Multiple Copying and the Interpretability of Codex Contents: "Memory Miscellanies" Compiled by Gallus Kemli (1417–1480/1) of St. Gall[1]

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The idea that the contents of a codex play an important role in the meaning of a particular text is not a new one. It is based on an assumption that the texts included in a medieval manuscript share some aspects such as topic, genre, or use, and were considered as belonging to a sort of a group by their creators and users. The company in which a text was transmitted reveals the immediate context in which it was read, and thus provides evidence about its reception that may in turn be seen to contribute to the meaning of the text. It also suggests that when it was copied it was considered to fit into a particular context. A great many medieval codices were created with a clear and unitary design. There are volumes with coherent contents, such as the writings of the Church Fathers, volumes intended for university students, theological, philosophical, medical, and other scientific compilations, as well as volumes with poetry or drama, and so on. When the contents seem random at first glance, a closer scrutiny may reveal an intent behind the selection of

1 The research leading to this study was supported by a junior research grant from the Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, "Remembering One's Bible: Reception of *Summarium Biblie* in 13th–15th c.," no. KJB 801970701, by a post-doc grant from the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic "Interpreting and Appropriating Obscurity in Medieval Manuscript Culture," no. P405/10/P112, both carried out at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, as well as by The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports through Institutional Support for Longterm Development of Research Organizations to the Faculty of Humanities of the same university (PRVOUK 18 and UNCE 204002). I was able to finish this article thanks to Sciex-CRUS fellowship at the "Mittellateinisches Seminar" at the University of Zurich. I am also very grateful to the librarians from the Stiftsbibliothek St. Gall for their kind help.

texts included in a manuscript. As long as they were actually bound during the Middle Ages, the contents of codices may contribute to grasping the medieval understanding of a particular text.

Medieval library catalogues show that the way codices were categorized in the Middle Ages was almost the same as it is today. Then as now there was often a group of "leftovers" too varied to fit any category, the *miscellanea*. Indeed, we can define "medieval miscellanies" simply as codices that are not easy to categorize as far as their contents are concerned. They contain a number of diverse texts, and the intent of the compiler may be obscure. On the other hand, towards the end of the Middle Ages, we can detect a certain individualization in some of such compilations: a number of codices were copied by particular individuals according to their specific tastes and for their own purposes. These personal miscellanies need to be studied in detail before any categorization is proposed.

A basic problem we face when interpreting the contents of such codices is to estimate the degree of intention behind their composition. The danger of overinterpretation always exist: we tend to see unity and design in objects of our enquiry. Many codices may have been compiled fairly randomly, although the degree of "randomness" in such cases varies: originally independent quires bound together may simply mean, for example, that they were what was available to one person at a specific time and place, which does not actually reflect a completely "random" occurrence. Nevertheless, even when a clear design to the compilation presents itself, there are several methodological points that should be taken into account while assessing its importance.

This study will concentrate on one of these possible points only: in general we tend to assume that the more frequently a specific text appears in a particular environment, the more strongly we can make conclusions about the exact way of its reception. Here I would like to consider a case in which we find several codices of the same type with very similar contents all created by a single person. What does such a type of transmission indicate and imply about the text, the person who re-copied it, and the environment in which the activities took place? Is such a case a unique instance to be interpreted in its own terms, or can it have wider applications?

Gallus Kemli (1417–1480/81)

The case in focus here is the well documented personal library of a late medieval Benedictine monk, Gallus Kemli (or Kemly). He was born on November 18, 1417, in St. Gall. He entered the monastery in 1428, and in 1441 became a priest. In 1443, however, he left the monastery together with five other monks because of what he called the "tyranny of the abbot"; from that point on he was fairly itinerant. In 1446 he can be traced at Heidelberg; in 1453 he became chaplain at the monastery of Sponheim, appearing in Mainz in the same year, and in 1460 he matriculated at the University of Heidelberg. In 1470 he returned to St. Gall, but left in 1471 (because of a renewed argument with Abbot Ulrich Rösch) for the monastery of All Saints in Schaffhausen. In 1473 he was in Tegernau in the Schwarzwald, in 1474 at an unknown Johannite community; in 1475 he served as chaplain and confessor of the Lollard sisters in Nessental, then as parish priest for the Johannites in Freiburg im Üchtland. Later he is found in Heiterried and in the Aargau. In 1480 he reappears at St. Gall where, after another argument with Abbot Ulrich, he was imprisoned and probably died shortly thereafter.

Gallus Kemli is known almost exclusively through his autobiographical remarks contained in over thirty miscellaneous codices that he copied and collected during his travels.[2] Here, in addition to providing information on his whereabouts, Kemli harshly criticized the morals of virtually all the places he had visited.[3] His codices themselves reveal a lot

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2 One of these, Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 150, has been digitalized and is freely accessible at: www.e-codices.unifr.ch (last accessed June 20, 2012). It is called *Collectanea* and is a miscellany of texts mostly related to medical subjects.

3 The longest account of his life appears in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 919, p. 192–190 (written backwards), edited by Paul Lehmann,, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. I (Munich: Beck, 1928), 119–20. A digital version of the manuscript is available online at: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch (last accessed June 20, 2012). About the Johannite community, for example, Kemli writes: *Ibi fuit dissolutissima vita cum meretricibus et prostitucionibus et fornicatione etiam cum sodomitis* (St. Gall, SB, 919, p. 191) ; or about his stay in Nessenthal: *Ubi vero per inmundissimos et malicia et dolo plenos non conversos sed perversos homines, qui machinamentis suis me perprevenerunt, quod etiam ex displicentia talium recessi etc., quia non veri heremite sed truphatores pessimi etc. supersticiosi, ypocrite, simulatores, religionis deceptores* (St. Gall, SB, 919, p. 190). One of his negative statements, this time about the monks from Hersfeld who came to St. Gall, is evidence of the spread of *devotio*

about him, too. They are all miscellanies. In some of them he had various texts copied by different hands bound together, while others demonstrate a careful design prior to or simultaneous with the copying process. Kemli drew up a catalogue of his library in 1470 during his brief return to St. Gall.[4] Judging from the selection of texts, Kemli's range of interests seems to have been very broad. He gathered biblical sermons and homilies, advice for preachers, poems, texts on morals, virtues and vices, scientific works (such as astronomic treatises), recipes, medical remedies, parodies and satires. The richest miscellany is perhaps Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 101 with a great number of (mostly unedited) short texts both in Latin and German;[5] many of the partly empty pages are filled with *ad hoc* notes and excerpts.

Kemli was also an author, but all his works are based on specific models—it seems he never created a completely "new" piece of writing, and thus he has been perceived primarily as a collector.[6] Kemli was called "an exemplary type of tireless late medieval scribe and copyist of both spiritual and popular, even trivial literature."[7] Bruno Boesch wrote about his "encyclopedist inclinations,"[8] and described him as follows:

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moderna: *...cenobium sancti Galli reformaverunt. Sed eorum observantia cassata fuit, quia non dominum sed dominium quesierunt* (St. Gall, SB, 448, p. 3; cf. Peter Ochsenbein, "Spuren der *Devotio moderna* im spätmittelalterlichen Kloster St. Gallen," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 101 (1990): 475–96).

4 It survives in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, A 135, fol. 2r–13v. The manuscript is currently kept in the monastery library in St. Gall. A digital version of the manuscript is available online at: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch (last accessed June 20, 2012).

5 The codex is presently kept in the monastery library in St. Gall. A digital version of the manuscript is available online at: http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch (last accessed June 20, 2012).

