In Manuscript and Print: The Fifteenth-Century Library of Scheyern Abbey

by

John Thomas McQuillen

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

Department of Art
University of Toronto

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the library of Scheyern Abbey through religious, artistic,
bibliographical, and historical paths in order to articulate more clearly the history of book
production and library growth during the revolutionary “book age” of the fifteenth century. I
have reassembled the now scattered fifteenth-century books from the monastery and
examined the entire collection to show how one institution adapted to the increasing
bibliographic requirements of the period, first through manuscript and then manuscript and
print together. Two sets of library shelfmarks from the fifteenth century, unrecorded until
now, physically represent attempts at ordering the Scheyern collection and disregard any
differentiation between manuscript and print, proving how the books were utilized by their
contemporary audience.

In the fifteenth century, Scheyern Abbey subscribed to the so-called Melk Reform, a
monastic reform movement that emphasized literacy and the care of books as one of its
primary elements. The introduction of the Melk Reform inspired Scheyern’s local book
production, which shows a diverse system of both highly trained scribes and many
anonymous scribes who worked on individual books as part of their round of monastic chores. The connections established between member monasteries of the reform brought Scheyern into contact with commercial Augsburg book producers, especially Hainrich Molitor, who produced several large and lavish manuscripts for the monastery. Importantly, he introduced Scheyern to other book producers in Augsburg, including illuminators, printers, and binders, who continued to have an impact on Scheyern production and the growth of the library through the end of the century. Scheyern was also an epicenter of Bavarian dynastic propaganda, because their foundational history as the original house-cloister of the ruling Wittelsbach dukes was visually marked around the monastery and textually deployed to other monasteries in the region through the Scheyern Fürstentafel. The unification of book historical and art historical concerns herein allows for a clearer and deeper examination of a fifteenth-century library than heretofore attempted, and this examination reveals important characteristics of fifteenth-century library development necessary to fully understand the multivalent contexts of historical book collections.
Acknowledgments

This project entailed many quiet hours examining manuscripts and incunabula in rare book libraries in Europe and North America and far too many solitary hours staring at a computer screen, and yet there are a great many people to thank for their help, support, and encouragement during this process. If, in enumerating my gratitude, I have inadvertently overlooked anyone, my sincere apologies and heartfelt thanks nonetheless.

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Introduction

Iste liber est beate Marie virginis in Scheyren:
Reconstructing the Library of Scheyern Abbey

The Benedictine abbey of Scheyern was founded on a small hilltop in Upper Bavaria around 1119 as the family cloister and mausoleum of the Dukes of Scheyern.¹ The ducal family would soon become the most powerful in Bavaria (and one of the most powerful in Europe) as their descendants, the Wittelsbachs, ascended to rule the duchy and kingdom of Bavaria for over 700 years, from 1180 to 1918.² Scheyern Abbey did not prove as fortunate however: after a series of moves and refoundations from 1077 to 1119, it held a strong cultural position into the thirteenth century, but political divisions around 1255 removed the primary ducal patronage from the monastery, and Scheyern slid into general decline. It was


not until the mid-fifteenth century that Scheyern started to regain something of its former position due to monastic reforms that revivified Benedictine practices and cultural hegemony as well as to a growing contemporary interest in Bavarian historiography and early dynastic history. These events, coupled with the dramatic changes in fifteenth-century book culture—increasing literacy, increasing manuscript production, and the invention of the printing press—completely revitalized Scheyern Abbey devotionally, culturally, and bibliographically.

This dissertation reconstructs the now dispersed contents of Scheyern’s former library, and it further endeavors to establish the extent of the library in the year 1500 in order to understand more fully the influences that shaped libraries through the bibliographic revolutions of the fifteenth century. Scheyern’s library illustrates how a single institution reacted to these consequential events and changes, both as representative of contemporary culture and library development, but also with specific characteristics reflecting Scheyern’s particular history and the individuals involved in its library growth. The external forces of monastic reform and commercial book production and trade affected Scheyern in similar ways as every other institution in the region, yet Scheyern’s library was built from specific textual, commercial, and artistic choices; in this sense, Scheyern can represent both the rule of fifteenth-century book culture and the exception to it, and the differences between these two aspects are evident in the monastery’s individual adaption to this burgeoning book world. This century encapsulates three critical elements that revolutionized book culture, and it is possible that without this perfect storm, the effect of ‘the book’ in history would be quite different. The first element in this mix is monastic reform, which renewed flagging monastic practices (predominantly Benedictine) and emphasized literacy and education for its
members. Promulgated by the ecumenical Councils of Constance (1414–18) and Basel (1431–49), these international reforms created an increasing demand for books from the single largest reading community in Europe, the monasteries. On the whole, lay literacy was also on the rise during the period, and university education for the urban middle class was becoming an increasing possibility and probability. These two forces demanded increased book production for the growing market of readers. Around mid-century this bibliographic demand was also met by a revolutionary invention: the printing press, which proliferated texts beyond anything possible by scribes. The early market for printed books was predominantly aimed at a Latinate, religious audience, which provided the most hegemonic readership and secure market in the period. Monastic reform, literacy, and the printing press are symbiotically united into a revolution that changed the face of information and knowledge dispersal, as well as the physical residences of this material: libraries.

Methodology

As a collection, the Scheyern library has never been thoroughly examined. While individual volumes have been discussed variously in the literature, this dissertation is the first comprehensive examination of the library—uniting the manuscripts and printed books, the
nicely illuminated and those not-so-well decorated. In the only work on Scheyern’s library as a complete entity, Franz Gressierer, O.S.B., a monk at Scheyern, provides a history of the library from the medieval to modern periods; however, he focuses most of his attention on the history of the library at the time of Dissolution and the dispersal of the collection and monastic goods in the early nineteenth century. His research offers a considerable amount of documentary evidence on the library itself, yet he provides little analysis on the visual and physical characteristics of the books themselves. The two most important works informing the more complete interpretation of the Scheyern books are the library histories of the abbey of St. Mang in Füssen by Christoph Roth and the monastery of Bursfeld by Anja Freckmann. Both studies focus on the effect of the fifteenth-century reform movements

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(Melk and Bursfeld, respectively) on the libraries of the institutions. While the former library of St. Mang is more-or-less still relatively intact at the University Library in Augsburg, the Bursfeld collection was dispersed during the Reformation and subsequently reconstructed through the work of Freckmann and others. Each study is concerned with the timeline of library expansion in relation to the implementation of reforms, and the importance of books and role of the library within these reform practices. Roth examines the growth of St. Mang’s library through inscribed book donations and purchases under individual abbots to achieve a clearer understanding of the literary choices under the reform. Freckmann focuses more attention on the books themselves, their provenance, and the physical evidence that places them in the Bursfeld library as the artifacts of that library’s expansion. While both Roth and Freckmann offer only minor attention to the visual aspects of their respective collections—mainly discussing the exterior and organizational characteristics of the books through their bindings, title labels, shelfmarks, ownership inscriptions, etc.—neither study focuses too heavily on the visual or decorative aspects of the books in question, nor do they delve too deeply into the physical aspects of the local

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7 At Dissolution, the manuscripts and incunables from St. Mang were transferred to the Oettingen-Wallerstein Library, which was incorporated into the Augsburg University Library in 1980, see Roth, Literatur und Klosterreform, 14–15 and Rudolf Frankenberger and Paul Berthold Rupp, eds., Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Wertvolle Handschriften und Einbände aus der ehemaligen Oettingen-Wallersteinschen Bibliothek (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1987), 1–5. The Bursfeld library was transferred to Corvey in the seventeenth century, and then at Dissolution, the Corvey library entered the Marburg University Library; see Freckmann, Die Bibliothek des Klosters Bursfeld, 20–33 on the history of the collection after the fifteenth century.
Although each study focuses more on the historical and literary aspects of the library, they provide a starting point from which I not only could compare library contents but also explore more deeply the physical and visual characteristics of Scheyern’s library. In using provenance evidence to reconstruct the library, I employed the various methodological approaches offered by Robert Babcock for manuscript fragments from the Austrian monastery at Lambach, Volker Honemann and William Whobrey on the incunabula from the Carthusian library of Buxheim, and Irene Stahl on the library at Frenswegen. Each study offered an avenue into exploring a dispersed library through the evidence of library use, ownership, or organization. These studies have foregrounded the reconstruction of Scheyern’s library and the unification of Scheyern’s book production and acquisition with the expansion of their library under the Melk Reform in the fifteenth century. Fifteenth-century scriptoria are rarely holistically examined, so the studies of twelfth-century scriptoria by Aliza Cohen-Mushlin and Alison Beach suggested ways to discuss Scheyern’s scriptorium production, including the combined consideration of codicological features, scribal hands, and decorative aspects. All of these characteristics are elements of a single “scriptorium.”

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8 Roth, *Literatur und Klosterreform*, 87–88 discusses the manuscripts donated by Cardinal Peter of Schaumburg, Bishop of Augsburg, including the *Vita Christi* illuminated by Hainrich Molitor (see below, pp. 175); Freckmann, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Bursfelde*, 229 and 232–34 only generically describes the presence of hand-painted initials in the books and makes no references to any further visual characteristics.


which for scholars all too frequently only implies the writing of texts rather than all of their production characteristics. A broader definition of scriptorium production, as exhibited in Scheyern’s own book making, will reveal the greater activities of monastic book producers beyond the simple writing of texts. Mirjam Foot’s comment that bookbinding needs to be “more than merely a subject on the fringes of bibliography or art history” instigated a two-fold inquiry into the commercial origins of Scheyern’s bindery—a subject rarely treated in binding literature—as well as the role of individual stamps, namely the function of Scheyern’s armorial stamp as related to book decoration and monastic history. Overall, Bettina Wagner has posed questions on the organization and acquisition of manuscripts and incunabula in the fifteenth century that have provided an overarching framework through which to examine Scheyern’s library. A library is not a hegemonic collection but rather an accumulation of historical activities and bibliographic decisions, and as such it requires a manifold examination to understand more fully the variety of these characteristics active within it.

*Iste liber est: Provenance Evidence as the Method of Reconstruction*

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11 Mirjam M. Foot, *The History of Bookbinding as a Mirror of Society*, The Panizzi Lectures 1997 (London: British Library, 1998), 1. Although her work was presented in 1997, the subject of bookbinding has still not received the full art historical attention that is requires. For the fifteenth-century blind-stamped bindings, questions of stylistic origins, tool production, and the overall function and purpose of decoration have never been sufficiently addressed.

The reconstruction of the Scheyern library is based almost solely upon the books themselves. There is no fifteenth-century catalogue of Scheyern’s library; therefore, any attempt to discuss the library must recreate the extent of the collection at a defined point in time from a set of temporally-specific characteristics. My reconstruction of the Scheyern library is based upon several bibliographic and art historical criteria that answer the question: what books were in the library in 1500? To start, the terminus of the study represents the end of the century and, coincidentally, the end of the incunable period—the first fifty years of printing with movable type—generally defined as 31 December 1500. In order to establish which books were in the library at this time, the books have provided a set of criteria that may substantiate their presence in the collection: provenance inscriptions, local bindings, library shelfmarks, and finally, in books lacking any of these more secure criteria, the presence of scribal or decorative hands that are found in books attributed to the collection through any of the previous criteria. This net will not only catch most of those books from the fifteenth century in the collection, but also those books that were already in the library; in other words, 1500 represents the culmination of nearly four centuries of library development at Scheyern, and while my focus here is on how and why the library expanded in the fifteenth-century, the earlier books that were retained in the collection will also play a part.

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The presence of provenance inscriptions in books not only allows us to know where the book was, but also approximately by what date it was there. There are several late fifteenth-century provenance inscriptions for Scheyern Abbey, but the most prevalent one is usually on the front pastedown or first flyleaf: *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (Fig. 1).

The hand is that of Frater Maurus, the most prolific of Scheyern’s scribes and the librarian in the 1470s and 80s; extant in approximately 80 volumes, the inscriptions were added around 1485 since generally no work dated after this point bears his inscription. Maurus’s provenance inscription was also added to several thirteenth-century manuscripts (Clm 17403, 17404, and 17405), which shows their continued utility in the later collection. Subsequent rebinding or the cutting away of blank leaves has often removed this valuable provenance evidence, and there are several single manuscript leaves that bear this provenance inscription; now removed from their (often unknown) binding, the valuable historical context that the inscription provided is obliterated. The Scheyern scribe Frater Placidus produced another provenance inscription, *Iste liber Attinet venerabili monasterio Scheyren*, which is found in seven incunables from the late 1480s and early 1490s and three undated manuscripts (Fig. 2).

Placidus wrote two manuscripts and financial accounts registers for Scheyern (Clm 17474 and 17476, and BHStA, KL Scheyern 81 [1467–1483] and 133 [early 1490s]), and

15 There are several later provenance inscriptions from the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, but most Scheyern manuscripts and incunabula bear a seventeenth-century provenance inscription “Monasterij Schyrensis,” or variation thereof, on the first folio.

16 On Maurus’s scribal production, see below, pp. 117ff.

17 For example, BSB, Einbl. Kal. 1472 a (Scheyern fragment), Almanac 1472 [German] ([Augsburg: Johann Schüssler, 1471?]), is a fragment (ll. 37–68) with Maurus’s provenance inscription visible on the verso, but from which book this fragment was removed is unknown. For the single leaves, see Catalogue, pp. 395–98.

18 BSB, Clm 17484, 17505, and 17522; BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 1706, 2 Inc.c.a. 2535 n (II–IV), 2 Inc.c.a. 2328, 2 Inc.s.a. 247 c; and Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Library, Incun. X. G36. The phrase *Iste liber attinet venerabili monasterio*... was also used in the fifteenth century by both Tegernsee and Andechs Abbeys, with which Scheyern had filial connections.
rubricated a manuscript and several incunables; like Maurus, Placidus was likely the librarian
during this period when the provenance inscriptions were added.  

The second Scheyern identifier is the fifteenth-century, blind-stamped bookbinding
produced at the monastery. The increased production of manuscripts in the fifteenth century
precipitated a parallel increase in binding, which was then exponentially exacerbated with
the advent of print. Identified in the work of Ernst Kyriss as Shop 30 [K30], the Scheyern
bindery has been dated from 1476 (roughly the date of the first incunables appearing at
Scheyern) to 1497, although this only pertains to the practice of blind-stamping the leather
covers, not binding in general. Indeed, Scheyern had a bindery prior to the advent of blind-
stamping in the mid-1470s, but without these identifying tools, the location of production is,
as yet, difficult to identify securely. The stamps belonging to the Scheyern shop are
reproduced in Appendix B. Scheyern’s decorated bindings depict various stamping
arrangements and framing patterns, and they used tanned and tawed leather from cow, sheep,
pig, and deer, which were dyed shades from white to brown as well as red/pink. The
bindery bound books for other monasteries and outside patrons, and while these represent
Scheyern production, we cannot appropriately attribute them to the Scheyern library itself.

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19 On Placidus’s production, see below, pp. 135ff. Hainrich Zäch, another prolific Scheyern scribe, added only
one provenance statement, that in Clm 17465 following Maurus’s inscription.

67–68. Without a doubt, the bindery continued to produce works after 1497, but it is likely that new stamps
were introduced into the binder’s repertoire from this point, suggesting for Kyriss an end to the first Scheyern
bindery. The lack of provenance information for sixteenth-century books at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and
other libraries makes locating later Scheyern books difficult, so that the later development of the bindery
remains to be examined; see Gressierer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Klosterbibliothek Scheyern*, 90.

21 On Scheyern’s early bindery, see below, pp. 68–69.

22 All metal furniture (clasps, bosses, chains, etc.) was removed from the books upon their acquisition by the
Hofbibliothek in order to help preserve the books from damage and ease shelving concerns.

A Scheyern binding alone, therefore, does not categorically prove a book’s presence in the Scheyern library when there is no other evidence of Scheyern ownership.

The third distinguishing aspect of Scheyern books represents a characteristic of Scheyern librarianship. Many of the existing Scheyern books bear two contemporary organizational codes: namely, a numeric shelfmark on the top board title label and an alpha-numeric code in the bottom-right corner of one of the first (generally blank) folios. The alpha-numeric code is the earlier of the two and was used from at least the 1470s until ca. 1490 (Figs. 78a–c; see App. C). The system originally organized the books in subject/author groupings, for example the majority of works by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl are shelved under d, but by the 1470s the chronological progression of codes reflects the book’s accession date. Manuscripts tend to precede printed books, and the glut of printed books acquired in the later 1470s suggests a period of rapid library expansion at Scheyern. Extant codes reach s and there are no more than 30 volumes per letter division; therefore, the acquisition marks alone suggest a library of approximately 530 volumes around 1490. Most of the volumes with the inventory code also have Maurus’s “Iste liber est...” provenance inscription, but the codes are too abbreviated and informal to securely attribute the hand to Maurus.

