

**Sermon Manuscripts in the Late Middle Ages**  
**The Latin and German Codices of Berthold von Regensburg**

Johannes M. Depnering

St Edmund Hall

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford

Trinity Term 2013

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**Abstract**

This thesis on medieval sermon manuscripts aims to increase our understanding of the Franciscan Berthold von Regensburg, who is considered to be the most significant German preacher of the late Middle Ages. For this reason, I have selected twenty-one Latin and six German codices, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. These codices have been analyzed to identify the writing material, internal structure and paratextual features. The underlying idea is that the codicological and paratextual organisation delivers insight not only into the date and provenance of the manuscripts, but also into their function and actual use. I set out, in my first chapter, with some general thoughts about the specific process of communication involved in sermon manuscripts. The focus of my second chapter is on the structural and guiding elements in manuscripts, such as indices, numbering systems and various types of rubrication. The third chapter is concerned with marginal annotations, which can refer to the content of the text, call for attention, or even aim to deter from reading or copying a particular passage. In chapter four, I discuss a number of current issues in codicology and the complexity of codicological structures, which leads me to the proposition of a new concept of ‘corresponding codicological units’. In the fifth chapter, I argue that the attribution of Berthold’s sermons to his name fades in the late-thirteenth century, in favour of the term *Rusticanus*, which fills the position of the author for the the most part of the fourteenth century. In my final chapter, I discuss different concepts of book ownership. By demonstrating the significance of material and structural features, I show the strength of a codicological approach in achieving a new, in-depth understanding of Berthold von Regensburg and medieval sermon culture in general.

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**Long abstract**

This thesis on medieval sermon manuscripts aims to increase our understanding of the Franciscan Berthold von Regensburg, who is considered to be the most significant German preacher of the late Middle Ages. His fame resulted from his moral and penitential sermons, which are transmitted in sixteen German and over 300 Latin manuscripts, of which I have selected twenty-one Latin and six German codices, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Criteria for the selection of the Latin manuscripts are age, and the completeness of the *Rusticanus de Communi*, one of three authorized sermon collections. The German manuscripts constitute the so-called \*Y transmission, which follows the Latin version most closely. These codices have been analyzed to identify the writing material (type, format, quire structures), internal structure (page layout, indices, rubrication) and paratextual features (running heads, headings, marginal annotations). The underlying idea is that the textual and paratextual organisation delivers insight not only into the date and provenance of the manuscripts, but also into their function, actual use and concepts of authorship and ownership.

I set out, in my first chapter, with some general thoughts about the specific process of communication sermon manuscripts are involved in. Sermon manuscripts are complex artefacts. As a medium connected with both the sermon and the preacher, the written

and the spoken word, sermon manuscripts offer different reference points for analysis, depending on the angle from which they are viewed. I introduce Beverly M. Kienzle's concept of preaching as a chain of communication, but, in contrast to this model, I develop a more complex description of the specific type of communication in which sermon manuscripts are engaged. The more detailed model that I propose, depicts not only the various shifts, but also posits that there is not one, but rather that there are two situations to consider, namely preaching and reception, between which a clear distinction should be made. The first is Berthold preaching himself, the second is either the performance of a different preacher or the private reading of an individual. Differentiation between these two situations has not always been made in scholarship.

The focus of my second chapter is on the structural and guiding elements in manuscripts. Medieval books function very differently to modern books. The medieval reader was not guided by a standardized system of page numbers and a table of contents, but rather by an individual, sometimes incoherent, apparatus of cross-referencing and finding aids, such as indices, tabulation and numbering systems. In my survey, I focus on structural elements in manuscripts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, using the corpus of Berthold manuscripts as the primary source and complementing it with late-medieval manuscripts from the Cistercian abbey of Alzelle. By investigating individual features, I aim to capture how and why these elements aided the reader in interacting with the manuscript, and to what respect a sermon manuscript differs from any other genre. The chapter concludes with a short case study of a monk from Alzelle, who improved existing, and created additional, indices in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, thus displaying a particularly cognitive interaction with the text.

The third chapter is related to the second, yet it does not address how a manuscript was used, but rather what traces users have left in manuscripts. Marginal annotations can refer

to the content of the text, call for attention, or even aim to deter from reading or copying a particular passage – the latter being particularly remarkable, given that the texts we deal with are sermons. In general, the Berthold manuscripts selected for this study seldom contain marginal annotations. Some can be attributed to the original writing and production process, whereas other marginalia point to subsequent usage of the manuscript. These might be ownership marks, from which we can learn about the name of the institution or person and, in some cases, also about the circumstances in which the manuscript was acquired. Furthermore, there are notes referring to the content. Very often, they are imprecise and abstract signs. However, there are also annotations of a more individual character, providing information about the content and, at the same time, serve as a finding aid.

In chapter four, I address a number of current issues in codicology as well as the complexity of codicological structures, which lead me to the proposition of a new concept of ‘corresponding codicological units’. Medieval manuscripts not only tell stories through the texts they contain, but they also express their individual history in their materiality and composition. One can gain insight into a manuscript by investigating and judging the quality of the writing material used and the way in which it was compiled. However, in order to undertake any codicological analysis, one has first to establish what it is that can be described and which technical terms can be used to do so. To date, there is no final consensus on either of these questions, and no study so far has truly explored the similarities and differences of the most significant models. The focus of the first part of this chapter, is on codicological terminology. The second part, by contrast, is dedicated to selected Berthold manuscripts, which are investigated by their codicological structure using some of the technical terms presented. The aim of this chapter is to show the

strengths, but also limits, of codicological terminology, and its application to Berthold codices, in order to understand their specific qualities.

In the fifth chapter, I argue that the attribution of Berthold's sermons to his name fades in the late-thirteenth century, in favour of the term *Rusticanus*, which fills the position of the author for the greater part of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Berthold is rediscovered and *Rusticanus* interpreted as his alter ego, in whose shadow he remains. Despite the absence of Berthold's name, the transmission of his work was not held back, indicating that the decisive factor was not the fame of the preacher, but the sermon texts themselves. I review the prologue to the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*, crucial for establishing the authenticity of the three *Rusticanus* collections, and show that it is a document concerned with authorization, rather than personal authorship. Finally, a comparison is made to the German transmission where, despite text-internal strategies for identification, the presence of the author Berthold is comparatively limited. Nonetheless, it is shown that the transmission of the German manuscripts correlates with the renewed interest in Berthold in the fifteenth century.

In chapter six, I discuss different concepts of book ownership, that is, varying notions about who was permitted to own manuscripts and what it means to 'own' a manuscript. Not all of the Berthold manuscripts provide immediate information about the people who were in contact with them, but we can draw conclusions from knowledge about the context, which again sheds new light on the material objects and their owners. I respond to the question of ownership, not through a general analysis, which in view of the size of the transmission is almost impossible, but by means of three particularly interesting cases, two Latin and one vernacular. For the second part of this chapter, I address four Latin Berthold manuscripts in their monastic context, all from the Cistercian abbey of Alzelle, which differ substantially in their structure, age, and completeness. What is more, the

monastic institution and its ownership marks depict a different, contrasting concept of book ownership.

By demonstrating the significance of material and structural features, I show the strength of a codicological approach in achieving a new, in-depth understanding of Berthold von Regensburg and medieval sermon culture in general.

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## List of abbreviations

<i>AfdA</i>	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BGPAN	Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk
BLB	Badische Landesbibliothek
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
CC	Couvent des Cordeliers
DB	Dombibliothek
DTM	Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters
EBDB	Einbanddatenbank, < <a href="http://www.hist-einband.de">http://www.hist-einband.de</a> >
<i>FMSSt</i>	Frühmittelalterliche Studien
<i>Jakob</i>	Jakob, Georg. 1880. <i>Die lateinischen Reden des seligen Berthold von Regensburg</i> (Regensburg: Manz)
LHA	Landeshauptarchiv
MTU	Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters
NKP	Národní knihovna České republiky
OÖLB	Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
Piccard online	Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard, < <a href="http://www.piccard-online.de">http://www.piccard-online.de</a> >
PS I	Pfeiffer, Franz. 1862. <i>Berthold von Regensburg. Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten mit Anmerkungen und Wörterbuch, vol. 1</i> (Vienna: Braumüller)
PS II	Strobl, Joseph. 1880. <i>Berthold von Regensburg. Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten mit Anmerkungen und Wörterbuch, vol. 2</i> (Vienna: Braumüller)
RB	Ratsschulbibliothek
<i>RdC</i>	Rusticanus de Communi

<i>RdD</i>	Rusticanus de Dominicis
<i>RdS</i>	Rusticanus de Sanctis
SA	Staatsarchiv
SB	Stadtbibliothek
Schneyer RS	Schneyer, Johannes Baptist. 1969-89. <i>Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters. Für die Zeit von 1150 - 1350, vols 1-10, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Texte u. Untersuchungen vol. XLIII, books 1-10</i> (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorff)
SR	Sermones ad religiosos
SS	Sermones speciales sive extravagantes
StiB	Stiftsbibliothek
TRE	Müller, Gerhard, Horst Balz, and Gerhard Krause (eds.). 1976-2004. <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> , 36 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter)
UB	Universitätsbibliothek
<sup>2</sup> VL	Kurt Ruh et al. (eds.). 1977-2008. <i>Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon</i> , 14 vols, 2nd revised edn. (Berlin: de Gruyter)
<i>ZfdA</i>	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
<i>ZfdPh</i>	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
ZSKG	Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte

## Introduction

### Berthold scholarship

The Franciscan Berthold von Regensburg (c. 1210-1272) is considered to be the most significant German preacher of the late Middle Ages, with his work seeing widespread use until the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> His fame resulted from his moral and penitential sermons, which are transmitted in sixteen German and over 300 Latin manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> A pioneering work in research was the edition of his German sermons in two volumes by Franz Pfeiffer, in 1862, and Joseph Strobl, in 1880.<sup>3</sup> This has been source for hundreds of publications until today, despite its insufficient editorial standard. The Latin sermons, in contrast, remain almost unpublished, despite numerous attempts over the course of time: “Scholars who have worked with the Latin sermons have been plagued by bad judgment, incompetence, and personal misfortune.”<sup>4</sup> The last universal research concerning both the Latin and German transmission dates back to more than a century.<sup>5</sup> Current studies focus

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of Berthold von Regensburg’s life and work see Banta (1978); Meiners (1980); and Czerwon (2011), pp. 15-24.

<sup>2</sup> Richter (1969) provides a comprehensive overview of the German manuscripts. The Latin codices are listed by Casutt (1961) and Schneyer (1969-89). Sporadically, fragments or codices that contain complete or fragmentary sermons appear. See Fasbender (2005) and Bondarko (2006). During my research, I discovered a single sermon in manuscript Leipzig, UB, MS. 1531, which contains an alphabetical concordance and sermons. The sermon is Schneyer, RS 1, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 79 (S82): *De Sancta Elizabeth Sermo Vir eius laudabit eam ...* (fols 142<sup>vb</sup>-143<sup>rb</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Pfeiffer (1862); Strobl (1880) (from now on quoted as PS I and II).

<sup>4</sup> Banta (1969), p. 475. The only edition of Latin sermons is by Hoetzel (1882). However, it only contains the fourth sermon of the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* collection and twenty sermons of the unauthorized *Sermones speciales sive extravagantes*. One sermon of each the *Rusticanus de Dominicis* and the *Rusticanus de Communi* are found in Franz (1902), pp. 741-50. Schönbach (1905-1906), Studien IV and V, provides numerous longer excerpts of the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*, *Rusticanus de Sanctis* and *Rusticanus de Communi* collections.

<sup>5</sup> Schönbach (1896-1908), Studien I-VII.

on linguistics and rhetorics,<sup>6</sup> specific motifs or topics,<sup>7</sup> or utilize the sermons as a source for general studies on the mendicant orders.<sup>8</sup> Most recently, Ariane Czerwon used a selection of Latin Berthold sermons for her study on preaching against heretics.<sup>9</sup> Czerwon also provides an excellent overview of the Berthold research, from its very beginning until now.<sup>10</sup> I, therefore, rather than providing a chapter devoted to past research, have chosen to integrate references to relevant research directly into the individual chapters.

On reviewing past research on Berthold – or mendicant sermons in general – it was noted that no scholar has focused on codices on a more abstract level, that is, utilising their materiality and structure as a source for universal questions of function and context as well as codicological and genre discourses. Differing from Dieter Richter’s fundamental study on the vernacular transmission,<sup>11</sup> and despite the age-long interest in the Latin transmission,<sup>12</sup> this is the first comprehensive study with regard to materiality and manuscript composition, as well as paratextual features. The underlying idea is that textual and paratextual organisation of a manuscript does not only deliver insight into the date and provenance of the manuscript, but also to a certain degree into its function and context, as well as the inherent concepts of authorship and ownership.

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<sup>6</sup> Dank (1995); Schmid (2004); Robin (2005); Suerbaum (2008).

<sup>7</sup> Hanska and Ruotsala (1996); Oechslin Weibel (2005); Mossman (2012).

<sup>8</sup> D’Avray (1985); Müller (2003).

<sup>9</sup> Czerwon (2011).

<sup>10</sup> Czerwon (2011), pp. 9-14. See also Banta (1969).

<sup>11</sup> Richter (1969).

<sup>12</sup> In addition to those already mentioned above, for example, Grimm (1869 [1825]), Casutt (1962), Neuendorff (2002).

## The Latin and German transmission

The German transmission consists of three collections: \*X, \*Y, and \*Z.<sup>13</sup> None of these sermons are authored by Berthold, but are clearly attributed to him. The collection \*Y is preserved in six manuscripts. As Dagmar Neuendorff argues convincingly, it is this group of sermons that follow the Latin versions most closely and thus they have been chosen as the objects for comparison:<sup>14</sup>

- |    |  |
|----|--|
| D  | Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS. Don. 292 (formerly: Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, MS. 292) |
| H  | Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg. 35  |
| K1 | Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CCl. 886   |
| M1 | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 1119   |
| M2 | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 5067   |
| W  | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS. 2829   |

The Latin transmission comprises five collections: the *Rusticanus de Dominicis (RdD)* with 58 Sunday sermons, the *Rusticanus de Sanctis (RdS)* with 125 sermons on particular saints, the *Rusticanus de Communi (RdC)* with 75 sermons on general saints, the *Sermones de Religiosos (SR)* with 87 sermons for members of the religious orders, and *Sermones speciales sive extravagantes (SS)* with 48 sermons on special occasions.<sup>15</sup> Only the first three collections, *RdD*, *RdS* and *RdC*, are considered authentic.<sup>16</sup>

The Latin research corpus consists of twenty codices, the majority of which contain the *Rusticanus de Communi*. This collection of sermons on general saints has been chosen, as it, according to Schönbach's analysis, was most often used as the source for the vernacular

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Richter (1969).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Richter (1969), pp. 81-94.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Jakob (1880), p. 13 and Casutt (1961), p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> See Schönbach (1906), Studien V, pp. 38-43 and chapter 4.

sermons.<sup>17</sup> The main criteria for the selection are age and completeness of the sermon collection. The codices contain either at least 70 of the 75 sermons, or derive from the thirteenth century and thus close to the ministry of Berthold.<sup>18</sup> Due to availability at the same institution, and in order to increase comprehensiveness, Berthold manuscripts with sermons of the other authentic collections have also been included:<sup>19</sup>

Gdańsk, BGPAN, MS. Mar. F 156

Klosterneuburg, StiB, MSS. 450-452

Koblenz, LHA, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194

Leipzig, UB, MS. 496

Leipzig, UB, MS. 497

Leipzig, UB, MS. 498

Leipzig, UB, MS. 689

Leipzig, UB, MS. 722

Munich, BSB, Clm. 2699

Munich, BSB, Clm. 2718

Munich, BSB, Clm. 3213

Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961

Munich, BSB, Clm. 19116

Trier, SB, MS. 759 / 306

Vatican, BAV, MS. Pal. lat. 138

Vatican, BAV, MS. Vat. lat. 4390

Vienna, ÖNB, MS. 3981

Vienna, ÖNB, MS. 4399

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Schönbach (1906), Studien VI, pp. 65-68.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Casutt (1961).

<sup>19</sup> On the discussion about the authenticity of the five Latin sermon collections see chapter 5.

### The manuscript descriptions

A large proportion of the Latin manuscripts have never been studied and, if existent, manuscript descriptions are often sparse. This is particularly true for eight of the eleven descriptions that can be found in my appendix. The framework of these descriptions does not follow a specific catalogue standard, but has been conceptualized specifically for this study, not least due to the restrictions of time and access, which had to be anticipated. The transcriptions found both in the appendix and in the individual chapters follow the manuscripts as strictly as possible, for example, not adjusting *e* for *ae* (*que*), or *i* for *j* (*hujus*), except occasionally, when abbreviations were solved. Capital or lowercase spelling and punctuation are unchanged. It is also important to note that the descriptions of the quire structures are based on the English system, with a spaced upright stroke “ | “ indicating individual codicological units.<sup>20</sup>

The counting of the Latin Berthold sermons follows Jakob (1880), which is indicated by adding the italicized word *Jakob* in front of their number. The reason for this decision is that the continuous counting of all sermons in the otherwise great ‘Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters’ by Johann Baptist Schneyer, does not reflect the unity and completeness of individual collections. I, therefore, refer to Schneyer only, when sermons are not listed in Jakob. Two manuscript descriptions, Leipzig, UB, MSS. 689 and 722, are based on an unpublished and not generally available manuscript by Anette Löffler,<sup>21</sup> but have been adapted and supplemented. A modern catalogue description exists for Koblenz, LHA, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194,<sup>22</sup> nevertheless, a compact overview of its content and structure is provided, as it plays a significant role in chapters 4

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Bischoff (1992), pp. 8-10.

<sup>21</sup> Löffler (2002). The preliminary manuscript can be viewed at the Manuscript Centre at Leipzig.

<sup>22</sup> Overgauuw (2002), pp.45-54.

and 6. In addition, I have provided a short supplement for the five paper manuscripts of the \*Y group, which consists largely of watermarks as well as some corrections about hands.<sup>23</sup>

During my stay at the Manuscript Centre at Leipzig, I was given access to an internal database, which allowed me to compile a list of 102 manuscripts from Alzelle dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century – the period into which the Berthold manuscripts fall. 81 of these have been systematically analyzed for particular features, in particular, to locate the finding aids present in Berthold manuscripts in a wider, but comparable context.<sup>24</sup>

### **This study**

The chapters of this study can all be read independent of each other, but, at the same time, they are strongly linked to each other. All are centred on sermon manuscripts that contain texts by Berthold von Regensburg, addressing the same objects with different questions. Each chapter is thus understood as a contribution to the particular discourse, ranging from codicological composition to concepts of authorship.

I begin, in my first chapter, with some general, preliminary remarks on the intermediary function of sermon manuscripts, in a communication process which involves numerous shifts between the preacher, his sermon and the audience, that is, between the spoken and written word. My second chapter raises the fundamental question how medieval readers used their books, given the lack of any standardized system. I discuss the most important finding and structural aids, which guided – or possibly misguided – a potential user and show what the individual features tell us about the interaction between the manuscript

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<sup>23</sup> Richter (1969).

<sup>24</sup> See chapter 2. Most of the manuscripts have never been studied and catalogue descriptions are sparse. Cf. Helssig (1926-1935).

and its reader. The aim is not only to display the variety of textual and paratextual elements, but also to consider the emergence of individual items, such as the alphabetical index, in their historical context. The third chapter on marginal annotations is related to the second, insofar as it addresses the same question from a different angle: what traces of the use do we find and what do they tell us about how the reader perceived the sermons by Berthold? Especially revealing are those notes that not only provide information about the content, but reflect the reader's attitude towards the text.

Chapter four is dedicated to current issues among codicologists, in particular, the discussion of the appropriateness and preciseness of technical terms. Using the terminology as methodological framework, I explore the various structures of codices, in which Berthold sermons are transmitted. Against the background of nineteenth century Berthold scholarship and its on-going influence on the perception of Berthold von Regensburg until today, I explore in chapter five, to what respect we find traces of the fame and reputation of the Franciscan preacher, or simply acknowledgement of his authorship, in the sermon manuscript, in particular, its paratexts. My final chapter ties in with another question about an abstract medieval concept: what does ownership mean? In the context of my study, the question is, of course, related to the possession of books and I discuss particularly interesting examples of two Latin manuscripts and one German codex, which reflect also their respective historical context and situation of usage. I conclude with a survey of four outstanding Berthold codices, all of which belonged to the same institution, the Cistercian abbey of Alzelle, who again had a very different notion of owning books.

## Chapter 1

### Sermon manuscripts as objects of communication

Sermon manuscripts are complex objects. As a medium connected with both the sermon and the preacher, the written and the spoken word, sermon manuscripts offer different reference points for analysis, depending on the angle from which they are viewed. Before I turn to the material and historical aspects of sermon manuscripts in the following chapters, I will set out with some thoughts on sermon manuscripts as objects of communication. First, I introduce Beverly M. Kienzle's concept of preaching as a chain of communication. In contrast to this model, I will develop a more complex description of the specific type of communication in which sermon manuscripts are engaged. In this context, two different situations of preaching can be distinguished: a primary situation with Berthold as the preacher, and a secondary situation with a different person preaching with the aid of Berthold's text. Further, the relationship between orality, intratextual and paratextual elements is discussed. Finally, with reference to the observations by Kienzle, Hans-Jochen Schiewer and Thom Mertens, I present contrasting approaches to the relationship between written and spoken language, in which the medium that connects both contexts – the sermon manuscript – has often been neglected.

Sermons are part of a specific process of communication in which God's word is proclaimed publicly by a preacher. Kienzle describes this in the following way: "While the sermon emanates from the preacher, it also represents a chain of communication with three parts: divine inspiration or revelation, the preacher, and the audience."<sup>25</sup> In Kienzle's concept of sermon communication, the preacher and the sermon assume the same position and are considered to be almost identical. The main difference, however, is that

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<sup>25</sup> Kienzle (2000), p. 153.

the preacher only serves as an “intermediary”<sup>26</sup> between God and the audience. The sermon, in contrast, additionally functions as “bridge [...] between learned clerical culture and popular lay culture”.<sup>27</sup> In this account, the focus lies explicitly on the “sermon’s actual situation”,<sup>28</sup> that is, the speech rather than the sermon as written record. This reflects, as Augustine Thompson states, that “we are now more conscious of the difficulty of moving from static written text to the oral event of preaching.”<sup>29</sup> This preaching event is in the past and can only be reconstructed, similar to a past performance of a play, to which Kienzle draws comparisons in the following: “Deprived of the preacher’s gestures, facial expressions, modulations of voice and emotion, and the audience’s response, scholars of medieval studies encounter the extant evidence and search for traces of orality and performance.”<sup>30</sup> Kienzle’s depiction of sermon communication, however, overlooks an integral part of the communication process: the sermon manuscript. Certainly, one cannot presume that preachers regularly made use of the written record for their preparation and it is often impossible to ascertain if preaching occurred before or after the sermon was noted down in a manuscript. Nonetheless, it is only through the paratextual and intratextual references in this record that we can attempt to establish the former sociocultural situation, and the interaction between preacher and audience.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Thompson (2002), p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Kienzle (2002), p. 89.

<sup>31</sup> Kienzle is certainly aware of the intratextual evidence and paratextual references to the audience, which are sometimes indicated in the manuscript, cf. Kienzle (2000), p. 154, and, in more detail, pp. 294-98. She also discusses the case of model sermons that “were written in Latin and turned into the vernacular when the preacher addressed a lay audience”, p. 170. However, she does not reflect either in her description of the communication process.

In addition, on closer examination, it becomes apparent that the communication process of preaching could be more complex. Using the Franciscan preacher Berthold von Regensburg as an example, this will be demonstrated in the following passages. Not only sermons, but also the carriers that transmit these texts, lie at the interface between the written and the spoken (or read) word. A closer inspection of the origin of his authentic Latin sermons reveals a recurrent change between orality and writing, between communication and storage. It is assumed that the starting point was the divine inspiration present in the Gospels and Epistles (written). According to the liturgy of the day, a particular verse from these books was selected and served as the starting point for Berthold's preaching before an audience (oral).<sup>32</sup> At a later point of time, he edited the sermons and they were copied into a manuscript (written), which subsequently served as a source and preaching aid for a different preacher or for his own later performances (oral).<sup>33</sup> Within this process, not only the medium, but also the language, changes several times between Latin (written word) and the vernacular (spoken word).

The more detailed model that I propose, depicts not only the various shifts, but also that there is not one, but two situations of preaching and reception respectively, between which a clear distinction should be made. The first is Berthold preaching himself, the second is either the performance of a different preacher or the private reading of an individual. Differentiation between these two situations has not always been made in scholarship.

Schiewer has repeatedly argued that the style of proclamation that has consciously been maintained, or which has been simulated by means of text-internal signs of orality,

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. the list of Dominican and Franciscan liturgical readings in Maura O'Carroll (1979).

<sup>33</sup> The case of silent reading shall be disregarded in this context.

distinguishes the sermon from other types of religious prose.<sup>34</sup> In the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Schiewer lists as possible signals: the apostrophe to the audience, the frequent application of rhetorical questions, the use of the first person singular (“Prediger-Ich”), and references to the feast day, pericopes or liturgy.<sup>35</sup> In his overview of German sermons in the Middle Ages, Schiewer supplements this list with paratextual elements in manuscripts, “such as *marginalia*, aids in interpreting, glosses, layout, and an index of themes and *exempla*”, which, according to Schiewer also “seem to indicate an intended or virtual orality”<sup>36</sup>. When distinguishing sermons as a text type, Schiewer states further: “In this case, it does not matter whether the signals can be derived from an actual ‘performance situation’ or whether the situation is fictitious, since we are concerned with the literary genre ‘sermon’, as established by textual evidence and not the oral – and therefore no longer tangible – phenomenon of religious proclamation.”<sup>37</sup> With this statement, Schiewer simplifies the phenomenon of the genre and ignores two facts. First, there are fundamental differences between “Kanzelpredigt” and “Schriftpredigt”, which, as Georg Steer remarks, “unterscheiden sich nach Realisation, Intention, Funktion und Effizienz erheblich voneinander”.<sup>38</sup> Second, and related to the first point, Schiewer does not go into detail when distinguishing between the two types of orality that he mentions – intended and virtual. Such a distinction can easily be undertaken when reviewing the material evidence.

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<sup>34</sup> Schiewer (1992), p. 71; (1995), col. 174; (2000), p. 863.

<sup>35</sup> Schiewer (1995), col. 174. Kienzle provides a similar list in her study of twelfth-century monastic sermons. See Kienzle (2000), pp. 294-98.

<sup>36</sup> Schiewer (2000), p. 929.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 863.

<sup>38</sup> Steer (1993), pp. 315-16.

First of all, there are different levels of ‘intended orality’. Structural elements as such have less informative value and thus have to be considered as much less significant than handwritten marginalia. However, even paratextual features, such as an index of themes, indicate that the sermon manuscript has been intended for use as a preaching aid rather than for private reading.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, marginalia are not only rare in Berthold manuscripts in general, but they are completely absent in codices that had the sole function of serving as a depository for the sermons. In other words, marginalia already indicate the possibility of a performance, for example, *distinctiones* or references to exempla.<sup>40</sup> Although these marginal notes do not contain any German vocabulary, we can assume that the respective Latin sermons with such annotations were intended to be preached in the vernacular, “wie wir das insgesamt für einen großen Teil der Predigtliteratur annehmen können”.<sup>41</sup> Hence, we can generally apply the assumption of Rüdiger Schnell, regarding the marriage sermons by Berthold, to all *Rusticani* sermons: “Diese sind auf Mündlichkeit hin ausgerichtet, indem sie dem Kleriker immer wieder Anweisungen geben, wie er diese oder jene Passage in der Predigtsituation, d. h. im Moment des öffentlichen Predigens umzusetzen habe.”<sup>42</sup> Schnell, therefore, identifies these directives as “intentionale[] Mündlichkeit der überlieferten Predigttexte”<sup>43</sup> – a term

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<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, Oliver Pfefferkorn (2005), p. 390, comes to the same conclusion with his analysis of seventeenth-century protestant sermon collections, where indices were only a secondary phenomenon: “Wertvolle Hilfe für diese Fälle bieten die vielfältigen Register, z. B. zu den aufgenommenen Bibelziten oder zu wichtigen behandelten Themen. Solche Register fehlen oft in der ersten Auflage der Andachtsbücher, sie treten im Lauf der Zeit hinzu, meist mit dem Hinweis auf ihre mögliche Nutzung durch den Prediger. Dies deutet an, dass die primäre Adressierung eine andere war, nämlich die Ausrichtung auf den Laien, wie in den Vorreden selbst formuliert wird.”

<sup>40</sup> Cf. chapter 3.

<sup>41</sup> Palmer (2005), p. 216. See also Bataillon (1980), pp. 22-25, and d’Avray (1985), pp. 94-95.

<sup>42</sup> Rüdiger Schnell (1997), p. 102.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

that is essentially synonymous with Schiewer's concept of intended orality. Although there is no definitive proof and despite the linguistic transfer from German to Latin, we can still assume that these text-internal signals imitate the first preaching situation in a rudimentary form, especially as the Latin sermon collections have been authenticated by Berthold himself.<sup>44</sup>

An unusual position regarding the relationship between the spoken and the written word, is taken by Mertens in his study on Middle Dutch sermons.<sup>45</sup> Like Schiewer, Mertens states that “[t]he written sermon is not often understood as a literary genre with its characteristics and conventions” and demands that “[t]he study of written sermon should focus on the actual transmitted texts”<sup>46</sup>. He is fully aware that there are general characteristics that the sermon shares with the preaching, but he rejects any conclusion drawn about the spoken sermon that is derived from the transmitted texts.<sup>47</sup> In direct contrast to Kienzle, Mertens considers preaching to be an “oral (para)liturgical medium [...] which can be neglected when the content is conveyed in writing”<sup>48</sup>. Mertens accepts the possibility that a written sermon could be delivered orally,<sup>49</sup> or a text that was not intended for preaching was nevertheless used for this purpose.<sup>50</sup> The fact that there are no model sermon collections in Middle Dutch, that is, no texts that were written and

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<sup>44</sup> See chapter 5. Georg Steer (1993), p. 324, by contrast, regards Berthold's preaching and the Latin model sermon texts as completely unrelated: “Bertholds gesprochenes Predigtwort steht in keiner Beziehung zu den schriftlichen Formulierungen der lateinischen Sermones.”

<sup>45</sup> Mertens (2004). A more detailed account can be found in Mertens (2009).

<sup>46</sup> Mertens (2004), p. 293.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 298

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 297.

primarily intended for preaching, supports this unambiguous attitude.<sup>51</sup> Mertens even goes as far as to say that “it would be possible, though in my opinion not advisable, to conceive the sermon as a purely literary phenomenon and its relation to preaching as an interesting fact which is actually irrelevant for the text”<sup>52</sup>. He endorses his argument with references to texts, such as glosses to the Epistle or Gospel, which constitute sermons that were never connected to an actual preaching event.<sup>53</sup> Despite the interesting idea of focusing merely on the textual evidence and excluding any performative elements<sup>54</sup> or reflection about the communication process sermons are involved in, this position is unfeasible when reviewing a preacher such as Berthold von Regensburg. His Latin sermons are transmitted in the form of model sermon collections, which, by definition, implies a public performance. David d’Avray understands model sermons to be “sermons written for a proximate public of users and an ultimate public of listeners”, with the assumption that the audience “would generally be lay”.<sup>55</sup> They are condensed versions of Latin sermons,<sup>56</sup> which were not intended to be read out verbatim, but rather drawn upon and converted into the respective vernacular language or dialect when preached in

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<sup>51</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> The exclusion of any potential signs of performance completely ignores a fundamental aspect of the genre sermon: the call to conversion and, ideally resulting from this, a change in behaviour and reality. Kienzle phrases in a similar way that “[m]oving the listener to inward transformation or outward action constitutes a primary goal of the sermon.” Kienzle (2002), p. 115. Cf. also Thompson (2002) on the medieval sermon as an event, where he notes that “sermons are simultaneously a ritual and a communication medium”, p. 19.

<sup>55</sup> D’Avray (1985), p. 105.

<sup>56</sup> Consequently, Dagmar Neuendorff utilizes the term “Sermokondensate” for the Latin sermons, „weil es sich in ihnen nicht um ausgearbeitete Sermones, sondern um *structura* und *materia* handelt“. Neuendorff (2002), p. 126, fn. 8. See also Neuendorff (2000), p. 301.

front of an audience.<sup>57</sup> Given this and similar text genres that are inevitably related to preaching, it is unavoidable for Mertens not to finally adopt a different stance and emphasize the importance of analyzing sermons for their “generic features of preaching”, in order to avoid disconnecting “the study of sermons [...] from its soil”.<sup>58</sup>

A final element that has not been adequately included in the communication model of Kienzle concerns the specific spatiotemporal situation. The multistage communication process described is constitutive for what Jan Assmann, following Konrad Ehlich,<sup>59</sup> calls a stretched or extended situation (‘zerdehnte Situation’), in which the manuscript, as carrier of the message, plays the crucial role. “Die beiden Situationen, Sprecher und Bote sowie Bote und Hörer, sind in Raum und Zeit getrennt und doch durch den Text und den Prozeß der Überlieferung miteinander vermittelt. An die Stelle der einen *unmittelbaren* Situation der Kopräsenz tritt die ‘zerdehnte Situation’, die sich in zwei bis virtuell unendlich viele einzelne Situationen entfalten kann [...]”<sup>60</sup> However, even if the sermons and their manuscripts are an instance of delayed communication, the understanding of their content is of utmost importance. Kienzle highlights that the sermon “incorporates proclamation and exhortation, in order to foster belief and to intensify and activate the message taught”, as “[u]ltimately its purpose is eschatological and soteriological, for it is concerned with the end of time and the listeners’ salvation.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> D’Avray (1985), p. 95, stresses the “overwhelming advantage of Latin as the language of sermon collections”, as it allowed for translation into any vernacular language or dialect.

<sup>58</sup> Mertens (2004), p. 313.

<sup>59</sup> See Ehlich (1983).

<sup>60</sup> Assmann (2007), p. 126.

<sup>61</sup> Kienzle (2000), p. 155.

Finally, what needs to be mentioned with regard to the sermon's role in the communication process, is the unilateral direction of speech, even in a situation where preacher and audience are co-present. The preacher approaches his task with a certain authority that is acknowledged by his audience,<sup>62</sup> and "the sermon is primarily a one-sided conversation in the sense that the listener is urged to take the message to the heart, but generally not to engage in dialogue with the preacher during the sermon"<sup>63</sup>. Nevertheless, the communication between the preacher and his audience – or rather between God and his audience – can only be considered complete and successful, when the person listening possesses the necessary attitude to change his or her behaviour as a result. If the listener is not believing and refuses to be involved in the communication of eschatological truths, the complex, extended process has failed completely.

Kienzle highlights: "For medieval sermon studies, one of the primary problems of research, if not the primary problem, is determining whether there is a relationship between the text and an actual oral discourse and what that relationship is."<sup>64</sup> With an extended model of the communication process that comprises both sermons and their carrier, I hope to have shown, and made clear, the complexity of this situation.

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<sup>62</sup> See Kienzle (2000), p. 152. The role of the author and his authority, especially in the context of private reading in which aspects of engagement and confrontation play an important role, will be discussed in its own chapter.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 152. In a later passage, Kienzle notes: "The sermon is a fluid genre, related to the letter, treatise and the commentary [...]" p. 168. However in this respect it differs from the other genres.

<sup>64</sup> Kienzle (1993), p. 87. Again in (2000), p. 170.

## Chapter 2

### Finding aids in late medieval manuscripts

Medieval books function very differently to modern books. The medieval reader was not guided by a standardized system of page numbers and a table of contents, but rather by an individual, sometimes incoherent, apparatus of cross-referencing and finding aids, such as indices, tabulation and numbering systems. This survey will focus on structural elements in manuscripts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, with the goal of applying my results to sermon manuscripts, using the corpus of Berthold manuscripts as its primary source and complementing it with late-medieval manuscripts from the Cistercian abbey of Alzelle.<sup>65</sup> The finding aids discussed are: tabs; running titles; headings, initials, paragraphs and other types of rubrication; alphabetical indices and tables of contents; foliation and other types of text numbering. The chapter concludes with a short case study of a monk from Alzelle, who improved existing, and created additional, indices in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

In contrast to the majority of other finding and orientation aids present in medieval manuscripts, which can be understood and described as part of a tradition ranging from Late Antiquity to the late Middle Ages,<sup>66</sup> it is commonly acknowledged that the alphabetical index is an invention of the thirteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Not least for this reason, it is this finding aid, which has received particular attention from scholarship. Anna-

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<sup>65</sup> The survey on Alzelle (see chapter 6) provided the opportunity not only to identify the role and function of four particular Berthold codices in their historical and monastic surrounding, but also to place the finding aids that can be found in the Berthold manuscripts into a wider context.

<sup>66</sup> Palmer (1989), p. 44.

<sup>67</sup> Von den Brincken (1972), pp. 907 and 920; Parkes (1976), pp. 127 and 131; Rouse and Rouse (1979), p. 4.

Dorothee von den Brincken, in her study on the *tabula alphabetica*, identifies the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais as the first historiographer to create an index,<sup>68</sup> establishing as the *terminus post quem* the completion of the second redaction of the *Speculum Maius* in 1247.<sup>69</sup> Von den Brincken presents two reasons for the development of the index. Firstly, the increasing difficulty in managing the subject matter, as the literature of the early and high Middle Ages, in contrast to the late Middle Ages, was much more concise, highly structured and systematically arranged.<sup>70</sup> Secondly, a change in function, because works such as the *Speculum maius* were not created for continuous reading, but rather as reference works serving a higher purpose, i.e., exegesis and preaching.<sup>71</sup> Von den Brincken notes that while there is a certain record of *tabulae* in Germany, it is not on such a large scale as in the centres of scholasticism.<sup>72</sup>

M. B. Parkes also sees the creation of the alphabetical index in the context of scholastic scholarship. He argues that the scholastic *lectio*, in contrast to monastic reading, “was a process of study which involved a more ratiocinative scrutiny of the text”, leading to developments in the page layout and the emergence of new apparatus for the academic

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<sup>68</sup> Von den Brincken (1972), p. 919.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 907.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 915.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 923. In his study on medieval encyclopaedias, Heinz Meyer (1991), p. 323, notes that the growing interest in compendia for exegesis and preaching was particularly important for the implementation of alphabetical tools.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 921. Richard and Mary Rouse suggest that the earliest forms of alphabetical indices were developed at the schools in Paris where the predecessors of these tools, the distinction collection and the verbal concordance, were created. From Paris the new techniques spread through students and masters to their religious houses and dioceses. See Rouse and Rouse (1979), pp. 11 and 14. See also Rouse and Rouse (1974), (1982) and (1990).

reader.<sup>73</sup> According to Parkes, the intellectual turning-point in the thirteenth-century was the rediscovery of Aristotelian logic and the active engagement with rigorous philosophical methods, entailing a change not only in the presentation of text,<sup>74</sup> but also in the “physical appearance of books”.<sup>75</sup> In this context of rearrangement and increasingly sophisticated engagement with texts, the *tabula* or alphabetical index was developed. “By employing a new *ordinatio* the *tabula* provided a means of access to subordinate topics within the existing *ordinatio* of a work.”<sup>76</sup>

In their study on the transitional period between 1150 and 1250, Richard and Mary Rouse note that the twelfth century is “characterized by the effort to gather, organize and harmonize the legacy of the Christian past”, whereas the new scholarship that emerged in the thirteenth century, sought to “gain access to the whole works of authority, and to ask fresh questions of them”.<sup>77</sup> Rouse and Rouse see this change in scholarly attitude particularly reflected in the development and large production of alphabetical tools in the thirteenth century, such as distinction collections, the concordance to the Scripture, and indices to patristic works: “These are works designed to be used, rather than to be read.”<sup>78</sup> Despite the strong conviction that Paris constituted the cradle of all alphabetical tools and that it would be “misleading to consider the origin of tools as strictly an outgrowth of

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<sup>73</sup> Parkes (1976), p. 115. Nigel Palmer (1989), p. 59, in contrast, points out, with reference to the monastic manuscripts of the Church Fathers and doctors of the church, that “die technischen Mittel – vielleicht mit Ausnahme des alphabetischen Registers – an sich keineswegs neu sind, sondern die traditionell gewordenen Gliederungsmethoden nur fortsetzen”.

<sup>74</sup> Parkes (1976), p. 119.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>77</sup> Rouse and Rouse (1982), p. 201.

<sup>78</sup> Rouse and Rouse (1979), p. 4.

Cistercian spirituality”,<sup>79</sup> Rouse and Rouse concede that it was the Cistercians who were “particularly ingenious at applying notions of indexing and devising reference systems for texts that were difficult to index”.<sup>80</sup> It seems, therefore, particularly useful to analyse finding aids present in Berthold manuscripts together with those found in codices from the Cistercian abbey of Alzelle.

## Tabs

In her introduction to palaeography and codicology, Karin Schneider lists tabs as one of five types of orientation aids: “Kleine Streifchen aus verschiedenfarbigem Leder, Pergament oder auch Papier wurden versetzt an die Blattränder der Textanfänge geklebt, seltener auch angenäht.”<sup>81</sup> She considers them as an indication of intensive use, as they allowed rapid location of individual texts, chapters or passages.<sup>82</sup> Of the Alzelle manuscripts surveyed for this study at the Leipzig University Library, more than one third have been provided with tabs. Although several can be dated to the thirteenth century, the *terminus post quem* for the tabs is most likely the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 6

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>81</sup> Schneider (1999), p. 163.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> MSS. 136, 139 and 140 are dated to 1344 and 1345 respectively, and feature the same tabs as earlier manuscripts. As the addition of tabs appears to have been a systematic act of improvement at one particular time, the middle of the fourteenth century is the earliest date possible. The argument that they are later additions is also supported by the fact that in MS. 655 (*Tractatus de viciis (Summa de vitiis)* by William Peraldus), written in the last third of the thirteenth century, the tabs were added subsequently to the foliation. On fol. 5<sup>r</sup>, the tab is pasted over the folio number; on fols 126 and 161, more care was taken and the tabs were added just below the foliation. Moreover, in the fourteenth-century codex MS. 980 (*Constitutiones Clementinae*), white leather tabs were added at the same time as the foliation, as the arabic numerals 2 and 3 were written directly on the tabs by the same hand.

Most of these tabs are made of white leather,<sup>84</sup> and indicate the beginning of a new textual unit, not limited to a specific type – a Bible chapter (MS. 40, Book of Leviticus), a different fascicle (MS. 134, theological composite manuscript; MS. 415, Peter Lombard, Sentences), or a different part (*pars*) of a major work, such as the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais (MSS. 1311 and 1312). The majority of the books possess a limited number of tabs, ranging between one and twelve, but in fact rarely more than five. MSS. 66 and 69, which contain the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah with interlinear and marginal glosses, are exceptions. Both are provided with several dozen tabs, set out at regular intervals, either from the top to the middle of the fore-edge or the middle of the fore-edge to the bottom.<sup>85</sup> Following Schneider’s argument, the large number of tabs would indicate the frequent use of the prophetic books, serving to facilitate the finding of individual sections. However, the presence of a large number of tabs can also be attributed to the text type. MS. 102, an alphabetical concordance, contains tabs in alternating white and red leather, marking the individual letters of the alphabet along the fore-edge.

Similar auxiliary devices to tabs are strings, which have been pierced through the parchment and knotted at the edge so that the knot protrudes. In MS. 718, a collection of *sermones de tempore* and Franciscan *sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, strings have been employed to mark the position of several texts (fols 12, 23, 31, 70, 90, 98, 112). In the

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<sup>84</sup> Undyed, plain leather has been used only for MSS. 871, 1075 and 1242. Another manuscript, MS. 671, can be considered exceptional both in structure and content. It contains mystical texts (*Oratio de passione domini*, Mechthild von Hackeborn’s *Liber spiritualis gracie* and the *Vita sanctae Gertrudis*) and has been provided with tabs of red and blue leather, folded around the edges of the leaves. The manuscript was not written in Alzelle, but according to Löffler (2002) “aufgrund von Schrift, Illumination und der Stempel vermutlich in Mitteldeutschland”. It is also one of the volumes that has seen later improvements through the inclusion of an additional index by a monk from Alzelle.

<sup>85</sup> In MS. 69, the tabs are distributed in a ratio of one (seven tabs are allotted to the upper part of the fore-edge) to two (thirteen tabs are attached from the middle of the fore-edge to the bottom).

remaining manuscripts, MSS. 483, 485 and 820, all of which also contain sermons, strings alone were added to the codex, but sporadically. Generally, the personal need of an individual to find a specific text again seems to prevail. Knotted strings thus appear to have a function similar to a private book mark, in contrast to tabs, which were intended to increase the functionality of a manuscript for general readership.

Within both the Latin and the German Berthold von Regensburg corpus, tabs are rare. The first of three exceptions is a small codex, Munich, BSB, Clm. 2699 (165 x 115 mm), a composite manuscript consisting of five codicological units that contain, among other texts, anonymous sermons and excerpts, sermons from Berthold's *Rusticanus de Communi (RdC)*, *Rusticanus de Sanctis (RdS)* and the *Summa* of Raymond of Peñafort. The parchment codex, written in the first half of the fourteenth century, belonged to the Cistercian abbey at Aldersbach.<sup>86</sup> Its tabs are made from paper rather than parchment and they are glued on both sides of the margins of fols 9, 26, 33, 115, 165 and 189. In each case, they mark the beginning and end of a textual unit, often coinciding with the codicological structure (fols 26, 33, 115) or the beginning of a new quire (fol. 189). The second manuscript is Leipzig, UB, MS. 496, a composite manuscript made of two codicological units, which comprise, in unit I (fols 1-108), Berthold sermons of the *Rusticanus de Communi*, *Sermones speciales sive extravagantes*, *Sermones ad religiosos* and the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*, followed by an excerpt of the *Summa* of Raymond of Peñafort and two *Quaestiones*. In unit II (fols 109-132), there are a collection of sermons by Guibertus de Tornaco and other short texts. The two tabs of this manuscript are made of parchment and similarly refer to textual boundaries, the beginning of the *Summa* (fol. 97<sup>r</sup>) and the beginning of Guibertus de Tornaco's sermons, which coincides with the

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<sup>86</sup> See the ownership mark on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: *Hunc librum comparauit dominus wipoto Ecclesie Sancte Marie virginis in Alderspach.*

beginning of the second codicological unit (fol. 109<sup>f</sup>). The third Berthold manuscript containing tabs is Cologne, HA, MS. W 161.<sup>87</sup> A paper manuscript of unknown provenance, written around 1450/1460, it contains the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* as well as a selection of sermons on the different categories of saints (*RdC*). According to the catalogue description, tabs are attached to fols 1, 16, 20, 29, and point to four indices preceding the sermons.<sup>88</sup> In this case, the tabs are made of strings glued onto the paper with parchment strips. Given the limited number of tabs in most manuscripts with this device, one can conclude that tabs do not significantly increase the usability of books. One could rather postulate that they either highlight the position of a particular text or finding tool, as in the last example, or give a first, general indication of the book structure. Exceptional cases, in which a considerable number of tabs have been applied to the codex systematically along the fore-edge, seem to result from a particular text genre, such as biblical books or reference works. Knotted strings, although apparently fulfilling a similar function, can be considered as an instrument added at a later stage for private use.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> In 2009, the Historical Archive of the City of Cologne collapsed. For this reason, it is not only impossible to view the manuscript, but it is also uncertain whether it has survived and in what state. Fortunately, the manuscript has been catalogued, cf. Vennebusch (2001), and a digitized version of a microfilm has been made available online:

<<http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/lesesaal/verzeichnungseinheit/172665/Best.+7010+161+Bertholdus+Ratisbonensis>> [accessed 10 September 2013].

<sup>88</sup> See Vennebusch (2001), pp. 49-50.

<sup>89</sup> Schneider mentions three individual cases of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, in which coloured silk strings were knotted to the parchment, “[v]ermutlich von späteren Benutzerinnen”. Schneider (1999), p. 163.

## Running titles

Upper margins can contain several types of paratextual elements, for example, *incipits*, foliation or pagination. Another feature found here, according to Parkes “an ancient practice which had been somewhat neglected, perhaps because in the process of the monastic *lectio* they had become redundant”,<sup>90</sup> are running titles. In order to distinguish them from the main text, they are featured “in abweichender Schriftart oder Farbe [...], vereinzelt auch verziert”.<sup>91</sup> Running titles indicate, as Denis Muzerelle states in his *Vocabulaire codicologique*, “le contenu d'un texte (titre de l'ouvrage ou d'une de ses parties, numéro ou sujet de cette partie...)”,<sup>92</sup> and it is astonishing that there is hardly any deviation from this standard definition. Schneider notes that running titles are found most commonly in biblical manuscripts, scholastic and canonistic texts, but that their appearance is restricted almost exclusively to Latin works, the exception being first and foremost, Bible manuscripts, which – like the earlier Latin versions – specify the respective books of the Bible,<sup>93</sup> individual works, such as the world chronicle by Heinrich von München, and manuscripts produced in the workshop of Diebold Lauber.<sup>94</sup>

Schneider's identification of text genres is largely consistent with my analysis of the Alzelle manuscripts. Running titles were most frequently used to mention the book of the Bible which is discussed on the page. This is found not only in biblical manuscripts,

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<sup>90</sup> Parkes (1976), p. 122. Running titles are found in manuscripts as early as the fifth and sixth century; cf. Bischoff (2009), p. 109.

<sup>91</sup> Schneider (1999), pp. 161-62.

<sup>92</sup> Muzerelle (1985), no. 333.07.

<sup>93</sup> Schneider (1999), p. 162.

<sup>94</sup> Schneider (1999), p. 162. Palmer (1989), p. 74, points out that irrespective of the type of text, Lauber manuscripts have chapter numbers in the upper margin of the pages with images. See also the recent volume on manuscripts written in the Lauber workshop, edited by Fasbender (2012).

such the Twelve Minor Prophets (MS. 73), but also in commentaries, such as the *Postillae* by Nicholas of Lyra (MSS. 136, 139, 146) and by Hugh of Saint-Cher (MS. 140). The name of the book is either on the recto (e.g.: *OSEE*, MS. 73), or it is spread across one opening (e.g.: v: *Super* | r: *Genesis*, MS. 136). MS. 430, Peter Lombard's commentary on the Pauline epistles, similarly uses one opening as unit of reference (e.g., v: *ad* | r: *Coro 7*). MS. 51, a Psalter with the commentary of Peter Lombard and MS. 58, a collection of glosses on Psalms 80 to 88, each use the running titles to specify the authorities, that is, the Church Fathers, who are quoted in the individual columns.

The second most common use, as outlined in Muzerelle's definition, is to indicate a particular work's book or part. It is found, not surprisingly, with the aforementioned *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais (MSS. 1311 and 1312), where on each page the number of the book is located above the intercolumnium and its title left and right of it, for example, *Tempora libro xx claudij*. MS. 393, which contains Hugh of Saint Victor's *De sacramentis* and Bernard of Clairvaux's tract *De duodecim gradibus humilitates*, simply points to the respective part of the work, again across the upper margins of one opening (e.g., v: *pars* | r: *ii*). An extended version of this system is found in MS. 408, Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, where, in addition to the book (*liber*) in the upper margin, the chapters are stated in the outer margin.

Parkes notes that running titles are used "particularly in the systematically arranged collections of canon law" and he mentions explicitly Gratian as an example.<sup>95</sup> In accordance with this, MS. 956, a copy of the *Decretum Gratiani* together with the *Glossa Ordinaria* by Bartholomew of Brescia, counts the chapters on the recto, using alternating red and blue for the individual numbers, and has added *CA* for *capitulum* on the verso.

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<sup>95</sup> Parkes (1976), p. 122.

MS. 1024, which contains a lecture on the fifteen books of the *Decretum* by Pope Gregory IX, uses exactly the same colour pattern, with *L* for *liber* on the verso and the numbers *I-III* on the recto. This style is also found in two further legal manuscripts, MSS. 870 and 871, both of which contain Justinian's *Institutiones* and the *Glossa Ordinaria* by Accursius: the verso refers to the unit, *L* for *liber* or, in parts of MS. 871, *COL* for *collationes*, while on the recto, the books are counted in the usual colourful pattern.<sup>96</sup> There are also running titles in MS. 980, the Clementine Constitutions by Pope Clement V with the glosses by Johannes Andreae. These, however, merely display a repetition of the text headings, written in basic brown ink and located in the right corner of the rectos.

More extensive use of running titles has been made with Johannes de Schlettstadt's *tractatus libri de celo et mundo*, which is transmitted in MS. 1418. Here, at the outset of a book, the titles are written out completely, for example, *L DE SENSV ET SENSATO*. Subsequently, they appear slightly abbreviated, written across the upper margins of two opposing pages (v: *DE SEN* | r: *ET SENSATA*). Finally, the functionality of MS. 102, the alphabetical concordance, has been increased by writing the first two letters of the entries (e.g., *ma*) both on the verso and recto of one opening.

In contrast to all of these works, the upper margins in sermon manuscripts are virtually never used for running titles. MS. 438, a collection of sermons, MSS. 452 and 453, which contain the *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* by Ludeger, abbot of Alzelle, and the sermons by Conrad of Saxony in MS. 723, feature exclusively roman numerals to count

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<sup>96</sup> MSS. 870, 871 and 956 share, in addition, a finding aid which seems to be limited to legal texts and thus not further discussed in this chapter: captions, which connect the main text with the glosses. The passages of the commentary each receive a letter, for example, *a* to *b* in MS. 870, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>. These letters stand next to their respective passage, written in the following way: —*a* (MSS. 870 and 956) or ·*a*· (MS. 871). The letters are found written interlinear in the same style, directly above the corresponding terms in the text.

the sermons, but no text. This also applies to almost all Berthold manuscripts, with the exception of Trier, SB, MS. 759 / 306, a composite manuscript where a co-transmitted collection of sermons by Siboto uses the openings as reference unit in a similar way to the legal manuscripts, with the writing *S'mo* on the versos and the consecutive number, e.g., 6<sup>o</sup>, on the rectos.

The most obvious explanation for the lack of running titles in sermon manuscripts is the difference in the content structure. Sermon collections are not organized into books and chapters. The following statement by Nigel Palmer is, therefore, of particular significance:

Es gibt neben der hierarchischen Gliederung in Bücher und Kapitel eine andere Methode, um die inhaltliche Disposition eines literarischen Werks zu verdeutlichen, und zwar die Hinzufügung von inhaltsbezogenen Randglossen und Rubriken. Einträge dieser Art, die als Orientierungshilfe für den Leser gedacht sind, ohne daß sie eine eigentliche Gliederung des Texts andeuten, sind außerordentlich häufig in der Handschriftentradition der gelehrten lateinischen Literatur.<sup>97</sup>

Among the Berthold manuscripts analysed for this study, there is only one which features alternative entries of the kind mentioned here by Palmer. In Leipzig, UB, MS. 689, which belonged to the Dominican abbey St Pauli in Leipzig, short summaries of the content were added below the columns on fols 1<sup>r</sup>-84<sup>va</sup>, in a gothic cursive script clearly different to the gothic textualis used for the main text. In contrast to running heads, which for the most part have very little informative value, these subsequent annotations to the lower margin indicate a conscious and particularly close interaction with the text.

### **Headings, initials, paragraphs**

The most important text-internal finding aids are headings, initials of varying size and paragraphs: rubricated text, letters and signs, or as Schneider remarks,

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<sup>97</sup> Palmer (1989), p. 72.

“Dekorationselemente [...], die neben der ästhetischen auch eine gliedernde Funktion hatten”<sup>98</sup>. For this reason, Schneider subsumes these items as book decoration rather than finding aids,<sup>99</sup> however, in the case of sermon manuscripts, the functional aspect clearly dominates. In each case, the red ink used to write or highlight these elements indicates the beginning of a new unit or sub-unit.

## Headings

According to Muzerelle’s *Vocabulaire codicologique*, a heading can comprise “le nom de l’auteur, le titre, ou une désignation quelconque du texte, placée en tête ou à la fin de celui-ci”.<sup>100</sup> In sermon manuscripts, the first heading, or *incipit*, provides the name of the author, the collection, or both. Only in volumes that combine sermons of several authors, the name of the author might be mentioned in the individual sermon. In addition, headings usually name the particular occasion for which the sermon is intended: the Sundays in the *Temporale*, the names of particular saints in the *Sanctorale* and the general category of saints, for example, *de uno confessore*, for the sermons of the *Commune sanctorum*. They might also provide a short summary of the content, which may vary in length and phrasing, depending on the space provided and the original from which it was copied.

Often headings are subject to correction or amendment. In Leipzig, UB, MS. 689, a later hand added the names of the respective Sundays for the last third of the *Rusticanus de Dominicis* sermons (fols 50<sup>ra</sup>-77<sup>ra</sup>), where they were missing. In Leipzig, UB, MS. 498, the wrong name of the saint, *Fabiani*, has been crossed out and corrected to *Sebastiani* in the outer margin (fol. 86<sup>r</sup>). Scribe and rubricator could be identical, which is particularly

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<sup>98</sup> Schneider (1999), p. 150.

<sup>99</sup> See Schneider (1999), pp. 148-56.

<sup>100</sup> Muzerelle (1985), no. 432.04.

evident in Gdańsk, BGPAN, MS. Mar. F 156, where the headings are rubricated, except where the second hand, who – obviously out of personal preference – wrote everything in black and underlined the headings with red ink (fols 51<sup>ra</sup>, 53<sup>ra</sup>, 54<sup>vb</sup>, 56<sup>rb</sup>). The same is found in Trier, SB, MS. 759 / 306, where not only the headings of the Berthold sermons are executed in black and underlined in red, but also the Bible verses, *nomina sacra* and the names of the authorities.<sup>101</sup> In Vienna, ÖNB, MS. 4399, by contrast, the scribe wrote guide texts, the content of the headings, into the margin, which are still present on some of the pages (e.g., fol. 67<sup>r</sup>).

### Initials

Among all finding aids, the most evident ones to distinguish luxury manuscripts from codices produced mainly for everyday use, are initials. The Psalter MS. 51 from Altzelle contains ten inhabited initials,<sup>102</sup> partly with goldwork, depicting, among other things, King David with a harp (fol 2rb), King David pounding bells with two hammers, while a Cistercian monk is watching (fol. 153vb) and Christ blessing, while being worshipped by a man, possibly David without a crown (fol. 203ra). MS. 870, Justinian's *Institutiones*, begins with an initial which extends throughout the complete first column (fol. 1<sup>ra</sup>). Depicted is a scene of two knights with swords, a sovereign pointing with his index finger, possibly Justinian, and two monks. The figures are painted in red and blue in front of a golden background. A further figure is drawn into the gilded tendrils (Fadenausläufer). Further, smaller initials executed in the same elaborate style show a hunting scene (fol. 18<sup>va</sup>), a scene with two monks administering the Eucharist to a sick or dying person (fol. 54<sup>rb</sup>)

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<sup>101</sup> Cf. the significant comment by J. Peter Gumbert (1992), p. 289, on the function of colour:

“Kombination von typographischen Mitteln kann die Wirkung steigern; daher werden Unterstreichungen oft, Paragraphenzeichen meist in Rot ausgeführt; auch die (meistens) rote Strichelung einzelner Buchstaben ist zu nennen und die rote Durchstreichung ganzer Worte, die wohl nur eine Variante davon ist.”

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Jakobi-Mirwald (2008), p. 58.

and a sovereign in an execution scene with one person being hanged, the other, decapitated (fol. 83<sup>va</sup>).

In contrast to such prestigious codices, initials in sermon manuscripts are much more modest. However, at least some of them exhibit a small amount of ornamentation, in particular with the first initial of a sermon collection. Heidelberg, UB, Cpg. 35 begins with a 12-line inhabited initial with a dragon inside a parted green and red stem, which in addition has red external and interior pen-flourish and a grotesque face attached to it (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>).<sup>103</sup> Leipzig, UB, MS. 497, one of the most impressive Berthold manuscripts, features on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> a 3-line red initial with external and interior pen-flourish with pearls with cores and tendrils (Fadenausläufer). Leipzig, UB, MS. 722 has parted 2-line zigzag red and blue initials on fols 1<sup>ra</sup> and 76<sup>vb</sup> and some dark brown pen-flourish with buds, pearls with cores and tendrils, attached to the initials on fols 98<sup>vb</sup>, 114<sup>va</sup> and 115<sup>vb</sup>. Although the size of the 17-line initial in Gdańsk, BGPAN, MS. Mar. F 156 might stand out for its size (fol. 1<sup>ra</sup>), it is simply executed in plain red.

The main purpose of the vast majority of the initials, however, is not to serve as decoration, but rather guidance, indicating the underlying structure of the texts. Their height is generally two or three lines and they are executed either alternately in red and blue (e.g., Leipzig, UB, MS. 722), or in red only (e.g., Trier, SB, MS 759 / 306). The use of colour, both for the heading and the initials, ensures that the beginning of a particular text can be found relatively quickly. Guide letters serving as aid for another rubricator are common and can still be found in Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961; Trier, SB, 759 / 306; and Munich, BSB, Clm. 19116. As with headings, initials were executed either by the scribe

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<sup>103</sup> The most comprehensive book on book decoration is Jakobi-Mirwald (2008). For the various types of pen-flourish mentioned cf. esp. pp. 65-70.

himself or by a second person, “doch ist die Ausführung, aus welchen Gründen auch immer, entweder ganz unterblieben oder in den Anfängen steckengeblieben”.<sup>104</sup> It appears that among the Berthold manuscripts only a few sermons are affected and those who are lacking initials follow in direct sequence of each other, for example, fols 159<sup>va</sup>, 162<sup>rb</sup>, 165<sup>vb</sup> and 169<sup>vb</sup> in Munich, BSB, Clm. 2718, or all sermons of the ninth quire in Trier, SB, MS. 759 / 306 (fols 98<sup>r</sup>-107<sup>v</sup>). This suggests that they have simply been overlooked during in the production process. The vernacular codex Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Don. 292, by contrast, is missing a considerable amount of initials (fols 22<sup>v</sup>-81<sup>v</sup>) or both headings and initials (fols 106<sup>v</sup>, 114<sup>v</sup>, 124<sup>v</sup> and 131<sup>v</sup>), which can hardly be explained as an oversight.

Mistakes are not uncommon with initials, in particular, where the remaining letters of the first word would allow for more than one letter to be added and still have a proper noun or adjective. Examples found in Leipzig, UB, MS. 689 are *Nunc* instead of *Tunc* (fol. 20<sup>ra</sup>), *Dum* instead of *Cum* (fol. 75<sup>ra</sup>) and *Bonum* instead of *Donum* (fol. 114<sup>vb</sup>). In Leipzig, UB, MS. 498, the rubricator added the initial *K* rather than the homophonous, but correct *Q* (*Quodcunque*), perhaps as a result of being distracted by the heading alongside, which begins with *k* (*kathedra sancti petri*).

