *Cum minothauro pugnatus thesaurus laborinto* ("When Theseus fights against the Minotaur in the labyrinth") and *Urbs Iericho lune fuit assimilata figure* ("the city of Jericho is compared to the shape of the moon").

³⁷ Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, 32, with further literature. See also Wolfgang Haubrichs, "Error Inextricabilis. Form und Funktion der Labyrinthabbildung in mittelalterlichen Handschriften," in *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Christel Meier and Uwe Ruberg (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980), 63-174; and Penelope Reed Doob, *The*

way Christian symbolism is forged by the choice and juxtaposition of a classical wonder and an esoteric Old Testament reference. If we imagine, for a moment, a twelfth-century monk using this book, we can envision him reading on folio 82 the words of "Jerome," Ambrose, and "a certain wise man" and then turning the page and encountering the labyrinth opening. Before his eyes was a wonder of the ancient world, clearly labelled, but how was he to interpret it? Because it was not treated earlier in this volume he would have had to know about Theseus and the Minotaur from other sources, and in light of the warnings about using pagan knowledge properly, he surely would have given it a Christian interpretation. In the context of this whole miscellany, with its lengthy passages from Honorius and Rupert of Deutz, he would have imbued this interpretation with what Michael Curschmann calls the "symbolistic spirituality" characteristic of twelfth-century German theology.³⁸ The labyrinth and its ancient actors were thus not only part of God's creation and direction of the world, but also vehicles for discerning deeper allegorical meanings about leading a Christian life. In this case, we can presume that the victory over sin and death represented by the fight in the labyrinth applied not only to Christ, but also to the individual monk charged with negotiating the poison of "rage, hatred, envy, falsehood, sin, bitterness, lust, and bad pride."

But this is not the final piece of the primary miscellany. It ends on fol. 83v with a map of the world that has a decided Old Testament slant (Figure 4). Under the elaborated T-O map is a smaller, schematic rectangle with an accompanying titulus, stating "Thus was the world divided by the sons of Noah after the flood" (*Ecce sic diviserunt terram filii noe post diluvium*). This was not an unusual idea, though it was hardly common to all medieval maps, and it underscores that geography was implicated in sacred history.³⁹

Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

³⁸ Michael Curschmann, "Imagined Exegesis: Text and Picture in the Exegetical Work of Rupert of Deutz, Honorius Augustodunensis, and Gerhoch of Reichersberg," *Traditio* 44 (1988): 145–69, esp. 148.

³⁹ See Chet van Duzer and Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, "Tres filii Noe diviserunt orbem post diluvium: the world map in British Library Add. MS 37049," *Word & Image* 26 (2010): 21–39. The map in Clm. 14731 has been treated briefly by Leonid S. Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography. Inventory, Text, Translation and Commentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 48–49. For the

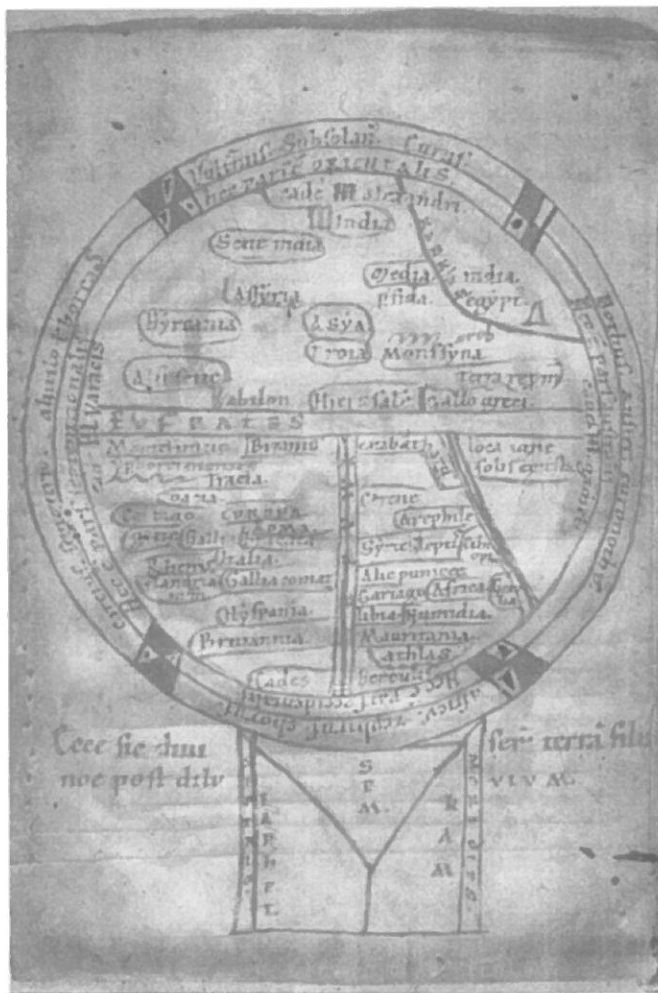


Figure 4: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14731, fol. 83v, World map. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

relationship of *mappae mundi* to the encyclopedic tradition, see Margriet Hoogvliet, "Mappae mundi and Medieval Encyclopaedias: Image versus Text," in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts. Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996*, ed. Peter Binkley (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 63-74.