The second code is a numeric shelfmark on the title label attached to the top board. Frequently written in red, it was added in the early 1490s when the previous chronological arrangement was reorganized (Figs. 79a–c). The numeric shelfmarks generally order the books into rough subject groupings (see App. D), such as commentaries on the Gospel at shelfmark 2, sermons on 18–25, civil law shelved at 38, and classical Latin and humanist

texts on shelves 44–45. Assuming that each number represents a bookcase or armarium, the shelfmarks suggest that at least 51 cases made up the Scheyern library at the end of the century.25

The final physical aspects used to attribute books to Scheyern’s fifteenth-century library are their scribal and decorative hands. While assigning provenance based solely upon such paleographic and artistic characteristics without further substantive evidence can be problematic, understanding the nature of fifteenth-century book decoration is a necessary prerequisite to any discussion of how books were produced and used in the period.26 For example, Scheyern’s copy of the 4-volume Biblia latina with Glossa Ordinaria printed in Strasbourg by Adolf Rusch for Anton Koberger of Nuremberg around 1480 is in modern bindings with only an eighteenth-century Scheyern provenance inscription (2 Inc.s.a. 212 a), but the work is listed in the 1588 Scheyern catalogue. The hand that illuminated the book, however, is an anonymous Scheyern artist whom I have named the “Rich Illuminator” after his penchant for using well-saturated, deep pigments. This artist’s hand is found in several Scheyern books, including a gradual written by Maurus in 1489 (Clm 17408) and two incunables printed in Italy: Matthaeus Silvaticus, Liber pandectarum medicinae printed in Vicenza in 1480 (2 Inc.s.a. 1103) and Livy’s Historiae Romanae decades, printed in Venice in 1491 (2 Inc.c.a. 2584 d). The Silvaticus is in a Scheyern binding with shelfmark 47 on the

25 Due to the lack of identified sixteenth-century Scheyern books, the longevity of this system is unknown.

title label, while the Livy includes the arms of Scheyern on its illuminated first folio (Fig. 26). Although the inclusion of the Scheyern arms does not necessarily prove Scheyern production but likely only ownership, the presence of this decorator in two incunabula imported from Italy, a liturgical manuscript produced mutually in Augsburg and Scheyern, and a number of other incunabula printed in Germany, including the *Biblia latina* from Strasbourg, can only suggest Scheyern as the location of decoration for all volumes. The intertwined aspects of provenance evidence between the volumes thus substantiates the inclusion of the 1480 bible in Scheyern’s fifteenth-century library.

I have used a combination of these elements to reconstruct the state of the Scheyern library at the end of the century, and while this may not represent the complete extent of the book collections of the monastery, it is based as closely as possible on those identifiable characteristics that can substantiate Scheyern attribution in the books available. Naturally, there is no single piece of provenance evidence that provides an exact 1501 cut-off for the library, and books from the last several years of the century are not well represented in the accumulated collection. Due to financial, time, and travel limitations, I have not seen every known manuscript and incunable with Scheyern provenance in order to ascertain their presence in the 1501 library; and therefore, I have had to rely in part on published and online library catalogues and the generosity of librarians in Europe and North America. For this reason, my study of the Scheyern library is not exhaustive, for there are books I have yet to examine; however, from the books I have seen, I believe that general patterns in the library are evident, and the chapters are built around these themes.
Chapter Overview

The library of Scheyern Abbey is a case study in the external and internal influences on book acquisition, and these forces that built the library are the cultural and historical events that stocked every late medieval and early modern library in Europe. Chapter 1 provides an historical overview of the abbey, including the origins of the Dukes of Scheyern and the early foundations of the monastery at Bayrischzell, Fischbachau, Eisenhofen, and finally at the hilltop of Scheyern itself. The peregrinations of the abbey community to their ultimate location are intrinsically intertwined with the history of the Dukes of Scheyern-Wittelsbach and the pre-fifteenth-century history comes to play an important role in the fifteenth-century library. Chapter 2, “Scheyern and the Melk Reform,” looks at the instigator of the monastery’s bibliographic revolution. The Melk Reform was a series of practical and devotional reforms based upon the customs of the ancient monastery of Subiaco, founded by St. Benedict, and initiated through connections between the University of Vienna, the ducal court in Vienna, and the Benedictine abbey of Melk. The reforming fervor was driven by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, a professor at the University of Vienna, who attended the Council of Constance and pushed for wide-scale adoption of the Viennese reform ideals. The Melk Reform was most strongly felt in Austria and southern Bavaria, and a series of visitations in the second-quarter of the century by committees of abbots and monks ensured that reform practices were adopted and followed in member houses. Scheyern first joined the reform in 1427, yet failed to fully adopt any reforms; it was not until 1449 when Wilhelm Kienberger of Tegernsee Abbey (85 km south-southeast of Scheyern) was installed as Scheyern’s abbot that the full force of the Melk Reform was felt at the monastery. A key point in the reform,
and one that cannot be overstated, was the emphasis on literacy and education. “A monastery without a library is like a city without an armory,”27 and the evidence suggests that Scheyern had a rather meagre “armory” prior to mid-century; after the 1449 re-introduction of the Melk Reform the library greatly expanded through the production and acquisition of manuscripts and then also printed books from the early 1470s. The Melk Reform revitalized Scheyern Abbey and specifically the library, the renovatio bibliothecae as it was called in reform documents, which laid the groundwork for the further expansion of the library by the advent of print. A similar narrative of reform immediately followed by library growth is also found at the major libraries of Tegernsee and SS. Ulrich and Afra, as well as any library that the reform touched. In this sense, Scheyern is on par with other Bavarian libraries with only the scale of library growth as a differentiating factor. The direct and unequivocal influence of the Melk Reform on the library is predominantly felt into the 1470s, after which point, and because of the advent of print, the contents of the library grew more expansive and too diffuse to be explained strictly through reforming principles. This very expansion beyond the literary bounds of the reform, however, nonetheless proves the success of the reform to inspire library development.

It was due to the literary demands of the Melk Reform that manuscript production at Scheyern was reestablished. This revitalization is described in Chapter 3, “Scheyern’s

27 This frequently repeated phrase was first written down by Geoffrey of Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge in a letter to Peter Mangot around 1170: Clastrum sine armario quasi castrum sine armamentario. Ipsum armarium nostrum est armamentarium. Inde ad impugnandos hostes proferimus divinae legis sententias quasi sagittas acutas. Inde assumimus loricam iustitiae, salutis galeam, scutum fidei, gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, see Klemens Löffler, Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken (Bonn: Schroeder, 1922), 7. The sentiment was echoed in the fifteenth century by Jakob Louber, prior and librarian of the Carthusians at Basel: Monasterium sine libris est sicut / Civitas sine opibus, / Castrum sine muro, / Coquina sine supplacetili, / Mensa sine cibus, / Hortus sine herbis, / Pratum sine floribus, / Arbor sine foliis, see Eric Marshall White, “Three Books Donated by Adolf Rusch to the Carthusians at Basel,” Gutenberg-Jahrbuch (2006): 221, n. 2.
Scriptorium: Assessing the Evidence,” wherein I examine the local productions in order to understand the physical processes of book production at the monastery. This examination not only includes the writing of manuscripts, but all locally hand-produced aspects of the manuscripts and printed books in the collection, including text and textual apparatus, lombard initials, and decoration. Scheyern’s production reveals only small increases in production in the approximate quarter-century between the first introduction of the Melk Reform in 1427 and Kienberger’s arrival in 1449; however after 1449, manuscript production at Scheyern increased greatly through the literary implications of the Melk Reform. Scheyern’s ‘scriptorium’ is not a strictly centralized room or group of scribes, but rather comprises both the “official” production of large-scale lectio communis manuscripts as well as more idiosyncratic productions answering to individual readers’ needs. There is little evidence of a single, unified style in the productions of these scribes, which problematizes any notion of a single, “Scheyern” style. The diffuse styles of book decoration compound the problem. Although the monastery had considerable talent in the area of illumination, there are no named illuminators at Scheyern, and only two manuscripts and one printed book have signed initials; most decoration or rubrication is anonymous and too generic to permit attribution. Nonetheless, I have identified two major anonymous decorators at Scheyern, the “Rich Illuminator” and “Geometric Flourisher,” who worked on both manuscripts and printed books, and several rubricators who mainly provided the required hand-produced initials in incunabula. This is one of the few such thorough examinations for a fifteenth-century monastic scriptorium—a practice more common for earlier medieval scriptoria, such as undertaken with Scheyern’s early thirteenth-century manuscripts. Although the diverse
production of the scriptorium frequently obfuscates attempts at identification and attribution, the very diversity of production is an important characteristic of contemporary book production and deserves concerted attention. Overall, Scheyern’s library reflects a diversified scriptorium wherein multiple hands were responsible for the various stages of book production, from semi-professional scribes/artists to one-offs by anonymous hands. All of this was in accord with and in response to the precepts of the Melk Reform for renewed book production in the monasteries.

Scheyern’s library needed desperate attention when Kienberger became abbot, and he turned to the Augsburg scribe and illuminator Hainrich Molitor to begin the process of updating Scheyern’s library. Scheyern employed Molitor for approximately 20 years, during which time he produced 10 manuscripts for the monastery, most of which were popular monastic texts produced in luxury copies. Chapter 4, “Scheyern and the Augsburg Book Market,” details Molitor’s work for Scheyern and his working methods, which call into question the notion of a ‘workshop’ as any kind of regularized locale or stationary group of producers; in this case, Molitor’s work for Scheyern shows that an artist’s workshop can be mobile and only include the producer, which allows for multiple collaborative opportunities with other craftsmen. While it was common in the period for monasteries to employ commercial craftsmen, Molitor’s nearly exclusive 20-year commitment to Scheyern was quite unusual in European book production and unique in Bavaria. This single act perhaps best exemplified Scheyern’s drive for bibliographic elevation and the central position of books in the reform. I argue further that Molitor’s tenure at Scheyern was key to introducing the monastery to other book artisans of Augsburg (45 km southwest of Scheyern), who
continued to influence Scheyern’s library growth after Molitor’s employment ended. In the early 1470s Scheyern began to acquire printed books from presses in southern Germany and Italy, yet these books predominantly came from the presses of Augsburg and Strasbourg.

Either due to the personal connections of Molitor or the sheer proximity of Augsburg, the city played an imperative role in bringing printed books to Scheyern. There were strong trade networks between printers in Augsburg and Strasbourg, and Augsburg was the main depot for Strasbourgh incunables moving east. Once again, Augsburg takes center stage as the conduit for Scheyern’s growing library as the well-established, cross-European trade connections of Augsburg funneled printed books through the city to the eager monastic audiences in southern Germany. Through their imprint, decoration, and binding, several of Scheyern’s printed books physically illustrate this trade with Augsburg. Augsburg bookbinding is the final key influence at Scheyern, and I argue that Scheyern learned the craft of blind-stamping from binders in Augsburg. Scheyern had a bookbindery in the early part of the fifteenth century, yet the process of decorating the binding with impressed designs of individual iron stamps only started at Scheyern in the early 1470s, about the time that printed books first started arriving at the monastery. Several of the stamps identified at the Scheyern bindery have close or exact parallels in several Augsburg binderies, including those of Ambrosius Keller, Pauls Wolf, and SS. Ulrich and Afra, which bound Molitor’s manuscripts of Vincent of Beauvais’s *Speculum historiale* (Clm 17416–18) for Scheyern shortly after 1471. Molitor was the first step that introduced Scheyern to the network of book producers in Augsburg, which Scheyern profited from through book decoration, printed book acquisition, and bookbinding. This examination is one of the first to so thoroughly consider how one
monastery/patron participated with and was so deeply influenced by local commercial production. This chapter also establishes the vague and often inconsequential distinction between “monastic” and “commercial” production. As the Scheyern books show, monastic and commercial producers often worked on the same volumes, thus making any distinction on the ‘kind’ of production irrelevant, except to clearly illustrate the diverse and collaborative nature of contemporary book production.

A common decorative feature of Scheyern books is not surprisingly their coats-of-arms, which are found in painted decoration as well as as a binding stamp. Scheyern had two institutional coats-of-arms: the first, a horizontal blue zig-zag on a gold field (or, a fesse dancetté azure), was derived from an early Wittelsbach armorial and ties the monastery to their founding family; this was further entrenched through a secondary insignia, the red and gold vertical stripes of Aragon (or, four pallets gules), adopted after the purported claim that their foundress Haziga was a daughter of the king of Aragon (Figs. 3, 14 and 74). Thus Scheyern’s visual self-identity was based upon its noble foundations. Chapter 5, “Continuity and Identity: The Past as Present in Scheyern’s Library,” looks at the relationship between the fifteenth-century library and the history of Scheyern Abbey and its founding family. There was an historical aspect in fifteenth-century reforms to return to the purer and more devout practices of a monastery’s foundation, especially the twelfth-century Hirsau Reform

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28 In the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries Scheyern also employed local artisans to produce sculpture and paintings for the monastery, including Hans von Pfaffenhofen (sculptor), Hans Beierlein of Augsburg (sculptor), and Jan Pollack of Munich (painter); see Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 21–26.
under which Scheyern was founded. This local introspection was coupled with increasing interest by the Dukes of Bavaria in their own history and historiography, for which the monastic libraries were the key repositories. Although the political and geographical division of Bavaria in the 1250s divorced the primary Wittelsbach patronage from Scheyern Abbey, the family’s interest in the foundation sporadically returned in order to substantiate their respective territorial claims and rulership rights. Between 1390 and 1393 Duke Friedrich of Bavaria-Landshut commissioned a series of figural frescoes with Latin inscriptions of early Wittelsbach dukes in the Fürstenkapelle and the related Fürstentafel, German textual panels describing the early (partially mythical) history of the Dukes of Scheyern and Wittelsbach dynasty up to ca. 1255. These narratives were largely based on Scheyern’s thirteenth-century chronicle, the Chronicon Schirense, and the Fürstentafel hung in the Scheyern cloister in proximity to the graves of the early Dukes of Scheyern and Wittelsbach. The text of the Fürstentafel was promulgated in manuscript copies in a number of Bavarian and Austrian monasteries that had ties to the Wittelsbach dynasty, reasserting the historical importance of Scheyern within the community of ducal foundations. Through this discussion of fifteenth-century Scheyern historiography, I will describe how monks at Scheyern deployed dynastic memoria as a tool in their self-identification and the re-elevation of the community through historical commemoration.


Chapter 6, “The Library of Scheyern Abbey and Its Contents,” addresses the overall organization of the library through the two fifteenth-century library shelfmark systems. These provide clues to: 1) the size of the collection and 2) the organization and use of the collection. Both aspects are direct reflections of the Melk Reform, and both show that there was no physical distinction made between manuscript and print: books were indiscriminately produced, acquired, and shelved at Scheyern, and the textual needs overrode any bibliographic distinctions.\(^\text{31}\) The first shelfmark system, in use from the 1470s until at least 1491, encapsulates a library of over 500 volumes and suggests a complete library of over 700 volumes by 1501—not an insignificant number.\(^\text{32}\) The library was reorganized after 1491 with a new subject-based shelfmark system that shows how individual volumes were categorized by the monks. Even though the book media were not distinguished in the library, genre collections show the frequent disparity between the two media. Not surprisingly, liturgical books are predominantly in manuscript, as are the foundational monastic texts (*consuetudines*, commentaries on the Rule of St. Benedict, etc.), while the collections of history, canon law, and scripture are composed almost exclusively of printed works. Print did not answer all of Scheyern’s literary needs and manuscripts continued to be produced through the end of the century. The advent of print, however, was indeed a revolution for the


period, and through print Scheyern’s library was able to expand beyond the local and limited circulation of manuscript.\textsuperscript{33}

Finally, in the Conclusion, “The Historical Context of Scheyern Abbey’s Library,” I further consider the differences between manuscript and print in the library specifically and in the period more generally. As early as 1488 the librarian of Wiblingen Abbey recognized the effect of printed books entering the library, “Wonder not, reader, that manuscripts are small in number compared with previous decades. For the art of printing books at this time now is strong, how little work has provided vast things.”\textsuperscript{34} The growing disparity between the number of manuscripts and printed books in the collection apparent at Wiblingen is also reflected at Scheyern, where about one-quarter of the extant collection is in manuscript and three-quarters in print. What Scheyern’s collection displays, however, is a lack of distinction between the two book media in the library. In terms of shelving, binding, decoration, and use the volumes are undifferentiated, and this paradigm is more the rule than the exception in fifteenth-century book culture. The contemporary unity of book media in the library demands an equally unified approach when reconstructing such a collection; thus, every chapter in this study treats manuscripts and printed books as equally as possible, not to mention the fact that the major themes discussed in each chapter relate to both manuscripts and printed books alike.


A similar non-distinction is found between monastic and commercial book production. In fact, these two realms of book production might be spoken of more properly as unifying the collection rather than creating a separation. While the Melk Reform reinvigorated Scheyern’s scriptorium, it also introduced the monastery to commercial book producers who aided in the library’s required expansion. The Salzburg-Augsburg illumination style spread from Austria into Bavaria almost in tandem with the reform and was practiced by both commercial and monastic artisans. In the fifteenth century, monasteries were thoroughly involved in commercial enterprise, both through secular book artisans, such as Hainrich Molitor’s work for Scheyern, and with the advent of print and the requisite trade of printed books in which monasteries became an important and integral market for commercial presses. While some monasteries, such as SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, had a commercial printing press, Scheyern became in part a commercial bindery, binding books for other monasteries and private patrons in the region.  