## Paragraphs

The most obvious element to highlight text-internal structure is the paragraph. In this study, the term paragraph is used in correspondence to Parkes’s ‘paraph’. Parkes distinguishes the ‘paraph’ (¶), a “symbol developed from the letter C (for *capitulum* [...]) with a vertical stroke”, from its precursor *Paragraphus* (Γ), which was used from the late Antiquity, as early as the sixth century, until the Carolingian period.<sup>105</sup> The length of the

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<sup>104</sup> Schneider (1999), p. 154.

<sup>105</sup> See Parkes (1992), p. 305, with variations of the signs, and plates 5, 13, 14; 25-6. However, when both signs are used alternately in plate 25, he notes himself that there is “no interpretative significance” (p. 203).

passage demarcated with a paragraph can vary and is based on the content. In the Latin sermon manuscripts, paragraphs are used, for example, to indicate the arguments which are continuously listed (e.g., in Leipzig, UB, MS. 497 and Klosterneuburg, StB, MSS. 450-452).

With regards to the transmission of works from the antiquity, Nigel Palmer has remarked: “Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften ersetzen die Paragraphenzeichen durch Initialen, und eine solche Einteilung in Initialenabschnitte war mit Sicherheit bei den meisten mittelalterlichen Werken schon vom Autor vorgesehen.”<sup>106</sup> This also applies to some of the sermon manuscripts of the fifteenth century and, which is noteworthy, spans across languages. For example, both the Latin codices Vienna, ÖNB, MS. 3891 and the German Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Don. 292 lack any paragraphs. The way these finding aids have been replaced is by capital letters alone, but also by their rubrication. Each capital letter has been retraced or has vertical strokes added to it and highlights the underlying textual structure.

Finally, the most unusual combination of text-internal finding aids is found in Leipzig, UB, MS. 689. In this manuscript, two different rubricators have added red and red-violet paragraphs. In addition, there are further sub-division signs in the shape of an *f* with a loop. Through their location in front of individual arguments (indicated by words such as *Prius* or *Item*), they take up the same position as paragraphs. Some of these signs have been retraced by the rubricator in red-violet (e.g., fol. 122<sup>r</sup>). What is more, the arguments themselves feature peculiar letters, for example, a double *S* (fol. 82<sup>rb</sup>), similar to the sign

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<sup>106</sup> Palmer (1989), p. 48.

§, which reminds of the ancient type of the *paragraphus*,<sup>107</sup> thus depicting a third element of similar structural value and function.

### **Alphabetical indices and tables of contents**

A particularly practical type of tool among the finding aids is the index, in Latin commonly referred to as a *tabula*.<sup>108</sup> To date, there is no universal standard to classify indices in manuscripts. Bernhard Bischoff classifies indices according to the reference system used.<sup>109</sup> The first principal type refers to the division of the work into books and chapters, which can be further subdivided by letters. It can thus be used independently of the individual copy.<sup>110</sup> The second type refers to the foliation or pagination of the book. This type would generally lose its function when a copy of the manuscript was made, as it would require an exact copy of each single page. Parkes makes a similar distinction, when he differentiates between “standard *tabulae* [...] and those prepared by individuals for their own use.”<sup>111</sup> In her overview of orientation aids, Schneider summarizes all types of indices as a “Register”, which can either be placed at the beginning or, less frequently, at the end of a manuscript.<sup>112</sup> Again, a distinction is made between, on the one hand, indices based on numbering of the folios or texts and, on the other hand, indices following the text-internal division of books and chapters.<sup>113</sup> It is striking that none of these scholars discuss the two most common structures of indices, alphabetical or thematic – a distinction that

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<sup>107</sup> Cf. Parkes (1992), p. 305.

<sup>108</sup> Von den Brincken uses the terms “Register” and “Index” interchangeably for Latin *tabula alphabetica*. See von den Brincken (1972), p. 901.

<sup>109</sup> Bischoff (2009), p. 293.

<sup>110</sup> Already Vincent of Beauvais quotes in this way and ensures this way the general usability of his index. See von den Brincken (1979), p. 905.

<sup>111</sup> Parkes (1976), p. 131.

<sup>112</sup> Schneider (1999), p. 159–60.

<sup>113</sup> Schneider (1999), p. 160–61.

Paul Lehmann had already made,<sup>114</sup> and that Muzerelle has included in his concise and comprehensive, but undifferentiated, definition of ‘Index / Répertoire’ as “Liste méthodique ou alphabétique des sujets traités dans une oeuvre, comportant la correspondance avec la capitulation ou les feuillets du volume, placée en tête ou à la fin de celui-ci.”<sup>115</sup>

Terminologically, I propose to distinguish two main types of indices: alphabetical indices and tables of contents. Based on my analysis of the Berthold codices, I suggest that it is precisely this differentiation, which is the most important when seeking to understand the historical context and function of sermon manuscripts. Alphabetical indices are created by means of a set of lemmata, which could, for example, be the headings of the sermons or significant terms selected from the text. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) provides a definition of ‘index’, which is particularly fitting here, as it is consistent with most important features of medieval indices: “An *alphabetical* list, placed (usually) *at the end of a book*, of the names, subjects, etc. occurring in it, with *indication of the places in which they occur*.”<sup>116</sup> The ‘table of contents’, like the alphabetical index, comprises a “summary of the matters contained in the book”.<sup>117</sup> However, two features distinguish it from an alphabetical index: firstly, a table of contents follows the order of the manuscript and, secondly, it is usually placed at the beginning of the book. Its positioning at the front

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<sup>114</sup> Lehmann (1960 [1936]), p. 39.

<sup>115</sup> Muzerelle (1985), p. 433, no. 433.08.

<sup>116</sup> "index, n.". OED Online.

<<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/94372?rskey=t13Cvi&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 10 September 2013], emphasis mine.

<sup>117</sup> "content, n.1". OED Online.

<<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/40144?redirectedFrom=table+of+contents>> [accessed 10 September 2013].

can be explained by the fact that the table of contents emerged from the list of chapter headings, the *capitulatio* or *titulatio*, which provided a detailed overview of a work or book and was already used in antiquity.<sup>118</sup> In the mid-twelfth century, these tables of chapters finally “became the norm, rather than the exception”.<sup>119</sup>

To find the actual location of a particular text or passage within the manuscript, however, one needs to utilize finding aids integral to the page layout, such as headings, initials and numbering.<sup>120</sup> The *raison d'être* of an index in medieval manuscripts is to deliver fast and reliable access to a particular text or passage. It is thus crucial that it contains references to the complete work and that the reference system is correct, if there is one. As trivial as this might seem from a modern perspective, a considerable number of the indices viewed exhibit flaws. Furthermore, several of the Berthold manuscripts contain tables of contents at the end of the text, which not only makes them exceptional in view of the definition given above, but also as it limits their usefulness as a finding aid.

Examples of alphabetical indices can be seen in three Berthold manuscripts, written at the end of the thirteenth century (Leipzig, UB, MS. 497) and the middle of the fifteenth century (Gdańsk, BGPAN, MS. Mar F 156; Munich, BSB, Clm. 3981). It is noteworthy that all three manuscripts contain the complete corpus of sermons on saints, that is both the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* (*RdS*) and the *Rusticanus de Communi* (*RdC*). At the end of MS. 497, two indices have been added, the first of which contains short sermon outlines for each Sunday of the ecclesiastical year and feast days (*Tabula de dominicis*, fols 284<sup>r</sup>-

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<sup>118</sup> Cf. Palmer (1989), p. 50.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Rouse and Rouse (1982), p. 206.

<sup>120</sup> Rouse and Rouse point out the impossibility “to give a precise *terminus ante quem* for general acceptance of the individual elements, save to say that that by about 1220 they all were standard”. Rouse and Rouse (1982), p. 207.

289<sup>va</sup>).<sup>121</sup> The second index, fols 289<sup>va</sup>-293<sup>rb</sup>, is organised alphabetically. It has no heading, and begins directly with *angeli* as the first entry. The last entries make reference to Christ, utilising the Chi-Rho christogram *xpc*. The index refers to the sermons by roman numerals. As an additional finding aid, the individual columns of the sermons were each provided with a letter (*a-o*) in the lower margin.<sup>122</sup> If a column contained the end of one and the beginning of the next sermon, it received two letters (*#* and *a*). These supplementary subdivisions have been included in the first column of the alphabetical index (fol. 289<sup>va</sup>; see fig. 1). Subsequently, the writer of the index must have come to realize the extent of such a comprehensive index and the amount of work involved. Hence, from the second column onwards (fol. 289<sup>vb</sup>; see fig. 1) he makes reference only to the roman numbering. Furthermore, a second, later hand, has carried out amendments to the index. This hand can be identified as belonging to a monk from Alzelle (c. 1380), whose annotations can also be seen in other manuscripts from this monastery.<sup>123</sup>

MS. Mar F 156, dated to 1442 in the *explicit* (fol. 366<sup>ra</sup>), contains two indices, both at the end of the book. The first is a table of contents, consecutively listing the headings of the *RdS* (fols 376<sup>rb</sup>-379<sup>rb</sup>) and the *RdC* (fols 379<sup>rb</sup>-381<sup>rb</sup>).<sup>124</sup> However, the numbering system

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<sup>121</sup> This index has been copied in the fourteenth-century manuscript Jena, ThULB, MS. Rec. adj. o. 1, fols 127<sup>vb</sup>-134<sup>vb</sup>. Its references, however, are to sermons in MS. 497, fols 1<sup>r</sup>-283<sup>v</sup>, and thus is useless in the new context. For example, *Require De uno martire Beatus uir | qui inuenit sapientiam De quatuor insidijs dyaboli cxxxij*<sup>o</sup> (fols 127<sup>vb</sup>, l. 39-128<sup>ra</sup>, l. 2) clearly refers to sermon CXXXIII of MS. 497, fols 206<sup>vb</sup>-208<sup>rb</sup>, also because the numbering of the sermons of the Jena manuscript counts only up to *cxxi* and *cxviii* respectively. This incongruity has been noted, if rather imprecisely, in the catalogue description, cf. Klein-Ilbeck and Ott (2009). The second index of the manuscript, in contrast, is correctly linked to the Jena manuscript and refers to its numbering (*Tabula secundum alphabetum*, fols 135<sup>ra</sup>-137<sup>vb</sup>).

<sup>122</sup> MS. 722 features a very similar counting of the columns. See chapter 4.

<sup>123</sup> See below, 'The monk of Alzelle'.

<sup>124</sup> *Incipiunt tituli supra opus fratris Bertoldi*, fol. 376<sup>rb</sup>.

is remarkably chaotic. Sermon *v* is counted twice as *v* and *vj*. Accordingly, in the table of contents, the heading of sermon *vj* can be found in the position of sermon *vij*. However, as the numbering of the sermons omits the number *vij*, the numbering of the texts again coincides with the table of contents from *vij* onwards. On fol. 378<sup>rb</sup>, the numbering suddenly discontinues after the first roman numeral. It starts again on fol. 380<sup>v</sup> with three quarters of the numerals in arabic and one quarter written in roman. Among the first five arabic numerals, the number one hundred has been omitted. For example, instead of 184, the scribe has written 84. The last sermon, on fol. 381<sup>ra</sup>, has been left unnumbered. The second index is an alphabetical index (fols 381<sup>ra</sup>-384<sup>f</sup>), devoid of any numbering or any other reference type. It is written continuously in two columns with a two-line rubricated majuscule indicating the beginning of a new letter of the alphabet.<sup>125</sup> What is unusual about this manuscript, is the presence of a table of contents and an alphabetical index, which are both of limited avail due to their incomplete, false, or lack of reference system. It is noteworthy in this context that with all three of the manuscripts mentioned, the alphabetical index is accompanied by a second index – a table of some kind, usually a table of contents. This combination highlights that the intended function of these codices was not merely as a depository, but rather an instrument to organize and edit literature, which highlights even further the importance of a useful reference system.

None of the vernacular Berthold codices viewed contain an alphabetical index. The main reason for this might be the completely different usage context of the German codices. The Latin sermons by Berthold are model sermons, that is, concentrated versions, which were not intended to be read out verbatim, but rather drawn upon and converted into the respective vernacular language when preached in front of an audience. The vernacular sermons, by contrast, are sermons that were intended to be read exactly as they are, either

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<sup>125</sup> The same alphabetical index can be found in manuscript Cologne, HA, MS. W 161, fols 28<sup>v</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>.

privately or aloud, perhaps in the refectory of a female convent. This type of finding aid, the alphabetical index, was simply unnecessary for the particular usage of both the texts and the manuscripts.

Among the manuscripts from Alzelle, there are several codices which are finding aids in themselves or contain indices for a particular work. Two of the codices contain explanations with regard to the underlying objective: The first, MS. 311, consists of 42 large parchment folios (340 x 250 mm) and was written in the second half of the fourteenth century. It contains an alphabetical index of Saint Gregory's Commentary on Job. In the *explicit*, we find valuable information about its intended use:

*Scias quod predicta tabula super moralia beati Gregorii super Job faciliter et expedite inuenire docet*<sup>126</sup>  
*quidquid in ipsis utile fuerit in quacunque materia circa quam uel de qua predicator aliquis loqui*  
*desiderat (fol. 39<sup>vb</sup>)*

The purpose of the index is thus to help a preacher, in an easy and convenient way, in his search for useful information on any topic about which he desires to speak. The entries, accordingly, range from *Abstinencia* (1<sup>r</sup>) to *Zelus* (39<sup>vb</sup>). The alphabetical index is supplemented by a table listing the complete work, *partes, libri* and *capitula* (fols 39<sup>vb</sup>-42<sup>v</sup>).<sup>127</sup>

A less abstract explanation for the use of an alphabetical index can be found in MS. 1016, a composite manuscript which contains a table of chapters (fols 1<sup>va</sup>-5<sup>vb</sup>) and an alphabetical index (fols 6<sup>ra-vb</sup>) for the *Summa* of Raymond of Peñafort. More unusual,

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<sup>126</sup> The word *docet* was added by a later hand.

<sup>127</sup> It is noteworthy that there are genres of medical texts from arabic origin, most importantly Avicenna's *Canon medicinae*, that use four or more stages of subdivision. See Palmer (1989), p. 57.

however, is the *incipit* of the alphabetical index, as it spells out its exact structure.

Effectively, it is a table of chapters in alphabetical order:

*Incipiunt capitula super summam remundi· Ordinati· secundum· ordinem alphabeti· numerus autem  
singulis tytulis apponitus qui duplex est ostendit in quo libro inueniantur et quotum sit capitulum illius  
libri· (fol. 6<sup>ra</sup>)*

In a separate column, the books (*libri*) are written in red, the heading follows with a rubricated initial, and finally the chapter number in red, e. g.: *libro 3<sup>o</sup>---De litigiosis xi*. It is not unusual that sermon manuscripts feature an alphabetical index, as can be seen in MS. 366 (*Sermones contracti de tempore et de sanctis*), MS. 723 (sermons by Conrad of Saxony) and MS. 748 (*Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*). However, none of the sermon manuscripts with an alphabetical index contain specifications regarding their intended use.

There are two Berthold manuscripts which contain tables of contents. The first, Leipzig, UB, MS. 496, written in the mid-fourteenth century, begins with a largely complete *Rusticanus de Communi* collection (fols 1<sup>ra</sup>-45<sup>rb</sup>), albeit in a unique and most unusual order.<sup>128</sup> The subsequent group of sermons comprises all of the *Sermones speciales sive extravagantes* intermingled with 13 *Sermones ad religiosos* and a single Sunday sermon from the *Rusticanus de Dominicis* (fols 48<sup>ra</sup>-93<sup>va</sup>). Each collection is followed by a table of contents (fols 45<sup>rc-vc</sup> and 93<sup>va-vc</sup>), listing the texts in the order of the manuscript. In the copying process, three of the *RdC* sermons were initially omitted by the scribe, but were

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<sup>128</sup> Using the numbering system of Georg Jakob (1880) for the purpose of comparison, the order of the sermons is: 1, 11, 7-10, 4-6, 14, 16, 2-3, 12-13, 20, 25, 26, 21, 19, 18, 24, 27, 17, 30, 35-40, 43-44, 50, 53, 52, 54, 55, 51, 47, 49, 48, 46, 56-57, 59, 68, 63, 64, 60-62, 66, 70, 67, 58, 73-75, 72, 71, 65, 31, 22. Although the grouping of the sermons, according to the different types of saints, remains the same (*De Apostolis*, *De Martyribus* etc.), this rearrangement is most intriguing. A satisfactory explanation for it has yet to be found.

subsequently added without numbering (fols 43<sup>va</sup>-45<sup>rb</sup>).<sup>129</sup> In the next table of contents (fols 45<sup>rc-vc</sup>), however, these texts have been assigned a number (*liii*<sup>9</sup>, *xxxiii*<sup>9</sup>, *xix*<sup>9</sup>), allowing one to not only reconstruct their position in the missing original copy, but also the individual steps of the book production.<sup>130</sup> As both the sermons and the tables of contents have been written by the same hand, the scribe obviously noticed his mistake and rectified it, as far as possible, before copying the table of contents.

A later hand drew a sign in the outer margin on fols 14<sup>r</sup> (see fig. 2), 23<sup>v</sup> and 38<sup>v</sup>, in order to indicate the original position. He has also added the respective heading and pericope and *Require post sermones de Dedicacione* in the lower margin. The addition of the later hand highlights the difficulty of finding a particular text in this manuscript. What is more, neither of the tables of contents are positioned at the beginning or the end of the codex. The second table, on fol. 93<sup>v</sup>, is even located in the middle of the quire. Their location within the manuscripts limits their usability, as one would need to know about their existence in advance – as there are no annotations on the pastedown or tabs, which would point to them – in order to utilize them as a finding aid. For this reason, they must have been intended for occasional use at the most, rather than frequent interaction or as a general overview.

Munich, BSB, Clm. 3213, written in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, is the second Berthold manuscript with a table of contents. It originates from the Benedictine abbey of Asbach and consists of two codicological units (fols 1-60 and 61-222). The first

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<sup>129</sup> The sermons are *Jakob* 65, 31, 22.

<sup>130</sup> A further case of a later addition can be found in the *Sermones speciales* (SS) collection, for which a table of contents is also provided (fol. 93<sup>v</sup>). The missing sermon *Jakob SS* 48 has been added after a Sunday sermon from the *RdD* which follows the table. After this comes a further sermon of the *RdS*, which is not listed with *Jakob* (1880), but in the *RS* by Schneyer. None of these three sermons has received a number.

contains twenty-four sermons of the *RdS*, a single sermon of the Minorite Lucas de Bitonto and a second single sermon of an unknown Minorite author. The second codicological unit incorporates the complete *RdC* and an anonymous sermon.<sup>131</sup> A later hand has added headings to fols 1<sup>r</sup> (*Manuale | Sermones de sanctis et principius festiuitatibus continentis*) and 61<sup>r</sup> (*Sermones de sanctis in communi et Dedicacione*), and a foliation. Furthermore, throughout the entire codex, the passages of the sermons have been consecutively numbered with roman numerals in the margin (*j-ccccxxij*). A table listing these passages, including their numbering, has been compiled at the end of the manuscript (fols 219<sup>ra</sup>-222<sup>vb</sup>).<sup>132</sup> This table of contents bears the heading: *Hic annotatus notule prescripti- per numerum ab vno et supra etc.* (fol. 219<sup>ra</sup>) and was written by the same hand as the last part of the *RdC* collection (fols 178<sup>r</sup>-222<sup>v</sup>). This suggests that this scribe must have had the first unit available when completing his work on the second part. The two codicological units thus formed one ‘usage unit’ prior to being bound together.<sup>133</sup> Clm. 3213 contains a second, basic table of contents on fols 61<sup>r</sup>-62<sup>r</sup>. It divides the *RdC* into the usual groups of saints, followed by the sermons *de dedicacione*.<sup>134</sup> The first 34 sermons are numbered in roman.

The tables of contents in MS. 496 and Clm. 3213 deliver insight not only into the function of a codex, but also to the individual steps of the copying and compiling process.

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<sup>131</sup> Unfortunately, despite having a space provided, the rubricator has not added a heading for the sermon.

<sup>132</sup> In the catalogue description, this table is described as a list of homilies, cf. Beatrice Hernad (2000), p. 202.

<sup>133</sup> See Kwakkel (2002), p. 14, and chapter 4. When exactly the two parts were bound together has to remain open. The palaeographical analysis, with all six hands displaying a similar ductus, points to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The current binding, in contrast, can be dated rather accurately to c. 1440-1448, due to a watermark on the paper used for the pastedowns (\*1 and \*222).

<sup>134</sup> *De apostolis / De vno martyre / De Martyribus / De confessionibus / De confessionibus / De virginibus / De dedicacione.*

Both errors in copying, as seen in MS. 496, and later additions, as in Clm. 3213, can aid in clearly distinguishing the individual steps of book production.

### **Foliation and other types of text numbering**

The frequent use of foliation in Latin codices is thought to commence in the twelfth century,<sup>135</sup> but it was not until more than a century later that it was adopted in manuscripts written in German: “Deutschsprachige alt foliierte Codices des 13. Jahrhunderts waren bisher nicht festzustellen, Foliierung läßt sich zögernd erst im 2. Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts nachweisen.”<sup>136</sup> Pagination and continuous counting of columns, by contrast, are more seldomly featured. According to Bischoff,<sup>137</sup> they can be found in Latin manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards. There are only few examples in German codices from the late fifteenth century, as noted by Schneider.<sup>138</sup>

Within the Berthold corpus, foliation has, in most cases, been added in the nineteenth or twentieth century. A notable exception to this are three codices of the Augustinian abbey of Klosterneuburg (MSS. 450, 451 and 452) with contemporary foliation in the upper margin above the central gutter. The three large volumes (335 x 220 mm) together comprise 997 leaves and contain sermons of more than a dozen different preachers, such as Siboto, Berthold von Regensburg and Conrad of Saxony. Together, the three codices include all Sundays and feast days, and also contain a collection of sermons for the

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<sup>135</sup> Bischoff (2009), p. 41.

<sup>136</sup> Schneider (1999), p. 157. Her examples are a pharmacopeia from Speyer (Heidelberg, Cpg. 214; 1321), a copy of the didactical work ‘Der Renner’ by Hugo von Trimberg (Erlangen, B 4; 1347), Gottfried’s ‘Tristan’ written in a Ripuarian dialect (Berlin, mgq 284; mid-fourteenth century), and a book of edification (Berlin, mgq 1526; 1353).

<sup>137</sup> Bischoff (2009), p. 41.

<sup>138</sup> Schneider (1999), pp. 158-59.

commune sanctorum. On the basis of the explicit of the scribe in MS. 451, they can be precisely dated to 1291.<sup>139</sup>

MS. 450 contains 320 leaves and has been foliated with arabic numerals, with the exception of one hundred and its multiples, which are reproduced with the roman numeral *C*: 100 is thus featured as *C*, 101 as *C1* etc. However, the scribe responsible seems to have been inexperienced with the combination of arabic and roman numerals.<sup>140</sup> After *C9* (109), the number 110 is displayed as *C91* (191), obviously adding up the individual numbers (100+9+1). From then onwards, the miscounting continues, for example, with *CC* equating to fol. 118<sup>r</sup>. The lack of understanding of the numeral system is also reflected in the numbering present in the upper margin of the verso, which repeats the number of the opposite recto in arabic (fol. 117v accordingly: *200*; see fig. 3). As a result of this confusing system, the last folio 320 is counted as *CCCC2*.

In MS. 451, we find similar problems. Fol. 83 is counted twice. Fol. 91<sup>v</sup> is marked *100* – the first number on a verso page, a strange variation in miscalculating 9+1 as one hundred. As fol. 92 has not been counted on either side, the scribe continues on fol. 93<sup>r</sup> with *C1*. This continues until the end of the manuscript, with fol. 302<sup>v</sup> numbered *311* and fol. 303<sup>r</sup> as *CCC11*. Only minor discrepancies can be found in MS. 452, in which the numbers 77 and 177 have been omitted and fol. 176 has therefore been numbered *C78*. The counting on the verso begins on fol. 175v (*178*) and the codex ends with *374* both on fol. 371<sup>v</sup> and 372<sup>r</sup>. The foliation in these codices depicts a typical example of the difficulties that the gradual introduction of arabic numerals presented – in particular the lack of experience

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<sup>139</sup> *Finis sermonum collectorum per manus Hartwici custodis ecclesie Nevnburgensis. Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lxxxxi<sup>o</sup>. completus est liber iste* (Klosterneuburg, StB, MS. 451, fol. 233<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>140</sup> A similar combination can occasionally be found with the writing of years in late-medieval German codices, e. g. *146IIII* for 1464 (Cgm 544); see Schneider (1999), p. 142.

with zero (0).<sup>141</sup> Given the unique compilation of sermons, one can largely exclude the option that the three manuscripts were intended simply as depository, or even as object of value, embodying prestige and wealth. Nevertheless, the three voluminous manuscripts of nearly 1000 parchment leaves in total neither contain indices, nor a functioning foliation, which would support their practical usage.

As we have seen above, the main difference between alphabetical indices and tables of contents is that the latter generally follow the order of the manuscript. With tables of contents in sermon manuscripts, this order is often based on the liturgical calendar, either the temporal cycle for Sunday sermons or the sanctoral cycle for sermons on saints. Yet in this case, knowledge of the liturgical order itself was considered sufficient to guarantee the usability of a sermon manuscript. In other words: the visual finding aid, a table of contents, is made redundant by a conceptual one, the liturgy. The obvious reason why there is no index for any of these substantial manuscripts, nor a truly functioning foliation, is that the order of the ecclesiastical year renders it unnecessary.

A further example of difficulties in dealing with arabic numerals and the digit zero is Munich, BSB, Clm. 19116, a composite manuscript which was owned by the Benedictines of Tegernsee abbey. While the unit containing the *Rusticanus de Communi* was written in

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<sup>141</sup> In addition to the problems with zero, Bischoff (2009), pp. 233-4, highlights the difficulties caused by the lack of understanding of the place value, that is, “the numerical value a digit has by virtue of its position in a number” (“place, n.1”. OED Online.

<<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/144864?redirectedFrom=place+value>> [accessed 10 September 2013]). Schneider (1999), p. 158, cites an example of such misunderstanding dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, where the number 131 has been written as *10031*, “also wie gesprochen”. The arabic decimal system has its origin in India and has only been known in Europe from the twelfth century onwards through translations of arabic arithmetics into Latin. For the first work in Latin about the Indian numerals including the digit zero (0), and the decimal positional number system, see the editions by Vogel (1963) and Folkerts (1997).

the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the numbering of the sermons is an addition of the fifteenth century, together with a corresponding table, which precedes the sermon collection. The first number is written as an ordinal (*p'mus*, fol. 48<sup>v</sup>), followed by arabic numerals for the sermons 2 to 9 (2<sup>o</sup>, 3<sup>o</sup>, etc.). Numbers 10 to 13, by contrast, are expressed in roman (*x*, *xj*, etc.), but from 14 onwards the scribe returns to arabic numerals (14, 15, etc.). A discomfort with, or perhaps ignorance of, the digit zero is shown, not only in the avoidance of writing the number ten in arabic, but also in the combination of both styles with its multiples (2<sup>o</sup>, 3<sup>mo</sup>, etc.). The same hand has also numbered the Sunday sermons from fol. 26<sup>v</sup> (*do<sup>a</sup> p'ma*) up until fol. 42<sup>r</sup> (*do<sup>a</sup> 22*), similarly using both arabic and roman numerals.

The aforementioned MS. 689, a composite manuscript which consists of two codicological units, uses both a pagination system and a type of foliation that is unique among the manuscripts of this study. The first unit, fols 1-77, contains the complete collection of Sunday sermons (*RdD*). The second unit, fols 78-161, contains a selection of the *RdC* in an order different to the usual transmission.<sup>142</sup> The leaves of this second part contain an alphabetical pagination, located in the bottom corner of the outer margin. Many of the letters are either completely or half cut off, which indicates that these quires constituted a separate usage unit prior to their being bound.<sup>143</sup> This is supported by the fact that the counting begins on fol. 78<sup>r</sup> with *a* and it ends exactly with *z* on the last leaf, fol. 161<sup>r</sup>. The underlying alphabetical system is intriguing, not least as it is not written out continuously. The first leaves, fols 78<sup>r</sup>-87<sup>v</sup>, are counted from *a* to *v*. Despite the lack of

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<sup>142</sup> See appendix.

<sup>143</sup> See Kwakkel (2002), p. 14.

letters on the following fols 88<sup>r</sup>-91<sup>v</sup>, the counting tacitly continues,<sup>144</sup> as it proceeds correctly from *e* to *z* on fols 92<sup>r</sup>-102<sup>v</sup>. The next leaf, fol. 103<sup>r-v</sup>, and at the same time last leaf of the eighth quire, remained without letters and was most likely omitted deliberately, in order to maintain the correct counting from this point until the end of the unit. Fols 104<sup>r</sup>-113<sup>v</sup> repeat the pattern (*e-z*, *et*). Fols 114<sup>r</sup>-115<sup>v</sup> are without letters, but correctly thought of as *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* for the remaining pages, fols 116<sup>r</sup>-161<sup>r</sup> continue without interruption as *e-z*, *et*, *a-z*, *et*, and so on, until *z*.

This purposeful counting of the manuscript's second codicological unit is intriguing, as there is clear evidence that both parts must have been written at around the same time and place: the two hands can be found in both codicological units. What is more, the complete manuscript (fols 1<sup>r</sup>-161<sup>r</sup>) features an alphabetical foliation in the upper right corner of the rectos, ranging from *a-z*, *aa-az*, *ba-bz* etc. to *gb* on fol. 161r. It has to remain unsolved why the manuscript has been arranged this way. The same manuscript which exclusively contains short summaries as finding aids in the lower margin. Worth noticing, however, is that MS. 689 is the only Berthold manuscript viewed that can be

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<sup>144</sup> The letters would have been *x-z*, *et* and *a-d*. The Latin alphabet has 23 letters and it has occasionally been supplemented with additional symbols, in this case *et*, as can be seen in the subsequent counting. Bischoff (1940), pp. 553-54, gives examples of using the alphabet as auxiliary tool to calculate the correct date of Easter. As there are 25 possible days in April, the alphabet has been continued with *et* (abbreviated or as ligature) and with the siglum *9* (*con*). In his short survey of the alphabet in medieval manuscripts, Berthold Wolpe (1965) notes that the "prayer-book, known also as the primer, sometimes opens with the alphabet followed by the Lord's Prayer", which highlights the central position of the alphabet in education, here p. 70. Interestingly, four of the six examples Wolpe provides as images, dated from c. 1382 to c. 1400, show *et* as additional sign following *z* (plates 18, 19, 22, 23; plate 19 also features *9*), but he does not refer to them in his descriptions.

attributed to a Dominican context, in this case, the abbey St Pauli in Leipzig, whose library still has yet to be studied in detail.<sup>145</sup>

### **The monk from Alzelle**

It is sometimes difficult to determine the point of time and place at which finding aids have been added to a manuscript. Indices that follow the text, for example, or foliation, written in a different ink, could either have been part of the writing process and carried out by a second scribe, or could have been added subsequently when acquired by a completely different institution. Differences in ink or ductus can sometimes help in determining this. However, it is uncommon to find an individual systematically improving and engaging with manuscripts, as seen with a particular monk from Alzelle. Owing to a watermark, we know that his productive period was the ninth decade of the fourteenth century (and possibly the decade before and after).<sup>146</sup> This monk is largely characterized by his addition of alphabetical indices to the manuscripts, either using empty space at the end of a quire or in the margin, or additional leaves which he subsequently attached to the codex. Among the 85 manuscripts investigated, seven manuscripts contain his indices and improvements.<sup>147</sup> The texts concerned are the Sentences of Peter Lombard (MS. 415), anonymous sermons on the saints and feasts (MS. 485), *ad status* sermons (MS. 623, intended for a certain audience), mystical revelations (MS. 671, Mechthild of Hackeborn,

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<sup>145</sup> Valuable preliminary work has been undertaken by Löffler (2006), pp. 169-86.

<sup>146</sup> In MS. 820, an index written by the monk on paper was added to the manuscript. It contains a watermark in the shape of a human head and can be dated to the 1380s. I have to thank Christoph Mackert and his colleagues at the Manuscript Centre in Leipzig for this information.

<sup>147</sup> This does not represent the complete activity of the monk. According to a preliminary description of MS. 820 by Almuth Märker, MS. 433 also contains a similar index which is bound to the manuscript. See <<http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31571062>> [accessed 10 September 2013]. As most of the surviving manuscripts from Alzelle are yet to be studied (see chapter 6), it can be expected that more manuscripts containing his additions will be found.

Gertrude the Great), Conrad of Saxony and Gerardus Leodiensis (MS. 820), *Ydillicon super decretum* (MS. 931) and the aforementioned Berthold sermons (MS. 497).

In contrast to usual practice, the indices named by the monk are titled *registrum* rather than *tabula* (MS. 415, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>; MS. 485, 1<sup>r</sup> and 94<sup>r</sup>). The order is, in most cases, alphabetical, with paragraph signs in the margin and blank lines highlighting the structure before the beginning of a new alphabetical letter. The entries consist of a term and a folio number, and often contain a letter indicating either the recto or verso page of the leaf, or a particular column. In the process of compiling the indices, the monk applied two different concepts for subdividing the pages. In MSS. 485 and 931, the foliation refers to double pages in the open book. The verso is understood as *a*, the recto as *b*. In MS. 623, by contrast, the letters refer to the numbering of the columns of a single leaf (recto: *a*, *b*; verso: *c*, *d*).

The quality of the parchment chosen for the index in MS. 623 (fols I-III), is comparatively low and it appears as if scrap pieces were used. This, as well as the lack of ornamentation in the indices, highlights that the monk focused on facilitating the active use of the manuscript rather than beautification. The enhancement is particularly visible in MS. 671, Mechthild of Hackeborn's *Liber specialis gratiae*, which contains both a table of contents and an alphabetical index.<sup>148</sup> The monk added a foliation on the recto pages (fols 8<sup>r</sup>-207<sup>r</sup>, *j-cc*)<sup>149</sup> and subsequently transferred it to the pre-existing table of contents (fols 1<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>). In the upper margin on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, he has written: *Registrum huius libri quere in fine*, referring to his own alphabetical index on fols 225<sup>r</sup>-228<sup>v</sup>. Initially, the monk began writing in a single column (fol. 225<sup>r</sup>), then, on subsequent pages, used two columns (fols

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<sup>148</sup> See also the catalogue description by Anette Löffler (2002).

<sup>149</sup> The foliation commences on fol. 8<sup>r</sup> as this marks the beginning of the first chapter of the first book (fol. 7<sup>v</sup>).

225<sup>v</sup>-228<sup>v</sup>). Each entry consists of a term, from *Annunciatio* to the Chi-Rho-Sigma abbreviation for Christ (*Xpc*), and one to several folio numbers. Additional findings, presumably after another reading of the text, were added above the other numbers, e. g. *xliij* above *Virginitas xvii· cj· cxlvij*. Upon reaching the end of the parchment quire, two paper leaves were attached. The change of the mise-en-page from one to two columns, the subsequently added numbers and the attached paper leaves, suggest that the creation of this index was not a thoroughly planned process, but rather a continuous development in which functional, not aesthetic, aspects prevailed. However, considering that prior to the monk's work, tabs, rubricated headings and initials were the sole finding aids of this manuscript, he has, as in the other cases, significantly improved its usability.<sup>150</sup>

Tabs, which support orientation through their materiality, similar to bookmarks or bookwheels,<sup>151</sup> and text-internal finding aids, such as initials and paragraphs, provide us with little information. Their mere function is to call attention to the structure. What

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<sup>150</sup> Exactly the same improvements as seen in MS. 623 have been made to the so-called *Ydillicon super decretum* in the composite manuscript MS. 931. An alphabetical, single-column index from A to V, written on paper, has subsequently been bound in front of the text (fols 1<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>). Furthermore, a foliation has been added to this text and the subsequent *Summa de ordine et processu iudicii spiritualis* (fols 5<sup>r</sup>-53<sup>r</sup>, j-48 b), which is used for reference.

<sup>151</sup> Tabs, however, are bound to their position, whereas bookmarks and bookwheels can be moved indefinitely. Munich, BSB, Clm. 3213 contains two loose, rectangular pieces of paper with Latin text on them, which presumably have been used as bookmarks. Bookwheels are extremely rare and have thus not been discussed in this chapter. In Leipzig, UB, MS. 801, which contains contemplations about the life of Christ, a bookwheel is connected to the codex with hemp string. It is made of paper, which is folded to the size of c. 73 x 43 mm and has a quadrangular paper with rounded edges sewn in between. The upper leaf reads *Columna*, while the disc has written on it the numbers *primus* to *quatuor*. It can thus be used to indicate the columns of each leaf. Almuth Märker dates it to the sixteenth century. See <<http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31570921>> [accessed 10 September 2013]. On the history of bookmarks see Steinbeißer (2006).

distinguishes the work of the monk from Alzelle, therefore, or the work of any medieval indexer involved in the compilation of alphabetical indices and – to a certain degree – tables of contents, is the cognitive interaction with the text to which the indices refer. The selection process involved reflects what an individual considered significant for any subsequent reader. This equally applies to other finding aids present in medieval manuscripts, such as marginal annotations, which are discussed in the following chapter.

## Chapter 3

### Marginalia

Berthold manuscripts seldom contain marginal annotations. Some can be attributed to the original writing and production process, such as corrections, which were executed either by the same or a different scribe, quire signatures and catchwords for the bookbinder, or short titles referring to the particular Sunday or name of the saint.<sup>152</sup> Other marginalia point to subsequent usage of the manuscript. First of all, there are ownership marks, which can not only include the name of the institution or person, but also a description of the circumstances in which the manuscript was acquired.<sup>153</sup> Furthermore, there are notes referring to the content. Very often, they are imprecise and abstract signs, such as different types of *nota* marks, hands with their index finger pointing to a particular area, or abbreviated names of the authorities quoted. However, there are also annotations of a more individual character, such as the content summaries written below the columns in Leipzig, UB, MS. 689, which provide information about the content and, at the same time, serve as finding aid.<sup>154</sup>

I will begin with some examples from the manuscript Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961, one of the most annotated Berthold codices. It was written in the second half of the fourteenth century and we can conclude from the annotations that right from its beginning several people interacted with it. There are three different hands that added the majority of marginal notes to the *Rusticanus de Communi* sermons. These comprise text corrections and dissolved abbreviations (e.g., fol. 42<sup>v</sup>), but also simple remarks on the content, for

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<sup>152</sup> For a survey of the possibilities of marginal annotations see Parkes (1976), pp. 116-17 and 121-22; Palmer (1989), pp. 72-73; Schneider (1999), pp. 163-64.

<sup>153</sup> See chapter 6.

<sup>154</sup> See chapter 2.

example, “*dat colorem et ea nobilitat· vnum et omnibus metallis*”, in reference to the phrase “*omnibus metallis*” (fol. 2<sup>v</sup>). On fol. 61<sup>r</sup>, the bible quotation “*Nonne ego sum qui peccaui.*” (1 Chr 21. 17) has been supplemented with the sentence that precedes it “*ego sum qui iussi ut numeraretur populus*” (1 Chr 21. 17). The *Rusticanus de Sanctis* received similar annotations in the margins, but by three additional hands, which indicates that the two sermon collections have either been used separately, or at different times. From 1429, it was taken into the possession of a Cistercian friar at Kaisheim, and later student at Heidelberg, by the name of Michael Schön.<sup>155</sup> With the exception of ownership marks, none of the annotations can directly be traced back to him, but given the circumstances, he has almost certainly contributed to them. A long-term use of this manuscript is demonstrated by the notes of a sixteenth-century hand, which added paraphrasing and explanatory statements to one of the marriage sermons (*RdC Jakob* 58), for example, on the term “*capite destructa*”: “*sensibus priuata / mente capta*” (fol. 91<sup>v</sup>).

Due to the limited number of qualitative annotations, no general pattern was found in Clm. 7961, from which one can conclude which sermons were read the most and received the most attention. In Clm. 3213, by contrast, whose provenance is the Benedictine abbey at Asbach, it can be asserted that the marginal notes increased visibly on fols 190<sup>r</sup>-218<sup>v</sup>, the pages which contain the *sermones de virgines* (*Jakob* 57-70) and the *sermones de dedicatione ecclesiae* (*Jakob* 71-75). The lack of an edition of the Latin sermons, however, means that it is difficult to make an informed judgement about the content of these sermons, and accordingly, the readers’ interest.

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<sup>155</sup> See chapter 6.

## Users and owners

Features belonging to the text structure, for example, rubricated paragraph signs or numbers counting the arguments in the sermons, but also elements referring to the structure of the manuscript, such as continuous numbering of texts, foliation and pagination, can be attributed to either the scribe of the sermons or a later user, for which there is not always a clear-cut distinction. Attribution of marginal annotations to a particular person or context is made much easier, when individual scribes not only have a distinct hand, but also provide their name, as is occasionally seen in ownership marks or colophons. Two examples found among the Berthold manuscripts are first, the Cistercian Henricus de Montabaur of Boppard, who was not only the owner and compiler of Koblenz, LHA, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194, but has also added seven missing Berthold sermons by himself,<sup>156</sup> and second, the Franciscan Friedrich von Amberg, whose annotations are distributed throughout the double codex Fribourg, CC, MS. 117 I/II.<sup>157</sup>

## Distinctiones

*Distinctiones* are possibly among the annotations which one would expect to find the most in sermon manuscripts used for preaching. According to the standard definition, a *distinctio* “provides or “distinguishes” – thus the name – the four senses or levels of meaning (literal, allegorical, anagogic, tropologic) of a term of the scriptures”.<sup>158</sup> However, as Richard and Mary Rouse clarify, “a *distinctio* does not necessarily distinguish the traditional four senses, but rather as many (even ten or fifteen) or as few as its author

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<sup>156</sup> See chapter 6 and Overgauw (2008), pp. 11-12.

<sup>157</sup> See chapter 5 and Jörg (1975), pp. 68-72.

<sup>158</sup> Rouse and Rouse (1974), p. 28. See also the fundamental study by Ohly (1958/59).

pleases, some of the senses having more to do with metaphor and rhetoric than with scriptural exegesis”.<sup>159</sup>

In the first half of the thirteenth century, preachers often employed distinctions per se in their sermons, citing them to illustrate the meaning of various word which occurred in the Bible-text that constituted the sermon’s theme. But as the century progressed and sermons became more highly structured, preachers seemed to recur to collections of distinctions principally as a source of sermon structure, as a storehouse of ready-to-wear divisions on a theme.<sup>160</sup>

Despite their obvious function, *distinctiones* are rarely present in the margins of Berthold sermons and the few examples shown here are taken from only two manuscripts, Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961 and Vatican, BAV, MS. Vat. lat. 4390. In Clm. 7961, the following *distinctiones* have been added to the lower margin:<sup>161</sup>

*Is qui de pa semper natus mat*  
*tre sine re*  
*Nascitur ex ma tantum semel pat*  
  
*Ingratis sua gratia dans sua gratis*  
*Nascitur In mente Christus sua gratia lente id est leniente*  
*In corde fedos reddens sine sorde*

(Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961, fol. 134<sup>v</sup>)

Written in hexameters, they display a certain aesthetic playfulness, and it is not surprising to find them again in the manuscript which was owned by the Cistercian student, Michael Schön. The content of the verses discusses the various implications of Christ’s birth. On fol. 7<sup>vb</sup> of MS. Vat. lat. 4390, we find a more common *distinctio* on the characteristics of

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<sup>159</sup> Rouse and Rouse (1974), p. 28.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>161</sup> In the manuscript, the first verses are linking the syllables and words crosswise with lines.

the soul: *anima est – fortis | pulcra | delectabilis | eterna*. In this manuscript, there are also “little clusters of concepts”, as David d’Avray puts it.<sup>162</sup> “Though these topoi are not actually distinctions on a word [...], there is an evident family resemblance to the distinction mentality.”<sup>163</sup> On fol. 143<sup>v</sup>, the scribe himself has added the following to the margin:

*Omnia dicere – Verecunda· exemplum de publicano | Dolorosa· exemplum de Petro | Lacrimosa·  
exemplum de Magdalena | Integra· exemplum de Zacheo | Tempestiua exemplum de Iobanne.*  
(Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 4390, fol. 143<sup>v</sup>)

It is a list of virtues, each of which has been assigned an exemplum which should be narrated, in order to expand on the exact meaning of the virtuous adjectives. In the same manuscript, on fol. 75<sup>r</sup>, we find a list of gifts added to the margin: *donum pietatis | donum timoris | donum scientie | donum consilii | donum fortitudinis*. This list is based on the text next to it, yet, although it summarizes the central concepts, it is also a mnemonic aid – a feature which is also inherent to *distinctiones*.

## **Audiences**

In addition to attesting actual use, which is not a matter of course, annotations in the margins can be a valuable source to learn about the interests and disinclinations of the reader, and the general circumstances for which the manuscript was used.

Few of the Latin Berthold manuscripts feature German words, both in the margins and as glosses directly inserted into the text, which is most prominently the case in the double codex MS. 117 I/II. I have discussed the appearance of vernacular terms, and particularly the language mixture present in MS 117 I/II, in a previous study, where I propose a three-

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<sup>162</sup> D’Avray (1985), p. 248.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

part classification of the vernacular vocabulary, based on the linguistic concept of code-switching.<sup>164</sup> In the following, I will summarize some of my findings: In MS. 117 I/II, the most basic terms are simple translations from the Latin and might have aided members of the lower clergy with limited Latin skills. Technical vocabulary, often charged with emotions, such as magic or pejorative terms, is illustrative and establishes a direct relationship to a lay audience. Finally, vernacular words that appear particularly integrated into the Latin syntax, evoke an impression of orality. Among the few scattered marginal annotations in the vernacular, the number of terms referring to the field of craftsmanship is striking.

### *nota*

One of the most obscure signs is the Latin *nota* mark, as its semantics is limited to expressing a general request for attention. In an article on the ‘Ancrene Wisse’, an early thirteenth-century rule for anchoresses, Elizabeth Robertson remarks on the “147 *nota* signs as well as two dozen *nota bene* hands” present in one of the manuscripts:<sup>165</sup>

It is difficult to determine the logic behind these *nota* marks and hands, or even whether the marks are those of the author, scribes or readers. Nonetheless, they do act as guides for other readers to these passages and they do at least indicate concentrated reading.<sup>166</sup>

Although *nota* marks are highly dependent on interpretation in their particular context, it is important to note that these signs are clearly positively connoted. They point to passages which, in the opinion of the person adding them, are worth reading and it is not surprising that they appear frequently in Berthold manuscripts as well.

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<sup>164</sup> Depnering (2014).

<sup>165</sup> Robertson (2003), p. 121.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

The Latin codex Vienna, ÖNB, MS. 4399, which is dated to 1431, contains both the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* and the *Rusticanus de Communi* collections. In it, we find German counterparts to the Latin *nota* marks, in a considerable variety. Some annotations are longer, for example, *mirkh wol was geschriben stet* (fol. 232<sup>r</sup>) or *o m[e]hht wol was da geschriben ist* (fol. 263<sup>v</sup>). Other notes simply translate *nota* or *nota bene* into the vernacular: *mirkh* (fol. 343<sup>v</sup>) and *mirkh wol* (fol. 370<sup>r</sup>). Furthermore, we learn about the people addressed in the sermons – miser, husband and wife, and courtier – by the remarks made in the margins: *mirkh eben du ... Avarus mit dein kinden* (fol. 376<sup>v</sup>), *mirkh eben du eleich man vnd weib* (fol. 485<sup>v</sup>), *mirkh du hofman* (fol. 496<sup>v</sup>). There is also one word, which could be considered as ‘negative *nota* mark’ – it is the adjective *shedleich* (fol. 577<sup>v</sup>). Again, it is a direct translation from Latin *mala*, a word which we found written in MS. 496, next to an inauthentic *Disputatio* attributed to Johannes de Erfordia (fols 128<sup>rb-va</sup>).

### *vacat*

This last example, however, is not the only way of expressing discontent in margins. There are further annotations which aim to deter from reading or copying a particular phrase or passage. Bernhard Bischoff has noted the following ways to delete unwanted words in manuscripts:

Zur Tilgung dienen häufiger als Durchstreichung die Unterstreichung oder Markierung durch übergesetzte Punktgruppen bei Wörtern oder durch über- oder untergeschriebene Punkte (oder beides) bei Einzelbuchstaben. [...] Sollte im späteren Mittelalter ein längerer Passus getilgt bzw. nicht mehr kopiert werden, so wurde neben den Anfang “va”, neben das Ende “cat” (d. i. “vacat”) geschrieben.<sup>167</sup>

Bischoff’s description is neutral with regard to the use of the term *vacat*, insofar as he does not discuss possible reasons why a certain passage was, or was meant to be, omitted.

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<sup>167</sup> Bischoff (2009), p. 227.

However, there is a significant difference in the way *vacat* has been used in Berthold manuscripts. In Leipzig, UB, MS. 498, it appears to be employed merely to rectify a scribal error, where a considerable amount of text, 27 lines, has been copied before the mistake was realised. A note in the margin, written in a lighter brown than the main text, states: *In signo tripliciter lege in alio folio verbi vacat quia triplex signum* (fol. 119<sup>v</sup>).

Obviously, *In signo tripliciter* was the topic of both the correct and the incorrect passage and, in addition, both of them continue with the word *quia*, which explains how the confusion was possible at all. The last three words of the note, *quia triplex signum*, point to the accurate continuation on fol. 120<sup>r</sup>. To ensure understanding of the continuity of the sermon, a third hand wrote in the margins *hic va---cat* (119v, ll. 17-31) and *va---cat* (120r, ll. 1-12), demarcating the text that should be ignored. A further *hic* was added next to the first word of the correct version. This hand also inserted the sign *ℵ* twice, in order to relate the words *verbi vacat* in the annotation, with the beginning of the text that was mistakenly copied and should be omitted. In this example, *vacat* – together with the other references – allows the scribe to direct the reader to a different page and to prompt him to ignore any false writing, without actually interfering with the written text. In other words, it is a gentle solution to a mere crossing out.

In Leipzig, UB, MS. 497, the term *vacat* is employed on only one page, but for reasons more serious than a copying error. In the inner margin of fol. 10<sup>vb</sup> (see fig. 4), a contemporary hand has used the word *va---cat* twice, separated as described by Bischoff, in order to demarcate the beginning and end of the passages selected for omission. The lack of comments or other signs indicating structural or textual disorder and the added emphasis through rubrication, clearly suggest that this demarcation has been undertaken on grounds of the content. However, to better understand this request for omission, it is

important to understand the context of the sermon concerned. It is sermon *Jakob 7* of the *Rusticanus de Sanctis*, which in this manuscript has the following heading:

*Luce ewangeliste· de diuersis signis malis tam corporaliter quam spiritualiter infirmantium quae medicus  
in egroto considerat et de quibus infirmitatibus animarum· quae raro curantur·*  
(Leipzig, UB, MS. 497, fol. 10<sup>th</sup>)

It is noteworthy, first of all, that the relative clause *quae medicus in egroto considerat* is absent in other manuscripts, for example, on fol. 14<sup>f</sup> in MS. 498, which has been written approximately fifty years later than MS. 497.<sup>168</sup> This may be coincidence and the omission a result of the limited space provided for the rubricator, but it is nevertheless striking, as these words refer to a central character discussed in this sermon: the *medicus*. Originally connected to Christ,<sup>169</sup> the term *medicus* has later been applied to priests, insofar as they continue Christ's work of healing from the diseases of the soul. In 1215, canon 22 of the Fourth Lateran Council was issued, in order to officially define the relationship between 'physicians of the bodies' and 'physicians of the souls':

**22. Quod infirmi prius provideant animae quam corpori**

*Cum infirmitas corporalis nonnumquam ex peccato proveniat, dicente Domino, languido quem sanauerat: Vade et amplius noli peccare, ne deterius aliquid tibi contingat, decreto praesenti statuimus et districte praecipimus medicis corporum, ut cum eos ad infirmos vocari contigerit, ipsos ante omnia moneant et inducant, quod medicos advocent animarum, ut postquam infirmis fuerit de spirituali salute provisum, ad corporalis medicinae remedium salubrius procedatur, cum causa cessante cesset effectus. Hoc quidem inter alia huic causam dedit edicto, quod quidam in aegritudinis lecto iacentes, cum eis a medicis*

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<sup>168</sup> See also Jakob (1880), p. 56.

<sup>169</sup> The theme of *Christus medicus* is particularly present in the sermons by St Augustine. Rudolph Arbesmann (1954), pp. 2-3, counts more than forty texts with "either a short allusions to, or elaborate simile on, the healing and saving activity of Christ, the Divine Physician."

*suadet, ut de animarum salute disponant, in desperationis articulum incidunt, unde facilius mortis periculum incurrunt.*<sup>170</sup>

The canon begins by declaring sin as an occasional cause of physical infirmity and provides as example a quotation of Christ, in which he tells the sick person he healed to go and “sin no more lest a worse thing come unto thee” (John 5:14). The text continues with the instruction that ‘physicians of the bodies’ (*medicis corporum*) have to admonish their patients to first call one of the ‘physicians of the souls’ (*medicis animarum*), as only after the spiritual health has been dealt with, may the physical remedy make progress. Alluding to the connection of sin and physical infirmity introduced at the beginning, it concludes: ‘when the cause ceases, the effect does as well’ (*cum causa cessante cesset effectus*). The final sentence is the most important in this context, as it contains a reference to death. The reason given for this edict is that some sick, bedridden people are advised by their physicians to administer to the health of their soul, then fall into a moment of despair (*articulum desperationis*), from which they move more easily towards the danger of death (*periculum mortis*).

The text to be omitted does not explicitly discuss the involvement of a *medicus*, but we find in red ink, in the lower margin of fol. 10<sup>v</sup>, the following annotation: “*Medicus circa infirmum tria considerat.*” The demarcated passages are the following:

*Item quaerit de morbo. Vnum ergo signum malum si aures contrahuntur et aurium fex amara conuersa est in dulcedinem. Hoc est si libenter audit detractionem de proximo uel si multum est sibi dulce quando commendatur. Aut si auris contrahuntur. haec est si dure recipit correptionem. si est religiosus. aut si est*

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<sup>170</sup> Conciliorum oecumenicum decreta (1973), pp. 245-46. Canon 22 continues with a warning to all physicians not to transgress this constitution and not to advise a sick person to resort to anything dangerous to the soul for the benefit of physical health. A new critical edition of the decrees of medieval church councils is in production and will be published with Brepols in the series ‘Corpus Christianorum Conciliorum Oecumenicorum et Generalium Decreta’ (CCCOGD).

*scolaris. si in predicationibus corripi dolet nimis signum est malus. et si in corde non sentiat esse malus. sicut et illorum quidam qui corporaliter infirmantur. Item si lumen fugit aperte perditionis. et uadunt ad predicationes in tenebris. et in angulus signum esset mortale. Item si stridet dentibus. hoc est si uerbis maledicis iracundis detractoriis grauiter offendit proximum. Item si facies defigatur. id est. si pro superbia. alio colore quam dominus dedit faciem colorat. et immutat. Item si contrahunt se labra. hoc est raro vel numquam orat nisi pro terrenis et nimis male dicit horas suas ad quas tenetur.*

[...]

*Qui dei dicit non scio dolorem in corde est corporaliter infirmatur. stulte postquam incipies sentire in corde mors est in ianuis. ita quidam ieiunant sabbatum sancte marie. et faciunt sibi spem pro haec et pro illud bonum. nisi restituant loquantur quid uelint signum est mortale*

(Leipzig, UB, MS. 497, fol. 10<sup>vb</sup>; see fig. 4)

As announced in the heading, it is a sermon on various bad signs, physical and spiritual, with which sick people are seized and which the physician has to investigate. The first passage seems to deal with physiological aspects of disease (*morbis*), but it is really a penitential sermon based on more or less random physical features. The first two examples of bad signs mentioned, are when the ear(s) are contracted (*si aures/auris contrahuntur*) and when the bitter dirt of the ears (*aurium fex amara*) is converted into sweetness or pleasantness (*dulcedo*), with the latter referring to slander (*detractio*) or flattery. The exegetic interpretation then further explains that the contracted ear refers to the unwillingness of a monk (*religiosus*) or scholar (*scolaris*) to receive severe reproof or chastisement (*correptio*) in sermons. If there is no spiritual regret, an acknowledged feeling of being wicked in the heart, similar to the physical weakness, then it is a bad sign. The sermon then changes its tone, clearly alluding to well-known metaphors of Christ's light (*lux mundi*) and the light of life (*lumen vitae*),<sup>171</sup> and implies that such negative attitude, here visualized as walking in darkness to the sermons, would even be a deadly sign (*signum*

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<sup>171</sup> See, for example, John 8. 12 and 12. 35.

*mortale*). Afterwards, the text continues with the exegesis of grinding teeth, consequently, another biblical allusion to the weeping and gnashing of teeth in the darkness outside the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>172</sup> The grinding teeth are interpreted as the slanderous words of anger (*iracundia*) – one of the cardinal sins – against the neighbour. The discolouration of the face is linked to pride (*superbia*), another capital vice. Finally, the contraction of the lips, a rare condition, is related to praying for earthly things or, again, slander (*male dicere*).

The second passage to be omitted takes up the previously suggested relationship between the negative feeling, here pain (*dolor*), in the heart and physical infirmity. Death comes to those who fail to feel in their heart in time. The temporal aspect of this sensation is highlighted through an example: there are some who are fasting in the time before Assumption Day (*sabbatum sancte marie*) and who have hope about Mary and a blessing. The conclusion, however, is that no matter what these people say, if there is no restitution, that is, a demonstration of repentance, the sign will be deadly.

In these passages, we see in what way a preacher assumed the role of a *medicus animae*. The various facial distortions on ears, teeth, skin and lips are interpreted allegorically. Most importantly, the physician of the soul does not make a diagnosis, but rather forecasts a gloomy future and perdition. In doing so, the spiritual physician follows in the footsteps of the physician of the body: “In a medical system in which diagnosis was often problematic and the ability to cure was very limited, prognosis must frequently have emerged as the most valued and actually most useful aspect of medical attendance.”<sup>173</sup> The reason why one of the readers sought the deletion of this passage is certainly based on

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<sup>172</sup> See, for example, Matthew 8. 12.

<sup>173</sup> Siraisi (1990), p. 133. See also Demaitre (2003) on the role of prognosis in the study of medicine at the early universities.

its harshness. We see that the intended audience for this sermon was not the general public, but the *religiosi* and *scholastici*. The medical context is used only as starting point to preach against various types of dishonest or malicious utterances. However, the main concern is the possible internal opposition against any serious rebuke of the preacher. The predominant message of these passages is the pre-emption of something serious, a prophylaxis against spiritual death.

Medical prognostic texts have been known in monasteries since the early Middle Ages, where “the widespread monastic interest in medical means of prognosticating the approach of death was connected to an increasingly central aspect [...] – the ritual care of the dying and dead”.<sup>174</sup>

Although in general the importance of monasteries as centers of medical knowledge declined from about the twelfth century, subsequent gifts of medical books suggest continued interest in the acquisition and doubtless the use of medical information within some monastic communities [...].<sup>175</sup>

Nancy Siraisi remarks that “[m]edicine did not play a large part in the intellectual life or activities of the new orders of mendicant friars”, but she acknowledges that “the names of a few friars who practiced are known, especially among the Dominicans”.<sup>176</sup> More importantly, medicinal activities had their place also in Bavarian monasteries, particular the area around Passau,<sup>177</sup> and it is conceivable that some medical writings were available to Berthold in his immediate surroundings, which he exploited as a source for his sermons. We even find medical recipes and verses as part of a quire that was added to

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<sup>174</sup> Paxton (1993), p. 632.

<sup>175</sup> Siraisi (1990), p. 25.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. Baader (1973).

Munich, BSB, Clm. 2718, a manuscript which contains a complete *Rusticanus de Communi*. It belonged to the Cistercian abbey at Aldersbach, from where other evidence has survived pointing to medical practice at this monastery, such as a ‘month’s prognostication’ in Clm. 2600 (fols 112<sup>f</sup>-115<sup>v</sup>), medical rules for each of the months.<sup>178</sup>

Diese Zeugnisse für medizinische Tätigkeit im Passauer Raum in dieser Zeit werden durch den schon erwähnten Clm 2547 b abgerundet. Es handelt sich dabei um das Briefbuch des Passauer Domdekans *Albert Behaim von Behaiming* (etwa 1180 – 1260), des entschiedenen Streiters für das Papsttum. In dieser ältesten Papierhandschrift Deutschlands sind zum Teil von seiner Hand, jedenfalls aber noch von solchen des 13. Jahrhunderts Eintragungen von Rezepten und medizinischen Vorschriften zu finden (f. 59<sup>v</sup>, 90<sup>r</sup>, 109<sup>f</sup> – 111<sup>v</sup> und 133<sup>r</sup>), worunter sich auch Verse aus dem ‘Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum’ befinden, wie der Eintrag f. 109<sup>f</sup> *Anglorum regi scola scribit tota Salerni* beweist.<sup>179</sup>

The folio in Clm. 2718 that contains the short Latin and German medical texts (fol. 1<sup>r-v</sup>), also features verses of the ‘Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum’,<sup>180</sup> a didactic poem in hexameters, attributed to the medical school at Salerno. In view of the above, it is now less surprising why a Berthold manuscript was bound together with this particular quire.

The term *vacat* appears also in a further Berthold manuscript, Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 138. Several of the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* sermons have been annotated this way, on fols 68<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>f</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>-73<sup>r</sup> and especially fols 98<sup>v</sup>-100<sup>v</sup> with more than a dozen *vacat* notes. As in MS. 497, mitigation was achieved by excluding phrases that were perceived problematic. On fol. 99<sup>v</sup>, for example, we find the following sentence in sermon *RdS Jakob 87: Vnum tempus | crudele quod dominus super te venire permittet | est quod numquam conuerteris*. In addition to a *vacat* note in the margin, vertical strokes within the text precisely indicate which

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<sup>178</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>179</sup> Baader (1973), pp. 285-86.

<sup>180</sup> See appendix.

words are to be omitted, in this case, an announcement of a cruel punishment through God.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, we see that despite the limited number of marginalia in Berthold manuscripts, the few that are present can lead to significant findings, when placed into a larger context. Even if we do not know who has made the annotations, we have positive evidence that there was an interest in, and interaction with, Berthold sermons, in some cases over a long period. What is more, we can get a glimpse of the impact the sermons had on the readers, their personal interest in them, and their concern for others, positively and negatively, who would subsequently read them.