Furthermore, although the map may be "kunstlos," it nevertheless had a function. As the very last item in the original miscellany, it served as a *collectio*, a visual summary of all that came before.⁴⁰ It signals to the reader that the book as a whole is about everything contained in the world. It is thus a bookend fitting to the beginning of the volume, the *Imago mundi* of Honorius, itself a theological compendium of information about the world.

The pictures that are clustered at the end of the miscellany support an interpretation of Clm. 14731 as a manuscript in which ideas about ancient knowledge and marvels are fundamental. It is difficult to imagine that such representations as the Temple table or Noah's Ark would have been particularly useful in a pastoral context, despite the overlap of certain texts with Clm. 536. Rather, as Mary Carruthers has demonstrated, such pictures work mainly to make things memorable.⁴¹ Their graphic forms stand out from the text, drawing attention to themselves and to the words around them. Above all, they support the process of monastic *meditatio*. In this regard, Clm. 14731 is not the most expansive or revealing book in terms of its images, but seeing it in light of other twelfth-century Regensburg manuscripts helps us understand how the book and its pictures functioned as agents of monastic thought.

In certain ways, the closest manuscript to Clm. 14731 is Clm. 13002, a miscellany made in the nearby Benedictine monastery of St. George in Prüfening between 1158 and 1165. The heart of this volume is the *Glossarium Salomonis*, a lengthy alphabetical glossary (fol. 8v–208v), followed by the *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, a much shorter text containing Greek and Latin word lists (fol. 209–218) and then several short Old and New Testament commentaries (fol. 218v–229). The whole book is preceded by a gathering of images that represent, in order, Man as the Microcosm, cauterization procedures, anatomical diagrams, allegories of the Vices and Virtues, Jerusalem, a diploma of the monastery's holdings, and a list of its books. As Elisabeth Klemm has noted, the sequence of pictures represents a spiritual progression for the monastic audience.⁴² What is notable in connection to Clm. 14731 is a somewhat similar combination of ancient knowledge (the source of the

⁴⁰ For images as "summary," see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. 147–51, 201–03, 241–43.

⁴¹ Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, *passim*.

⁴² Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, v. 1, 60–64 and v. 2, figs. 150–64.

medical and anatomical images), the Old Testament (the allegories), and the Holy Land (the depiction of Jerusalem and accompanying text from Bede's *De locis sanctis*). The opening image of the microcosm in Clm. 13002 functioned as a *dispositio* (Figure 5), the foundation for and summary of what was to follow, and so it is a conceptual counterpart to the world map that served as the *collectio* at the end of Clm. 14731.

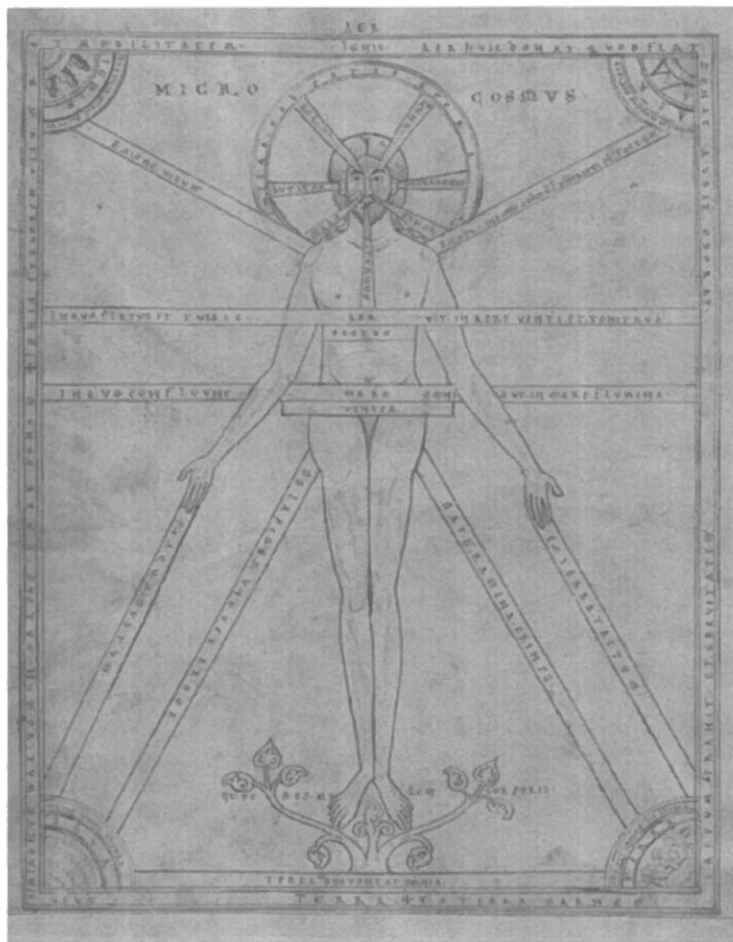


Figure 5: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13002, fol. 7v, Microcosm. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