It is indeed likely that many monasteries developed this service and Scheyern is not alone in walking the line between audience and producer in contemporary book culture.

Even without secure documentation regarding the extent of the fifteenth-century library, the physical creation and presence of the books themselves proves the reality of contemporary book culture. As objects, the books are history in and of themselves and are the physical artifacts of Scheyern’s intellectual and commercial development. Coupled with the devotional imperative of the reform, in the fifteenth century there was also a renaissance of Bavarian historiographic writing and interest in foundational dynastic history, in which

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35 See below, pp. 309–10.
Scheyern Abbey played an important role. Closer to the turn of the sixteenth century but on a parallel path, the Württemberg abbey of Lorch equally played up its foundation history of the Staufer Dukes of Swabia to help validate the Württemberg claim to the duchy and establish the ancestry of the abbey. The Wittelsbach and Bavaria were thus not alone in looking to the past to validate their present at this time. Scheyern’s anonymous abbot kneeling before the Virgin in the fifteenth-century *Catholicon* manuscript (Fig. 39) emulates and recalls his predecessor splayed out before the Virgin in their thirteenth-century Matutinal (Fig. 73). The resurgence of book production at and for Scheyern coincided with a renewed interest in Bavarian history and specifically Wittelsbach history at Scheyern, and the books reveal manifold purposes, both in terms of textually serving the reform and visually underscoring the abbey’s dynastic history. Scheyern’s library can thus be ‘read’ textually and visually and both aspects combine in the fifteenth-century renaissance of Scheyern Abbey.

This dissertation is a case study examining how one Bavarian monastery adapted to the bibliographic developments of the fifteenth century. By using provenance, paleographic, artistic, and bibliographic evidence to reconstruct its contents, the assembled collection provides the evidence for how Scheyern reacted to the Melk Reform and produced their *renovatio bibliothecae*. Under the literary drive of the Melk Reform, Scheyern developed a library composed of local and commercial productions, manuscripts and printed books, elaborately decorated and undecorated/incomplete volumes. As various as these heterogeneous bibliographic pieces are they nonetheless form a homogeneous collection. The production, binding, and use of books at Scheyern shows no substantial division between

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manuscript and print, and artistically, Scheyern’s local production parallels regional commercial production. The number of volumes in Scheyern’s library that are co-produced by commercial and monastic artisans equally breaks down any division between these production milieux. Such construction speaks directly to the variety of bibliographic sources and influences active in the fifteenth century, and Scheyern’s library represents concerted responses to such bibliographic options in order to provide for the monastery’s intellectual and spiritual development. The modern academic distinctions—manuscript and print, monastic and commercial—have typically separated what was unified in the fifteenth century library. This examination reunites these aspects to show the full contextual development of fifteenth-century book culture.

The individual effects of reform, the reading needs of the community, and commercial interactions with the book trade largely defined the contents and scope of libraries, and while the following discussion pertains specifically to Scheyern Abbey and its collection development, the overall trends and aspects of that development—reform literacy, local and commercial book production, and the reaction to print—are applicable to the wider array of Benedictine communities in southern Germany. Other institutions, such as cathedrals, universities, mendicant monasteries, etc., had different literary needs that dictated the contents of their libraries, while commercial networks, both for manuscripts and printed books, partially determined the availability of texts and acquisition possibilities for libraries.

The Melk Reform dictated the immediate growth of Scheyern’s library in the first decades after 1449, and the texts produced for/at Scheyern can be found in many contemporary monastic collections, especially those of the Melk Reform (e.g., Tegernsee). Scheyern’s
proximity to Augsburg heavily influenced the library growth in print, and the physical processes of printed book distribution—sales directly from the print shop, markets, booksellers, etc.—greatly impacted the availability of texts and the ways in which the library could grow. The commercial distribution of printed books created a certain degree of bibliographic hegemony in a region, as a printer or bookseller distributed his products to his audience. As the book trade expanded, so too Scheyern’s library as well as their choices of texts beyond the simple scope of the Melk Reform or the products of Augsburg bookmen. Although much smaller than the libraries of Tegernsee, St. Emmeram at Regensburg, or SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, Scheyern’s books reveal a similar bibliographic acumen and show that even such ‘average’ libraries are important historical monuments of book culture.

In a now slightly dated but still seminal work on the period, Curt Bühler examined fifteenth-century books through their scribes, printers, and decorators. This “curious and confused period,” as Bühler calls it, is only so problematic when viewed from 500 years after the fact and with 500 years of accumulated bibliographic distinctions between book media.37 His study, nonetheless, underscores the unity between book media in the period and the often counter-productive distinctions between manuscript and print. Throughout this examination of Scheyern’s library, the thematic discussions do not separate manuscripts from printed books. The effects of the Melk Reform, scriptorium production, Augsburg production, and Wittelsbach historiography are each played out in manuscript and print, underscoring the truly united nature of ‘the book’ in the fifteenth century.

The Fate of Scheyern’s Library after 1500

This dissertation focuses on the fifteenth-century library, yet in reconstructing these contents the subsequent library history bears considerable ramifications on the survival of the collection. There is no fifteenth-century catalogue of the Scheyern library by which to gauge what is now missing from the collection. In 1517, while researching for his history of Bavaria at the monastery, Johannes Aventinus claims that the monks showed him thirty (or fifty) books written in the thirteenth century; only six of these books are extant today.\(^\text{38}\) The earliest Scheyern library catalogues were produced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries under Abbots Benedikt Prummer (1574–1610) and Stephan Reitberger (1610–34).\(^\text{39}\) The 1588 Scheyern catalogue indicates a collection of around 600 volumes, organized in fifteen *scamni*, or cases, labeled A–P, wherein manuscripts are intermixed with printed books.\(^\text{40}\) This catalogue does not describe the full extent of the monastery’s collections because liturgical books are not included nor are all of the manuscripts found in the succeeding 1595 catalogue; nonetheless, it shows an extensive collection of diversified genres but with a small collection of only 16 German titles. The 1595 catalogue of Scheyern manuscripts was likely produced at the request of Duke Maximilian I, who was attempting to

\(^{38}\) Johannes Turmair, Aventinus, *Sämtliche Werke*, edited by Matthias Lexer (Munich: Kaiser, 1881), I: *Kleinere historische und philologische Schriften, Annales Schirenses, Catalogus abbatum*, 19 claims 30 manuscripts, but in III: *Annales ducum Boiaiae*, Bk. VII, Praefatio, 238, he states that there were 50 manuscripts. A Scheyern booklist from 1241 identifies 31 manuscripts, of which only six complete manuscripts and a few fragments are currently extant, see below, pp. 236–39 and App. A.


\(^{40}\) Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising [AEM], B 8º 704, *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Monasterii B. Mariae Virginis nec non Almae Crucis in Scheurn*; see Kellner and Spethman, *Historische Kataloge*, 442–43.
make a union list of the manuscripts in his domains. The catalogue lists 222 manuscripts, but it does not include liturgical manuscripts either. The works are notated with their support (parchment or paper) but none are identified by date or scribe to aide in identification. Only about half of these manuscripts are extant or identifiable today, and losses, such as a four-volume bible and gospel book, hint at irrevocable bibliographic treasures of unknown visual or historical import. Several of the works listed are possibly now-lost manuscripts identified in the 1241 booklist, such as the *Sermones Oratii*, which could correspond with the *Horatii opera pergameno* in the 1595 catalogue (Cbm Cat. 3, f. 144v). A second manuscript catalogue from ca. 1610 lists only a selection of 65 manuscripts, also ignoring liturgica, but not adding any new titles to those described in the previous catalogue. Providing more bibliographic description that its predecessor (frequently with scribe and date information), it was likely an attempt to better the previous catalogue yet was left incomplete. Individually, while these catalogues provide only incomplete glimpses of Scheyern’s library, they hint at what manuscripts and early printed books have been lost, destroyed, or remain unidentified in modern collections.

Abbot Stephan Reitberger (1610–34), who published the first edition of the thirteenth-century *Chronicon Schirense* and the Scheyern *Fürstentafel*, is arguably responsible for

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41 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [BSB], Cbm Cat. 3, ff. 135r–151v, with a notation on f. 151v “in Choro” but without any manuscripts listed. See also Kellner and Spethmann, *Historische Kataloge*, XVIII. Charlemagne had arguably attempted something similar in the ninth century when he requested a property list from the monasteries; see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 195 and the ninth-century Staffelsee catalogue in MBK III/1:164–65.

42 See Cbm Cat. 3, f. 138r and 140v, respectively, for the bible and gospel book.

43 For the *Sermones Oratii* from the 1241 booklist, see MBK IV/2: 732,73 and App. A.

44 Cbm Cat. 3, ff. 216r–223v, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum ex bibliotheca Monasterii B. Mariae Virginis, nec non aliae Crucis in comitatu Scheyrn.*
building Scheyern’s first defined library structure.\textsuperscript{45} Prior to this construction, there is no textual or physical evidence as to the location of the library within the monastery, but we might assume that following the centuries-old practice the books were stored in armaria in various locations around the monastery.\textsuperscript{46} Directly after the construction of Scheyern’s first library the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48) broke out, which proved fatal to some Bavarian and continental libraries.\textsuperscript{47} The armies had no qualms about destroying monasteries and churches just as they did peasant and noble residences, where many libraries were ransacked and the spoils sent back to the young bibliophile, Queen Christina of Sweden.\textsuperscript{48} To date, no work in Queen Christina’s former library has been attributed to Scheyern, yet such bibliographical pillaging might partially explain the manuscript losses the library suffered between the late sixteenth-century catalogues and the currently extant and identified manuscripts; fortunately, Scheyern retained the famous and elaborate Matutinal and Catholicon manuscripts throughout this period.\textsuperscript{49} By the early eighteenth-century, Scheyern seems to have retained only six of its thirteenth-century manuscripts, which they showed off to bibliophilic monks.


\textsuperscript{46} Abbots in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries—those centuries so important for the library—built on to the monastery and added a number of constructions, and yet there is no mention in the chronicles of a library or specific place for the books.

\textsuperscript{47} Ladislaus Buzás, Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte der Neuzeit (1500–1800), Elemente des Buch- und Bibliothekswesens 2 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1976), 9–10.

\textsuperscript{48} On Christina’s library and manuscripts, see Christian Callmer, Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften (Stockholm: Kungl. bibl., 1977), esp. 94–147; from the Munich Hofbibliothek alone, the army claimed over 1,600 books.

\textsuperscript{49} On the plundering of Scheyern by the Swedish/Protestant armies, see Reichhold, Chronik von Scheyern, 308–09.
and tourists. After recovering from the depredations of the Thirty Years’ War, Scheyern was remodeled in the eighteenth century, including the library in 1741 (Fig. 3), creating the Rococo monument seen today. The fortunes of Scheyern seemed to be on the upswing; however, political changes at the end of the eighteenth century sealed the fate for every monastery in Bavaria.

The Age of Enlightenment revalued the monasteries through their strong academic endeavors, especially in Bavaria where spiritual and intellectual education frequently went hand-in-hand. However strongly the monasteries participated in the Bavarian Enlightenment, the movement equally brought about their downfall as the state questioned the role of the religious in secular life and wanted Bavarian intellectual development (and

50 In 1632 the French Benedictine scholar Jean Mabillon toured German monasteries; during his Scheyern visit he only mentions seeing Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* (Clm 17405); Jean Mabillon, *Vetera analecta, sive collectio veterum aliquot operum & opusculorum omnis generis, carminum, epistolarum, diplomatum, epitaphiorum, &c.*, Nova Editio (Paris: Montalant, 1723), 9. Similarly, in 1717 Bernhard Pez of Melk visited Scheyern, wherein he saw the only six remaining thirteenth-century manuscripts: *Mater verborum* (Clm 17403), *Historia scholastica* (Clm 17405), an evangelary (Clm 23337), Josephus’s *Antiquitates* and *De bello Iudaico* (Clm 17404), the *Matutinal* (Clm 17401), and the *Chronicon Schirense* (Clm 1052); Bernhard Pez, *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus: seu veterum monumentorum, praecipue ecclesiasticorum, ex Germanicis potissimum bibliothecis adornata collectio recetissima* (Augsburg: Veith, 1721), I: XXVIII–XXXI. See also, Laurentius Hanser, O.S.B., “Karl Eugen von Württemberg in Scheyern,” *Altbayerische Monatsschrift* 15 (1919): 36 on the books he saw during his surprise visit in 1790.


land) in secular hands. In the midst of the Napoleonic Wars, the Treaty of Lunéville in 1801 ceded the land of the Holy Roman Empire west of the Rhine to the French Republic. To make up for the lost territory, the Empire proclaimed a process of Mediatization. The Bavarian state, with Elector Max IV Joseph and Maximilian Duke of Monteglas at the head, sought to increase the power of the state at the expense of religious foundations. The Imperial Diet at Regensburg in 1803 officially proclaimed Bavarian Mediatization and Secularization, wherein the Bavarian state assumed the sovereign authority over Free Imperial cities, noble principalities, church lands, and monasteries.

One benefit of Secularization was the property acquired by the state (the cloisters owned approximately one-third of the Bavarian forests), but while financially the state did not necessarily profit from Secularization, it gained the cultural heritage of the monasteries—their centuries-worth of accumulated books and artworks—which is held today in libraries and museums across Bavaria. The protagonists of the dissolution of the monasteries

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53 This movement extended to the entire German nations and was made official at the Reichstag at Regensburg on 25 February 1803, which legalized the dissolution of the monasteries and removed secular authority from church officials, see Eberhard Weis, *Die Säkularisation der bayerischen Klöster 1802/03*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-historische Klasse 1983, Heft 6 (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983), 32–43. Johann Christoph von Aretin’s letter of 12 March 1803, Munich, in *Johann Christoph von Aretin: Briefe über meine literarische Geschäftsreise in die baierischen Abteyen*, edited by Wolf Bachmann (Munich: Lagen-Müller, 1971), 43 states how the literary heritage of Bavaria should be in the hands of the state and freely available, rather than locked away in the monasteries.


envisioned another Bibliothèque Nationale, but in Munich. The bibliographic wealth of the Bavarian monasteries that funneled into the Munich Hofbibliothek, founded in 1558 by Duke Albrecht V, created a state library whose holdings surpass almost any other national collection. The committee responsible for assessing the libraries—Johann Christoph von Aretin, Johann Baptist Bernhart, the Hofbibliothek librarian, Joachim Schubauer, a former monk from Niederaltaich, and Paul Hupfauer, provost of the Augustinian house at Beuerberg and librarian at the Landshut University Library—were instructed to save all manuscripts, incunables, and literary rarities for the Hofbibliothek; Schubauer reserved books for the public (Latin) schools, while Hupfauer was responsible for those books destined for his library. All other “useless” books were sold off to the Munich paper merchant Andre Kaut to be turned into pulp. The closure of the monasteries and confiscation of the books rolled

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57 On the foundation of the library, see Otto Hartig, “Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V. und Johann Jakob Fugger,” in Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, 13–52. Around 1800 the library held approximately 100,000 volumes, but after Secularization, it grew to 560,000–610,000, see Ruf, “Die Bayerische Staatsbibliothek und die Säkularisation,” 125 and Jahn, “Mühsam erworbene Schätze,” 28–30. Currently, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the modern incarnation of the Hofbibliothek, holds approximately 90,000 medieval manuscripts and 20,000 incunables (the largest collection in the world); it is the largest library in Germany and second only in Europe to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.


59 Lebendiges Büchererbe, 44–46.
across Bavaria (Altbayern), beginning in 1802 with the Mendicant orders and proceeding in 1803 to the Benedictine houses and cathedral chapters. It took the committee 112 days to visit 54 Mendicant libraries, from which they kept only 8,900 books (out of approximately 318,000) for the Hofbibliothek; a further 21,000 were acquired by the Hofbibliothek from the Munich Mendicant libraries alone. In 1803 the library committee toured the Benedictine monasteries, beginning in March at Schaftlärn and working for 10–12 hours each day in order to sufficiently inspect the books. Sixty-nine monasteries and eight months later, the committee’s final tour ended at Altomünster, and with it came the end of Benedictine monasticism introduced to Bavaria by St. Boniface over 1000 years earlier.

For Scheyern, the Dissolution began on 5 November 1802 when the library and archives were officially sealed, and four months later, on 21 March 1803, the monastery founded by Haziga and the Dukes of Scheyern over seven centuries earlier was officially dissolved. The library committee arrived at Scheyern on 4 November 1803 and spent four days culling the collection for their respective treasures. From Scheyern the commission sent all 126 manuscripts (there were over 220 in the 1595 catalogue), 689 incunables, and 707

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60 Old Bavaria consists of Upper and Lower Bavaria and the Upper Palatine, basically southern and eastern Bavaria; the regions of Swabia in the southwest and Franconia in the northwest were not under the control of the Elector of Bavaria at the time. On the Secularization in Franconia and Swabia, see Jahn, “Mühsam erworbene Schätze,” 27–8.

61 Hauke, “Die Bedeutung der Säkularisation,” 91. See also, Paul Ruf, Säkularisation und Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Band 1: Die Bibliotheken der Mendikanten und Theatiner (1799–1802) (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1962); Ruf’s planned second volume on the Benedictine libraries was never completed.