## Chapter 4

### The composition of Berthold manuscripts

Medieval manuscripts not only tell stories through the texts they contain, but they also express their individual history in their materiality and composition. Perhaps one might not be able to judge a book by its cover (and if taken literally, this is something, I would disagree with), but one can gain insight into a manuscript by investigating and judging the quality of the writing material used and the way in which it was compiled. However, in order to undertake any codicological analysis, one has first to establish what it is that can be described and which technical terms can be used to do so. To date, there is no final consensus on either of these questions, not least as the codicological concepts used in England seem to differ from those on the Continent. Recent studies often refer to previous scholarship, however, none so far has truly explored the similarities and differences of the most significant models.

The focus of the first part of this chapter, therefore, is on codicological terminology. The second part, by contrast, is dedicated to selected Berthold manuscripts, which are investigated by their codicological structure using some of the technical terms presented. The codices were chosen either for their representativeness, or for their singularity within the Berthold transmission. The aim of this chapter is to display current issues in codicology, the strengths, but also limits, of codicological terminology, and its application to Berthold codices, in order to understand their specific qualities.

#### **Codicological terminology**

J. Peter Gumbert suggested that one of the most important things to establish about a medieval manuscript is, “ob es sich um eine *einheitliche* Handschrift handelt, die in einem Arbeitsgang hergestellt ist, oder um eine, die in Phasen gewachsen ist, oder (oder: und)

aus verschiedenen, ursprünglich selbständigen Teilen *zusammengesetzt* ist”.<sup>181</sup> For this analysis of the individual ‘layers’ of a manuscript, he uses the geological term ‘stratigraphy’.<sup>182</sup> However, there is still no definite terminology to describe both the production process and compilation of a manuscript, and the particular units involved.

Several scholars have attempted to name and describe codicological features with the aim to establish a terminological framework of, more or less, general validity. What impeded their search for appropriate terms was that, depending on the analytical perspective, a codex may either be viewed as a textual or as physical object, or a combination of both.

### *Volume and recueil*

Denis Muzerelle, in his *Vocabulaire codicologique*, made an attempt to provide a comprehensive vocabulary for the description of manuscripts. One of the central terms of his vocabulary is *volume*:

#### *Volume (Volume)*

*Unité constituée par un ensemble de feuillets unis par la reliure, que cet ensemble soit homogène ou hétérogène, indépendant ou partie d'un tout.*<sup>183</sup>

Muzerelle’s concept of *volume* is both abstract, defining it as ‘a set of leaves in a binding’, and comprehensive, insofar as both the codicological (*indépendant ou partie d'un tout*) and textual aspects (*homogène ou hétérogène*) of a codex are included. Particularly noteworthy is that Muzerelle uses the terms *homogène* and *hétérogène* primarily to describe textual

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<sup>181</sup> Gumbert (2010), p. 1.

<sup>182</sup> Gumbert (2004), p. 18, and (2010), p. 1.

<sup>183</sup> Muzerelle (1985), no. 143.03. The complete *Vocabulaire codicologique* has been transformed into an online database and supplemented with Spanish, Italian and English terms: <http://vocabulaire.irht.cnrs.fr/> [accessed 10 September 2013]. The Spanish terms are taken from Ostos, Pardo and Rodríguez (1997), the Italian vocabulary from Maniaci (1996). The English terms have been provided by A. I. Doyle.

arrangements. However, this can only be inferred and understood against the background of his further definitions of volumes, as can be seen in the following.

*Unité codicologique* (Codicological unit)

*Volume, partie de volume ou ensemble de volumes dont l'exécution peut être considérée comme une opération unique, réalisée dans les mêmes conditions de lieu, de temps et de technique.*<sup>184</sup>

The term *unité codicologique* refers to the volume as a codicological entity. A volume can consist of one or several codicological units, but a set of volumes, for example, several individual manuscripts, can also constitute a single codicological unit. The determining factor is that the volume(s), or a part of a volume, have been produced in a single operation under the same conditions of time, place, and technique.

*Volume composite* (Composite volume)

*Volume formé par la réunion d'unités codicologiques indépendantes.*<sup>185</sup>

A *volume composite*, accordingly, consists of several independent codicological units.

Gumbert has criticized that this definition “leaves no room for the numerous cases where units are combined which are not quite independent and yet distinct”.<sup>186</sup> What he fails to take into account is that Muzerelle’s ‘composite volume’ is defined strictly codicologically, whereas Gumbert’s concept comprises, in addition to codicological features, the description of textual dependencies.<sup>187</sup> The term with which Muzerelle refers to the volume as textual entity, is *recueil*:

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<sup>184</sup> Muzerelle (1985), no. 143.04.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., no. 143.06.

<sup>186</sup> Gumbert (2004), p. 19.

<sup>187</sup> See below, ‘Codicological units’.

***Recueil* (Collection – Assemblage)**

*Volume contenant différents textes.*<sup>188</sup>

Rather than pointing to textual diversity, ‘*différent*’, in this context, refers to the fact that the volume contains more than one text. It should further be noted that the term *volume* is used here to refer to exactly the same object as in the previous definitions, but from a textual perspective. The *recueil* is divided into a homogeneous and a heterogeneous version, based on virtually identical criteria to those of the codicological unit: unity of time and place, and in the case of the *recueil homogène*, copied by a single person.

***Recueil homogène* (Homogeneous collection)**

*Ensemble de textes indépendants copiés en un même volume par une même personne, dans un même lieu ou à une même époque.*<sup>189</sup>

***Recueil hétérogène* (Miscellany)**

*Recueil constitué de pièces copiées en des lieux et en des temps divers.*<sup>190</sup>

The term *pièce* again, used in the definition of the *recueil hétérogène*, is defined as follows.

***Pièce / Article* (Piece – Item – Article)**

*Chacun des textes ou chacune des unités codicologiques constituant un recueil.*<sup>191</sup>

As with *volume*, the concept of *pièce* is kept abstract and can be applied to both codicological and textual contexts. This allowed for misinterpretation and led to Gumbert’s repeated rejection of Muzerelle’s categories:<sup>192</sup> he describes the concept of *recueil hétérogène* as “ambiguous and useless” and continues, “it does not make it clear

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<sup>188</sup> Muzerelle (1985), no. 431.08.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., no. 431.09.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., no. 431.15.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., no. 431.17.

<sup>192</sup> Gumbert (1999), pp. 28-29 and (2004), pp. 18-20.

whether the *recueil hétérogène* is a codicological unit or not, since it is possible to write different texts at different times into one unit, so it is not possible to count the number of ‘pièces’ in a volume unambiguously.”<sup>193</sup> However, it is obvious from both the general definition of *recueil* and from the direct comparison with the *recueil homogène*, which is introduced as *ensemble de textes*, that the context is, if not entirely, then at least predominantly, textual. It is thus almost impossible to interpret the *recueil homogène* and *recueil hétérogène*, as Gumbert has, solely as codicological units.<sup>194</sup> Muzerelle introduces two more types of *recueils*, both referring to the intention underlying the arrangement of the collection:

***Recueil organisé (Deliberate assemblage)***

*Recueil rassemblant des textes ou des unités codicologiques dont la réunion répond à une intention quelconque.*<sup>195</sup>

***Recueil factice (\*\*\*)***

*Recueil constitué de pièces hétérogènes dont la réunion arbitraire sous une même reliure n'est justifiée que par les besoins de la conservation en bibliothèque.*<sup>196</sup>

This opposition of *organisé* versus *factice* – the latter could be translated as artificial – again leaves an open opportunity to apply the term to either the textual or codicological arrangement of a volume. Gumbert, therefore, concludes that Muzerelle’s terms “do not constitute a logically coherent system; they mix reference to the physical makeup with

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<sup>193</sup> Gumbert (2004), p. 19. In an earlier version of his criticism of Muzerelle’s *recueil hétérogène*, Gumbert’s reading (1999), p. 29, clearly states this: “a ‘*recueil* containing pieces [we can call them *codicological units*] written at different times or places” (square brackets in the original).

<sup>194</sup> Gumbert (2004), p. 19, sees implied in the definition of the *recueil homogène* “that it is a codicological unit”. Unambiguously, he interprets the pieces of the *recueil hétérogène* as codicological units and concludes: “the pair *homogène/hétérogène* concerns the physical makeup of the volume”, (1999), p. 29.

<sup>195</sup> Muzerelle (1985), no. 431.10.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 431.16. Doyle did not provide a translation for this term.

reference to the contents; and they leave no room for the numerous graduations between the extremes”.<sup>197</sup> The weakness of Muzerelle’s vocabulary is certainly the extension of his concepts and their broad applicability. However, it is not logically incoherent, as the following shows.

Muzerelle’s definitions of the *recueil homogène* and the *recueil hétérogène* strongly resemble two opposing notions of collective volumes, which unfortunately use the same term – miscellany – for both of the concepts. The first notion of ‘miscellany’ is linked to a long-term process: A. I. Doyle has proposed that *recueil hétérogène*, a collection consisting of pieces copied in different places at different times, can be translated as ‘miscellany’.<sup>198</sup> In accordance with this, Ralph Hanna highlights the discontinuous production process of a miscellany and describes it as “a gathering of materials that for whatever reason interested a compiler. Excessively miscellaneous in their contents, such products frequently reflect, not a single parent or source copied in its full sequence, but an eclectic melding of works derived from different sources.”<sup>199</sup> In a recent study, Hanna confirmed this concept and emphasized the incidental composition found with the miscellany “produced as independent fascicles or booklets”.<sup>200</sup> “These are most typically books that have not been constructed ‘to plan’, as it were, but rather miscellaneous volumes produced adventitiously, as ‘interesting’ texts come to hand.”<sup>201</sup>

The second notion of ‘miscellany’ is based on a singular action, which takes place during a fixed period of time: Erik Kwakkel, in contrast to Doyle and Hanna, provides a broader

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<sup>197</sup> Gumbert (2004), p. 20.

<sup>198</sup> See above.

<sup>199</sup> Hanna (1996), p. 31.

<sup>200</sup> Hanna (2011), p. 236. For the precise meaning of the term ‘booklet’ see below ‘Booklet’.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

definition of miscellanies as “books containing a large number of texts (with or without a common thread), usually copied by one scribe and lacking caesurae”.<sup>202</sup> This description of a miscellany, however, corresponds largely with the ‘homogeneous collection’, as laid out by Muzerelle. What is more, notwithstanding his criticism of Muzerelle, Gumbert also uses a definition similar to that of the *recueil homogène*, in order to describe “a typical *miscellany*”:<sup>203</sup> It “was written by one person in one process; it is *homogeneous*, and the fact that it contains a multitude of texts was the result of a decision by the maker (or the person who gave him his order).”<sup>204</sup>

While Muzerelle’s terminology does not meet the standard required to describe the complexity of most manuscripts, the above distinction regarding miscellanies shows that his general concepts, at least implicitly, still exist. In this study, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I will distinguish between a ‘heterogeneous collection’, which equates approximately to Muzerelle’s *recueil hétérogène* as well as Doyle’s and Hanna’s miscellany, and a ‘miscellany’, which I conceive, similar to Kwakkel and Gumbert, as one unit with numerous texts, which is commonly the work of a single scribe.

### **Booklet**

One of the most influential and elaborate concepts regarding the distinction of units in codices, is the notion of the ‘booklet’ by Pamela R. Robinson. She defines it as a unit that “originated as a small but structurally independent production containing a single work or a number of short works”.<sup>205</sup> It “may consist of several quires and these may be either

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<sup>202</sup> Kwakkel (2002), pp. 12-13.

<sup>203</sup> Gumbert (2004), p. 18.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>205</sup> Robinson (1978), p. 231.

large or small in dimension”.<sup>206</sup> Ralph Hanna therefore summarized: “Booklets thus form units intermediate in extent between the quire and the full codex.”<sup>207</sup> Most importantly, however, is the fact that Robinson conceptualizes booklets solely from a textual perspective: “The beginning and end of a ‘booklet’ always coincides with the beginning and end of a text or group of texts.”<sup>208</sup> It is defined as the self-sufficiency of the content,<sup>209</sup> which means that it “could circulate independently and at the same time provide a complete copy of a text”.<sup>210</sup>

Hanna has criticized that Robinson’s approach overlooks the difference between “the booklet as purchased” and “the booklet as produced”,<sup>211</sup> as it does not distinguish between several booklets in a single codex and “a series of separate booklets bought from a single bookseller and joined by the purchaser”.<sup>212</sup> In other words: Robinson’s focus is on the production of the booklet, not the production of the codex, in which it has finally been transmitted. A simple, but sophisticated terminological solution for this problem of production and subsequent use, was proposed by Erik Kwakkel and will be discussed below.<sup>213</sup>

Notwithstanding the lack of distinctiveness regarding various contexts of production, Robinson’s list of possible features to identify a booklet has remained valid. Originally

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>207</sup> Hanna (1996), p. 21.

<sup>208</sup> Robinson (1980), p. 47.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>211</sup> Hanna (1996), p. 23.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., p. 25. Hanna’s main point of reference clearly is the secular (and vernacular) book production rather than the monastic scriptorium, but his observation applies to either of them.

<sup>213</sup> See ‘Production and usage units’.

nine criteria,<sup>214</sup> a tenth has been added in her later and more commonly quoted publication. Hanna, as a result of his criticism in that Robinson “overemphasizes content at the expense of form”,<sup>215</sup> has supplemented the list with three more features, which are specified under numbers 11 to 13.

1. Variation in size of leaves in different parts of a manuscript.
2. Variation in scribal hand or in page format in different parts of a manuscript.
3. Variation in style of decoration or illumination in different parts of a manuscript.
4. Absence of catchwords at ends of quires (which may indicate once independent sections of a manuscript).
5. Independent sets of quire signatures in different parts of a manuscript.
6. Soiled or rubbed outer leaves of a quire.
7. Quires formed of varying numbers of leaves in different parts of a manuscript.
8. Variation in size of possible final quires of a textual unit – either an excessively large quire or a quire containing very few leaves so as exactly to accommodate the end of a text.
9. Blank leaves at the end of quires, often cut away.
10. Short text, filler, added, sometimes in later hands, in originally blank spaces at the end of quires.<sup>216</sup>
11. Variation in the material form from which different parts of a manuscript are made: shifts between paper and vellum, shifts (insofar as these are recognizable) among kinds or qualities of vellum, shifts among different paper stocks.
12. Variation among sources from which different parts of a manuscript have been copied.
13. Variation of subject matter in different parts of a manuscript.<sup>217</sup>

A closer look at Robinson’s ten criteria shows that, while insisting that a booklet is defined as textual unit, several of her features refer to material aspects in the widest sense:

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<sup>214</sup> Robinson (1978), pp. 232-33.

<sup>215</sup> Hanna (1996), p. 30

<sup>216</sup> Features 1-10 are taken from Robinson (1980), pp. 47-48.

<sup>217</sup> Features 11-13 have been suggested by Hanna (1996), pp. 30-31.

the size of the writing material (1.), contamination and abrasion (6.) and unusual quire structures (7.-9.). Hanna's additional arguments are completely comprehensible, but it is startling that he provides, contrary to his criticism, two further criteria to identify booklets by means of their content (12. and 13.). His first new feature (11.), with regard to variation in the quality or type of material (11.), is a very successful addition, as we will see in the description of sermon manuscripts.

The list of features compiled by Robinson and Hanna provides an excellent tool to identify and describe individual units within a manuscript. However, as a second step, it is necessary not only to determine their existence, but also to ascertain their genesis and exact arrangement within the manuscript.

### **Codicological units**

To date, Gumbert has proposed the most precise terminology regarding the development and composition of complex manuscripts. It is centred around the 'codicological unit' – a term which I will henceforth use in my descriptions.<sup>218</sup> Different to the booklet, it is not aligned on a mere textual perspective. Gumbert defines the codicological unit as “a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation and containing a complete text or set of texts”.<sup>219</sup> He proposes a multitude of technical terms related to such units, which are listed below, often enlarged with further explanations and examples. The first number of terms refers to the structure of the codicological unit.

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<sup>218</sup> Gumbert's 'codicological unit' resembles the 'unità modulare' described by Marilena Maniaci (1996), and the 'entité codicologique' by Olsen (1998) – a fact that he acknowledges; cf. Gumbert (2004), p. 23, fn. 11. However, Gumbert's technical terms and definitions are both more elaborate and comprehensive than those of previous scholarship.

<sup>219</sup> Gumbert (2004), p. 23.

### Terms referring to the codicological unit (part 1)<sup>220</sup>

<i>unarticulated: uniform</i>	if there are no boundaries in it (except quire and possibly text boundaries)
<i>unarticulated: homogeneous</i>	if it is divided by boundaries (change of watermark, quire signatures, ruling technique, lines, hands, texts) <sup>221</sup> into <i>sections</i> , but it is not <i>divisible</i> (because the boundaries do not coincide with quire boundaries)
<i>articulated</i>	if it is divided by <i>caesuras</i> into <i>blocks</i> (which makes it divisible) <sup>222</sup>

The boundaries described by Gumbert correspond to the aforementioned features of the booklet. It is important to note that quire boundaries are distinguished from all other types of boundaries. A caesura is defined as a boundary which coincides with a quire boundary.<sup>223</sup> The following second group of terms refers to changes and interventions undertaken, which include both material and textual elements.

### Terms referring to the codicological unit (part 2)<sup>224</sup>

<i>undisturbed</i>	
if smaller	by loss: <i>defective unit</i> or <i>fragment</i> by removal of a <i>severed unit</i> (remains: a <i>trunk</i> )
if larger	by addition of a new layer (decoration, glosses): <sup>225</sup> <i>enriched unit</i>

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<sup>220</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 25. Additional footnotes indicate where examples have been added to aid comprehension.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>222</sup> The concept of 'blocks' has been explained in more detail in Gumbert (2010), pp. 5-6. Blocks emerge from accidental caesurae, that is, the coincidence of quire boundaries with hand boundaries or smaller textual boundaries during a single production process. *Ibid.*, p. 6: "Man kann Blocks von kodikologischen Einheiten unterscheiden, weil sie (normalerweise) nicht vertauschbar oder entfernbar sind."

<sup>223</sup> A complete list of terms and definitions is also found in Gumbert (2004), pp. 40-42.

<sup>224</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 33. Additional footnotes indicate where examples have been added to aid comprehension.

by addition of a guest text (in the margins or on blank  
pages)<sup>226</sup>: *enriched unit*

by addition of an *infix* (text or miniatures on inserted strips  
that do not affect the quire structure)<sup>227</sup>: *enlarged unit*

by addition of an *accretion*: *extended unit*<sup>228</sup>

Gumbert's concept of codicological units has an impact on the description of the  
composition of codices, which has been summarized in the following:<sup>229</sup>

A <i>monomerous</i> codex	is a manuscript which contains a single codicological unit.
A <i>composite</i> is	a manuscript which contains two or more codicological units;
these can be	
<i>independent</i>	(and then they form a <i>paratactic composite</i> ) <sup>230</sup>
or <i>dependent</i>	if they have been made to fit to a pre-existent <i>kernel</i> (and then they form a <i>hypotactic composite</i> ) <sup>231</sup>
these can be	
<i>monogenetic</i>	if they have been written by the same scribe
or <i>homogenetic</i>	if they come from the same circle and time
or <i>allogenic</i>	otherwise.

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<sup>225</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>226</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>227</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>228</sup> Gumbert (2004), p. 32, fn. 27, acknowledges that his 'extended codicological unit' corresponds exactly with Kwakkel's extended production unit. Cf. below 'Production and usage units'.

<sup>229</sup> See Gumbert (2004), p. 29.

<sup>230</sup> 'Independent' in this context means that "the order of the units is arbitrary: it has been decided at a given moment, by a Medieval owner or by a twentieth-century librarian, for good reasons or just at random", *ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>231</sup> Gumbert (2004), p. 28, provides an example where the end of a text had been missing, which has been rectified at a later stage by means of a second codicological unit: "[T]here is no unity of production with the first part; also its place in the whole is not arbitrary but determined by the text."

A monomeric codex with a single codicological unit can contain a single text or it can be, as described by Kwakkel and Gumbert, a miscellany with several texts – usually all written by a single scribe. Doyle’s and Hanna’s ‘miscellany’, by contrast, consists of more than one codicological unit produced at different points of time and is, in Gumbert’s terminology, a ‘composite manuscript’. To confuse things even more, Hanna recently defined ‘composite manuscripts’ as “accidents of binding” with “an owner putting between two boards a range of materials, often materials produced several centuries apart”.<sup>232</sup> Hence, this study uses Gumbert’s terminology, not only in order to avoid misunderstanding and ambiguity, but also because it is the only framework which gives full consideration to more complex composite manuscripts, such as hybrid forms.

### **Production and usage units**

The final set of technical terms, with which difficult manuscript structures can be almost equally well captured, has been proposed by Erik Kwakkel.<sup>233</sup> Conceptually similar to Hanna’s distinction between the purchased and the produced booklet,<sup>234</sup> he distinguishes between a ‘production unit’ and a ‘usage unit’:

The term ‘production unit’ [...] refers to groups of quires that formed a material unity at the time of production. Such quires were copied ‘in one go’, by either one or more scribes. A codex may contain several production units. The *caesurae* separating units can be traced with the help of (some) codicological and paleographical features (roughly the same as those with which booklets can be identified [...]).<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Hanna (2011), p. 234.

<sup>233</sup> Kwakkel (2002).

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Hanna (2011), p. 234.

<sup>235</sup> Kwakkel (2002), p. 13. On p. 14, Kwakkel points out the difference to a booklet: “Whereas a booklet consists of a limited number of quires, a production unit has no limitations to its size : when no *caesurae* are present, the entire codex is a production unit.”

Problematic, however, is Kwakkel's insistence on the catchword as the "main indicator" for identifying a production unit. "When a quire lacks a catchword whereas the preceding quires do not, this is often because the end of a production unit has been reached."<sup>236</sup> This is certainly true for codices produced in such straightforward way, however, the large majority of Berthold manuscripts viewed in my research do not exhibit any catchwords and only some of them "hold a single sequence of quire signatures"<sup>237</sup> – a feature which could be considered of equal probative force to determine the caesurae of production units. Kwakkel acknowledges that there are other features, "such as the introduction of a new scribe, or, when a book is copied by only one hand, differences in *ductus* and ink color",<sup>238</sup> but with regard to sermon manuscripts, in particular those written in Latin in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, the other criteria compiled by Robinson and Hanna have priority.

The second term introduced by Kwakkel, and included in Gumbert's vocabulary, is the 'extended production unit'.

The last leaves of a production unit would often remain blank [...] [I]f a scribe needed more space to copy a text than was provided by the blank leaves, he would add new writing support material, either one additional singleton, a bifolium, a quire, or even several quires. Such a production unit, which was produced in several production stages, will be called 'extended production unit'.<sup>239</sup>

The final two terms create slightly more difficulties in definition, as they refer to non-surviving entities. The 'usage unit' "is an abstract notion that refers to the manner in

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<sup>236</sup> Ibid., p. 13. See also Kwakkel (2010), p. 60: "The absence of catchwords is often the most prominent indicator that a manuscript, although consisting of a single text, was not copied simultaneously."

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Kwakkel (2002), p. 13.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

which a production unit was used : separately or bound together with other production units”.<sup>240</sup> It refers to the time “prior to their ending up in the manuscript in which they survive today” and has to be reconstructed from similar features as with the production unit, such as variation in foliation, running titles or quire signatures.<sup>241</sup> The last term introduced is the ‘usage phase’, “which is to denote the various stages of use of a production unit; first as a single unit, then combined with other units, and later possibly joined by even more”.<sup>242</sup>

In the following part, I will apply some of the terminology to a selection of Berthold codices.

### **The composition of Berthold codices**

#### **Leipzig, UB, MSS. 497 and 722:**

Not all Berthold manuscripts display complex codicological structures. Some are the product of a single scribe, the ‘manuscript copied in one go’, as Kwakkel refers to it, written “consecutively and without interruption”.<sup>243</sup> For example, the paper manuscript Heidelberg, UB, Cpg. 35, which has been dated to 1439 by its yet unidentified scribe, *konrat hug* (fol. 105<sup>r</sup>), features a continuous series of catchwords and alphabetical quire signatures (*a-q*),<sup>244</sup> reflecting a less common, but clear structure that appeared only after

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<sup>240</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>241</sup> Kwakkel (2010), p. 61.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

<sup>243</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 62. It is one of four general types of single-author manuscript that Kwakkel proposes to distinguish.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. Zimmermann and Glauch (2003), p. 99. See also the digitized images of the manuscript:

<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg24> [accessed 10 September 2013].

the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>245</sup> However, there are some manuscripts which stand out particularly through their sophisticated uniformity and, at the same time, quality. This is particularly true for two manuscripts whose provenance is the Cistercian abbey of Alzelle, MSS. 497 and 722. In the following, I will describe their distinct arrangement and will show, how the comparison of codicological features can lead to an improved understanding of seemingly straightforward composed codices.

The more elaborate and voluminous of the two codices is MS. 497, which has received attention in chapter 2 for its impressive system of cross-referencing and indices. It was written towards the end of the thirteenth century and consists of two codicological units with 293 parchment leaves in total. The first codicological unit is composed of thirty quires (fols 1-283), while the second unit is made of a single quaternio (fols 284-293). Both codicological units are completely uniform, as each is written by a single hand, in a Gothic textualis, and not divided by any feature other than textual and quire boundaries. At first glance, overlooking the fact that two scribes were involved, one could almost classify the codex as monogenetic – even the size of the writing area corresponds between the two units. Correspondence exists also on a textual level. The second unit consists of two indices, which contain references to the two sermon collections of the first unit, the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* and the *Rusticanus de Communi*. It is, therefore, obvious that the second unit could only have been written after the completion of the first unit.

The parchment possesses numerous minor imperfections throughout the manuscript.<sup>246</sup> However, in view of the enormous size (365 x 235 mm), rendering MS. 497 the largest manuscript of the complete Berthold transmission, the writing material can still be

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<sup>245</sup> Cf. Schneider (1999), p. 121.

<sup>246</sup> See appendix.

considered as being of very good quality. Six of the first eight quires are made of sexternios, while the remaining quires are largely made of quaternios, except quire xix, which is a sexternio, and quires xxi. and xxii., which are quinternios. The final quire of unit I is also a quinternio (xxx.). As it is preceded by seven quires of quaternios (xxiii.-xxix.), the additional folio is a further criterion indicating the end of a codicological unit. The first 29 quires, that is, all but the last of the first codicological unit, have quire signatures, consistently on the last page.<sup>247</sup> The numbering uses roman numerals, written in minuscules for the first nine (*i<sup>o</sup>-viii<sup>o</sup>*) and capital letters for the remaining quires (*X<sup>o</sup>-XXIX<sup>o</sup>*). All of these features indicate a clear concept and precise execution, which was the work of a single scribe. Although only some of the criteria by Robinson and Hanna apply, MS. 497 is clearly a composite manuscript. Nonetheless, there is little doubt that the two production units formed one usage unit immediately after the second unit was completed. The second codicological unit, containing the indices, is dependant to such an extent on the first, which contains the Berthold sermons, that it is only of little avail independently, outside this context.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Some of the quire signatures are cut off, presumably as a result of the rebinding, which took place in the fifteenth century. The missing quire signature on the last quire is a further sign of completeness, pointing out that the end of a production unit has been reached.

<sup>248</sup> This is of significance insofar, as the *Tabula de dominicis* of MS. 497 has partly been copied into another manuscript from the Augustinian priory Grimma, by a different hand than the one writing the sermons. MS. 497, fols 284<sup>ra</sup>-288<sup>va</sup>, l. 17, corresponds word for word with Jena, ThULB, MS. Rec. adj. o. 1, fols 127<sup>vb</sup>-134<sup>vb</sup>. The copy, however, is not complete and interrupts after the words *Nichil opertum*. The references of the table are clearly to MS. 497 and thus useless in the Jena manuscript, which contains a different selection of Berthold sermons. For example, fol. 127<sup>vb</sup>, l. 39-128<sup>ra</sup>, l. 2: *Require De uno martire Beatus uir | qui inuenit sapientiam De quatuor insidijs dyaboli cxxxiiij<sup>o</sup>* refers to sermon CXXXIII (*RdC Jakob* 18) of fols 206<sup>vb</sup>-208<sup>rb</sup> of the Altzelle manuscript. See the catalogue description in Klein-Ilbeck, Ott and Powitz (2009), p. 343, which attributes the erroneous references to missing parts of the original manuscript.

Palaeographical analysis shows that MS. 722 has most likely been written only a short time after MS. 497, during the late thirteenth or possibly the early fourteenth century. It is a monomorous codex, consisting of 12 quires, and has been written by single hand in a Gothic textualis. The size of the 122 parchment leaves is still respectable at 285 x 205 mm, but the codex is, of course, significantly smaller than MS. 497. The quality of the book block is only slightly lower, however, there are also imperfections in most parts of the manuscript.<sup>249</sup> Between MSS. 497 and 722, there are two significant similarities, and although there is no evidence to this fact, it is well conceivable that both manuscripts originate from the same context. The first similarity concerns the quire signatures: all quires except the last have quire signatures on the last page,<sup>250</sup> using roman numerals written in capitals as the counting system (*I-XI*<sup>o</sup>). In general during this period, this type of quire signature is very common.<sup>251</sup> Yet, it would be improvident to assume coincidence. Only few monomorous Berthold manuscripts that solely contain sermons of the Franciscan preacher, have survived – and as MSS. 497 and 722 share the same provenance, Alzelle, it cannot be ruled out that they also share the same origin.

The second similarity is of greater significance, as it a rarer phenomenon: the continuous counting of columns. It appeared from the thirteenth century onwards,<sup>252</sup> but was almost exclusively used in Latin manuscripts.<sup>253</sup> In MS. 497, the columns of each sermon are

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For images of the digitized manuscript see [http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest\\_cbu\\_00016730](http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00016730) [10 September 2013].

<sup>249</sup> See appendix.

<sup>250</sup> In MS. 722, quires ix. and x. feature quire signatures also on their first page.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. Schneider (1999), p. 121.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Bischoff (2009), p. 41.

<sup>253</sup> Schneider (1999), p. 159, provides only three examples of “Kolumnenzählung”, two of which use arabic numbers. All three examples are dated to the fifteenth century.

continuously counted by means of alphabetical letters (*a-o*).<sup>254</sup> The same counting system can be found in MS. 722 (*a-p*), with the main difference being that in MS. 497, a column which contains both the end of one and the beginning of another sermon is given two letters (*#* and *a*), whereas in MS. 722, final or initial columns are either left uncounted or designated as *a* only. The counting of columns has not been found in any other Berthold manuscripts investigated and, what is more, in none of the other 81 Alzelle manuscripts viewed for this study.<sup>255</sup>

In contrast to MS. 497, the alphabetical counting in MS. 722 has not been executed consistently. There are frequent interruptions after the first half of the sermon, and with several sermons it is missing completely. However, notwithstanding the disparity in completion, it appears that MS. 722 was conceptualized in a very similar way. It is conceivable, hence, that it should have received the same supplement as MS. 497: an alphabetical index in an additional quire. An imaginable reason why such an enterprise has not taken place, is the enormous amount of time and diligent work that had to be invested for the preparation of the index in MS. 497.

### **Munich, BSB, Clm. 3213**

The composition of other Berthold manuscripts, while containing almost exclusively Berthold sermons, reflect a very different production process. Clm. 3213 is such an example, whose provenance is the Benedictine abbey at Asbach. It is a homogenetic composite manuscript, which contains distinct codicological units that were produced independently, but in the same surrounding, and were never intended to be used as

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<sup>254</sup> Cf. chapter 2.

<sup>255</sup> See chapter 6.

individual units. The scribes involved “have worked as a team executing one master plan”.<sup>256</sup>

The manuscript contains two codicological units. The first unit was written by a single scribe (fols 1–60) and begins with a single sermon by the Franciscan preacher Lucas de Bitonto, followed by a selection of sermons from the *Rusticanus de Sanctis*. A blank leaf (fol. 50<sup>r-v</sup>) splits the unit into two sections. The final quire (fols 51–60) continues with an anonymous sermon from a Franciscan context, followed by two more *Rusticanus de Sanctis* sermons and proverbialia. The second unit (fols 61–222) begins with a table, serving as the finding aid for the following *Rusticanus de Communi* collection. The final leaves contain a list of homilies (fols 219<sup>ra</sup>–222<sup>vb</sup>) and a very short passage from the *Historia Scholastica* by Petrus Comestor (fol. 222<sup>vb</sup>), written by the same scribe as the final part of the Berthold sermons. The list of homilies contains contemporary references to the complete codex, whose sermons received continuous numbering in the outer margins (*j-ccccxxij*), of course, after the two units were bound together.

One significant feature indicates an individual production process for each unit: the quire signatures. Quire i. has a quire signature on the first page (*j*<sup>9</sup>). Quire vii., the first quire of the second codicological unit, also features a quire signature on the first page (*i*), while quires viii. to xviii. have them on the last page (*ii-xj*). Furthermore, hand 1, which has written the entire first unit, does not reappear in the second unit. However, as there are numerous corresponding features found in both units, it seems legitimate to assume that they originate from the same context. Clm. 3213, therefore, can be classified as a homogenetic composite. The characteristics which lead to such a conclusion are as follows: Almost all quires of the manuscript are made of quinternios. All hands write in a

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<sup>256</sup> Kwakkel (2010), p. 69.

gothic cursive script, which can be dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, using a writing area of approximately the same size. It is the work of a community of scribes, well-planned and executed, perhaps from the abbey's scriptorium at Asbach itself. Each scribe wrote between one and six quires, all of which have been written in a continuous order, that is, the next scribe only began his work when the preceding one was finished. There is only one hand per quire and no hand reappears at two different positions in the manuscript. Despite being a composite manuscript, it reflects the same concept found in monomeric Berthold codices.

### **Leipzig, UB, MS. 689**

Similar is true for another codex, MS. 689 of the Dominican abbey St Pauli at Leipzig. It has already been discussed extensively in chapter 2, due to a number of finding aids which seem to be unique among the Berthold manuscripts viewed: the short summaries of the content below the columns, the variety of paragraph signs, and, most importantly, the combination of both pagination and foliation. In this context, it is well worth reviewing it, as its codicological architecture exhibits an unusual arrangement of separation and connectivity.

The manuscript comprises two codicological units of six and seven quires that are totally distinct from each other (fols 1-77 and 78-161). This is most notably due to the alphabetical pagination in the second unit, which displays perfect unity in its exact counting from *a* (fol. 78<sup>f</sup>) to *z* (fol. 161<sup>f</sup>). The second unit has to be considered not only as an independent production unit, but also as separate usage unit, as numerous letters of the pagination have been partially or completely cut away. What is striking, apart from the pagination, is that numerous codicological details are found equally in both units I and II. From a material perspective, imperfections, such as small holes or missing parts of

the margins, appear across the manuscript.<sup>257</sup> There is a consistent variation in quire size, ranging from sexternios to octernios in the first unit, and quinternios to septernios in the second. Even the error of executing the wrong initial is found in both units (fols 20<sup>f</sup>, 75<sup>ra</sup>, 114<sup>vb</sup>). Furthermore, MS. 689 contains an alphabetical foliation, spanning the entire manuscript (*a-gb*, fols 1<sup>r</sup>-161<sup>r</sup>).<sup>258</sup> With regard to scribal activity, both units are homogenetic. The two hands of the manuscript appear in both units, using a similar-sized writing area and the same number of lines, with hand 1 being the main hand (fols 1<sup>ra</sup>-26<sup>vb</sup>; 37<sup>ra</sup>-96<sup>rb</sup>, l. 4; 115<sup>vb</sup>-161<sup>rb</sup>). The change of hands in each case takes place not at a quire boundary, but within the quire, thus making the units homogeneous.

Unity is also present on a textual level, which, without doubt, was the main reason to combine the two codicological units in its present binding. The first unit contains almost the complete *Rusticanus de Dominicis*, while the second comprises sermons on general saints from the *Rusticanus de Communi*.<sup>259</sup> In view of this, as with Clm. 3213, one could almost conclude that at some point of time, the two distinct, but fully corresponding, units were predetermined to be united in one codex.

### **Munich, BSB, Clm. 2718**

The reasoning behind the compilation of previously separated units is not always evident, especially when there is no obvious textual or contextual relationship between them, and it is tempting in such cases to assume coincidence. Clm. 2718 is such an example, a composite manuscript, which was owned by the Cistercian abbey of Aldersbach. It comprises two codicological units, with 185 folios in total. Unit I is a ternio, whereas unit

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<sup>257</sup> See appendix.

<sup>258</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>259</sup> Interestingly, not the *Rusticanus de Sanctis*, which would have created a collection of sermons for all non-movable feast days.

II consists of sixteen quires made of three quinternios (ii.-iv.), twelve sexternios (v.-xvi.) and one ternio which wants its first leaf (xvii.). The second unit is, of course, the unit containing the Berthold sermons, a complete *Rusticanus de Communi*. Most quires have quire signatures on the last page (*j<sup>o</sup>-xvi<sup>o</sup>*), except quires ii. and xiii., which also have them on the first page, and quire xvii., which features it on the first page only.<sup>260</sup> The first codicological unit consists of one folio with medical recipes (fol. 1<sup>r-v</sup>), followed by a disputatio and a short legal text (fol. 2<sup>ra</sup>-6<sup>ra</sup>). The reason why this quire was added to the manuscript when it received its binding in the fifteenth century, can only be explained through a textual relation between medical writings and Berthold sermons, which has been discussed in the chapter on marginalia.<sup>261</sup>

### Corresponding units

Despite the diverse composition, all of the manuscripts discussed so far will immediately be considered as Berthold manuscripts. If not all, then the majority of the codex is taken up by the work of the Franciscan preacher. Yet there are codices which could similarly contain a complete collection of Berthold sermons, but they constitute only one of many parts of a complex arrangement. The following two codices are composed of individual usage units, which were combined in their present binding at a later stage. Only some of these units contain Berthold sermons, which is why these codices would be better described as sermon manuscripts that happen to contain Berthold sermons. What distinguishes the following two codices, Munich, BSB, Clm. 2699 and Koblenz, LHA, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194, from other volumes with similar arrangements, is the

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<sup>260</sup> Following the end of the sermon collection, fols 184<sup>vb</sup>-185<sup>v</sup> were originally left blank. However, for unknown reasons, a later hand began to write the first the sermon of the *Rusticanus de Communi* onto fol 185<sup>r-v</sup>. It interrupts mid-text.

<sup>261</sup> See chapter 3.

reappearance of a particular hand in various usage units. To cover this specific feature, I will propose a concept of ‘corresponding units’, which will be supported by a comparison with a third manuscript, Leipzig, UB, MS. 496.

### **Munich, BSB, Clm. 2699**

Clm. 2699 belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Aldersbach. It consists of five codicological units with a total of 225 leaves, four of which are indicated with paper tabs glued onto the margins – a material feature which is yet to be added to the criteria for identification by Robinson and Hanna.<sup>262</sup> Furthermore, there is a visible variation in parchment quality, with regards to both thickness and size. The parchment of the first codicological unit, made of three quires i.-iii. (fols 1-26), is of good quality and very thin. It contains instructions on the confession and the ‘Homilia super ‘Stabat mater’ by the Cistercian Odo Morimundensis (d. 1161). Unit II consists of a single quire iv. (fols 27-33), which is missing the first leaf and contains a penitential, a short text on the Council of Vienne and sermons. Unit III comprises seven quires (fol. 34-115), of which the first five and the last one (v.-ix., xi.), in particular, contain a multitude of inferior parchment leaves.

Functionality clearly prevailed over quality, as they are sewn, smaller than the rest or contain holes.

This third unit contains the Berthold sermons on saints, both from the *RdC* and the *RdS*, followed by an anonymous sermon and the ‘fifteen signs’. The ensuing four quires (fols 116-162) constitute the fourth unit and were originally of high quality, but now exhibit creases. It is the only unit that consistently uses the same number of leaves for the quires, which are sexternios. The contents are exclusively sermons. The fifth and final unit (fols 163-225) also consists of seven quires (xvi.-xxii.), however, they are made of

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<sup>262</sup> In one case, on fol. 189, the tab indicates the beginning of a new quire. Cf. chapter 2.

quaternios and quinternios rather than sexternios, which were used for all but the first quire of the third codicological unit. The parchment of unit V is slightly thicker and very well prepared. It contains a variety of texts, among them excerpts of the *Summa* by Raymond of Peñafort, a hymnus with musical notation, and sermons. The *Summa* has received numerous marginal annotations, which have been partly cut off when it was rebound.

Furthermore, although almost all quires of the manuscript contain quire signatures written in arabic (1-20), two are omitted – in the first and last quire of the fourth codicological unit, which is thereby set apart. It appears that it originally was part of a larger collection, as the counting of the first sermon on fol. 116<sup>r</sup> begins with *lvi*. In addition, both the second and the fifth codicological units contain older quire signatures with roman numerals for all but their last or second last quires (*i<sup>o</sup>-vi<sup>o</sup>; j<sup>us</sup>-v<sup>us</sup>*), which clearly characterizes them as individual production units. The contamination and abrasion on several of the outer leaves – particularly on fols 1<sup>r</sup>, 115<sup>v</sup>, 116<sup>r</sup> and 162<sup>r</sup> – indicate that units I, II and IV were previously independent and presumably used and stored without binding. What is more, there are several features suggesting that unit V consists of two formerly independent production units, as there is a clear caesura on fol. 189<sup>v</sup>. The writing of a scribe, hand 9, finishes on this page and it coincides with the end of the quire, the text (*‘Explicit summa Remundi’*), and the book (*‘Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo’*, in a slightly lighter red than the *explicit*).<sup>263</sup>

In total, twelve different hands can be identified, all of which are datable to the first half of the fourteenth century. Hands 1, 2, 6 and 7 write in single columns, whereas hands 3-5

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<sup>263</sup> Obviously the three quires that contain the *Summa* by Raymond of Peñafort formed an independent usage unit, here referred to as ‘book’.

and 8-12 use double columns. Furthermore, the size of the writing area varies. In the case of hand 9, no writing area has been marked. While all other hands appear within a single codicological unit and write a continuous text, two hands, 3 and 10, set themselves apart in their distribution.

Hand 3 wrote almost the complete second and third codicological unit: a penitential (fols 27<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>, l. 14), the Berthold sermons (fols 32<sup>v</sup>-111<sup>r</sup>) and the text on fifteen signs (fol. 115<sup>v</sup>). In the same units, hands 4 and 5 are only responsible for a very short passage on the Council of Vienne (fol. 31<sup>r</sup>-32<sup>v</sup>) and an anonymous sermon (fols 111<sup>v</sup>-115<sup>r</sup>) respectively. In unit V, which contains six different hands in total, hand 3 reappears, first with writing a larger passage in the middle of the unit (fol. 195<sup>r</sup>-206<sup>v</sup>, l. 18).

Subsequently, in the final two quires, hand 3 begins an interplay with hand 10. The demarcation of the writing area in these quires is only approximate, as it is missing a bottom line, however, the space used is relatively stable with c. 135 x 95 mm. The texts of quires xxi. and xxii. are exclusively sermons. In the process of writing, both hands alternate continuously, twenty-three times in total.<sup>264</sup> The amount of text written in one sitting varies between several pages (hand 10, fols 207<sup>r</sup>-210<sup>r</sup>, l. 2) and several lines (hand 3, fol. 213<sup>r</sup>, ll. 5-14). A change takes place, on average, every 1.65 pages.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Hand 3 in quires xxi and xxii: fols 210<sup>r</sup>, ll. 2-46; 212<sup>r</sup>; 213<sup>r</sup>, ll. 5-14; 213<sup>v</sup>-214<sup>r</sup>, l. 7; 214<sup>v</sup>, l. 16-215<sup>r</sup>, l. 22; 215<sup>v</sup>, ll. 7-31; 216<sup>v</sup>, l. 13-217<sup>v</sup>, l. 14; 218<sup>r</sup>, l. 7-219<sup>v</sup>, l. 27; 220<sup>r</sup>, l. 30-220<sup>v</sup> l. 29; 221<sup>v</sup>, ll. 14-26; 222<sup>r</sup>, l. 14-223<sup>r</sup>, l. 38; 223<sup>v</sup>, l. 7-225<sup>r</sup>. Hand 10 in quires xxi and xxii: fols 207<sup>r</sup>-210<sup>r</sup>, l. 2; 210<sup>v</sup>-211<sup>v</sup>; 212<sup>v</sup>-213<sup>r</sup>, l. 4; 213<sup>r</sup>, l. 14-42; 214<sup>r</sup>, l. 7-214<sup>v</sup>, l. 15; 215<sup>r</sup>, l. 22- 215<sup>v</sup>, l. 6; 215<sup>v</sup>, l. 31-216<sup>v</sup>, l. 12; 217<sup>v</sup>, l. 14-218<sup>r</sup>, l. 7; 219<sup>v</sup>, l. 27-220<sup>r</sup>, l. 30; 220<sup>v</sup>, l. 29-221<sup>v</sup>, l. 14; 221<sup>v</sup>, l. 26-222<sup>r</sup>, l. 13; 223<sup>r</sup>, l. 38-223<sup>v</sup>, l. 6.

<sup>265</sup> Both hands write in a thin gothic cursive script with some features of a textualis and have a very similar ductus, for which reason I summarize their individual features in the following. Hand 3: double-bow *a*, next to single-bow and intermediate forms, with the upper bow only slightly protruding above the body of the letter. Very distinct *g*, written in a single stroke: usually in the shape of an 8, for which the upper section is executed clockwise, followed by a move to the lower left, and a counter-clockwise movement back to the

The codicological structure of Clm. 2699 and the distribution of the writing hands allows for several conclusions. First, while all five codicological units of this composite manuscript are independent, they are all homogeneous, as each unit contains various types of boundaries (change of hands, ruling techniques, lines and texts). Second, more than one scribe from presumably the same circle was involved with the production of each unit, which are all datable to approximately the same period and thus classifies them as homogenetic. A palaeographical analysis underlines the impression that all quires originate from the same context, presumably a monastic scriptorium, but clearly not the one at Aldersbach: a fourteenth-century hand added an ownership mark in the upper margin of fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, according to which manuscript Clm. 2699 was acquired for Aldersbach abbey by an still unidentified *dominus wipoto: Hunc librum comparauit dominus wipoto Ecclesie Sancte Marie virginis in Alderspach.*<sup>266</sup> The impression of a single scriptorium is underlined by the fact that a single scribe, hand 3, has written parts of three of the codicological units and in each case further texts were added by other scribes. In particular, the interaction between hands 3 and 10 towards the end of unit V can only be explained within such a context. It is thus conceivable that in the fourteenth century, the five codicological units – of which some had clearly been used before being united in Clm.

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middle. Occasionally, both the upper and the lower section of the letter remain open, so that the *g* reminds of an inverted *S* or question mark without dot. Loopless *d* with a slightly sloping shaft, similar to an uncial *d*. *i* with diacritical stroke, where there is a likelihood of confusion, for example, with double-*i* or in connection with other minims as in '*in*'. Hand 10: double-bow *a*, often with closed, raised upper bow. Cursive *d* with loop. *g* with a looped tail, which crosses itself while keeping distance to the body of the letter. *f* and long-*s* extend far below the line. For an excellent survey on individual letters forms see Derolez (2003).

<sup>266</sup> Donatella Frioli (1990), in her study of the scriptorium and library at Aldersbach, does not refer to this manuscript.

2699 – were taken from a single location and bound into the surviving fourteenth-century brown sheepskin on wooden boards.

Despite the considerable amount of codicological features that can be covered with the vocabulary by Muzerelle, Gumbert and Kwakkel, it appears that there is still a gap among the technical terms. It is the matter of describing the interrelation of codicological units, for which no term has been suggested that truly considers the distribution of hands. To fill this terminological gap, I propose to describe the second, third and fifth codicological units of Clm. 2699 as ‘corresponding’. Thus, I propose that ‘corresponding units’ are two or more, clearly distinct – that is, independently produced – codicological units that feature the same hand in each of them, often together with other hands which may be of either the same or a different period. A reason to expatiate upon such codicological constellations is their possible impact on the interpretation of the content of the manuscript.

If corresponding units have been identified in a composite manuscript, it is a logical consequence that, in general, there is also a correspondence between the texts in these units. In other words, a codicological and palaeographical analysis resulting in the discovery of corresponding units, can amplify conclusions drawn from a mere textual analysis. Such cooperation of codicology and literary analysis can aid with the decision of whether a codex should be classified as *recueil organisé* or *recueil factice*, as defined by Muzerelle,<sup>267</sup> that is, as either a deliberate or an artificial assemblage.

Clm. 2699 is clearly not an accidental binding, or *recueil factice*, to speak with Muzerelle. Although the units were cut to equal dimensions, they must have been of approximately the same, small size as they are today (165 x 115 mm). This, together with the

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<sup>267</sup> See above, ‘Volume and *recueil*’.

comparatively low parchment quality, points to a similar production and usage context, even before the present manuscript was compiled. Furthermore, the fact that Clm. 2699 seems to have been purchased with the intention to donate it to the Cistercians at Aldersbach, implies that the texts have been purposefully selected. This means, with regard to the Berthold composite manuscripts, that a better distinction can be made between, on the one hand, texts that were co-transmitted for rather pragmatic reasons, for example, in order to better protect them from damage, and on the other hand, texts that were intentionally chosen to be combined with Berthold sermons. Such differentiation, again, impacts on the interpretation of the transmission of Berthold sermons in general. In the following, I will present another example of a complex composite manuscript, in order to further illustrate the concept of corresponding units.

#### **Koblenz, LHA, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194**

The most obvious example of corresponding units can be found with MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194, a composite manuscript compiled by the friar and lector Henricus de Montabaur, whose circumstances I will discuss in detail in chapter 6. The composite manuscript consists of twelve allogenetic and thus clearly distinct codicological units, which constitute 250 folios in total. Nine of the units are made of paper and three of parchment, each produced at a different point of time between the first half of the fourteenth century and the mid-fifteenth century. Units I-III, VI and XII contain blank leaves at the end of their last quire; in units V, VII and VIII, the blank leaves have been added, one can assume, as Eef Overgauw remarks, with the intention to add missing text.<sup>268</sup>

The fourth codicological unit (fols 35-112) comprises six parchment quires of five to eight bifolios, each with a quire signature on the last page (*j-vi<sup>9</sup>*). It contains sermons *Jakob 1-*

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<sup>268</sup> See Overgauw (2002), p. 45. However, neither missing text nor other guest texts have been added.

68 of the *Rusticanus de Communi*, written by a single hand in a small, but clear gothic textualis, datable to the first half of the fourteenth century. The sermons are introduced with the heading: *Sermones de communi apostolorum*, to which the same hand has later added *et consequenter de alijs sanctis in communi* (fol. 35<sup>r</sup>). The unit, however, is defective, as the final quire with the remaining seven sermons of this collection is missing. There is a clear caesura on fol. 112<sup>v</sup>, where sermon 68 is interrupted mid-sentence.

When compiling the manuscript, Henricus de Montabaur must have noticed the missing quire and text loss. What is more, despite the vague description in the heading, he must not only have had knowledge about the sermon collection, but also a second, complete exemplar available. On the first quire of the unit V, he completed the missing text of sermon 68 and also added sermons 69 to 74. Reaching the end of the quire, he stopped after four lines of sermon 74, unable to continue on the next quire, where another sermon begins. The remaining two sermons, 74 and 75, have been added to the preceding unit (fol. 25<sup>r</sup>-28<sup>va</sup>), which originally contained a single sermon with several leaves blank.

Unit IV with the majority of Berthold sermons, can be described as uniform, lacking any type of boundaries other than quire and text boundaries. As a result of Henricus's additions and thus the addition of a different hand and mise-en-page, both units III and V are considered as homogeneous units. In Kwakkel's terminology, the three codicological units III, IV and V contain two production units with Berthold sermons – the original unit IV and the additions by Henricus in units III and V. At the same time, units III and V constitute individual production units, as they contain texts which were written before Henricus's addition. To complicate things even more, unit V is, according to Gumbert, an enriched unit, through the addition of guest texts (sermons *Jakob* 68-74). It is, however,

also in a certain sense an extended production unit,<sup>269</sup> with the extension being the preceding unit III. Kwakkel does not consider such structures, in which the extension is located externally, that is, without physical connection to the unit whose text it extends, neither in his definitions nor examples.<sup>270</sup> Nevertheless, he claims to cover “the full spectrum of vehicles in which late medieval text collections are found”, except “some ‘exotic’ cases”.<sup>271</sup> However, while perhaps not the most common, it is perfectly conceivable that MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194 is only one of many composite manuscripts that were produced purely for pragmatic reasons and for personal usage, leaving behind the usual standard and structure of late-medieval book production – particularly in the context of academic study.

It is certainly correct, however, to call the codicological units III, IV and V ‘corresponding units’, as they feature the same hand, while being clearly distinct. In this case, however, little is gained with such insight, as Henricus de Montabaur himself provided detailed information in his ownership mark and colophon, from which can be inferred that the whole codex was compiled by and for himself, in order to aid in his role as lector and preacher.<sup>272</sup> It is, therefore, self-evident that the co-transmission of the Berthold sermons reflects Henricus’s intention and personal choice.

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<sup>269</sup> Cf. above, ‘Production and usage units’.

<sup>270</sup> In a typology based on his technical terms, Kwakkel (2010), p. 70, discusses such cases of “multilevel composition”. However, his concept of extension is solely based on the assumption that “at a later stage an additional selection of texts was written on added leaves or quires”, *ibid.* See also the example of a repeated extension, *ibid.*, pp. 78 f., fn. 39.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75, fn. 16.

<sup>272</sup> See chapter 6.

### Supporting the concept of corresponding units: Leipzig, UB, MS. 496

In the case of the two Alzelle manuscripts, Leipzig, UB, MSS. 497 and 722, we have seen how the comparison of codicological features can lead to a better understanding about the production, origin and function of manuscripts. With regards to MS. 722, it even allows for speculation where there is no material evidence, as we can cautiously assume that it was originally to give it a similar provision of indices as we have now in MS. 497.

On a more basic level, we can also draw conclusions from codicological comparison that involves manuscripts from a completely different time and place. MS. 496, a further manuscript from Alzelle, is of interest in itself, not least for its highly unusual mise-en-page with three and four columns,<sup>273</sup> but as will be shown, it can also help in understanding the composition and text selection of Clm. 2699.

MS. 496 consists of two codicological units with 132 leaves and can be dated, on palaeographical grounds, to the mid-fourteenth century. The first unit consists of nine quires (fols 1-108), whereas the second has two (fols 109-132). While the general parchment quality is only moderate, the last two quires x. and xi. are particularly poor. The hair side is clearly distinguishable by its skin structure and there are major imperfections on fols 113, 115, 116 and 120. The majority of leaves lack parts of their margins. The foliation of quire x. (1-10, xi, fols 109<sup>f</sup>-119<sup>f</sup>) and the blank page at its end (fol. 120<sup>v</sup>) suggest that it was an independent production unit, yet both the sermon and the same hand 4 (fols 111<sup>ra</sup>-128<sup>ra</sup>) continue in the subsequent quire 11 without loss of text.

Unit I is homogeneous and contains two sections, each of which is written by a single hand, but using approximately the same size of writing area. The first section contains

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<sup>273</sup> See chapter 6.

two parts: first, an almost complete *Rusticanus de Communi* in a most unusual order, and second, all but one of the inauthentic *Sermones specials sive extravagantes*, 13 *Sermones ad religiosos*, also inauthentic, and 1 sermon of the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*. Both parts are followed by a table of contents. The second section of unit I contains an excerpt of the *Summa* by Raymond of Peñafort (fols 97<sup>ra</sup>-108<sup>rb</sup>) and two *Quaestiones* (fols 108<sup>rc-vc</sup>). The final column is blank (fol. 198<sup>vb</sup>). Unit II contains primarily a collection of sermons by the Friar Minor Guibertus de Tornaco (fols 109<sup>ra</sup>-128<sup>ra</sup>). This second unit was only added as a second step, which, judging from the binding, took place in the fifteenth century. The intention behind the compilation of the two units is obvious, as there is a clear link between Berthold and Guibertus, who was not only a fellow Franciscan, but also a contemporary, as he died around 1284.<sup>274</sup> Two tabs mark the beginning of the *Summa* (fol. 97r) and of the sermons by Guibertus (fols 109r).

Of particular interest is the combination of Berthold sermons with the excerpts of Raymond's *Summa*. Raymond of Peñafort was a Dominican friar and also a contemporary of Berthold (c. 1175-1275). His *Summa de Casibus*,<sup>275</sup> also known as *Summa de Poenitentia et Matrimonio*,<sup>276</sup> was first drafted in Barcelona in 1224, where Raymond served as professor of canon law.<sup>277</sup> A revised edition appeared in 1234/1235.<sup>278</sup> Similar to other great manuals of Dominicans, for example, Hugh of Saint Cher's *Speculum ecclesiae* (c. 1240), William Peraldus's *Summa vitiorum* and *Summa virtutum* (c. 1236) and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum maius* (c. 1244), Raymond's *Summa* was meant "for the generality of

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<sup>274</sup> David D'Avray (1985), p. 144, notes about Guibertus: "He is one of those intellectuals who must have seemed more impressive to his contemporaries than he does to us."

<sup>275</sup> Boyle (1982), p. 2.

<sup>276</sup> Schwertner (1935), p. 92.

<sup>277</sup> Cf. Boyle (1982), p. 2.

<sup>278</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

the members of the Dominican Order, for the “Fratres communes” generally engaged in the twin function of the Order, preaching and hearing confession”.<sup>279</sup> The work is divided into four books, which treat of sins against God and our neighbour, the ecclesiastical state and matrimony.<sup>280</sup> In view of this, the relationship between the work of Raymond and the penitential and moral sermons by Berthold becomes more palpable. Moreover, this combined transmission of the two penitential works is not an individual case. As mentioned above, Clm. 2699 also contains an excerpt of the *Summa*. It formed an independent usage unit before being bound together with sermons and a hymnus, into what is now unit V. This is the same unit in which hand 3 reappears, the hand that has written the Berthold sermons. The codicological structure of MS. 496, that is, the direct combination of Berthold’s and Raymond of Peñafort’s works in one codicological unit, thus strengthens the observed correspondence between unit III, the Berthold sermons, and unit V, which contains the *Summa*, of Clm. 2699, which, until now, was based only on palaeographical data.

## Conclusion

With this chapter, I hope to have shown the variety among manuscripts that transmit Berthold sermons and the on-going struggle to capture their construction terminologically and conceptually. The diversity of the transmission is fascinating and deserves further investigation, however, this can only be undertaken individually, codex by codex, to fully grasp the complexities present in them.

A still unsolved problem is the co-existence of codicological concepts, which often correspond, but have different labels applied to them. The solution to this would be an

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<sup>279</sup> Ibid.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. Schwertner (1935), pp. 92-93.

update of the *Vocabulaire codicologique*, undertaken by international scholars, with precise, yet comprehensive, definitions. My example of 'corresponding units' intended to display that there are still codicological phenomena to be uncovered and terminologically captured, and that their discovery could have an impact for the understanding of the composition of complex codices.

## Chapter 5

### Authorship

#### Berthold von Regensburg, the famous preacher

Throughout the centuries, from thirteenth-century chronicles and necrologies to modern scholarship, Berthold von Regensburg has been known and depicted as a famous and powerfully eloquent preacher.<sup>281</sup> The philosopher Roger Bacon OFM (c. 1214-1294), concludes his *Opus Tertium* (1267) by praising Berthold's magnificent ability as a preacher:

*Sed licet vulgus prædicantium sic utatur, tamen aliqui modum alium habentes, infinitam faciunt utilitatem, ut est Frater Bertholdus Alemannus, qui solus plus facit de utilitate magnifica in prædicatione, quam fere omnes alii fratres ordinis utriusque.*<sup>282</sup>

According to the chronicle by the contemporary Hermann of Altach (1200/1201-1275), Berthold's great gift for preaching often drew audiences of more than 60,000 people – this already in 1250, at the beginning of his career as an itinerant preacher:

*1250: Hiis diebus quidam frater Bertholdus de ordine Minorum fratrum de domo Ratisponensi tantam gratiam habuit predicandi ut sepe ad eum audiendum plus quam sexaginta milia hominum convenirent.*<sup>283</sup>

While this large number of listeners is, of course, an exaggeration, it is at the same time, an expression of Berthold's prominence and status.<sup>284</sup> The size of his reported audience

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<sup>281</sup> The entries in the chronicles generally relate to the years 1250, the beginning of Berthold's active life as preacher, until 1272, the year he died. For a comprehensive overview of the sources see Grimm (1869 [1825]), pp. 297-306, and PS I, pp. XX-XXXII.

<sup>282</sup> Brewer (1859), p. 310.

<sup>283</sup> Boehmer (1845), p. 507.

<sup>284</sup> Grimm (1869 [1825]), p. 306, remarks that even the loudest voice would hardly be audible by one thousand people, let alone thousands.

grew together with his posthumous fame. According to the *Chronicon Bavariae* by Ulricus Onsorg (c. 1420/30-1491), it is said (*dicitur*) that Berthold repeatedly reached an audience of 100,000 people.<sup>285</sup> The chronicle by the so-called Anonymus Leobensis (c. 1345) even reports of 200,000 people,<sup>286</sup> to whom Berthold allegedly has preached in meadows and woods on top of protruding fortifications:

*Anno 1262 frater Bertoldus ordinis fratrum minorum venit in Austriam et Moraviam predicando, juxta cujus sermonem quandoque 200,000 hominum cernebantur: qui nonnisi in campis et silvis super eminentia propugnacula voluit sermonicare.*<sup>287</sup>

Berthold's increasing success is also reflected in the way he is addressed. While in Hermann of Altach's chronicle, the entry of 1250 – in a roundabout way – refers to 'a certain brother Berthold', mentioning his order and Regensburg as the location of his monastery, the entry of 1253 merely refers to Berthold as 'that famous preacher'.

*1253: Eodem tempore, mense scilicet novembri, famosus ille predicator frater Berhtoldus in Lantsbut predicationis officium exercebat [...].*<sup>288</sup>

When referring to his passing, the necrology of the Cistercian convent Seligenthal and the *Annales* from the Benedictine abbey Schäftlarn, refer to Berthold as the 'great preacher' and 'distinguished preacher' respectively:

*XIX. Kal. Jan. Bertholdus magnus Prædicator. (Seligenthal necrologium)*<sup>289</sup>  
*Anno domini MCCLXXII. Frater Perhtoldus de ordine fratrum minorum egregius predicator obiit. (Annales Schefftlarienses)*<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>285</sup> Oefele (1763), p. 362. For a biographical sketch on Ulricus Onsorg see Ikaš (2010), p. 1168.

<sup>286</sup> Ubl (2010), p. 103, provides a short summary of what is known about the Anonymous Leobensis.

<sup>287</sup> Pez (1721), p. 827.

<sup>288</sup> Boehmer (1845), p. 509.

<sup>289</sup> Monumenta Boica XV (1787), p. 547.