Furthermore, the tituli for the microcosm picture were drawn from the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis,⁴³ whose *De imago mundi* opened Clm. 14731; both manuscripts are thus witnesses to the great impact of Honorius in Regensburg, where he was active earlier in the twelfth century.⁴⁴

The use of material from the popular *Elucidarium* for the microcosm tituli in Clm. 13002 is not surprising, but it is worth noting that the *Elucidarium* itself was not among the contents of that manuscript. This is a simple, but useful, reminder about the process by which such miscellanies as Clm. 13002 and Clm. 14731 were compiled. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the act of selecting and copying the diverse sources of the texts and images in Clm. 13002 was an exercise in monastic *compilatio* and *meditatio*, a method by which the Regensburg-Prüfening monks deliberated on preexisting material and then created a new manuscript storehouse of information that would serve as fodder for future rumination.⁴⁵ And just as Clm. 13002 was both the product of and vehicle for monastic cogitation, so too was the artistically more humble but textually more varied Clm. 14731.

Still, we should not be deceived by the relatively simple character of the drawings in Clm. 14731. As we have seen, these images were used to

⁴³ See, fundamentally, Boeckler, *Buchmalerei*, 20–29, 91–94. Also important are Bruno Reudenbach, “‘In Mensuram Humani Corporis’: Zur Herkunft der Auslegung und Illustration von Vitruv III im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Christel Meier and Uwe Ruberg (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980), 651–88, and Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny, “L’homme comme symbole: le microcosme,” in *Simboli e simbologia nell’alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo 23 (Spoleto: CISAM, 1976), vol. 1, 123–83; reprinted in d’Alverny, *Études sur le symbolisme de la Sagesse et sur l’iconographie* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), IX, both with further literature.

⁴⁴ The most accepted account of Honorius’ life and chronology of his writings has been provided by Valerie Flint in her “The Career of Honorius Augustodunensis. Some Fresh Evidence,” *Revue bénédictine* 82 (1972): 63–86; “The Chronology of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis,” *Revue bénédictine* 82 (1972): 215–42; “The Commentaries of Honorius Augustodunensis on the Song of Songs,” *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974): 196–211; and *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995) for an overview.

⁴⁵ Adam S. Cohen, “Making Memories in a Medieval Miscellany,” *Gesta* 48 (2009): 135–52. See also Melanie Holcomb, *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), 15–16, and 96 for a similar assessment of Clm. 14159 (on which see below and n. 53).

highlight the wonders section of the miscellany, to communicate the place of Old Testament and antique marvels within a Christian theological system, and to provide additional material upon which the Regensburg monks could cogitate. The presence of such pictures specifically in a miscellany is also significant, as a comparison to Clm. 13002 again makes clear. With tituli drawn from the *Elucidarium*, we might expect the microcosm picture to appear in a manuscript containing works of Honorius, like Clm. 13105, which was made in Prüfening in the second quarter of the twelfth century and includes the *Elucidarium*, *Inevitabile*, *Offendiculum* and *De Apostatis*.⁴⁶ Yet that book has only modest initials (Figure 6), and as a general rule Honorius's manuscripts were not illustrated, in Regensburg or elsewhere.

The incorporation of pictorial matter as part of such a cogitative method might even be said to have influenced the inclusion of narrative scenes in Clm. 13074, one of the earliest illustrated Lives of the Apostles. In brief, the manuscript contains a vita for each apostle supplemented by two for Saints Christopher and Barnabas; a pair of images devoted to the life and especially the martyrdom of the respective apostle or saint precedes each text (Figure 7).⁴⁷ The major exception is his *Expositio* on the Song of Songs with four complex allegorical images that were likely original parts of Honorius' treatise.⁴⁸ But although this text had a relatively wide distribution,⁴⁹ the four pictures in the *Expositio* are not

⁴⁶ Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, v. 1, 52–53.

⁴⁷ The images for James the Less and Barnabas are found at the end of their respective texts, and certain other texts and pictures have been lost from the manuscript, which retains nineteen figural pages. For the manuscript in general, with details of its contents, see Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, 68–71 and vol. 2, figs. 178–83.