63 In total 178 Mendicant and Benedictine monasteries were dissolved in 1802–03, see Kellner and Spethmann, Historische Kataloge, XVIII.

64 For a full timeline of the dissolution of Scheyern, see Gressierer, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Klosterbibliothek Scheyern, 14–40 and 75. The last mass said at Scheyern was on Easter Saturday, 1 April 1803.
other books (1,522 total volumes) to the Hofbibliothek; Hupfauer gained 1,640 volumes for the University Library Landshut, and Schubauer kept a little over 600 books for the schools. Some of the Scheyern account registers were used as packing material for the music instruments, and the rest of the collection, including selections from the archive—possibly as high as 6,000 volumes—were sold to the Munich paper merchant Andre Kaut, whereby he removed 2,580 pounds of books and documents.

The Hofbibliothek absorbed the Scheyern library, and while every manuscript from the dissolved monasteries was kept, the library found itself with many duplicates of printed editions, predominantly from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. While the library kept many of these duplicates, about an equal number of printed books as stayed in Munich entered the book market through various auctions and dealers between 1815 and 1858 and

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65 By comparison, the Hofbibliothek took 2,100 volumes from Andechs and 2,311 manuscripts and 1,553 printed books from Tegernsee, the largest Benedictine library in Bavaria; see Engel, “Endphase der Säkularisation,” 54.

66 Adolf Hilsenbeck, “Die Universitätsbibliothek Landshut-München und die Säkularisation (1803),” in Festschrift Georg Leyh: Aufsätze zum Bibliothekswesen und zur Forschungsgeschichte dargebrachte zum 60. Geburtstag am 6. June 1937 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1937), 189. Scheyern was one of the largest collections for Hupfauer; by comparison, he collected only 1,434 volumes from Tegernsee but 2,390 from Benedictbeuren.

67 BSB, A-Reg. B I Scheyern, see Gressierer, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Klosterbibliothek Scheyern, 19–20. The committee might have been defining “incunable” by Georg Wolfgang Franz Panzer’s Annales typographici of 1793, which set 1536 as the end date of the incunable period; therefore, the 689 Scheyern “incunables” likely included a large number of sixteenth-century works that are no longer deemed incunables by the modern definition. To date, I have only located approximately 300 fifteenth-century printed books from the Scheyern library, less than half of the “incunables” sent to Munich in 1803.

68 Alles in Scheuren als unnütz ad Caßandum, “Everything in Scheyern that is useless is to be destroyed,” see Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, edited by Severin Corsten, Bernhard Fabian, and Karen Kloth (Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1992), 13: 18 and Reichold, Chronik von Scheyern, 173. The rest of the Scheyern property was bought by the brewer Joseph Hermann Stängl of Pilsting a.d. Isar and passed through several other hands until 1835, see Gressierer, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Klosterbibliothek Scheyern, 77.
were dispersed to collections around Europe and North America. The books once crafted and used as the intellectual tender of medieval monastic devotion were now distributed well-outside their original purview as the bibliographic monuments of a lost world.

The history of Scheyern was not over yet, as once again political changes altered the secular-religious balance in Bavaria. With the ascension of Ludwig I (25 Aug. 1786–29 Feb. 1868) as King of Bavaria in 1825, the call to reestablish the monasteries found a receptive ear. The historically-minded Ludwig was conscious of the connections between his family and the monastic orders, and especially the monastery of Scheyern, which he referred to as the “St. Denis of Bavaria.” Ludwig wanted Scheyern to be the first monastery reestablished under his regime and envisioned a renewed family mausoleum, but Scheyern’s current owner, Baron Moritz von Taube, refused to return the property to the state until 1835, forcing Ludwig to lose the symbolic importance of re-founding Scheyern first. After three years of renovations to the dilapidated buildings—wherein most of the early Scheyern-Wittelsbach tombs had been destroyed—on 29 May 1838 four monks from Metten Abbey entered Scheyern Abbey, now dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, to once again devote

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69 The first Munich duplicate sale was *Catalogus Librorum qui in Bibliotheca regia Monacensi bis aut pluries existant quorumque statuta Auctionis lege venditio fiet Calendis Novembris et proximis post eas diebus an. MDCCXXV* (Munich: Zangl, [1815]), which sold over 4,000 volumes, including 169 incunables. To date, I have found approximately 50 former Scheyern incunables in libraries other than the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, most of which can be traced as Munich duplicates. See also Bettina Wagner, “Bodleian Incunables from Bavarian Monasteries,” *Bodleian Library Record* 15 (1995): 90–107 on the reconstruction of now-dispersed collections, and eadem, “Dublettenauktionen der Münchener Hofbibliothek in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Aus dem Antiquariat* n.F. 4, no. 2 (2006): 89–97.


72 Metten Abbey was refounded on 1 June 1830 with several other monasteries following prior to Scheyern.
themselves to God on the hilltop of the Dukes of Scheyern. The former library, however, did not return to the monastery. The (then) Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Munich retained the bulk of the former Scheyern manuscripts and incunables, and King Ludwig reseeded the library with 2,928 volumes of various origin, deriving from the excessive fifteenth- to eighteenth-century duplicates in the Munich library.\textsuperscript{73} Importantly, the monastery regained its 1452 \textit{Liber Consuetudines} (Scheyern, MS. 37), the only extant foundational manuscript from its centuries-long history. While Scheyern Abbey once again exists as a functioning monastery, school, brewery, and Byzantine research institute, the remnants of the library the monks collected up to 1803 is now dispersed, and former Scheyern incunables are found in libraries from Riga, Latvia to Urbana-Champaign, Illinois.

\textbf{The Catalogue of Scheyern’s Library}

A catalogue of all known Scheyern manuscripts and incunables is included on pp. 353–439. The first section, Catalogue I (pp. 353–398), is a description of all books attributed to the fifteenth-century library according to the above parameters. The individual entries include textual identifications and brief descriptions of all physical characteristics, including scribes and decorators, binding, physical construction/collation, and a reference to the 1588 library catalogue. Catalogue II contains four booklists: 1) fifteenth-century books of Scheyern provenance but without any substantiated fifteenth-century characteristics (pp. 399–429); 2) incunabula bound at the Scheyern bindery for other patrons, but which were

\textsuperscript{73} Gressierer, \textit{Beiträge zur Geschichte der Klosterbibliothek Scheyern}, 189. The new prior of Scheyern, Georg Scherr, requested additional books from Munich in July 1838, and later that year he also was sent several liturgical books, a copy of the \textit{Rule of St. Benedict}, and the \textit{Monumenta Boica} by the Landshut University librarian, Maurus Harter; see Kloster Archiv Scheyern, Tagebuch Scherr: 7.7.1838, cited by Kreuzer, “Die Wiedererrichtung der Benediktinerabtei Scheyern, II,” 87 and 117.
never part of Scheyern’s own library (pp. 430–36); 3) post-1500 Scheyern manuscripts (pp. 437–38); and 4) fifteenth-century books once at Scheyern but whose current location is unknown (p. 439). I have assigned autonomous sigla to several of the groupings in order to aid in identification: M for manuscripts, P for printed books, Frag for manuscript leaves, EM for the excluded manuscripts, EP for the excluded printed books, and B for Scheyern’s commercial bindings. Scheyern’s post fifteenth-century manuscripts (II, 3) and currently unidentified books (II, 4) did not receive individual sigla due to the manuscripts’ lack of relevance to the fifteenth-century collection and the want of any kind of bibliographical evidence on the lost books.

The authors and titles of the manuscripts generally follow the individual identifications of the owning institution, predominantly the printed manuscript catalogues of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [BSB].

For works with only ascribed or descriptive titles in the catalogues, I have translated such titles into English (e.g. “Two ‘Our Father’ explanations” in Cgm 784, ff. 85r–94v). The printed works are described according to the imprint identification in the Incunable Short-Title Catalogue [ISTC] from the British Library, with editions identified by their unique ISTC number. The descriptions of the manuscripts and printed books are according to personal examination, and all measurements are in millimeters. The manuscript collations are my own, and I have followed the formula set down by Henry Bradshaw and Paul Needham, ostensibly for printed books but equally suited to manuscripts in order to show clearly the codicological structure, which is especially important for the compendia and

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composite manuscripts. Folios are identified according to [quire]/[number of leaf in quire] if the manuscript has not been previously foliated (or paginated, in the case of Clm 17521) or if there is any confusion between a folio number at its actual position in the quire or manuscript. When many manuscripts were foliated in the nineteenth century by the librarians in Munich blank folios were skipped, and in several cases successively numerated folios actually have several blank leaves between them, which creates a serious rupture between text and the physical construction; identifying the blanks by the [quire]/[leaf] designation effectively replaces these “non-existent” folios in the physical description of the manuscript.

Bindings are identified either by their workshop number in Ernst Kyriss, Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet [K] or the Einbanddatenbank [EBDB] from the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Finally, I provide a reference to the earliest extant Scheyern library catalogue from 1588, Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising [AEM], B 8° 704, pp. 1–72, by the book’s scamnum, or shelf, location. Throughout this work, I will refer to the books by the shelfmarks or call numbers of their current owning institution, by which they are ordered in the catalogue, to make the volumes more easily recognizable and findable. Unless otherwise stated, all translations in this work are my own.

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76 Paul Needham, *The Bradshaw Method: Henry Bradshaw’s Contribution to Bibliography* (Chapel Hill: Hanes Foundation, Rare Book Collection, University Library, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1988).

Chapter 1
An Historical Overview of the Scheyern

The Origins of the Scheyern-Wittelsbach Dynasty\(^1\)

The name Scheyern supposedly derives from the Skiren, a Germanic tribe who purportedly migrated into Europe in the fifth century AD. One of the first possible references to the name dates to 456 when Adalger, son of Haunwolf of the Scheirer, was made duke by the king of the Franks.\(^2\) The hilltop of Scheyern likely held a settlement as early as the eighth century.\(^3\) St. Boniface is said to have dedicated a church to the Virgin Mary (or St. Martin) at Scheyern ca. 746, around the same time that he dedicated the church at Altomünster, and it is written that the church was founded “before the town on the mountain.”\(^4\) Some historical sources claim the Bavarian Duke Arnulf the Bad (907–937) as the first landgrave of Scheyern, which extends the family’s control of the region back into the tenth century and

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\(^{2}\) Johannes Turmaur, Sämtliche Werke, IV/1: Bayerische Chronik, Bk. I, 519–20 and V: Bayerische Chronik, Bk. III, 3–4; see also Reichhold, Chronik von Scheyern, 13–17 for a discussion of the Skiren history. Odovacer (d. 493), the Visigoth King of Italy was supposedly descended from the Skiren through his maternal line. The name Skiren/Scheirn is reflected not only in the name of Scheyern, but in the area around Regensburg with such towns as Schierling, Schirnabrunn, and Schirndorf, illustrating the early influence of the family/tribe in the region.


\(^{4}\) Clm 17403, f. 238v: ante urbem in monte, see Friedrich Hektor von Hundt, “Beiträge zur Feststellung der historischen Ortsnamen in Bayern und des ursprünglichen Besitzes des Hauses Scheyern-Wittelsbach,” Beiträge zur Feststellung der historischen Ortsnamen in Bayern und des ursprünglichen Besitzes des Hauses Scheyern-Wittelsbach 11 (1868): 125 and Hanser, Scheyern einst und jetzt, 24; Reichhold, Benediktinerabtei Scheyern, 1077–1988, 12 states the dedication is to St. Martin, but his Chronik von Scheyern, 17 claims the dedication for Mary. Sebastian Münster, Cosmographia (Basel: Petri, 1559), 631, states that Scheyern was fortified by 888.
promotes the Scheyern line as descendants of the Carolingians, but this claim also garners the negative associations of Arnulf.\footnote{Chronicon Schirense, Ch. 16 in MGH Script. SS 17: 620,15, Siegmund and Genzinger, “Zur Scheyerner Tabula Perantiqua,” Panel 2, 154, Knitl, Scheyerns Stellung in der Kulturgeschichte, 3, and Reichhold, Chronik von Scheyern, 16. See below, pp. 253–54 for further discussion on Arnulf’s historical reputation.}

In other historical documents, however, the Scheyern line seemingly appears out of nowhere; as a defined family, they are unheard of before the mid-eleventh century. The Ebersberg dynasty—a Carolingian noble family datable back to the eighth century—controlled the lands between the Amper and Glonn Rivers (which includes the hills of Scheyern and Wittelsbach), where the Counts and Dukes of Scheyern would later hold sway.\footnote{On the Ebersbergs, see Ludwig Holzfurtner, “Ebersberg – Dießen – Scheyern. Zur Entwicklung der oberbayerischen Grafschaften in der Salierzeit,” in Die Salier und das Reich, edited by Stefan Weinfurter and Helmuth Kluger (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), I: 550–55 and Fried, “Herkunft der Wittelsbacher,” 36–37.}

In 1045 the male Ebersberg line died out, and it is from this point that the name “Scheyern” is more securely attached to the region and new territorial lords. The Anonymous Haserensis, a chronicle of the bishops of Eichstätt written ca. 1075, contains a reference to Bishop Gebhart I’s (future Pope Victor II, 1055–57) struggles around 1042/49 against the Counts of Scheyern while he was regent of Bavaria for Duke Conrad I’s young son, Henry IV:

Whence it was done, that with Duke Conrad I being in exile in Hungary, this same one [Gebhart] took up the rule of Bavaria at the time. In which days, among other things gloriously done, he devastated, burned, and exhausted the Scheyerns, most dedicated to robberies just as they are today, so that the memory of this affliction would be as lasting as the complaint among these same people.\footnote{Anonymous Haserensis, Ch. 35 in MGH Script. SS 7: 264,28–32: Unde factum est, ut exulante ad Ungarium Chunone duce, ipse ducatum Baioriacum ad tempus susciperet regendum. Quibus diebus inter alia gloriose gesta Schirense, latrocinis ut hodieque sunt deditissinos, in tantum devastavit combussit ac contrivit, ut huius afflictionis tam perpes memoria quam querimonia penes eosdem sit. I would like to thank Susannah Brower for her corrections to my translation. See also Stefan Weinfurter, “Sancta Aureatensis Ecclesia. Zur Geschichte Eichstätts in ottonisch-salischer Zeit,” Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte 49 (1986): 29.}
Gebhart claims to have laid waste to much of their territory, but where exactly that was is hard to say. Little is known about the family’s presence in the region from Gebhart’s time, and the reference to their “robberies” is without further historical substantiation; however, around this same period, the family was connected to the Freising bishop. In 1039 and 1047 an “Otto comes” was the Vogt of the Freising bishop. Subsequently, the Freising Vogt around 1073 was a certain “comes Otto de Skyrun,” who is equated with Otto II, Count of Scheyern (d. after 22 Feb. 1078). Otto II likely inherited the right from his father, Otto I (probably the “Otto comes” of the earlier documents), who died in 1072 on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Nothing else is known about the quarrel between Bishop Gebhart and the Scheyerns, but part of the territory between the Amper and Glonn was also formerly in the possession of the Hirschberg family (former Vogt of the Eichstätt bishop), who left for the diocese of Freising in the mid-eleventh century; therefore, it is possible that the “robberies” to which Gebhart refers are territorial disputes with the new Counts of Scheyern as they subsumed Ebersberg and Hirschberg lands in the region.

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8 The Vogt (advocate, from Lat. advocatus) was a noble who acted on behalf of the church to oversee the secular matters of their lands, including defense, keeping the peace, and other matters thought unseemly for a bishop or abbot, see Dietmar Willoweit, “Vogt, Vogtei,” in Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte, edited by Adalbert Erler and Ekkehard Kaufmann (Berlin: Schmidt, 1998), V: 932–46. For the Freising documents, see Theodore Bitterauf, Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising, 2 vols. (Aalen: Scientia, 1905–1909), I: nos. 1451–52.

9 Bitterauf, Traditionen Freising, I: no. 1469.


While their origins are obscure, from the late-eleventh century the history of the Counts of Scheyern is fairly secure, surely due to their rapid ascent to Bavarian nobility and their increasing presence in imperial and papal documents. Otto II had four sons: Arnold I (from his first marriage, d. 1123); then Eckhard I (d. 1091), Bernhard I (d. 1104), and Otto III (d. 1121/2) from his marriage to Haziga, purportedly Countess of Diessen (d. 1101) (Fig. 4).\(^{12}\) In fact, the Scheyern territories between the Amper and Glonn might have been Haziga’s inheritance, since the name “Skyrun” is not associated with the Freising Vogt until around Otto II’s marriage to Haziga, and the Scheyern name and territories descended through her sons rather than Otto II’s eldest son from his previous marriage, Arnold I.\(^{13}\) Eckhard’s son Otto V (ca. 1083–4 Aug. 1156), who was made Pfalzgraf (Count Palatine) Otto I of Bavaria in 1120, was the first to use the surname Wittelsbach, taken from the family’s second hilltop residence at Wittelsbach (22 km west of Scheyern) near Aichach;\(^{14}\) the *Chronicon Schirense* cites “brothers Otto [V] and Udalrich [I] of Scheyern who likewise afterwards occupied the fort of Wittelsbach,” as witnesses to the imperial privilege of Eisenhofen in 1107, and a document from Indersdorf dated 1116 refers to Pfalzgraf Otto I “of Wittelsbach.”\(^{15}\) An

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\(^{12}\) Two notes in Clm 17403, ff. 238v and 244v falsely refer to Haziga as the daughter of the king of Aragon, which is why the Aragon coat-of-arms is associated with Scheyern; see Hundt, “Kloster Scheyern,” 265. For a more expansive family tree, see *Wittelsbach und Bayern*, I/1: Anhang, 543–48.