Later chronicles seem to have borrowed from older sources, which is reflected in the similarity of their content. For example, the description in Cgm. 213 (1479), an edited version of the Augsburg chronicle, refers to Berthold's gift of preaching in exactly the same way as Hermann of Altach:<sup>291</sup>

Do man zallt Nach Cristi gepurtt zwölff hundertt vnd drew vnd funfftzig Iare [...] Zu disen zeitten  
prediget prūder Berchtoldt vnd hette grose gnaden in seinem predigen

(Munich, BSB, Cgm. 213, fol. 208<sup>r</sup>)<sup>292</sup>

In addition to historical sources, Berthold's fame is also reflected in a number of literary texts. He is quoted or mentioned in the 'Deutschenspiegel' and 'Schwabenspiegel', by Lamprecht von Regensburg and Heinrich der Teichner, and Heinrich Kaufringer has put one of the vernacular sermons attributed to him into verse form.<sup>293</sup> Most clearly, however, is his prominence depicted in the revelations of the mystic Agnes Blannbekin (d. 1313), in which Berthold is compared to St Ambrose due to his gift of teaching and strict conduct of life.<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Rudhart (1856), p. 404. The *Annales Schefflarienses* begin with the year 1215 and end with Berthold's death in 1272, see pp. 397 and 404.

<sup>291</sup> Cgm. 213 contains Sigmund Meisterlin's 'Augsburg chronicle' in a version edited by Konrad Bollstatter. Sigmund Meisterlin translated his *Cronographia Augustensium* into German in 1457, one year after he completed the Latin version. See 'Cronographia Augustensium' in the online repertorium "Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters", <[http://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus\\_03391.html](http://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repOpus_03391.html)> [accessed 10 September 2013].

<sup>292</sup> The microfilm of Cgm. 213 has been digitized and made available online: <[http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00074543/image\\_1](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00074543/image_1)> [accessed 10 September 2013].

<sup>293</sup> See also PS I, pp. XXX-XXXI, and Richter (1969), pp. 219-20.

<sup>294</sup> Dinzlacher and Vogeler (1994), p. 88. See also Czerwon (2011), p. 31.

The nineteenth-century image of Berthold is, at least partially, a result of these accounts and their interpretation. At the beginning of his compilation of historical sources on Berthold, Jacob Grimm notes: “Der ruhm Bertholds und der eindruck, den er auf das volk machte, war zu grosz, als dasz ihn die gleichzeitigen und nachfolgenden chronisten mit stillschweigen hätten übergehen können.”<sup>295</sup> In view of these materials, Grimm comments critically on the conclusions drawn about Berthold by Christian Friedrich Kling, the first editor of Berthold sermons,<sup>296</sup> solely based on the vernacular sermons.<sup>297</sup> Most recently, Ariane Czerwon has successfully reassessed sources on the life and work of Berthold, in order to distinguish historical facts from legendary accounts and to emphasize the political activity of Berthold, which has received comparatively little attention in the past.<sup>298</sup>

What is more, the historical sources exclusively refer to Berthold as a preacher, describing his famous actions and their effect. In the sermon manuscripts, by contrast, Berthold is only tangible as ‘author’ – a term that is, in fact, never used to describe him in any contemporary source. The aim of this chapter is, therefore, to examine the relationship between these two roles, by using paratexts in, for the most part, Latin sermon manuscripts as source. The central question that I will address is: to what respect is Berthold’s fame reflected in the physical medium, that is, to what extent is he present as

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<sup>295</sup> Grimm (1869 [1825]), p. 297. It was a main concern of the earliest Berthold scholars, to revive this fame and the memory of the famous preacher. Such enthusiasm is also embodied in Franz Pfeiffer’s foreword to his edition, in which he refers to Berthold as a great preacher, “dessen Wort einst in den hochdeutschen Landen wie eine Fackel leuchtete und dessen Name in dem Gedächtniss des Volkes, dem er in schwerer Zeit ein Helfer und ein Tröster war, Jahrhunderte lang fortlebte”, see PS I, p. V.

<sup>296</sup> Kling (1824).

<sup>297</sup> Grimm (1869 [1825]), p. 297.

<sup>298</sup> Czerwon (2011), pp. 15-45.

the author of the texts that, when preached, had such a remarkable impact on his contemporaries?

First, I will focus on the depiction of Berthold as author in the Latin transmission. I will provide a comparative overview of the German and Latin transmission, before turning towards the paratexts of the Latin sermon collections. The term *Rusticanus*, which is usually associated with the Latin sermon collections, is hereby of particular significance, as its meaning does not only vary in different contexts, but is also subject to radical change in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Furthermore, the prologue to the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*, the most crucial text for the evaluation of the authenticity of the Latin and German sermons, is comprehensively analysed with regard to content and transmission, and compared to other texts that express a similar demand: absolute textual stability. Finally, comparison is made to the German transmission, which in some of the manuscripts utilizes strikingly different strategies of authentication.

### **Berthold as author in the Latin transmission**

In his study on the vernacular manuscripts, Dieter Richter notes that Berthold's prominence in historical and literary sources stands in stark contrast to their poor transmission:

In einem auffälligen Gegensatz zu dieser Popularität steht die Überlieferungsdichte der deutschen Werke Bertholds. Wenn die Schätzung eines spätmittelalterlichen Werkes – und dies gilt ganz besonders für Werke geistlicher Prosa – für uns heute im wesentlichen durch Zahl und landschaftliche Verbreitung der Handschriften bekundet wird, dann ist Bertholds deutsches Predigtcorpus nie populär geworden.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> Richter (1969), p. 220.

To understand this statement in context, one has to look at the actual number of German Berthold manuscripts. Richter subdivides the German transmission into three individual corpora, two major collections \*X and \*Y, and an additional group of eight sermons (\*Z): The collection \*X is transmitted in four complete manuscripts, two fragments and a special compilation,<sup>300</sup> the group \*Y has survived in eight manuscripts and four fragments,<sup>301</sup> whereas the sermons of the Z\*-group are largely transmitted as part of other collections: the group \*Y, 'Baumgarten geistlicher Herzen', miscellany Munich, BSB, Cgm. 176 and fragment Cgm. 5250.<sup>302</sup> Compared to the two other major sermon collections written in German in the thirteenth century, the 'St. Georgener Predigten' and the 'Schwarzwälder Predigten', the vernacular Berthold transmission consists of less than half their number: The 'St. Georgener Predigten' are transmitted in 31 manuscripts, which contain at least five sermons,<sup>303</sup> and 11 fragments.<sup>304</sup> The transmission of the 'Schwarzwälder Predigten' consists of 31 manuscripts containing the collection of Sunday sermons, but only four codices with sermons on saints.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-78.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., pp. 81-143.

<sup>302</sup> Richter (1968), pp. 10-15, and (1969), pp. 147-162.

<sup>303</sup> Eva Lüders (1958), pp. 64-65, established this criterion, arguing that manuscripts that contain less than five of the 'St. Georgener Predigten' could hardly be considered representative for the tradition of this collection.

<sup>304</sup> For a comprehensive survey of the manuscripts and fragments see Seidel (2003), pp. 13-125. Schiewer and Seidel (2010), pp. XVII-XXXVII, only provide brief descriptions, but include five additional fragments not listed in Seidel (2003). Three of the manuscripts (St. Georgen: Be, Ha, Hd = Berthold: B, Ha, A) and the special compilation (Di) contain not only sermons of the \*X collection by Berthold, but also a number of the 'St. Georgener Predigten'. See Richter (1969), pp. 5-10, 16-24 and 50-67, and Seidel (2003), pp. 34-36, 54-58 and 74-78.

<sup>305</sup> See Schiewer (1996), pp. 80-90, 111-274.

In contrast to this, the Latin Berthold transmission amounts to more than three hundred manuscripts in total.<sup>306</sup> This impressive number has been used as an argument to highlight Berthold's prominence,<sup>307</sup> as an example of the general discrepancy between the vernacular and Latin transmission of sermon collections,<sup>308</sup> and it is quoted to display the impact of Berthold's Latin sermons.<sup>309</sup> However, the actual density of transmission has never been examined, despite Laurentius Casutt's provision of all necessary information in his catalogue: the number of sermons present in each of the five sermon collections attributed to Berthold.<sup>310</sup> Casutt lists 259 surviving manuscripts.<sup>311</sup> If one applies Lüder's criterion for the 'St. Georgener Predigten' – only codices with five or more sermons can be considered as representative for the transmission – to these codices and determines as second criterion that only sermons of the three authentic *Rusticanus* collections are included,<sup>312</sup> then this number decreases by a half, to 130 manuscripts.<sup>313</sup> Of these, forty-

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<sup>306</sup> See Casutt (1961) and Schneyer, RS 4, pp. 472-504. According to Frank G. Banta, Casutt counted 302 manuscripts in 1967, see Banta (1978), p. 819.

<sup>307</sup> Ubl (2002), p. 202: "Diese Popularität fand in über 300 Handschriften der lateinischen Predigten seinen Niederschlag."

<sup>308</sup> Wolf (2008), pp. 168-69, establishes in his survey of German sermon collections that vernacular works do not even come close to the transmission of the Latin texts by David von Augsburg (c. 370-400 mss.) or Berthold von Regensburg (more than 300 mss.).

<sup>309</sup> In view of this number, Williams-Krapp and Schiewer (2008), p. 500, use the expression "wirkungsmächtige Texte".

<sup>310</sup> Casutt (1961).

<sup>311</sup> Since the publication of Casutt's catalogue, several dozen more manuscripts have been found. Schneyer, RS 4, has added to this list, but he provides little more information than the shelfmark of the codices, and the folio numbers for manuscripts with singular sermons.

<sup>312</sup> Twenty-two manuscripts are excluded by this criterion, containing only sermons of the *Sermones Speciales* (SS) or *Sermones ad Religiosos* (SR) collections. Of these, almost all – twenty-one manuscripts – comprise only a single sermon by Berthold, the exception being Erlangen, UB, MS. 292, which, according to the table of contents, comprises 93 *sermones ad religiosos et quosdam alios*. Cf. Fischer (1928), p. 347. For

four manuscripts contain a complete, or almost complete, collection of Berthold's Latin sermons: the *Rusticanus de Dominicis* is preserved in twenty-six manuscripts, nine contain the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* (*RdS*), four the *Rusticanus de Communi* (*RdC*),<sup>314</sup> and five both the *RdS* and *RdC* together.<sup>315</sup> Hence, we can cautiously conclude that only approximately fifty percent of the Latin Berthold transmission can be considered as true 'corpus transmission', whereas the other fifty percent should be classified as 'scattered transmission'. Instead of using the number of more than 300 codices as reference point, one should rather treat 150 as approximate value when referring to the Latin transmission of Berthold, still a very respectable number.

One must consider, however, that in the first instance this number only tells us about the general popularity of the sermons, not the prominence of their author. Furthermore, in contrast to the vernacular sermons of the \*X<sup>1</sup> subcollection, which stand out due to the figure of Berthold speaking in the text, Berthold is not mentioned in the text of the Latin sermons.<sup>316</sup> The question then arises, as to what respect the readers of the sermons were aware of Berthold's authorship. The clearest indication would be given by direct attribution in paratexts, that is, in the *incipit*, in the colophon at the end, as a marginal annotation, or possibly as part of an index. In his essay on authorship and transmission,

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explanation to why the *SS* and *SR* collections are considered inauthentic see Schönbach (1906), Studien V, pp. 54-72.

<sup>313</sup> Fifty-three manuscripts contain only a single sermon of either the *RdD*, *RdS* or *RdC*.

<sup>314</sup> In accordance with scholarship, I use the name *Rusticanus de Communi*, abbreviated *RdC*, for the sermon collection on general saints, despite the paratextual evidence below showing that the name *Rusticanus* was almost exclusively used for the Sunday sermons (*RdD*) and sermons on particular saints (*RdS*) only.

<sup>315</sup> Czerwon (2011), pp. 179-81, compiles a table of these manuscripts, also based on the catalogue by Casutt (1961).

<sup>316</sup> The only exceptions are the heavily edited texts in Fribourg, MS. 117 I/II. See below, "The double codex 117 I/II".

Burghart Wachinger also acknowledges the significance of these paratexts, “die als Schreiber- oder Redaktorenzutat variabler waren als der Text selbst, deren Nachrichten aber durchaus als Traditionsgut weitergereicht wurden”.<sup>317</sup> For this reason, the paratextual elements of the Latin transmission are examined in the following, establishing a coherent overview of attributions of authorship to Berthold.

### Paratexts

Three voluminous codices from the Augustinian abbey of Klosterneuburg, MSS. 450–452, together comprise 997 leaves with sermons not only by Berthold von Regensburg, but also numerous other preachers, such as Siboto, Conrad of Saxony and Graeculus. They cover all Sundays, the feast days of the saints, and they also contain a collection of sermons for the *commune sanctorum* (martyrs, virgins, and so on). On the basis of the explicit in MS. 451, fol. 233<sup>v</sup>, they can be precisely dated to 1291: *Finis sermonum collectorum per manus Hartwici custodis ecclesie Nevnburgensis. Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lxxxxi<sup>o</sup>. completus est liber iste*. This is only nineteen years after the death of Berthold, making the collection most likely the oldest dated source containing a sermon by the preacher. What is more, in this manuscript the sermons by Berthold generally contain an attribution to their author, as seen in the following examples of sermon headings:

*Sermo fratris perhtolti dominica post ascensionem et de antichristo*

(Klosterneuburg, StiB, MS. 451, fol. 1<sup>ra</sup>; see fig. 5)

*fratris perhtolti de s. Iacobo et quod quatuor genera sanctorum sunt qui ad magnam gloriam perueniunt*

(Klosterneuburg, StiB, MS. 452, fol. 156<sup>va</sup>)

*fratris perhtolti de uno confessore et de vii ferculis celestibus et de tribus dietis per quas uenitur ad regnum*

(Klosterneuburg, StiB, MS. 452, fol. 349<sup>va</sup>)

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<sup>317</sup> Wachinger (1991), p. 6.

Regarding the name of Berthold, two things have to be noted. First, the scribe's instruction for the rubricator, at the very bottom of the lower margin, only mentions the name "*perhtoldi*". The rubricator, however, augments it with the title *frater*, even if this forces him to omit the last words of the heading.<sup>318</sup> Second, the rubricator adds the affectionate, Alemannic diminutive *-li* at the end,<sup>319</sup> not only for Berthold, but also for other authors in this collection.<sup>320</sup> This appreciation of the author and the consistent attribution of the texts to Berthold is unusual among the manuscripts analysed. Even within codices of comparatively high quality, Berthold, as author, is practically non-existent.

One of the findings of this study is that there is only one institution in Europe known to have owned the complete authentic works of Berthold: the Cistercian abbey of Alzelle, today in Saxony, of which almost all surviving manuscripts are held at the University Library, Leipzig.<sup>321</sup> MS. 722 contains the Sunday sermons, the *Rusticanus de Dominicis* (*RdD*), and MS. 497 contains both collections of sermons on saints, the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* (*RdS*) and *Rusticanus de Communi* (*RdC*). MS. 498 also contains the complete *RdS*, and MS. 496 contains a large part of the *RdC* collection as well as sermons of the *Sermones Speciales* (*SS*), *Sermones ad Religiosos* (*SR*) and *RdD*. In view of this abundance of Berthold texts at Alzelle, it is striking that there is only one manuscript that contains the name *Berthold* in the original heading, MS. 498, in which the first text begins as follows:

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<sup>318</sup> For example, on fol. 156<sup>va</sup> in MS. 452, the last words *in regno celorum* are missing in the heading.

<sup>319</sup> See Paul et al. (2007), §§ L 40 and 57, pp. 98 and 112. The final obstruent *-d-* is devoiced to *-t-*, despite the following diminutive and differing from the scribe's instruction.

<sup>320</sup> For example, *fratris chunratlini de sancto Iohanne* (Klosterneuburg, MS. 452, fol. 22<sup>va</sup>), again with final-obstruent devoicing and *-li-* diminutive.

<sup>321</sup> See chapter 6.

*Incipiunt sermones fratris Bertoldi de sanctis· De nomibus angelorum et per hec nomina angeli docent nos uiuere in ecclesia sancta·* (Leipzig, UB, MS. 498, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; see fig. 6)

MS. 497 and MS. 722 can both be dated to the end of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. However, despite the age and comparatively high quality of the manuscripts, neither contains a contemporary reference to Berthold.

Comparable fourteenth-century sermon manuscripts with the provenance Alzelle clearly state the author in the *incipit*, Bertrand de Turre OFM, Guibert of Tournai OFM, and Jacobus de Voragine:

*Sermo primus in aduentu domini | Incipiunt Sermones Bertrandi de tempore*  
(Leipzig, UB, MS. 535, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>)

*Incipiunt sermones ad status fratris guiberti de tornacho ordinis fratrum minorum*  
(Leipzig, UB, MS. 623, fol. 1<sup>ra</sup>)

*Incipit iacobinus de sanctis sermo primus*  
(Leipzig, UB, MS. 736, fol. 1<sup>va</sup>)

In MS. 496, datable to the mid-fourteenth century, Berthold has been named as author, but the attribution was not made during the original copying process. *frater Bertholdus* is mentioned in the first heading, but it is a later addition in a red ink darker than the other headings, extending into the intercolumnar space with the last three letters of his name:

*Incipiunt sermones de communi fratris Bertoldi·*  
(Leipzig, UB, MS. 496, fol. 1<sup>ra</sup>; see fig. 7)

The same hand also added the heading with Berthold's name at the beginning of the second collection of sermons:

*Sermones speciales fratris Bertholdi*  
(Leipzig, UB, MS. 496, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>; see fig. 8)

Similar headings can be found in other manuscripts. MS. Vat. lat. 4390 is a collection of both Sunday sermons and sermons on saints, written in the first half of the fourteenth century. On the first, uncounted leave, a cursive hand of the fifteenth century has added: *Incipiunt Sermones fratris bertoldi Rusticanus de sanctis et de tempore per circulum anni* (fol. 0<sup>v</sup>). However, looking at the colophon, one can conclude how the collections of this codex could be attributed to Berthold:

*hunc librum comparavit frater Iohannes de neuburga a domino alberto nestel de naglt (?) plebano ibidem  
1453 pro libraria fratrum minorum In wyenna* (Vatican, BAV, MS. Vat. lat. 4390, fol. 84<sup>vb</sup>)

*Iohannes de neuburga* can be identified as Johannes Hausner, a monk, who matriculated at the arts faculty in Vienna in the winter of 1436/1437 and obtained a licentiate in 1442.<sup>322</sup> It is conceivable that this learned monk from the Augustinian abbey in Klosterneuburg, where the oldest manuscripts containing Berthold sermons are kept, was acquainted with the texts he acquired for the library of the Minorites in Vienna. Accordingly, the later attribution to Berthold as author could be traced back to him.

A further example of later attribution is Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961 from the Cistercian abbey of Kaisheim, datable to the second half of the fourteenth century. Three different, fifteenth-century hands added independently of one another:

*Commune berchtoldi rusticani* [Bastarda]

*Sermones rusticani de sanctis / primo commune sanctorum* [Gothic textualis, blue ink]

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<sup>322</sup> Cf. the matriculation register in Gall (1956), p. 194, and the unpublished *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis* (1416-1477), which served as source for the entry in the Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG): "Johannes Hausner (ID: 2147108158)", <<http://www.rag-online.org/gelehrter/id/2147108158>> [accessed 10 September 2013].

*De dignitate apostolorum / de perfectione eorum / de honore eorum a deo / de hijs propter que debemus eos honorare et de laude caritatis per quam eos debemus imitari* [Gothic textualis with cursive elements and dotted *i*]  
(Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>)

The second entry relates solely to the content of the manuscript.<sup>323</sup> It refers to the fact that the codex begins with the *commune sanctorum*, but that it also contains the *Sermones rusticani de sanctis*, hereby repeating the scribe's *incipit* on fol. 122<sup>ra</sup>: *Incipiunt sermones Rusticani de sanctis per circulum anni etc.* The first entry, by contrast, shows that in the fifteenth century, the name of Berthold, the author, was directly connected with the name *rusticanus*, which appears here to be used similarly to a title. It is the result of longer development and would not have been the case in the century before, as the following survey on the word *rusticanus* shows.

### **Rusticanus**

The term *rusticanus* generally translates as 'rural', 'rustic' or 'pertaining to the country'. There is no conclusive evidence that Berthold ever used the word to refer either to himself or his sermons.<sup>324</sup> One can find an unambiguous statement in John of Winterthur's chronicle (1340), according to which Berthold wanted to have his volumes of sermons – or possibly the individual texts – to be called *Rusticani*:

*Ipse fuit lingue disertae, vite sancte, magne litterature, sicut adhuc evidenter apparet et patet in diversis voluminibus ab eo compilatis sermonum, quos rusticanos appellari voluit.*<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> The third and final entry serves as a form of subtitle and can be neglected for the nonce.

<sup>324</sup> Four sermons on saints in MS. 497 contain cross references to the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*, see Jakob (1880), p. 46, and Schönbach (1906), Studien V, pp. 39-40.

<sup>325</sup> Baethgen (1924), p. 19, ll. 6-9.

This is the only known source containing an explicit statement regarding Berthold's choice of name for his sermons. However, there are other contemporary records that contain references to his sermons: In one of the *codices traditionum* of the diocese of Passau, an entry dated to 1256 tells us that the bishop Otto von Lonsdorf (1254-1265) had consigned *Sermones per se loquentes* from his chamber to a certain *dominus Reinold*, who in exchange gave him *sermones fratris Bertholdi*:

*Hos libros de Camera nostra concessimus. [...] Item Magistro Walchuno in S. Flor. II. Libros. in uno uolumine Cantus canticorum cum duplici glossa. In alio uolumine formula uiuendi. cum aliis. Item domino Reinoldo sermones per se loquentes, sed pro memoriali dedit sermones fratris Bertholdi.*<sup>326</sup>

It is striking that neither the medium containing the sermons, which would give an approximate indication of the number of texts, nor the name of the collection or the type of sermons (for Sundays or feast days) are mentioned. It is certainly convincing, as Schönbach supposes, that the sermons mentioned were by no means inauthentic Latin notations of Berthold's sermons, much less German sermons.<sup>327</sup> However, as there is no direct reference, it is illegitimate to conclude, "daß darunter schon ein Rusticanus oder alle drei zu verstehen sind".<sup>328</sup>

Another important document is the account on Berthold in the *Cronica* (1283-1288) by the contemporary Salimbene of Parma OFM (1221-c. 1288):

*Nunc ad fratrem Bertholdum de Alamannia accedamus. Hic fuit ex Ordine fratrum Minorum, sacerdos et predicator et honeste et sancte vite, sicut religiosum decet. Apocalipsim exposuit, ex qua expositione non scripsi, nisi de septem episcopis Asie qui in Apocalipsis principio sub angelorum nomine inducuntur. Et hoc ideo feci, ad cognoscendum quinam fuissent illi angeli, et quia expositionem abbatis Iachym super*

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<sup>326</sup> Monumenta Boica XXIX, II. (1830), p. 81.

<sup>327</sup> Schönbach (1906), Studien V, p. 53.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid., p. 54.

*Apocalipsim habebam, quam super omnes alias reputabam. Item per anni circulum fecit magnum volumen sermonum, tam de festivitibus quam de tempore, id est de Dominicis totius anni. Ex quibus non nisi duos scripsi, pro eo quod optime de Antichristo tractabat in illis. Quorum primus sic inchoabat: "Ecce positus est hic in ruinam". Alius erat: "Ascendente Iesu in naviculam secuti sunt eum discipuli eius". In quibus plenissime continetur, tam de Antichristo, quam de tremendo iudicio.*<sup>329</sup>

This is not only a comparatively old example of a purposeful reading of and interaction with writings by Berthold,<sup>330</sup> but also the most comprehensive contemporary source regarding their content. We learn that Salimbene must have had access to three works written by Berthold: an *Expositio super Apocalypsis* and a complete collection of both *sermones de festivitibus* and *sermones de tempore*. The *Expositio* is thought to be lost, but the two sermon collections are commonly identified as the *RdS* and the *RdD*.<sup>331</sup> We also learn that Salimbene copied two Sunday sermons that address the Antichrist, which have been identified and transcribed.<sup>332</sup> It is important to note that although we are informed about a large volume of sermons, they are again not called *Rusticani*.

Considering that Johann von Winterthur's account is the only chronicle that mentions Berthold's intention to name his sermons this way, it is not surprising that Johann underpins the plausibility of his narrative by referring to external testimonials. He reports on eye-witness accounts of contemporaries, who are still alive and were often present during Berthold's sermons, asserting that he had 'the spirit of prophecy':

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<sup>329</sup> Scalia (1999), p. 840.

<sup>330</sup> Salimbene was a 'Joachite', that is, one of the followers of Joachim de Fiore's apocalyptic teachings and hence also interested in the coming of the Antichrist, which explains his focus on these writings among Berthold's work. On the intellectual and historical context of the Joachite tradition in the thirteenth century see Daniel (1968), pp. 671-76; McGinn (1984), pp. 1-26; and Whalen (2009), pp. 170-78.

<sup>331</sup> See, for example, Schönbach (1905), Studien IV, p. 3.

<sup>332</sup> The sermons are *Jakob* 8 and 12. See Jakob (1880), pp. 28 and 47, and Schönbach (1905), Studien IV, pp. 5-31.

*Hic ab hominibus adhuc presenti tempore, scilicet Anno Domini MCCCXL., superextantibus, qui sepe suis sermonis interfuerant, mihi et aliis hoc narrantibus, asseritur habuisse spiritum propheticie [...].*<sup>333</sup>

Johann's chronicle was written in 1340. Given that Berthold was preaching in the Alemannic region in and after 1255,<sup>334</sup> the eye-witnesses mentioned must have been beyond the age of eighty and thus surpassing the biblical limit of fourscore years. However, although there is limited evidence regarding the life expectancy during this period, it is not an unlikely scenario that people may have reached that age.<sup>335</sup> Irrespective of the genuineness of this statement, it shows the chronist's intention to create authenticity and authority for his account.

If we now turn to the Latin Berthold manuscripts, we find that the term *rusticanus* is, in fact, frequently used for the sermons. The *incipits* (1) and (2) are ambiguous, insofar as *rusticani* can be interpreted as a plural adjective, referring to the individual sermons

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<sup>333</sup> Baethgen (1924), p. 19, ll. 13-16.

<sup>334</sup> Berthold preached for the first time in Konstanz in 1255, see Ludwig Etmüller (1844), p. 53.

Furthermore, Johann von Winterthur reports: "*Bertoldus [...] qui circueundo et perambulando frequenter Alamaniam ipsam mirabiliter illustravit*", Baethgen (1924), p. 18, ll. 79-82.

<sup>335</sup> A study by Joel T. Rosenthal calculated the life span of 434 men of the English secular peers between 1350 and 1500. His results suggest that 22 people (5%) of the peerage lived beyond the age of 75; see Rosenthal (1973), p. 289, table 2. The study has been criticised by T. H. Hollingsworth for not taking into account the age at becoming a peer, but Hollingsworth acknowledges that there is no bias after age 65; see Hollingsworth (1975), p. 156. One has to observe, however, that the average life span was much lower. John Hatcher, in his study on fifteenth-century Benedictine monks from Christ Church, Canterbury, estimated that average life expectancy at the age of 25 is 25.0 years, see Hatcher (1986), p. 28, table 2. M. A. Jonker has found similar results for English tenants, who owned land from the Crown before and during the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348. The tenants had, at age 25, a life expectancy of 25.7 years (between 1305 and 1325) and 23.3 years respectively (between 1335 and 1348), see Jonker (2003), p. 113, table 1; the results were confirmed by additional calculations in Jonker (2009). See also the general chapter on age and life expectancy in the late Middle Ages by Deborah Youngs (2006), pp. 11-38.

(‘rustic sermons’), or as genitive noun, stating the name of the author or collection (‘sermons of the Rusticanus’). In (3), without any doubt, *Rusticanus* refers to the whole collection:

(1) *Incipiunt sermones qui dicuntur rusticani*

(Stuttgart, WLB, MS. Don. 269, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; 13th/14th century; referring to the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*)<sup>336</sup>

(2) *In nomine domini incipiunt sermones, qui dicuntur rusticani de sanctis per circulum anni*

(Munich, BSB, Clm. 14093, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>; 1st half 14th century)<sup>337</sup>

(3) *Incipit Rusticanus de sanctis*

(Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 138, fol. 35<sup>va</sup>; 1st quarter 14th century)

In (4), taken from a table of contents, a more precise distinction becomes apparent. The genitive singular *Rusticani noui* clearly makes reference to the name of the collection as a whole.<sup>338</sup> Furthermore, *Rusticanus* is exclusively used for the *temporale* and *sanctorale*, but not the collection of sermons on general saints, which, in this case, is called the *commune sanctorum*.

(4) [*I*]n nomine domini. Incipiunt sermones qui dicuntur Rusticani de sanctis usque ad ascensionem domini [...] [*I*]n nomine domini incipit commune sanctorum [...] In nomine domini incipiunt themata sermonum Rusticani noui de dominicis usque ad ascensionem domini

(Fritzlar, DB, MS. 47, fols 129<sup>ra</sup>, 130<sup>va</sup> and 131<sup>va</sup>; 1st half 14th century)<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Laurentius Casutt (1961), p. 15, dates it to the 13th century; Karl Barack (1865), p. 225, to the 14th century.

<sup>337</sup> Elisabeth Wunderle (1995), p. 220.

<sup>338</sup> See below the discussion of the adjectives *antiquus* and *novus* in this context, ‘The manuscripts’.

<sup>339</sup> List (1984), p. 79. The manuscript is not known to scholarship. It is one of only five manuscripts that contain the prologue by Berthold. Cf. Czerwon (2011), p. 43, fn. 145.

Although the catalogue of manuscripts by Casutt carefully refers to the sermons on general saints as “Sermones de Communi”,<sup>340</sup> the name *Rusticanus de Communi* prevails both in some of the earliest and in the most recent Berthold scholarship.<sup>341</sup> However, the transmission in fourteenth-century manuscripts contradicts this classification, as it distinguishes the *commune sanctorum* from the *Rusticani* collections. It is mostly referred to as *commune de sanctis* or *communi apostolorum*, as seen in (5)-(7). The colophon (8) shows that only exceptionally, and apparently not before the fifteenth century, the name *rusticanus* becomes linked to the *commune sanctorum*:

(5) *Explicit commune de sanctis*

(Munich, BSB, Clm. 19116, fol. 154<sup>f</sup>; 1st quarter 14th century)

(6) *Sermones de communi apostolorum et consequenter de alijs sanctis in communi*

(Koblenz, LHA, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194, fol. 35<sup>f</sup>; 1st half 14th century; *et consequenter ...* added subsequently by the same hand in darker red)

(7) *Incipiunt sermones de communi apostolorum / De multiplice honore apostolorum*

(Munich, BSB, Clm. 2718, fol. 185<sup>f</sup>; 1st half 14th century)

(8) *Expliciunt sermones rusticani de communi sanctorum*

(Trier, SB, MS. 759 / 306, fol. 221<sup>v</sup>; 15th century; see fig. 9)<sup>342</sup>

None of the examples (1)-(8), which for the most part were written in the fourteenth century, mention Berthold as author. The *incipit* in (9), by contrast, provides both the name of Berthold and the *Rusticani* collections. However, this paratext, a fifteenth-century addition in a fourteenth-century manuscript, makes a clear distinction between Berthold as the author and the title of the works:

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<sup>340</sup> Casutt (1961), p. 4.

<sup>341</sup> Cf. for example Jakob (1880), p. 74, or most recently Czerwon (2011), p. 43.

<sup>342</sup> In the same manuscript, by contrast, the sermons of Siboto are transmitted under the name of their author: *Expliciunt sermones fratris sybothonis super miserere mei deus* (fol. 271<sup>f</sup>).

(9) *Incipiunt Sermones fratris bertoldi Rusticanus de sanctis et de tempore per circulum anni*

(Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 4390, fol. 0<sup>v</sup>; *incipit* from first half of 15th c., text written in first half 14th c.)

The name of Berthold is also found in an entry of Clm. 14397, written in 1347. It belonged to the Benedictine St. Emmeram's abbey in Regensburg and consists solely of library catalogues of Emmeram and the neighbouring Dominican, Franciscan and Augustinian abbeys, the Benedictine abbey Prüfening and Prüll Charterhouse.<sup>343</sup> The last entry of the Franciscan abbey's catalogue reads as follows:

¶ *Nota de Rusticano nouo et antiquo scilicet fratris Perbtoldi*

(Munich, BSB, Clm. 14397, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>; 1347; see fig. 10)

It is the only time that the marker *nota*, rather than merely listing *item*, is used among 86 entries for this library.<sup>344</sup> In doing so, special attention is drawn to these particular texts. As the Franciscan abbey in Regensburg is the native monastery of Berthold, such emphasis – highlighting the works of their most prominent member – does not seem unusual. However, the actual wording is revealing. The phrase “*de Rusticano nouo et antiquo*” presumably points to (a selection of) texts from both the *RdS* and *RdD* collections and it is, once more, highlighting that *Rusticanus* is their common name. Furthermore, the use of the adverb *scilicet* shows that, in 1347, an addendum or specification was necessary to explain who, in fact, the author of these works was.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> For a description of the codex and a transcription of the catalogues see Manitius (1903), pp. 3-16, 89-115, 161-72.

<sup>344</sup> See Manitius (1903), pp. 96-98.

<sup>345</sup> The only other occasion in which the word *scilicet* is being used in Clm. 14397, is for the incipits of the second (Psalms 51-100) and third volume (Psalm 101-150) of Cassiodorus' *Expositio Psalmorum*: ¶ *Item Cassiodorus super secundam quinquagenam scilicet Quid gloriaris* [Ps 51:3] ¶ *Item Cassiodorus super Terciam*

By contrast, such an explanation is missing in the library catalogue of the Augustinian abbey in Regensburg:<sup>346</sup>

¶*Item Opus Rusticani* ¶ *Item Iacobus de Voragine de sanctis*

(Munich, BSB, Clm. 14397, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>; 1347; see fig. 11)

The positioning of the simply titled *Opus Rusticani* next to the work of Jacobus de Voragine confirms that in the mid-fourteenth century, the *Rusticanus* had an identity of its own and that it is commonly transmitted without the name of Berthold. In this case, the genitive indicates that *Rusticanus* has a status similar to a proper name. This becomes even more obvious when looking at (10), the colophon of a fourteenth-century manuscript from the Augustinian priory Grimma, of which, unfortunately, the first seventeen quires and thus the beginning of the Berthold sermons are missing:<sup>347</sup>

(10) *Explicit opus fratris Bertholdi de ratispona et cetera*

(Jena, ThULB, MS. Rec. adj. o. 1, fol. 125<sup>vb</sup>; 14th c., ownership mark added in 15th c.; see fig. 12)

Similar to the entry from the Augustinian abbey in Regensburg, the term *opus* is used rather than the name of a specific collection. Furthermore, and in this way most unusual for this period, the work is attributed to Berthold and even states his place of origin. It shows that despite the predominant title of the *sermones Rusticani*, the author Berthold was not completely forgotten in the fourteenth century.

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*quinquagenam scilicet Domine exaudi* [Ps 101:2] (fol. 16<sup>f</sup>; see online: <[http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00046524/image\\_36](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00046524/image_36)> [accessed 10 September 2013]); cf. Manitius (1903), p. 9.

<sup>346</sup> Cf. Manitius (1903), p. 98.

<sup>347</sup> The loss can be established from the first of the remaining quire signatures, containing the number *xviii*, on fol. 12<sup>v</sup>; see the catalogue description in Klein-Ilbeck and Ott (2009), pp. 342-43. The manuscript has been digitized and the images are available online: <[http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest\\_cbu\\_00016730](http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/HisBest_cbu_00016730)> [accessed 10 September 2013].

Finally, during the middle of the fifteenth century, the term *Rusticanus* can incontestably be identified as a name: *Rusticanus* and *Berthold* become synonymous. In (11), the name of the collection, originally a nominalized adjective, coincides with the name of the author. Berthold is the *Rusticanus*:<sup>348</sup>

(11) *Expliciunt Sermones dicuntur Rusticani alias Bertoldi de sanctis per circulum anni et Commune sanctorum* (Gdańsk, BGPAN, MS. Mar. F 156, fol. 366<sup>ra</sup>; 1444; see fig. 13)

The fact that *Rusticanus* precedes in the word order of (11), again highlights the greater familiarity with this particular name rather than with the actual name of Berthold. When comparing this colophon with the very similar phrasing of the *incipit* in (2) – *sermones, qui dicuntur rusticani de sanctis* – it becomes apparent that *alias Bertoldi* is, in fact, a non-essential insertion. It separates the name of the collection (*Rusticanus*) and the specification of which of the two it is (*de sanctis*). Hence, the sermon collection does gain, and has almost always gained, authority not by the name of the author, but by what would become his ‘stage name’ or ‘pen name’: *Rusticanus*.

From a rhetoric perspective, one should note that in (11), the term *Rusticanus* is used similarly to a common author-for-work metonymy, as for example in the sentence “We are reading Shakespeare” when referring to Shakespeare’s writings.<sup>349</sup> In this case, it is the result of a long-term development. In the majority of the fourteenth-century paratexts

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<sup>348</sup> See also p. 11, the first entry in Clm. 7961, which can be interpreted this way: *Commune berchtoldi rusticani*. Jakob (1880), p. 25, had – without entering into the details – already observed that the sermon collection is consistently titled *Rusticanus*, but that occasionally this term is also attached to the author himself.

<sup>349</sup> The cognitive linguistics Kövecses and Radden (1998), p. 57, list the “AUTHOR FOR HIS WORK” metonymy as “one of the subtypes of the PRODUCER-FOR-PRODUCT metonymy”. For a more detailed discussion see Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez (2001), pp. 338-39 and fig. 1-4, where further distinctions are made between metonymy and double metonymy for unique and non-unique samples.

shown, *Rusticanus* has been used to refer to both the sermons and, particularly, the sermon collection, indicating a rather exceptional work-for-author metonymic relationship. In addition, several of the examples allow interpretation of *Rusticanus* as independent name, equal to a proper name. However, with the exception of Johann von Winterthur, none of the fourteenth-century sources remark on or ascribe adjectives to the term, which would clarify its exact meaning at that time. While the individuum Berthold appears to be reflected in the term *Rusticanus*, the real author was of limited significance during this period. Only as a second step, the name of the collection was transferred to the author, creating in this way the fifteenth-century author-for-work metonymy.

In becoming fully synonymous with the *Rusticanus*, Berthold has regained authority for his work by the fifteenth century. This is even more obvious with the *incipit* (12), taken from the table of contents of the same manuscript as (11). Although written by the same hand, the name of the collection – *sermone Rusticani* – is replaced with the abstract term *opus* and it is attributed to brother Berthold only:

(12) *Incipiunt tituli super opus fratris Bertoldi*

(Gdańsk, BGPAN, MS. Mar. F 156, fol. 376<sup>rb</sup>; 1444; see fig. 14)

### ***Rusticanus* / ‘landprediger’**

When comparing the significance of the name *Rusticanus* for the sermon collections and their manuscripts with further contemporary sources on Berthold, such a development is remarkable.

Not one of the Latin necrologies or chronicles utilizes the name *Rusticanus* for Berthold.<sup>350</sup> Against this background, there was occasionally the need for imagination when the term was used. For example, the explanation “*dicuntur Rusticani ex humilitate sic eos nominando*”, found on the last leaf (fol. 158<sup>rb</sup>) of the fourteenth-century manuscript Prague, NKP, MS. VI. A. 20, expresses both uncertainty and benevolent interpretation.<sup>351</sup> However, as Jakob has already noted, the term *rusticanus* presumably does not originate “in der Demuth des Autors als vielmehr in dem Charakter und der Bestimmung der Predigten”.<sup>352</sup> Bernhard Fleuler, the nineteenth-century translator of Johann von Winterthur’s chronicle, accordingly used the term ‘Bauernpredigten’ for *rusticani*.<sup>353</sup>

In relation to this, the following entry from a fourteenth-century chronicle of the city of Zurich is of crucial importance:

Anno domini MCCIV<sup>to</sup> dô wandlôt puoder Berchtold , der guot sælig landprediger , in dem land und predigôt in disem jâr zuo dem êrsten maul zuo Costanz.<sup>354</sup>

This concept of Berthold as ‘Landprediger’ – the rural, itinerant preacher – has mostly been seen as a translation of the Latin *Rusticanus*: Georg Jakob concludes: “*Rusticanus*’ ist also dasselbe als ‘Landprediger’ [...] Berthold selbst heißt ja oft genug in gleichzeitigen Urkunden ‘der guot selig landprediger’.”<sup>355</sup> Similarly, in his biography of Berthold, Karl Unkel claims: “*Rusticanus* ist das lateinische Wort für Landprediger, was beinahe eine

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<sup>350</sup> See PS I, pp. XX-XXXII, and Czerwon (2011), pp. 15-45. General remarks as those of Banta (1969), p. 475, fn. 7, who does not provide a source for this statement, have to be regarded with caution: “*Rusticanus* refers to Berthold in his capacity as a speaker to the common man.”

<sup>351</sup> Cf. Josef Truhlar (1905), p. 1035.

<sup>352</sup> Jakob (1880), p. 25.

<sup>353</sup> Fleuler (1866), p. 21.

<sup>354</sup> Ludwig Ettmüller (1844), p. 53.

<sup>355</sup> Jakob (1880), p. 25.

stehende Bezeichnung für Bruder Berthold bei den Chronisten ist.”<sup>356</sup> Even Anton E. Schönbach states in one of his earlier essays: “*Rusticanus* ist ja nur die übersetzung von lantprediger, dem beinamen, welchen das volk Berthold gegeben hatte.”<sup>357</sup>

Unfortunately, the quotation from the Zurich chronicle is unique among the medieval vernacular sources on Berthold, as this is the only work to make reference to him as “landprediger”. In view of this, the statements from nineteenth-century publications are astonishing and, at the same time, deliver insight into the enthusiasm of early Berthold scholarship. There is, however, yet another important source with reference to the name *Rusticanus*: MS. 117 I/II, which has received attention for its content, but, as it has not been added to the historical and legendary notes on Berthold compiled by Grimm and Pfeiffer,<sup>358</sup> the significant statements about the *Rusticanus* and Berthold have been overlooked in the past.

### **The double codex Fribourg, CC, MS. 117 I/II**

The double codex MS. 117 I/II of the Couvent des Cordeliers in Fribourg, Switzerland, is singular among the Latin manuscripts attributed to Berthold. Its peculiarity lies not only in the underlying principles, but also in its unique editing of the Latin sermons, which comprise a considerable number of German words embedded in the Latin text.<sup>359</sup> For several decades in Berthold scholarship, this gave rise to speculation that it was one of the most original manuscripts, potentially his *viaticum*.<sup>360</sup> Even recent studies still insist that

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<sup>356</sup> Unkel (1882), p. 20.

<sup>357</sup> Schönbach (1884), p. 42.

<sup>358</sup> See above, ‘Berthold von Regensburg, the famous preacher’

<sup>359</sup> Several orthographic features of the vernacular words point to the Bavarian-Alemannic transitional region as origin of the manuscript. See Depnering (2014).

<sup>360</sup> The term *viaticum* usually refers to the Eucharist, when given to a person who is dying. The term was introduced to Berthold scholarship by Franz Jostes (1891), p. 366, who used it in the more general sense of

this manuscript offers in many cases “die beste, authentische Lesart”,<sup>361</sup> or traces of the “bekannte individuelle Rhetorik” known from the German sermons.<sup>362</sup> However, owing to an extensive and largely critical analysis by Casutt, such impressions lack any evidence.<sup>363</sup> As a result of his textual comparison, Casutt acknowledges the greater vividness and expressiveness of MS. 117 I, but concludes, nonetheless, that the manuscript is nothing but “ein Bluteigel, der sich am Leben eines andern”, and that is Berthold, “vollsaugt”.<sup>364</sup>

The manuscript was acquired from an unknown source by Friedrich von Amberg (c. 1350-1432), who was warden of the Franciscan convent at Fribourg at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>365</sup> Originally, MS. 117 I/II consisted of one single volume, written on 504 parchment leaves around the year 1300 and thus belongs to the oldest manuscripts with

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‘provisions for a journey’. A general overview of the research on MS. 117 I/II can be found in Casutt (1962), pp. 74-79, and Czerwon (2011), 173-78.

<sup>361</sup> Ladner (1995), p. 20.

<sup>362</sup> Czerwon (2011), p. 4.

<sup>363</sup> Casutt (1962).

<sup>364</sup> Ibid., p. 232. Casutt, *ibid.*, pp. 83-108, attempted to categorize the texts into a) sermons that can be considered as complete, i.e. as in other Berthold manuscripts, b) sermons that are revised versions of Berthold sermons, and c) sermons that are transmitted anonymously and were written by a different author. Unfortunately, although he was well-acquainted with the Latin transmission, the criteria of Casutt’s categorization are inevitably subjective, not least, as he did not specify which sources he used for comparison.

<sup>365</sup> Following his novitiate in Regensburg, Friedrich von Amberg studied philosophy and theology in Strasbourg, Freiburg i. Br., Paris and Avignon. In 1392, he was promoted to the degree of *Magister Theologiae* and was made the provincial of the Upper German province of the Franciscan order. He arrived in Fribourg in 1393, is documented as the warden of the convent in 1409 and 1414, and died here on 27 June 1432. He bequeathed 18 codices, which today are still kept at the Couvent des Cordeliers. Friedrich’s manuscript collection has been studied by Christoph Jörg (1975), pp. 1-117, who has also written a biographical entry (1980), cols. 931-33.

sermons by Berthold.<sup>366</sup> Two hands can be distinguished,<sup>367</sup> both writing in a gothic textualis with very similar characteristics.<sup>368</sup> In 1403, Friedrich considerably improved the manuscript, split the codex into two parts and rebound them in white leather on wooden boards, with two clasps in the shape of a cloverleaf, but lacking any other ornamentation.<sup>369</sup> At the end of each manuscript, Friedrich added an alphabetical index (I, 243<sup>r</sup>-253<sup>v</sup>; II, 263<sup>r</sup>-273<sup>r</sup>) as well as a table of contents (I, 255<sup>r</sup>-266<sup>r</sup>; II, 273<sup>v</sup>-285<sup>r</sup>), both of which were written in his own hand on paper and parchment.<sup>370</sup> His ownership mark can be found in both volumes (*Liber magistri Friderici ordinis minorum*; I, 271<sup>v</sup>; partly covered in II, rear paste-down).

Friedrich added numerous annotations to the manuscript. “Er [...] vervollständigte die Rubrizierung, indem er vor allem die inneren Predigtteile mit Randbemerkungen hervorhob [...]. Mit Rand-*Notae* verwies er außerdem auf die für ihn wichtigsten Stellen.”<sup>371</sup> Most importantly, however, are the *incipits* and colophons, which he added both to sermons and indices. There is no heading or *incipit* at the very beginning on fol. I, 1<sup>r</sup>, but a colophon at the end of the sermons of MS. 117 I:

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<sup>366</sup> Complementary descriptions of the codex can be found in Schönbach (1900), Studien II, pp. 2-4; Casutt (1962), pp. 79-82; Jörg (1975), pp. 65-69..

<sup>367</sup> Hand 1: MS. 117 I, fols 2<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>v</sup> (quires 1 and 2). Hand 2: MS. I, fols 26<sup>r</sup>-242<sup>v</sup> (quires 3-20) and all of MS. 117 II.

<sup>368</sup> This has been overlooked by recent research and is discussed in more detail in Depnering (2014).

<sup>369</sup> The bindings of MS. 117 I and MS. 117 II are similar to the bindings of MSS. 20, 24, 26, 51, 66, 82, 95, 107 at the Couvent in Fribourg. Cf. the description online: <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/fcc/0117-1>> [accessed 10 September 2013].

<sup>370</sup> A watermark description can be found in Jörg (1975); MS. 117 I: two circles cut into half by a lily ending in a cross, similar to Briquet no. 3169 or 3173; MS. 117 II: lily; Briquet no. 5833, dated 1393, St Ilpize. For the online description, Jörg has omitted the watermarks, see fn. above. Further investigation by autopsy could lead to a more precise and definite result.

<sup>371</sup> Jörg (1975), p. 66.

*Explicit· prima pars sermonum Rusticani Quos compilauit frater Bertholdus de Ratispona ordinis fratrum minorum* (fol. I, 242<sup>vb</sup>; see fig. 15)

The *explicit* tells us that this is the end of the first part of sermons by or from the *Rusticanus*. The relative pronoun *quos* clearly refers to the sermons – not the *Rusticanus* – which have been compiled, composed or written by *frater Bertholdus*. How the *Rusticanus* and Berthold relate to each other cannot be derived from this statement. Both Berthold's place of origin and order are mentioned.<sup>372</sup>

At the beginning of the table of contents, a similar phrase is used, but without mentioning Berthold:

*Incipit tabula sermonum et rubricarum eorundem· De quinque generibus hominum peccatorum  
In primo sermone istius prime partis sermonum Rusticani videlicet Ite ostendite vos sacerdotibus Ponuntur  
Quinque genera hominum· quorum peccata sunt periculosiora·* (fol. I, 255<sup>f</sup>; see fig. 16)

The last colophon, after the table of contents, however, provides the most detailed information and resolves any possible ambiguities:

*Expliciunt Rubrice materiarum omnium sermonum presentis libri / que est prima pars sermonum  
Rusticani / Qui fuit frater minor prouincie superioris alamanie natiuus de conuentu Ratisponensi·  
famosissimus predicator· dictus frater Bertoldus / Et obiit Anno domini m° cc lxxij· xix kalendas  
Januarij·* (fol. I, 265<sup>v</sup>; see fig. 17)

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<sup>372</sup> It is noteworthy that both in this example, and in Johann von Winterthur's account, the verb *compilare* is used for Berthold's activity. Conceptually, Berthold acts as *compiler*, not as *auctor*. This can be explained with the notion that Berthold, as preacher, is merely adding to the divine word, of which God is the author, but not using solely his own material. For similar examples of this concept see Minnis (<sup>2</sup>1988), p. 98. The original differentiation between *scriptor*, *compiler*, *commentator* and *auctor*, according to the degree of contribution to the text, originates from Bonaventure OFM (1221-1274) in his prologue to the commentary on Peter Lombard's *Libri sententiarum*. According to this definition, the compiler is 'adding, but nothing of his own' (*addendo, sed non de suo*). See Bonaventura (1882), pp. 14-15, and Minnis (<sup>2</sup>1988), pp. 94-103.

*Tabula vero hec conscripta fuit per me fratrem Fridericum ministrum predictae prouince fratrum ac sacre theologie professorem indingnum / iij<sup>o</sup> ydus nouembris / Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>o</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> in conuentu Friburgi öchtlandie. (fol. I, 266<sup>f</sup>)*

This paratext, dated to the 11 November 1403, is the only source providing an explicit statement about the *Rusticanus*: he was a brother minor of the Upper Alemannic province, a native of the convent at Regensburg, and a very famous preacher. Only then, we learn that he was called *frater Bertoldus*, followed by his date of death. We can infer the following three things from this: First, in 1403, the name *Rusticanus* was still known and, at least in this case, clearly used for the author (*qui fuit frater minor*), not as the name of the collection. Second, while the memory of Berthold was certainly kept alive at the Franciscan monastery in Regensburg, which Friedrich had entered as a novice in 1384,<sup>373</sup> little or nothing was known about Berthold in Fribourg, causing Friedrich to elaborate on the famous preacher generally known as *Rusticanus*. Third, the phrase *dictus frater Bertoldus*, attached towards the end of the description, shows that Berthold, as an individuum, was only of minor importance. Effectively, the fame of the preacher is linked to the *Rusticanus* only.<sup>374</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> See Jörg (1975), p. 5.

<sup>374</sup> In the colophon of MS. 117 II, which repeats the content of MS. 117 I, Berthold's name is placed in a more prominent position. However, this does not change the fact that it is of secondary importance for this collection: *Expliciunt rubrice materiarum omnium sermonum presentis libri que est secunda pars Rusticani videlicet fratris Bertoldi ordinis fratrum minorum provincie superioris alamanie Et de conuentu Ratisponensi Qui fuit famosissimus predicator et obiit xix kalendas Januarij Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup> lxxii<sup>o</sup> | Tabula vero hec conscripta iij<sup>o</sup> ydus nouembris Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>o</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> in conuentu friburgi öchtlandie per me fratrem Fridericum ministrum predictorum fratrum ac sacre theologie indingnum professorem (II, 285<sup>f</sup>). The greater importance of the name *Rusticanus* is also reflected in the parchment labels pasted to the lower board of each volume, which read *Sermones Rusticani prima pars* (MS. 117 I) and *Sermones Rusticani secunda pars* (MS. 117 II), written in a 15th century gothic textualis.*

These paratexts by Friedrich von Amberg strongly support the conclusions drawn earlier from the paratextual examples above, in particular from the manuscript at Gdańsk, MS. Mar. F 156, dated to 1444. During the fourteenth century, the author Berthold has clearly been outshined by the status of the *Rusticanus*. However, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, there is renewed interest in Berthold himself and as author. The name that was associated before with the sermon collection, *Rusticanus*, is now equated with Berthold, becoming his ‘pen name’.

In the end, it is remarkable that, out of all Latin Berthold manuscripts, we find these descriptions of the *Rusticanus*/Berthold in MS. 117 I/II. With regard to both form and content, this manuscript dissociates itself the most from the authority of Berthold. Structurally, no difference is made between texts by Berthold, edited sermons, and sermons by other authors. This even goes so far that Casutt denies MS 117 I/II any systematic order or principle of arrangement.<sup>375</sup> None of the sermons are associated with Berthold or the *Rusticanus*. The only type of self-naming in the text is *frater*, with one occasion of *frater B*<sup>376</sup> – which, in this manuscript, is the abbreviation frequently used for *Bernardus*.<sup>377</sup> Furthermore, in addition to the aforementioned German vocabulary, there are numerous Latin words that do not appear in any of the three authentic *Rusticanus* collections (*RdD*, *RdS*, *RdC*), in particular, the imperatives *audite*, *dic*, and *expone*.<sup>378</sup> In view of this evidence, the obvious aim of this manuscript was not “alles nur denkbare Predigtmaterial Bertholds – oder zumindest was mit seinem Namen in Verbindung zu

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<sup>375</sup> Casutt (1962), p. 109.

<sup>376</sup> *Modo uide quid dixerit tibi frater B* (fol. I, 61<sup>ra</sup>).

<sup>377</sup> See Casutt (1962), p. 254. It also occurs in an anonymous sermon, completely unrelated to Berthold’s work. See *ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>378</sup> See Casutt (1962), pp. 223–24.

bringen war – in einer Sammlung zu vereinen<sup>379</sup>, but rather to create an independent collection of sermons, most likely intended for clergy preaching in front of a vernacular audience. It is conceivable now, how the attribution to Berthold by Friedrich von Amberg caused confusion about the authenticity of the manuscript. For this reason and for their content, these annotations are the most valuable sources on the posthumous impact and image of the Franciscan preacher.

### The prologue to the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*

Another important element in evaluating the authenticity and authorship of both the Latin and German sermons has been the prologue to the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*:

*Istos sermones ea necessitate coactus sum notare, cum tamen invitissime hoc fecerim, quod, cum predicarem eos in populo, quidam simplices clerici et religiosi, non intelligentes, in quibus verbis et sententiis veritas penderet, voluerunt notare sibi illa, que poterant capere, et sic multa falsa notaverunt. quod cum ego deprehendissem, timui, ne, si talia predicarentur, qualia ipsi notaverant, populus in errorem duceretur per falsitates illas, et hac necessitate coactus sum ipse notare, quod predicavi, ut ad istorum sermonum exemplar alia falsa et inordinate notata corrigerentur. nec est necesse, ut alii litterati et periti eos conscribant, cum multo meliores sermones a magistris facti sint, qui sufficiant ad omnem edificationem et eruditionem fidei et morum, et ideo relinquunt istos rudibus et simplicibus mei similibus et qui alta et subtilia non possunt capere, quia nec in sententiis nec in dictamine aliquid pretendunt, quod sit a litteratioribus appetendum vel curandum.*<sup>380</sup>

According to this prologue, the author was coerced to note down his sermons, as much of what simple clerics and monks had recorded was false, for they were incapable of understanding in which words and sentences the truth is yet pending – that is, the precise meaning still undetermined – but nevertheless wanted to note down what they were able

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<sup>379</sup> Czerwon (2011), p. 188.

<sup>380</sup> Quoted from Schönbach (1906), Studien V, pp. 3-4.

to capture. We learn about the fear of the author, that should these erroneous notes be preached, the people would be led into false belief. For this reason, he noted down what he had preached, in order to use these sermons as example to correct the false and irregular ones. The last sentence, finally, discourages those who are learned and skilled to write down his sermons, because far superior sermons have made by other masters, which are sufficient for all edification and erudition of belief and morals. For those literate people, who cannot capture the sublime and subtle, there is nothing to strive for in his sermons, because they do not pretend anything, neither in content nor form.

### The early interpretation of the prologue

Following its discovery in the 1880s, the prologue was immediately welcomed as the missing link which would finally clarify the origin of the vernacular sermons, and the relationship between the Latin and the German sermons in general. Both the prologue and the *RdD* are written in Latin, but as Berthold must have been preaching to the common folk in their local language,<sup>381</sup> one implicitly came to the assumption that the simple clergy addressed must also have taken notes in the vernacular. The prologue was, therefore, interpreted as a fundamental statement by Berthold, in which he rejects the flawed German sermons that had been published against his will and thus was urged to write down the Latin texts, “in der Absicht, daß nach ihnen die deutschen corrigirt würden”.<sup>382</sup> Schönbach partially agreed with this opinion, noting:

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<sup>381</sup> There is at least one source reporting that Berthold was accompanied by an interpreter: *Bertholdus praedicavit in Bohemia, ubi habuit interpretem fratrem Petrum, cognomento Oderincium*; *Analecta Franciscana* II (1887), p. 83. See Czerwon (2011), pp. 72-74, for further examples of preaching with interpreters.

<sup>382</sup> Jeiler (1881), who was the first to publish the prologue, concludes: “Dagegen wissen wir erst jetzt aus dem Prologe, daß die gegen B.’s Willen veröffentlichten deutschen Reden vieles ‘falsa et inordinate notata’ enthalten”, col. 76. Similar Unkel (1882), p. 82, who considers the prologue as “die volle und endgültige Lösung” regarding the relationship of the German and Latin sermons. In a review of publications on

die schreiber haben eben notiert was ihnen im gedächtnis geblieben war, bruchstückweise gaben sie die partien wider, welche ihnen den stärksten eindruck gemacht hatten. ich halte es für sicher dass alle uns deutsche erhaltenen predigten auf diese weise überliefert worden.<sup>383</sup>

However, at the same time, Schönbach expressed a certain doubt, noting that the prologue does not mention any language at all:

Bertholds eigene angaben beziehen sich wenigstens deutlich auf lateinische aufzeichnungen. hätte er deutsche gemeint, so müste im verlaufe seiner bemerkungen dieser unterschied erwähnt worden sein.<sup>384</sup>

Accordingly, Schönbach later revised his position and instead put forward the hypothesis, “daß die uns in deutscher sprache überlieferten predigten Berthold’s von Regensburg aus den ihnen entsprechenden lateinischen fassungen übersetzt, oder, besser gesagt, bearbeitet sind.”<sup>385</sup> In one of his final studies, he consolidated this position by compiling a list of the 71 German sermons edited by Pfeiffer and Strobl together with their Latin counterparts,<sup>386</sup> while highlighting again that the vernacular texts were not translations, but “frei wählende Bearbeitungen”.<sup>387</sup> This has been confirmed in recent studies by Dagmar Neuendorff, who was able to show that different levels of proximity to the Latin

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Berthold, Schönbach remarks emphatically, in view of this finding (1884, p. 41): “die annahme deutscher predigtconcepte muss ein für alle male verschwinden.” The mistaken interpretation, that Berthold refers in the prologue to the German sermons, drags on until the twentieth century, as seen, for example, in the following assertion by Wolfgang Stammer (1960), p. 991: “Nur leider – es sind nicht Bertholds Predigten! Er verwahrt sich selbst dagegen, deutsche Niederschriften aufgezeichnet oder gar sanktioniert zu haben.”

<sup>383</sup> Schönbach (1884), p. 40.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>385</sup> Schönbach (1890), p. 45.

<sup>386</sup> Schönbach (1906), Studien VI, pp. 65-68.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

*Rusticani* exist among the German sermons.<sup>388</sup> However, regarding the prologue's interpretative value for the analysis of the relationship between the Latin and the German sermons, one can only but agree with Richter: "Der Rusticanus-Prolog beweist nichts im Hinblick auf Echtheit oder Unechtheit der bekannten deutschen Texte."<sup>389</sup>

### The actual content

What also aided the misunderstanding is the high degree of underspecification. The prologue does not have a heading and its author does not provide the reader with his name. It is neither marked as *prologus* or *proemium*, the most common words to designate prologues in Latin sermon manuscript.<sup>390</sup> As Schönbach said: "Das ist eben kein feierlicher Prolog, sondern wirklich nur eine dem Werk vorangestellte einfache Notiz für den Leser, die das Entstehen der Sammlung rechtfertigen soll."<sup>391</sup> It also remains unclear who exactly the audience (*populus*) is. We only learn that there were simple clergy among the listeners.<sup>392</sup> Furthermore, there is no indication regarding the occasion or content of the sermons, and the reader is kept in the dark regarding the number of texts as well. This abstractness and impreciseness seems to be contradictory to the simultaneous call of

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<sup>388</sup> As a result of her analysis of seven sermon 'clusters', Neuendorff could demonstrate that not the German sermons of the \*X collection, but those of the \*Y collection are directly related to the Latin texts. See Neuendorff (2000), p. 304, and, for detailed examples, Neuendorff (2006). In order to express the textual relationship and different proximity to the Latin original, Neuendorff introduces the terms 'Primärpredigt' and 'Sekundärpredigt'; see Neuendorff (2002), p. 139. Based on her findings, Neuendorff suggests a new edition of the German transmission. However, the procedure proposed, to analyse the textual history and transmission of each sermon against the background of the Latin original, is – not least for resource-related reasons – impracticable; cf. *ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>389</sup> Richter (1969), p. 231. Völker (1963), p. 221, reaches the same conclusion.

<sup>390</sup> See Bériou (2000), p. 401.

<sup>391</sup> Schönbach (1906), Studien V, p. 5.

<sup>392</sup> Cf. Schönbach (1906), Studien V, p. 4: "[D]aß der Rusticanus de Dominici unter *istos sermones* verstanden wird, läßt sich auch nur aus dem Nacheinander von Vorwort und Sammlung erschließen."

textual stability and consistency. It also seems to contradict the account of Johann von Winterthur, as the narrative of the prologue does not deliver the impression of a standardized collection, to which Berthold could have given the title *Rusticanus*.