⁴⁸ Curschmann, "Imagined Exegesis," 153–60. On the commentary, see Flint, "The Commentaries"; E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: the Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 58–76, 155–58; Jeremy Cohen, "'Synagoga conversa': Honorius Augustodunensis, the Song of Songs, and Christianity's 'Eschatological Jew,'" *Speculum* 79 (2004): 309–40.

⁴⁹ Curschmann, "Imagined Exegesis," 154, lists six extant manuscripts from the twelfth century: Clm. 4550 (Benediktbeuern), Clm. 5118 (Beuerberg), Clm. 18125 (Tegernsee), Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 942 (Salzburg?), Baltimore, W. 29 (Lambach), and Augsburg I 2 2^o 13 (southwest Germany). Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, 167–68, dates the Vienna manuscript to the thirteenth century. All these manuscripts contain the *Expositio*, *Sigillum S. Mariae*, and *Hexameron*.

even equal in number to the illustrations in Clm. 14731. It would seem, at least in twelfth-century Regensburg, that concentrations of illustration were more usually connected with theological miscellanies like Clm. 14731. Unlike the copying of a Gospel Book or a Sacramentary, for example, whose texts (and occasional pictures) were steeped in and restricted by tradition and authority, creating miscellanies within the context of monastic *meditatio* provided monks greater opportunity to use diverse visual materials as part of this collation process.⁵⁰

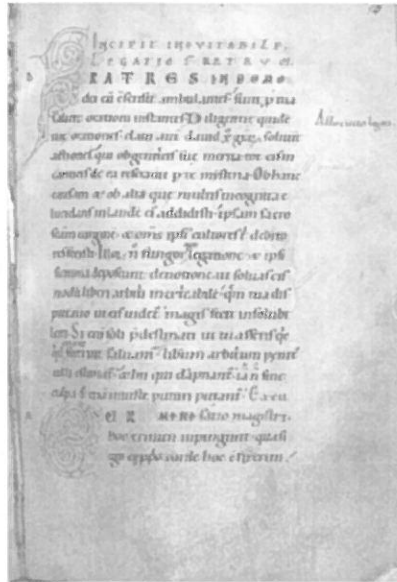


Figure 6: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13105, fol. 83r, Initials from Honorius, *Inevitabile*. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

⁵⁰ Curschmann, "Imagined Exegesis." For an overview of book illustration in Regensburg in the twelfth century, see Elisabeth Klemm, "Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Regensburger Buchmalerei: Von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, ed. Karl Dachs and Florentine Mutherich (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1987), 39–46. The majority of figural illustrations are found in theological miscellanies.

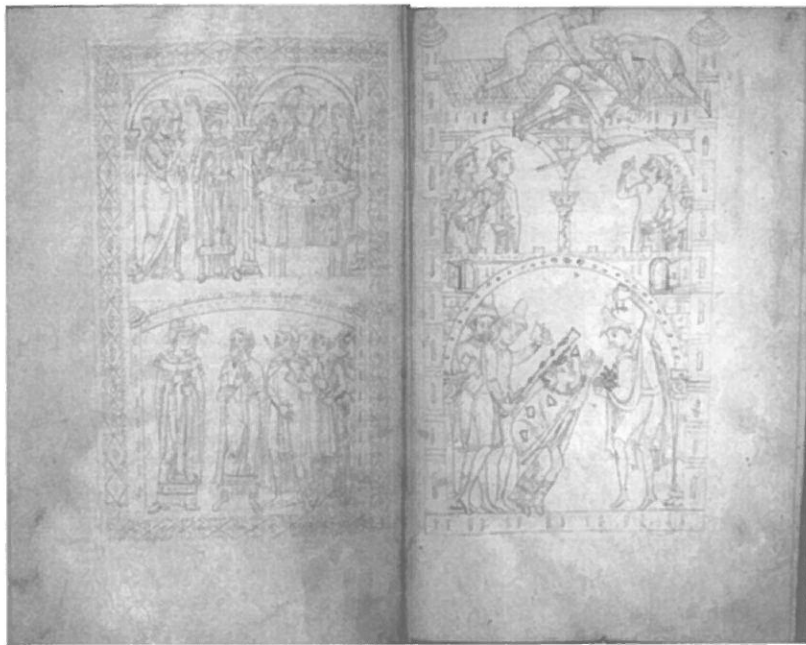


Figure 7: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13074, fol. 81v–82r, Scenes from the Life of James the Less. See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

As such, the manuscript could be considered a miscellany of apostles' *vitae*, to which the pictures add further material for visual and mental contemplation.