6 He wrote a mariologic tract (1465 or soon after), the *Promptuarium ecclesiasticum* (1466/67), the *Narratio proelii Laupensis* (1475), a Latin *cisioianus* in verse, and a Latin testament. Kemli addressed theological subjects, too, but not as a theologian; instead he chose the "practically useful," and emphasized prayer, for example in his discussion of the healing power of the seven words pronounced by Jesus on the Cross, or the fifteen spiritual deaths of Jesus. He also translated and adapted several Latin texts into German.

7 "Exemplarischer Typus eines rastlosen spätmittelalterlichen Schreibers und Abschreibers geistlicher wie volkstümlicher, ja selbst trivialer Literatur," in Stefan Sonderegger, "Deutsche Sprache und Literatur in Sankt Gallen," in *Die*

> He is an extensively educated, very well read and assiduous scribe and copyist of spiritual and worldly literature, who nonetheless did not disdain the popular and the trivial, and had collected a lot of what was probably only written for the moment or was of use for him in his preaching. When one looks at his life as a whole, one is surprised at all that he achieved in spite of his roaming.[9]

Ochsenbein names him an exemplary collector of *rapiaria* (i.e., collections of sayings, biblical phrases, sentences from the Fathers, etc.),[10] but in regards to his authorial qualities the scholarship is rather negative; for example, when discussing the possible authorship of a German poem surviving in a St. Gall manuscript, Boesch wrote: "although Kemli compiled a huge amount of knowledge and useful information, one detects no creativity in him. He was not a poet."[11] Gallus Kemli's miscellanies shed light on various challenges presented by medieval miscellanies in general, personal libraries, and also by instances of multiple copying. However, until the whole corpus has been properly scrutinised, any remarks are necessarily preliminary.

Kultur der Abtei Sankt Gallen, ed. Werner Vogler (Zurich: Belser Verlag, 1990), 180.

8 "Enzyklopedische Neigungen," Bruno Boesch, "Die deutschen Schriften des St. Galler Mönches Gallus Kemli," in *Florilegium Sangallense. Festschrift für Johannes Duft*, ed. Otto P. Clavadetscher, Helmut Maurer, and Stefan Sonderegger (St. Gall: Jan Thorbecke, 1980), 124.

9 "Er ist der vielgebildete, vor allem belesene und überaus eifrige Schreiber und Abschreiber geistlicher und weltlicher Literatur, der auch Volkstümliches und Triviales nicht verschmähte und vieles zusammenraffte, das wohl auch nur für den Tag geschrieben oder ihm für seine Predigttätigkeit dienlich war. Wenn man seinen Lebenslauf überblickt, ist man erstaunt, was ihm bei all seiner Unrast doch noch gelungen ist," Boesch "Die deutschen Schriften," 147 (my translation).

10 Ochsenbein, "Spuren der *Devotio moderna*," 483.

11 "[...] Kemli zwar ungeheuer viel Wissen und Wissenswertes zusammengeschrieben hat, aber Kreativität ist nicht zu entdecken. Ein Dichter war er nicht," Bruno Boesch, "Die deutschen Schriften," 127. The subject of medieval authorship is indeed complex and it has drawn scholarly attention in recent years, see, e.g. Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

Multiple copying

A pattern that I would like to address here is that of multiple copying. There are several texts that Kemli copied more than once that provide a useful example. At the same time, I believe this represents a more general phenomenon of the later Middle Ages, which, to my knowledge, has not yet been sufficiently explored.

In theory, there may be several simple reasons for this practice:

1. to sell or give out the manuscripts;
2. to produce a different (corrected, better, longer, shorter etc.) *version* of the text rather than to produce mere multiple copies of it by simple transcription;
3. to copy the text into more fitting surroundings, thus, gradually creating a "perfect codex;"
4. the scribe enjoyed copying, was mentally sick, or had some very special personal reasons to re-copy;
5. to make copies only for the present moment.

Each of the points are considered below with respect to Gallus Kemli and are also accompanied by more general remarks; in addition, one further option is suggested.

Kemli failing to sell?

While participating in the book trade is surely the most frequent reason for re-copying the same texts, I believe that in Gallus Kemli's case this option can be safely excluded. If Kemli indeed planned to sell the manuscripts, he must have had extremely bad luck as he was eventually left with so many: over thirty codices survived which formed part of his personal collection dedicated to the monastery of St. Gall. In any case, there is no indication that Kemli was trading his codices; in fact he compiled a catalogue of his library in 1470, and thus must have considered his codices a true possession.

Copying or appropriating? The case of 'Nuptiae Abbatheos'

Among other multiple copies by Kemli is Hrabanus Maurus's version of the *Cena Cypriani* (Cyprian's Feast), which Kemli calls *Nuptiae Abbatheos*. *Cena Cypriani* is in itself a curious text of uncertain, probably late antique, origin.[12] Mentioning almost 300 biblical characters doing things similar to their activities in the Bible, it seems like a biblical test. Since it tells of a strange biblical feast with strange events (biblical characters getting drunk, stealing, killing, etc.), it has been mostly discussed in the context of medieval parody. Yet, as recent evidence clearly shows, at least in the later Middle Ages it was perceived as a kind of biblical mnemonic tool. This general tendency is particularly visible in the ninth-century recension by the *praeceptor Germaniae*, abbot of Fulda and briefly archbishop of Mainz, Hrabanus Maurus, who changed the chaotic feast into an organized biblical allegory. In the fifteenth century, copyists frequently inserted further changes to the text, as a rule leading to more clarity and order. The text is usually transmitted in miscellanies, which is a context that does not seem to provide much help as far as its meaning and medieval interpretation is concerned.[13]

To my knowledge, Gallus Kemli is the only medieval scribe who copied the *Cena Cypriani* more than once. Three of his copies of the text survive and are included in St. Gall, SB, 293, 692, and 972b (Figures 15–17). I did not find Kemli's possible model (a surviving copy of the text) in any of the places Kemli is certain to have visited. His *Cena* copy is the closest to the version found in Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, XI.32 (a miscellany from the 14th c. in which the text is entitled *Opus de nuptiis Christi et ecclesiae*), a place not too far from St. Gall and very likely to have been visited by Kemli.

But to speak of "Kemli's copies" is indeed a simplification, as Kemli's three *Cena* texts differ from one another, as suggested above. Kemli did introduce changes at each instance of copying and thus, although only

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12 Cf., e.g. Christine Modesto, *Studien zur Cena Cypriani und zu deren Rezeption*, Classica Monacensia 3 (Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag, 1992); Francesco Mosetti Casaretto and Elio Rosati, *Rabano Mauro—Giovanni Immonide. La 'Cena di Cipriano'* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2002, revised and corrected in 2004).

13 For more details on medieval transmission and transformations of the text, see Lucie Doležalová, *Reception and Its Varieties: Reading, Re-Writing and Understanding 'Cena Cypriani' in the Middle Ages*, Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 75 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2007).

two of the codices include dating, it is possible to order the copies chronologically: 972b, 293, and 692, proving that they served as direct models to each other in this sequence.[14] The last manuscript in this series, St. Gall 692, could almost be called an authorial version. Kemli adds twelve completely new allusions,[15] makes a number of radical semantic changes,[16] and adds shorter (mostly explanatory) words. Their distri-

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14 For example:
line 14.8 [ed. *Iubal psalterium duxit*]
972b *Iubal psalterium dixit*
293 *Iubal psalterium ~~dixit~~ composuit*
692 *Iubal psalterium composuit*
or:
line 16.1 [ed. *Nunc inmutate vestros habitus et quasi pompam facientes ite. Placuitque omnibus voluntas regis...*]
972b *Nunc invitate vestros habitus et quasi pompum iste placuit...*
293 *Nunc invitate vestros habitus et quasi iste placuit...*
692 *Nunc invitate vestros habitus ista placuit...*
For further evidence, see Doležalová, *Reception*, 189–97.
This observation has been supported by a computer-aided text comparison kindly carried out by Philipp Roelli from Zurich, using my transcriptions of 23 manuscripts of this *Cena Cypriani* version. On the tree generated by the computer program the three St. Gall manuscripts are found near each other and related in the sequence suggested. For details on the method applied, 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.