There is, however, further textual evidence found in manuscript Leipzig, UB, MS. 497, written at the end of the thirteenth century, which contributes strongly to the prologue's understanding. The most important quote is found in sermon *RdD Jakob 25* (De confessore pontifice) with the heading *Quod Christus est sacerdos magnus et in tempore iracundie sit reconciliatio apud patrem* (fol. 248<sup>ra</sup>). The passage concerned deals with the clothing of the highest priest in the holy place (*sanctum*) in contrast to the most holy place (*sanctum sanctorum*).<sup>393</sup> Most significant is the following critical comment: “*ut quidam falso notauerunt in rusticano de Dominicis in sermone qui incipit Ego sum pastor bonus*” (fol. 248<sup>rb</sup>; see fig. 18). This statement corresponds very well with the description of the prologue, omitting only the fact that “*quidam*” refers to *simplices clerici et religiosi*. At the same time, the passage in MS. 497 provides an example of the semantic nuances that theologically might be crucial, but remained uncaptured by those taking notes.

Moreover, the reference to a “*rusticanus de Dominicis*” not only gives important evidence about the early existence of a sermon collection with such a name, but also that it existed without being authorised. It is a *Rusticanus* with material that requires correction, which coincides again with the account of the prologue. In other words: “zusammengehalten mit

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<sup>393</sup> “*Nolo mortem peccatoris etcetera· quod pulchre figuratur in Exodo ubi legitur quod summus sacerdos dum introibat in sancta ad intrapellandum pro populo purificatis prius manibus et pedibus aqua· hijs octo uestibus quandoque induebatur· Dico cum introiuit in sancta tunc quandoque induebatur hijs octo uestibus· non cum ingrediebatur in sancta sanctorum semel in anno cum sanguine ut quidam falso notauerunt in rusticano de Dominicis in sermone qui incipit Ego sum pastor bonus· tunc enim non introiuit in sancta sanctorum cum tanta pompa uestium scilicet quasi cum simplicibus sacerdotalibus uestibus· non cum octo predictis de quibus hic subsequitur [...]*” (Leipzig, UB, MS. 497, fol. 248<sup>ra-b</sup>)

dem prolog ergibt sich daraus dass eine sammlung Rusticanus de dominicis schon ohne Bertholds zutun entstanden war.”<sup>394</sup> There are further references to sermons of the *RdD* in MS. 497, which consists of both complete *RdS* and *RdC* collections.<sup>395</sup> These cross-references played a significant role in establishing the authenticity of the two collections of saints’ sermons.<sup>396</sup> The lack of Berthold’s name in any text or paratext of MS. 497, and the absence of the prologue, was explained by Schönbach by the fact that the three *Rusticani* together form a complete, large sermon repository for Sundays and holidays.<sup>397</sup> The prologue is generally connected with the *RdD* as it is the first part of the repository, and for this reason it was not required for the other two collections.<sup>398</sup> This argumentation, and thus the authenticity of the *RdD*, *RdS* and *RdC*, has been accepted unanimously as correct.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> Schönbach (1884), p. 42.

<sup>395</sup> Towards the end of the marriage sermon *RdS Jakob 58*, for example, we find the note: “*De hac materia et de tota salutatione multa pro simplicibus inuenies utilia in rusticano De dominicis in v sermone*” (fol. 88<sup>ra</sup>). This reference has been omitted in MS. 498, fol. 120<sup>v</sup>. In the martyr sermon *RdC Jakob 26*, we find a similar remark: “*De istis tribus supradictis uidelicet quomodo spoliat hominem omnibus bonis que sunt supra ipsum et intra ipsum et infra ipsum Require multa in rusticano De dominicis in sermone xxxvi post penthecostem*” (fol. 218<sup>ra</sup>). Schönbach has misunderstood the number mentioned here, which refers to the counting of the sermons, not the Sundays; see Schönbach (1906), Studien V, p. 40. It is the sermon for the fourth Sunday after Pentecost, cf. Jakob (1880), p. 51.

<sup>396</sup> See Schönbach (1906), Studien V, pp. 38-45.

<sup>397</sup> Schönbach (1906), Studien V, p. 44.

<sup>398</sup> Schönbach (1906), Studien V, p. 45.

<sup>399</sup> The recent criticism by Czerwon (2011), p. 44, only relates to the low transmission of Berthold’s prologue and Schönbach’s misunderstanding of the prologue by Lucas de Bitonto, which is discussed below. However, she does not comment on Schönbach’s argumentation regarding the relationship between and authenticity of the three sermon collections.

## The manuscripts

The prologue is transmitted in seven manuscripts:<sup>400</sup>

Linz, OÖLB, MS. 336 (1293) (former shelfmark: Γ p 6)<sup>401</sup>

Salzburg, St. Peter, MS. a IV 16 (beginning of 14th c.)<sup>402</sup>

Sion/Sitten, Médiathèque Valais, N° 254 [?], INV 0757 (former library and shelfmark:

Bibliothèque cantonale, MS. ABS Lp 1) (before 1350)<sup>403</sup>

Fritzlar, DB, MS. 47 (1st half 14th c.)<sup>404</sup>

Munich, BSB, Clm. 5531 (14th c.)

Zwickau, RB, MS. I, XIV, 37 (14th c.)<sup>405</sup>

Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, MS. 7.6.20 (15th c.)<sup>406</sup>

Only a fraction of the codices with the complete *RdD* possess the prologue, not including the oldest *RdD* manuscript known, MS. 325 in Linz.<sup>407</sup> Notwithstanding this limited transmission, Ignatius Jeiler, who gave notice of the discovery of the first two manuscripts with the prologue, notes that its omission in other manuscripts is unremarkable, “als der

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<sup>400</sup> Czerwon (2011), p. 43, lists only five manuscripts, omitting the codex at Zwickau mentioned by Jeiler (1881), col. 75. The seventh manuscript, MS. 47 from the cathedral library at Fritzlar, is not known to Berthold scholarship.

<sup>401</sup> Schönbach (1905), Studien IV, pp. 54-87, provides an extensive description of the codex, in particular of the first of three codicological units. This part contains the Berthold sermons and is written by a single hand. A compact description can be found online, as an updated version of the catalogue by Konrad Schiffmann (1935):

<[http://www.landesbibliothek.at/uploads/media/Handschriften\\_nach\\_Alter/Schiffmann-Katalog\\_-\\_Neue\\_Signatur\\_neu.pdf?fs=0.63](http://www.landesbibliothek.at/uploads/media/Handschriften_nach_Alter/Schiffmann-Katalog_-_Neue_Signatur_neu.pdf?fs=0.63)> [accessed 10 September 2013].

<sup>402</sup> Jeiler (1881), col. 75.

<sup>403</sup> Schönbach (1900), Studien II, pp. 4-5.

<sup>404</sup> The manuscript is neither listed with Casutt (1961), nor Schneyer RS. Cf. List (1984), p. 79.

<sup>405</sup> Jeiler (1881), col. 75. Schipke (1990), pp. 73-75.

<sup>406</sup> Denifle (1883), pp. 303-04; Sáez Guillén (2002), pp. 653-55.

<sup>407</sup> Cf. Czerwon (2011), p. 44.

Prolog keine praktische Bedeutung hatte für den Zweck, den der Abschreiber verfolgte.”<sup>408</sup> Certainly, a scribe’s pragmatism was not the only reason to omit such a short text. It is conceivable, however, that its nonspecific content was considered irrelevant to some of the later users, especially, as it is not marked as prologue, that is, appendant to the sermon collection.

The prologue precedes a complete collection of the *RdD* in five manuscripts (Salzburg, Sion, Munich, Zwickau and Seville). The codex at Fritzlar, a composite manuscript, similarly situates the prologue before the Sunday sermons, but it only contains a selection of 29 texts. The most problematic manuscript with the prologue is MS. 336 from Linz. In this comparatively old manuscript, dated to 1293,<sup>409</sup> the sermons collections are again not associated with the name of Berthold.<sup>410</sup>

*Incipiunt sermones de sanctis per circulum anni qui dicuntur Rusticani* (fols 2<sup>rb</sup>)<sup>411</sup>

*Finitur sermones de sanctis per circulum anni qui dicuntur Rusticani* (fols 130<sup>ra</sup>)<sup>412</sup>

Both the *incipit* and *explicit* listed here are succeeded by the prologue, thus showing that it is not inevitably linked to the *RdD* collection. Perhaps one should not attach too much

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<sup>408</sup> Jeiler (1881), col. 75.

<sup>409</sup> We learn on fol. 137<sup>v</sup> that in 1293, abbot Rapoto of Baumgartenberg acquired a sermon manuscript at the Benedictine abbey Gleink, which was used as source for this manuscript. For a transcription of the passage and further information see Schönbach (1905), Studien IV, pp. 69 and 72-73.

<sup>410</sup> This applies to most manuscripts with a prologue, as they use *Rusticanus* as name of the *RdD* collection. An unusual exception is the manuscript at Zwickau, which contains a selection of *RdC* sermons that begin as follows: *Incipiunt quidam sermones fratris Bertholdi de Ratisbona de communi Sanctorum* (fol. 10<sup>ra</sup>); see Schipke (1990), p. 73. In this codex, only the *RdC* sermons seem to be explicitly connected to Berthold, but not the Sunday sermons.

<sup>411</sup> Quoted from Schönbach (1905), Studien IV, p. 56.

<sup>412</sup> Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 68.

importance to this particular manuscript, given that Schönbach points out numerous stylistic and textual impairments.<sup>413</sup> At the same time, it is yet another example that Berthold's work, both the sermons and the prologue, were not handled in a way that the prologue demands.

Another obstacle is the varying title of the sermon collections. As we have seen above in (4), MS. 47 from Fritzlar, the adjective *novus* has been used as a modifier to the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*. By contrast, in the fifteenth-century manuscript from Seville, MS. 7.6.20, the heading to the *RdD* is: *Incipit Rusticanus antiquus*.<sup>414</sup>

What is more, as mentioned above, the library catalogue of the Franciscans in Regensburg exhibits an entry with seemingly two works, a *Rusticanus novus* and *antiquus*, both of which are attributed to *frater Berthold*:

¶ *Nota de Rusticano nouo et antiquo scilicet fratris Perbtoldi*

(Munich, BSB, Clm. 14397, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>; see fig. 10)

It is probable that this entry refers to manuscript Munich, BSB, Clm. 8739, which belonged to the Franciscan monastery at Regensburg. It contains excerpts of all sermon collections and the following paratexts:

*Incipit de communi sanctorum Rusticani· primo de apostolis* (fol. 110<sup>r</sup>)

*De Angelis· Incipit excerptum Sermonum de rusticani de Sanctis et de tempore* (fol. 120<sup>r</sup>)

*Explicit de nouo opere* (fol. 191<sup>v</sup>)

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<sup>413</sup> Schönbach points out several flaws in the manuscript, such as indices without numbering, which were presumably omitted during the copying process, as well as neglectfulness regarding both text (misreadings and grammar mistakes) and content (rededication of sermons, with texts on St Francis and St Dominic newly attributed to St Benedict and St Giles). See Schönbach (1905), Studien IV, p. 72-77.

<sup>414</sup> Denifle (1883), p. 304.

*Incipiunt sermones de veteri Rusticano | De aduentu | Dominica prima* (fol. 193<sup>ra</sup>; in the outer margin:  
*Incipit de veteri*)

In view of the edited and fragmental version of the sermons in this manuscript, it is difficult to establish exactly which texts belong to the ‘new’ or ‘old’ work. However, one can conclude from the *incipits* and colophon that there is a *novus* version of both the Sunday and saints’ sermons as well as a *vetus* version of the Sunday sermons. Even the collection on common saints is called *Rusticanus*. Without doubt the most intriguing characteristic is the absence of Berthold’s name in Clm. 8739, a manuscript which belonged to his own former monastery.

The last example is taken from the fifteenth-century miscellany Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Aug. pap. 100. Here, the colophon also applies the title *rusticanus novus* to a collection of saints’ sermons: *Explicit rusticanus novus de sanctis Deo gracias* (fol. 90<sup>ra</sup>).<sup>415</sup> It shows that the term was used perhaps not inconsistently, but with a large scope, as all of the sermons are transmitted anonymously and only four are by Berthold.<sup>416</sup>

The large majority of manuscripts make no distinction between a *Rusticanus novus* and a *Rusticanus antiquus/vetus*. In view of these examples, it seems that at least at some stage, a differentiation between a new and an old version existed, namely of both the *RdS* and the *RdD* collections. Whether this distinction refers to the records criticized in the prologue, in contrast to the version where the author was urged to note down, has to remain speculation.

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<sup>415</sup> See Holder (1971 [1914]), p. 237.

<sup>416</sup> Cf. Casutt (1961), p. 20.

## The topos

Let us return once more to the content of the prologue. In the first part, the author states that he acted from necessity and most reluctantly (*inuitissime*). He did not want to write down the sermons he held, from which one can conclude that he does not want to be regarded as (important) author. All the same, the fear that the preaching of false doctrine would result in people having false belief was strong. In order to limit the damage, he noted down his sermons, but only for the purpose of correcting the falsities in the texts that were already circulating. The second part begins with a polite expression, *nec est necesse*, yet with a grave message: the author implicitly forbids any further taking of notes while he is preaching. Berthold exerts his authority. In a very clever way, both humbleness regarding his own work, and a clear statement to leave things be, are expressed in this last sentence: it extends the warning from the *simplices clerici et religiosi* and *rudibus et simplicibus mei similibus* to the *litterati et periti*.

There are, however, similar texts ranging from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, which indicate that the prologue, in its demands of textual stability and uniformity, is a not uncommon motif or topos. John of Fécamp (c. 990-1078), as abbot of the Benedictine monastery St. Benignus at Dijon, provided Empress Agnes and her nuns with a collection of contemplative and ascetical texts. In his letter to the Empress ('Lettre à l'impératrice Agnes'), he includes the following warning:

*si quoslibet inueneris qui libellum hunc uelint habere, moneas eos et diligenter transcribere et scriptum frequenter relegere, usque adeo ut aliquid addi uel subtrahi aut immutari non patiantur in eo. Hoc autem dicimus propter incuriam librariorum, qui non solum ueritatem corrumpunt, sed etiam mendacia mendaciis iungunt.*<sup>417</sup>

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<sup>417</sup> Leclercq and Bonnes (1946), pp. 211-17, here p. 216.

Jean de Fécamp emphasizes that should anyone wish to copy his little book, then precautions must be taken – diligent transcription and frequent rereading of the copied text – so that nothing is added, subtracted or altered (*addi uel subtrahi aut immutari*).<sup>418</sup> Different to Berthold, he takes issue not with insufficient mental incapability, but with the carelessness (*incuria*) of the scribes, who not only corrupt the truth, but also attach lies to lies.

The Cistercian monk and hagiographer Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180-c. 1240) wrote a letter addressed to Peter, the prior of the Cistercian monastery of Marienstatt (*Epistola ad dominum Petrum priorem de Loco sancte Marie in diversa eius opuscula*):

*Quia scripta mea, licet modici valoris sint, frequenter et instanter sive ad legendum sive ad transcribendum requiritis, tum propter vos tum propter nonnullos alios qui eodem estuant desiderio, universa opuscula mea minora que ab adolescentia usque ad presens edidi in uno volumine collegi, ut ex hoc qualia, quanta vel quot sint cognoscere valeatis. Est et alia causa que ad hunc laborem amplius me urget: quosdam tractatus, omelias, sermones atque miracula, priusquam a me fuissent correcti, quidam importunius ad legendum sibi prestari postulaverunt, quos me ignorante cicius transcripserunt; quos postea recipiens et perlegens litteram satis incorrectam repperi. Devenit eciam in manus meas opusculum quoddam de scriptis meis quod quedam sanctimonialis secundum exemplar meum cuius littera gracilis et stricta erat scripserat; quod ita corruptum fuerat tam in sensu quam in littera, ut satis ex hoc expavescerem; nam vicium scriptoris aliquando redundat in auctorem. Huiusmodi cause compellunt me ea que in quaternulis notaveram et sollempnius scribere et diligencius emendare. Opiniones magistrorum in quibus diversa diversis modis diffinire videntur consideravi et que michi probabiliores videbantur aliquando in scriptis meis quasi pro sententia posui, in hoc ipso minus prudenter agens. Quodsi aliquis in eisdem scriptis aliquid quod merito displicere debeat repperit, antequam me iudicet, si fieri potest, originale respiciat; si vero in illo idem invenerit, veniam postulo, eo quod non ex industria, sed ex*

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<sup>418</sup> According to Bonaventure's definition mentioned above, adding to the text would not be the activity of a scribe, but that of a compiler or commentator.

*ignorancia factum sit. Error non facit hereticum, sed defensio erroris. Hec ideo dico, quia quod semel emissum est difficile revocatur.*<sup>419</sup>

The letter continues at this point with a full description of thirty-six works by Caesarius.<sup>420</sup> Its general function, nonetheless, was to serve as a prologue for the lost volume that is mentioned in the text.<sup>421</sup> In this volume, in reply to the frequent demand to read or copy his writings, he had compiled all of his minor works (*universa opuscula mea minora*). The other reason, which had urged him (*me urget*) to undertake this work, was that people had demanded to read several of his tracts, homilies, sermons and miracles, before he was able to correct them, and they were copied without his knowledge (*me ignorante*). When Caesarius later received and read these copies, he found them to be sufficiently incorrect, in particular the work of a nun (*sanctimonialis*), whose distortions, both in sense and in writing, terrified him. The rationale he provides for his reaction is that, eventually, the scribe's fault is attributed to the author. For these reasons, he wrote more solemnly, and corrected more diligently what he had written earlier.

In further defence of his work, Caesarius identifies the authorities whose ideas he has absorbed (*opinionones magistrorum*). For this reason, whoever would want to judge him, should first take a look at the original texts, if possible. He asks for forgiveness should there be a genuine mistake, as it will have been made by ignorance rather than purposefully. Accordingly, his conclusion reads: not the error makes the heretic, but the defence of the error.

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<sup>419</sup> Quoted from Hilka (1933), pp. 2-3, who used manuscript Berlin, SBPKB, MS. theol. lat. qu. 368, fols 47<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>, as source, see p. 2. See also the catalogue description of this manuscript by Achten (1984), pp. 211-14.

<sup>420</sup> See Hilka (1933), pp. 3-7.

<sup>421</sup> See Hilka (1933), p. 1. Schönbach (1902), p. 11, referred to the letter as "Widmung".

The most obvious similarity between the letter by Caesarius and Berthold's prologue is that both describe their action of writing down their work as an involuntary act, urged to do so by corrupt versions of their texts. Caesarius' letter, however, contains little humility. In the same sentence in which he speaks of the moderate worth of his works (*scripta mea, licet modici valoris sint*), he remarks that both Peter, the addressee, and other people yearn to read or copy his work (*qui eodem estuant desiderio*). He claims authority, but at the same time rejects any kind of responsibility for his work – past or present. Formerly, both meaning (*sensus*) and form (*littera*) of his writings have been corrupted through the intervention of others, and now, in anticipation of criticism or mistakes, he similarly points to external influences: the authorities' texts which he consulted. In doing so, Caesarius partly undermines the authority and authenticity of his own writings. Berthold also refers to content (*verba / sententiae*) and form (*dictamen*), but only to call attention to the fragility of the meaning of his words and in order to play down the importance of his sermons in comparison to other masters (*magistri*). Contrasted with Caesarius' cautious and almost defensive statement, Berthold's authority and sincerity become even more clearly visible.

Another passage with similarities to Berthold's prologue is the epilogue in the *Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit* by the mystic Henry Suso (c. 1295-1366):

Swer dis bûchli, daz mit fliss geschriben und geriht ist, well ab schriben, der sol es alles sament eigentlich an worten und sinnen schriben, als es hie stat, und nût dar zû noh dur von legen noh dú wort verwandlen, und sol es denne einest oder zwirunt hier ab durnehtklich rihten, und sol nût sunders dar us schriben, denne die hundert betrachtung ze hindrost; die schrib dar us, ob er well. Wer im út anders tût, der sol vúrchten gottes rach, wan er beröbet got des wirdigen lobes und dú

menschen der bessrung und den, der sich dar zû gearbeit hat, siner arbeit. Und dar umb, wer es hier umb nit well lassen, das müss gerochen werden von der EWIGEN WISHEIT.<sup>422</sup>

Suso's text is not written as a result of experiences of the past, but is rather anticipatory. He also makes references to form ('worten') and meaning ('sinnen'), demanding that whoever copies his little book, has to do so exactly as he finds it here. They shall not – and here the similarity to John of Fécamp is completely evident, resembling a translation into the vernacular – add, subtract or change the words ('núť dar zû noh dur von legen noh dú wort verwandlen'). However, among the authors mentioned here, the consequences of disobeying such a request seem to be the most severe with Suso. While Berthold hardly alludes to what would result from misbelief caused by textual mistakes through scribes, Suso threatens with God's revenge. Without false modesty, the diligence and effort of the author are equated with the praise of God and the improvement – and thus the salvation – of people. Similar to Berthold, however, he generally discourages any copying of his work, and if so, Suso asks to confine oneself to only the last text 'hundert betrachtungen'.

The final text for comparison is a prologue written for a collection of Sunday sermons by Lucas de Bitonto (d. 1242/1243), "one of the most celebrated Franciscan preachers of his time":<sup>423</sup>

*Quare et cum insufficientiam meam videam et imperitiam cognoscam et insipientiam, nisi mandato superioris urgente, nec non quorundam fratrum desiderio impellante, opusculum Sermonum Dominicalium coactus sum annotare. et licet super hoc multorum preclara opera jam sunt edita, dignum duxi eorum satisfacere voluntati, ne viderer subterfugere, cum possem proficere, non meo confisus ingenio, sed de gratie celestis auxilio, de obedientie merito, de fraterne suffragio caritatis.*

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<sup>422</sup> Quoted from Bihlmeyer (1907), p. 325.

<sup>423</sup> Roest (2004), p. 25.

*Suscipe, digne pater, totius ordinis Minorum minister, auctoris tui licet inculti operis rudimenta, paternaque benevolentia quod minus est supple, quod plus abrade, quod hirtum come, quod obscurum declara, quod vitiosum emenda, sic ibit opus per te sine menda. obsecro et lectorem hujus operis ob amorem Christi et gloriose Virginis, matris ejus, nec non beati Francisci, confessoris mirifici, quatenus affectum meum considerans, qui rudibus et nondum exercitatis fratribus prodesse volui, benivolum se exhibeat, meique laboris mercedem ab eo deposcat, qui omnis boni principium est et finis. cui laus sit et gloria per infinita seculorum secula, Amen.*<sup>424</sup>

Lucas' use of almost exactly the same phrase as Berthold to pronounce the reason for their works (*coactus sum annotare* vs. *coactus sum notare*), is striking – particularly in light of the differences in context: Berthold's declared motivation to write down his sermons is ultimately intrinsic and he acts on his own initiative. Lucas, by contrast, quotes solely external reasons for his writing, having been asked by both his superior, possibly the Franciscan minister general,<sup>425</sup> and brothers of his order to record the sermons. Similar to Berthold, Lucas acknowledges the distinguished works (*preclara opera*) that already exist. However, Lucas does not minimize the quality of his own work, but rather externalizes and spreads the responsibility and authority: it is not the result of his genius, it instead arose from a combination of divine grace, obedience and fraternal charity. He asks his superior for review and beseeches the reader, for the sake of Christ, Mary and St Francis, to judge the work with good-will, as his intention was to aid the inexperienced and not yet skilled brothers (*rudibus et nondum exercitatis fratribus*).

In manuscript Voraü, StiB, Cod. 412, the prologue by Lucas precedes a number of Berthold sermons, which originally lead to a misattribution by Schönbach, who was seeing the prologue together with these texts as “den Rest eines bisher unbekanntem

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<sup>424</sup> Quoted from Schönbach (1906), Studien V, pp. 109-10.

<sup>425</sup> Roest (2004), p. 26.

Jugendwerkes Bertholds von Regensburg”.<sup>426</sup> Given the Franciscan context, the eloquent language and use of enumeration and metre,<sup>427</sup> and the intended audience,<sup>428</sup> such misjudgement is comprehensible. Berthold’s prologue, on the contrary, is striking in its matter-of-fact tone, its soberness and simplicity.

What unites the statements by John of Fécamp, Caesarius of Heisterbach, Henry Suso and Berthold, is their clear position against any sort of modification to their work. In each case, the texts are declared, more or less explicitly, to be the only authorised versions. John of Fécamp and Henry Suso anticipate interference and thus prewarn any possible scribe wanting to copy their writings to respect the content. Caesarius and Berthold, by contrast, react retrospectively, feeling urged to note down their work, in order to prevent any flawed copies in the future. What sets Henry Suso and Berthold apart from the others, is the sincerity of their warning, in which especially Suso is stressing the eschatological implications any contravention would have. Lucas de Bitonto’s prologue, in turn, begins very similarly to Berthold’s, articulating the necessity to write down his sermons. However, it is neither the result of former negative experiences, nor the anticipation of such. Lucas rather follows the request of his superior and fellow brothers – and thus even asks for textual intervention and correction.

For all the similarities, there is a fundamental difference between Berthold’s prologue and the texts of the other authors: the genesis of their works. While the other writers solely

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<sup>426</sup> Schönbach (1899), p. 15. Schönbach later (1906) discovered his misjudgement after the prologue was discovered in other manuscripts containing the sermon collection by Lucas, see pp. 16-19.

<sup>427</sup> Schönbach (1906), Studien V, p. 109, noted the use of hexameter in the second passage: *quod minus est supple, quod plus abrade* etc.

<sup>428</sup> Judging from the form and content of the prologue, Roest (2004), p. 26, fn. 66, puts forward the suggestion that Lucas of Bitonto, “had been active as a teacher within the Franciscan school network”.

assume a textual setting, where mistakes could occur when copying from a written source, Berthold is addressing an oral setting: the note-taking during a public event of him preaching. In view of the fragility and ephemeral nature of the spoken word, his fear of misinterpretation and erroneous notes becomes all the more understandable.<sup>429</sup>

### The impact of the prologue

Berthold's prologue certainly has to be seen in the context of the literary topos of demanding textual constancy. At the same time, it reflects a true and serious concern. The implicit message of the prologue is that due to erroneous sermons, the salvation of the people in the afterlife is at stake. What coerced Berthold to put his sermons into writing was not a personal reason, but the apprehension that, if the clergy who took notes during his preaching would preach the falsities of their notations, people will be led into false belief (*timui, ne [...] populus in errorem duceretur*). By contrast, the correct version, that he now provides, will guide towards the right belief. In the words of Thomas Bein: "Es geht letztlich um die göttliche Wahrheit, um das göttliche Wort oder doch um Worte über die göttlichen Worte."<sup>430</sup>

Schönbach sees in Berthold's expression of humility an underlying intent to create authenticity, by producing the impression that his work is a faithful reproduction of the original preaching performance:

Aus dem Schlußsatze, der mit geziemender Demut den Wert der Sermonen herabdrückt [...], geht zugleich hervor, daß Berthold den Eindruck erwecken will, er gebe in seinem Werke die vor dem

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<sup>429</sup> It is striking that the prologue does not discuss the subsequent problem of misunderstanding the sermons when preached by others in the future.

<sup>430</sup> Bein (1998), p. 131, refers to Richard de Bury, Caesarius of Heisterbach and Henry Suso, but it similarly applies to Berthold.

Volk gehaltenen Predigten so getreulich wieder, daß sie schon deshalb hinter den Sammlungen gebildeter und gelehrter Kanzelreden zurückstehen müssen.<sup>431</sup>

This seems very plausible on a meta-textual level. On a textual level, it also implies that in order to prevent misbelief, such clear-cut and plain wording is necessary. Moreover, it is remarkable that although Berthold speaks as an authority, he does not mention his – or anyone else’s – name.<sup>432</sup> In this respect, Wachinger’s remark is insightful: “Wenn ein Verfasser das Fortleben seines Namens mit seinem Text sichern wollte, so mußte er sich in einem Prolog oder Epilog nennen.”<sup>433</sup> If we develop the underlying concept of Wachinger’s statement further, then it was not in Berthold’s interest to seek personal remembrance with the prologue, but rather to safeguard the authenticity of, and truth in, his sermons. Without an edition of the Latin sermons by Berthold, it remains impossible to judge the textual variation among the transmission and thus the success of his request. In the case of Fribourg, CC, MS. 117 I/II, Berthold’s demand clearly failed.

Furthermore, if we look at Wachinger’s remark from a different perspective, it becomes clear why Berthold’s name disappears from the manuscript transmission and is replaced by the *Rusticanus*: Berthold does not document his own name and therefore he, as an individuum, vanishes. In the end, the lack of Berthold’s name could be the primary reason for the omission of the prologue in the large majority of manuscripts.

Schönbach has observed that “Berthold der Predigtsammlung, die er mit solchem Vorwort ausstattete, damit etwas Autoritatives, den Charakter der Authentizität, verliehen

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<sup>431</sup> Schönbach (1906), Studien V, p. 4.

<sup>432</sup> A rare counterexample from the late twelfth century is the prologue by Priester Konrad, who refers to himself as *ego Cuonradus* in the Latin prologue for his German sermon collection. See Schönbach (1891), p. 3, and, for further discussion, Hellgardt (1998), p. 69.

<sup>433</sup> Wachinger (1991), p. 5.

hat”.<sup>434</sup> This authenticity, gained from the *RdD*'s prologue, is then transferred onto the *RdS* and *RdC*:

Daß die allermeisten Handschriften diese beiden Rusticani nicht mit dem Vorwort überliefern, welches an der Spitze des Rusticanus de Dominicis sich findet, benimmt ihnen nichts von ihrer Authentizität, denn dieses Vorwort brauchte nur einmal und am Eingange des gesamten Werkes zu stehen, das mit den Sonntagspredigten anfang; wo man ein Interesse daran besaß, einen der beiden Teile [*RdS/RdC*] vollständig oder mit Auswahl abzuschreiben, dort bedurfte es des Vorwortes nicht, weil nicht mehr das Ansehen des als Verfasser bekannten Rusticanus in Frage kam, sondern nur noch das praktische Bedürfnis nach dem Gebrauch einer der Sammlungen.<sup>435</sup>

While Schönbach's argumentation for the authenticity of the three sermon collections is very convincing and universally acknowledged, it should be noted that there is not a single surviving manuscript that contains all three of the *Rusticani*, and as identified previously, only the Cistercian abbey of Alzelle is known to have owned the complete works. Moreover, Schönbach makes another, even more significant statement here: the prologue is missing in the collections of saints' sermons, because the practical desire to use the collections displaced the reputation of the author. Unintentionally, Schönbach does not only explain the low transmission of the prologue, but he also delivers a strong argument as to why Berthold is less and less acknowledged as the author of his work. The focus of the audience merely lay on the famous sermons, largely transmitted under the name *Rusticanus*. Of significance was their content, only secondary their author. As shown above, this assertion is fully backed by the evidence of the transmission. Berthold's authorisation was no longer necessary, as the name *Rusticanus* sufficed. On the contrary, a different perspective is obtained from the vernacular perspective.

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<sup>434</sup> Schönbach (1906), Studien V, p. 5.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-20.

### Berthold as author in the German transmission

With the discovery of the Latin prologue and the subsequent studies by Schönbach,<sup>436</sup> the German sermons attributed to Berthold von Regensburg were no longer perceived as Bertholdian. Yet doubt about their status had already existed, with the general assumption that the vernacular sermons were not Berthold's own work, but rather texts written down by one of his listeners.<sup>437</sup> Despite this secondary, mediated authenticity, scholars – such as Grimm – were still convinced that the individuality of Berthold's preaching was captured herein:

Hinzufügen musz ich jedoch, dasz ich die niederschreibung für höchst treu halte, und dasz sie die eigenthümlichkeit des redners in wendungen, ausdrücken und selbst im mundartischen genau erfasst haben.<sup>438</sup>

Likewise, Kurt Ruh, remaining of the conviction that the editors of the German sermons must have known Berthold's manner of preaching and thus created the sermons in living memory of him, considers the texts so compellingly "Bertholdisch" in content and form, that he assigns them "Quasiauthentizität".<sup>439</sup> A main cause for this impression are the rhetorical devices employed in the German sermons, both in the \*X and \*Y collections: "rhetorische[r] Dialog, Anrede des Hörers, Exklamation, rhetorische Frage, Demonstration (*Nu will ich ew sehen lassen ...*)."<sup>440</sup>

The most convincing rhetorical figure, however, is found solely in the sub-collection \*X<sup>I</sup>. It is, as Richter notes, the "rhetorische Selbstapostrophierung des Predigers (*Nu Bruoder*

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<sup>436</sup> See above, 'The prologue to the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*'.

<sup>437</sup> Cf. Grimm (1869 [1825]), p. 352, and Wackernagel (1876), p. 357.

<sup>438</sup> Grimm (1869 [1825]), p. 352.

<sup>439</sup> Ruh (1981), p. 17.

<sup>440</sup> Neuendorff (2000), p. 308.

*Berhtolt ...*), die diese Sermonen als Reden Bertholds ausweisen will” – and the effect created by this figure is so strong that he similarly concludes “und möglicherweise auf Bertolds Predigtpraxis selbst zurückgeht”<sup>441</sup>. In her study of speaker and audience roles in the German sermons, Almut Suerbaum also discusses the self-apostrophe, but she stresses its literary function:

Ich möchte daher in der Selbstapostrophe nicht so sehr ein Relikt der an den Predigernamen gebundenen authentischen Sprechweise sehen, sondern sie vielmehr als Teil einer über Höreranrede und Apostrophe entfalteten Strategie auffassen, literarisch eine Sprecheridentität zu konzipieren.<sup>442</sup>

Certainly both aspects apply: the invention of a ‘Bruoder Berhtold’ is used as a literary strategy, but it is also an instrument to integrate Berthold’s authority into the text, in order to establish – as we have seen, successfully – an aura of authenticity.

While the textual differences between the Latin and German sermons are obvious, it is not the same for the paratexts. Irrespective of these intra-textual strategies of authentication, Berthold as author is mentioned in very few of the German manuscripts. A single manuscript of the collection \*X contains his name:

Brüder Berchtolds gedicht seiner predige zů Regensburg getan, gar ze malen hübsche vnd güte  
(Augsburg, UB, MS. III.1.2° 36 [Ha], fol. 23<sup>r</sup>; 1460)<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>441</sup> Richter (1969), p. 219.

<sup>442</sup> Suerbaum (2013), p. 34.

<sup>443</sup> Richter (1969), pp. 18-19.

Of the \*Y collection, three codices are attributed to Berthold explicitly. The first contains simply his name on a paper label in a fifteenth-century hand, while the text has been written in the fourteenth century:

prueder perchtoltt

(Klosterneuburg, StB, CCl. 886 [K], paper label, 15th c.; text written 1st half (?) 14th c.)<sup>444</sup>

The second manuscript with sermons from the \*Y collection contains an *incipit* combined with an ownership mark:

Hie hebent sich an pruder perchtoltz predig vnd ander güet ler vnd ist das puch frawn Annan

(Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Don. 292 [D], fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; c. 1428-1436)

Even though several of the German Berthold manuscripts have received new bindings in the course of time – including the oldest among the German manuscripts, Heidelberg, UB, Cpg. 24 (A), which is dated to 1370 –<sup>445</sup> and despite the possibility that Berthold may have been mentioned on one of the original paste-downs or covers, his low presence as author is striking.

A notable exception is the third manuscript of the collection \*Y, Vienna, ÖNB, MS. 2829 (W). It is well-known for its coloured pen drawing on the first leaf (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; see fig. 19): Berthold is depicted on a pulpit in the open, preaching from a book to an audience below him.<sup>446</sup> The majority of the awed audience looks up to Berthold, but two people sit with their eyes lowered: a Jew with a cone-shaped hat and a little devil above, and a second,

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<sup>444</sup> Richter (1969), pp. 81-82.

<sup>445</sup> Cf. Richter (1969), pp. 5-6.

<sup>446</sup> Peters (2003), p. 34 and fn. 34, observes that Berthold's left hand, with four straight fingers and a bent thumb, corresponds with the hand gesture recommended by Quintilian XI, 3, 99, for the structure of a speech.

crouching person, possibly representing a heretic, heathen or otherwise sinful person. A dove with a nimbus, the Holy Spirit, symbolising divine inspiration, is flying out of a heavenly cloud towards Berthold and his book. The text on a banner emerging from the book calls for attention ('Nu merkcht auf') and "unterstreicht die adhortative Intensität der Predigtszene". In the background, a second scene depicts two Franciscan monks together with a third person in a white habit with large hood, possibly a Carthusian monk or nun,<sup>447</sup> in front of a church. One of the Franciscans points to the book that the third person carries. Its red binding is of exactly the same colour as the binding of Berthold's book, in this way linking the two scenes and highlighting that the content – or even the book – is the same in both situations. The page is headed with a banner naming Berthold as the preacher depicted: 'das ist prueder perichtolt der predinger', and underneath in red stands the date: 'Anno dom. M° cccc° Xlvij jar'. Hence, the image has been added three years after the manuscript was written in 1444. In fact, Berthold's authorship was already spelled out from that very beginning. On the verso of the same leaf (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>; see fig. 20), subsequent to the scribe's *incipit* and above a sketch of a simple pen-drawing of a praying figure, it says: 'Hie prueder perchtoldcz puch all tag'.

In her study of author images in vernacular manuscripts, Ursula Peters points out that the scene depicting Berthold preaching takes into account "zunächst weniger die Autorschaft des Franziskanerpredigers als die Performanzsituation des nachfolgenden Predigtcorpus."<sup>448</sup> She continues saying that, nonetheless, the paratextual references to Berthold and his book on fol. 1<sup>r-v</sup> create a presence of his authorship, thus making "das

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<sup>447</sup> Altrock and Kapfhammer (2003), p. 81, interpret this figure as a nun, handing over the book to the Franciscan in front of her. The assumption by Czerwon (2011), p. 25, fn. 62, is certainly wrong: "Vermutlich handelt es sich um die Übergabe der Handschrift an einen Diener des Auftraggebers der Handschrift, Ritter Hans von Hofkirchen."

<sup>448</sup> Peters (2008), p. 71.

Buch, aus dem der Prediger des Eingangsbildes vorträgt, zu *prueder Perchtoldes puch* und die Predigtszene zu einer Autorpräsentation”.<sup>449</sup> Furthermore, the two scenes depict the temporal progression of textual transmission: The book in Berthold’s hand is visually put into relation to the book of the person in the white habit, which is an allusion that any copy, including the present manuscript, is linked to the preacher. Conceptually, this visual interconnection is very similar to what the self-apostrophe does on a textual level: it creates authenticity.

The fact that a noble person, in this case the knight Hans von Hofkirchen,<sup>450</sup> not only commissioned a copy of the German sermons attributed to Berthold, but also had it embellished with a coloured pen-drawing of the preacher years later, provides an excellent example of the renewed status Berthold as author had achieved in the mid-fifteenth century. Richter concludes that the nobility’s historical or literary interest in Berthold was guided “weniger durch seine deutschen Werke als durch seinen Ruf”.<sup>451</sup> This is also mirrored in the fact that, although very few manuscripts have Berthold’s name mentioned in an *incipit* or colophon, his assumed alias ‘lantprediger’, or even *Rusticanus*, does not appear a single time. This is fully consistent with the general attempt to authenticate the vernacular sermons.

## Conclusion

In the historical accounts of Berthold, his significance as a preacher remained constant over time and even appears to have increased. The importance of the author Berthold, on the contrary, fluctuated. In the Latin transmission, the attribution of his sermons to his name fades in the late-thirteenth, in favour of the term *Rusticanus*, which fills the

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<sup>449</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>450</sup> Cf. Richter (1969), pp. 90-92.

<sup>451</sup> Richter (1969), p. 219.

position of the author for the the most part of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Berthold is rediscovered and *Rusticanus* interpreted as his alter ego, in whose shadow he remains. The puzzling aspect in this is how the name of Berthold became seemingly forgotten in the course of several decades and, after a considerable amount of time, suddenly re-emerges.

It is striking that the absence of Berthold's name has not at all derogated the transmission of his work. This shows that the decisive factor was not the fame of the preacher, but the sermon texts themselves, mostly transmitted under the name *Rusticanus* – or simply without a name, as can be assumed for the majority of the scattered transmission.<sup>452</sup> The prologue, crucial for establishing the authenticity of the *Rusticani*, has possibly contributed to the dissociation from Berthold. It is a document concerned with authorization, rather than personal authorship. Berthold acts predominantly as authorizer, not author.

Although the transmission context, the intended and actual audience, is completely different for the Latin and German sermons,<sup>453</sup> a lot of similarities can be observed. Despite text-internal strategies of authentication, the presence of the author Berthold is comparatively limited in the German transmission. Furthermore, the transmission of the German manuscripts correlates with the renewed interest for Berthold in the fifteenth century.<sup>454</sup> From the fourteenth century, during the height of the *Rusticanus*, only two

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<sup>452</sup> For this reason, one can no longer use the phrase “die in mehr als 300 Handschriften unter dem Namen Bertholds überliefert sind”, as Czerwon (2011), p. 1, does.

<sup>453</sup> The Latin transmission is positioned in a monastic, academic and male surrounding, whereas the German codices can be found both in female convents and belonging to members of the nobility. See chapter 6.

<sup>454</sup> For an overview see Neuendorff (2002), pp. 129-30, which is based on Richter (1969).

vernacular manuscripts have survived.<sup>455</sup> The German transmission really begins together with the rediscovery of Berthold as author, with the majority of manuscripts belonging to the second and third quarter of the fifteenth century. Still in the same century, both the Latin and the German transmission come to an end, “die neue buchdruckerkunst übergieng sie”.<sup>456</sup>

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<sup>455</sup> This low number is particularly remarkable, as Richter (1969), pp. 73-76 and 142, assumes that the collection \*X<sup>I</sup> was written in 1264, still during the lifetime of Berthold, and \*Y in the first half of the fourteenth century. Banta (1978), col. 820, supposes for the German sermons a slightly more conservative date of c. 1275, shortly after Berthold’s death.

<sup>456</sup> Grimm (1869 [1825]), p. 297

## Chapter 6

### Ownership

One of the most fascinating questions about medieval manuscripts is that of ownership. This means, in our case: who owned manuscripts? What does it actually mean to ‘own’ a manuscript? Who was writing and reading the texts, and in what context? These questions cannot be answered easily, nor comprehensively, as the physical objects themselves only provide a certain amount of information about the people who were in contact with them. Dieter Richter, in his study of the vernacular transmission of Berthold sermons, has tried to answer these questions through analysis of the sermons’ contents, but also by looking at paratexts with references to locations and owners.<sup>457</sup> It became apparent that two main groups could be identified: on the one hand, women in convents who utilized the sermons “als Lesestoff”,<sup>458</sup> and, on the other hand, “Einzelpersonen des weltlichen Adels” whose interest to own a manuscript was guided by the fame of the preacher.<sup>459</sup> Richter’s study, however, is not extensive.

Therefore, I try to respond again to the question of ownership – not through a general analysis, which in view of the size of the transmission is almost impossible, but by means of three particularly interesting cases. Two of the manuscripts chosen are written in Latin, Koblenz, LHA, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194 and Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961, and were utilized in a similar, yet distinct academic surrounding. The third manuscript, Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Don. 292, contains vernacular sermons attributed to Berthold and its provenance is the Dominican convent Maria Medingen near Dillingen. Both Kurt Ruh and Richter have

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<sup>457</sup> Cf. Richter (1969), pp. 216-19.

<sup>458</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>459</sup> Ibid., p. 218.

commented on MS. Don. 292, but only briefly.<sup>460</sup> Therefore, it has been selected for renewed analysis. For the second part of this chapter, I address four Latin manuscripts in their monastic context, from the Cistercian abbey of Alzelle, of whose library of c. 960 volumes, one third of the manuscripts have survived.<sup>461</sup> These four manuscripts differ substantially in their structure, age, and completeness. However, before embarking onto the manuscript analysis, I will provide a compact overview of the approximate distribution of the Latin Berthold manuscripts among the various religious orders.

From the list of Latin Berthold manuscripts that Laurentius Casutt has compiled, 130 can be considered as corpus transmission, because they contain five or more sermons of the authentic *Rusticanus de Dominicis*, *Rusticanus de Sanctis* or *Rusticanus de Communi* collections.<sup>462</sup> For 82 of these manuscripts the provenance can be established,<sup>463</sup> which is slightly less than two thirds (63 %). While any statistical analysis of a corpus of such size has to be approached with caution, some general patterns regarding the distribution may be observed. The large majority (69 %) of the Latin Berthold manuscripts are almost evenly distributed among three orders. The Benedictine order possessed 21 manuscripts (26 %), 19 were owned by Cistercians (23 %), and 16 can be assigned to Augustinian monasteries (20 %). Against this background, the seemingly limited distribution among the Franciscan order is surprising. Only five manuscripts have survived that belonged to a Franciscan monastery (6 %), exactly the same amount as that of the Dominican and Carthusian orders. Canons regular, Carmelites, Bridgetinnes and Premonstratensians each owned three or less manuscripts (7 mss., 8 %, in total). Three further manuscripts were

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<sup>460</sup> Cf. Ruh (1965), p. 701, and Richter (1969), pp. 83-85.

<sup>461</sup> Cf. Schmidt (1897), p. 5 and Karpp (2002), p. 214.

<sup>462</sup> See Casutt (1961) and chapter 5.

<sup>463</sup> Cf. Casutt (1961).

presumably held in private ownership (4 %). For the remaining manuscript, a particular convent, St German in Trier, can be identified, but it is an unresolved question whether the manuscript was owned by the Cistercian nuns, who inhabited it from the thirteenth century,<sup>464</sup> or by the later inhabitants of St German: the Brethren of the Common Life after 1499,<sup>465</sup> or the Franciscans in 1569/1570.<sup>466</sup>

#### **Koblenz, LHA, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194**

MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194 is one of only two manuscripts that can be assigned to a Carmelite monastery.<sup>467</sup> Today kept at the Federal Archive at Koblenz, it was originally owned by the Carmelite monastery at Boppard. Carmelites had settled in Boppard as early as 1254 and the monastery was founded around 1265, thus making it one of the oldest foundations in the province of Lower Germany.<sup>468</sup> However, the majority of the 70 manuscripts surviving from Boppard, date from the late fourteenth and fifteenth century, most of which had been donated to the library or came from a bequest of confratres.<sup>469</sup>

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<sup>464</sup> See Landeen (1964), p. 68. Becker (1996), p. 375, considers that the inhabitants might also have been Benedictines. However, Landeen (1964), p. 68, remarks that the “white ladies” consistently have been mistaken for Benedictines, but were really Cistercians. Unfortunately, he does not provide a source as evidence for his statement.

<sup>465</sup> On the circumstances see the study by Landeen (1964).

<sup>466</sup> Becker (1996), p. 376.

<sup>467</sup> The second is MS. Patr. 45 of the Federal Library at Bamberg. It originates from the Carmelite monastery at Bamberg and contains 53 sermons from the *RdC* collection as well as single sermons from the *RdS*, *SS* and *SR*. Owing to the scribe’s colophon, it can be dated to exactly 1411. Cf. Casutt (1961), p. 13, as well as Leitschuh and Fischer (1903), pp. 406-07. For a comprehensive overview of the history of the Carmelite order and their transfer from a hermetic life on Mount Carmel in today’s Israel to mendicancy in Western Europe see Jotischky (2002), esp. pp. 8-44.

<sup>468</sup> Stramberg (1856), p. 515; Meckelnborg (1998), p. 11.

<sup>469</sup> Meckelnborg (1998), pp. 11-12. The provenance has still to be established for five further codices. For the shelfmarks of all manuscripts see *ibid*, fns. 66-68. See also Overgaauw (2002), p. 2.

21 of these manuscripts have been owned by the Carmelite Henricus de Montabaur, whose home friary was Boppard.<sup>470</sup>

Henricus began his academic career with the study of logic and philosophy at Cologne (1439-1441), followed by one year where he served as an instructor (*informator*) of philosophy at Boppard (1442).<sup>471</sup> In 1443, still at Cologne, he embarked on his study of theology for two years, before continuing as a student and assisting the *lector* as a student-teacher (*cursor* and master of students) at Kreuznach (1445) and Trier (1446-1448). Finally, in 1449, Henricus was appointed to *lector sententiarum* at Mainz.<sup>472</sup> Around 1460, he lectured in theology at Cologne.<sup>473</sup> From 1470 to 1472, he officiated as prior at Speyer.<sup>474</sup>

While such a career was not unusual, it was reserved only for a select few:<sup>475</sup>

“For the medieval friar, academic study was always considered a privilege to be earned. Intellectual ability did not suffice, since the student’s moral life, his success in the mendicant apostolate, and his proven service to the his Order were also determining factors.”<sup>476</sup>

The selection of students was either undertaken by the provincial authorities – “provincial chapter fathers, the definitory, and the prior general”<sup>477</sup> – or by “the basic educational

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<sup>470</sup> For the shelfmarks of the manuscripts see Meckelnborg (1998), p. 12 fn. 72.

<sup>471</sup> The biography of Henricus de Montabaur’s life has been compiled by Lickteig (1981), p. 67-68.

<sup>472</sup> In contrast to the *lector principalis*, who “gave the ordinary lectures of Scripture and held the disputations”, the “secondary lector was called the *lector sententiarum*, because he commented on Peter Lombard’s *Four Books of Sentences*”. Lickteig (1981), pp. 69-70.

<sup>473</sup> Stramberg (1856), p. 517.

<sup>474</sup> Meckelnborg (1998), p. 372, quoting Koch (1889), p. 55.

<sup>475</sup> Cf. Lickteig (1981), pp. 66-67.

<sup>476</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>477</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

entity of that province – the friary school”.<sup>478</sup> The repeated change of location during studies was also far from being unusual. “Because of the unity of studies and the distributive nature of the educational system used by the German provinces, it was a common practice to move students from one school to another when needed.”<sup>479</sup> Finally, when being appointed to a lecturer position, it was not only required to teach theology, but also to preach to the people. “For a Carmelite to retain his lectorship, he had to engage in apostolic preaching. Normally as lector, he became the official preacher of the friary.”<sup>480</sup>

Against this background, it becomes obvious what function and context MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194 had. Codicologically, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194 is one of the most complex Latin Berthold manuscripts.<sup>481</sup> Henricus’ handwriting is present in three of the twelve codicological units. As the final quire of the *Rusticanus de Communi* and thus the text of seven sermons were missing, he added these himself by means of another, complete collection, onto the blank leaves of the units preceding and following the Berthold sermons. Henricus’ writing is characterized by pragmatism and functionality: “Die Schrift Montabaur ist eine schlichte, schmucklose und schnell geschriebene gotische Kursive mit zahlreichen Abkürzungen. Seine Schrift ist ein gutes Beispiel einer Gelehrtenschrift aus dem zweiten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts.”<sup>482</sup> The same is true for the manuscript itself: it is inornate, consists of a mixture of paper and parchment units, and clearly was compiled for pragmatic reasons.

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<sup>478</sup> Ibid., p. 67

<sup>479</sup> Ibid.

<sup>480</sup> Ibid., pp. 71-72.

<sup>481</sup> See chapter 4.

<sup>482</sup> Overgauw (2008), p. 11.

Henricus not only wrote parts of his books himself, and made annotations and corrections in the margins,<sup>483</sup> but he also marked the manuscripts as his personal possession by adding a motto at the front of the manuscript:

*O ihesu qui te clarificatum discipulis tuis ostendisti in monte thabor / Salutis in viam dirige actus lectoris dicti de monthabuyr.*

(Koblenz, SA, Best. 701 Nr 194, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>)

Moreover, Henricus' colophons provide insight into the particular context in which his writing has taken place, as the following case shows:

*Expliciunt sermones de communi sanctorum scripti et completi per me fratrem henricum de monthabuyr pro tunc lectorem conuentus contingit scilicet leprosum / qui adhuc iudicatus fuit per magistros colonie Anno domini 1477<sup>o</sup> in die sancti barnabe apostoli / et scripsit hos sermones in leprosorio bopardiensi / studentes et proficientes ex eis / orent dominum pro salute anime eius et omnium fidelium animarum etc*

(Koblenz, SA, Best. 701 Nr. 194, fol. 28<sup>v</sup>; see fig. 21)

Henricus states his full name and status, identifying himself both as *frater* and as 'at that time' (*pro tunc*) *lector* of the 'leprous convent', who until that point was determined by the masters of Cologne. The exact date, 11 June 1477,<sup>484</sup> and place, the leperhouse of Boppard, are mentioned, but also the intended audience – students and *proficientes* of Boppard – whom he asks to pray for his soul and the souls of all believers, a common topos. One can infer from this that Henricus must have returned to his home friary at the end of his career to serve as *lector*. In doing so, he descended in the order's hierarchy, after

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<sup>483</sup> Cf. Meckelnborg (1998), p. 12.

<sup>484</sup> Eef Overgauw has overlooked the colophon on fol. 28<sup>v</sup>. As Henricus calls himself *lector* in his motto on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, Overgauw determines 1449 as *terminus post quem*, the year in which he was appointed in Mainz. See Overgauw (2002), p. 45.

having served as prior at Speyer in 1471-1472, which is displayed by the content of the following colophon found in MS. 701 Nr. 172.

*Expliciunt veritates Augustini librorum super de civitate dei facte per venerabilem patrem Franciscum de Maronis ... scripte per me fratrem Henricum de Montbabuyr prioris et lectoris conventus Spirensis anno domini 1471 in vigilia Petri ad cathedram ad laudem dei et utilitatem in libro primo Augustini studentium.*

(Koblenz, SA, Best. 701 Nr. 172, fol. 206<sup>v</sup>)<sup>485</sup>

While the phrasing is similar, Henricus is named both as prior and lector of the convent at Speyer, on 22 February 1471. Yet, the context for which this book was written is less specific. The final, highly topical phrase simply refers to the scribe's intention to have written this book for the praise of God, and the benefit of its students.

The colophon's structure, particularly the inclusion of the current ecclesiastical title, seems to have been common among educated members of the Carmelite order, as the following colophon from a Carmelite breviary shows:

*Et sic est finis communis sanctorum diurnalis et octaualis In die decollacionis sancti baptiste anno dni. 1481° per me fratrem Michaellem Cingulatoris pro tunc lectorem et priorem Conuentus dinckelspuhelensis mei prioratus anno sedecimo*

(Bamberg, SB, MS. Lit. 97, fol. 302<sup>r</sup>)<sup>486</sup>

We learn that on 29 August 1481, a certain *frater* Michael Cingulator,<sup>487</sup> 'at that time lector and prior of the convent in Dinkelsbühl', has completed his writing. The final words, pointing out that this occurred during the sixteenth year of his priorate, shows that

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<sup>485</sup> Meckelnborg (1998), p. 378.

<sup>486</sup> Leitschuh (1966 [1887-1912]), p. 245. The colophon belongs to a *Commune sanctorum*, which has not yet been identified.

<sup>487</sup> 'Cingulator' is the latinized form of the name 'Gürtler'.

long-term continuity in such office was not unusual. With Henricus, the explicit remark about the *magistri Colonie*, who obviously appointed him to the office as *lector* in Boppard, could be seen as an explanation for his change of location. It is conceivable that Henricus was withdrawn from Speyer – the reasons have to remain speculation – and returned to his home friary on the orders of his superiors.

The colophon following the Berthold sermons is also informative with regard to the perception of its content. Similar to the *incipit*, Henricus refers to the Berthold sermons by the general title *sermones de communi sanctorum*. This arguably indicates that the manuscript used as a source to supplement the missing texts, must have transmitted the sermon collection under the same general name. Furthermore, as Henricus points out that he has not only written (some of) the sermons, but also completed them, his source must also have contained the same sermons, that is, *Jakob* 1-75.

The vast majority of the other texts in MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194 are sermons by anonymous authors. However, some of the units contain different, quite miscellaneous material related to spiritual or educational guidance, for example, texts on the confession (mnemonics for the inquiry of conscience before the confession and the *Summa confessorum* by Conradus de Huxaria OP), mnemonics on neumes or the structure of hypotheses, and a fragment of the *Gesta Romanorum*.<sup>488</sup> The tenth unit (fols 225-237) stands out for another reason, as well will see in the following paragraph.<sup>489</sup>

In the first part, it contains excerpts from statutes of the Council of Vienne (1311-1312) (fols 225<sup>ra</sup>-227<sup>rb</sup>), followed by excerpts from provincial statutes (fols 227<sup>v</sup>-228<sup>f</sup>) issued by the Archbishop of Mainz Peter of Aspelt (1306-1320), and finally three *quaestiones de*

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<sup>488</sup> See Overgauuw (2002), pp. 45-54.

<sup>489</sup> See Overgauuw (2002), pp. 52-53.

*religiosis* (fol. 228<sup>va</sup>). All three texts are written in a thin gothic cursive script, datable to the first half of the fourteenth century. While the first text is generally attributed to Sibertus de Beka (1260-1333),<sup>490</sup> there is further evidence that it might be his original handwriting, as the final passage on fol. 228<sup>va</sup> begins with the phrase *Consulo tamen ego frater sybertus*.<sup>491</sup>

This is remarkable, as Sibertus de Beka was not only “the first German Carmelite master of theology from the University of Paris”,<sup>492</sup> but also, as provincial of *Alemaniam Inferiorem*, responsible for the expansion of the order’s educational system: he established the Cologne school as centre for the study of theology and philosophy and furthered the *studium* in the other houses of the province.<sup>493</sup> Sibertus, in addition, is known for his *Ordinale* (1312),<sup>494</sup> a rite which “remained standard until 1580”.<sup>495</sup> During the trial of Meister Eckhart in 1327, he was “the highest ranking witness” among the representatives of the mendicant orders.<sup>496</sup> MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194, therefore, does not only contain the autograph of Henricus de Montabaur, but also very likely a second autograph of Sibertus de Beka whose main work is celebrated in the Carmelite order until today.<sup>497</sup>

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<sup>490</sup> Sibertus de Beka was born in the county of Geldern in 1260 and died in Cologne, on 29 December 1333. See <<http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnp00350795>> [10 September 2013].

<sup>491</sup> Overgauuw (2002), p. 52, formulates rather cautiously: “Wegen dieses Vermerks könnte der vorliegende Text als Autograph des Sibertus de Beka betrachtet werden.”

<sup>492</sup> Lickteig (1981), p. 34. Lickteig also provides a short biographical sketch for his time in office as prior provincial, see *ibid.*, pp. 34-36.

<sup>493</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>494</sup> See the edition by Zimmermann (1910).

<sup>495</sup> Jotischky (2002), p. 33.

<sup>496</sup> Senner (2013), p. 66, fn. 374.

<sup>497</sup> In 2009, the Carmelite Liturgical Seminar met to prepare the celebration of seven hundred years of Sibertus’ Ordinal. See the proceedings in Alban (2010).

The Berthold manuscript from Boppard, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194, is a personalised book, compiled for the private use by Henricus de Montabaur, in order to aid him in his role as a *lector*, and thus also as a preacher, at Boppard. The content of the individual codicological units is certainly not accidental and can, for the most part, be subsumed under the title 'preaching aids'. The materiality and mise-en-page of the units, by contrast, is completely diverse and arbitrary. The size of the parchment and paper leaves is average (190 x 135 mm), allowing for the manuscript to be easily transported. All this corroborates the impression that pragmatism prevailed in its making. This is further illustrated by the Berthold sermons which Henricus added, for they are not only written in an inornate Gothic cursive, but also lack any rubrication or decoration. While there was clearly interest in the possession of the complete collection of Berthold sermons, it is only one of many sermon collections in the volume. Moreover, there are no marginal annotations which would indicate usage, nor was any numbering present or has been added, which would have aided in finding individual texts. What it shows, however, is that even two hundred years after Berthold's death, the *Rusticani de Communi* sermons still had their place in academic monastic life.

### **Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961**

Henricus de Montabaur of Boppard was engaged with Berthold sermons towards the end of his academic career. Clm. 7961, by contrast, is a manuscript which was used by a young Cistercian monk even before his *studium* began. It belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Kaisheim and is a true Berthold manuscript, insofar as it contains almost the complete *Rusticanus de Communi* (with the exception of five sermons on several martyrs, *Jakob* 37-41), and 67 sermons of the *Rusticanus de Sanctis*, supplemented by eight other *sermones de sanctis*, one of which can be attributed to Graeculus. It is a monomorous codex, written in a Gothic textualis during the second half of the fourteenth century. The original binding of

white sheepskin on presumably wooden boards, now largely restored, dates from the fifteenth century. The parchment used is mostly of good quality, measuring 216 x 155 mm.

Most noteworthy are the various ownership marks. The first one added to the codex is located in the lower margin below the first sermon:

*Liber sancte marie virginis in cesarea Ad usum fratris michabelis scho<sup>e</sup>n datus 1429*

(Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>)

In 1429, the owner of the book was, without doubt, the monastery at Kaisheim, but it was given ‘for the use’ (*ad usum*) of brother Michael Schön. A possible time limit regarding the use is not mentioned and presumably the manuscript remained in his possession for the ensuing years.<sup>498</sup> Nigel Palmer, in his study on the Cistercian abbey of Eberbach, quotes very similar examples, in which “das Exlibris des Klosters mit einer Angabe zum persönlichen Gebrauch durch einen bestimmten Eberbacher Konventualen verbunden wird”.<sup>499</sup> He notes: “Der formelhafte *ad usus*-Vermerk [...] deutet an, in welchem Sinne der genannte Mönch als Besitzer des Buches anzusehen ist, und ist zugleich eine Urkunde seiner rechtmäßigen Erlaubnis, das Buch vorübergehend zu ‘besitzen’.”<sup>500</sup> The rationale behind such careful wording results from the regulations laid down in chapter 33 of the Benedictine rule, which the Cistercian order also followed,

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<sup>498</sup>An example of an ‘*ad usum*’ ownership mark, in which a temporal limitation of use is stated (*ad revocationem*), while not expressed in exact terms, is Jena, ThULB, MS. Bos. o. 14, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: *Concessum per me fratrem Jacobum Volrot patri fratri Andree Buckle ad usum usque ad revocationem*. The manuscript is dated to 1477 and, most likely, originates from a Franciscan monastery. The ownership mark has been added around 1500. See Klein-Ilbeck and Ott (2009), pp. 100-01.

<sup>499</sup>Palmer (1998), p. 143.