In her catalogue entry for Clm. 13074, Klemm pointed out the difficulties in localizing the manuscript to either St. George in Prüfening or St. Emmeram in Regensburg and in giving the manuscript a precise date.⁵¹ The same issues pertain to Clm. 14399, an Ambrose manuscript with illustrations of the Days of Creation within the *Hexameron*.⁵² Part of the

⁵¹ Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, 68–71. She concluded that the manuscript was made c. 1175 but was unwilling to ascribe it to one monastery or the other. Attributing this and other manuscripts to one monastery or the other is based on several, often conflicting pieces of information. Klemm's catalogue entries should be consulted for details in each specific case.

⁵² Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, 32–34 and v. 2, figs. 61–65. The manuscript contains, in addition to the *Hexameron*, the following Ambrose texts:

problem is that Clm. 13074 and Clm. 14399 have been compared stylistically to manuscripts attributed to both St. George (Clm. 13002) and St. Emmeram (Clm. 14159). But as important as it is to untangle the stylistic connections among these manuscripts, it is more important to recognize that what unites them is not only their shared artistic vocabulary, but also their shared intellectual armature. Clm. 13002, the miscellany with pictures of the microcosm and others, provided the Prüfening monks with images that could be used in their meditations toward spiritual advancement. This function should be extended to Clm. 14731 as well. Clm. 14159, a treatise usually called *De laudibus sanctae crucis* that has been attributed convincingly to Conrad of Hirsau, begins with an extensive prefatory cycle that visually articulates the relationship of the Old Testament to the New with an emphasis on the cross.⁵³ At the very end of the treatise are two more full-page drawings: the first represents the division of the world into 72 lands and languages through the sons of Noah (Figure 8), and the second is a genealogy of Christ from Terach through Abraham, Moses, and Solomon, among others.

Although not directly based on the *Dialogus de cruce* text, these concluding pictures can be interpreted in light of Clm. 14731's world map with the sons of Noah as a demonstration that the christological theology of the treatise is encompassed within the broader scope of (sacred) history. In short, while these various Regensburg-Prüfening manuscripts have been considered as a group mainly in order to identify the hand of a particular artist, to localize a book either to St. Emmeram or St. George, or to chart stylistic developments, the presence of stylistic connections also signals that the visual and textual contents of the

De Paradiso, De Cain et Abel, and the Recapitulationes. The illustrations are related closely to pictures in the Admont Bible produced in Salzburg around 1140 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ser. nov. 2701-02).

⁵³ On the manuscript, see primarily Wolfgang Härtl, *Text und Miniaturen der Handschrift 'Dialogus de laudibus sanctae crucis'* (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14159). *Ein monastischer Dialog und sein Bilderzyklus* (Hamburg: Kovač, 2007), and, in brief, Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, 34-37, and Holcomb, *Pen and Parchment*, 94-96. For the attribution to Conrad of Hirsau, see Marco Rainini, "Oltre il velo delle immagini. Il 'Dialogus de cruce e Corrado/Peregrinus' di Hirsau," *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 6 (2009): 121-58, who has proposed that the treatise more properly be called *Dialogus de cruce*. I am most grateful to Father Rainini for sharing the results of his important research with me.

In order to create Clm. 14731, the St. Emmeram monk or monks responsible for its texts and images drew on an extensive library. The various texts in the miscellany have garnered little interest from scholars of religion, but a consideration of both individual pieces and their juxtaposition ought to reward further investigation. Nor have the "humble" drawings captured the attention of art historians, who have been inclined to study more intriguing Regensburg products like the *Dialogus de cruce* images of Clm. 14159 or the microcosm of Clm. 13002. But it is precisely in the more pedestrian miscellany of Clm. 14731 that we can observe how the St. Emmeram compiler forged a meaningful assemblage of texts and images that worked in complementary ways to communicate ideas about the suitability of all kinds of knowledge for understanding the Christian universe. Like its more prominent Regensburg-Prüfening siblings, this manuscript provides evidence for the practice of Benedictine monks to use a wide range of pictorial and textual materials to explore their world and express their beliefs. In creating the Clm. 14731 miscellany, the anonymous Regensburg monk produced another brick to set beside the others in the spiritual and intellectual edifice at St. Emmeram.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ I thank Lucie Doležalová for the opportunity to participate in the stimulating conference in Prague and to the editors for their efforts in bringing this volume to press. Luciana Cuppo in particular offered many valuable comments that have improved this essay. During the course of my work, several students at the University of Toronto provided excellent research assistance: Susannah Brower, Jenneka Janzen, Hannah Moland, and Adam Stead. Erika Loic at Harvard University supplied timely bibliographic help under duress, and Linda Safran, as always, has been an invaluable reader. A grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada was critical in supporting my research and providing funds for the purchase of necessary photographic materials. I express my deep gratitude to the Council and to the individuals listed here.