15 Among the presents for the king: [after 3.1] *Adam ficum*, [after 3.3] *Seth grana, Enoch lanas, Iubal musicam, Tubalcayn faberlia, Noema lanificium, Matusale decrepitum, Lamech bigamiam*, [after 3.8] *Agar utrem aque*, [after 3.42] *Osee uxorem fornicariam*, among eating the kid [after 9.7]: *Ruben stratum mandragoras*, at the end of the entertainment [after 14.17]: *Raphael benedixit*, [after 16.66] *in tymorato Symeone*.

16 10.11 *Thobias canem* for *hyrundinem*, 10.14 *Iohannes mel silvestre* for *locustam*, 10.17 *Iudas loculos* for *argentillum*, 12.23 *Iohannes camelinum* for *locustanum*, 15.2 *Adam transgressivam* for *pelliceam*, 15.37 *Thobyas iugulatinam* for *hyrundineam*, 15.41 *Iesus sanativam* for *columbinam*, 15.42 *Iudas desperativam* for *argirinam*, 15.47 *Martha sollicitatiam* for *ministrativam*, 16.9 *in benedicto Sem* for *fabricatore*, 16.27 *in conflatili Aaron* for *eloquente*, 16.32 *in murmurante Maria* for *tympanistria*, 16.51 *in superbo Nabuchodonosor* for *inmutato*, 16.63 *in publicano Matheo* for *in theloneario Matheus*, 16.64 *in divite Zacheo* for *in publicano Zacheus*, 18.1 *variis interficerentur tormentis* for *afficerentur* [so here the guests were killed!], 18.10 *Loth foras eductus* for *impictus*, 18.31 *Ezechias obsessus* for *interfectus*, 19.1 *quod erat suspectum, Raab emisit exploratores* for *quod erat in*

bution shows that Kemli made more alterations at the beginning, while towards the end of the text he followed his model much more closely. It is in this last version that most of the biblical allusions are identified. Moreover, while the other two manuscripts give the immediate impression of being direct copies of each other (they share the layout, the forms of letters, titles and majuscules), St. Gall 692 is different in this respect, too: for example, the portions of the *Cena* that move the plot are mostly underlined, and the script is different.[17] Most importantly, in this last version Kemli omitted the dedicatory letter to King Lothar (entitled *prologus* in the other two manuscripts). Thus he deprived his text not only of the guidelines for reception, but also of a way of defining its authorship. This may have been intentional, but, at the same time, when copying the text for the third time, Kemli might have omitted the letter simply to move on to the text itself more quickly.

Kemli's content changes mostly tend towards greater clarity: the biblical links are the more expected ones, the words chosen are more common, the additions are explanatory. At the same time, Kemli often does not change the original biblical reference, he simply chooses a different word from the same biblical line. Because his changes affect only ca. 11% of the text, I do not think that Kemli's *Cena* is an attempt at a new, original creation. What we see here is that Kemli was not simply copying but that he paid attention to the meaning and incorporated his own ideas into the set structure of the text. His *Cena* is the result of his "active reading."

The textual analysis proves this to be a border case: one text copied three times, each time with changes introduced that, nevertheless, did not cause every new version to be substantially different. The changes do not seem to be systematic and planned in advance; they give the impression of having been created during the act of copying. In order to make them, Kemli certainly would not have had to rely on another written source; his memory of the biblical events would have been sufficient. Thus, in my opinion, this amount of variation does not in itself provide sufficient grounds for believing that Kemli perceived himself as copying three different texts, or creating three different versions.

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suspectu Raab, 19.2 *Ioseph restituit pecuniam* for *et in consensu Ioseph*, 21.13 *Iudas videns eum dampnatum dixit peccavi* for *Iudas pretium accepit*.

17 Boesch argues that Kemli used two different scripts: a quite easily readable Gothic cursive, and a more difficult casual cursive (Boesch, "Die deutschen Schriften," 127).

Kemli made alterations of varying significance to the texts he copied. The idea of "active reading" as well as "active writing" has recently been studied in connection to the complex notion of medieval authorship and written culture in general. On the one hand, ample evidence shows that in the Middle Ages, there was not a quest for a single authoritative and "correct" copy of a particular text (not even the Bible): quotations are usually only approximate and frequently even false, and mistakes are usually left uncorrected, even when they are very obvious. On the other hand, textual awareness, correction, and appropriation clearly do occur, although the borderline between a copy and a new version of a text might be very thin.[18] While assessments must be carried out on case-by-case basis, the overall pattern should be kept in mind.

The codex as a designed whole? Kemli's "memory miscellanies"

To what degree it may be possible to interpret the contents of a codex as a whole goes to the heart of the problem addressed in this volume: can we posit medieval compilers as the conscious designers of "whole codices," carefully considering the selection of texts and their order to create a meaningful and highly useful unit? Is it in any way possible that Gallus Kemli was "revising" not the text itself but the context into which it would be placed? Or did he place a particular text into different contexts because each time the text was to play a different role? Might we be exaggerating the actual role the codex context had in the Middle Ages?

Kemli's three codices containing the *Cena* have been described in the 1991 catalogue as a "miscellany of spiritual content," a "miscellany of biblical content," and a "miscellany of pastoral content," respectively. In Kemli's own description, the first codex is *Biblia pauperum cum aliis materiis*, and the second is the second volume of *Promptuarium divinorum eloquiorum* (the third had not yet been written at the time

[18] I addressed this problem in 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.

Kemli compiled his catalogue).[19] They would thus seem to be quite different. Yet, upon closer inspection, their contents are not so very dissimilar from each other. Each of the codices could perhaps be called a "memory miscellany" because each includes a number of texts linked to memorizing the contents of the Bible and of other useful material. Trying to find a unified content in miscellanies is certainly tricky, and applying a general term like "memory" may be misleading, but in this case the link to memory is strong and clear.

Besides including the *Cena*, all three of the codices share another text, the *Capitulatio*, or *Recapitulatio in Speculum humanae salvationis*.[20] The original *Speculum humanae salvationis*[21] was a medieval "bestseller." It was written in rhymed prose by a Dominican from the Strasbourg area around 1324 and retells the events of the Gospels and the life of the Virgin Mary, juxtaposing them with their prefigurations in the Old Testament. Each chapter was to serve as the inspiration for a sermon and the text was richly illustrated. Kemli lists three other copies of the text in his inventory, each of a different length but each with figures.[22] What Kemli copied in the codices discussed here is a further shortened version of the *Speculum* (perhaps authored by Johannes Hain in 1429), and he does not include any images. Again, it seems clear that the oldest is the version transmitted in codex 972b, on pages 217–350, which is also the longest. It does not include images but it notes *figura* in the margins. The two later of his manuscripts actually include only the prologue, and not even in its entirety: they both omit the passage in which the author explains

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19 For a detailed description of their contents, see Appendix I; a comparative table of their contents is presented in Appendix II.