\(^{13}\) Holzfurter, “Ebersberg – Dießen – Scheyern,” 569–70 suggests that Haziga, and not Otto II, was the inheritor of the Scheyern territory through her father, whom he assumes was Babo of Scheyern.


\(^{15}\) *Chronicon Schirense*, Ch. 13 in MGH Script. SS 17, 619,39–40: *Otto et Oudalricus filius de Schyern, qui etiam postea castrum Wittelenspach possederunt*, and BHStA, Klosterurkunde Indersdorf 1, 13 July 1116; see Fried, “Herkunft der Wittelsbacher,” 31.
interpolation in Otto of Freising’s *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus* refers to Eckhard I and Pfalzgraf Otto I as “faithless and unjust,” “surpassing all forebears in malice,” and “incessantly persecuting the church.” The accusations against Freising’s own *Vögte* is unusual, and there is no other historical evidence to support the chronicle’s statement. Therefore, at least by 1107, Otto V was associated with the secondary Scheyern residence at Wittelsbach, but it is not until around 1116 that the name supersedes the Scheyern association. Eckhard I’s brother, Otto III, continued the Scheyern line, while their elder half-brother, Arnold I, begat the Scheyern-Dachau and Scheyern-Valley lines. The advocacy of Freising descended through Eckhard into the Scheyern-Wittelsbach line, which also accrued the advocacy rights (*Vogteiherrschaft*) over the monasteries of Weihenstephan, Ilmünster, Kühbach, Geisenfeld, the possessions of SS. Ulrich and Afra (Augsburg) east of the River Lech, and several other monasteries as the family’s power and authority grew. Pfalzgraf Otto I’s (Otto V) son Otto VIII (1117–11 July 1183, later Pfalzgraf Otto II) was invested with the Dukedom of Bavaria in 1180 (thence Duke Otto I), in return for his faithful service to Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa. Duke Otto I Wittelsbach of Bavaria, the great-grandson of Otto II and Haziga, is the titular founder of the Bavarian Wittelsbach

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16 Otto of Freising, *Chronica* VI, Ch. 20 in MGH Script. SS rer. Germ. 45: 283–84.


18 Franz Genzinger, “Grafchaft und Vogtei der Wittelsbacher vor 1180,” in *Wittelsbach und Bayern*, I/1: 118–121, and 116–18 on the beneficial political alliances and marriages that the Counts/Dukes of Scheyern made.

dynasty, who ruled Bavaria as dukes, electors, and kings for 738 years, until the abdication of
King Ludwig III in 1918.\textsuperscript{20}

**Scheyern Abbey and Its Foundations\textsuperscript{21}**

Countess Haziga is seen as the founder of Scheyern Abbey, even though she died
before the abbey at Scheyern proper was established, but it is with her that a history of the
monastery begins. The history of Scheyern Abbey begins 100 kilometers away at
Bayrischzell, southeast of Munich in the Chiemsee region. Around 1077, two noble converts,
Adalprecht and Otto, established a hermitage at the base of Wendelstein mountain. Haziga
donated land that she had inherited from her first husband, Count Hermann of Kastl (d.
1056), at Bayrischzell (sometimes called Margarethenzell after the hermitage’s dedication to
St. Margaret) to the foundation.\textsuperscript{22} The hermitage was given over to the Hirsau Reform order
—making Bayrischzell the first Hirsau monastery in Bavaria—which seeded the monastery
with twelve monks and twelve lay brothers from the motherhouse in the Black Forest.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{20} Famously, the Wittelsbach family also includes “Mad” King Ludwig, who built the fairytale castle of
Neuschwanstein, and Empress Elizabeth of Austria, who was assassinated in 1898.

\textsuperscript{21} The major historical sources for Scheyern Abbey are: *Chronicon Schirense*, from Clm 1052 in MGH Script.
Stephan, *Die Traditionen des Klosters Scheyern* (Munich: Beck, 1986), and “Monumenta Schirensia,
Diplomatarium Miscellum” in MB 10: 437–600, largely edited in Michael Stephan, *Die Urkunden und die
ältesten Urbare des Klosters Scheyern* (Munich: Beck, 1988). The most recent literature, with references to
earlier works include, Fried, “Zur Frühgeschichte der Wittelsbacher und des Klosters Scheyern,” 11–33 and

\textsuperscript{22} *Chronicon Schirense*, Ch. 2 in MGH Script. SS 17: 616,10. The dating of the foundation is uncertain, but
might be in response to the death of Otto II in 1078/79. In spite of the depiction of both Haziga and Otto II as
the founders of the monastery (Fig. 74), the documents and chronicles only refer to Haziga and her sons as the
founders.

\textsuperscript{23} *Chronicon Schirense*, Ch. 4 in MGH Script. SS 17: 616,39–46. On the Hirsau Reform, see Hermann Jakobs,
*Die Hirsauer; ihre Ausbreitung und Rechtsstellung im Zeitalter des Investiturstrites* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1961)
and Klaus Schreiner, “Hirsau und die Hirsauer Reform: Lebens- und Verfassungsformen einer
Reformbewegung,” in *Die Reformverbände und Kongregationen der Benediktiner im deutschen Sprachraum*,
ed. Ulrich Faust OSB and Franz Quarthal, Germania Benedictina 1 (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag der Erzabtei St.
Ottilien, 1999), 89–124.
Under the Hirsau Reform, the monastery was under the authority of the pope, not a local lord; therefore, the pope/monastery had the power to choose the Vogt, who acted as the pope’s representative and protector of the monastery in his stead. The papal privileges for all early Scheyern foundations repeatedly name the Counts/Dukes of Scheyern as the advocates of the succeeding foundations. By placing the monastery under the Hirsau Reform, Haziga and her sons gained (if unknowingly) a sympathetic cloister that would be a stalwart support for the future Scheyern-Wittelsbach generations.

Due to a lack of space and availability of food for the expanding monastery, through an exchange of property with Bishop Meginward of Freising, Haziga and her sons transferred the monastery to Fischbachau in 1087. William of Hirsau, the founder of the Hirsau Reform movement, visited St. Martin at Fischbachau in 1095 and subsequently sent the Hirsau monk Erchimbold (1096–1111) to be the first abbot of the monastery, ensuring the implementation of the reforms. The foundation was confirmed by Pope Urban II on 8 March 1095 and accepted under papal authority by Pope Paschal II in 1102.

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26 Chronicon Schirense, Ch. 5 in MGH Script. SS 17: 616,47–617,2 and Stephan, Urkunden, Nrs. 3–5, and Stephan, Traditionen, Nrs. 2–3.

27 Vita Wilhemi Hirsaugiensis, Ch. 22 in MGH Script. SS 12: 218. Under Erchimbold, the church at Fischbachau was built in the Hirsau style around 1100, and it is the oldest extant Hirsau construction in Bavaria, see Wolfbernhard Hoffmann, Hirsau und die “Hirsauer Bauschule” (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1950), 66–68. Fifteenth-century monastic reforms also replaced the former abbot with new, “reformed” abbots in order to ensure the success of the reforms, see below, pp. 64–72.

28 Chronicon Schirense, Ch. 8 in MGH Script. SS 17: 617–18, Stephan, Urkunden, Nrs. 3–5, and Reichhold, “Das Kloster Scheyern als Grundherr in der Hofmark Scheyern (I. Teil),” 255.
and his oldest son the hereditary advocacy of Fischbachau, for which they paid a fee of one gold coin to the Holy See.  

Almost immediately, the popularity of Fischbachau demanded a new location in order to adequately sustain the growing monastery. Pfalzgraf Otto I and Berthold of Burgeck (d. ca. 1115), who was married to Arnold I’s daughter Beatrix, Countess of Dachau (Otto’s cousin), moved the monastery to Burg Glaneck at Eisenhofen near Dachau, just north of Munich. The monastery at Eisenhofen was dedicated to St. Peter (because of the foundation, the site is also known as Petersberg), with a secondary western altar retaining the Fischbachau dedication to St. Martin. The papal privilege of 1104 named Berthold of Burgeck and Pfalzgraf Otto I as the advocates of the new foundation at Eisenhofen. The advocacy of Scheyern became almost like a family right, and while Berthold and Otto were co-advocates of Eisenhofen, the position passed to Otto’s son and not into Berthold’s line.

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31 *Chronicon Schirense*, Ch. 11 in MGH Script. SS 17: 618,29.


33 After Berthold’s death, the advocacy continues in the Scheyern line, skipping any succession in the Dachau line; Countess Beatrix (either Berthold’s widow or his mother-in-law, Arnold I’s wife) is named in the list of founders of Eisenhofen and Scheyern, which always starts with Haziga; see Stephan, *Urkunden*, Nrs. 15 and 18.
Around 1116–19 the monastery was moved for the third, and final, time to the toponymic hilltop residence of Scheyern and dedicated to the Virgin Mary.\textsuperscript{34} In 1124 construction on the new church began, which was dedicated in 1127 or 1130 by Archbishop Conrad I of Salzburg.\textsuperscript{35} While the move was attributed to a lack of fresh water at Eisenhofen, it seems highly likely that it resulted from political motivations more so than any natural ones; the Glonn River was less than one kilometer south of Eisenhofen.\textsuperscript{36} The Dukes of Scheyerns’ power and influence were increasing, and the establishment of a monastery at the family’s territorial seat, which would also act as the family mausoleum, was a well-timed prefatory act to political ascension. The move was confirmed by Pope Calixtus II in 1123, and in the same year the “Monasterium Squirense” paid one gold coin to the papal coffers.\textsuperscript{37} Unlike his predecessors, Calixtus left the choice of the Scheyern Vogt up to the monks, trusting in their counsel and proper choice, but the following year, Henry V referred to Pfalzgraf Otto I of Wittelsbach and his descendants as the advocates of Scheyern.\textsuperscript{38} Any choice that the monks might have had in the election of their Vogt was really a foregone conclusion.

\textsuperscript{34} Aventin, \textit{Sämtliche Werke}, V: \textit{Bayerische Chronik}, Bk. VI, 314. In the \textit{Chronicon Schirense}, Ch. 23 in MGH Script. SS 17: 622,23 Conrad mistakenly dated the move to Scheyern to 1108; however, the move took place under Abbot Bruno, who had been sent by William of Hirsau and was abbot at Eisenhofen and Scheyern from 1111–1127, see \textit{Chronicon Schirense}, Ch. 14 in MGH Script. SS 17: 620,1–2. In 1111 Abbot Erchimbold was replaced by a certain Wolfhold, who was abbot for only a few months—likely not meeting the approval of Berthold or Otto—before returning to the cloister of St. George in the Black Forest, whence he was called to be abbot of Admont, see \textit{Gesta archepiscoporum Salisburgensium}, Ch. 14 in MGH Script. SS 11: 42,22–24; Wolfhold does not appear in the thirteenth-century \textit{Chronicon Schirense} nor \textit{Schiernsis Annales} of Abbot Conrad, see Stephan, \textit{Traditionen}, 76*-77*.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Schiernsis Annales} in MGH Script. SS 17: 629,60.


\textsuperscript{38} Stephan, \textit{Urkunden}, Nrs. 16–20, wherein Henry refers to the location of the monastery as “Skiren.”
Otto played a decisive role in the move from Eisenhofen to Scheyern, which likely happened soon after Berthold’s death, and he seemed to have understood the religio-political benefit of intimately linking a monastery with the family.\textsuperscript{39} It was also around the time of the move to Scheyern that Otto adopted the Wittelsbach surname.\textsuperscript{40} The Scheyern-Wittelsbach line were fervent patrons of the monastery, to which they granted a series of lands and properties across their territory.\textsuperscript{41} The ascension of Pfalzgraf Otto II as Duke Otto I of Bavaria in 1180 brought new attention and focus to the foundation as the family rose in prominence. This same year also brought the translation of the True Cross relic from Eisenhofen to Scheyern. Conrad III of Dachau (a descendant of Otto II’s first son Arnold I) inherited the advocacy of Eisenhofen after the patronal move to Scheyern. In 1172, Conrad went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem (something his great-great-great-grandfather Otto I had attempted) with Henry the Lion, where Patriarch Fulcherius of Jerusalem gave Conrad two fragments of the True Cross.\textsuperscript{42} With the death of Conrad III of Dachau in 1180, the Scheyern-Dachau line died out, and the reliquary of the True Cross was transferred to Scheyern, sanctioning both the monastic translation and Wittelsbach ascendancy.\textsuperscript{43} The reliquary turned

\textsuperscript{39} Otto founded the monasteries of Indersdorf (Augustinian canons, 1120) and Ensdorf (Hirsau Reform, 1121), which was founded in honor of his father-in-law Friedrich von Burglegenfeld-Hopfenohe-Pettendorf (d. 3 April 1119), see Strömer, “Die Hausklöster der Wittelsbacher,” 142. Otto, his wife Heilika, and several immediate relatives were buried at Ensdorf rather than Scheyern, see List, “Die mittelalterlichen Grablegen der Wittelsbacher in Altbayern,” 525.

\textsuperscript{40} Huschberg, \textit{Aelteste Geschichte}, 268, n. 16, citing BHStA, KU Indersdorf 1, 13 July 1116 referring to Otto V as “comes Otto de Witelinesbahc;” see also Fried, “Herkunft der Wittelsbacher,” 31.

\textsuperscript{41} See foundational documents/privileges discussed above and Stephan, \textit{Urkunden}, 24*-25*.


Scheyern into a minor pilgrimage center, and a papal bull of 18 June 1362 refers to Scheyern specifically as the monastery of the Holy Cross.\textsuperscript{44}

When the first church at Scheyern was finished in 1127, the graves of Haziga, Otto II, and their sons Eckhard, Bernhard, and Otto III were moved from Fischbachau; they were eventually joined by the Wittelsbachs: Duke Otto I Wittelsbach of Bavaria (d. 1183) and his wife, Anges of Loon-Rieneck (d. 1191), their son Duke Ludwig I “of Kelheim,” (d. 1231), and Duke Otto II of Bavaria (d. 1253), with his wife Agnes, granddaughter of Henry the Lion, along with sixty other dukes, nobles, and their wives.\textsuperscript{45} After the death of Duke Otto II, Bavaria was divided in 1255 between his two sons, Ludwig II, Duke of Bavaria (Palatinate and Upper Bavaria) and Heinrich XIII, Duke of Bavaria (Lower Bavaria).\textsuperscript{46} Scheyern Abbey preserved the Scheyern and early Wittelsbach burials, and the memorial associations of the monastery were never entirely forgotten, but the divided Wittelsbach house now largely focused its devotions elsewhere. The lack of noble patronage coupled with the increasing universal disregard for Benedictine eremitic practices through the fourteenth century did not

\textsuperscript{44} Kainz, \textit{Das heilige Kreuz von Scheyern}, 23. The donation documents from Patriarchs Fulcherius and Heraklius were transcribed into Clm 17401, f. 9r and 17403, f. 235r; see Michael Stephan, \textit{Urkunden}, Nrs. 10 and 12.

\textsuperscript{45} Hefner, “Über die Furstengruft und die Furstenkapelle zu Scheyern,” 182, Stömer, “Hauskläster,” 142, and Siegmund and Genzinger, “Zur Scheyerer Tabula Perantiqua,” Panel 10, 159. Pfalzgraf Otto I is buried at Indersdorf, see MB X, 404, although Strömer, “Hauskläster,” 145 argues that he is buried at Emsdorf. The Counts of Dachau and Meranien-Andechs, branches of the Scheyern line, are also interred at Scheyern rather than their respective “house-cloisters” of Eisenhofen and Andechs, illustrating Scheyern’s primary role as the family mausoleum.