Appendix: The relationship among Clm. 536, Clm. 14731, and Clm. 14348

That these three manuscripts have shared content has long been noticed but has not been sufficiently investigated.⁵⁵ It is worth untangling the relationship among the three in order to understand better the choices made by the compiler of Clm. 14731. The best description of the shared contents is Helmer's provisional but detailed catalogue entry for the latest of the manuscripts, Clm. 14348, which includes incipits and explicits for most of the texts as well as references to printed editions (for the most part I have not repeated these in my Table 1, where the shared texts are indicated by an asterisk). Clm. 14348 is a large book (28 x 21 cm), written in St. Emmeram in the first quarter of the thirteenth century and containing works by Gaufridus Babion, Rupert of Deutz, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, and Honorius Augustodunensis, including the *Elucidarium* and *De imagine mundi*, which occupies fol. 220–241v. Clm. 536 begins with the *Imago mundi*, and from this point the two manuscripts have the same contents in the same order: the *Letters of Paul and Seneca*, the "Patristic excerpts," and the *Physiologus*. Clm. 14348 ends with the *Physiologus*, while Clm. 536 continues with charms and other medicinal materials. Although Clm. 14348 is much larger than Clm. 536, which measures only 20.5 x 14 cm, and is for the most part written in two columns as opposed to the single text block of Clm. 536, the layout of the latter manuscript is remarkably similar to the earlier one; even the use of section headings is virtually the same (though "AUG" can be made "AUGUST" *vel sim.*). It is not surprising, therefore, that Helmer thought that Clm. 14348 copied Clm. 536.

Despite their close similarities, I doubt that Clm. 14348 directly copies Clm. 536, in large part because I find it difficult to imagine that the thirteenth-century St. Emmeram monks would have had access to a small book that seems to have been used pastorally in the nearby monastery and hospital at Prüll. It is more likely that the scribes of Clm. 14348 had recourse instead to the exemplar of Clm. 536, which remained in St. Emmeram itself. Although this seems a small point, it does shed light

⁵⁵ Flint, "The Place and Purpose of the Works of Honorius Augustodunensis," 114; Flint, "Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago Mundi*," 26–28; *Die romanischen Handschriften*, 203; Elisabeth Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998), 59; Helmer, *Katalog der Handschriften aus dem Benediktinerkloster St. Emmeram*.

onto the question of whether Clm. 14731 was copied from Clm. 536. In some ways, these two manuscripts are close—in size (Clm. 14731 is 18.5 x 13 cm), date (Clm. 536 was made between 1143 and 1146, Clm. 14731 between 1145 and 1152), and contents, and one might therefore assume, as Flint did, that they had similar purposes. Both begin with the *Imago mundi*, the *Letters of Paul and Seneca*, and the “Patristic” excerpts. The only deviations in the nineteen shared texts are the erasure of the “lucky days” and the displacement of the Seven Wonders of the world in Clm. 14731. But there are subtle differences between the manuscripts even within the shared parts, some meaningful, others less so. For example, in Clm. 14731, every line on every page is generally written to fill the entire text block, forcing chapter headings to be situated in the margins; in Clm. 536 they are regularly embedded within the text block. In fact, the scribe of Clm. 536 seems to have cared a lot about these chapter headings; for example, on fol. 6v there was not enough space within the line, so the scribe inserted “De mesopota” and then finished “mia” in the margin.⁵⁶ More significant is the fact that there are many apparently contemporaneous marginal corrections to the main text in Clm. 536 that are not incorporated into Clm. 14731,⁵⁷ suggesting that those who made Clm. 536 were more punctilious (Flint 1982 calls the text “excellent”), and that the scribes who made Clm. 14731 did not have Clm. 536 before their eyes. Once again, it is logical that if Clm. 536 was in use in Prüll, then those responsible for Clm. 14731 turned instead to a common exemplar. Indeed, Flint has remarked on the “puzzling” nature of the Clm. 14731 version of Honorius’s text, suggesting that it represents a first version of what is called the 1133 text of the *Imago mundi*.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, it is not possible to say much more about this presumed exemplar, except to point out that that not only was there an earlier manuscript of Honorius’s *Imago mundi* produced in St. Emmeram before 1143 but also that it was already in a miscellany, which was then copied by or for Prüll. Because of its long intellectual tradition, St.

⁵⁶ It might be worth pointing out that, despite Clm. 536’s carefully corrected text and concern for headings, the quality of the parchment is not particularly high. This is likely a reflection of the relative status of Prüll and St. Emmeram.

⁵⁷ To take but one of several such examples. On fol. 30 of Clm. 536, *De anno lunari* (chap. 61; *PL* 172, col. 155), the main scribe jumps directly from *Tertius...* to *Quintus...*, and so the corrector has added *Quartus...* in the margin. Clm. 14731, fol. 29v, simply lacks this correction altogether.