<sup>500</sup>Ibid.

according to which any but communal ownership was abolished – including books, tablets and pens:<sup>501</sup>

*Si Quid Debeant Monachi Proprium Habere*

*Praecipuae hoc vitium radicitus amputandum est de monasterio: ne quis praesumat aliquid dare aut accipere sine iussionem abbatis, neque aliquid habere proprium, nullam omnino rem, neque codicem, neque tabulas, neque graphium, sed nihil omnino, quippe quibus nec corpora sua nec voluntates licet habere in propria voluntate. Omnia vero necessaria a patre sperare monasterii, nec quicquam liceat habere quod abbas non dederit aut permiserit. Omniaque omnium sint communia, ut scriptum est, ne quisquam suum aliquid dicat [Acts 4:32] vel praesumat. Quod si quisquam huic nequissimo vitio deprehensus fuerit delectari, ammonetur semel et iterum; si non emendaverit, correptioni subiaceat.*<sup>502</sup>

Individual use of property, however, could be permitted by the abbot: “Nur so kann man es verstehen, wenn einzelne Mönche durch Eintragungen in ihren Büchern zu erkennen geben, daß sie diese als ihren “Besitz” betrachteten.”<sup>503</sup>

For this reason, Clm. 7961 is a particularly interesting case. While officially it might still have been owned by the monastery, later entries in the codex indicate that, in fact, Michael Schön had become its owner. On fol. \*1<sup>v</sup> he added his full name, *Michael scho<sup>e</sup>n*, and on fols \*1<sup>v</sup> and 165<sup>v</sup>, he wrote his surname *Schon* in 2cm high letters directly across the text. The circumstances leading to this decided personalization of the manuscript can be inferred from the last ownership mark:

*vonn michabel scho<sup>e</sup>n / Michabelj Scho<sup>e</sup>n / Scho<sup>e</sup>n est studiosus Haydelbergensis. anno Domini*

*CCCC<sup>o</sup>XXXII circa festum St. Remigii quando missus fuit ad studium. a. 1432.*

(Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961, fol. 165<sup>v</sup>)

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<sup>501</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>502</sup> Quoted from Venarde (2011), p. 122.

<sup>503</sup> Palmer (1998), p. 143.

Around the 1 October 1432, the beginning of the academic year, Michael Schön was sent to the *studium* at Heidelberg. This annotation, however, has been written retrospectively, when he had matriculated and already was a student (*est studiosus*) at Heidelberg. He appears in the matriculation register as “Fr. Michael Schon de Cesarea”, enlisted in the semester beginning 23 June 1432.<sup>504</sup> His entry is followed by the comment “*dedit*”, which identifies him as a fee-paying student.<sup>505</sup>

The University of Heidelberg stood in a close relationship to the Cistercian order since its foundation in 1386, when the Cistercian Reginaldus de Alna,<sup>506</sup> Doctor of Sacred Theology at the University of Paris, was appointed as professor of the faculty of theology.<sup>507</sup> Between 1386 and 1549, approximately 600 Cistercians had matriculated.<sup>508</sup> However, similar to the other mendicant orders, it was a great privilege to be selected to attend a *studium*.<sup>509</sup> When sent to Heidelberg, Michael Schön had obviously been equipped with the sermon manuscript that was already in his possession. Given the value

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<sup>504</sup> See Toepke (1884), p. 192. The occasional dates added to the entries show that Michael Schön was enlisted after 13 July and before 16 October. As his name is among the last ones during this period, it is very likely that he matriculated at the beginning of October. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 191-92.

<sup>505</sup> The primary function of the matriculation register was to establish “die Zugehörigkeit der Inskribierten zur Rechtsgemeinschaft der Korporation [...]”. Erst die weitere Bestimmung, daß man für die Intitulation eine bestimmte festgelegte Gebühr zu bezahlen hatte, führte überhaupt zu sozial qualifizierenden Zusätzen in der Liste [...]”, Miethke (2004), p. 184. Among the ninety students matriculating between 23 June and 20 December 1432, twenty-six (29 %) are classified as *pauper*; cf. Toepke (1884), pp. 190-93. On this category of students see Schwinger (1981) and Miethke (2004), 175-205. On the social composition at medieval universities in general see the extensive survey by Fuchs (1994).

<sup>506</sup> Aulne abbey, in the bishopric of Liège.

<sup>507</sup> See Toepke (1884), pp. 1 and 3, fn. 2.

<sup>508</sup> Amrhein (1906), p. 34.

<sup>509</sup> In the first half of the fifteenth century, only six friars from Kaisheim were sent to Heidelberg, in 1403, 1406, 1422, 1432, and 1442. See Amrhein (1906), p. 41.

of a manuscript, the distinct ownership marks added in Heidelberg at the front and back of the codex could be interpreted as protection against theft. At the same time, they give the impression of an act of appropriation. As the last entry states, it is now the book “*vonn michabel schoen*” (fol. 165<sup>v</sup>). In the academic surrounding at the university, the original “zweifache’ Besitzvermerk”,<sup>510</sup> as Palmer calls the combination of naming both monastery and monk, has been supplemented by numerous single ownership marks.

### **Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Don. 292**

MS. Don. 292 has been selected, as it can be dated to a similar period as MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194 and Clm. 7961 and also originates from a monastic – but female – context. This allows for a better comparison, displaying not only the history of ownership of a particular Berthold manuscript, but also the difference between the Latin and German transmission. The provenance of MS. Don. 292 is the Dominican convent Maria Medingen near Dillingen (founded in 1246),<sup>511</sup> which is particularly known for being the home convent of the mystic Margareta Ebner (1291-1351).<sup>512</sup> Written in a Gothic cursive script by three hands in the second quarter of the fifteenth century (c. 1428-1436),<sup>513</sup> the manuscript

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<sup>510</sup> Palmer (1998), pp. 143 f.

<sup>511</sup> Jedelhauser (1936), p 9. There were three convents with the name Medingen. In particular the first two often are confused or considered to be the same: 1) the Dominican convent mentioned here, Maria Medingen at Dillingen on the Danube (=Mödingen), 2) the Dominican convent Moedlingen or Medlingen (=Obermedlingen), east of Lauingen, founded in 1260, in immediate proximity to and as daughter convent of Maria Medingen, and 3) the Cistercian abbey Medingen, in the borough of Bad Bevensen, Lower Saxony. Cf. Jedelhauser (1936), pp. 10-11 and 37; Krämer (1989), pp. 563-65.

<sup>512</sup> See the recent study by Federer (2011), on the correspondence between Margaretha and her confessor, Heinrich von Nördlingen.

<sup>513</sup> Strobl, PS II, p. XII and Ruh (1965), p. 701, list the same correct number of hands. Richter (1969), p. 84, by contrast, notices only two hands. Unusually, the change of hands takes place mid-sentence (fol. 86<sup>v</sup>) or between sentences, mid-page (fol. 157<sup>v</sup>). Hand 1: fols 1<sup>r</sup>-86<sup>v</sup>, l. 12. Hand 2: fols 86<sup>v</sup>, l. 12-157<sup>v</sup>, l. 11. Hand 3: fols 157<sup>v</sup>, l. 11-170<sup>v</sup>. A fourth hand has subsequently made textual corrections on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.

consists of 180 paper leaves in an octavo format (200 x 135 cm), made from the rather less common and more expensive large paper sheets.<sup>514</sup> The binding is well-crafted, but simple, and has blind ruling. It is part of the \*Y transmission of the German sermons attributed to Berthold.<sup>515</sup> While it comprises exclusively Berthold sermons, it has not been completed and interrupts after fol. 170<sup>v</sup>. The binding of white pigskin on wooden boards is contemporary. Ownership marks from three different hands can be found:

*Hie hebet sich an pruder perchtoltz predig vnd ander güt ler vnd ist das puch frawn Annan.*

(fol. 1r; see fig. 22)

*Das buch ist her wolfen von seldneck dum herr zû wirczburg dem got genedig seji* (fol. 170<sup>v</sup>; see fig. 23).

*Disz puch gebort in daz kloster medingen prediger ordens* (fol. \*1<sup>v</sup>, front pastedown; see fig. 24).<sup>516</sup>

The first note matches with the script of the first of the three hands that have written the manuscript. It is, therefore, quite evident that the person referred to as *fraw Anna* must have been the earliest owner of the codex. Kurt Ruh has suggested that the name refers to Anna von Zimmern, Countess of Kirchberg.<sup>517</sup> His assumption is based on the dedication of the manuscript Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Don. 117,<sup>518</sup> to Anna von Zimmern (d. 1478). On fol. 189<sup>v</sup> the colophon states: *Daz puchlin Ist gescriben alz man zalt nach cristi gepurt m<sup>o</sup>ccc<sup>o</sup> vnd in dem liiii<sup>o</sup> jar am palmabend der edeln vnd wolgepornen frowen frowen Annan von zymmern vnd grefin von kirchperg etc. / Got sey lob.* Given the fact that MS. Don. 292 is approximately twenty years older than MS. Don. 117, and in view of the obvious

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<sup>514</sup> The watermark used depicts a complete figure of a unicorn, very similar to Piccard, *Fabeltiere* (1980), III/2496 (Utrecht, 1431, 1432).

<sup>515</sup> See Richter (1969), pp. 83-85.

<sup>516</sup> The actual name of the monastery has been erased, but can be deciphered with a UV lamp.

<sup>517</sup> Ruh (1965), p. 701.

<sup>518</sup> Formerly: Cod. 117 of the Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek Donaueschingen.

difference in style and length in the form of address, it seems rather speculative that there is any connection.

It is justifiable to assume that the manuscript was written in relative geographical proximity to the person who would subsequently receive it, in particular, as her name is written as part of the heading. Unfortunately, a linguistic analysis of the German dialect of the sermons is not fully conclusive. Richter notes that “die Verbreitung der \*Y-Gruppe blieb überwiegend sprachlandschaftlich gebunden: sie fand fast ausschließlich im Bairisch-Österreichischen statt.”<sup>519</sup> However, the orthographic features of MS. Don. 292 rather point to the Bavarian-Alemannic transitional region.<sup>520</sup> Initial /b/ is realised as both <b> (*bekennen*, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; *gebott*, fol. 87<sup>f</sup>) and <p> (*pübsichen*, fol. 81<sup>v</sup>; *pey gepott*, fol. 99<sup>f</sup>). Initial /k/ as an initial sound is always <k> (*kinden*, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; *kostlicher*, fol. 10<sup>f</sup>, *kind*, fol. 84<sup>f</sup>). Both the initial <b> and <k> both point into the Alemannic area. The diphthongized /i/ (*kneblein*, fol. 87<sup>f</sup>; *tag zeitten*, fol. 99<sup>f</sup>), by contrast, as well as the realisation of /ou/ as <au> (*urlaub*, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>),<sup>521</sup> point to Bavaria. Finally, there is again inconsistency with the diphthong /ei/, which can be found both in the Alemannic way as <ai> (*ain*, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>); and with the Bavarian spelling <ei> (*weisheit*, *weis mein*, fol. 79<sup>f</sup>; *geilheit* fol. 98<sup>v</sup>), sometimes directly next to each other (*trehtikait*, *beweist*, fol. 28<sup>f</sup>; *zeichen*, *gaistlich*, fol. 85<sup>f</sup>). Medingen lies amidst the transitional zone of the Bavarian and Alemannic dialect, which would support the idea of a genesis of MS. Don. 292 not too distant to it.

The second ownership mark on fol. 170<sup>v</sup>, however, refutes the previous train of thought. It is a later addition and ascribes the manuscript to Wolfram von Seldeneck. A charter,

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<sup>519</sup> Richter (1969), p. 83

<sup>520</sup> Paul et al. (2007), pp. 34-42.

<sup>521</sup> Cf. Besch (1967), p. 81, map 3.

dated to 4 September 1432, names him as canon and archdeacon at Würzburg.<sup>522</sup> The annotation on fol. 170<sup>v</sup>, in accordance with this, refers to him as “dum herr”, with the *terminus ante quem* for it being 23 October 1444, the day of his death.<sup>523</sup> Wolfram von Seldeneck’s connection to the Medingen convent is almost certainly a prioress of Medingen by the name Barbara von Seldeneck. She is first mentioned in 1437 and held her office until 1467, with an interruption of two years, from 1440 to 1442, when Margaretha von Rammingen was the incumbent.<sup>524</sup>

With regard to Wolfram von Seldeneck, Richter has correctly pointed out: “Von ihm muß die Handschrift an das schwäbische Dominikanerinnenkloster Medingen (bei Dillingen) gekommen sein [...]”<sup>525</sup> Arguably, this means that the manuscript was produced in a secular context and not originally intended for the use of a monastic surrounding. Nevertheless, Richter does not list it with the three other manuscripts, which “nicht im Kloster entstanden, sondern im Auftrag von Einzelpersonen des weltlichen Adels geschrieben worden [sind]”.<sup>526</sup> The punctuation of MS. Don. 292 also points in the direction of a non-monastic context. Two of the three hands lack any type of punctuation, only the second hand uses a basic *punctus* to mark the end of a sentence. The limited punctuation is, according to Karin Schneider, mostly an indication for vernacular codices that were intended for a lay audience.<sup>527</sup>

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<sup>522</sup> Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Bestand B 375 S U 434. Cf. online: <<http://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/plink/?f=2-1956775>> [10 September 2013].

<sup>523</sup> See Archiv des historischen Vereins von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg (1889), pp. 263-64.

<sup>524</sup> See Jedelhauser (1936), pp. 102-03 and 110.

<sup>525</sup> Richter (1969), p. 85.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218. The three manuscripts are Heidelberg, UB, Cpg. 24; Augsburg, UB, Cod. III. 1. 2° 36; Vienna, ÖNB, MS. 2829.

<sup>527</sup> Schneider (1999), p. 90. Schneider notes that this applies not only for German, but also Middle Dutch manuscripts.

The question to ask again, therefore, still without being able to provide a satisfying answer is: at what point of time, and for whom, had Wolfram von Seldeneck acquired the manuscript? Presumably, the book was bought by, or given to, him, shortly after it was written, in the early 1430s. Given the lack of any personal sign of ownership by *fraw Anna*, and assuming that scribe and first owner were not identical, it could be possible that Anna never came into the possession of the manuscript that was written for her. Once in the possession of Wolfram, he stated his ownership in the upper margin of the last page containing writing. As there are no other manuscripts known to have been owned by Wolfram von Seldeneck,<sup>528</sup> it is conceivable that he did not acquire MS. Don. 292 to keep for himself. Book donations to convents, from nuns themselves or their relatives, clergy and wealthy secular people were very common in the context of a Dominican convent in the fifteenth century.<sup>529</sup> Himself a clergy and closely associated with Medingen through Barbara von Seldeneck, Wolfram must have donated the codex to the convent between 1437 and 1444. Either during this time, or possibly later,<sup>530</sup> the ownership changed again, from personal possession to communal ownership, indicated by the ownership mark on the front pastedown.

Once, the manuscript had entered the convent of Maria Medingen, what function did it have? Unfortunately, there are no marginal annotations or any indication of actual use. The reason for the lack of signs of usage, however, is not the fact that it was written in the vernacular. In her analysis of Dominican table readings, Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendter concludes that even the liturgical texts are listed in German. The traditional Latin works, such as the Vulgate, St Augustine, St Gregory and Bede, “scheint

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<sup>528</sup> I owe this information to the expert of prosopography in Würzburg, Karl Borchardt.

<sup>529</sup> Cf. Ehrenschwendtner (2004), pp. 293-99.

<sup>530</sup> Ruh (1965), p. 701, dates this ownership mark to the early sixteenth century.

man um der Verständlichkeit willen aufgegeben zu haben".<sup>531</sup> Furthermore, with regard to Dominican convents, it appears the books that were privately owned were liturgical books, such as Psalters and breviaries. These books were required for participation in the mass and for private devotion, and were either to be brought when entering the convent or acquired shortly after.<sup>532</sup> Sermon manuscripts, in contrast, were listed in the general inventory.<sup>533</sup> This would explain why the third ownership mark on the front pastedown does not contain any individual's name.<sup>534</sup>

The examples chosen as case studies are certainly extreme in their comparison. The two Latin manuscripts, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194 and Clm. 7961, belong to a monastic, but highly academic surrounding. Most importantly, they reflect the interest of an individual, but at the same time, what was required in a fifteenth-century preaching and lecturing context. MS. Don. 292, by contrast, delivers relatively little insight into its actual function. Despite the existence of two personalized ownership marks, no individuality is reflected in the manuscript. This is, of course, also due to the codicological structure, with the two Latin codices being composites, whereas MS. Don. 292 is a common monomeric codex. In the following part of this chapter, I will return to a Cistercian abbey, which has been of particular significance for this study.

## **Altzelle**

Among the Berthold manuscripts investigated, there are four which occupy a particularly important position: Leipzig, UB, MSS. 496, 497, 498 and 722. They differ considerably in quality, composition, function, and age, or contain a remarkably elaborate system of

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<sup>531</sup> Cf. Ehrenschtendner (2004), pp. 181-83 and 191-93.

<sup>532</sup> Ibid., pp. 218-19.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid., p. 284.

<sup>534</sup> However, why the name *medingen* has been scratched out, is still to investigate.

finding aids and indices.<sup>535</sup> In addition, all four manuscripts have the same provenance, the Cistercian abbey of Altzelle. In the last decade, the library of Altzelle has attracted increasing interest among historians and literary scholars. Two edited volumes examine the question of its historical context and draw comparisons to other libraries.<sup>536</sup> Michael Rupp has recently completed a monograph on the manuscripts that contain German texts.<sup>537</sup>

In 1506, abbot Martin von Lochau (1493-1522) had the upper floor of the converses' house transformed into a library hall and positioned the c. 960 volumes of the abbey on 28 pulpits (*pulpita*), leaving an additional eight pulpits free for new acquisitions.<sup>538</sup> A chain was mounted to the top of the upper or lower board of the more important volumes, which then was attached to an iron rod running across the pulpit, of which the traces are still visible on all four of the Berthold manuscripts.<sup>539</sup> Subsequent to the secularisation of Altzelle in 1540, the manuscripts were assigned to the university of Leipzig, whose central library was founded in 1543.<sup>540</sup> Approximately 320 manuscripts still exist as one collection and remain today at the University Library in Leipzig. In addition, at least eight codices from Altzelle are in the possession of the Cistercian convent of St. Marienstern.<sup>541</sup>

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<sup>535</sup> See chapters 2 and 4.

<sup>536</sup> Schattkowsky and Thieme (2002); Graber (2008).

<sup>537</sup> Rupp (2008 a).

<sup>538</sup> Cf. Schmidt (1897), pp. 4-5; Schneider (<sup>3</sup>1986), p. 407; Karpp (2002), p. 214.

<sup>539</sup> The chains were taken off by the head librarian of the University Library at Leipzig, Joachim Feller, in 1675. Cf. Schiewer (1996), p. 195. The inner surface around the stripped chain hole in MS. 496 has offset from a parchment: the Willehalm fragment 43 (ll. 9,27-10,3); see Rupp (2008 b).

<sup>540</sup> Cf. Karpp (2002), p. 230.

<sup>541</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 231. On the library of St Marienstern see Winzeler (2002).

As the following list shows, Altzelle owned one of the largest Cistercian libraries in the late Middle Ages:

Citeaux	1480 – c. 1200 volumes
Clairvaux	Late 12th c. – c. 340 volumes, 14th c. – 850 volumes (excluding liturgical books) 1472 – 1788 volumes
Altzelle	1514 – c. 960 volumes <sup>542</sup>
Grünhain	1514 – c. 650 volumes
Heilsbronn	1540 – c. 640 volumes
Himmerod	1453 – c. 2000 volumes
Lehnin	1450 – c. 1000 volumes
Zwettl	1451 – c. 500 volumes <sup>543</sup>

However, considerable numbers of books were also found in libraries outside the Cistercian order. In 1502, the Benedictine abbey Sponheim, under abbot Johannes Trithemius, owned 1646 volumes, which had grown to 2000 volumes only three years later.<sup>544</sup> The monastery at Tegernsee, also Benedictine, possessed 1738 volumes in 1494.<sup>545</sup> The University Library at Heidelberg, by comparison, called 841 works in 1600 volumes their own, in 1464.<sup>546</sup>

When analyzing an additional 81 codices from Altzelle, dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth century, it became apparent how these codices reflect the monastery's intention to gather a large amount of the most significant works of theology as well as books of practical character, such as concordances and vocabularies, and legal writings. In

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<sup>542</sup> Schneider (<sup>3</sup>1986), p. 407, lists “ca. 1000 Bände”, whereas Schmidt (1897), p. 5, who published the catalogue of 1514, only counts around 960 volumes.

<sup>543</sup> Schneider (<sup>3</sup>1986), p. 407-08.

<sup>544</sup> Cf. Schmidt (1897), p. 6.

<sup>545</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>546</sup> Cf. Schneider (<sup>3</sup>1986), p. 408.

addition, what is striking is the obvious demand for sermons and related works, which comprise, in addition to the four codices with Berthold sermons, an *Ars praedicandi* by Alanus de Insulis (MS. 444), sermon collections by Thomas Aquinas (MS. 483), Hugo von Schlettstadt (MS. 571), Bertrand de Turre (MS. 535), Guibertus de Tornaco (MS. 623), Jacobus de Voragine (MS. 736), Conrad of Saxony (MS. 723) as well as ten volumes of *Sermones anonymi de tempore et de sanctis*. For the most part, the Altzelle codices are large volumes of good, or very good, quality. In view of the average size and high quality, that is, the general codicological standard at Altzelle, the Berthold manuscripts – who in this respect differ considerably from the remaining Latin transmission – appear slightly less impressive.

### Ownership marks

According to the entry in the *Annales Veterocellenses*, which has survived in Leipzig, UB, MS. 350, the abbey of Altzelle was founded in 1175 as “*celle sancte Marie*” (fol. 125<sup>r</sup>) in the proximity of Nossen, in modern Saxony. In 1268, a daughter house named Neuzelle (*Cella Nova*) was founded more than 200 km northeastern, in modern Brandenburg.<sup>547</sup> Gradually, the name *celle sancte Marie* was replaced with *antiqua Cella* or *vetus Cella* in order to distinguish the two monasteries.<sup>548</sup> Inevitably, this change of name was also reflected in the style of the ownership marks in the manuscripts.

MS. 496 is the only one of the four manuscripts that contains the old ownership mark *Liber Cella | Sancte Marie* (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>), written in a brighter and browner ink than the text.

In addition, the manuscript contains the most common ownership mark of Altzelle:

*LIBER UETERIS CELLE | SANCTE MARIE*. It is typically found across the lower

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<sup>547</sup> See Beyer (1855), p. 20. Karpf (2002), p. 221, by contrast, states as foundation date 1281, but without mentioning his source.

<sup>548</sup> See Beyer (1855), p. 20.

margins of one opening, in plain initials with each word in a single colour, alternating red and blue, at the beginning, in the middle, and the end of the codex (fols 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>, 126<sup>v</sup>-127<sup>r</sup>). Despite the foundation of Neuzelle in the second half of the thirteenth century, it was several decades before the new name Altzelle was fully established in the ownership marks:

“Wie das Kloster ursprünglich Marien-Zelle hieß, und nur erst in der Folge, vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts an, den Namen Alt-Zelle gebrauchte, so kann man als Regel annehmen, daß die erstere Einschrift [= *Liber Celle Sancte Marie*] aus der Zeit bis in die erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts reicht, also älter ist als die zweite [= *Liber veteris Celle Sancte Marie*].”<sup>549</sup>

This presumption by Eduard Beyer is supported by a palaeographical analysis of MS. 496, according to which the manuscript can be dated to the mid-fourteenth century. It is likely, therefore, that the first ownership mark was added shortly after the manuscript was written. The second ownership mark, on the contrary, was added much later, most likely in the period between 1425 and 1430.<sup>550</sup>

MS. 498 was written in the first half of the fourteenth century. It contains one ownership mark using the old name, again spread out across the lower margins of a verso and recto at the beginning of the codex: *LIBER CELLE | SANCTE MARIE* (fols 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>). However, this time, alternating black and red plain initials are used. On fols 114<sup>v</sup>-115<sup>r</sup> and 248<sup>v</sup>-249<sup>r</sup>, we find the fifteenth-century writing in red and blue: *LIBER UETERIS CELLE | SANCTE MARIE*. The same pattern – one older ownership mark on the first verso and second recto and two entries of the usual c. 1425-1430 version in the middle and at the end – is found in MS. 722, which was written in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth

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<sup>549</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>550</sup> I have to thank Christoph Mackert for this precise dating, which he was able to infer from a watermark in a different manuscript from Altzelle.

century. By contrast to MS. 498, the text *LIBER CELLE | SANCTE MARIE* is written in red plain initials only (fols 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>), presumably dating to the first third of the fourteenth century. MS. 497 exclusively contains three of the usual alternating red and blue entries (fols 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>, 128<sup>v</sup>-129<sup>r</sup>, 288<sup>v</sup>-289<sup>r</sup>).<sup>551</sup>

In contrast to the aforementioned Latin Berthold manuscripts, none of the codices from Altzelle are attributed to a person, neither for the use of one of the friars, nor in the shape of a reference regarding the acquisition. Altzelle already possessed its own scriptorium towards the end of the twelfth century,<sup>552</sup> but there is no evidence to either support or refute whether any of the Berthold manuscripts originated from Altzelle. In his survey of the library of Altzelle, Eduard Beyer came to the following conclusion: “Doch hat man in Zelle selbst nur wenig geschrieben, es scheint dies eine Ausnahme gewesen zu sein, die Mehrzahl der Bücher ist gekauft worden, sowie auch deren viele durch Geschenk an das Stift gelangt sind”.<sup>553</sup> However, what can be established is the approximate time at which the Berthold manuscripts were present at Altzelle.

The ownership marks used in MS. 497 date from the third decade of the fifteenth century, but the manuscript itself dates from the end of the thirteenth century. The marginal annotations and improvements by a monk from Altzelle inform us that the

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<sup>551</sup> While the ownership marks vary slightly in style and script, using black or brown, red, blue and green ink, there are only three different types with regard to the content. The third, hitherto unmentioned type reads: *Liber Monasterii veteris Celle*. See Beyer (1855), p. 119. It is found, for example, in MS. 870, where all three ownership marks are written in a red gothic textualis: *Liber Veteris Celle | Sancte Marie* (fols 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>), *Liber monasterij Veteriscelle | Sancte Marie* (fols 52<sup>v</sup>-53<sup>r</sup>), *Liber ueteriscelle | sancte marie* (fols 89<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>r</sup>). See also the example in Karpp (2002), pp. 224 and 225, fig. 23.

<sup>552</sup> Unfortunately, the only extensive study on the scriptorium and its genesis (c. 1190-1215), a doctorate thesis by Susan McChesney Dupont (1979), has never been published. Some general remarks can be found in Karpp (2002).

<sup>553</sup> Beyer (1855), pp. 112-14.

manuscript was present at this monastery during the 1380s;<sup>554</sup> it thus must have been acquired during the first three quarters of the fourteenth century. Like MS. 497, MS. 722 was written around 1300, perhaps slightly later. Its ownership mark on fols 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>f</sup> presumably dates from the first third of the fourteenth century. Accordingly, it must have been written or acquired at Alzelle approximately between 1300 and 1330. MS. 722 contains almost the complete *Rusticanus de Dominicis*, while MS. 497 contains almost the complete *Rusticanus de Sanctis* and *Rusticanus de Communi*. It is perspicuous why an abbey like Alzelle was interested in comprehensive sermon collections that, in total, cover all Sundays, feast days and other festive occasions. Hence, it is perfectly plausible that both MS. 497 and 722 were procured at short intervals from the same or a similar context, through copying in the scriptorium at Alzelle, in exchange with another monastery, or through purchase. This makes Alzelle the only institution in Europe known to have owned (almost) the complete works authorized by Berthold von Regensburg, only decades after his death.

The material and structural evidence strongly supports the past argumentation. Both manuscripts are comparatively large and are made of good to very good parchment, certainly in comparison to the vast majority of the parchment manuscripts that contain Berthold sermons. MS. 497 measures 365 x 235 mm, MS. 722 is shorter in length and slightly smaller with 285 x 205 mm. The sermons in both manuscripts have been written by a single hand in a clean gothic textualis. A very similar counting system has been used, where letters are attributed to each of the column (MS. 497: *a-o*; MS. 722: *a-p*), with the only difference being that in MS. 497, columns are counted double when the end of a sermon and the beginning of another coincide in one column.<sup>555</sup> Despite this unusual

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<sup>554</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>555</sup> See chapter 2.

amount of similarities between the two Berthold codices, two things remain speculative: first, why does MS. 497 alone received a comprehensive index as its finding aid, and secondly, why it does not exhibit one of the older ownership marks, as seen in MS. 722?

The first question could perhaps be explained by the different nature of the contents.

While Sunday sermons follow a strict liturgical order, the *Commune sanctorum* does not and thus would profit more from an additional aid to locate specific texts or passages.<sup>556</sup>

However, and this might also explain the second question, it is more likely that the manuscripts were produced with a certain amount of time in between them, clearly from different scribes and possibly in different circumstances, and acquired for Alzelle in two stages. It appears that until c. 1425-1430, there was no systematic approach regarding the marking of books to indicate the Alzelle ownership, and it might have been forgotten or not deemed necessary when MS. 497 was received at the library.

MS. 498, by contrast, raises different questions. Both the script and ownership mark point to the middle of the fourteenth century, which means that it must have been acquired decades after MSS. 497 and 722. It is a considerably smaller volume, measuring 212 x 158 mm, but exactly as the two other manuscripts, of very good quality and written by a single hand in a Gothic textualis. As it only contains the complete *Rusticanus de Sanctis*, which was already available at Alzelle, the demand for this manuscript would have been limited from the outset. For this reason, it is not surprising that there are hardly any traces of use. The few marginal notes which are present in the manuscript are mainly corrections and *nota* marks, which distinguish themselves through their shape of the capital *N*, made of two vertical and two horizontal strokes with one vertical stroke

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<sup>556</sup> As this study concentrated on the *Rusticanus de Communi*, it is difficult to judge how many of the *Rusticanus de Dominicis* collections were supplied with indices.

being visibly longer (e.g., fols 9<sup>r</sup>, 26<sup>v</sup>, 99<sup>r</sup>). What is more, there are no finding aids present in the manuscript, which would have supported its usage, neither foliation nor any other type of numbering. As with MSS. 450-452, the liturgy, in this case the knowledge of the saints' feasts, provided the means to track down a particular sermon. Although the above-average quality of material and writing clearly show that it was not produced with the intention to serve as mere depository of the Berthold sermons, the absent signs of normal usage indicate that this became the main function of MS. 498.

MS. 496, in contrast, was from the beginning, intended as storage. It contains excerpts of the *Summa* by Peñafort (fols 97<sup>ra</sup>-108<sup>rb</sup>) preceded by two collections of Berthold sermons (fols 1<sup>ra</sup>-96<sup>vc</sup>): first, a largely complete *Rusticanus de Communi* in a most unusual order and second, a complete collection of *Sermones speciales sive extravagantes* intermingled with *Sermones ad Religiosos* and one sermon from the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*. Both collections have been provided with a table of contents (fols 45<sup>rc-vc</sup>, 93<sup>va-c</sup>).<sup>557</sup> However, what makes MS. 496 exceptional is the number of columns. Both the sermons and the tables of contents have been written in three columns. What is more, the *Summa* by Raymond has even been written in four columns, which is more commonly associated with word lists, glossaries and registers.<sup>558</sup> This highlights that the safekeeping of the texts was the main, if not sole, function of this manuscript.<sup>559</sup>

We have seen that the function of, and interaction with, the four Berthold manuscripts at Alzelle has differed immensely. What unites them, however, judging from the ownership

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<sup>557</sup> See chapter 1.

<sup>558</sup> Cf. Schneider (1999), p. 131.

<sup>559</sup> Other factors that support such a hypothesis are the small script size in a comparatively large volume (60 lines in a writing area of c. 260 x 184mm), the unusually high number of abbreviations, the comparatively low quality of parchment and binding, and the lack of any marginal annotations.

marks, is that none of them were given *ad usum* or even in the possession of an individual, as we have seen above with MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194 and Clm. 7961. The Alzelle manuscripts were owned by the community and in this way, conformed perfectly with the regulations laid out in the Benedictine rule.<sup>560</sup>

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<sup>560</sup> See above, 'Clm. 7961'.

### A final remark

Medieval manuscripts carry more information than merely the text they contain. This assumption was the starting point of this study, with the aim to investigate a large range of codicological and paratextual features, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the usage of sermons that can be attributed to Berthold von Regensburg.

We have seen that structural elements that result from the production of the manuscript, such as quire structures or indices, can reveal a wealth of information about the intended use of a manuscript and thus the function of the texts it contains. Marginal annotations, which in addition make references to content, aid in the understanding. We have also seen the relevance of paratexts, for example, in the understanding of concepts of authorship and ownership.

In order to substantiate the findings of this thesis, a first step would be to select a similar corpus of Berthold manuscripts, however, this time centred around the transmission of the *Rusticanus de Dominicis*. It is conceivable that the Sunday sermons had a different function in monastic life, which again might be reflected in the codicological features, the composition of the manuscripts and co-transmission.

The final and only logical proposition concerns the ongoing lack of an edition. It would be essential for any research aiming to gain a more comprehensive picture of Berthold von Regensburg and his work.

**APPENDIX**

**MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS**

**Gdańsk, BGPAN, MS. Mar. F 156**

**Berthold von Regensburg · Quindecim signa · Figurae de Sanctis · Latin · 1442 · Gdańsk, St Mary's Church Library**

**Collation:** 392 fols (modern foliation). 31 quires. 1<sup>12</sup> 2<sup>14</sup> 3<sup>14</sup> wants 1 4<sup>14</sup> wants 2 and 14 5-21<sup>12</sup> 22-23<sup>14</sup> 24-26<sup>12</sup> 27<sup>14</sup> 28-31<sup>12</sup>. Catchwords on the last leaf of quires 2 and 4-29, partially cut off. Folded parchment strips in the middle of all quires except quire 6, prevents the strings from cutting the paper. Original paper pastedowns (here designated as fols 1\* and 393\*) with bull's head watermark on fol. 393\* close to the Piccard online no. 69439 (Nuremberg, 1443), but horns here slightly more apart. Original parchment flyleaves (here designated as fols 2\* and 392\*).

**Writing material:** Paper, 300 x 208 mm. The bull's head watermark is also visible on fols 281 and 333, the latter is upside down.

**Script:** 6 hands. Written in two columns throughout, with the exception of fols 329<sup>r</sup>-332<sup>r</sup> (hand 3), which are written in one column. Writing area: 215-219 x 151-157 mm. Hand 1: fols 1<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>ra</sup>, 283<sup>r</sup>-294<sup>v</sup> (44-51 lines). Hand 2: fols 48<sup>rb</sup>-62<sup>v</sup> (43-50 lines). Hand 3: 63<sup>r</sup>-282<sup>v</sup>, 295<sup>r</sup>-332<sup>v</sup>, 371<sup>v</sup>-384<sup>r</sup> (41-47 lines; in the last part up to 52 lines). Hand 4: 333<sup>r</sup>-356<sup>v</sup> (45-48 lines). Hand 5: 357<sup>r</sup>-371<sup>r</sup> (48-51 lines). Hand 6: 384<sup>v</sup>-392<sup>v</sup> (47-50 lines). The corrosive ink used by hand 6 has resulted in some deterioration, particularly on fol. 391. All hands write in a German bastarda. Brown ink ruling to demarcate the writing area.

The content of the sermon, for example, *De Angelis* or *De pluribus martyribus*, is provided above the left column of the verso and also above the columns in which the sermons begin. The sermons have been numbered consecutively, from *Sermo primus* to *cxxvii* for the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* and from *cxxviii* to *ccvii* for the *Commune sanctorum*. These numbers are located above the right column of the recto. In the table of contents (fols 376<sup>rb</sup>-381<sup>rb</sup>), the numbering is partly inaccurate or missing. Most notably, it discontinues after *lxxviii* on fol. 378<sup>ra</sup> and starts again on fol. 380<sup>v</sup>, but with the majority of numerals written in arabic. The alphabetical index (fols 381<sup>ra</sup>-384<sup>rb</sup>) does not contain any numbering.

**Decoration:** 17-line (1<sup>ra</sup>) and otherwise 2- or 3-line red initials, rarely with additional pen-flourishment (for example, fol. 107<sup>vb</sup>). The more or less extensive sermon headings are rubricated, with the exception of hand 2, who simply underlines his black writing with red ink (fols 51<sup>ra</sup>, 53<sup>ra</sup>, 54<sup>vb</sup> und 56<sup>rb</sup>).

**Binding:** Brown calfskin over wooden boards, with double blind ruling and four stamps, among them a distinct amphibian-like animal in a dotted circle (diameter 11 mm), similar in style to the dragon stamp (EBDB s033309) of the so-called 'Drachenbuch-binder' from Gdańsk; cf. Günther (1921), pp. 22-30 and plates. Probably second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Five double bands. Some remains of two small leather straps, closing onto the upper board with pins, survive. An iron fitting nailed to the bottom of the lower board (172 x 19 mm) shows traces of a broken-

off staple, a hook which was bent into the lower board, in order to attach a chain to secure the codex to a lectern. Two thick metal blocks at each end of the fitting protrude beyond the lower board and presumably aided in holding the codex in position. An intact staple has survived on MS. Mar. F 135.

**Ownership:** The manuscript is listed as "*Rusticanus de sanctis*" in the oldest catalogue '8' of the library of St Mary in Gdańsk, presumably written before 1445. See Günther (1921), pp. 602 f. and 608.

**Literature:** Carl Benjamin Lengnich (1789-1790), *Catalog der Bibliothek* (=MS. Mar. Q 189), p. 205.

Otto Günther (1921), *Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek*, pp. 152-53.

### Contents:

(1\*) *Ego pauper homo / armirssweismensche [?] vnd suc tawk Ich h esit qui fecerit absque me / Iemp. [?] id est significat significat.* Fifteenth-century inscription, written in a gothic cursive script.

(2\*) blank

**1<sup>ra</sup>-246<sup>va</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE SANCTIS:** Sermons *Jakob* 1-5; Schneyer RS 4, p. 478, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 68; *Jakob* 6-24, 26, 25, 27-67, 76-77, 68-75, 78-81, 83-84, 82, 85-109, 111, 110, 112-124.

**246<sup>va</sup>-366<sup>ra</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:** Sermons *Jakob* 1-9, 11-36; Schneyer RS 4, p. 489, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 231 (C5); *Jakob* 37, 39-41, 38, 42-44, 46-75.

(274<sup>vb</sup>-277<sup>va</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG [?] (unknown, only transmission): *De quatuor generationibus hominum ... Qui vult venire post me abneget semetipsum etc* (Lc 9. 23). In verbis propositus ...

(277<sup>va</sup>-280<sup>ra</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG [?] (unknown, only transmission): *De nouem generationibus hominum. In Christum ... Qui vult venire post me abneget semetipsum et tollat ... etc* (Lc 9. 23). In hoc ewangelio ... dominus discipulos ut tollant crucem ...

(366<sup>ra</sup>) *Expliciunt Sermones dicuntur Rusticani alias Bertoldi de sanctis per circulum anni et Commune sanctorum· In ante ponuntur themata dominicalium Item tituli in opus fratris Bertoldi etc Anno domini M° cccc° xlij° ipso die Felicis et Aduacti [30 August 1442]*

**366<sup>ra</sup>-376<sup>rb</sup> [SERMONES DOMINICALES]:** *Incipiunt Sermones dominicales per circulum anni* (366<sup>ra</sup>). Compact information with references to the preceding sermons on saints. For the first Sunday of Advent until the vigil of Easter.

**376<sup>rb</sup>-381<sup>rb</sup> TABLE OF CONTENTS:** Table listing the sermons of the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* (fols 376<sup>rb</sup>-379<sup>rb</sup>) and, immediately following, the sermons of the *Rusticanus de Communi* (fols 379<sup>rb</sup>-381<sup>rb</sup>). Incomplete and partly incorrect numbering of the sermons; cf. 'Script'.

**381<sup>rb</sup>-384<sup>rb</sup> ALPHABETICAL INDEX:** Alphabetical index from *A* until *U*, based on the sermons in this volume, but without numbering or any other type of reference.

**384<sup>va</sup>-386<sup>ra</sup> [QUINDECIM SIGNA]:** *Hic ponuntur miracula et illa gloriosissima signa quindecim que in nocte sacratissima acciderunt et eiam ipso die sancto. Primum miraculum quod virgo purissima quod est super humanam naturam peperit.* (fol. 384<sup>va</sup>)

**386<sup>ra</sup>-392<sup>vb</sup> [SERMONES DE SANCTIS]:** Short allegories (*figurae*) on saints.

(392\*-393\*) blank

**Koblenz, SA, Best. 701 Nr. 194**

**Sermones · Berthold von Regensburg · Conradus de Huxaria · Sibertus de Beka (?) · Robertus de Bredlintona · Gesta Romanorum · Latin · 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century · Boppard OCarm**

Paper and parchment, 190 x 135 mm. 250 fols., 12 codicological units. Several (bi)folios were added in the fifteenth century (fols 147/158, 181/193, 182/192, 194/204 and 203), obviously, as Overgaauw notes, in order to complete missing text passages; however, they remained blank. Brown calf leather over wooden boards, with blind ruling, probably late 15th century. Traces of chain fitting on lower board.

**Ownership:** The Carmelite lector Henricus de Montabuir of Boppard compiled this codex in 1477, see below the colophon (fol. 28<sup>v</sup>). On fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, Henricus added his personal motto: *O ihesu qui te clarificatum discipulis tuis ostendisti in monte thabor / Salutis in viam dirige actus lectoris dicti de monthabuyr.*

**Literature:** Eef Overgaauw (2002), *Mittelalterliche Handschriften im Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz*, pp. 45-54.

**Contents:**

**I**

Fols 1-14, paper, c. 1415-20.

(1<sup>r</sup>): pen-trial

**3<sup>ra</sup>-14<sup>ra</sup>: [SERMONES]**

(14<sup>v</sup>): blank

**II**

Fols 15-22, paper, c. 1450-55.

**15<sup>ra</sup>-22<sup>ra</sup> [SERMONES DE BEATA MARIA VIRGINE]**

(18<sup>rb</sup>) [RIPUARIAN PRAYER TO MARY INCLUDED IN THE SERMON]:

*Salutando gloriosam virgi*

*nem cum oratione quadam theu*

*tonice hijs verbis O ma*

*ria reyne maget*

*Myn sunden syn dyr geclaget*

*Du bist dat beste cleet*

*Daer ye meyster aen gesne[t]*

*Du bist edelre dan die robyn*

*Du bist lichter dan der sonen sc[hin]*

*Du bist stárker dan der dyaman[t]*

(18<sup>v</sup>)

*Du kanst breken alder sunden bant*

*Du bist die bernende boem den moyses sach*

*Du bist schoenre dan die lichte dach*

*Du bist die roede van yesse  
Du bist dat soete waert Aue  
O maria doer dyns weerden kinds doet  
helpt my vyt deser noet*

(22<sup>v</sup>): blank

### III

Fols 23-34, paper, c. 1445-50.

**23<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>r</sup> [SERMO EX 'HORTO DELICIAMUM']**

**25<sup>r</sup>-28<sup>v</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:** Sermons *Jakob*

74-75. Written by Henricus de Montabuir in a gothic cursive.

(28<sup>v</sup>) [COLOPHON BY HENRICUS DE MONTABUIR]: *Expliciunt sermones de communi*

*sanctorum scripti et completi per me fratrem henricum de monthabuyr pro tunc lectorem conuentus contingit scilicet leprosum qui adhuc iudicatus fuit per magistros colonie Anno domini 1477<sup>o</sup> in die sancti barnabe apostoli, et scripsit hos sermones in leprosorio bopardiensi studentes et proficientes ex eis, orent dominum pro salute anime eius et omnium fidelium animarum etc*

(29<sup>r</sup>-34<sup>v</sup>): blank

### IV

Fols 35-112, parchment, first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

**35<sup>r</sup>-112<sup>v</sup>: BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:** Sermons *Jakob* 1-68. The last sermon *Jakob* 68 is incomplete, as the last quire of this unit is missing. In this unit, all quires have quire signatures on the last page (*j-vi*<sup>9</sup>). The first quire has also a catchword. One scribe writing in a gothic textualis datable to the first half of the fourteenth century. Occasional marginal notes of different fourteenth- and fifteenth-century hands: short comments (e. g. fol. 41<sup>r</sup>), structuring with arabic numerals (*1<sup>m</sup>, 2<sup>m</sup>* etc., on fols 41<sup>r</sup>, 57<sup>r</sup>-58<sup>r</sup>; 60<sup>r-v</sup>) or rubricated paragraph marks (fols 80<sup>r</sup>, 82<sup>r</sup>, 84<sup>v</sup>, 85<sup>r</sup>, 86<sup>r</sup>-87<sup>v</sup>, 91<sup>r</sup>-92<sup>r</sup>), and *nota* remarks (e. g. fol. 73<sup>r</sup>, *nota de ydolo* etc.).

(35<sup>r</sup>) *Sermones de communi apostolorum et consequenter de alijs sanctis in communi*. The second part of this heading (*et consequenter ...*) has been subsequently added in a darker red, but by the same hand.

### V

Fols 113-168, paper, c. 1385-90.

**113<sup>r</sup>-122<sup>v</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:**

Sermons *Jakob* 68-74. Henricus de Montabuir wrote the text of this quire, first completing the missing text of sermon *Jakob* 68. Fol. 122<sup>v</sup> contains only four lines of sermon *Jakob* 74, which is followed by a reference to the remaining two sermons of this collection, now on fols 25<sup>r</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>.

**123<sup>r</sup>-125<sup>v</sup> [JOHANNES CONTRACTUS: SERMO IN NATALI DOMINI]**

**125<sup>v</sup>-146<sup>v</sup> [SERMONES IN DEDICATIONE ECCLESIAE ET DE SANCTIS]**

**146<sup>v</sup> [DE MAXIMIS PECCATORIBUS]**

(147<sup>r-v</sup>) blank (folio added 15<sup>th</sup> c.)

**148<sup>r</sup>-164<sup>r</sup> [SERMONES DE TEMPORE ET DE SANCTIS]**

(164<sup>v</sup>-168<sup>v</sup>) blank (folio added 15<sup>th</sup> c.)

**VI**

Fols 169-180, paper, second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

**169<sup>r</sup>-173<sup>r</sup> [SERMO DE PASSIONE DOMINI]**

(173<sup>v</sup>-180<sup>v</sup>) blank

**VII**

Fols 181-193, paper, late 14<sup>th</sup> century.

(181<sup>r</sup>-182<sup>v</sup>) blank (folio added 15<sup>th</sup> c.)

**183<sup>r</sup>-191<sup>v</sup> [SERMO DE PASSIONE DOMINI]** Beginning and end incomplete due to loss of leaves.

(192<sup>r</sup>-193<sup>v</sup>) blank (folios added 15<sup>th</sup> c.)

**VIII**

Fols 194-204, paper, c. 1415-20.

(194<sup>r-v</sup>) blank (folio added 15<sup>th</sup> c.)

**195<sup>r</sup>-202<sup>v</sup> [SERMONES]** Beginning of first sermon incomplete due to loss of leaves.

(203<sup>r</sup>-204<sup>v</sup>) blank (folios added 15<sup>th</sup> c.)

**IX**

Fols 205-224, parchment, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

(205<sup>r</sup>) blank

**205<sup>va</sup>-206<sup>ra</sup> [MNEMONICS FOR THE INQUIRY OF CONSCIENCE BEFORE THE CONFESSION]**

**206<sup>ra</sup>-222<sup>rb</sup> [CONRADUS DE HUXARIA: SUMMA CONFESSORUM]**

(222<sup>rb</sup>) *Explicit Summa fratris Conradi. Super operis imperfectione veniam postulo a lectore, ut oret pro me, misero scriptore, fratre Wingone ad Dominum Ihesum Christum. Amen.*

**222<sup>ra</sup>-224<sup>vb</sup> INNOCENTIUS PAPA IV.: BULLA 'CUM MEDICINALIS' (Lyon 1245) · [DE HOMICIDIO CASUALI] · [DE FURTIS] · [VERSUS DE CASIBUS PAPALIBUS] · [VERSUS] · [ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS: ETYMOLOGIAE, I, 21: DE NOTIS SENTENTIARUM] · [NOMINA NEUMARUM. TABULA BREVIS] · [VERSUS] · [VOCABULARIUM]:** The vocabulary of Latin words with Greek origin is incomplete due to missing leaves.

**X**

Fols 225-237, parchment, first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Palimpsest (fols 228<sup>r</sup>-233<sup>v</sup>); the removed text might have been written in Hebrew.

**225<sup>ra</sup>-227<sup>rb</sup> [SIBERTUS DE BEKA (?): SUMMA CENSURARUM NOVI IURIS]**

**227<sup>v</sup>-228<sup>r</sup> [CASUS RESERVATI DIOCESIS MOGUNTINENSIS]**

**228<sup>r-v</sup> [QUAESTIONES DE RELIGIOSIS]**

(228va) *Consulo tamen ego frater sybertus ...* Due to this remark, the texts on fols 225<sup>ra</sup>-228<sup>va</sup> are viewed as autograph of Sibertus de Beka (1260-1333), who was provincial of *Alemannia inferior*.

(228v) [NOTE IN RIPUARIAN, FIFTEENTH CENTURY HAND]:

*ane de proqunge/*

*we ho daz de bewisunge des naturlichen lichtus gaen macht daz  
in weis neman/*

**229<sup>ra</sup>-237<sup>v</sup> [SERMONES]**

**XI**

Fols 238-243, paper, second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

**238<sup>r</sup>-239<sup>v</sup> [LIST OF TWELFTH APOSTLES AND TWELVE CORRESPONDING ARTICLES OF THE CREED]**

**239<sup>v</sup>-242<sup>v</sup> [ROBERTUS DE BREDLINTONA (PS.-MICHAEL DE BONONIA): EXPOSITIO ORATIONIS DOMINICAE]**

**243<sup>r-v</sup> [PASSIO SANCTAE CATHARINAE VIRGINIS ET MARTYRIS]**

**XII**

Fols 244-252, paper, c. 1405-10.

**244<sup>r</sup>-250<sup>v</sup> [GESTA ROMANORUM]:** End of an unidentified chapter.

(251<sup>v</sup> | 252<sup>r</sup>) [PEN-TRIAL, FIFTEENTH CENTURY]: *Minen fruntlichen grusz beuor  
liber Concz wesz as myn huszwert mit dir geret hat as von dis huessis veg (?) | Minen  
fruntlichen groz*

(252<sup>v</sup>): blank

Leipzig, UB, MS. 496

**Berthold von Regensburg · Raymond of Peñafort · Quaestiones · Anonymous sermons · Latin · mid-14th century · Alzelle OCist**

**Collation:** 132 fols (modern foliation). 11 quires. 1-3<sup>12</sup> 4<sup>10</sup> wants 1 5-7<sup>12</sup> 8<sup>16</sup> wants 5 9-11<sup>12</sup>. No quire signatures. The first and the last quire are sewn to the pastedown, with a 15 mm rim of the pastedown protruding after fol. 12 and before fol. 121. Parchment tabs are attached to fols 97 and 109.

**Writing material:** Parchment, 302 x 225 mm. The parchment of the book block is of average or moderate quality. The surface is often too rough for the ink to penetrate the parchment deeply, a result of which, in some cases, the text is barely legible (e. g., fol. 17<sup>v</sup>). The thickness of the parchment is varying from thin (e. g., fol. 47) to thick (e. g., fol. 43), and is occasionally very thin (fols 85 and 86).

On fols 14, 18, 20, 26, 29, 33, 34, 42, 44, 62, 69, 74, 96 and 107, there are imperfections in the margins and particularly in the writing area, however, always without loss of text. Elongated holes have been sewn and subsequently cut out, in order to achieve a clean edge, on fols 14, 20, 29, 33, 44 and 74. Neat seams can be found on fols 20, 21, 22, 23 (with thread), 36 and 45. Fol. 29 wants the upper corner and fol. 30 the lower margin.

A seam has also been cut out on fol. 34, which has been repaired with a glued-on piece of parchment, facilitating writing on the verso. Further repairs with parchment strips (8-30 mm) can be found on fols 39, 49, 52, 55, 72, 77, 79, 80, 93 and 103.

The parchment of the last quires, 10 and 11, is of considerably lower quality. The skin structure on the hair side is clearly visible. There are large holes on fols 113, 115 and 116 and a long seam on fol. 120. Most leaves want parts of their margins. On fol. 126<sup>r</sup>, the initial *D* has been cut out, obviously because the text does not require an initial at this position. The contemporary foliation on fol. 109<sup>r</sup>-119<sup>r</sup> (1-10, xi) and the blank page on fol. 120<sup>v</sup> suggest that quire 10 originally formed an independent unit, but both the text and hand 4 continue in the subsequent quire 11.

**Script:** 7 hands, with a single main hand (hand 1), datable to the mid-fourteenth century. Hand 1 writes both the Berthold sermons and the excerpt of the *Summa* by Raymond of Peñafort, first in three (fols 1<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>v</sup>) and then in four columns (fols 97<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>v</sup>). Two columns are used on the remaining fols 109-129<sup>r</sup> and 130<sup>r</sup>-132<sup>v</sup>.

Writing area: hands 1 and 2: 257-262 x 181-186 mm (fols 1<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>v</sup>), 262 x 186 mm (fols 97<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>v</sup>). Hands 3-7: 253 x 175 mm. Hand 8: 262 x 170 mm. Hand 1: fols 1<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>v</sup> (60 lines), fols 97<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>v</sup> (74 lines). Hand 2: fol. 108<sup>vc</sup> (67 lines). Hand 3: fol. 109<sup>ra</sup>-110<sup>vb</sup>. Hand 4: fol. 111<sup>ra</sup>-128<sup>ra</sup>. Hand 5: fol. 128<sup>rb</sup>-128<sup>va</sup>. Hand 6: fol. 128<sup>vb</sup>. Hand 7: 129<sup>ra-b</sup> (55-65 lines). Hand 8: 130<sup>r</sup>-132<sup>v</sup> (88-102 lines). Hands 1-4 write in

a gothic textualis, hands 5-8 in a gothic cursive script. Quire 6 (fol. 58-69) has single pricking in the inner margin, but three punctures in the outer margin.

The *RdC* sermons have been numbered in roman above the initial column of each sermon by the first hand. A table listing the sermons and their number is placed subsequent to the sermons on fols 45<sup>rc</sup>-45<sup>v</sup>, listing the headings and the first words. This table, in addition, marks the particular categories of the saints in the margins (*De Apostolis, De Martyribus, Ad Religiosos, De Pontifice et Confessore, De Pontifice non Confessore*).

In the copying process, three of the sermons, *Jakob* 65, 31 and 22, were initially omitted by the scribe, but were subsequently added without numbering (fols 43<sup>va</sup>-45<sup>rb</sup>). In the next table of contents (fols 45<sup>rc-vc</sup>), however, these texts have been assigned a number (*liii*<sup>9</sup>, *xxxii*<sup>9</sup>, *xix*<sup>9</sup>), allowing one to not only reconstruct their position in the missing original copy, but also the individual steps of the book production. As both the sermons and the tables of contents have been written by the same hand, the scribe obviously noticed his mistake and rectified it, as far as possible, before copying the table of contents. A later hand drew a sign in the outer margin on fols 14<sup>r</sup>, 23<sup>v</sup> and 38<sup>v</sup>, in order to indicate the original position. He has also added the respective heading and pericope and *Require post sermones de Dedicacione* in the lower margin. The other marginalia next to the *RdC* sermons only contain text corrections; the position in the text is indicated with " signs.

The *SR* and *SS* sermons occasionally contain rubricated subheadings for further division (fols 63<sup>rb</sup>, 64<sup>vb</sup>, 64<sup>vc</sup>, 74<sup>rc</sup>, 75<sup>rc</sup>, 78<sup>rb</sup>, 78<sup>rc</sup>, 78<sup>vc</sup>, 79<sup>rb</sup>, 80<sup>vb</sup>, 81<sup>rb</sup>, 83<sup>ra</sup> and 83<sup>rb</sup>). In a number of cases, these subheadings have not been executed and the space is left blank (fols 49<sup>va</sup>, 51<sup>rb</sup>, 62<sup>rb</sup>, 67<sup>va</sup>, 82<sup>vb</sup> and 84<sup>rb</sup>).

On fols 77<sup>va</sup> and 77<sup>vb</sup>, the pericope has been forgotten and added by a different hand in the lower margin. On fol. 66<sup>vc</sup>, it has been forgotten, but not subsequently added.

A further case of a later addition can be found in the *SS* collection, for which a table of contents is also provided (fol. 93<sup>v</sup>). The missing sermon *Jakob* 48 has been added after a Sunday sermon from the *RdD* which follows the table. After this comes a further sermon of the *RdS*, which is not listed with *Jakob*, but in the *RS* by Schneyer. None of these three sermons have received a number (see contents, fols 94<sup>va</sup>-96<sup>vc</sup>).

A later, contemporary hand added the name of the author in a red ink that is darker than the other rubrications (*fratris Bertholdi*, 1<sup>ra</sup>; *Sermones speciales fratris Bertholdi*, 48<sup>r</sup>).

**Decoration:** 3-line (fols 1<sup>r</sup> and 1<sup>v</sup>) and 2-line red minor initials on fols 1<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>v</sup>. Exceptions are the *I*-initials that are elongated in the intercolumnar space and ranging over multiple lines (e. g., fol. 4<sup>r</sup>, 10 lines). The red and blue minor initials on fols 109<sup>r</sup>-125<sup>v</sup> additionally have pen-flourish and interior ornaments, often also tendrils. Fol. 129<sup>r</sup> begins with a 2-line red minor initial with simple pen-

flourish. The sermon headings are rubricated throughout. On fol. 77rb, the misspelled red initial *D* has later been corrected with dark brown ink to a *P* (*Pater*). The same hand has possibly added the initial *A* on fol. 75.

**Binding:** Red sheepskin over wooden boards (outside darkened, but the original pink is well recognisable inside), probably late 15<sup>th</sup> century. Six double bands. Traces of five bosses, clasp and chain on the lower board. The lower board has been damaged on the upper edge, presumably during the removal of the chain mount. The inner surface around the stripped chain hole has offset from a parchment, namely the Willehalm fragment 43 (ll. 9,27-10,3); see Rupp (2008).

**Ownership:** The Altzelle provenance is deducible from the ownership mark on fols 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>: *Liber Celle | Sancte Marie*, written in brighter and browner ink than the text, presumably during the mid-fourteenth century. The manuscript also contains the usual ownership mark *LIBER UETERIS CELLE | SANCTE MARIE*, written in plain initials with each word in a single colour, alternating red and blue, on fols 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>, 126<sup>v</sup>-127<sup>r</sup>.

**Literature:** Rudolf Helssig, *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Band 1: Die theologischen Handschriften. Teil 1 (Ms 1 - 500)*, unaltered reprint of the 1926 edition, Wiesbaden 1995, pp. 801-03.

Georg Jakob, *Die lateinischen Reden des seligen Berthold von Regensburg, Regensburg 1880*, pp. 15-16.

Adolph Franz, *Drei deutsche Minoritenprediger aus dem XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg i. Br., p. 84, fn. 5, p. 85 fn. 1, p. 92 fn. 2 and p. 93. fn. 2.

Michael Rupp, *Der 'Willehalm' Wolframs von Eschenbach in Altzelle. Neue Bruchstücke des ostmitteldeutschen Fragments 43'*, in: *ZfdA* 137 (2008), pp. 57-65, here pp. 61-62.

### **Contents:**

[Fols 1-108 form a single codicological unit, written almost exclusively by hand 1]

**1<sup>ra</sup>-45<sup>rb</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:** Sermons *Jakob* 1, 11, 7-10, 4-6, 14, 16, 2-3, 12-13, 20, 25, 26, 21, 19, 18, 24, 27, 17, 30, 35-40, 43-44, 50, 53, 52, 54, 55, 51, 47, 49, 48, 46, 56-57, 59, 68, 63, 64, 60-62, 66, 70, 67, 58, 73-75, 72, 71, 65, 31, 22. The last three sermons have originally been forgotten and subsequently added; for this reason, they have not received a number (see the original order in the table of contents).

(1<sup>ra</sup>) *Incipiunt sermones de communi fratris Bertholdi*

**45<sup>rc-vc</sup> TABLE OF CONTENTS:** Table with references to the sermons on fols 1<sup>r</sup>-45<sup>rb</sup>. Only in this index, the last three sermons (*Jakob* 65, 31, 22) contain a number indicating their original position in the collection. In addition, the categories of

saints are listed in the upper, outer and lower margins (*De Apostolis, De Martyribus, Ad Religiosos, De Pontifice et Confessore, De Pontifice non Confessore*).

**46<sup>ra</sup>-47<sup>vc</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:** Sermons *Jakob* 28-29, 34, 45.

**48<sup>ra</sup>-93<sup>va</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, SERMONES SPECIALES SIVE EXTRAVAGANTES and SERMONES AD RELIGIOSOS:** The complete *Sermones speciales* with the exception of the last one (no. 48), *Jakob* 1-47, and a further *sermo specialis*, not listed with *Jakob* and without number. The sermons are intermingled with *Sermones ad Religiosos, Jakob* 66, 53, 54, 55, 57, 67, 37, 58, 29, 77, 22, 48, 56, and from the *RdD* the sermon *Jakob* 7.

(48<sup>ra</sup>) *Sermones speciales fratris Bertoldi*

(82<sup>vb</sup>-82<sup>vc</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, SERMO SPECIALIS: *Manna designat corpus Christi propter multa. Panem de celo etc. (Sap. 16. 20). Hic panis signat ...* Cf. Schneyer RS 1, p. 503, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 404. Unnumbered in the manuscript.

(86<sup>rc</sup>) The sermon *SS Jakob* 41 is discontinued after *intimam dileccionem et affectionem*, followed by 18 blank lines.

(86<sup>va</sup>) blank

**93<sup>va-c</sup> TABLE OF CONTENTS:** Table listing the sermons on fols 48<sup>ra</sup>-93<sup>va</sup>, numbered in roman *i-lx* in correspondence with the counting above the respective columns. Included are the sermon heading and the first words of the pericope. The verse of sermon *Jakob SR* 22 begins both here and on fol. 82<sup>vc</sup> wrongly with *Ego* (instead of *Ecce*). The additional, unnumbered *sermo specialis* is not listed.

**94<sup>va</sup>-95<sup>rc</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE DOMINICIS:** Sermon *Jakob* 5.

**95<sup>rc</sup>-96<sup>ra</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, SERMONES SPECIALES SIVE EXTRAVAGANTES:** Sermon *Jakob* 48.

**96<sup>ra</sup>-96<sup>vc</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, SERMO SPECIALIS:** *Sancti per fidem uicerunt regna (Hebr 11. 33). Fides catholica precellit ...* Cf. Schneyer RS 1, p. 504, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 414.

**97<sup>ra</sup>-108<sup>rb</sup> RAYMOND OF PEÑAFORT OP, EXCERPT OF THE SUMMA.**

(97<sup>r</sup>) *Incipiunt quedam excerpta de summa Remundi optima.*

**108<sup>rc-vb</sup> QUAESTIO:** *De Restitutione. Queritur utrum ille qui plura tenetur restituere in foro conscientie an teneatur omnia sua vendere et mendicare...*

**108<sup>vc</sup> QUAESTIO:** Queritur utrum deus debuerit permittere hominem temptari a diabolo...

108<sup>vd</sup> blank

[Fols 109-132 form a single codicological unit]

**109<sup>r</sup>-128<sup>ra</sup> [GUIBERTUS DE TORNACO OM]:** *Sermones electi et quidam ad clerum.* 22 sermon, cf. Schneyer RS 2, p. 308 f., Guibertus de Tornaco, nos. 300-321.