\textsuperscript{46} Ludwig II founded the monastery of Fürstenfeld and transferred the burial site of the Munich-Bavaria line to the Frauenkirche in Munich, while Heinrich XIII moved his residence to Landshut and patronized Seligenthal; see List, “Die mittelalterlichen Grablegen der Wittelsbacher in Altbayern,” 527–37.
bode well for Scheyern, which slid into an economic and devotional depression from the mid-thirteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{47} Scheyern could not support the community in the late-thirteenth century (under Abbot Friedrich von Heidenheim, 1281–97), and many monks had to transfer to other monasteries, see Hemmerle, \textit{Die Benediktinerklöster in Bayern}, 274.
Chapter 2  
Scheyern and the Melk Reform

The foundations of western European society were badly shaken during the fourteenth century: the bubonic plague cut the population nearly in half; the Avignese Captivity and Great Schism divided the Church, while abuses in the curia and the sale of church offices greatly weakened ecclesiastical structures; and the 100 Years War devastated much of the arable land in northern Europe and disrupted many international trading patterns. The turn of the century, however, brought an about-face in European society as urban populations expanded and international trading networks were reestablished. The reconciliation of the Church in the early fifteenth century incited a new (though short-lived) conciliar period, when ecumenical councils superseded papal authority and were charged with reforming the Church in capite et membris, from the pope all the way down the ecclesiastical structure.\(^1\) The councils strove to combat the abuses of the previous century, ensure proper liturgical celebration, and root out heresy, all in an effort to renew and strengthen proper religious devotion. The councils additionally considered reformations of cenobitic institutions (predominantly Benedictine and Augustinian), whose members and activities had grown lax and decadent over the course of the tumultuous fourteenth century.\(^2\) Referring to this earlier period in his church chronicle, the Erfurt Benedictine Nicholas of Siegen (ca. 1450–1495)

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\(^2\) The regular Benedictines were under the direct authority and control of the pope rather than a mother-house or general chapter as with, for example, the Cluniac branch of the Benedictines and the Franciscans. Such a lack of central authority supported the independence of individual monasteries but also aided their general decline during the fourteenth century, see Petrus Becker, “Benediktinische Reformbewegungen im Spätmittelalter: Ansätze, Entwicklungen, Auswirkungen,” in *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 168–70.
complained bitterly about the poor state of Benedictine monasticism around 1400, stating that the entire Benedictine order was defamed through the lack of attention from the divided papal factions and their inability to implement papal statutes. The call for the reform of the Church “in its head and members” was heard from within ecclesiastical circles as well as from noble, secular lords, such as the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund (1368–1437) and Duke Albrecht V of Austria (1397–1439).

The fifteenth-century reform movements—as with all reform movements (e.g. the Hirsau Reform in the twelfth century)—endeavored to return flagging monastic practices to a closer and purer interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict. The Councils of Constance (1414–1418) and Basel (1431–1449) were the most influential in this respect, spurring two monastic reform movements: the Melk and Bursfeld Reforms. Scheyern subscribed to the Melk Reform, for which the leading houses in Bavaria were Tegernsee and SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg. With the reform came renewed attention to the library and the literary

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3 Franz X. Wegele, ed., *Chronicon ecclesiasticum Nicolai de Siegen O. S. B.*, Thüringische Geschichtequellen 2 (Jena: Frommann, 1855), II: 414–15; on Nicholas of Siegen, see Barbara Frank, *Das Erfurter Peterskloster im 15. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Geschichte der Klosterreform und der Bursfelder Union* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 55 and Constance Proksch, *Klosterreform und Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), 38–41 and 103–08. Nicholas is specifically referring to the failure of the *Benedictina*, issued in 1336 by Pope Benedict XII in an effort to reform the order, but whose statutes were seen as too stringent and harsh (see below).


6 Chapters 3 and 4 partly examine the bibliographic and artistic influences from Tegernsee and especially SS. Ulrich and Afra on Scheyern, which were partially a result of the Melk Reform. Arguably, every fifteenth-century liturgical manuscript at Scheyern is textually related to the liturgy of Augsburg and specifically to that of SS. Ulrich and Afra; see Dietmar von Hueber, “Spätmittelalterliche Zeugen benediktinischer Liturgie-und Choralpflege aus Scheyern,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 92 (1981): 191.
culture of the monastery, and these reform movements are one of the direct causes of increasing book production of the fifteenth century and arguably of the invention of printing itself. Additionally, the renewed emphasis on book production under the reforms helped spur the development and spread of book illumination styles, such as the so-called “Salzburg-Augsburg” school of illumination, which spread practically in tandem with the Melk Reform from east to west. The Melk Reform was the impetus for the second flourishing of the scriptorium in Scheyern’s history and was an integral cause of the expansion of the library. This chapter will discuss the Melk Reform and its two-part implementation at Scheyern, first in 1427 and then again in 1449/52. I will examine the state of the monastery under the series of abbots during the reform period in order to fully show the progressive effects of the Melk Reform on Scheyern and how the books reflect the reform ideals and practices.

The Council of Constance and the Process of Reform

During the fourteenth century there were attempts to counteract slackening Benedictine practices, mainly through the papal bull *Summi magistri dignatio*, known as the *Benedictina*, issued by Pope Benedict XII on 20 June 1336 in Avignon. Benedict attempted

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to combat the wanton excesses and abuses of the Benedictine monasteries through restrictions on eating meat, owning personal property (within and without the monastery), the use of noble privileges, prohibiting the abbot from using monastic property as his own, and insisting on more responsible financial accounting, among many other measures, which just gives a hint at the abuses that required reform. These reform statutes were clearly thought too stringent for the monasteries and were made milder in successive papal directives.\textsuperscript{11} It was clear that as a group, the Benedictines had grown accustomed to progressively lessened strictures, and they were not ready to reform and return to the strictures of the ascetic lifestyle. Individually, however, some monasteries saw and sought out the necessity of reform. The Benedictine reform of Kastl, initiated by Abbot Otto II Nortweiner of Kastl (d. 1399), was based on the mystical-ascetic trends in theology and devotion instigated at the reformed Bohemian Augustinian cloister of Raudnitz.\textsuperscript{12} Supported by the University of Prague and Pfalzgraf Ruprecht of Kastl, the Kastl Reform spread southwards into Upper Bavaria and the Palatine, ultimately including by the early fifteenth century around 30 Augustinian and Benedictine monasteries under its reforming influence. The Raudnitz-Kastl reform included the monasteries of Ensdorf and Indersdorf (late twelfth-century Wittelsbach foundations) as well as the Benedictine monastery of Weihenstephan.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{11} Benedict’s decretal \textit{Dudum pro bono} of 1340 lessened the strictures of his previous bull, while Clemens VI even further diluted those demands in 1346, see Cherubini, \textit{Magnum Bullarium Romanum}, I: 255–56. The statutes of the \textit{Benedictina} were taken up by the reformers at the Council of Constance and worked into the Melk Reform practices and \textit{Interrogatium} (see below).


were almost always advocated by a noble lord, who forwarded the reform cause within his territories, especially at the monasteries and churches for which he was the Vogt. Reform not only brought back the benefit of monastic commemoration for the secular lord but also a degree of economic solvency for considerable portions of lands within the lord’s territory.

The inability or unwillingness of many monasteries to reform was a reflection of problems in the papacy itself, which had been divided between Rome and Avignon since 1378, with secular allegiance equally divided between the two claimants. To make matters worse, the Council of Pisa (1409), while attempting curial and ecclesiastical reforms, only succeeded in electing a third papal claimant (known as the Pisan or conciliar pope), Alexander V, and deposing the other two; neither the Roman pope Gregory XII nor Benedict XIII in Avignon, though, would cede power to this conciliar appointee. Alexander V died scarcely one year after taking office and John XXIII (Baldassare Cossa) was elected the new “Pisan” pope and consecrated on 25 May 1410. Military pressure from southern Italy (supporting the Roman pope Gregory XII) on John XXIII led him to seek the assistance of the reform-minded Holy Roman Emperor-elect Sigismund (1368–1437), who granted his aide on one condition: John had to call an ecumenical council to resolve the schism exacerbated at Pisa. Hoping to win reelection, on 3 December 1413 John XXIII issued a bull convoking a general council of the Church at Constance in the following year.

The Council of Constance was convened on 5 November 1414 to rectify problems in the Church. It was the largest ecclesiastical assembly (and representative assembly) of the

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14 John XXIII was later declared an antipope and the name reused in 1958 by Angelo Roncalli.

Middle Ages, and it included the standard coterie of attendees—cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and minor ecclesiasts—as well as a large contingent of kings, princes, and nobles, professors and canon lawyers from the universities, and representatives from the free cities of the empire. The size of the delegations as well as secular and academic attendance illustrates the pervasive interest in church reform from many sectors of society. Under the initial leadership of John XXIII and Sigismund, the council was charged with three issues: restoring church unity, confronting heresy, and church reform. The fact that the council lasted for four years rather than the more typical few months suggests just how complex and deeply rooted these issues truly were. John XXIII soon feared the conciliar tide turning against him in his bid for reelection and fled to Schaffhausen, but led by the Parisian theologian Jean Gerson and his conciliar reform ideals, the council promulgated the decree *Haec sancta synodus* on 4 April 1415, declaring the authority of the council over the pope. In order to successfully resolve the papal schism, the council had to take the authority to act above and without a pope (or any of the three). Shortly thereafter on 29 May, Pope John XXIII, who convened the council, was deposed on the grounds of simony, heresy, and immorality. Subsequently, on 4 July 1415, the Roman pope Gregory XII, who already had been deposed at Pisa, reconvened the council (an act ostensibly to legitimize his own reign) and resigned.

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The Avignese pope Benedict XIII more stubbornly held on to his office and was not deposed until 26 July 1417, after losing nearly all of his supporters. With the election of Cardinal Odo Colonna as Pope Martin V (1417–1431) on 11 November 1417, the western schism was finally over and the Church was once again under the authority of a single pontiff. The duration of this process—nearly as long as the entire council itself—illustrates the complexity and difficulty in reestablishing unity amidst the other issues facing the council.

In 1415, just after the deposition of John XXIII, the council faced the issue of heresy in the case of Johann Hus. Educated at the University of Prague, Hus was heavily influenced by the views of the English theologian John Wycliffe and similarly preached against corruption and worldliness in the church—an issue the council was also facing—including the use of indulgences to finance wars, simony, and lack of clerical education. In an attempt to defend himself, Hus appeared before the council in July 1415, but in their ardent drive for unity and reform (and fear of the spread of Wycliffite teachings, which were condemned in 1412 and 1415), Hus was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake. After years of schism, the fear of disunity led to some rash decisions, and Hus’s puppet trial was little more than an example of church authority gone rabid.

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20 In 1999, Pope John Paul II issued a statement expressing deep regret for the harsh treatment of Hus; see Bellitto, *General Councils*, 87.
The Council of Constance initiated a series of reforms for the pope, curia, monasteries, and clerics.\textsuperscript{21} Most of the reforms were simply reinforcing existing statutes regarding fiscal organization, clerical dress, and proper liturgical and pastoral observance as set out in the Rule of St. Benedict. The council’s first attempt at monastic reform was the \textit{De statu monachorum et aliorum religiosorum}, underlining the major points of compliance;\textsuperscript{22} however, due to the council’s other pressing demands, in November 1416 they ordained a chapter meeting of the Benedictine monasteries of the Mainz-Bamberg province at Petershausen (a suburb just across the Rhine) to further handle the question of monastic reform. After a torch-lit procession of 373 monks from Constance across the bridge to Petershausen, the chapter met from 28 February to 19 March 1417 under the leadership of Abbots Louis of Tournus, Thomas of York, and Sigfried Gerlacher of Ellwagen.\textsuperscript{23} 133 monasteries were represented at the provincial chapter meeting, including representatives not only from the Mainz-Bamberg province but other Benedictine and Augustinian houses in Germany, Austria, France, England, and Italy, as well as representatives from Cluniac and Premonstratensian abbeys. The reforming intentions of the chapter were strengthened by the presence of Abbots Georg Kemnater from the reform monastery of Kastl, Johann Dederoth of Münster, a leader of the growing Bursfeld reform union, and Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl,


rector of the University of Vienna and one of the leading proponents of monastic reform.\footnote{Wilhelm Kienberger, the future abbot of Scheyern but then an Augustinian at Indersdorf (Kastl Reform), was also in attendance.}

The chapter meeting produced two important texts, the *Processus capituli provincialis* and *Interrogatorium*. The *Processus* laid out specific reforms in monastic practice and observance (statutes 11–30), as well as the process of regular visitations to enforce those reforms (statutes 5–10).\footnote{See *Processus capituli provincialis* transcribed in Zeller, “Provinzkapitel,” 51–63.} The reforms themselves were little more than a recapitulation of the *Benedictina*, once again stressing the rules of monastic vows and the communal life, liturgical celebration and study, enforcing proper monastic dress and tonsure, restricting the eating of meat, restating the rules of private and monastic property and the proper management of monastic assets, and abolishing aristocratic privileges.\footnote{Zeller, “Provinzkapitel,” 29–32 and Becker, “Benediktinische Reformbewegung,” 174.} Nearly 100 years after the original promulgation of the *Benedictina*, the issues it addressed were still current and unresolved in general monastic practice. The process of visitations, also suggested by the *Benedictina*, was now supported and structured by the *Interrogatorium*, a series of questions that the visitation committee would ask the abbot, officials, and monks of each abbey in order to ascertain their level of compliance with proper practice and the areas of needed correction.\footnote{See *Interrogatoria visitatorum super singulis defectibus monasterii ex officio pertinentia* transcribed in Zeller, “Provinzkapitel,” 63–68 and Niederkorn-Bruck, *Melker Reform*, 217–22, with a discussion of the individual issues, 70–125.} Through a visitation, the committee would question the abbot and other monks under oath (*inquisitio*), then discuss the results of the questioning (*recitatio*) before outlining their objectives for improvement (*obiectio*).\footnote{Niederkorn-Bruck, *Melker Reform*, 37–40.} The committee also had the authority to audit
the monastery’s account books and to correct or restructure their economic practices.\textsuperscript{29} The independent nature of Benedictine monasticism necessitated the individual assessment of each house through the aspects of the \textit{Interrogatorium}, creating original \textit{obiectiones} for each monastery; there was no single band-aid fix for the abuses and iniquities into which monasteries had fallen.\textsuperscript{30} The reforms supported at Petershausen, in essence, finally empowered the \textit{Benedictina}, while the visitations helped to ensure compliance with it. These reforms did not always meet with immediate success, and there was frequently considerable resentment of the visitation committee. The ideals laid out in the \textit{Benedictina} and \textit{Interrogatorium} were implemented through two reform movements: the Bursfeld Union, popular in central Germany (and supported by the Council of Basel) and the Melk Reform, which spread across Austria and Bavaria and incorporated approximately 110 monasteries by the mid-fifteenth century.

The plan for reform codified at Petershausen through the \textit{Processus} and \textit{Interrogatorium} provided the basis for the reform of the Austrian monasteries. Prior to Constance, Duke Albrecht V of Austria had been pushing for the reformation of the monasteries in his territories or possibly founding a new, reform monastery.\textsuperscript{31} He turned to Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, a member of the theology faculty at the University of Vienna and a

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item The poor fiscal management and increasing debt of most monasteries was a major reform concern, which not only impugned the abbot’s use of monastic property, but was also related to the financial independence of the cloister; see Romuald Bauerreiss O.S.B., \textit{Kirchengeschichte Bayerns} (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag der Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1958), V: 42–43.
\item The tenor of the individual reforms was also dependent upon the members of the visitation committee and their individual interpretations of the \textit{Interrogatorium}; see Angerer, \textit{Die liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung}, 57.
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major proponent of reform for the monasteries, clerics, and laity. Educated at the university in scholastic thought, Dinkelsbühl’s writings show his familiarity with contemporary Parisian theologians (such as Jean Gerson) and his deep understanding of scripture and the Church Fathers, which he turned towards more pastoral or practical concerns rather than traditional scholasticism. The University of Vienna’s theology faculty was one of the prime sources of the more pastoral tendencies in late-fourteenth and fifteenth-century theological literature, which promoted devotional reform through reading for both churchmen and laity. Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl was the most important and prolific theologian at the university and in Austria around 1400, and he was intimately tied to the ducal court.

The beginnings of the Melk Reform can be traced prior to Constance with Duke Albrecht and Dinkelsbühl’s plans for reform. Early on, they likely intended to reform the Austrian and Bohemian monasteries according to the customs of the Benedictine house at Subiaco in Italy, a monastery seen as both highly devout and as retaining a closer sense of true Benedictine monasticism. The monastery of Sacro Specu at Subiaco (50 miles east of Vienna)

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34 Nigel F. Palmer, “The High and Later Middle Ages (1100–1450),” in *The Cambridge History of German Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 86. This more pastoral theology was initiated by Heinrich of Langenstein and Heinrich Totting of Oыта, both of whom were educated and taught at the University of Paris before moving to Vienna.

35 Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, 430–40. He was widely read across the German lands in the fifteenth century, and there are around 1400 extant fifteenth-century manuscripts of his writings.

Rome) was founded ca. 500 by St. Benedict of Nursia, and, along with Monte Cassino, is one of the spiritual mother-houses of the Benedictine Order. It was probably at Dinkelsbühl’s behest that in 1403 Nicholas Seyringer, then rector of the University of Vienna, moved with four other monks to Subiaco in order to practice and fully understand the monastic life at this important Benedictine house. Seyringer quickly rose to prominence at Subiaco, becoming prior in 1410, and he was then made abbot of the double-monastery of Sacro Specu and St. Scholastica in 1412. When the Council of Constance was called in 1414, Dinkelsbühl and Seyringer were part of the Duke’s delegation with the likely intent of introducing the reforming Subiacan principles. Dinkelsbühl and Seyringer both attended the chapter meeting at Petershausen, and it is likely that two such high-profile figures had strong hands pushing their reform ideals. Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl had already penned the *Reformationis methodus* wherein he clearly set out his reform plans for the Austrian cloisters. One of the key points in Nicholas’s plan was the introduction of devout men into the reformed monasteries, and this established the practice by which the monasteries were seeded with abbots loyal to the reform ideals. Writing in 1415, Dinkelsbühl specifically stated in his fourth point that

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37 Angerer, *Caeremoniae Regularis Observantiae*, CXXIV–CLXX. Subiaco was a popular monastery for German monks, “Teutonici,” and a stopover on the pilgrimage road to Rome, which is likely also one reason why the first printing press in Italy was established there in 1464 (by 1465) by two Germans, Konrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, see BMC IV, vii–viii and 1.