20 Kemli also translated this text into German and included it in his St. Gall, SB, 605, p. 200–21.

21 Morton W. Bloomfield, et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D., Including a Section of Incipits of Works on the Pater Noster*, Mediaeval Academy of America Publications 88 (Cambridge MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1979), no. 2562; Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1950–61), no. 11765; Jean-Pierre Rothschild, *Bibliographie annuelle du Moyen Âge tardif. Auteurs et textes latins, vers 1250–1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, since 1991), no. 3732.

22 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, A 135, fol. 2v: *Item Speculum humane saluationis xxviii figure cum multiplicibus historiis. Item sequens habetur speculum eiusdem materie breuior continens xxii figures*; fol. 4r: *Item speculum humanae salvacionis depictum imaginibus.*

the importance of images for the common people (this is not surprising as their model contained no figures) and they also omit a nice *parabola* illustrating the fact that biblical explanations are far from coherent wholes.

A curious point is found in the beginning of the codices: the oldest, 972b, begins with a text called *Biblia pauperum* in the manuscript, which is actually the *Summarium biblicum*, a biblical mnemonic aid summarizing each biblical chapter in a single word and thus offering the whole Bible in a bit over 200 verses.[23] This text was a real late medieval bestseller, although its form of nonsense verses juxtaposing the individual chapter keywords led to extensive corruption during its manuscript transmission, and thus its actual use for memorizing the Bible contents can be questioned.[24] In Kemli's copy it is not easy to recognize the verses because each of the keywords is copied separately and followed by a detailed explanation comprising a whole paragraph. The *Summarium biblicum* appears in three more miscellaneous manuscripts in St. Gall. There is one fourteenth-century copy of the *Summarium* in codex 1068;[25] its text is, however, not complete, ending with *Epistola Iacobi*. Codex 318 contains only the part of the *Summarium* that condenses the Books of the Kings.[26] The only full copy from the monastery is the one in codex 336

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23 The title *Biblia pauperum* is used by scholars to refer to quite a different text, usually accompanied by rich illuminations. Yet, only one manuscript with the usual "Biblia pauperum" actually bears this title, while a number of manuscripts of "Summarium Biblicum" are actually entitled *Biblia pauperum*. This observation has already been made by Alfred Weckwert, "Der Name Biblia pauperum," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 83 (1972): 1–33; and 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 Maier et al., Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 70 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1996), 41–60.

24 For details, see Lucie Doležalová, *Obscurity and Memory in Late Medieval Latin Manuscript Culture: The Case of the Summarium Biblie*, Medium Aevum Quotidianum Sonderband 29 (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 2012).

25 It is a miscellany bound together at a later stage. The booklet containing *Summarium* seems to have been originally transmitted by itself.

26 It is an unusual copy: there is the poem 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 remained void. The commentary is actually not dependent on the keywords at all; it works fine

from 1443 (pp. 137–160).[27] Comparing the texts, it is evident that none of these served as Kemli's model. In addition, Kemli does not seem to have liked the text: in his latter two codices, he substituted other biblical tools with the same objective, texts describing the biblical contents chapter by chapter and at the end providing a list of the books of the Bible. In both codices 293 and 692 they are entitled *Explanatio librorum Biblie*[28] and *Margarita Biblie*.[29]

The demonstrated replacement of the *Summarium Biblie* with another biblical mnemonic aid within an otherwise very similar textual environment can hardly be a coincidence. The observation of such a practice

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without them as prose condensation of the relevant chapters. (The primary contents of the codex is Nicolaus de Lyra's *Glossa in Psalterium*.)

27 Here the text is called at its explicit: *registrum noui testamenti capitulariter per dictiones* (p. 160). The codex contains a Latin biblical dictionary (p. 1–136, inc.: *Abstinentia auget meritum, ideo uoluit dominus non omni cibo uti in paradiso...*), *Summarium*, a quadragesimale (p. 167–265, inc.: *Matthei quarto legitur quod dyabolus temptat Christum et prima de gula cum dicit, si filius dei es...*, and sermons (p. 275–320; inc.: [Luc 10] *Beati oculi qui vident ... super hoc vero beatus bene ait O dulcissime Ihesu, quando ante faciem tuam ...*).

28 Inc. *Pentateuchon incipitur: In principio creauit Deus celum et terram. Pro quo notandum quod tota sacra scripture diuiditur in dias partes, scilicet in uetus testamentum et nouum. Prima pars diuiditur in quatuor, scilicet in libris regales, historiales, sapientiales et prophetales...* Expl.: *caritatem ascendunt per scripturam usque ad celos et descendunt usque ad abyssos.* This text, difficult to identify because of the extremely frequent incipit, briefly summarizes the contents and the meanings of the Scripture.

29 The title *Margarita Biblie* normally refers to a versified Bible by Guido Vincentius de Ferrarra (d. 1332) and inc. *Per Scripturam Sacram dominibus sanctis divinitus inspiratam* (see Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Versification and Memory in the Later Middle Ages," in *Culture of Memory in East Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, ed. Rafal Wójcik, Prace Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej 30 (Poznań: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 2008), 53–64). This text here inc.: *Qui memor esse cupit librorum bibliotece, discat opus presens...*, which is an incipit of the prologue sometimes attached to Guido's verses (e.g., in Vatican, BAV, Lat. 4344, fol. 1–76), other times to *Roseum memoriale divinorum eloquiorum*, i.e., the versified Bible by Petrus Rosenheim (1380–1433) (in London, British Library, Harley 662, fol. 3–37; for details on the text, see Sabine Tiedje, "The *Roseum Memoriale Divinorum Eloquiorum Petri de Rosenheim*: A Bible Summary from the Fifteenth Century," in *Retelling the Bible: Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*, ed. Lucie Doležalová and Tamás Visi (Bern: Peter Lang Verlag, 2010), 335–53). Here, however, the text is a prose summary of the biblical books chapter by chapter; inc.: *Primus est liber Genesis, in quo agitur de mundi et omnium creaturarum exordio...*

shows the need for scrutiny of a whole group of codices of one type in order to evaluate the role of a text within its physical context. The *Summarium Biblie* is manifestly associated with the "parallel texts"—that is, texts that may replace it (here *Explanatio librorum Biblie* and *Margarita Biblie*)—much more closely than with the contents of the codex in which it appears (here e.g. *Nupcie Abbatheos* or *Recapitulacio in Speculum humanae salvationis*).

The two latter manuscripts, 293 and 692, agree in a number of other texts, too: in addition to the already mentioned *Explanatio librorum Biblie* and *Margarita Biblie* (replacing the *Summarium* from St. Gall 972b) and the same part of *Recapitulatio in speculum humanae salvationis* (which appears in full in codex 972b), they also both include *Summula Raymundi* (which does not appear anywhere in 972b).[30] All these are "true copies" with no substantial differences between them (except for the fact that the latter manuscript, 692, *Summula Raymundi* is accompanied by extensive marginal notes).