(120<sup>v</sup>) blank; the sermon continues on fol. 121<sup>ra</sup> without loss of text

**128<sup>rb</sup>-.va [PS.-JOHANNES DE ERFORDIA OM]:** *Disputacio Iohannis Erfordensis.* Querebatur utrum demones possint cogi per aliquam creaturam sive ab aliqua creatura ... According to Helssig (1995 [1926]), p. 803, not listed among the writings of Johannes de Erfordia OM. The word *mala*, written in the outer margin on fol. 128v, was subsequently added in a gothic textualis.

**128<sup>vb</sup> TEXTUS:** A short piece of moral philosophy, whose beginning is missing.

**129<sup>ra-b</sup> SERMO ANONYMUS:** *O altitudo divitiarum sapientie ...* (Rom 11. 33). In verbis premissis esse scientiam divinam ...

129<sup>v</sup> blank

**130<sup>ra</sup>-132<sup>va</sup> QUAESTIONES:** Queritur vtrum materia habeat in se aliquam actualitatem uel actionem ... (130<sup>ra</sup>-.va). Queritur vtrum deus possit materiam facere sine forma ... (130<sup>va</sup>-132<sup>va</sup>).

Leipzig, UB, MS. 497

Berthold von Regensburg • Latin • late 13th century • Alzelle OCist

**Collation:** 293 fols (modern foliation, the first leaf of the first quire (here designated as I) and leaf number 45 are omitted: 1-44, 46-293). 31 quires. 1<sup>14</sup> wants 14 2-3<sup>12</sup> 4<sup>14</sup> 5-8<sup>12</sup> 9-18<sup>8</sup> 19<sup>12</sup> 20<sup>8</sup> 21-22<sup>10</sup> 23-29<sup>8</sup> 30<sup>10</sup> 31<sup>10</sup> wants 1-2. Quires 1-29 have quire signatures on the last page (*i<sup>9</sup>-viii<sup>9</sup>*, *X<sup>9</sup>-XXIX<sup>9</sup>*), rarely cut off. Catchwords throughout, but mostly cut off (clearly visible, for example, on fols 73<sup>v</sup> and 85<sup>v</sup>). Original parchment pastedowns with text written in a fourteenth-century gothic textualis.

**Writing material:** Parchment, 365 x 235 mm. The parchment is, particularly in view of the size, of very good quality, with minor imperfections in the writing area on fols 32, 151, 250, 278, 282, 287 and 290, and in the margins of fols 1, 8, 38, 54, 77, 84, 88, 93, 96, 100, 101, 102, 127, 140, 146, 153, 160, 176, 202, 217, 228, 236, 238, 245, 246, 258, 261, 262, 265, 269, 272, 274, 276, 278, 283, 286 (large), 290 and 292. Fols 116, 119, 121, 128, 132, 135, 136, 143, 154, 161, 172, 175, 187, 191-194, 198, 210, 211, 215, 216, 219, 221, 222, 224, 228, 231, 277 and 280 want the outer part of the lower margin. A blunt object caused major holes on fols 206 and 207, but the missing text has been added in the margins.

**Script:** 2 hands. Written in two columns throughout. Writing area: 282 x 176 mm. Hand 1 (sermons): fols 1r-283v (43 lines). Hand 2 (indices): fols.: 284<sup>r</sup>-293<sup>r</sup> (54 lines). All hands write in a gothic cursive datable to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Dark-brown ink ruling to demarcate the writing area. Pricking is visible for the most part. The text for the rubricator, written in a tiny gothic textualis in the lower margin, is largely cut off, but still visible on fols 11<sup>r</sup> and 49<sup>v</sup>. Up to fol. 98<sup>v</sup>, hand 1 wrote the rubricated headings, initials and roman numerals. The second rubricator, who added further notes on the content on fols 1<sup>ra</sup>-42<sup>ra</sup> below the columns (e.g., fol. 1ra: *De disciplina*, fol. 13vb: *Contra invidiam*), is clearly distinguished by his *g* with a looped lower lobe (e. g., fol. 276<sup>r</sup>).

There are several types of marginal notes by different fourteenth- and fifteenth-century hands: Where necessary, the sermon headings have either been completed (e.g., fol. 65<sup>v</sup>), corrected (e.g., fol. 62<sup>v</sup>), or added where they have not been executed (e.g., fol. 7<sup>v</sup>), in a gothic cursive script in the outer (fol. 6<sup>r</sup> only) or lower margins. These notes are often linked to the headings by means of 'x' or '+' signs. Textual corrections by another hand are also found in the lower margin (e.g., fols 18<sup>r</sup> and 20<sup>r</sup>). Often, the arguments are counted in the margins (e.g., fol. 66<sup>r</sup>: *j<sup>m</sup>*, *ii<sup>m</sup>*, *ij<sup>a</sup>*) and there are *nota* marks both in the shape of a capital *H* with double horizontal stroke (fol. 41<sup>r</sup>), and written as *No* with *a* above the *o* (fol. 77<sup>r</sup>). On fol. 10<sup>v</sup>, two passages are marked to be omitted with *va~~cat* in the inner margin. The abbreviations of authorities' names are added to the margins of fols 244<sup>r</sup> (*Iero<sup>9</sup>* and *au<sup>9</sup>*), 256<sup>v</sup> (*v'* and *B'*) and 258<sup>v</sup> (*b'*, *cyprian<sup>9</sup>*, *Io<sup>9</sup>* and *au<sup>9</sup>*). Frequently, there are pencil glosses in the upper margin, hardly visible in parts, stating the occasion of the sermon (e. g., fol. 3<sup>va</sup>: *francisci confessore*, fol. 118<sup>va</sup>: *In Ascensione Domini*). The

same hand has also numbered the sermons, before it was executed, with brown ink.

Throughout the entire codex, the sermons have been numbered in the outer margin (*j-clxxxix*), only occasionally above the intercolumnium. Furthermore, the individual columns each received a letter (*a-o*). The columns containing the end of one and the beginning of the next sermon are provided with two letters (*#* and *a*). The alphabetical index at the end of the manuscript lists the numbering (fols 289<sup>va</sup>-293<sup>r</sup>). However, the additional subdivision with letters is only present in the first column of the index (fol. 289<sup>va</sup>). A second, later hand belonging to a monk from Alzelle (c. 1380), has made amendments to the alphabetical index.

**Decoration:** 3-line red initial on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> with external and interior pen-flourish with pearls with cores, and tendril extenders. Sermon headings are rubricated. Each sermon begins with a 2- or 3-line red, from fol. 98<sup>r</sup> alternately red and blue, minor initial, occasionally decorated with tendril extenders (e.g., fol. 79<sup>r</sup>), and on fols 236<sup>rb</sup>-282<sup>ra</sup> mostly with palmettes. On these latter folios, the red ink used for the initials is darker, rarely brighter (fol. 245<sup>va</sup>), than the headings, thus possibly the work of a different rubricator. There are red paragraphs throughout the text. Majuscles, abbreviations of the names of authorities and references to other texts, are traced or underlined in red.

**Binding:** Yellow sheepskin over wooden boards, with blind ruling and stamps, among them a fleur-de-lys in lozenge (EBDB s031559) and the clearly identifiable pomegranate of the Alzelle workshop (EBDB s031556), which was active in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Four double bands. Traces of fives bosses on both boards and chain fitting on the lower board. Two broad leather straps, closing with clasp-hooks onto catch-plates on the upper board as well as corner-pieces, survive.

**Ownership:** The Alzelle provenance is deducible from the ownership mark on fols 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>, 128<sup>v</sup>-129<sup>r</sup> and 288<sup>v</sup>-289<sup>r</sup>: *LIBER UETERIS CELLE | SANCTE MARIE*, written in plain initials with each word in a single colour, alternating red and blue.

**Literature:** Rudolf Helssig, Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Band 1: Die theologischen Handschriften. Teil 1 (Ms 1 - 500), unaltered reprint of the 1926 edition, Wiesbaden 1995, pp. 803-05.

Georg Jakob, Die lateinischen Reden des seligen Berthold von Regensburg, Regensburg 1880, p. 16.

### **Contents:**

**1<sup>r</sup>-188<sup>v</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE SANCTIS:** Sermons *Jakob* 1-5; Schneyer RS 4, p. 478, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 68 (same verse as *Jakob* 5); *Jakob* 6-124.

**188<sup>v</sup>-283<sup>r</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:** Sermons *Jakob* 1-8, 11-36, 36 with different content, 37, 39-41, 38, 42-44,

46-48, 48 with different content, 49-75. Sermons *Jakob* 4-5, 7-8, and the two sermons 48 are each counted as unit (*CXXIII*, *CXXV*, *CLXII*).

**284<sup>r</sup>-289<sup>va</sup> TABULA DE DOMINICIS:** Short sermon outlines for each Sunday of the ecclesiastical year and feast days.

**289<sup>va</sup>-293<sup>r</sup> ALPHABETICAL INDEX:** References to the sermons on fols 1<sup>r</sup>-283<sup>v</sup> with additions of a later hand (monk of Alzelle, c. 1380).

(293<sup>v</sup>) blank

**366<sup>ra</sup>-376<sup>rb</sup> [SERMONES DOMINICALES]:** *Incipiunt Sermones dominicales per circulum anni* (366<sup>ra</sup>). Compact information with references to the preceding sermons on saints. For the first Sunday of Advent until the vigil of Easter.

**376<sup>rb</sup>-381<sup>rb</sup> TABLE OF CONTENTS:** Table listing the sermons of the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* (fols 376<sup>rb</sup>-379<sup>rb</sup>) and, immediately following, the sermons of the *Rusticanus de Communi* (fols 379<sup>rb</sup>-381<sup>rb</sup>). Incomplete and partly incorrect numbering of the sermons; cf. 'Script'.

**381<sup>rb</sup>-384<sup>rb</sup> ALPHABETICAL INDEX:** Alphabetical index from *A* until *U*, based on the sermons in this volume, but without numbering or any other type of reference.

Leipzig, UB, MS. 498

**Berthold von Regensburg • Latin • first half of the 14th century • Alzelle OCist**

**Collation:** 250 fols (modern foliation, really 252 fols because 174 and 208 are counted twice: 174a and 208a). 22 quires. 1<sup>12</sup> wants 1 2-3<sup>12</sup> 4<sup>5</sup> 5-21<sup>12</sup> 22<sup>5</sup> wants 6-12. Quires 1-21 have quire signatures on the last page (*i<sup>9</sup>-xxi<sup>9</sup>*), occasionally cut off. Original parchment pastedowns have been removed during restoration (Fragm. lat. 564-1 and 564-2, see contents).

**Writing material:** Parchment, 212 x 158 mm. The parchment of the book block is of good to very good quality with few imperfections in the writing area on fols 58, 179 and 199, and in the margins on fols 16, 40, 128, 146 and 183. Fols 48, 65, 81, 82, 98, 133, 147, 150, 197 und 244 want parts of the lower margin. Fol. 204 wants a part of the outer margin. Fol. 211 is of less breadth. Follicles visible on fols 87<sup>v</sup>, 88<sup>r</sup>, 105<sup>r</sup>, 129<sup>r</sup>, 169<sup>r</sup>, 172<sup>r</sup>, 215<sup>r</sup> and particularly on fols 227<sup>r</sup>-231<sup>r</sup>.

**Script:** 1 hand. Written in one column, with the exception of two columns on fols 236<sup>r</sup>-241<sup>r</sup>. Writing area: 147-152 x 110-113 mm (32 lines). On fols 236<sup>r</sup>-239<sup>r</sup> area is enlarged by one line to 155-156 x 112 mm. Gothic textualis datable to the first half of the 14th century. Pricking is visible throughout; there are two punctures on fol. 168. The careful scribe endeavoured not to write into the outer margin.

There are few marginal notes, mainly to correct the text by using the signs "...", and distinct *nota* marks in the shape of a capital *N*, comprised of a short vertical stroke, a double horizontal stroke and a long vertical stroke (e. g., fols 9<sup>r</sup>, 26<sup>v</sup>, 99<sup>r</sup>). The headings of the sermons, written in a small cursive script for the rubricator and located at the bottom of the lower margin, are often cut off. On fol. 86<sup>r</sup>, the name of the saint *Fabiani* has been crossed out and corrected to *Sebastiani* in the outer margin. The mistake, however, already existed in the rubricator's instruction in the lower margin. The same corrector as on fol. 86<sup>r</sup> crossed out on fol. 88<sup>v</sup>: *tam angeli quam sancti non ualerent remunerare suffiti*. The sermons have been left unnumbered.

**Decoration:** Parted 8-line red and blue initial on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> with external and interior pen-flourish with buds, pearls with and without core, and tendril extenders. Sermon headings are rubricated. Each sermon begins with a 2- or 3-line red and blue minor initial, decorated with pen-flourish with buds and tendril extenders. In two cases, the rubricator has made a mistake with the initials: On fol. 103<sup>v</sup>, he added the initial *K* instead of *Q* (*Quodcunque*), possibly as the heading alongside begins with *k* (*kathedra sancti petri*). On fol. 176<sup>v</sup>, he wrote *Bonum* instead of *Donum*. There are red paragraphs throughout the text, with a single blue paragraph on fol. 117<sup>r</sup>.

**Binding:** Original binding transferred to a new binding during restoration. Red sheepskin over wooden boards, probably late 15<sup>th</sup> century. Four double bands.

Traces of four bosses on each board. Helssig (1995 [1926]), p. 805, noted also traces of clasps and chain. Modern leather straps closing onto the upper board.

**Ownership:** The Altzelle provenance is deducible from the ownership mark on fols 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>: *LIBER CELLE | SANCTE MARIE*, written with alternating black and red plain initials, and on fols 114<sup>v</sup>-115<sup>r</sup> and 248<sup>v</sup>-249<sup>r</sup>: *LIBER UETERIS CELLE | SANCTE MARIE*, written in plain initials with each word in a single colour, alternating red and blue.

**Literature:** Rudolf Helssig, Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Band 1: Die theologischen Handschriften. Teil 1 (Ms 1 - 500), unaltered reprint of the 1926 edition, Wiesbaden 1995, pp. 805-06.

Georg Jakob, Die lateinischen Reden des seligen Berthold von Regensburg, Regensburg 1880, pp. 16-17.

Adolph Franz, Drei deutsche Minoritenprediger aus dem XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert, Freiburg i. Br., p. 94, fn. 1 and p. 101, fn. 2.

#### **Contents:**

**1<sup>r</sup>-250<sup>r</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE SANCTIS:** Sermons *Jakob* 1-5; Schneyer RS 4, p. 478, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 68 (same verse as *Jakob* 5); *Jakob* 6-125.

(1<sup>r</sup>) *Incipiunt sermones fratris Bertoldi de sanctis· De nominibus angelorum et per hec nomina angeli docent nos uiuere in ecclesia sancta·*

(250<sup>v</sup>) blank

#### **Fragm. lat. 564-1 and 564-2 (original pastedowns):**

Fragments of a breviary, containing elements of the liturgy on the feasts of Holy Innocents (28 December), St. Agnes (21 January), St. Vincent (22 January) and St. Agatha (5 February). Cf. Waddell, *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary*, pp. 421, 426, 430, 433 and 457. The major initials have only been executed on Fragn. lat. 564-1<sup>vb</sup>, which casts doubt that the leaves have ever been used in a manuscript.

(564-1<sup>ra</sup>) Holy Innocents, responsory: *Ecce uidi agnum stantem supra montem syon [...] in frontibus suis*, CAO IV 6617.

(564-1<sup>rb</sup>) St Agnes, pericope: *Simile est regnum celorum decem uirginibus* [Mt 25. 1].

(564-1<sup>rb-va</sup>) St. Agatha, responsory: *Gaudeamus omnes sub honore in [domino] diem festum [celebrantes]· sub honore agathe martyris· De cuius passione gaudent angeli et collaudant filium dei·*, CAO IV 6760.

(564-2<sup>rb</sup>) St. Agnes, antiphons: *Mel et lac ex eius ore suscepi et sanguis eius ornauit geneas meas*; CAO III 3734. *Beata agnes in medio flammaram ... quem semper optaui*; CAO III 1559.

(564-2<sup>va</sup>) St. Vincent, St. Augustine, beginning of Sermo 276 ('In festo martyris Vincentii, iii'): [*I*]n passione bene vincencij | fratres karissimi mei ... [*T*]ot convicta miraculis persistebat ... in eo Christus habitaret; PL 38, 1255-1256, Cap. 1, ll. 1-10.

Leipzig, UB, MS. 689

Berthold von Regensburg • Latin • first half of the 14th century • Leipzig OP

**Collation:** 161 fols (modern foliation, really 162 fols because the first leaf originally served as a pastedown, here designated as fol. \*1). 13 quires. 1-2<sup>12</sup> 3<sup>16</sup> 4-5<sup>12</sup> 6<sup>14</sup> | 7<sup>14</sup> 8-10<sup>12</sup> 11<sup>10</sup> 12-13<sup>12</sup>. Quires 3 and 4 have quire signatures (*ij<sup>9</sup>-iii<sup>9</sup>*).

**Writing material:** Parchment, 186 x 135 mm. The parchment is of good quality overall, with only occasional substantial defects. Some imperfections on fols 18, 32, 81, 88, 109, 114 and 148. Fols 31, 51, 56, 57, 66, 89, 90, 136, 144, 145 and 152 want smaller parts of the lower or outer margin, while larger parts of the outer margins are missing on fols 13, 23, 32, 70, 93, 124, 138, 147 and 149. The parchment of the third quire has been insufficiently prepared. Hence, the ink could not penetrate the material very well, as a result of which the text is barely legible (e. g., fols 29<sup>r</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup> and 34<sup>r</sup>). Very few creases, e.g., fol. 41. Follicles visible on some leaves, e.g., fols 48<sup>r</sup>, 53<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>v</sup>. Fol. 105 exhibits several tears in the writing area, probably due to the acidity of the ink and the tenuity of the parchment in the affected areas.

**Script:** 2 hands. Written in two columns throughout. Writing area: hands 1 and 2: 136-140 x 98-102 mm. Hand 1: fols 1<sup>ra</sup>-26<sup>vb</sup>; 37<sup>ra</sup>-96<sup>rb</sup>, l. 4; 115<sup>vb</sup>-161<sup>rb</sup> (38 lines). Hand 2: fols 27<sup>ra</sup>-36<sup>vb</sup>; 96<sup>rb</sup>, l. 5-115<sup>va</sup> (38 lines). Both hands written in a gothic textualis datable to the first half of the 14th century. Pricking is almost continuously visible, with two punctures on fols 36 and 135.

Quires 7-13 feature an alphabetical pagination, located in the bottom corner of the outer margin. Fols 78<sup>r</sup>-87<sup>v</sup> are counted from *a* to *v* (frequently, the letters are written twice per page). The counting continues on fols 92<sup>r</sup>-102<sup>v</sup> with *e* to *z*. Fol. 104<sup>r</sup> begins again with *e*, fol. 113<sup>r</sup> is counted as *z* and fol. 113<sup>v</sup> exhibits an *et* sign. The counting repeats the pattern *e-z*, *et*, *a-z*, *et* etc. and ends with *z* on fol. 161<sup>r</sup>. Many of the letters are either completely or half cut off. The manuscript also features an alphabetical foliation in the upper right corner of the rectos, beginning with *a-z*, *aa-az*, *ba-bz* etc. and ending with *gb* on fol. 161<sup>r</sup>.

Two thirds of the headings of the *Rusticanus de Dominicis* sermons contain a reference to their respective Sunday (e.g., fol. 2<sup>rb</sup>: *dominica secunda*). Where such references are missing in the headings on fols 50<sup>ra</sup>-77<sup>ra</sup>, a later hand has added them either directly or, for lack of space, above the column. Short summaries of the content have been added below the columns on fols 1<sup>r</sup>-84<sup>va</sup>, written in a gothic cursive script. These summaries are linked to the respective text passage by arabic numerals in the margins or intercolumnium. On fol. 98<sup>v</sup>, the four arguments of the sermon have been counted in the intercolumnium and outer margin.

**Decoration:** Parted 6-line red initial on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. The sermons begin with 2-line or 3-line minor initials in shades of bright red, which have later been painted over with a red-violet colour by a slightly clumsy hand (e.g., fols 11<sup>r</sup>, 40<sup>r</sup> and 111<sup>v</sup>). The sermon headings have mostly been written in bright red and, where missing,

supplemented in red-violet (e.g., fols 30<sup>v</sup> and 35<sup>r</sup>). The headings of the *Rusticanus de Communi* sermons and the initials on fols 130<sup>ra</sup>-146<sup>vb</sup> have not been executed. On fol. 119<sup>vb</sup> and fols 123<sup>va</sup>-128<sup>va</sup>, *de vno confessore* has been added in red-violet, stating the general theme rather than the individual content of the sermons.

The *Rusticanus de Dominici* sermons feature red or red-violet paragraphs in the text and intercolumnium. In addition, black sub-division marks have been added, in the shape of an *f* with a loop, pointing to a new argument (i.e., they are located in front of words such as *Prius* or *Item*). The same sign has been used for the *Rusticanus de Communi* sermons, however, this time in order to indicate larger passages, similar to a paragraph. The arguments themselves (e.g. *Unus*) feature peculiar capital letters, for example, a double *S* on fol. 82<sup>rb</sup> (similar to §). The rubricator, who uses red-violet, added some paragraphs (e.g., fol. 109<sup>rb</sup>) and retraced some of the sub-division signs (e.g., fol. 122<sup>r</sup>).

On fol. 20<sup>r</sup>, the original rubricator mistakenly added an *N* instead of a *T* initial (*Tunc*), which the later rubricator attempted to correct by writing above it. Similar errors are found on fols 75<sup>ra</sup> (*Dum* instead of *Cum*) and 114<sup>vb</sup> (*Bonum* instead of *Donum*). Throughout the manuscript, hands with a pointing index finger have been drawn with lead, calling attention to important passages (e.g., fols 22<sup>r</sup>, 84<sup>r</sup> and 114<sup>v</sup>). The same hand wrote comments into the margins on fols 13<sup>v</sup> and 14<sup>r</sup>.

**Binding:** White sheepskin over wooden boards, 14th or 15th century. Five double bands. Colourless headband and headcap. Traces of corner-pieces and a central boss on the upper board. Traces of five bosses on the lower board, while the corner-pieces survive. Some remains of the leather straps, closing onto the upper board with pins, survive.

**Ownership:** The provenance of this manuscript is deducible from the ownership mark on fol. \*1<sup>r</sup>: *liber fratrum predicatorum in lip[cz]k | liber conuentus lipzeniensis* and fol. 163<sup>vb</sup>: *liber fratrum predicatorum in lipczk*.

**Literature:** Anette Löffler (2002), Katalog der theologischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Signaturensegment Ms 626-750, preliminary manuscript, MS. 689.

### **Contents:**

[Fols 1-77 form a single codicological unit]

**1<sup>ra</sup>-77<sup>vb</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE DOMINICI:** Sermons *Jakob* 2-3, 1, 4, 6-39, Schneyer no. 41, *Jakob* 40-51, Schneyer no. 61, *Jakob* 52-58. Sermon *Jakob* 48 merges with sermon *Jakob* 49 on fol. 64<sup>va</sup>, l. 33, without heading or Bible verse.

[Fols 78-161 form a single codicological unit]

**78<sup>ra</sup>-161<sup>rb</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:**

Sermons *Jakob* 30, 32, 13-14, 11, 3-6, 16, 12, 39, 44, 28, 18, 22, 47 (according to Löffler (2002), the first half and the last third are missing), 24, 27, 19, 17, 40, 35, 31, 34, 43, 37-38, 36 (different content), 36, 46, Schneyer no. 214, 26, 53 (content deviating from Jakob (1880) and Schneyer, RS 1), 52, 55, Schneyer no. 245, 25, 29, 21, Schneyer no. 244, 51, 56-57, 59-60, 62, 61, 58, 63-75. After sermons *Jakob* 36 (different content) and 36, a further sermon using the same Bible verse follows. An additional, similarly unknown sermon follows sermon *Jakob* 49, again using the same Bible verse. Despite the unusual order of the sermons, a structure can be established in some cases. The Bible verses of sermons *Jakob* 18, 22, 47 and 24 each begin with *Beatus vir*, although different passages of the Bible have been quoted. The same pattern can be found with sermons *Jakob* 35 and 42, each of which begins with *Reddet*.

(118<sup>ra</sup>-119<sup>ra</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG [?] (unknown, only transmission):  
*VENite ad me omnes* etc. (Mt 11. 28). *Multa bona dantur a domino homini penitentiam agenti ...*

(127<sup>rb</sup>-128<sup>va</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG [?] (unknown, only transmission):  
*Uno confessore. BEati serui illi* etc. (Lc 12. 37). *Nota quod duo sunt domini domini et utroque habet familiam suam ...*

Leipzig, UB, MS. 722

**Berthold von Regensburg · Anonymous sermons · Latin · late 13th / early 14th century · Altzelle OCist**

**Collation:** 122 fols (really 123 fols because the first and last leaves of the outer quires are used as pastedowns; the modern foliation only counted the lower pastedown). 12 quires. 1<sup>12</sup> wants 12 (the counterpart of the pastedown) 2-11<sup>10</sup> 12<sup>12</sup>. Quires 1-11 have quire signatures on the last page (*I<sup>9</sup>-XI<sup>9</sup>*), mostly rubricated. Quires 9 (here cut away) and 10 repeat the quire signature on their first page.

**Writing material:** Parchment, 285 x 205 mm. The parchment of the book block is of good to very good quality and consistently thick. However, at the same time, it has imperfections on fols 3, 5, 12, 15, 28, 58, 61, 69, 76, 80, 87, 107, 117, 121 and possesses neat but occasionally long seams on fols 6, 27, 44, 45, 64, 67, 80, 82, 84, 85, 94, 95, 103, 104, 107, 110, 116 and 122. Several leaves want parts of the lower (fols 4, 9, 29, 30, 66) or outer margin (fols 23, 25, 65, 66, 72, 74, 79, 113, 121), with the latter being a few millimeter short on fols 31, 51, 53, 63, 68, 100. Fol. 84 wants a part of the upper margin. With the exception of fol. 77, follicles are not visible.

**Script:** 1 hand. Two columns. Writing area: 225-227 x 156-159 mm (33 lines). Pricking is visible throughout, double on fol. 61. Written in a gothic textualis datable to the late 13th or early 14th century.

Contemporary numbering of the sermons generally on recto, except fols 3<sup>v</sup> and 5<sup>v</sup>. In addition, the columns are counted alphabetically in the lower margin (*a-p*), with one letter per column. The final or initial columns are never double-counted, but rather left uncounted or marked only as *a*. Frequently, the counting of the columns interrupts in the middle of a sermon and starts again with the following sermon. With several sermons, it is missing completely. There are no marginal annotations.

**Decoration:** Parted 2-line zigzag red and blue initials on fols 1<sup>ra</sup> and 76<sup>vb</sup>. Minor initials on fols 98<sup>vb</sup>, 114<sup>va</sup> and 115<sup>vb</sup> with dark brown pen-flourish with buds, pearls with core, and tendrils. Otherwise, the sermons begin with 2-line red and blue minor initials, occasionally up to 4 lines when extending into the intercolumnium or margin. The sermon headings for the rubricator are written in a gothic cursive, but mostly cut off (still visible on fol. 88<sup>r</sup>). Furthermore, paragraphs and capital letters at the beginning of sentences have been rubricated. On fol. 19<sup>r</sup> and 20<sup>r</sup>, the *I*-initials have tendrils extending into the upper margin.

**Binding:** Medium-brown pigskin over wooden boards. Three bands. Both boards are worm-eaten. Originally two leather straps closing onto the upper board with pins. Traces of chain and five bosses on the lower board. Over the hole on the lower pastedown and across the text, a piece of parchment has been glued with the inscription *Nota Codex iste* (16<sup>th</sup> century).

**Ownership:** The Altzelle provenance is deducible from the ownership mark on fols 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>: *LIBER CELLE | SANCTE MARIE*, written in red plain initials, presumably

during the first third of the fourteenth century. The manuscript also contains the usual ownership mark *LIBER UETERIS CELLE | SANCTE MARIE* on fols 54<sup>v</sup>-55<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>v</sup>-120<sup>r</sup>, written in plain initials with each word in a single colour, alternating red and blue, c. 1425-1430.

**Literature:** Rudolf Helssig, Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Band 1: Die theologischen Handschriften. Teil 1 (Ms 1 - 500), unaltered reprint of the 1926 edition, Wiesbaden 1995, pp. 801-803.

Anette Löffler, Katalog der theologischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Signaturensegment Ms 626-750, preliminary manuscript, MS. 722.

### **Contents:**

**1<sup>ra</sup>-117<sup>vb</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE DOMINICIS:**  
Sermons *Jakob* 1-9, 12, 14-32, 36, 33-35, 37 (different beginning: *Date et dabitur uobis. Mensuram ...*), 38-39; Schneyer RS 1, p. 475, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 41 (T47); *Jakob* 40-41, 43, 45-51; Schneyer RS 1, p. 477, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 61; *Jakob* 52-58.

**118<sup>ra</sup>-120<sup>vb</sup> SERMO ANONYMUS:** *De decem preceptis*· Docuit Iesus uoluntatem suam angelos in celo· docuit homines uoluntatem suam in terra ...

(120vb) blank after end of sermon

**121<sup>ra</sup>-122<sup>rb</sup> SERMO ANONYMUS:** *Ecce ascendimus ierosolimam [sic!] et consummabuntur ...* (Lk 18. 31). *Ista sunt uerba sancti Luce ewangeliste· de Christi passione ...*

(122rb) blank after end of sermon

**Munich, BSB, Clm. 2718**

**Medical recipes and verses · Disputatio / Legal text · Berthold von Regensburg · Latin · first half of the 14th century · Aldersbach OCist**

**Collation:** 185 fols (modern foliation, dated to 1824 on fol. 185<sup>r</sup>). 17 quires. 1<sup>6</sup> | 2-4<sup>10</sup> 5-16<sup>12</sup> 17<sup>6</sup> wants 1. Quires 2-17 have quire signatures (*jus-xvi*<sup>9</sup>), mainly on the last page, except quire 13 (also first page) and quire 17 (first page only). Original parchment pastedowns with psalm excerpts (here designated as fols \*1 and \*185, see contents).

**Writing material:** Parchment, 177 x 124 mm. The parchment of the first quire is distinct due to water damage and traces of metal pins in the outer margins, obviously from a former binding. Minor imperfections on fols 5 and 6. The remaining quires 2-17 are mostly of very good quality. Fols 147, 151, 154, 155, 176, 177 and 183 want the lower corners or parts of the lower or outer margin.

**Script:** 7 hands, with numerous additional hands on fol. 1<sup>r-v</sup>. Written in two columns, with the exception of hand 7 (one column). Writing area: hand 1: 123 x 81 mm. Hands 2-6: 126-130 x 76-83 mm. Hand 7: 136 x 95 mm.

Hand 1: fols 2<sup>ra</sup>-6<sup>ra</sup> (34 lines). Hand 2: fols 7<sup>ra</sup>-36<sup>v</sup> (34 lines). Hand 3: fols 37<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup> (30 lines). Hand 4: fols 49<sup>r</sup>-60<sup>v</sup> (30 lines). Hand 5: fols 61<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>v</sup> (35 lines). Hand 6: fols 73<sup>r</sup>-184<sup>va</sup> (32 lines). Hand 7: fols 185<sup>r-v</sup> (28-29 lines). Hands 1-6 write in a gothic textualis, hand 7 in a gothic cursive script, all datable to the first half of the 14th century. Dark-brown ink ruling to demarcate the writing area with all scribes transgressing the frame lines. Hands 3 and 5 above top line. Pricking is visible in parts.

Marginal annotations from different hands are found in the outer and lower margins, partly in very small writing (e.g., fols 46<sup>v</sup>, 58<sup>r</sup>, 125<sup>v</sup>, 159<sup>v</sup>; on fol. 17<sup>r</sup> in 1mm high letters). They consist of Bible quotations (fol. 17<sup>r</sup>: *Adduxit enim super eos regem Chaldeorum ... in manibus ejus*· (2 Para 36:17), comments (fol. 73<sup>r</sup>: *Nota mala qui facit avaritia ecclesie*) and explanations (fol. 138<sup>v</sup>: *hec est mutacio aque in vinum*). Some of the marginal notes were cut off when the manuscript was rebound (e.g., fol. 100<sup>v</sup>). There is a single German gloss on fol. 132<sup>v</sup> (*hantwerch*), which refers to an abstract term in the text: *Quartus locus negotij*. Numerous hands added numerals in the margin which refer to the arguments listed in the text (e.g., fols 53<sup>r</sup>, 70<sup>v</sup>, 73<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>v</sup>, 126<sup>v</sup> and 157<sup>v</sup>; on fol. 157<sup>r</sup> even specifying the content).

**Decoration:** 2-line minor initials to highlight the beginnings of the sermons on fols 7<sup>ra</sup>-181<sup>va</sup>, including fol. 7<sup>ra</sup>, where space for a four-line initial was provided. No space was reserved on fol. 157<sup>vb</sup>. Initials not executed on fols 159<sup>va</sup>, 162<sup>rb</sup>, 165<sup>vb</sup> and 169<sup>vb</sup>. The red ink used for the initials is darker than the bright red used for the sermon headings. In the cases where insufficient space was left for the heading, the remaining text was written into the intercolumnium or outer margin along the vertical (e.g., fols 37<sup>v</sup>, 144<sup>v</sup> and 180<sup>r</sup>). The rubricator responsible for the initials added simple line-fillers on fols 25<sup>v</sup>, 84<sup>r</sup> and 134<sup>v</sup>, and rubricated capital letters

throughout the text. Paragraphs have very seldom been added (e.g., fols 38<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup> and 121<sup>r</sup>).

**Binding:** Red sheepskin over wooden boards, with blind ruling, probably late 15<sup>th</sup> century. Four double bands. Colourless headband and headcap. Traces of five bosses on each board. Some remains of the leather straps, closing onto the upper board with pins, survive.

**Ownership:** The Aldersbach provenance of this manuscript is deducible from the fifteenth-century ownership marks on fol. 6<sup>r</sup>: *Ora pro me sanctissima virgo Maria in Alderspach*, fol. 66<sup>r</sup> (written in the intercolumnal space along the vertical): *Ad alderspach monasterium ego refugium quero* and fol. 66<sup>r</sup> (outer margin): *Alderspach*, as well as from the former shelfmark (Ald. 188) as indicated in the catalogue entry of Halm (1894, p. 31).

**Literature:** Carolus Halm et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Ed. altera emendatio, I, 2: Codices num. 2501-5250 complectens (*Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis III, 2*), Munich 1894, p. 31.

Gerhard Baader, *Mittelalterliche Medizin in bayerischen Klöstern*, in: *Sudhoffs Archiv* 57 (1973), p. 285.

#### **Contents:**

(\*1) [EXCERPTS FROM PSALMS]: Psalm 14:14-15 (*suo et non decipit ... in eternam*), written in a textura formata. Inserted, in smaller writing: psalm 12:4 (*Respice et exaudi me domine deus*) and psalm 118:55 (*Memor fui nocte nominis tui domine*). Finally, psalm 15:1-4 (*Conserua me domine ... conuenticula*).

[Fols 1-6 form a single codicological unit]

**1<sup>r-v</sup> [MEDICAL RECIPES AND VERSES]:** Introduced with the Bible quotation: *[petite] et accipietis ut gaudium vestrum sit plenum* (Io 16:24), which was intended to be repeated two more times, possibly as some kind of performative act (*dicet ergo petite et accipietis* [underlined in the original]). / *Iste vmes lentintes corro ... / [...]<sup>r</sup> den chrampen· Accipe semis lini ... / Electuarij· duas ... / Astrologie rotunde· igwer et itwar· Liminn· æ uit· "gelih· ain virdunc fenchelsam ... / Gaudet epar spodio· mace cor cerebrum quoque mvscō· pulmo liquiricio· splen capare· stoma kalanga. (1<sup>r</sup>) So du haiser werst das tu niht wol gereden mv<sup>e</sup>gest· so werm ein waser ... / Contra fiscacionem· Accipe radicem ... vnd stosst in einem morsær ... / Polegium est herba ... (1<sup>v</sup>). The last verses on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> are taken from a particular version of the didactic poem 'Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum', cf. [http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0580/\\_P1E.HTM](http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0580/_P1E.HTM) [1 July 2013].*

**2<sup>ra</sup>-6<sup>ra</sup> [DISPUTATIO / LEGAL TEXT]:** *Quod penitentia sis pro peccatis verum generum* [above, different hand: *singulis*] *circa hec sunt diuerse opiniones· Quidam enim dicunt ... (2<sup>ra</sup>-5<sup>ra</sup>). [I]n primis reo ad iudicium uocato· actor petitionem suam in*

*scriptis redactam porrigat ...* (5<sup>ra</sup>-6<sup>ra</sup>). The second writing is used in a legal context and also transmitted in MSS. Stuttgart, LB, I 19, fol. 192<sup>r-v</sup>, and Uppsala, UB, C 581, fols 113<sup>r</sup>-114<sup>va</sup>, cf. Fowler Magerl (1984), p. 128.

(6<sup>ra</sup>-6<sup>rb</sup>) [TEXT]: Indecipherable text, written in a very poor hand, possibly using abbreviations: *Regem B· cum ue ad ... do me di he me* (?)

[Fols 7-185 form a single codicological unit]

**7<sup>ra</sup>-184<sup>va</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:** Sermons *Jakob* 1-36, 36 with different content, 37, 39-41, 38, 42-48, 48 with different content, 49-75.

(184<sup>vb</sup>) blank

(185<sup>r</sup>) *Incipiunt sermones de communi apostolorum / De multiplice honore apostolorum.*

**185<sup>r-v</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:** Sermon *Jakob* 1, interrupts on fol. 185<sup>v</sup> mid-text.

(\*185) [SERMON SKETCH]: Written in a thirteenth-century cursive script, using a large number of abbreviations.

**Munich, BSB, Clm. 3213**

**Lucas de Bitonto · Berthold von Regensburg · Anonymous sermons · Latin · first quarter of the 14th century · Asbach OSB**

**Collation:** 222 fols (really 218 fols because fol. 55 is double and 161, 184-187 have been omitted). 22 quires. 1-6<sup>10</sup> (medieval foliation skips 55\*) | 7-10<sup>10</sup> 11<sup>8</sup> 12<sup>10</sup> 13<sup>8</sup> 14-21<sup>10</sup> 22<sup>12</sup> wants 1. Quire 1 has a quire signature on the first page (*j<sup>9</sup>*). Quire 7 contains a quire signature at the front (*i*), quires 8-18 have them on the last page (*ii-xj*). Original paper pastedowns (here designated as fols 1\* and \*222) with bull's head watermark close to the Piccard online nos. 65467 (Toruń, 1444) and 65469 (Lubawa, 1444).

**Writing material:** Parchment, 212 x 148 mm. The parchment of the book block is of good quality with some imperfections in the writing area on fols 19, 65 and 222, and in the margins on fols 50-51, 54, 144 and 206. Fols 64, 115, 124, 133, 142-143, 151-153, 162, 173 and 182 want the lower corners or parts of the lower margin. In quires 14-20, the imperfect parchment leaves were positioned in the middle of the quires.

**Script:** 6 hands. Written in one column throughout, with the exception of the two-column list of homilies (fols 219<sup>r</sup>-222<sup>v</sup>). Writing area: hands 1, 4 and 5: 160-161 x 103 mm. Hands 2 and 3: 156 x 101 mm (fols 127<sup>r</sup>-136<sup>v</sup>: 159 x 103mm). Hand 6: 164 x 104 mm (index: 159 x 103 mm). Hand 1: fols 1<sup>r</sup>-60<sup>v</sup> (37 lines). Hand 2: fols 61<sup>r</sup>-90<sup>v</sup>, l. 24 (35-36 lines). Hand 3: fols 90<sup>v</sup>, l. 25-146<sup>v</sup> (36 lines; fols 127<sup>r</sup>-136<sup>v</sup> only 30-31 lines). Hand 4: fols 147<sup>r</sup>-156<sup>v</sup> (28 lines). Hand 5: fols 157<sup>r</sup>-177<sup>v</sup> (37-38 lines). Hand 6: fols 178<sup>r</sup>-222<sup>v</sup> (35-36 lines; index: 36 lines). All hands write in a gothic cursive script datable to the first quarter of the 14th century. Dark-brown ink ruling to demarcate the writing area, above top line. Pricking is visible for the most part.

Throughout the entire codex, the subdivisions of the sermons have consecutively been numbered in roman in the margin (*j-ccccxxij*). A table listing these subdivisions, including their numbering, is placed at the end of the manuscript (fols 219<sup>ra</sup>-222<sup>vb</sup>). A later hand has added headings to fols 1<sup>r</sup> (*Manuale | Sermones de sanctis et praecipuis festiuitatibus continentes*) and 61<sup>r</sup> (*Sermones de sanctis in communi et Dedicacione*), and foliated the complete codex.

On fol. 50<sup>r</sup> an additional hand has written in faint ink *Aue gem[m]a karitatis*, pointing to an antiphon. The *Rusticanus de Sanctis* sermons contain marginal notes of different hands, mostly scribal corrections, specifications and, only rarely, detailed comments (e. g. fol. 16<sup>v</sup>). There are names of authorities, whose quotations are used in the text (e. g. *Aug.*), and *nota* marks. The *Rusticanus de Communi* has similar annotations, in total less, but increasing among the sermons *de virginibus* and *de dedicacione* (fols 190<sup>r</sup>-218<sup>v</sup>). On fol. 168<sup>r</sup>, a second rubricator crossed out the false heading and added the correct one using darker red ink. On fol. 200<sup>r</sup>, a quotation from Claudian has been added by the scribe in the lower margin: *vnde versus· Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum·* (Claudian, In

Eutropium, I, 181). Between fols 84<sup>v</sup> and 85<sup>r</sup> as well as fols 133<sup>v</sup> and 134<sup>r</sup>, there are two loose, rectangular pieces of paper (c. 25 x 15mm and 72 x 20 mm) with Latin text, written in a contemporary gothic cursive, possibly used as bookmarks.

**Decoration:** 3-line (1<sup>r</sup>), 1-line (18<sup>v</sup>) and otherwise 2-line minor initials on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>. Initial and sermon heading not executed on fol. 12<sup>v</sup>. On fol. 39<sup>r</sup>, the rubricator mistakenly added an *M* instead of an *F* initial (*Factum*). The rubricated sermon headings are kept very short, often merely containing the saint's name. Red paragraphs have been added to the text and occasionally capital letters are rubricated with a vertical stroke. Additional red subheadings on fols 55<sup>v</sup>, 55<sup>\*v</sup>, 56<sup>r</sup>, 57<sup>v</sup> and 58<sup>r</sup>, introduced with *Nota*. Parted 6-line red and blue initial with pen-flourishing on fol. 62<sup>r</sup>. 3- and 4-line red or blue minor initials at the beginning of the sermons on fols 62<sup>r</sup>-177<sup>v</sup>, on fols 80<sup>r</sup> (*I*), 94<sup>v</sup> (*Q*), 121 (*I*) and 125 (*I*) with vegetal decoration. Furthermore, on fols 62<sup>r</sup>-177<sup>v</sup>, more space than necessary was provided for the headings, so that some lines remain blank. On fols 178<sup>r</sup>-218<sup>v</sup>, the sermons begin with 2- or 3-line minor initials and the paragraphs are only in red. On fol. 198<sup>r</sup>, the name *Marie Magdalene*, rather than the Bible verse, is highlighted by a minor initial (*M*).

**Binding:** Red sheepskin over wooden boards, with blind ruling, probably late 15<sup>th</sup> century. Three double bands. Colourless headband and headcap. Traces of five bosses on each board. Some remains of the leather straps, closing onto the upper board with pins, survive.

**Ownership:** The Asbach provenance of this manuscript is deducible from the ownership mark on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: *Marij Aspach*, as well as from the former shelfmark (*Asp. 13*) as indicated in the catalogue entry of Halm (1894, p. 81).

**Literature:** Carolus Halm et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Ed. altera emendatior, I, 2: Codices num. 2501-5250 complectens (*Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis III*, 2), Munich 1894, p. 81.

Béatrice Hernad, *Die gotischen Handschriften deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek: Teil 1. Vom späten 13. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Mit Beiträgen von Andreas Weiner (Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München, 5, 1)*, Wiesbaden 2000, p. 202.

### **Contents:**

[Fols 1-60 form a single codicological unit, written by hand 1]

(1<sup>r</sup>) *Manuale / Sermones de sanctis et praecipuis festiuitatibus continentis*

**1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup> [LUCAS DE BITONTO]:** *Dicite filie syon. ecce rex tuus venit.* (Mt 21. 5).  
Mulum debet confortare fidem nostram ... non conserget duplex tribulatio (Nah 1.

9). Cf. Schneyer RS 4, p. 55, Lucas de Bitonto, no. 82 (T24). Cf. also Casutt 1962, p. 255, fn. 3.

**3<sup>v</sup>-50<sup>r</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE SANCTIS:** Sermons *Jakob* 22, 24, 44-45, 48, 53, 67, 79, 83, 86-87, 94-95, 108, 124, 1, 9-11, 13, 15. *Jakob* 24 is followed by a sermon, which is only known from this manuscript.

(7<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG (unique transmission): *Stephani*. Dic relinquitur vobis domus vestra deserta ... in pice stare non coinquinari Det nobis dominus. Cf. Schneyer RS 1, p. 480, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 95 (S9).

(50<sup>r-v</sup>) blank

**51<sup>r</sup>-52<sup>v</sup> SERMO FRATRUM MINORUM:** *Nec quisquam sibi sumat honorem* (Hbr 5. 4). Verba hec leguntur in epistola hodiernae festivitatis. in qua tractatur diffusius de honore ordinis sacerdotalis ... in hoc mundo post regem. Det dominus etc. Also in Bernkastel-Kues, St. Nikolaus Hospital, MS. 130, cf. Schneyer RS 7, p. 80, no. 22 (S23).

**52<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>r</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE SANCTIS:** Sermons *Jakob* 59-60.

**59<sup>r</sup>-60<sup>v</sup> [PROVERBIA]:** Quotations of authorities (Solomon, Bernard, Bede, Augustine et al.). *Salomon*. Qui auertit aurem suam a clamore ne audiat clamorem pauperis. clamabit ipse et non audietur. Cf. Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi, 1, p. 217. ... *B. vide pauperem Christum natum ... nudum in parabilio*.

[Fols 61-222 form a single codicological unit]

**61<sup>r</sup>-62<sup>r</sup> TABLE:** *Sermones de sanctis in communi et Dedicacione*. [later cursive hand] Divided into *De apostolis / De vno martyre / De Martyribus / De confessionibus / De confessionibus / De virginibus / De dedicacione*. The first 34 sermons on fol. 61<sup>r</sup> are numbered in roman.

**62<sup>r</sup>-218<sup>v</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI:** Sermons *Jakob* 1-36, 36 with different content, 37, 39-41, 38, 42-48, 48 with different content, 49-75. Between *Jakob* 46 and 47 another hitherto unattested sermon has been inserted.

(164<sup>v</sup>-166<sup>r</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG [?] (unknown, only transmission): [without heading, not executed] Tv quis es. quid es quid dicis de te ipso. Ego uox clamantis in deserto. Ioh. i. (Io 1. 22-23)<sup>1</sup> in uerbis. istis· duo notatur ... Osculetur me osculo oris sui (Ct 1, 1). quam nobis pro dominus. amen.

**219<sup>ra</sup>-222<sup>vb</sup> [NOTULA LIBRI PRESCRIPTI]:** *Hic annotatus notule prescripti· per numerum ab vno et supra etc*. List of homilies with 472 entries, referring to the subdivisions of this manuscript. Amended and improved by a contemporary hand.

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<sup>1</sup> Unusual version of the vulgate text.

**222vb [PETRUS COMESTOR]:** A short passage from the 'Historia Scholastica' has been in the remaining space. *In scolastica hystoria. de regressu solis. Ezechias autem post inopinabilem ... quia morieris tu et non viues. etc* (IV Reg. 20).

Munich, BSB, Clm. 7961

Berthold von Regensburg · Graeculus · Anonymous sermons · Latin · second half of the 14th century · Kaisheim OCist

**Collation:** 165 fols (modern foliation, dated to 1893 on fol. \*165<sup>r</sup>, really 164 fols because number 155 is omitted; contemporary foliation in lead is barely visible, foliation in red up to fol. 10). 18 quires. 1<sup>12</sup> 2-4<sup>10</sup> 5-9<sup>8</sup> 10-13<sup>10</sup> 14-18<sup>8</sup>. Quires 1-9 have quire signatures, cut off on the first two quires ([i<sup>9</sup>]-ix<sup>9</sup>). Quires 3-13 and 15-17 have catchwords, occasionally cut off. Original parchment pastedowns, which are slightly smaller than the leaves of the book block (205 x 140 mm; here designated as fols \*1 and \*165). The end of the first and the beginning of the last quire, as well as the beginning of the second and the end of the penultimate quire, have been connected with blank parchment strips, for additional support.

**Writing material:** Parchment, 216 x 155 mm. The parchment of the book block is of good quality, with some leaves wanting the lower corners (e.g., fols 13, 61, 62 and 156). Fols 124 and 135 have later repairs, but no loss of text.

**Script:** 1 hand. Written in two columns. Writing area: 163 x 106 mm. 35-35 lines, up to 40 lines in the rear quires. Written in a gothic textualis datable to the second half of the 14th century. Dark-brown ink ruling to demarcate the writing area, with the scribe transgressing the frame lines throughout. Pricking is visible almost continuously.

There are marginal notes with the *Rusticanus de Communi* sermons by three different hands, mainly corrections, dissolved abbreviations (e.g., fol. 42<sup>v</sup>), supplementary remarks (e.g., fol. 2<sup>v</sup>: omnibus metallis – *dat colorem et ea nobilitat· vnum et omnibus metallis*; fol. 61<sup>r</sup>: Nonne ego sum qui peccaui. – *ego sum qui iussi ut numeraretur populus* (1 Chron 21:17)) and occasional *nota* marks. The *Rusticanus de Sancti* sermons received similar annotations, but by three additional hands, which indicates a separate usage for each of the collections. In the lower margin of fol. 134<sup>v</sup>, the following *distinctiones* have been added:

*Is qui de pa semper natus mat  
tre sine re  
Nascitur ex ma tantum semel pat*

*Ingratis sua gratia dans sua gratis  
Nascitur In mente Christus sua gratia lente id est leniente  
In corde fedos reddens sine sorde*

Another hand added names of authorities on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> (*dijonisius / Crisostomus*). The marriage sermon *Jakob* 58 has been supplemented with corrections and explanations (e.g., fol. 91<sup>v</sup>: capite destructa – *sensibus priuata / mente capta*) by a hand from the 16th century. The numbering of the sermons is modern and includes, up to fol. 44<sup>v</sup>, the counting according to Jakob (1880). There are marginal annotations from various hands in the outer margins of fols \*1<sup>v</sup> and \*165<sup>r</sup>.

**Decoration:** 2- or 3-line minor initials indicate the beginning of the sermons, mostly in red, occasionally in blue (e.g., fols 5<sup>v</sup>, 14<sup>r</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 50<sup>r</sup>). Small guide letters, serving as aids for the rubricator, are still visible. Paragraphs and rubricated capital letters throughout the text.

**Binding:** Original binding transferred to a new binding during restoration in 1965. White sheepskin over wooden boards, probably 15th century. Three bands. Traces of five bosses on each board.

**Ownership:** The Kaisheim provenance of this manuscript is deducible from the ownership marks on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> (lower margin): *Liber sancte marie virginis in cesarea Ad usum fratris michahelis scho<sup>en</sup> datus 1429*, as well as from the former shelfmark (Kais. 61) as indicated in the catalogue entry of Halm (1873, p. 210). Additional ownership marks refer to its possession by a friar called Michael Schön, who studied at Heidelberg from 1432: *Michael scho<sup>en</sup>* (fol. \*1<sup>v</sup>), *Schon* (fols \*1<sup>v</sup> und 165<sup>v</sup>, written across the text in 2 cm high letters), *vonn michahel scho<sup>en</sup> / Michahelj Scho<sup>en</sup> / Scho<sup>en</sup> est studiosus Haydelbergensis. anno Domini CCCC<sup>o</sup>XXXII circa festum St. Remigii quando missus fuit ad studium. a. 1432.* (fol. 165<sup>v</sup>).

**Literature:** Carolus Halm et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, Codices num. 5251-8100 complectens* (*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis III, 3*), Munich 1873, p. 210.

Georg Jakob, *Die lateinischen Reden des seligen Berthold von Regensburg*, Regensburg 1880, p. 17.

### **Contents:**

(\*1<sup>v</sup>) *Sermones Rusticani Berhtoldi*

**1<sup>ra</sup>-121<sup>vb</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI.** Sermons Jakob 1-36, 42-75.

(1<sup>r</sup>) *Commune berchtoldi rusticani* [Bastarda]

*Sermones rusticani de sanctis / primo commune sanctorum* [Gothic textualis, blue ink]

*De dignitate apostolorum / de perfectione eorum / de honore eorum a deo / de hijs propter que debemus eos honorare et de laude caritatis per quam eos debemus imitari* [Gothic textualis with cursive elements and dotted i]

(121<sup>vb</sup>): Blank space in column, following the end of the last sermon.

**122<sup>ra</sup>-165<sup>ra</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE SANCTI.** Sermons Jakob 1-2, 4-5, 3, 7, 8, 10, 13-14, 16-20, 22, 25, 30, 32-37, 39, 41-43, 45, 47-48, 52-53, 58, 57, 60, 61, 66, 67, 76, 64, 72-73, 75, 74, 78-81, 83-84, 82, 86, 88-90, 94-95, 99-100, 103, 108, 112, 116, 119, 122, 124. In between, there are further sermons

on saints, some of which are not usually counted among the *RdS* sermons, a Graeculus sermon and several anonymous sermons.

(122<sup>ra</sup>) *Incipiunt sermones Rusticani de sanctis per circulum anni etc.*

(124<sup>vb</sup>-125<sup>va</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG: *Ad religiosos*. Qvicumque hanc regulam ... (Gal 6. 16). Dictum est in precedenti ... Same verse as *Jakob* 5, but different content. Cf. Schneyer RS 1, p. 478, Berthold von Regensburg, no. 68 (S73).

(132<sup>vb</sup>-133<sup>rb</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG [?] *Nycolai*. In tempore iracundiae factus est reconciliatio (Ecl 44. 17). Sanctus Nycolaus multorum factos [*sic*] est reconciliator ... Also in the *RdS* manuscript Melk, Benedictine abbey, Cod. 1770, fol. 28<sup>v</sup>, which is listed neither with Casutt (1961) nor Schneyer RS.

(134<sup>va</sup>-135<sup>ra</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG [?] *In navitate domini*. Vocabitur nomen eius admirabilis (Is 9. 6). Ysaias et bene ... Also in the *RdS* manuscript Melk, Benedictine abbey, Cod. 1770, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>.

(140<sup>ra</sup>-141<sup>va</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG [?] *In conversione sancti pauli*. Domine quid me uis facere (Act 9. 6). Duo sunt quae nos ... Also in the *RdS* manuscript Melk, Benedictine abbey, Cod. 1770, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>.

(145<sup>ra</sup>-145<sup>vb</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *In resurrectione domini nostri Iesu Christi*. Surrexit dominus uere ... (Lc 24. 34). Nota quod resurrectio christi non solum est ...

(145<sup>vb</sup>-146<sup>va</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Item*. Christus resurgens ex mortuis ... (Rom 6. 9). In uerbis istis ostendit amplius statum et gloriam ...

(146<sup>va</sup>-146<sup>vb</sup>) [GRAECULUS]: *Item in resurrectione domini*. Ualde mane vna sabbatorum ... (Mc 16. 2). Dominus ualde mane surrexit propter duo ... Cf. Schneyer RS 2, p. 228, Graeculus, no. 291 (T28). Also in the *RdS* manuscripts Melk, Benedictine abbey, Cod. 1770, fol. 49<sup>v</sup> and Linz, Upper Austrian State Library, MS. 336, fol. 43<sup>rb</sup>. Schönbach (1905), Studien IV, p. 60, by contrast, considers this sermon to be *RdS Jakob* 64.

(148<sup>ra</sup>-148<sup>va</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Philippi et Iacobi*. Scimus quod diligentibus deum ... (Rom 8. 28). Illud verbum congrue potest adaptari ... Also in Linz, Upper Austrian State Library, MS. 336, fol. 46<sup>rb</sup>.

(149<sup>rb</sup>-149<sup>va</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Alius sermo*. Svnt etiam tria optima· scilicet bonum· melius· optimum. Also in Linz, Upper Austrian State Library, MS. 336, fol. 47<sup>vb</sup>. According to Schönbach (1905), Studien IV, p. 61, it is the second part of the sermon *RdS Jakob* 73.

(149<sup>va</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *In translacione francisci*. Abscondi haec a sapientibus ... (Mt 11. 25). Nota quaedam nobis futura ... According to Schönbach (1905), Studien IV, p. 61, it is the sermon *RdS Jakob* 75. Also in the *RdS* manuscript Melk, Benedictine abbey, Cod. 1770, fol. 55<sup>v</sup>.

(150<sup>ra</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Item de dedicatione sermo. Ivgum meum suaue est ...* (Mt 11. 30). *Gloria iugum Christi ewangelium est ...* According to Schönbach (1905), *Studien IV*, p. 61, it is the sermon *RdS Jakob 74*. Also in the *RdS* manuscript Melk, Benedictine abbey, Cod. 1770, fol. 56<sup>r</sup>, and in Linz, Upper Austrian State Library, MS. 336, fol. 49<sup>rb</sup>.

(165<sup>r</sup>) *Explicunt sermones rusticani de sanctis* [added subsequently in the intercolumnium]

(165<sup>r</sup>-165<sup>v</sup>) [SERMON SKETCHES AND VERSES]: *Quibus prohibente sit communio ...* (165<sup>ra</sup>-165<sup>rb</sup>). *Egressus Iesus perambulat etc.* (Lc 19. 1). *In hoc ewangelio quinque nota ...* (165<sup>rb</sup>-165<sup>va</sup>). *Quadraginta duo ducenta milia quinque. Tot fertur Christus pro nobis vulnera passus 5242* (165<sup>v</sup>, outer margin). This mnemonic verse refers to the number of wounds of Christ. Cf. Lentes (2001), p. 61 and Metz (2001), pp. 371 f. *Ecce multis modis deus veniale ...* (165<sup>v</sup>). *Ieronymus et Augustus. Intra multa milia hominum ...* (165<sup>v</sup>)

*Cerusa cum dominis non consulo mandere seruis. / Edere cum dominis est stultum cerusa magnis.* (165<sup>v</sup>, upper margin).

(\*165<sup>r</sup>) [VERSES AND NOTES]: *icznot vnd hin nach bis an de junste tag / das neman vor der bringen mag dan allain got* (upper margin). *Ich peter rot sol Christus [...]* *prot* (outer margin). *Nota bene. Sicut olla exitens ...*(lower margin). *Exsurge quare obdormis. Domine et ne repellas me in finem. Quare faciam tuam avertis?* (Psalm 43:23-24) (outer margin). Sequences of numbers (33 34 ... 44), some signs in Hebrew (lower margin).

**Munich, BSB, Clm. 19116**

**Anonymous sermons · Berthold von Regensburg · Latin · first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century · Tegernsee OSB**

**Collation:** 157 fols (modern foliation, really 158 fols because fol. 31 is double). 17 quires. 1<sup>8</sup> 2-5<sup>10</sup> (modern foliation skips 31\*) | 6-8<sup>8</sup> 9<sup>10</sup> 10<sup>8</sup> wants 8 11<sup>12</sup> 12<sup>10</sup> 13<sup>12</sup> 14-16<sup>10</sup> 17<sup>6</sup> wants 6. Quires 9-12 and 14-16 contain catchwords (partly cut off in quires 14 and 16). Original parchment pastedowns and endleaves are lost and have been replaced with modern parchment fly-leaves (here designated as fols I\*-II\* and 158\*-159\*). The inner surface of the upper board has offset from a former pastedown with text in a neatly written gothic bookhand.

**Writing material:** Parchment, 150 x 105 mm. The parchment of the book block is of good quality with some imperfections on fols 25, 49, 72 and 97. Fols 57, 59 and 60 are smaller leaves than the rest; fols 91 and 98 want the outer corners. Fol. 12 has a later repair, but no loss of text. The preparation of the parchment of quire 10 (fols 82-88) may have been defective with the result that the script has flaked off in places. On fol. 81v a later hand has retraced several words with a darker ink. In parts of fol. 85<sup>v</sup> and 86<sup>r</sup> the text is scarcely legible.

**Script:** 7 hands, with a single main hand (Hand 1) who worked in both parts of the manuscript. Written in one column throughout. Writing area: consistently 108-111 x 76-77 mm. Hand 1: fols 1<sup>r</sup>-43<sup>v</sup>; 48<sup>v</sup>-51<sup>v</sup> l. 15; 57<sup>v</sup> l. 2-154<sup>v</sup> l. 16 (30-31 lines). Hand 2: fol. 43<sup>v</sup>, l. 22-44<sup>v</sup>, l. 24 (28 lines). Hand 3: fol. 44<sup>v</sup>, l. 25-46<sup>r</sup> (27 lines). Hand 4: 46<sup>v</sup>-47<sup>r</sup> (25-26 lines). Hand 5: 47<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup> (35 lines). Hand 6: 51<sup>v</sup>, l. 15-57<sup>v</sup>, l. 2 (31 lines, the only hand that writes above the top ruled line). Hand 7: 154<sup>v</sup> l. 17-157<sup>v</sup> (30-31 lines). Hands 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 write in a clear gothic textualis datable to the first quarter of the 14th century. Hand 3 is written in a hybrid textualis integrating numerous features of cursive script. Hand 5, probably datable to the second half of the 15th century, added the table of the *RdC* sermons in an untidy German bastarda on the last leaf of the first part and the first leaf of the second part of the codex. Hands 2, 3, and in parts 7 (fols 156<sup>v</sup>-157<sup>v</sup>), write on pages without any ruling or demarcation of the writing area. Pricking is visible in some quires.