38 Angerer, *Caeremoniae Regularis Observantiae*, CLXX–CLXXI.

39 There was some discontent at his promotion at Subiaco, and in 1413 Pope Gregory XII made Seyringer the prior of St. Anna in Rocca di Mondragone, outside of Naples; Seyringer moved there with several other compatriots: Antonius of Catalonia, Nicholas of Respitz, Petrus of Rosenheim, Petrus of Klosterneuburg, Matthias of Prussia, and Caspar of Garsten, all of whom would later follow Seyringer to Melk, see F. X. Thoma, “Petrus von Rosenheim OSB. Ein Beitrag zur Melker Reformbewegung,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Benediktinerordens und seine Zweige* 45 (1927): 105.

Nicholas Seyringer and several of his fellow monks from Subiaco come back to Austria to implement the reform.\textsuperscript{41}

The ease and speed with which the Petershausen reforms were adopted in Austria is related to both the zeal of Dinkelsbühl and Duke Albrecht, the codified reform program set out in the \textit{Processus} and \textit{Interrogatorium}, as well as the fact that in 1418, immediately after Constance, Seyringer was made abbot of Melk Abbey. Seyringer replaced the existing abbot in order to implement more smoothly the new reform ideology, thus creating the duke’s long-desired reform monastery and a base from which the Melk (or Subiaco-Melk) Reform spread throughout Austria and southern Germany.\textsuperscript{42} As per Dinkelsbühl’s plan in the \textit{Reformationis methodus}, Seyringer brought with him six monks from Subiaco—Antonius of Catalonia, Nicholas of Respitz (who later became abbot of the Schottenstift in Vienna), Petrus of Rosenheim (who became prior of Melk), Petrus of Klosterneuburg, Matthias of Prussia, and Caspar of Garsten—who helped secure the Subiacan customs at Melk and several of whom acted as members of the visitation committees throughout Austria and Bavaria.\textsuperscript{43} The first visitation period (1418–19) for the Benedictine and Augustinian houses in Austria was led by Seyringer, the Cistercian abbot Angelus of Rein, and Leonhard, prior of the Carthusian house

\textsuperscript{41} Madre, \textit{Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl}, 269.

\textsuperscript{42} Koller, \textit{Princeps in ecclesia}, 88–91. The Habsburg family, to which Albrecht belonged, were the \textit{Vögte} for Melk (see above, pp. 45–47 on the Dukes of Scheyern as the \textit{Vögte} of Freising and Scheyern), which, with the connection between Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and Seyringer, made Melk the perfect center for the new reform. The role of Duke Albrecht V in the reform movement is further illustrated in two of the Melk ceremonials (short customaries) that underscore his place in the foundation of the Melk Reform: Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Hs. 91, f. 1r and Hs. 1603, f. 3r: \textit{Incipit prologus in breviarium cerimoniarum regularis observancie...per venerabiles patres sacri monasterii Sublacensis et Specus reformatores monasterii Mellicensis ducatus Austrie introducte ad instanciam illustissimi principis dive memorie domini Alberti Romanorum Ungarie regis et Bohemie sed pro tunc Austrie Stirie etc. ducis}.

\textsuperscript{43} Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Hs. 391, ff. 172r–182v; Niederkorn-Bruck, \textit{Melker Reform}, 30–32.
at Gaming. Although this period of visitations did not include any monasteries in Bavaria, the process of reform was initiating concerted book production and library growth as it spread through Austria.

The Melk Reform and Its Introduction(s) at Scheyern

The second period of visitations extended from 1424 to 1430 and started in the diocese of Freising before moving on to the dioceses of Salzburg and Passau. Dukes Ernst and Wilhelm of Bavaria-Munich and Nicodemus della Scala, Bishop of Freising, invited the Melk visitation committee to reform the Bavarian cloisters. The committee included Johannes Grünwalder, the general vicar of the Freising bishop (and half-brother of Dukes Ernst and Wilhelm), Johannes of Indersdorf, a popular reform author, Petrus of Rosenheim, and Johannes of Ochsenhausen, abbot of the Schottenstif in Vienna. The committee visited fifteen Bavarian cloisters by 1427, including Tegernsee, Indersdorf, Weihenstephan, and Scheyern. They came to Tegernsee in the summer and winter of 1426 and to Scheyern in early 1427. The visitation documents for Scheyern are not extant, so we can only imagine the state in which they found the monastery and how the monks answered the Interrogatorium.

44 Koller, Princeps in ecclesia, 89 and Niederkorn-Bruck, Melker Reform, 26.


46 Indersdorf and Weihenstephan were members of the Kastl Reform but were now re-reformed with the other monasteries in the diocese.

At Scheyern, the committee replaced Abbot Ludwig II Walch (1421–1427) with Konrad VI Weickmann (1427–1436). As with Seyringer at Melk, the implementation of the reform at a monastery typically necessitated replacing the existing abbot with a new, reform-minded one. Almost every visitation in this early period and especially the initial introduction of the Melk Reform at a monastery denoted a change in abbots. Even though this act was not unusual, the Chronicle of Scheyern does not report favorably on Ludwig II, saying that he pawned monastic property and only increased Scheyern’s debt—actions that the reform was trying to rectify.48

There are no extant manuscripts securely attributable to the abbacy of Ludwig II, and while several texts likely date to the early fifteenth century, they are typically bound with texts written after mid-century, and the date of their actual acquisition by Scheyern is unknown. For example, Clm 17459 is a Sammelband containing two texts by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl perhaps written in 1453 by Stephan Sandizeller (De tribus partibus penitentiae, ff. 1r–52r and De oratione dominica, ff. 52r–94v), which have been bound with four texts on monastic behavior (ff. 96r–113v), and three groups of sermons (ff. 114r–134v), all from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The monastic texts were written as a single booklet, by a single scribe, while the sermons represent another booklet that is, however, incomplete.49 The sermon on the Last Supper (ff. 114r–117v) is by Conrad Entzigruber, an unknown author. The collection as a whole is related to the Melk Reform, yet the binding of the manuscripts together in 1453 or thereafter does not necessarily suggest the contemporary


49 On booklets and manuscript production, see below, p. 112.
acquisition of the monastic texts and sermons; it was not uncommon for texts to circulate in unbound quires or with paper or limp vellum covers prior to binding between wooden boards, and the various booklets of Clm 17459 likely had independent lives prior to their current binding.\textsuperscript{50} Additionally, there are a couple of late fourteenth-century manuscripts extant in the library—Clm 17411 and Clm 17468—not to mention a number of liturgical manuscript leaves used as pastedowns in later bindings,\textsuperscript{51} the acquisition dates of which are equally as obfuscated as Clm 17459. Clm 17411, \textit{Cardinalis expositio epistolarum}, was written in Italy in 1395, and notes on ff. 1r–3v and 4v by Maurus show that the manuscript was at Scheyern by his tenure in the scriptorium/library (ca. 1468–ca. 1491). More specifically related to the Melk Reform is Clm 17468, a copy of Heinrich Totting of Oyta’s \textit{Quaestiones super IV libros sententiarum} written in Vienna in 1389 by Andreas Pyrmtz. Duke Albrecht III brought Heinrich Totting from Paris to Vienna in 1384 to inaugurate the theology faculty at the university. There is no known connection between Scheyern and Pyrmtz, and so again the actual acquisition date of the manuscript cannot be ascertained; however, with the somewhat weak influence of the Melk Reform at Scheyern until 1436, but especially until 1449, the manuscripts may not have been acquired by the monastery until this later point.

Abbot Konrad VI was charged with fulfilling the Melk Reform at the monastery, but he does not seem to have followed through on this task. The implementation of reform was not always a smooth transition, and Scheyern is often set forth as an example of an unsuccessful

\textsuperscript{50} Other Scheyern manuscripts were produced from booklets of previously independent texts, e.g., Cgm 784, Clm 17461, and 26134, as well as those excluded from this examination, Cgm 640, 791, and Clm 23871.

There are only a few extant documents regarding this transition, and those that do exist point to problems in the reform at Scheyern. An undated letter from the 1430s (ca. 1435?) from Abbot Martin of Leibitz of the Schottenstift in Vienna to Abbot Christian Eibensteiner of Melk states that he cannot provide Eibensteiner with any monks for the restrengthening of the reform at Scheyern. What must be a response to an earlier request, the letters suggests that the reform of Scheyern after the 1427 visitation was not successful and that new blood from the homeland of the reform was needed. The Melk letter is likely related to an order by the Council of Basel on 20 October 1435 for Abbot Kaspar Ayndorffer of Tegernsee, Prior Johannes Tulbeck of St. Veit in Freising, and the Freising canon Johannes Tagerschaym to revisit the reform at Scheyern. The problems at Scheyern had necessitated action by the council in its further efforts to reform the monasteries. Scheyern was in bad financial straits and nearly bankrupt when it had to take a loan from the Dukes of Bavaria-Munich in 1430. It is apparent that Abbot Konrad VI was not satisfactorily carrying out the reform at Scheyern, and the year after the Council of Basel’s order for Scheyern’s visitation, he was replaced with Johann I of Tegernbach (1436–1449).

After the previous two abbots were removed from office, Abbot Johann I surely had a mammoth task before him in effecting any kind of reform at Scheyern. He appears to have

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52 Bauerreis, Kirchengeschichte Bayerns, V, 56.


54 BHStA, Tegernsee Klosterurkunden 533 (20 Oct. 1435) and 547; Angerer, Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee, 40–41, with a transcription of the bulla.

55 Hanser, Scheyern eins und jetzt, 60 and Reichhold, Chronik von Scheyern, 192–93.

56 Reichhold, Chronik von Scheyern, 192.
been moderately successful, however, for he was responsible for the construction of two new sacristies, the chapter house, and the Fürstenkapelle, and he had the high altar repainted; he also painted an image of Christ in Judgement himself for an unknown location or purpose.\textsuperscript{57} The two sacristies were built at the southeast corner of the church, one on top of the other.\textsuperscript{58} The upper sacristy might have been intended as the library, since its elevated location provided the drier environment and more restricted access typical for such rooms.\textsuperscript{59} There was indeed some sort of book production at Scheyern in the early fifteenth century, as the ledger for 1436 records the purchases of skins “for bookbinding” and book clasps.\textsuperscript{60} There are only a few manuscripts datable to this period, and the lack of substantial library evidence clouds their actual acquisition dates.\textsuperscript{61} Only one manuscript might date to Abbot Konrad VI’s abbacy: Clm 17424, an undated ritual from the second-quarter of the fifteenth century (Fig. 5).\textsuperscript{62} Perhaps the only textual evidence of the early implementation of the Melk Reform, the litany shows textual affinities with that of SS. Ulrich and Afra in


\textsuperscript{58} On the sacristies, see BSB, Clm 1052, f. 7r and Reitberger, Chronicon Originis, 52 and 291.

\textsuperscript{59} The second-floor library is indicated in the ‘ideal’ plan of St. Gall from ca. 820, though probably never fully realized; St. Gallen, Codex Sangallennis 1092, see the online St. Gallen cloister plan (www.stgallplan.org) and Walter Horn and Ernest Born, The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture & Economy of, & Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 1:145–55, Infra sedes scribentium, supra bibliotheca [below the seats of writing, above the library]. There is also an entrance to the library above the crypt, as labeled on the map: Introitus in bibliothecam super criptam superius [upper entrance to the library from above the crypt]. The higher location of the library allowed for better ventilation and a less humid atmosphere that better suited the preservation of the books. Scheyern’s upper sacristy was remodeled in the seventeenth century, and it is now used as a chapel.

\textsuperscript{60} BHStA, KL Scheyern 79, f. 38r: Item vi. den. pro clausuris ad unum libellum and f. 45v: Item XXX. den. pro pelle ad libros ligandos.

\textsuperscript{61} See below, p. 113. There are several German manuscripts with later Scheyern provenance that date to this time, yet I have excluded them from my study due to their lack of contemporary provenance evidence, e.g. Cgm 791, written in western Bavaria and Fürstenfeld in 1438 and 1448, respectively, and Cgm 807, an unlocalized Bavarian manuscript written in the second-quarter of the century; see Catalogue, p. 386.

\textsuperscript{62} The date 1427 is written in pencil (modern?) on f. 1r; Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 9 dates the manuscript to ca. 1400.
Augsburg, and it is likely that this nearby monastery provided the exemplar for the manuscript.\footnote{von Hueber, “Spätmittelalterliche Zeugen benediktinischer Liturgie- und Choralpflege aus Scheyern,” 193–94.} The manuscript was well-used, as is evident from the staining and darkening of the parchment, as well as the considerable number of textual corrections and emendations throughout, and texts subsequently added to ff. 51v–53v and 81v. The corrections and additions suggest that it was used well into the fifteenth century and kept up-to-date with developments in liturgical practices.\footnote{The Melk Reformers frequently advocated for the correction of older liturgical manuscripts rather than the production of entirely new ones; see Angerer, \textit{Bräuche}, 33. New liturgical manuscripts were produced for Scheyern later in the century, see Clm 17407, 17408 17421, and 17423, while Clm 23337 was continually used and amended into the later fifteenth-century. Wittwer, \textit{Catalogus abbatum}, 213 refers to the new liturgical manuscripts produced at SS. Ulrich and Afra under Melchior of Stammheim \textit{iuxta chorum monasterii Mellicensis}, “according to Melk usage,” even though this was simply the Roman rite; Scheyern acquired one of these volumes, Clm 17406, in the eighteenth century.} If indeed produced under Konrad VI, this manuscript is the sole bibliographic descendant of his tenure at Scheyern and the only fully intact liturgical manuscript at the monastery from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Several manuscripts are datable to the later years of Johann I’s abbacy, which show the increasing effects of the Melk Reform on Scheyern. Clm 17470, ff. 1r–206v, is the completion of Narcissus Herz of Berching’s \textit{Quaestiones super tertium sententiarum} (Clm 17469 is the first part of the text), written in the later 1440s; it is bound with Johannes Schlitpacher’s excerpts from Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl’s lectures on the fourth book of the \textit{Sententiae} (ff. 210r–328v), which is dated by the rubricator to 1449 (f. 328v). While both texts are written by different scribes, they were rubricated by the same hand, suggesting an analogous production date for the undated \textit{Quaestiones}. In addition, Clm 17473, Johannes Schlitpacher’s \textit{Expositio super regulam St. Benedicti}, was written by the same scribe as Clm 17469, the first part of Herz’s \textit{Quaestiones}, which demonstrates further manuscript
acquisition around this time. These three volumes are not bound in blind-stamped Scheyern bindings, but they do have both Maurus’s ca. 1485 provenance inscription and the ca. 1490 numerical shelfmarks on their title labels; Clm 17469 is the only one with the earlier alphabetic numeric shelfmark (c19) extant.\(^{65}\)

The success of the Melk Reform at Scheyern under Johann I is hard to understand fully. His construction campaign suggests efforts at revivifying the monastery, and it is likely due to these additions that the chronicle refers to him adding to the monastery’s debts, but the financial records for this period are rather sporadic and offer little evidence on the construction.\(^{66}\) The construction of two sacristies might represent a reorganization of liturgical practices or the intended expansion of the library. All of the extant Scheyern manuscripts from the 1440s are of well-known Melk authors, both theology faculty from Vienna and popular monastic authors. Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* was a foundational text and commentaries on it were the bread and butter of Melk theologians. If the dates of scribal production of Clm 17469, 17470, and 17473 are equivalent to Scheyern’s acquisition of the manuscripts, these few examples illustrate minor but concerted growth in Scheyern’s library before ca. 1449. At this time, any growth in the library was focused on the acquisition of the most up-to-date reform texts, while the additions to Clm 17424, the early fifteenth-century ritual, represent the incremental liturgical adjustments that came with the reform. As reflected in the building programs and book production, Abbot Johann I was attempting reform implementation. No matter his degree of success, he laid the foundations for

\(^{65}\) On the shelfmarks, see below, pp. 272–77.

\(^{66}\) BHStA, KL Scheyern 79 are the financial records from 1436–1448. Bound in the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century, the ledgers are incomplete, lacking a number of years, while the entries themselves seem sporadic, and the rarely recorded expenditures are generally generically identified as “pro labore.”
Scheyern’s next abbot, Wilhelm Kienberger (1449–1467), who is credited with fully introducing the Melk Reform to Scheyern and returning the monastery to its former high standards.