The two codices also include, both just before the *Cena*, a list of the books of the Bible, although the list is different in each. While in codex 293 the list is entitled *Intitulationes librorum Biblie* and groups the Old Testament books into *libri legales, historiales, sapientiales*, and *prophetales* (p. 27–28), in codex 692, the text is much shorter, entitled *Tituli librorum Biblie inwulgarizati*[?], and provides German translations of the titles of some Old Testament books, followed by interpretations of the names of some Church Fathers, and a list of Aristotle's books. It then returns to the Old Testament which is followed by some portions of the New Testament (p. 12). This provides another clear example of Kemli's re-writing: the basic topic remains the same (here the titles of the biblical books) but while the table in codex 293 presents the traditional

30 Raymundus de Pennaforte (ca. 1175–1275), a Dominican, born in Spain, became a professor of canon law in Bologna, later theologian and penitentiary in Rome. His *summa* was a popular work, condensed into *summula* several times. The same text was probably copied in yet another codex that Kemli calls *Speculum sacerdotum* in his inventory: he refers to it on fol. 12v as: *Item sumula Raymundi cum versibus*. The *Summula* here inc.: *In summis festis dicitur admissam una tantum* (verse)... *Quando paras calicem* (prose) and is probably the work of a certain Magister Adam, who may be Adam de Aldersbach (mid-XIII).

division, the revised version of codex 692 is both more condensed and more experimental, including vernacular and non-biblical information.[31]

A more detailed comparative scrutiny of the three codices is necessary in order to make final conclusions. While the table in Appendix II stresses the links and similarities that are not immediately apparent, a brief look at them reveals that their 1991 catalogue categorization is justified. Codex 972b also contains a *Biblia moralis*[32] and sermons for Sundays, and could certainly be seen as a "spiritual miscellany." Codex 293 includes further texts on the senses of the Bible, concordances, topics for sermons, etc., and thus surely represents more of a "biblical miscellany" than codex 692, where the additions in the end (there are baptism, exorcism and unction formulae, a calendar, masses, statues, etc.) were geared towards the practical application by a priest and so it is in place to call it "pastoral."

The last codex is also distinguished by its binding and cover, a red-leather wrapping without any wooden pieces and containing two buttons and two pieces of grey leather to button them (Figure 18). The contents are thus protected from all sides, and, at the same time, the volume remains very light—ideal features for a book that was to be carried by a frequent traveler. The other two codices are not very large (293 in particular is very small) but both are bound between wooden tables, which makes them heavier and not fit for frequent transporting. They are also more vulnerable because they are not protected from all sides. It is thus indeed possible that into the last codex, 692, Kemli copied texts that he wanted to have at hand during his travels. This specific purpose would then justify Kemli's re-copying of some of the texts.

In any case, the fact that Kemli kept all the codices suggests that he found a use for each of them. Moreover, in his own catalogue he does not

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31 There are two further notes on the same page: *Cathalogus, cathalogo, id est de numero penultima carrepta cathalogi. A 'catha', quod est 'breue', et 'logos', id est sermo breuis, multa breuis sermo multa breuiter comprehendens.* And *Alphabetum secundum litteralem ethimologiam: Ama Bonum Cole Deum Eternum Fuge Gloriam Humanam Imple Karitatis Legem Mandata Nosce Odire Peccata Quere Regnum Statum Tene Virtutem Xpistum Yhesum Z.* (Walther notes only Halberstadt, Domgymnasium, 20 (XV), fol. 214v, of this curious abecedarian sentence).

32 I have not yet been able to identify the text. In his inventory, Kemli associates it with Gregory. It is a summary of the Bible including Christological interpretations. Inc.: *In principio creauit deus celum et terram. Celum est spiritus, terra corpus.*

avoid mentioning texts that appear repeatedly. If he had been merely gradually revising the codex contents in order to create a "perfect" codex, he might have dismissed the "failed" attempts rather then meticulously including their contents in his inventory. Whatever his intention, he was definitely not bothered by the redundancies created through his multiple copying.

Personal multiple copies: the exception or commonplace?

We know from Kemli's conflicts, lifestyle, and the ideas he expressed that he was an eccentric person but if he had some unusual reasons for re-copying texts, they would be difficult to determine. It seems exaggerated to suggest that he was graphomaniac or deviant in any way. His multiple copies could perhaps be partly explained by his travels: it is likely that he did not carry his whole library with himself at all times, and thus he might have felt the need to re-copy the texts he found most useful. In addition, he seems to have been quite a disorganized person, and thus, in some cases, he might have simply forgotten that he had already copied a certain text. A careful comparative study of other personal libraries from the Late Middle Ages should be carried out to see whether it was usual or exceptional for the scribes and compilers to re-copy the same text several times.

It is certain, however, that to create personal multiple copies would have been exceptional before the late Middle Ages; re-copying is a type of activity enabled by the shift of the transmission medium from expensive parchment to affordable paper, as well as by the general spread of written culture due to universities and wider access to education in general. At Kemli's time, there were more traveling monks, preachers, or students who gathered and copied a variety of texts. For example, a Czech Augustinian preacher, Crux de Telcz (Oldřich Kříž z Telče, 1435–1504),[33] copied and gathered a great number of unique texts and some of them, for example the *Summarium biblicum* or an art of memory attributed to Mattheus Beran, appear twice among his manuscripts.[34] On

[33] See Jaroslav Kadlec, "Oldřich Kříž z Telče," *Listy Filologické* 4 (1956): 91-102 and 234–38; and a note in Rudolf Urbánek, *České dějiny. Věk poděbradský* (Czech history, the era of George of Poděbrady) (Praha: Jan Leichter, 1930), 119 and 733.

[34] On the latter text, see Lucie Doležalová, "Matouš Beran and the Art of Memory in Late Medieval Bohemia," in: *Culture of Memory in East-Central Europe in the Late*

the other hand, for example, Johannes Sintram (a Franciscan born c. 1380 in Würzburg) who gathered and mostly copied 61 manuscripts primarily for himself, tended, as Kimberly Rivers shows, to cross-reference rather than re-copy the texts.[35] Although a more detailed scrutiny is still needed, it is clear that Kemli's case is neither isolated, nor a commonplace.

Copying for the moment?

If Kemli made his copies only for his momentary use as Boesch suggested, it is surprising that he kept them so long and carried them from place to place. At the same time, though, there is little doubt that in the later Middle Ages more writing was carried out for short-term purposes than previously. Many late medieval codices in general were not created with the earlier care and preciseness that one sees in the High Middle Ages. Beside the fact that paper was cheaper than parchment, the notion of the use of writing for a personal purpose seems to have gained importance, too. In addition, writing activity came to have a different dimension in the Late Middle Ages: not only did reading become individual and personalized, but writing did as well. This explains why there are often more copies of one text in one monastery.[36] Copying for the moment thus surely forms part of the reason for multiple copying, but it cannot be the only explanation of the phenomenon.

Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, ed. Rafał Wójcik (Poznań: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 2008), 95–103.

35 See Kimberly Rivers, "Writing the Memory of the Virtues and Vices in Johannes Sintram's (d. 1450) Preaching Aids," in *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lucie Doležalová, Later Medieval Europe 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 31–48.

36 For example, we find eight copies of the *Summarium biblicum* in Graz, seven in Melk, six in Klosterneuburg, four in Admont and in Kremsmünster. They are: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 309, 385, 509, 611, 648, 1264, 1295, and 665 that is lost since 1945; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 83, 165, 681, 918, 1059, 1294, 1793; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 193, 208, 428, 445, 503, 520; Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, 142, 203, 433, 592, Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 42, 153, 167, and 269.

Writing for remembering?

In this particular context, the nature of the re-copied texts discussed so far should be noted: they were to be learned by heart, or at least their main ideas were to be remembered well. When comparing the three codices in the order in which Kemli compiled them, one observes that the contents of the earlier codex always take much less space in the next one, and the remaining pages are devoted to new material, which becomes condensed further in the next codex. It is as if Kemli omitted what he had already stored in his memory, and re-copied only what he still needed to consult on paper; as if, upon re-reading, fewer words were necessary to help him recall the contents of the texts.