The numbering of the *Rusticanus de Communi* sermons in the centre of the upper margin is in the 15th century hand that also wrote the corresponding table preceding the text (fol. 47<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>). One sermon has been ignored, most likely by mistake (fol. 121r, *RdC Jakob* 43). The numbering is carried out unsystematically with arabic numerals (2-9: 2<sup>o</sup>, 3<sup>o</sup> etc., from 14 onwards: 14, 15 etc.), occasionally in roman numerals (10-13: x, xj etc.). A combination of both styles can be found with multiples of ten (2<sup>o</sup>, fol. 80<sup>v</sup>; 3<sup>mo</sup>, fol. 97<sup>r</sup> etc.). The first number is expressed as an ordinal (*p'mus*, fol. 48<sup>v</sup>). The same hand has also numbered the Sunday sermons from fol. 26<sup>v</sup> (*do<sup>a</sup> p'ma*) as far as fol. 42<sup>r</sup> (*do<sup>a</sup> 22*), again combining arabic and roman numerals.

There are very few marginal notes: paragraphs (fol. 1<sup>r-v</sup>), numbering the *causae* and sacred objects named in the text (fols 12<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>v</sup>: 1m, 2m etc.; fols 44<sup>v</sup> and 55<sup>v</sup>-

56<sup>v</sup>: 1, 2 etc.), and *nota* marks. A contemporary hand has added the performative expressions *accedere* ('(to) approach', 18<sup>v</sup>, lower margin) and *surge* ('rise!', 157<sup>v</sup>, following the end of the text).

**Decoration:** Parted 3-line red and blue initial on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, extending into the upper margin. An initial of similar style can be found on fol. 48<sup>v</sup>, decorated with pen-flourishing and small pearls. Each sermon begins with a 2-line minor initial (fols 1<sup>v</sup>-42<sup>v</sup>: red and blue; fols 50<sup>r</sup>-152<sup>r</sup>: red only). The initials from 89<sup>r</sup>-154<sup>v</sup> have pen-flourishing in red and blue (fols 89<sup>r</sup> and 90<sup>r</sup>), or just in red. Vegetal finials can be found both with the *Rusticanus de Sanctis* (e.g. 2<sup>v</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup> etc.) and the *Rusticanus de Communi* (e.g. 53<sup>v</sup>, 60<sup>v</sup> etc.). On fols 57<sup>v</sup>-88<sup>v</sup> (hand 1, light brown ink), the descenders are occasionally extended into the lower margin in an ornamental way (increasingly on fols 57<sup>v</sup>-68<sup>v</sup>). For the texts that were added at a later stage (fols 43<sup>r</sup>-45<sup>r</sup>, 154<sup>v</sup>-157<sup>r</sup>), the initials were not executed and the space left blank. Guide letters for the rubricator can be found on fol. 44<sup>v</sup> and 45<sup>r</sup>.

**Binding:** Red sheepskin over wooden boards, with blind ruling and three simple stamps, probably late 15<sup>th</sup> century. Original spine replaced during restoration in 1960. Only the anchor plate of a single clasp, closing onto the upper board, survives.

**Ownership:** The Tegernsee provenance of this manuscript is only deducible from its former signature (Teg. 1116) indicated in the catalogue entry of Halm (1878, p. 233).

**Literature:** Carolus Halm et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, II, 3: Clm 15121-21313 complectens (*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* IV, 3), Munich 1878 (reprint Wiesbaden 1969), p. 233.

### **Contents:**

[Fols 1-47 form a single codicological unit, including work by hand 1]

**1<sup>r</sup>-47<sup>v</sup> SERMONES ANONYMI · ORATIO AUGUSTINI · SERMO DE PEREGRINUS DE OPPELN OP · SERMONES OFM · SERMO DE ODO DE CHERITON · SERMO DE CONRADUS HOLTNICKER OFM · SERMO DE ALDOBRANDINUS DE CAVALCANTIBUS**

(1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>) QUINQUE SERMONES ANONYMI: *Egredietur dominus de loco sancto ...* (Is 26:21). *Nota quod quintuplex aduentus domini est ...* (1<sup>r</sup>-1<sup>v</sup>). *Tunc uidebunt filium hominis ...* (Lc 21. 27). *In hac Dominica ...* (1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>). *Quid exitis in desertum ...* (Mt 11. 7). *In prima dominica ...* (2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>). *Ego uox clamantis ...* (Io 1. 23). *Per Johannem intelligitur ...* (3<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>). *Paruulus natus est nobis ...* (Is 9. 6). *Circa navitatem domini ...* (4<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>). In the same order as in Clm. 9586, cf. Schneyer RS 8, p. 643, no. 2-6 (T1-T6). Clm. 23387a contains the first, third, fourth, and fifth sermon, cf. Schneyer RS 8, p. 746, no. 9, 11-13 (T1-T6).

(4<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>v</sup>) SERMONES ANONYMI: *Ecce positus est hic ...* (Lc 2. 34). In hoc ewangelio tria ... (4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>). *Et factum est post triduum ...* (Lc 2. 46). In hoc ewangelio docemur tria ... (5<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>). *Nupcie facte sunt ...* (Io 2. 1). Hic possunt distingui tria ... (6<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>). *Ecce leprosus veniens ...* (Mt 8. 2). Per leprosum nota morale ... (7<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>). *Ascendente ihesu in nauiculam ...* (Mt 8. 23). Per nauiculam istam ... (7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>v</sup>). Cf. Schneyer RS 8, p. 747, Clm 23387a, nos. 19-23 (T7-T14), in the same order.

(8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Benedixisti domine terram tuam* (Ps 84. 2). Quondam terra fuit maledicta ... Also in Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1330, cf. Schneyer RS 9, p. 842, no. 29 (T19); and in Graz, UB, MS. 1050, fol. 41<sup>r</sup>.

(9<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Postquam impleti sunt ...* (Lc 2. 22). In hoc ewangelio notantur quattuor possumus ...

(10<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Simile est regnum celorum patrifamilias ...* (Mt 20. 1). In hoc ewangelio tria notantur ... Cf. Schneyer RS 8, p. 644, Clm 9586, no. 16 (T16); cf. also Schneyer RS 8, p. 747, Clm. 23387a, no. 24 (T16).

(10<sup>v</sup>-14<sup>v</sup>) SERMONES ANONYMI: *Exiit qui seminat...* (Lc 8. 4). Per semen istud notatur... (10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>v</sup>). *Terra sepe supra se uenientem ...* (Hbr 6. 7). Germinans autem ... (11<sup>v</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>). *Ecce ascendimus Iersolimam [sic] ...* (Lc 18. 31). In hoc ewangelio nota [sic] tria ... (12<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>v</sup>). *Ductus est ihesus in desertum ...* (Mt 4. 1). Propter quattuor ... (13<sup>v</sup>-14<sup>v</sup>). Cf. Schneyer RS 8, p. 747, Clm 23387a, nos. 25-28 (T17-T19), in the same order.

(14<sup>v</sup>-15<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Et ecce mulier de finibus ...* (Mt 15. 22). Mulier hec orans pro filia ...

(15<sup>v</sup>-16<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Erat Iesus eiciens demonium* (Lc 11. 14). Per istum demoniacum ... Cf. Schneyer RS 8, p. 645, Clm. 9586, no. 23 (T21); cf. also Schneyer RS 8, p. 747, Clm. 23387a, no. 30 (T21). Possibly also in Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2459, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>.

(16<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Est puer unus hic ...* (Io 6. 9). Per istos quinque panes notantur quinque quibus fidelis anima spritualiter reficitur ...

(17<sup>r</sup>) ORATIO AUGUSTINI: *Oratio Augustinus [sic] veneranda nobis domine huius diei festiuitas opem conferat salutarem ...* Also in Salzburg, UB, M I 40, fol. 45<sup>r</sup>, under the title 'Oratio de morte BMV'; in Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, MS. \*V, App. 70, fol. 146<sup>r</sup>.

(17<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Ego Dominus humiliavi ...* (Ez 17. 24). Hic agitur de duobus lignis ... Possibly also in Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2459, fol. 61<sup>r</sup>.

(17<sup>v</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Hoc sentite in uobis...* (Phlp 2:5). Hoc sentire debetis· dicitur glossa· quattuor autem ... Possibly also in Prague, NkČr, XX. A. 11, cf. Schneyer RS 9, p. 370, no. 112 (T24).

(18<sup>r</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Isti sunt dies quos observare debetis hic dominica dicitur dominica passionis in qua ecclesia incipit agere de passione* ... The introit appears as the title of a Cistercian antiphon (responsorium), which is sung during the feast of the Passion of Christ. Also contained in Clm. 4303, fol. 214<sup>r</sup>.

(19<sup>r</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini* (Mt 21. 9). *Venientem dominum turba suspiciens* ... Also in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS. 303/1976 8°, fol. 190<sup>rb</sup>.

(20<sup>r</sup>-20<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Exodus. En pluam uobis panes* ... (Ex 16. 4). *Panes dicit pluraliter*... Cf. Schneyer RS 9, p. 354, Prag, Univ. XIV. D. 16, no. 75 (T25); also in Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2459, fol. 61<sup>v</sup>.

(20<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>) [PEREGRINUS DE OPPELN OP]: *Stetit Iesus in medi dis* (Io 20. 19). *Nota quattuor mala peccatum* ... Cf. Schneyer RS 4, p. 552, Peregrinus de Oppeln, no. 49 (T29).

(21<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Stetit Iesus in medio* ... (Io 20. 19). *In auditu eius est crudicio* ...

(21<sup>v</sup>-22<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Ego sum pastor bonus* (Io 10. 11). *In tribus pascuis sunt tres pastores* ... Cf. Schneyer RS 8, p. 645, Clm. 9586, no. 33 (T30); cf. also Schneyer RS 9, p. 371, Prag, Univ. XX. A. 11, no. 122 (T30).

(22<sup>r</sup>-22<sup>v</sup>) SERMO OFM: *Plorabitits et flebitis uos* (Io 16. 20). *Nota ergo quod quattuor faciunt hominem flere* ... Cf. Schneyer RS 7, p. 251, Graz, UB, MS. 1255, no. 70 (T31).

(22<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Expedit uobis ut ego vadam* (Io 16. 7). *Quamvis hoc de itinere* ... Cf. Schneyer RS 8, p. 748, Clm. 23387a, no. 46 (T32); cf. also Schneyer RS 9, p. 371, Prag, Univ. XX. A. 11, no. 126 (T36).

(23<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *UEtite* [sic, initial *U* instead of correct *P*] *ut gaudium uestrum plenum sit* (Io 16. 24). *Accessuro ad curiam et uolunti* ... Also in Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2459, fol. 64<sup>v</sup>.

(24<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Estote prudentes et uigilate* ... (1Ptr 4. 7). *Beatus Petrus in hac epistola monet nos ad quattuor* ... Also in Graz, UB, Ms 579, fol. 320<sup>r</sup>.

(25<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Veni sancte spiritus. Iesus omnino est mater nostra ecclesia* ...

(26<sup>r</sup>-26<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Benedicat nos deus deus noster* ... (Ps 66. 7). *In tempore autem preterito peregrimus* ... Cf. Schneyer RS 8, p. 646, Clm. 9586, no. 45-46 (T40).

(26<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Homo quidam erat dives et induebatur* (Lc 16. 19). *Duabus de causis legitur* ... Cf. Schneyer RS 9, p. 371, Prague, Univ. XX. A. 11, no.

137 (T41); cf. also Schneyer RS 8, p. 441, Leipzig, UB, Ms. 747, no. 59 (T41) (here the quotation is misstated as Lc 16. 1).

(27<sup>r</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Homo quidam fecit cenam magnam* (Lc 14. 16).  
Homo iste est Christus Iesus. Apostulus mediator dei et homo ...

(28<sup>r</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>) [ODO DE CHERITON] [Sermo in dnca 3 post pent]: *Erant appropinquantes ad Iesum publicani et peccatores ...* (Lc 15 :1). quasi amicus peccatorum et publicanorum· sicut enim ad David confugerunt egentes... Also in Innsbruck, UB, Cod. 306, fol. 22<sup>ra</sup> (here attributed to Odo of Cheriton).

(29<sup>r</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Estote misericordes* (Lc 6. 36). In hoc ewangelio inuitamur ad quinque ... Also in Innsbruck, UB, Cod. 306, fol. 22<sup>rb</sup>; and in Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2459, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>.

(30<sup>r</sup>-30<sup>v</sup>) SERMO OFM: Dum [sic, initial *D* instead of correct *C*] *turbe irruerent in eum ut audirent uerbum Dei ...* (Lc 5. 1). Nota quod per mare signatur mundus quattuor de causis ... Cf. Schneyer RS 7, p. 254, Graz, UB, 1255, no. 108 (T45).

(30<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Nisi habundauerit iustitia uestra* (Mt 5. 20). In isto ewangelio inuitat nos dominus ut perfecti sumus ... Perhaps based on a sermon of Rogerus de Salesburia, cf. Schneyer RS 5, p. 343, no. 34 (T46).

(31<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>a</sup><sup>ra</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Quem fructum habuistis tunc in illis in quibus nunc erubescitis ...* (Rom 6. 21). Cf. Schneyer RS 8, p. 441, Leipzig, UB, Ms. 747, no. 70 (T47).

(31<sup>a</sup><sup>ra</sup>-32<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Attendite a falsis prophetis* (Mt 7. 15). In hoc ewangelio docet nos tria dominus· fugere malos· fugere mala et face bonum· ... Perhaps based on a sermon of Conradus Holticker, cf. Schneyer RS 1, p. 789, no. 522 (T48).

(32<sup>r</sup>-32<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Homo quidam erat diues qui habebat ...* (Lc 16. 1).  
Homo iste deus est qui est diues in paciencia quantum ad peccatore ...

(32<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>) SERMO FRATRUM MINORUM: *Uidens Iesus ciuitatem fleuit super illam*· (Lc 19. 41). Nota quis fleuerit quociens ... Cf. Schneyer RS 7, p. 254, Graz, UB, 1255, no. 120 (T50).

(33<sup>r</sup>-34<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Publicanus a longe stans ...* (Lc 18. 13). Publicanus iste commendatur a tribus ... Cf. Schneyer RS 9, p. 353, Prag, Univ. XIV. D. 16, no. 51 (T51).

(34<sup>r</sup>-34<sup>v</sup>): SERMO ANONYMUS: *ET adduxerunt ei surdum ...* (Mc 7. 32). Per hominem istum qui duplicis ... Cf. Schneyer RS 9, p. 373, Prague, Univ. XX. A. 11, no. 160 (T52).

(34<sup>v</sup>-35<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Beati oculi qui uident ...* (Lc 10. 23). Apostoli dicti sunt beati ... Cf. Schneyer RS 9, p. 353, Prag, Univ. XIV. D. 16, no. 53 (T53).

(35<sup>v</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Dum iret Iesus in Ierusalem ...* (Lc 17. 11). In hoc ewangelio possunt tria notari...

(36<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Nemo potest duobus dominis ...* (Mt 6. 24). In hoc ewangelio monemur ad quattuor ...

(37<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Accessit Iesus et tetigit loculum* (Lc 7. 14). Per defunctum istum spiritus hominis ... Cf. Schneyer RS 9, p. 353, Prag, Univ. XIV. D. 16, no. 56 (T56).

(38<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Dum intraret Iesus in domum ...* (Lc 14. 1). In hoc ewangelio tria nota ...

(38<sup>v</sup>-39<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Accessit ad eum Pharisei et interrogabant eum ... Diliges Dominum Deum tuum* (Mt 22:34-37). In hoc ewangelio agitur de dilectione ... Cf. Schneyer RS 9, p. 353, Prag, Univ. XIV. D. 16, no. 57 (T57).

(39<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Ascendens Iesus in nauiculam ...* (Mt 9. 1). In hoc ewangelio commendatur primum pium prelatorum officium ...

(40<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Simile est regnum celorum homini ...* (Mt 22. 2). In hoc ewangelio nota tria ...

(40<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Erat quidam regulus ...* (Io 4. 46). In hoc ewangelio monemur ad tria ...

(41<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Descendens Iesus de monte* (Lc 6. 19). Quadruplex est de sanctesio domini ...

(42<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>v</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Simile est regnum celorum homini ...* (Mt 22. 2). In hoc ewangelio tria nota...

(42<sup>v</sup>-43<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *Abeuntes Pharisei consilium ...* (Mt 22. 15). In hoc ewangelio nota tria...

(43<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>r</sup>) [CONRADUS HOLTNIKER OFM]: *Si non lauero te ...* (Io 13. 8). Lauat nos dominus quadrupliciter modis· uidelicet aqua baptisimi ... Cf. Schneyer RS 1, p. 754, Conradus Holticker, no. 101 (T25).

(44<sup>v</sup>) [ALDOBRANDINUS DE CAVALCANTIBUS]: *Congregate illi sanctos eius* (Ps 49, 5). Notandum quod sex sunt cause quare ecclesia festum omnium sanctorum instituit· ... Cf. Schneyer RS 1, p. 178, Aldobrandinus de Cavalcantibus, no. 392 (S79).

(44<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: *O vos qui transitis per uiam...* (Lam 1. 12). In uerbis istis innuit Christus dolorem suum ...

(45<sup>r</sup>-46<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS [OFM]: *Ihesum queritis nazarenum crucifixum surrexit etc.* (Mc 16. 6). In istis uerbis angelus duo facit ... Cf. Schneyer RS 7, p. 119, no. 110 (T28), attributed to the Franciscan collection in MS. Assisi 432.

(46<sup>v</sup>-47<sup>r</sup>) SERMO ANONYMUS: [C]um dilexisset suos ... (Io 13. 1). Per haec uerba beatus Iohannes apostolus et Ewangelium commendat ...

**47<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>r</sup> TABLE: RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI.** Also mentions the sermon categories (*De apostolis* etc.). Written by the same hand who has subsequently numbered the sermons in the upper margin.

[Fols 48-157 form a single codicological unit, including work by hand 1]

**48<sup>v</sup>-154<sup>r</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE COMMUNI.** Sermons *Jakob* 1-6, 8-36, 36 with different content, 37, 39-41, 38, 42-48, 48 with different content, 58. The title has been omitted in *Jakob* 4 (fol. 52<sup>v</sup>). Between *Jakob* 5 and 6 another, unknown sermon has been inserted using the Bible verse as *Jakob* 4 and 5. *Jakob* 8 follows immediately after *Jakob* 6 without title; the beginning of the sermon is indicated only by means of a rubricated initial (fol. 59<sup>r</sup>).

(54<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>v</sup>) BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG [?] (unknown, only transmission): [Vos estis ciues sanctorum ... (Eph 2. 19)]. *Sequitur de patrefamilias qui per solem significatur.* Hic similiter tria singularia. Primum ut sint lenes non solum exterius ...

(154<sup>r</sup>) At the end of the text: *Explicit commune de sanctis.*

**154<sup>v</sup> SERMO ANONYMUS:** *Dominica prima. Scientes quia hora est...* (Rom 13. 11). De sompno peccati finit mora ...

**155<sup>v</sup>-157<sup>r</sup> BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG, RUSTICANUS DE DOMINCIS.** Sermon *Jakob* 35.

**157<sup>r</sup>-157<sup>v</sup> SERMO ANONYMUS:** *Venio ad vos iterum· uerba proposita scribuntur in Iohanne* (Io 14:28)· quae licet pauca ...

## **The German \*Y transmission: Minor supplements to Richter (1969)**

### **Heidelberg , UB, Cpg 35**

Five watermarks:

- 1) fol. \*2: bull, very similar to Piccard Vierfüßler 3, VI/912 (Xanten, 1436)<sup>2</sup>
- 2) fol. \*4: bull's head, very similar to Piccard online no. 69839 (Munich, 1439)
- 3) fols 48 and 52: bull's head, similar to Piccard online no. 67126 (Innsbruck, 1436)
- 4) fol. 58: bull's head, similar to Piccard online no. 67063 (Innsbruck, 1435)
- 5) fols 99 and 105: bull, similar to Piccard online no. 85973 (Bodenschwing, 1437), but the back leg is differently curved

### **Munich, BSB, Cgm. 1119**

Two watermarks:

- 1) fol. 96: bull's head, identical to Piccard online no. 65213 (Nördlingen, 1462)
- 2) fols 22 and 40: scales, identical to Piccard online no. 116181 (Würzburg, 1467)

### **Munich, BSB, Cgm. 5067**

Three watermarks:

- 1) fols 56 and 60: unicorn, identical to with Piccard online no. 124365 (Görz, 1445)
- 2) fols 67, 95 and 156: blossom/leaf, identical to Piccard online no. 126853 (Fulda, 1427)
- 3) fols 272 and 276: bull's head, identical to Piccard online no. 63077 (Munich, 1426)

Four hands, not five. Hand 1: fols 1<sup>r</sup>-65<sup>v</sup> (28-40 lines). Hand 2: fols 66<sup>r</sup>-105<sup>v</sup>, 133<sup>r</sup>-369<sup>v</sup>, l. 20 (28-31 lines). Hand 3: 105<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>r</sup> (31-32 lines). Hand 4: fols 108<sup>v</sup>-133<sup>r</sup>, l. 19 (28-29 lines).

### **Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Don 292**

One watermark:

Fols 175 (lower body) and 177 (upper body): unicorn (large format), very similar to Piccard Fabeltiere, III/2496 (Utrecht, 1431, 1432).

Three hands, not two. Hand 1: fols 1<sup>r</sup>-86<sup>v</sup>, l. 12 (27-35 lines). Hand 2: fols 86<sup>v</sup>, l. 12-157<sup>v</sup>, l. 11 (26-31 lines). Hand 3: fols 157<sup>v</sup>, l. 11-170<sup>v</sup> (25-28 lines).

### **Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2829**

One watermark:

Fol. 319 and lower pastedown: bull's head, identical to Piccard online no. 65509 (Schievelbein, 1444).

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<sup>2</sup> See Zimmermann (2003), p. 99.

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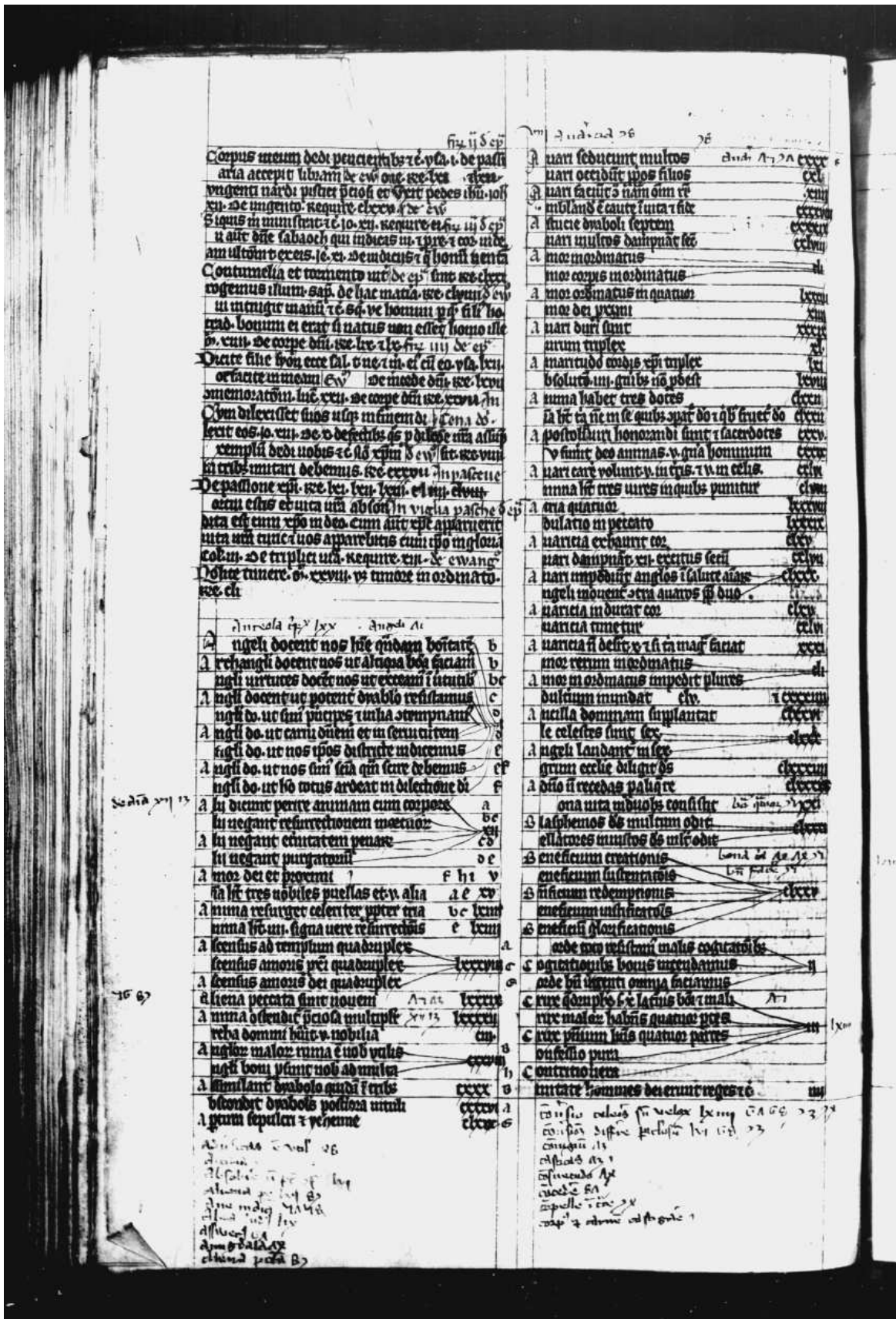


Fig. 1: Leipzig, UB, MS. 497, fol. 289v.  
Source: microfilm, JMD.



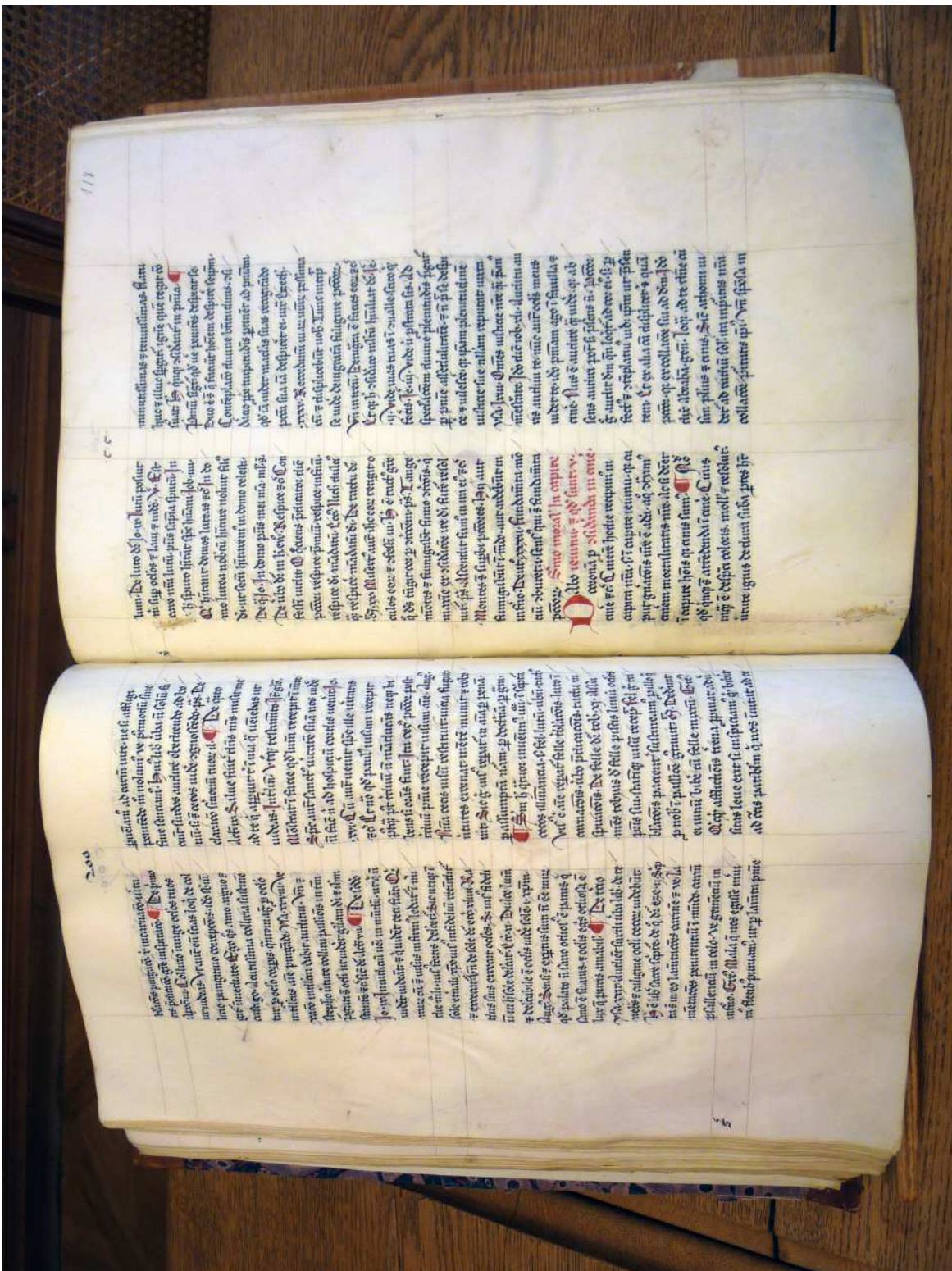


Fig. 3: Klosterneuburg, StB, MS. 450, fols 117v-118r.  
Source: photograph, JMD.



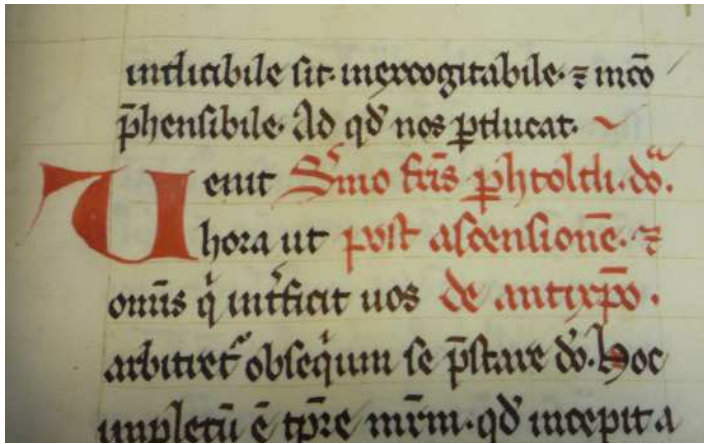


Fig. 5:

Klosterneuburg, StiB, MS. 451, fol. 1ra (detail).

Source: photograph, JMD.

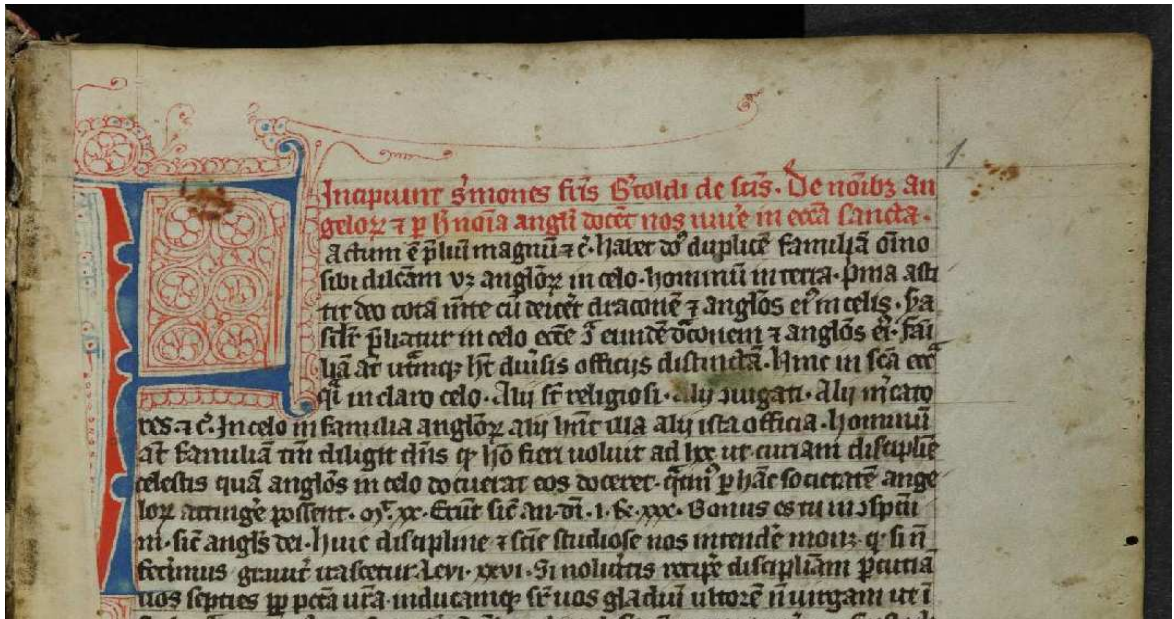


Fig. 6: Leipzig, UB, MS. 498, fol. 1r (detail).

Source: <[http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/bilder/ds/hs\\_1\\_ub\\_ms\\_498\\_0001r](http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/bilder/ds/hs_1_ub_ms_498_0001r)> [accessed 3 September 2013]

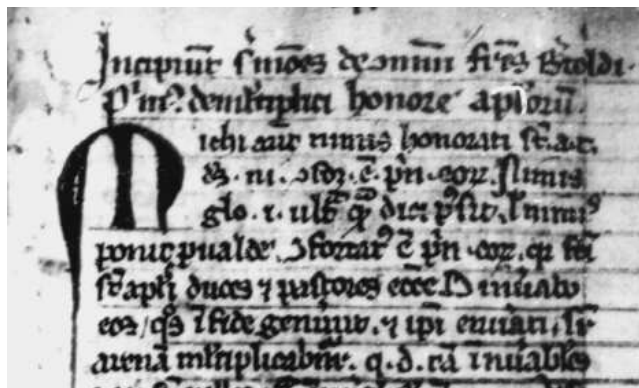
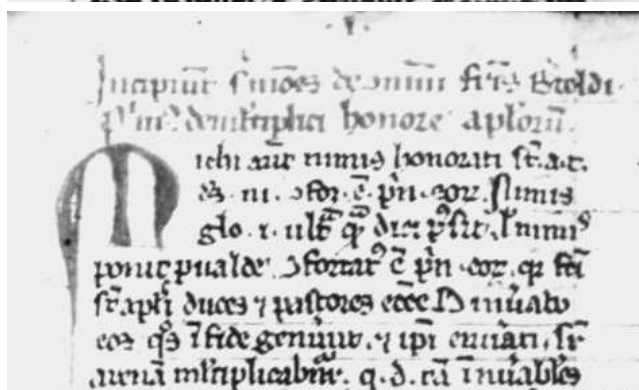


Fig. 7:

Leipzig, UB, MS. 496, fol. 1ra (detail).

Source: microfilm, JMD.



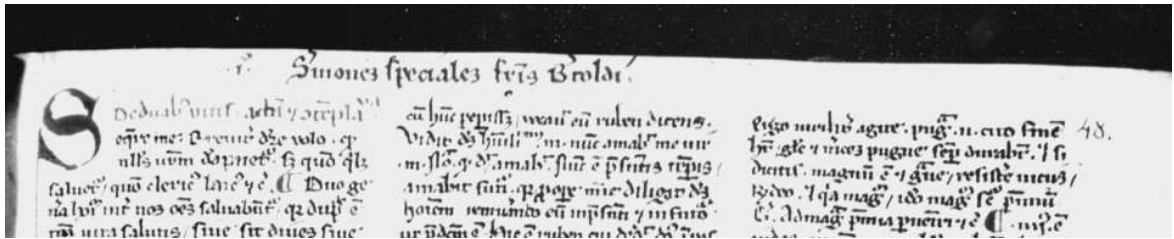


Fig. 8: Leipzig, UB, MS. 496, fol. 48r (detail).

Source: microfilm, JMD.

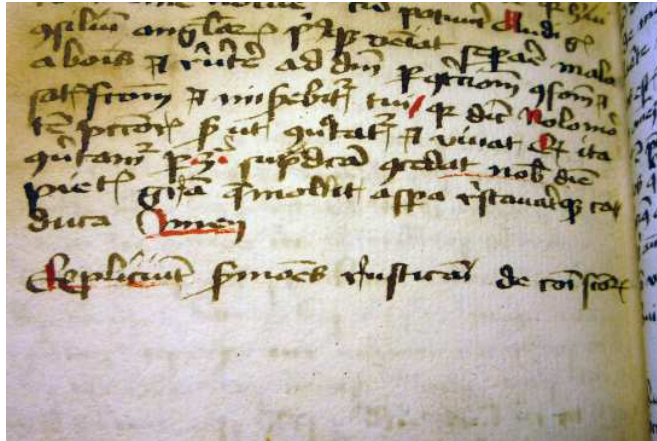


Fig. 9:

Trier, SB, MS. 759 / 306, fol. 221v (detail).

Source: photograph, JMD.

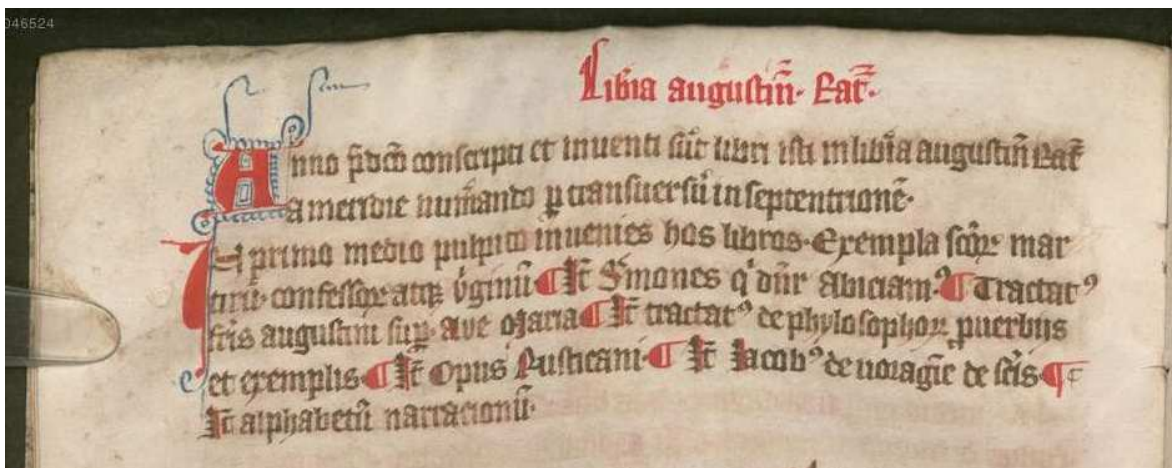
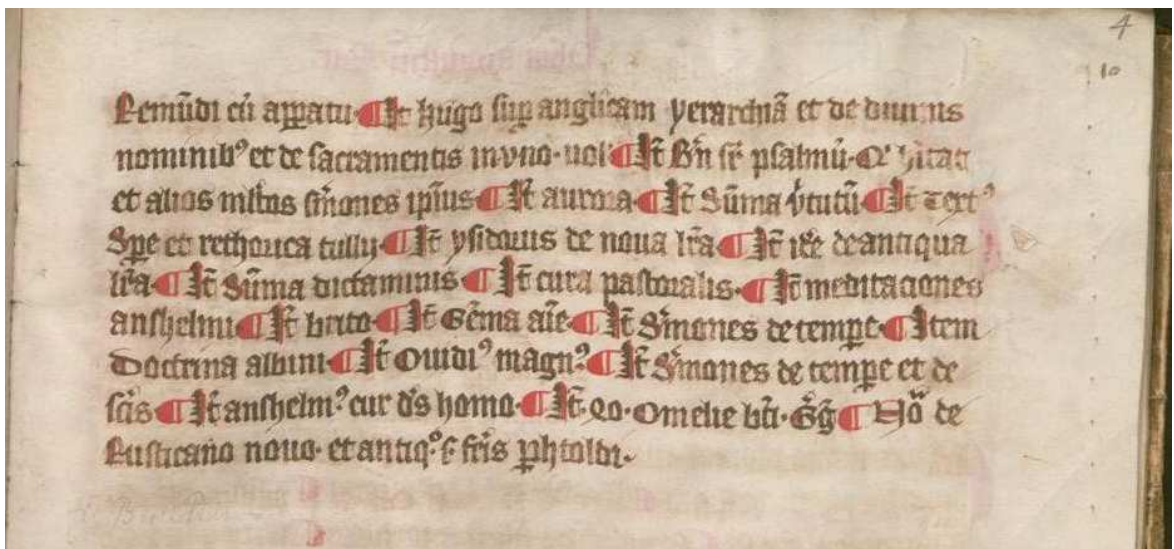


Fig. 10 & 11: Munich, BSB, MS. 14397, fols. 4r & 4v (detail).

Source: <[http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00046524/image\\_10](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00046524/image_10) & /image\_11> [accessed 3 September 2013]

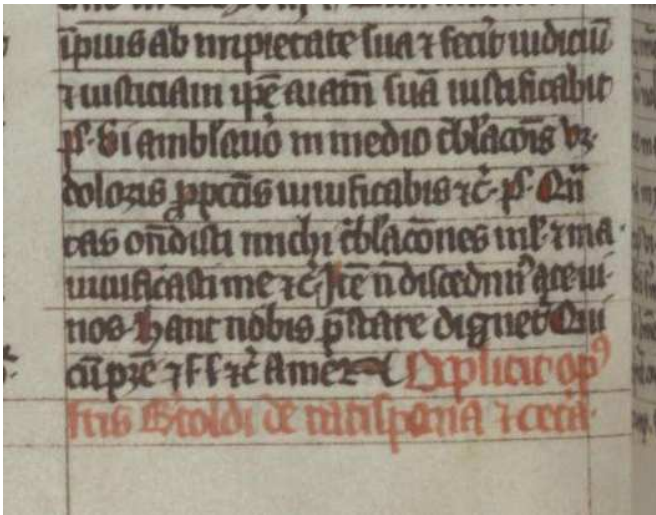


Fig. 12:

Jena, ThULB, MS. Rec. adj. o. 1, fol. 125vb (detail).

Source: <[http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/His-Best\\_cbu\\_00016730](http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/hisbest/receive/His-Best_cbu_00016730)> [accessed 3 September 2013]

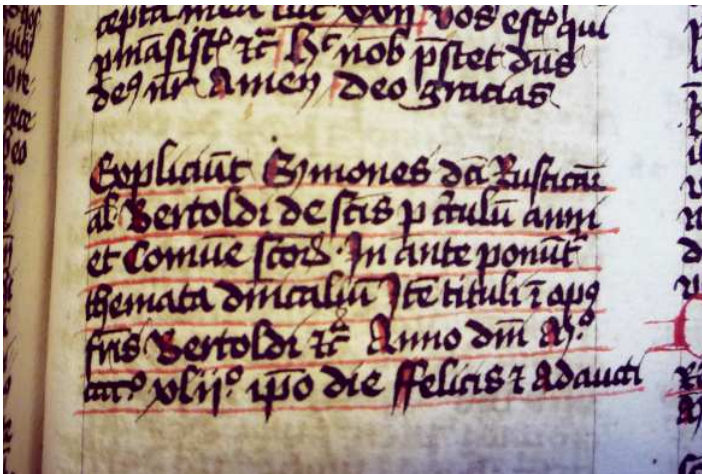


Fig. 13:

Gdańsk, BGPAN, MS. Mar. F 156, fol. 366ra (detail).

Source: photograph, JMD.

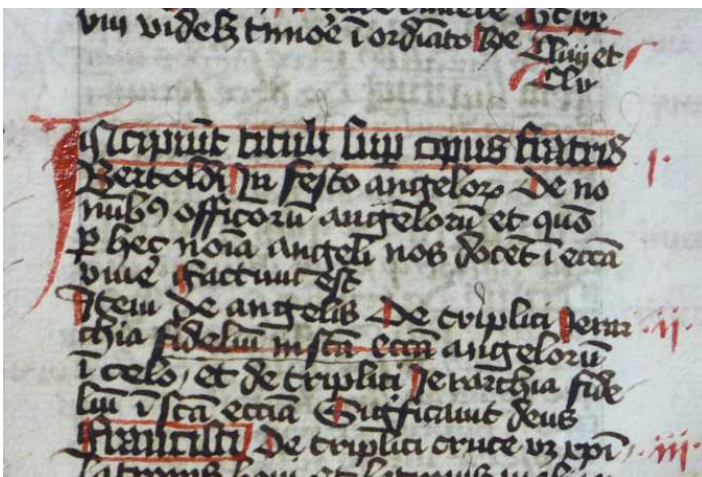


Fig. 14:

Gdańsk, BGPAN, MS. Mar. F 156, fol. 376rb (detail).

Source: photograph, JMD.

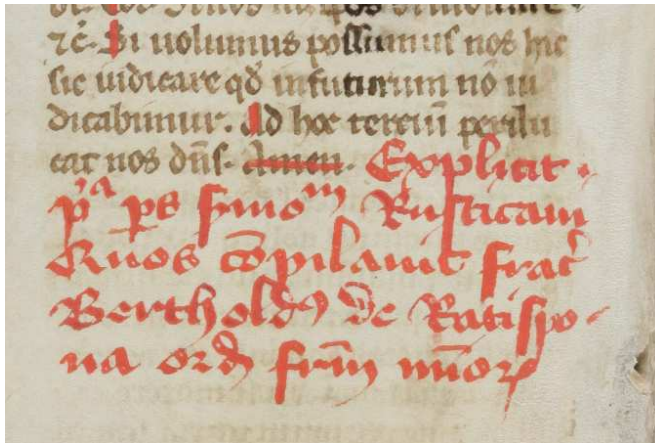


Fig. 15:

Fribourg, CC, MS. 117 I, fol. 242vb  
(detail).

Source: <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/fcc/0117-1>>  
[accessed 3 September 2013]

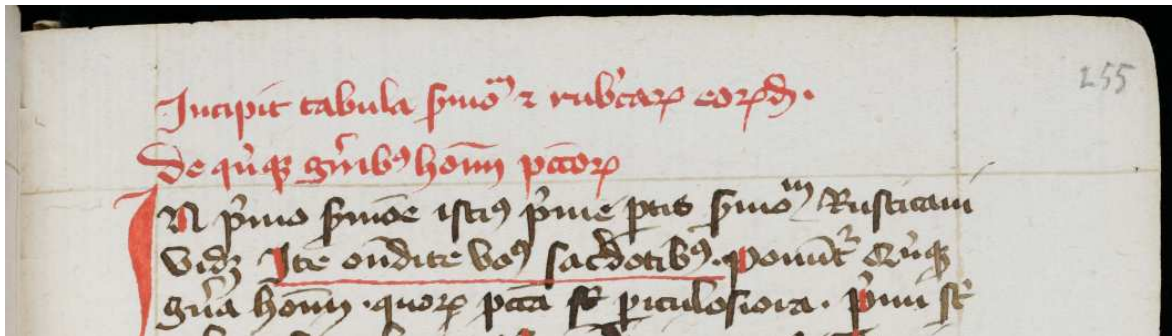


Fig. 16: Fribourg, CC, MS. 117 I, fol. 255r (detail).

Source: <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/fcc/0117-1>> [accessed 3 September 2013]

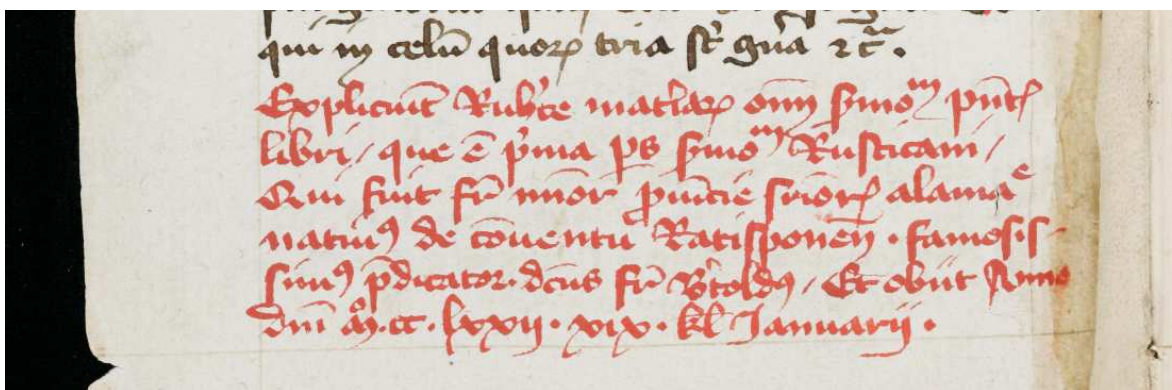


Fig. 17: Fribourg, CC, MS. 117 I, fol. 265v (detail).

Source: <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/fcc/0117-1>> [accessed 3 September 2013]

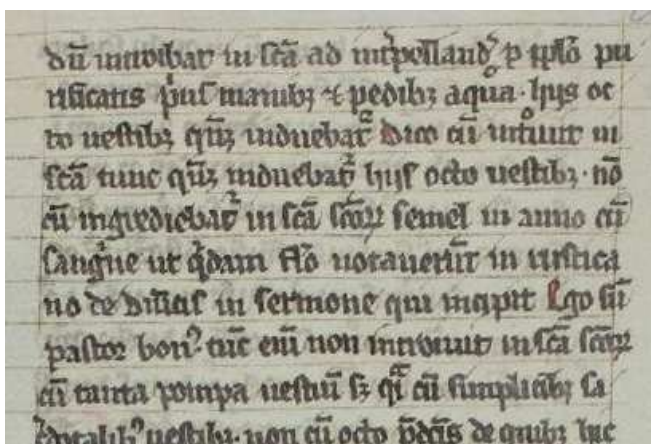


Fig. 18:

Leipzig, UB, MS. 497, fol. 248rb  
(detail).

Source: <[http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/bilder/ds/hs\\_1\\_ub\\_ms\\_497\\_0248r](http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/bilder/ds/hs_1_ub_ms_497_0248r)> [accessed 3 September 2013]



Fig. 19: Vienna, ÖNB, MS. 2829, fol. 1r.

Source: <<http://archiv.onb.ac.at:1801/webclient/DeliveryManager?pid=2950408>>  
[accessed 3 September 2013]



Fig. 20: Vienna, ÖNB, MS. 2829, fol. 1v.  
 Source: <<http://archiv.onb.ac.at:1801/webclient/DeliveryManager?pid=2950408>>  
 [accessed 3 September 2013]

3  
vni de vno vel minus q' rae pene fugit ab  
eis / et multa sine aliq' q' memorant  
ad m' d' b' / Quid vob' p' parua re ut p' d' uo  
d' solido d' d' ofent' ut m' d' i' r' e' s' f' u' n' d' x' h' q' n'  
q' quida' p' m' d' m' o' t' i' m' e' t' d' e' i' d' e' i' i' b' o' / h' u' m' i' t'  
i' u' d' a' q' p' r' o' d' i' c' t' i' s' u' d' d' u' m' q' s' i' d' o' p' r' o' / p' r'  
d' p' a' l' i' p' s' e' / Si d' e' l' i' q' u' i' t' d' u' m' p' i' n' i' a' t' t' e' d' e' q'  
i' c' e' r' t' / Et p' a' l' i' p' s' o' d' u' d' i' t' e' m' e' a' s' a' e' t'  
d' o' m' i' u' d' a' d' u' b' v' o' l' u' p' t' u' s' q' f' u' i' s' s' e' d' e' o' l' i' a' t'  
d' e' l' i' q' u' i' t' e' i' d' d' e' l' i' q' u' i' t' e' t' v' o' b' / d' i' t' a' z' u' a' b' /  
f' e' h' d' o' s' a' q' t' e' d' e' l' i' q' u' i' t' q' f' u' d' o' n' t' i' s' / 13'  
q' u' i' p' n' i' l' l' a' r' e' u' t' a' p' t' e' x' h' q' n' d' e' q' r' o' d' o' t' u' b'  
s' u' d' q' u' i' z' m' o' r' t' i' m' e' z' v' i' t' a' i' s' t' u' l' l' i' s' o' l' i' s' a' l' u' a'  
b' u' n' t' / p' o' p' a' l' i' p' s' o' r' e' f' u' b' a' i' t' i' n' e' i' s' i' c' e' t'  
n' i' d' s' i' p' e' s' e' u' e' d' / f' r' a' t' e' m' e' a' e' t' l' u' c' i' f' e' r' e' v' o' b'  
e' p' t' q' u' i' p' r' o' d' i' c' t' i' s' m' e' i' d' d' t' e' p' t' a' d' e' / e' t' e' g' o'  
d' i' s' p' o' s' u' i' v' o' b' v' o' l' u' t' d' a' t' i' s' l' i' b' a' t' s' u' p' m' e'  
s' a' n' g' u' i' n' e' i' t' e' / p' a' l' i' m' e' i' e' q' u' a' b' q' u' e' d' e' d' i' g'  
n' e' / e' t' p' r' o' m' a' s' i' s' q' i' s' o' l' a' s' i' l' o' r' e' t' n' a' e' s' t'  
d' u' d' i' c' t' u' s' d' u' m' / e' p' p' l' e' t' f' u' n' d' e' d' e' q' i' p' r' o' r'  
p' p' t' i' a' q' u' e' l' i' t' i' p' r' o' m' e' f' i' c' i' u' s' q' u' e' r' i' u' d' e' m' o' n'  
t' h' a' b' i' u' i' t' p' t' u' d' l' e' o' n' e' q' u' i' s' l' e' p' r' o' s' u' d' q' u' i'  
a' d' i' u' d' i' c' a' t' u' s' f' u' i' t' p' m' g' i' v' o' b' c' o' l' o' n' i' e' d' u' o'  
d' o' / 14' / i' n' d' i' e' p' d' b' a' n' a' b' i' a' p' t' h' e' t'  
e' p' s' i' t' q' u' o' s' f' m' o' s' i' n' l' e' p' s' o' i' s' b' o' p' d' i' c' i' u' s' p' r' o'  
d' e' n' t' e' s' t' p' f' i' a' c' t' e' s' e' x' e' i' s' / o' r' i' e' n' t' d' i' g'  
p' s' a' l' u' t' e' a' u' e' e' i' q' u' o' m' f' i' d' e' l' i' u' d' a' u' a' q' u' i' s'

Fig. 21: Koblenz, LHA, MS. Best. 701 Nr. 194, fol. 28v.  
Source: microfilm, JMD.

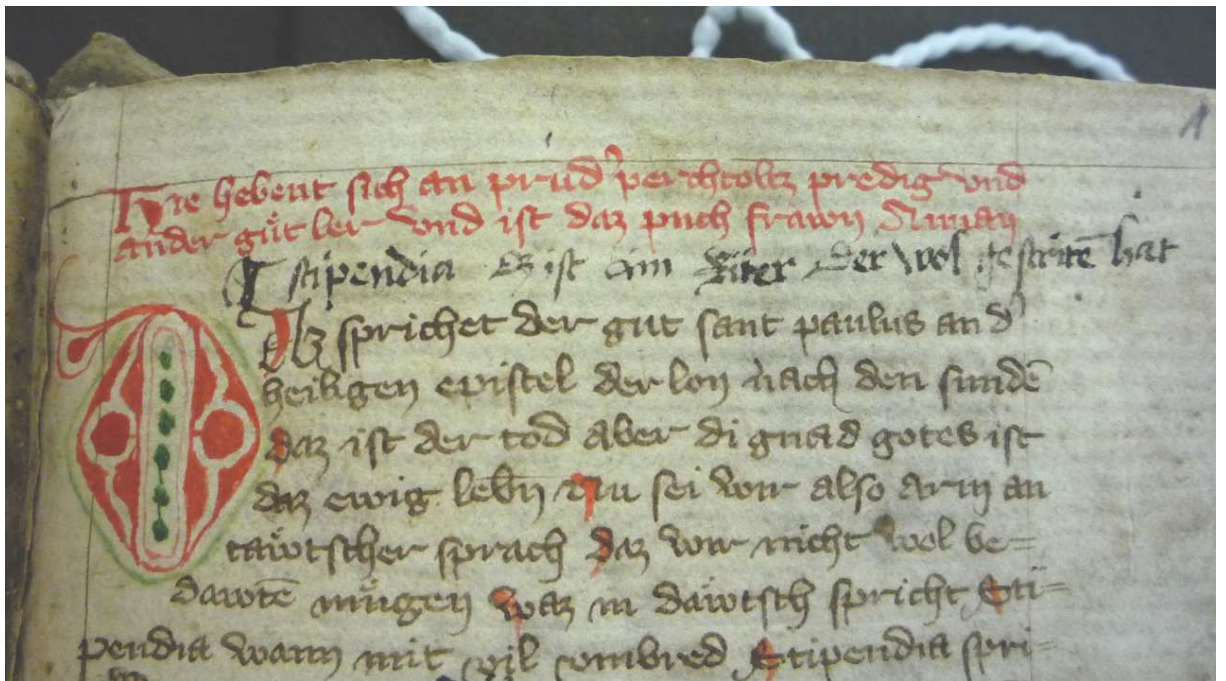


Fig. 22: Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Don. 292, fol. 1r (detail).  
Source: photograph, JMD.

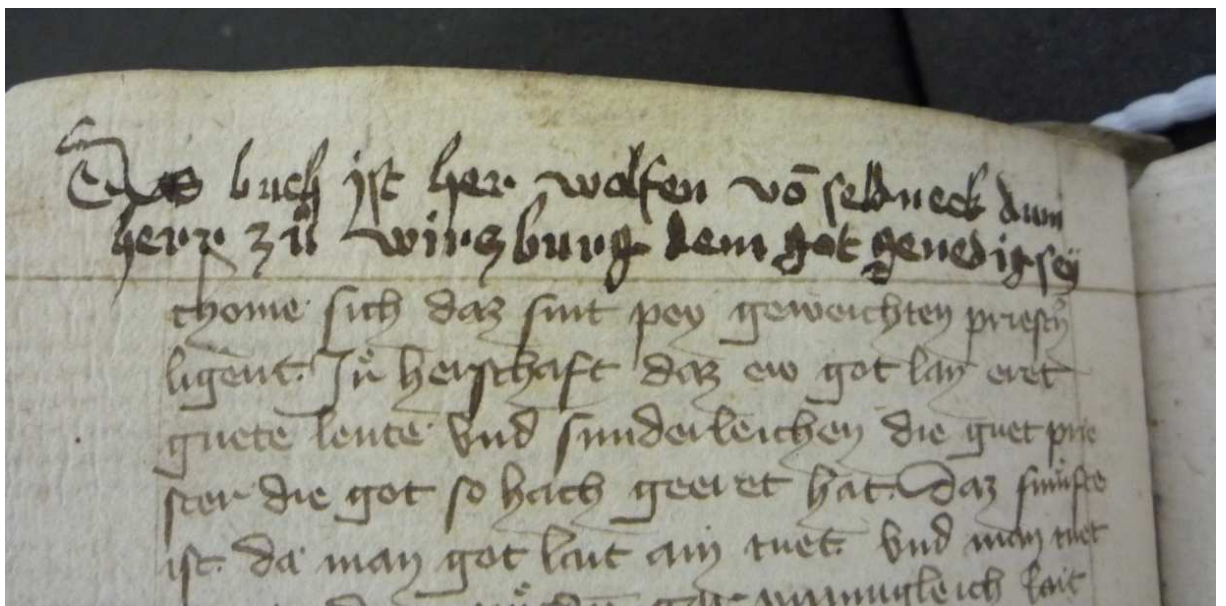


Fig. 23: Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Don. 292, fol. 1r (detail).  
Source: photograph, JMD.

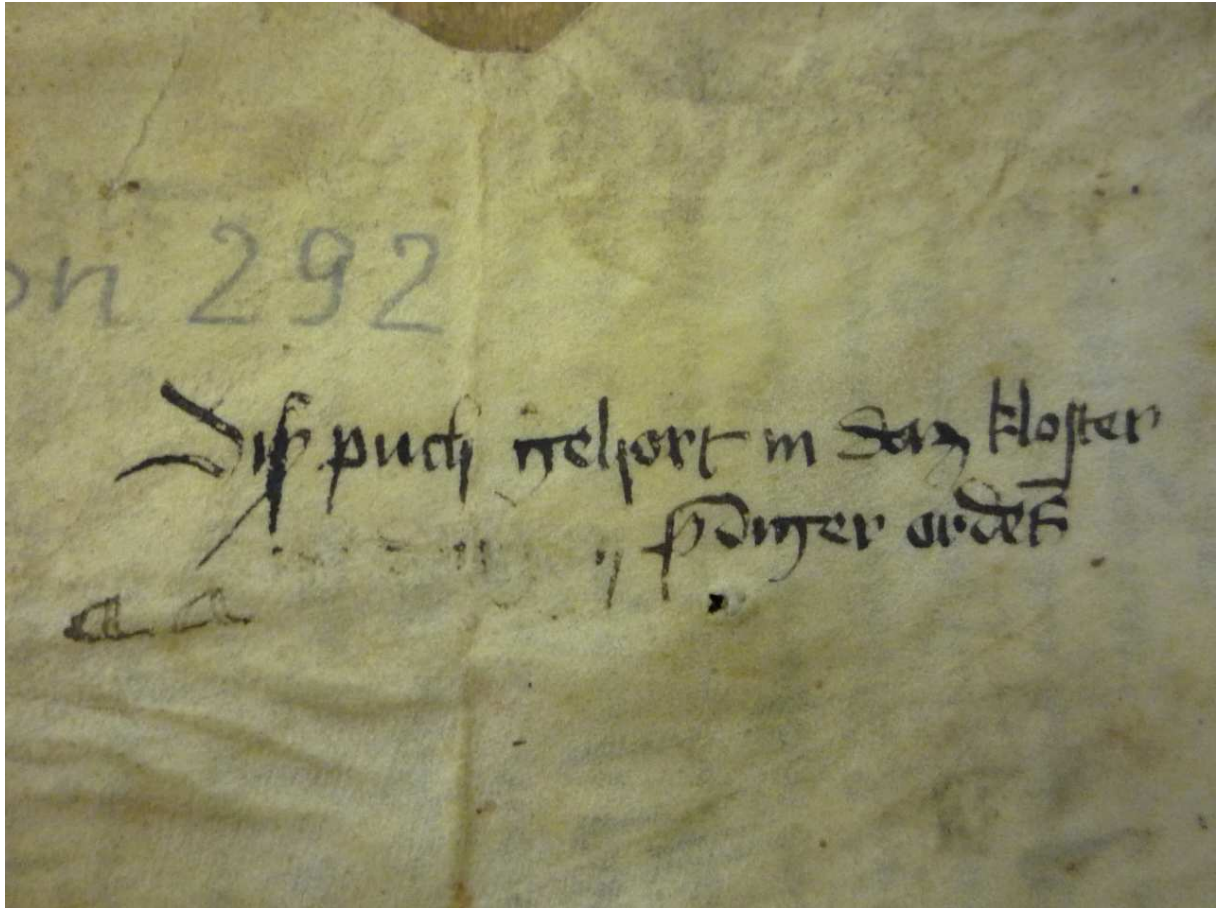


Fig. 24: Karlsruhe, BLB, MS. Don. 292, fol. \*1v (detail).  
Source: photograph, JMD.