⁵⁸ Flint, “Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago Mundi*,” 41.

Emmeram makes more sense as the source of this original miscellany than does Prüll.⁵⁹ Presumably the contents at the beginning of this lost miscellany matched what is found in all three copies (Clm. 536, 14731, 14348), but it is impossible to know what came after, though it likely contained the *Physiologus* as in Clm. 536 and 14348. Within a few years, the first nineteen sections of the miscellany model were copied again in Clm. 14731, whose compiler then turned to any number of other manuscripts available at St. Emmeram for the materials not found in Clm. 536 and Clm. 14348. The different contents, glosses, and illustrations with their emphasis on knowledge and marvels speak to the intellectual, rather than pastoral, concerns of the compiler. Finally, in the thirteenth century, yet another St. Emmeram monk turned to the now-lost miscellany exemplar, and the many sermon collections in this volume indicate once again a more pastoral interest.

⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the earliest catalogues of books in St. Emmeram do not give any indication of the presence of an earlier miscellany with the *Imago mundi*. For these catalogues, dated 1347, 1449/52, and 1500/01, see Christine Elisabeth Ineichen-Eder, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz 4/1: Die Bistümer Passau und Regensburg* (Munich: Beck, 1977). The catalogue of 1347 lists two books with the *Imago mundi*. One is in a section (16) of *libri hystoriarum* and listed between *liber Iulii de situ orbis* and *scolastica hystoria* (Ineichen-Eder, 158, ll. 203–04). The second is in a single volume that also contains the *Elucidarium* as well as a *liber de miraculis sancta Marie* (Ineichen-Eder, 158, ll. 230–31). This second must be Clm. 14348, and Klemm, 1980, 31, seems to have considered the first entry to be a reference to Clm. 14731, but this should remain an open question. Konrad Pleystainer's 1449/52 catalogue lists two items of interest: a *Honorius de ymagine mundi*; *item descriptio terre sancta*, which must be Clm. 14731, and a volume with various sermons, the *Elucidarium* and the *Imago mundi*, which is surely Clm. 14348 (Ineichen-Eder, 173, ll. 310–17). In the 1500/01 catalogue of Dionysius Menger, finally, is a lengthy and detailed description of Clm. 14348 (Ineichen-Eder, 210, ll. 1001–1017), and of Clm. 14731 (Ineichen-Eder, 223–24, ll. 1527–37).

I have not been able to consult Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 172, a twelfth-century manuscript that Flint ("Honorius Augustodunensis. *Imago Mundi*," 40) considered to be "of exceptionally high authority" and that she thought might have originated in Regensburg. It would be worth examining this manuscript in light of these renewed considerations.

Table 1: List of Contents of Clm. 14731

(information about items shared with Clm. 536 and Clm. 14348, indicated with an asterisk, is taken from Helmer except where differences are noted)

- *Honorius, *Imago Mundi*
- **Letters of Paul and Seneca* (prefaced by Bk. 12 of Jerome, *De viris illustribus*)
- *Augustine, excerpts from *Confessiones*
 - In principio creavit* (Bk. 12, 20, 29)
 - Terra erat invisibilis*, etc. (Bk. 12, 21, 30)
 - Symbola Trinitatis in homine* (Bk. 13, 11, 12)
 - Quomodo dicitur aliquid prius* (Bk. 12, 29, 40)
- **Quodvultdeus, Adversus quinque haereses*, Sermon X, 5, 7
- *Wonders of the OT (based on Gregory the Great?)
- *Commentary on Joel, derived from Isidore, *Sententiarum* (Bk. 2, 23 [not, as per Helmer, *De fide catholica*]) and *Etymologiae* (Bk. 12, 5)
- *Passage about the prophets of the Chaldeans and Greeks, including the Sybil
- *Passage about Measurements
- *Passage about Chronicling (with a reference to Jerome)
- *Jerome, *Misterium hebdomadis*, Letter 52, 3
- *Isidore on *Sapientia* and *Scientia* (based on *Differentiarum*, book 2, *Liber de Differentiis Rerum*, 147 and 148)
- **De signo sanctae crucis*
- **De salvatione Salomonis* (based on Augustine, *Ennarationes in Psalmos*, Psalm 126)
- *Moral interpretation of David and Solomon (attributed to Ambrose, but actually Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Expositionis in Psalmos Continuatio* 9, Psalm 88 [PL 194, col. 542D])
- *Passage on the Mercy of God (attributed to John of Constantinople, taken from Ivo of Chartres, *Decretals* 15, 62, which includes the attribution to John [this text is ultimately from Bachiarius Monachus, as per Helmer, but that was not the direct source for Clm. 14731])
- *Augustine, Exhortation on how to live (*De agone christiano*, ch. 13)
- *On saints and sins (attributed to Augustine, but through Burchard [Helmer] or more likely Ivo, *Decretals*, 15, 82)
- *Gregory the Great, On "perfect men" (*Homiliae in Ezechielem Prophetam* 1, Homily 9)
- Bede, Reckoning Easter (*De ordinatione feriarum Paschaliū, Post resurrectionem vel ascensionem Domini Salvatoris . . . Pascha nobis iustum est observare [visum est celebrare]*, PL 90, col. 607-610)
- Zachary of Besançon, *Praefatio in Quatuor Libros Sequentes* (extensive, but highly abbreviated, passages from Preface 1, starting *Saepissime praemissa recapitulant evangelistae . . . quod Deus, omne*, PL 186, col. 19-36)
- De iiii temporibus* and days you can fast ("De quatuor temporibus . . .)
- Pseudo-Alcuin, excerpt from *De divinis officiis* (*Vigiliae vero quae a pastoribus . . . a fidelibus manditur*, PL 101, col. 1175)