In addition to the above discussed examples of this kind of condensing while re-writing in Kemli's three codices, a similar kind of revision can be found within the first item in Kemli's inventory of his books:[37]

> *Prima in principaliori libro qui in genere intitulatur 'Liber figurarum veteris et novi testamenti' reperiuntur hec secundum ordinem: Primo. Item arbor biblice hystorie, in qua facile hystoria biblie incordatur modo et forma prolixiori et diffusiori propter materiarum acumulatarum et acumulandarum proprietatem et hec est per transversum depicta secundum liberaliorem formam et liberaliorem conswetudinem. 2o Item eadem figura replicata sub eadem forma et modo, non tamen in tanta prolixitate et secundum formam arborum a summo descendendo usque ad ymum, scriptura ad dexteram et ad sinistram annectata. 3o Item alia figura eiusdem materie brevis ut precedens in forma prime figure conscripta propter diversorum beneplacitum. 4o Item alia figura eiusdem materie brevis in wlgari etiam arborice conscripta secundum formam secunde figure signate ut patet. 5o Item alia figura wlgaris eiusdem materie per transversum scripta, scriptura directe posita ad instar tercie figure Latinice secundum ordinem.*[38]

> First in the first book which is generally called "Book of the figures of the Old and the New Testament" these are found in this order: 1. The tree of biblical history, in which the history of the Bible is easily remembered, in the way and the form which is more extensive and spread because of the matters gathered and to be gathered, and it is depicted through transposition according to a more liberal form and custom. 2. The same figure replicated in the same form and way, but not to such an extent and according to the form of a tree descending from the top to the bottom, with writing attached to the left and to the right. 3. Another brief figure of the same matter, as the preceding one in

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37 This item was, to my knowledge, not identified with any of the surviving codices.

38 Fol. 2r, ed. Paul Lehmann, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. I (Munich: Beck, 1928), 121–22.

> the form of the first figure for the pleasure of various [people]. 4. Another figure of the same matter, but with the text on the tree in the vernacular, according to the layout of the second figure as is clear. 5. Another figure in the vernacular of the same matter written through transposition, with the writing directly placed to resemble the third Latin figure according to the order.[39]

The description of the contents of the codex presents a re-writing and re-organizing of the same material in various ways, but each taking place within one volume. In this case, gradual condensation is observable, too. Thus, a possible argument for Kemli's re-copying is that through the physical exercise of copying he could better understand the texts, comprehend them more thoroughly, and consequently remember them better, too. During this process, as the space in his memory became increasingly occupied, the space covered on the paper would gradually diminish.

But can we really call the codices concerned "memory miscellanies"? Can "memory" serve as a concept uniting the miscellaneous contents? After all, virtually every text is written in order to be "memorable" and can thus be linked to memory. Certainly many more codices than the three described in Kemli's library[40] as well as a great number of late medieval miscellanies from all over Europe could be called "memory miscellanies."[41] Are they distinguishable from other codices from that era?

It remains questionable whether late medieval, widely-diffused texts linked to memory, meditation, the Bible, and morals, and thus material directly relevant to preaching, could and should be considered to form a particular group. Franz Josef Worstbrock claims that at least part of them indeed should. In his careful and illuminating study[42] he scrutinizes a

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39 As is clear from this description, Kemli's case can also be used for a consideration of the relationship between the Latin and the vernacular (which is, however, omitted in this analysis).

40 Another apt example would have been the first volume of the *Promptuarium* (of which codex 293 is the second volume), as it also included a treatise on the art of memory. However it has not been identified among the surviving manuscripts and thus cannot be studied.

41 Possible examples are indeed many. A fitting case is Prague, National Library, XIV E 31, owned and partly copied by Crux de Telcz (fully digitized and freely accessible at www.manuscriptorium.com; last accessed October 17, 2012). It contains a great number of mnemonic verses, *Summula de Summa Raymundi*, sermons, notes, brief treatises, all probably designed for a preacher's use.

42 Worstbrock, "Libri pauperum," 41–60.

great number of late medieval Latin texts with the word *pauperum* in the title (*Liber pauperum, Breviarium pauperum, Inventarius pauperum, Philosophia pauperum* and also *Biblia pauperum*, i.e. *Summarium biblicum*). He claims that *Liber pauperum* is a generic title and calls all of these texts *libri pauperum*. As a literary type they are, he explains, distinguished by the fact that they provide easy access to general knowledge, condensing an originally much wider amount of information, and presenting it in an organized and approachable way. The authors of the texts often say they write for the poor who cannot afford the larger, expensive books. Yet, as Worstbrock says, these texts are not aimed only at *scolares pauperes* but also at simple preachers, as well as teachers in parish and city schools, and their concern is not only to save space and money but also to supply a quick aid and orientation for a difficult matter. Many of them (just as the *Summarium*), are, however, difficult to understand without a teacher's exposition. Their boom in the Late Middle Ages is a sign of a desire for general knowledge and for the practical applicability of it. Worstbrock is not explicitly concerned with the link to mnemonics but it is implied in his analysis.

It is clear that texts of this type (regardless of how we decide to refer to them) do appear frequently together in manuscripts, and their copyists often explicitly mark them as noteworthy, good to have at hand, and practically useful in many ways.[43] It is also certain that their transmission in writing constitutes only a portion of their medieval diffusion. While the exact nature of oral transmission during the Middle Ages is obviously difficult to assess today, it remains possible that what we witness in some cases of medieval multiple copying is actually a tangible reflection of the complex process of memorization.

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[43] As for usefulness, Kemli does include notes of this kind in his inventory as well. For example on fol. 7v he stresses the multiple use of *Auctoritotes biblie*: *Item in alio libro habentur auctoritotes biblie veteris et novi testamenti, que materia convertibilis est ad omnem rem mundi et pro necessitate tam secularium quam spiritualium negociorum* ("Then in another book, there are Authorities of the Bible of the Old and the New Testament, which is a matter applicable to everything in the world and useful in both secular and spiritual activities").

Appendix I: Gallus Kemli's *Cena* codices descriptions

St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 972b

written in Sponheim, August 14, 1453 (p. 350) and October 15, 1455 (p. 216), by Gallus Kemli
paper, 483 pp., 210 x 145 mm
1991 catalogue: "miscellany of spiritual content"
book cover, spine: *tractatus morales scripti per Gallum Kemli*
book cover, front label: *Bibila pauperum. Moralia sancti Gregorii in partes librorum Biblie. Item speculum humane saluationis. Item sermons ewangelice per omnes dominicas anni*
Kemli's own description from 1470:
Item in alio libro qui intitulatur 'Biblia pauperum cum aliis materiis' continentur hec:
Item primo libellus qui dicitur 'Biblia pauperum' cum terminis suorum versuum.
Item nupcie abbatheos et patrum veteris et novi testamenti cum dictionibus.
Item moralia sancti gregorii in partes librorum biblie.
Item speculum humane salvacionis per versus.
Item ibidem oraciones de passione domini.
Item oraciones de gaudiis et tristicia beate Marie virginis.
Item sermones dominicales ewangelice.
Item quedam sermones de annunciacione beate Marie semper virginis.
Item sermo de miseria hominis.
Item sermo de tribulacionibus paciendis.
(Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 123).

St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 293

written by Gallus Kemli, not dated, paper, 589 pp., 150 x 110 mm
1991 catalogue: "miscellany of biblical content"
book cover, spine: *Explicatio librorum Bibliorum*
Kemli's own description from 1470:
[the ms. presented as the second volume of *Promptuarium divi[n]orum eloquinorum*]
In parte inferiori continentur:
Explanaciones librorum biblie veteris et novi testamenti.
Item concordancie librorum corespondentes sibi mutuo utrorum testamentorum.
Ite[m] nupcie abbatheos, quod est memoralie totius biblie.
Item recapitulacio speculi humane salvacionis.
Item tractatulus de creatione mundi et eius etatibus et de parentum prevaricatione.
Item alphabetarium auctoritatum biblie.
Item notabilia de sensibus sacre scripture.
Item de distinctione quatuor temporum mundi.
Item formalia sermonum per omnes dominicas ab pasca usque ad finem anni et alia multa notabilia sicut habetur in registro.
Item de beata virgine, de sanctis et de commune sanctorum, de dedicacione, multa de animabus et plura.

Item versus Raymundi de sacramentorum dispensacione et pluribus dubiis.
Item articuli pronunciandi in cena Domini vel palmarum contra eos, qui suspendendi sunt a communione, in quibus reperiuntur casus episcopales et scrutinia confessorum.
Item tractatulus de rebus mundi et eius ymaginibus, vide registrum eiusdem ibidem, etc., est finis materiarum huius libelli.
(Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. I, 122).

St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 692
written in 1466 and 1476 by Gallus Kemli, paper, 491pp., 220 x 155 mm
1991 catalogue: "miscellany of pastoral content"
book cover: *Galli Kemli Promptuarium ecclesiasticum*
[not in Kemli's catalogue because it was written later]

Appendix II: Comparison of the contents of Kemli's *Cena* codices

972b	293	692
Biblia pauperum [= *Summarium Biblicum* with long explanations] (1–149)	**Explanatio librorum biblie (1–14)**	**Explanatio librorum biblie (1–6)**
		Alelluia...; Metaphora est tropus...; Figure astercus et obelus... (6; notes)
	Margarita biblie, inc.: *Qui memor esse cupit...*(14–25)	Margarita biblie, inc.: *Qui memor esse cupit...* (7–11)
	Etatum mirabilia (25) *Effectus libri psalmorum* (26) *Alleluia ethymoloyce* (26)	*Diffinitio theologie* (11)
	Intitulationes librorum Biblie (27–28)	Tituli librorum Biblie inwulgarizati (12) *Cathalogus...; Alphabetum secundum literalem ethimologiam...*(12)
Nuptie Abbatheos (= *Cena Hrabani Mauri*, 150–156)	**Nuptie Abbatheos (= *Cena Hrabani Mauri*, 29–37)**	**Nuptie Abbatheos (= *Cena Hrabani Mauri*, 13–19)**
In hac materia (brief addition, crossed over) (156; 157 void)		*Filii Isreal de quo ludei processerunt...* (brief addition, 19)
Biblia moralis (158–216)		

Recapitulacio in speculum humanae salvationis (217–350; 351 void)	Recapitulacio in speculum humanae salvationis (38–46)	Recapitulacio in speculum humanae salvationis (20–27)
Sermones dominicis diebus per totum annum (352–480)	Brief texts on the biblical contents, sermon topics, concordances, varia (47–461)	Concordance, compendium theologicae veritatis, varia (27–147)
	Summula Raymundi (462–504)	Summula Raymundi (143–173)
	Articuli suspendendorum a communione (505–509) *Summula rerum mundi* (510–546) *Registrum* (547–586)	Notes, formulas, statutes, etc., calendar, *canon et missae*, with musical notations, *benedictiones, exorcismus, unctiones, intimationes temporum sacrorum et dierum solempnium*, notes, excerpts, varia (partly in German; also smaller pieces of paper with additional notes inserted) (173–491)

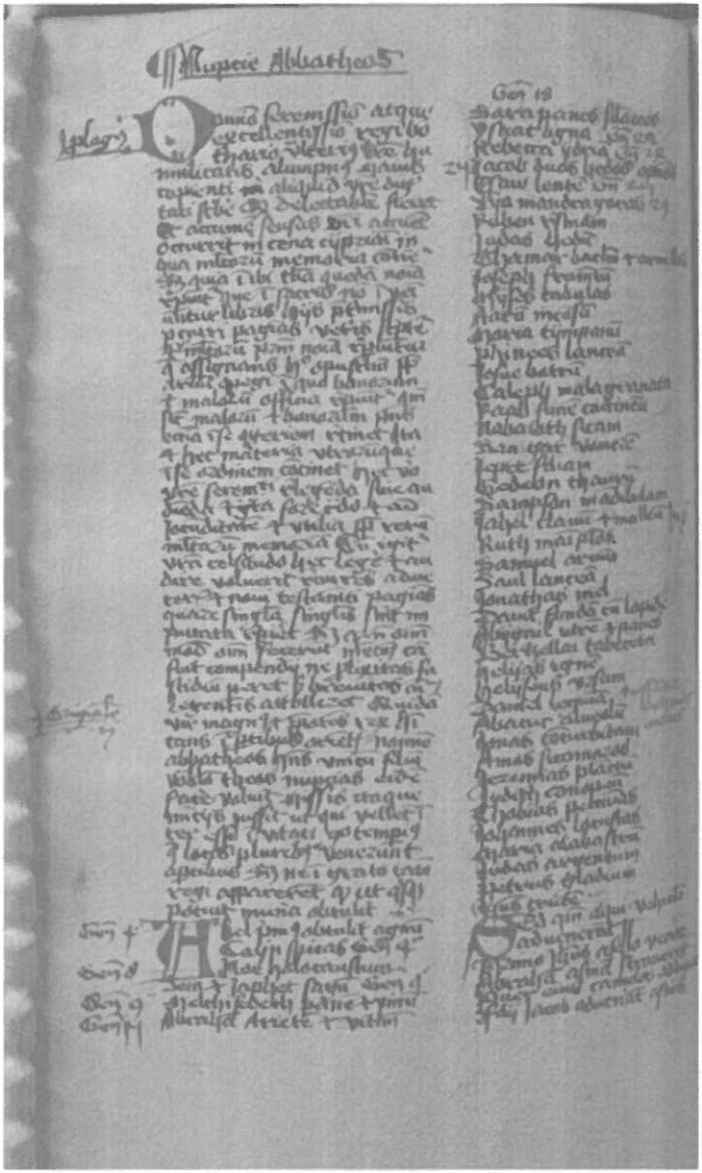

Figure 15: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 972b, p. 150, *Cena nuptialis*.