On masses and history (*Vel aliud tres misse figurant . . . que numquam terminabitur. Based on Honorius?*)

De iiii deibus an pasca (*Noscat vestri caritas . . . Iterum vice mulierum cantores agnus dei.*)

De diebus rogationum (*Letania graece latine rogatio. Tres dies rogationum . . . que est l [40] dies.*)

Bede, *Homilia in Vigilia Pentecostes*, (*Homilies*, bk. 2, 11, *Quinquagesimo vero die . . . illa summae pacis tranquillitas*, PL 94, col. 194–195; plus 5 lines very similar to Homily 10, PL 94, col. 187)

Rupert of Deutz, excerpts from successive books of *Opus de Gloria et Honore Filii Hominis Super Mattheum* [except book 7] (Incipits follow the PL 168—manuscript varies at different points. *Septem matres fuisse steriles...*; *Jacob, inquit, genuit Joseph...*; *"Si enim in virum sanctum...; dum concepisset hos geminos...; Hanc ejus gratiam evangelista...; Porro nebula fornicationis illius...; Nam Salmon, ait, genuit Booz de Rechab...; plerosque mirari, cur benignitas Dei...; Videlicet propter peccatum domus Abrahae...; Primum, Emmanuel...; Elige, inquit Dominus, duodecim viros singulos...; Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris...; Mutetur modus praelii...; scilicet species columbae...; Qui autem dixerit fratri suo raca...; Si peccaverit in te frater tuus...; Sunt namque tres orationis modi...; Primum omnium jejunasse legitur Moses...; Si ergo jejunarent propter causas ejusmodi...*)

Isidore, *Sententiarum* (Bk. 1, 22, *Omnis enim latitudo Scripturarum...super universam carnem*, PL 83, col. 587)

Rupert of Deutz, excerpt from *Opus de Gloria* (unascribed; Bk. 5, 6, *Ecce haec est oratio Dominica, septem distincta partibus...dabit vobis.*)

Rupert of Deutz, excerpt from *Opus de Gloria* (Bk. 6, 6, *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire. Duo domini tunc ibi esse coeperunt... Quae haereditas in filio Isai? PL 168, col. 1441-1442; Quis autem vestrum cogitans potest adjicere... palmum unum. 1444)*

Material about Herod, Andromache, commentary about Jonathan (unidentified source[s])

Rupert of Deutz, excerpt from *Opus de Gloria* (Bk. 8, 9, *Quid ergo faciat is cui credita...non tu solus graveris*, PL 168, col. 1484–1485)

De xii apostolis (Rupert, Bk. 8, 10 continues with a discussion of the Apostles, but this is not the text in Clm. 14731)

Discourse on Nathanael (unidentified source[s])

Zachary of Besançon, *Praefatio in Quatuor Libros Sequentes* (Preface 2: *Matthaeus cognomento Levi...apprehendere expetunt recognoscan*, PL 186, col. 35–38)

Passage on the relative value of the Old and New Testament (citing Jerome, Augustine)

On the Temple Showbread (based on Bede, *De Tabernaculo*, 1,7) {Diagram}

*Bede, *De septem mundi miraculis* (unascribed)

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On Sebastes/Neapolis and other items in the Holy Land (unidentified source[s])

On Noah's Ark (unidentified source[s]) {Diagram}

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Passage on secular knowledge (Ambrose cited explicitly once; Pseudo-Ambrose)

Drawings of Labyrinth / Jericho

World Map/Sons of Noah

Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies:
Composition, Authorship, Use

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

SONDERBAND XXXI

Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies: Composition, Authorship, Use

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Figure 23: Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, 3004 B 10, fol. 2v (copyright Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv). See also the colour plate at the end of the volume.

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