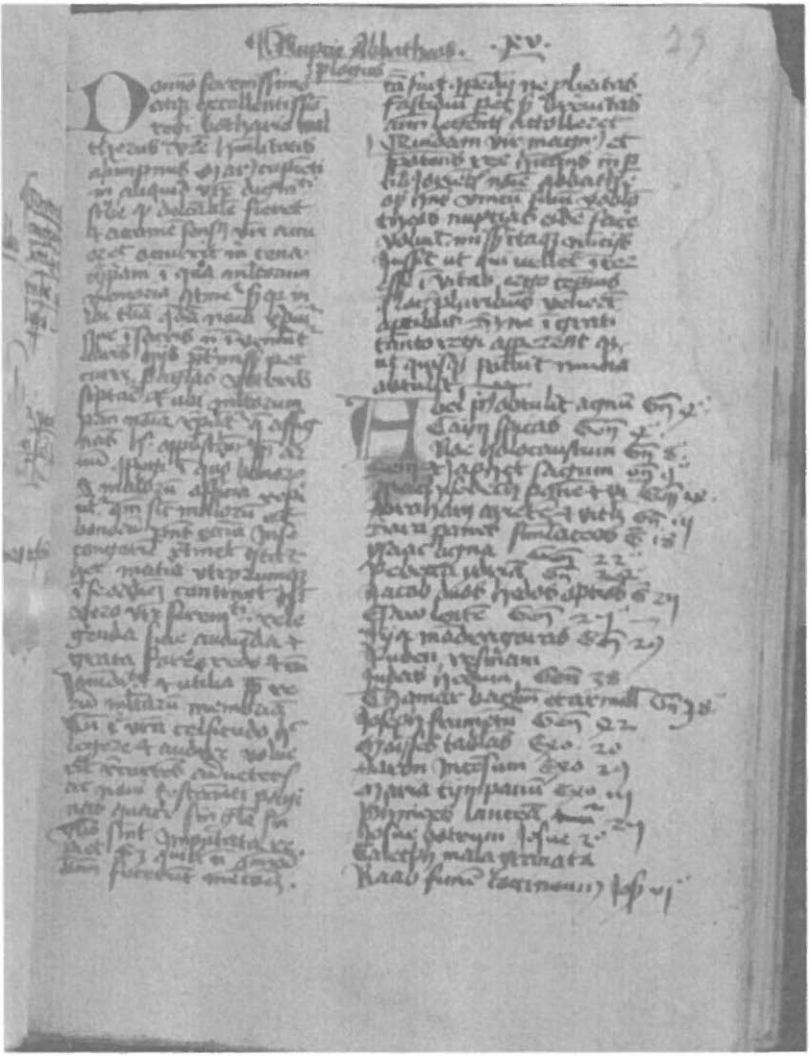

Figure 16: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 293, p. 29, *Cena nuptialis*.

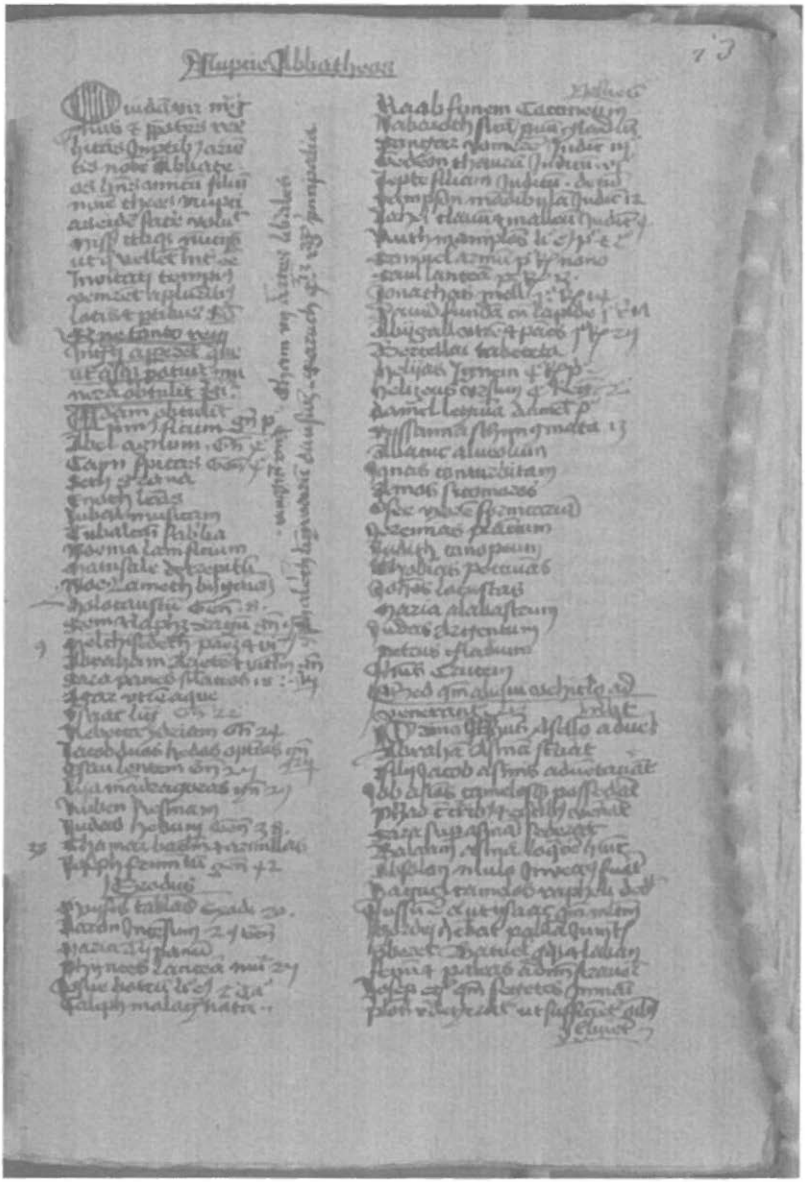

Figure 17: St. Gall, Stiftsbiliothek, 692, p. 13, *Cena nuptialis*.

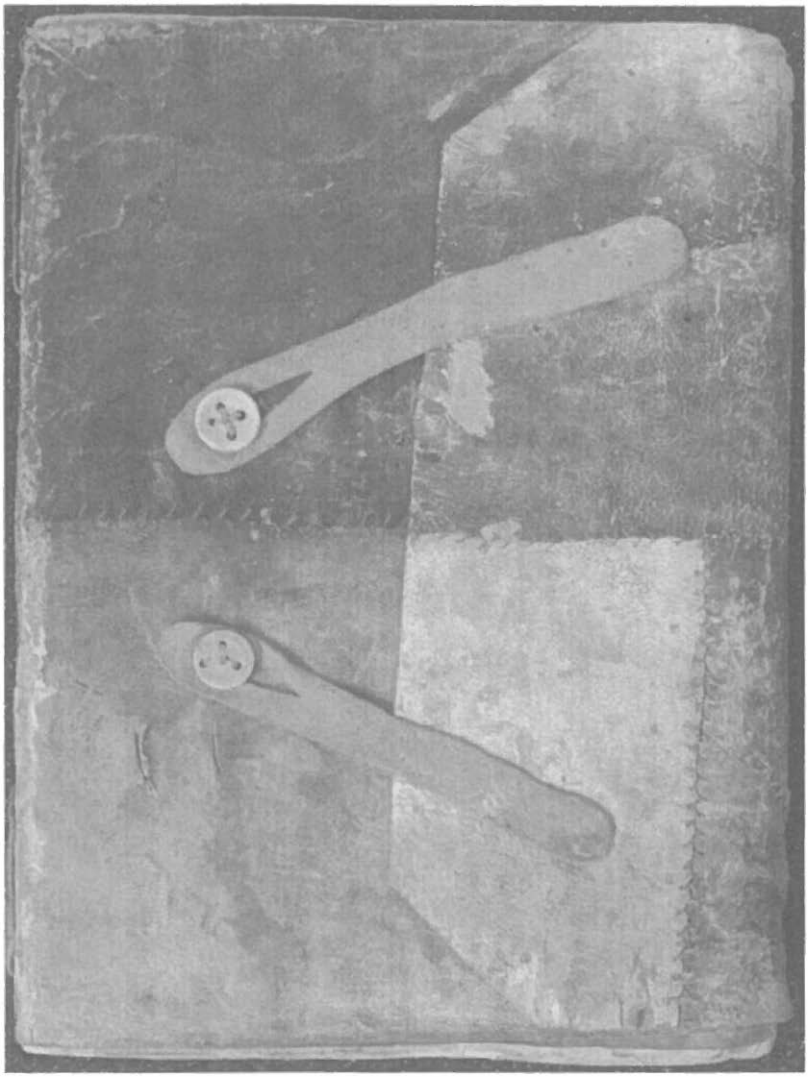

Figure 18: St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 692, cover.

Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies:
Composition, Authorship, Use

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

SONDERBAND XXXI

Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies: Composition, Authorship, Use

edited by
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