Kienberger was an Augustinian canon at Indersdorf, a house reformed by Raudnitz in the 1410s and then Melk in 1426. Kienberger transferred to Tegernsee, likely following Kaspar Ayndorffer, the former Indersdorf canon who became abbot of Tegernsee during the first visitation of Bavaria in 1426. Kienberger’s arrival at Scheyern radically changed the fate of the monastery. It truly marks a watershed moment, after which the library greatly expanded and the financial records are more thoroughly preserved (although not extensively detailed), proving the financial and literary—and by extension, devotional—aspects of the Melk Reform at Scheyern. Due to his history at reformed monasteries, first at Indersdorf and then Tegernsee, Kienberger provided a strong hand to fully implement the Melk Reform at Scheyern. Kienberger’s rectitude was well-known, for a certain monk in need of serious correction of certain “vices” (his name has been carefully abraded from the document), was sent to Kienberger on 27 October 1449, shortly after Kienberger became abbot of Scheyern. His predilection for reform was so strong that in 1457 Johannes IV of Hohenstein, abbot of SS. Ulrich and Afra, perhaps fearing for his job, invited Abbots Ayndorffer and Kienberger to

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68 During periods of reform, it was not uncommon for monks to switch between monasteries and even orders. With the reform of Tegernsee, Kaspar Ayndorffer, Wilhelm Kienberger, Bernhard of Waging, and Oswald Nott all transferred from Indersdorf (Augustinians) to Tegernsee; see Redlich, *Tegernsee und die deutsche Geistesgeschichte*, 136.

69 BSB, Clm 17409, rear pastedown. Kienberger is identified as the abbot of Scheyern, but neither the monastery nor the abbot who is sending the monk to him are mentioned by name.
visit the monastery in advance of the Freising bishop’s visitation on 20 December.⁷⁰

Kienberger’s abbacy was the turning point for Scheyern and reinvigorated the monastery through the full implementation of the Melk Reform.

The Consuetudines Schyrenses and the Renovatio Bibliothecae

The initial expansion of Scheyern’s library after 1449 is without a doubt the result of Kienberger and the Melk Reform. Codified in the monastic customaries, the increasing number of manuscripts, first of Melk Reform authors and then of a more general expansion, reflects the ways the reform reinvigorated monastic literary culture. This renewed bibliographic interest likely helped to prepare the monastery for the later introduction of printing, an invention that revolutionized the scope and content of libraries. The reinvigoration of Scheyern’s library not only coincides with Kienberger’s abbacy but also the final round of Bavarian visitations organized by Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa after the Council of Basel (1431–1449). This Council faced similar problems as the one at Constance: reform, heresy, and church unity. The reform of the monasteries was still an issue that required the continuing support of the church hierarchy.⁷¹ Emperor Sigismund named Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria-Munich the protector for the council; he was thus responsible for the protection of the city and delegates during the council.⁷² This incursion of Bavarian authority, and the

⁷⁰ Clm 19697, f. 101r; A. Wessinger, “Kaspar Ayndorffer, Abt in Tegernsee 1426–1461,” Oberbayerisches Archiv des Historischen Vereins von Oberbayern 42 (1885): 209 and Angerer, Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee, 56. Based on documentary evidence, the abbot of SS. Ulrich and Afra seemed anxious at the impending visitation, repeatedly asking Ayndorffer to visit the monastery; see Zeller, “Beiträge,” 169–76 and Niederkorn-Bruck, Melker Reform, 210. There is no documentary evidence from Tegernsee, Scheyern, or SS. Ulrich and Afra of an actual visitation, and Johann IV was indeed replaced in 1458 with Melchior of Stammheim.


⁷² Bauerreiss, Kirchengeschichte Bayerns, V: 30.
associated Bavarian churchmen that came with it, helped to further entrench at Basel the
reform ideals promulgated through Austria and Bavaria after Constance. The men active in
the first rounds of Melk visitations in Austria and Bavaria, such as Petrus of Rosenheim and
Johann of Ochsenhausen, were prominent delegates at Basel as well. Additionally, the papal
legate for the German nations was Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), one of the most
prominent reform theologians in the curia, who rose to prominence at the council through his
work bridging the East-West Schism. After Basel, Cusa continued the drive for reform at the
Salzburg provincial synod in 1451, which once again had monastic reform as its main goal.73
Following the plan of the Melk Reform, Cusa himself headed the visitations through Austria
and Bavaria in 1451–52.74

In 1452, the visitation committee travelled through Bavaria, especially the diocese of
Freising, where they visited Tegernsee, Weihenstephan, and Scheyern, among several other
cloisters.75 This was the final circuit of Melk visitations, and it is from this visitation process
that many new monastic customary manuscripts originated. Customaries (consuetudines)
represent the interpretation of the monastic rule for the order or monastery in question, as
well as outline and explain individual liturgical practices and the responsibilities of monastic

73 On Cusa’s plan for reform and visitation, see Nicholas of Cusa, “A General Reform of the Church,” in
Writings on Church and Reform, edited and translated by Thomas M. Izbicki, I Tatti Renaissance Library 33

74 Ignaz Zibermayr, Die Legation des Kardinals Nikolas Cusanus und die Ordensreform in der Kirchenprovinz
Salzburg, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 29 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1914), 44–54 and Donal
Sullivan, “Nicholas of Cusa as Reformer: The Papal Legation to the Germanies, 1451–1452,” Mediaeval
Studies 36 (1974): 382–428. The other members of the visitation committee included Abbot Martin of Leibitz
from the Schottenstift in Vienna, Abbot Laurence from Kleinmariazell, and Melk Prior Stephan of Spanberg
(who was replaced by Johann Schlitpacher on 20 March 1451 when Stephan was chosen abbot of Melk).

75 Bauerreiss, Kirchengeschichte Bayerns, V: 59–60 and Zibermayr, Legation Cusanus, 52–53.
officials. More so than the Rule of St. Benedict, the customary structured the daily life of the monks and personalized the Rule for each monastery.

The Tegernsee customary was derived from that of Melk, which in turn was based on the customary of Subiaco. Subiaco was reformed in the fourteenth century through a series of papal visits and directives, which helped to establish the structure and points of the customary text. The monks at Subiaco also followed the *Benedictina* of 1336 more closely than any other monastic community. The *Caeremoniae Sublacenses* was written after the implementation of uniform liturgies at Sacro Specu and S. Scholastica in 1370 and by the papal visitation in 1377. As one of the founding monasteries of Benedictine monasticism, its reform practices brought even more notability, which is what led Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and Duke Albrecht V of Austria to want to import the Subiacan observance to the Austrian monasteries and what led Nicholas Seyringer to Subiaco itself.

After the Benedictine reform was established at Petershausen, Seyringer became abbot of Melk, and the Subiacan customary formed the basis for the reforms instituted there. The daily life of the monastery was altered to fit a more regular observance, with changes in the liturgical practices and the behavior and lifestyle of the monks. The reform spread through

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77 Angerer, *Caeremoniae regularis observantiae*, CXL–CXLI and CXLI–CLIX for the separate aspects of reform between the two monasteries at Subiaco.

78 Koller, *Princeps in ecclesiae*, 81–89.

79 Angerer, *Caeremoniae regularis observantiae*, CCLXI–CCLXVIII and Angerer, *Breviarium caeremonium monasterii Mellicensis*, IX–X. The *Consuetudines Mellicensis* itself was not officially written until ca. 1460, likely in relation to the contemporary attempt to unify the three Benedictine reforms, Kastl, Melk, and Bursfeld. See Angerer, *Breviarium Caeremoniarum Monasterii Mellicensis*, XI. Although urged on by Pope Eugene IV and Bishop Johann Eych of Eichstätt, the unification attempt was unsuccessful; see Raphael Molitor, “Der Unionsversuch Melk-Kastl-Bursfeld,” *Benediktinische Rechtsgeschichte* 2 (1932): 1–18, Angerer, *Caeremoniae Regularis Observantiae*, CLXXXV–CXC.
written sources, which not only includes the customary manuscripts themselves, but also letters exchanged between abbots and visitation committee members and the production of new manuscripts of authors and texts that underscored reform principles.\textsuperscript{80} Importantly, the written aspects of reform also include liturgical manuscripts, which had to be corrected or produced anew to agree with the Roman liturgy promulgated by the reform.\textsuperscript{81} The production of manuscripts was the only way to securely establish reform principles and practices at monasteries once the visitation committee left or reform abbots were faced with monks wanting to return to the old ways. The necessity for books and their use in the reform is reflected in the customaries. As established at Subiaco, after the daily chapter meeting the monks were to perform some sort of manual labor, and the customary suggests that they are “to clean vegetables, to weed the garden, to plant something, to sweep the house, to bind, to write, and to correct books.”\textsuperscript{82} Based upon chapter 48 in the Rule of St. Benedict, the Subiaco customary is more detailed on the specific tasks for the monks lest they “dissolve into chatter.” The production and correction of books holds a place equal to gardening and cleaning in daily monastic life, which not only reflects the increasing presence of books since the time of St. Benedict, but also their basic necessity to contemporary monastic life. This


\textsuperscript{81} Angerer, Caeremoniae regularis observantiae, CLXXIV and Niederkorn-Bruck, Melker Reform, 125–49, esp. 133–36. It is this aspect that is reflected in the production and emendations of the Scheyern ritual, Clm 17424.

\textsuperscript{82} Angerer, Caeremoniae regularis observantiae, 90, ll. 8–10: Communes autem labores et exercitia fratrum sunt: Purgare legumina vel in hortis evellere herbas malas, plantare aliquid, scopare domum, ligare, scribere, corrigere libros.
was not the time, however, to read, but rather to produce physical (food) and spiritual
(books) sustenance. The Melk customary adopted and expanded this prescription:

> Nevertheless, among the exercises are these works: to write books, to bind or correct
> books, to clean vegetables, to sweep the monastery or church, cloister or dormitory
> or wherever you might be ordered, to do something in the garden, either to dig the
> earth or carry wood or other necessities and similar chores of this kind.\(^{83}\)

Not only are the monastic chores more thoroughly explicated, but the production of
books has taken a primary place not found in the Subiaco customary. This shows the relative
importance book production held under the Melk Reform, but also, simply, the increasing
presence of books in society in just the fifty years between the codification of the Subiaco
customs and its introduction at Melk. The Melk Reform spread through written media, and,
likely under the influence of the University of Vienna, the renewed emphasis on book
production in concert with the visitation committees was the most effective tool for
promulgating and securing the reform at new monasteries.\(^{84}\) Simply put, the primary
importance of books to the Melk Reform is directly reflected in the increase in manuscript
production and the growth of libraries after ca. 1420 as more and more monasteries came
under reform influence.

The visitation of Nicholas of Cusa in 1451 spawned the production of the
CONSUETUDINES TEGERNSEENSES, the specific version of the Melk customs implemented at/for

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\(^{83}\) Angerer, Breviarium caeremoniarum monasterii Mellicensis, 72–73, II. 21 and 1–3: Inter exercitia autem sunt
haec opera: Scribere libros, ligare vel corrigere libros, purgare legumina, scopare monasterium vel ecclesiam,
claustrum vel dormitorium aut ubicumque iussum fuerit, in hortulis aliquid agere, terram, ligna aut alia
necessaria fodere aut ferre et similia talia.

\(^{84}\) On the role of reading in the Melk Reform, see Niederkorn-Bruck, Melker Reform, 161–62.
Tegernsee. In the wake of the Cusa visitations in the diocese of Freising, new customaries were produced for the abbeys of Andechs, Benedictbeuern, Oberaltaich, Mallersdorf, and Scheyern, all of which were based on the *Consuetudines Tegernseenses* rather than directly on those of Melk or Subiaco. As with Kienberger at Scheyern, the reforming abbots of these monasteries were predominantly drawn from Tegernsee, and when Andechs was refounded as a Benedictine monastery in 1455, the new community was made up largely of monks from Tegernsee. Tegernsee became for Bavaria what Melk was for Austria—the epicenter of monastic reform—to the point that some scholars have questioned whether there was a specific Tegernsee Reform distinct from that of Melk. However, the points of reform followed and promulgated by Tegernsee closely reflect those of Subiaco-Melk, so that the derivation of individual customaries perhaps matters less (and is related more to local exemplar-copy relationships) than the spirit of their contents. In terms of both reform spirituality and book culture, Tegernsee was the most prominent Benedictine house in Bavaria.

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85 Angerer, *Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee*, 33 dates the text to the visitations of 1426/27 while in his *Caeremoniae Regularis Observantiae*, CLXXVII he suggests they are the result of the 1452 visitation. For the text of the *Consuetudines*, see Angerer, *Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee*, 103–271. There is an early fifteenth-century version of a Tegernsee customary, the so-called *Antiquae caeremoniae*, that is an independent version of the Subiacan customary and is extant in only two manuscripts: Clm 1008 (from Tegernsee) and Clm 1132 (from Weihenstephan), see Angerer, *Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee*, 295–323.

86 Angerer, *Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee*, 76 and idem, *Caeremoniae Regularis Observantiae*, CLXXVII. A codicological and bibliographical comparison of these manuscripts would shed considerable light on how the *consuetudines* manuscripts were produced and shared between monasteries and the role of the visitation committee in promulgating the text, but this examination remains outside the parameters of this dissertation.

87 On Andechs, see Hemmerle, *Benediktinerklöster in Bayern*, 32–33.

88 Angerer, *Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee*, 57 and 65–68.
Scheyern, Ms. 37, the *Consuetudines Schyrenses*, was written in 1452 and includes the customary itself on ff. 1r–49v (based upon the *Consuetudines Tegernseenses*, BSB, Clm 1005, ff. 97v–125v), the visitation charter (*obiecti*) on ff. 50v–53v, and a series of later documents relating to Scheyern’s properties on ff. 54r–61v. The script is not the clear bookhand of a well-practiced scribe and bears certain affinities to that of Stephan Sandizeller, the Scheyern prior and librarian at the start of Kienberger’s abbacy, but the Scheyern manuscript largely retains the abbreviations and layout of the Tegernsee original. The *Consuetudines Tegernseenses* in Clm 1005, the earliest extant copy of the customary, were produced in conjunction with Cusa’s 1452 visit, and both of the *consuetudines* of Scheyern and Andechs derive directly from this manuscript.

The differences between the Tegernsee original and the Scheyern version are minor and only represent slight differences in local custom and practice. The text starts off recognizing the original introduction of the reform in 1427 and its current fulfillment in 1452

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89 At the Dissolution in 1803, the manuscript was retained by the Scheyern monk P. Maurus Harter, who became the librarian at the University Library in Munich; he returned the manuscript to Scheyern in 1838 when the monastery was reopened. Stephan Kainz, O.S.B., “Die Consuetudines Schyrenses,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 24 (1903): 161–175, 430–446, 696–705; 25 (1904): 231–244, 611–619, 787–797; 26 (1905): 85–94, 288–294, 595–626 and Angerer, *Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee*, 81. Another *Consuetudines Schyrenses* manuscript (Clm 14944) was in the library of St. Emmeram at Regensburg but very little is known about its history; see Hermann Köstler, *Die Benediktregel in Bayern: Ausstellung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, 29. November 1980–10. Januar 1981* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980), Nr. 77. Scheyern and St. Emmeram were connected through a *Gebetsverbrüderung* in 1467 (see Reichhold, *Chronik von Scheyern*, 198), which likely elicited an exchange of books, perhaps including Clm 14944; however, it was possibly bound by the Franciscans of St. Salvator at Regensburg in the fifteenth or early-sixteenth century. There are also two incunabula with Scheyern bindings in the library of St. Emmeram in the fifteenth century, see below, p. 309 and Catalogue, p. 435–36.

90 Angerer, *Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee*, 81 suggests that the manuscript was written at Scheyern because the hand does not match any from Tegernsee.

91 Angerer, *Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee*, 76–81. The other *Consuetudines Tegernseenses* manuscripts are: Clm 18552b, 19639, 19741; London, BL, Add. 30241 (from Tegernsee); Clm 4770 (from Benedictbeuern); and Metten, Stiftsbibliothek, Bened. III/57 (from Andechs).

92 Similar differences are apparent in the Andechs and Benedictbeuern manuscripts, see Angerer, *Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee*, 84–84.
through Nicholas of Cusa’s visitation.93 Several single chapters in the Consuetudines Tegernseenses are divided up at Scheyern. For example, Scheyern highlights the major feasts for the Adoration of the Cross (f. 23r) and Death of the Virgin (f. 23v), where the Tegernsee manuscript does not differentiate these, which are included under the single rubric, “On six great feast days.”94 The fact that these feasts were picked out at Scheyern is not surprising considering the monastery’s dedication to the Virgin and the Holy Cross and their celebrated True Cross relic.

While at times the copyist shows such great attention to the local needs, he also seems carelessly to copy information specific to the Tegernsee manuscript. In the Forma subscriptionis in registris, the text with which the monastic officials agree to the reforms, the Tegernsee manuscript includes the names of the abbot and officials, whereas the Scheyern version simply has an “N.” for the name of whichever official is taking the oath. The Scheyern copyist changed the naming convention (although it would have been very helpful had he included the names of the current monastic officials) and yet he directly copied the date and location of when the Tegernsee monks approved the new customary in the Forma subscriptionis and Tenor litterae, “Presented in the chapter house of the above monastery (i.e. Tegernsee) on the Sunday after the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin (2 Feb.) in the year [14]52.”95 The Tegernsee and Scheyern reform customaries clearly were not both accepted on the same day, since the Cusa committee did not reach Scheyern until March. The

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93 Scheyern, Ms. 37, f. 1r, see Kainz, “Consuetudines Schyrenses, I,” 163–64. For Tegernsee, see Angerer, Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee, 103–4; some of the more detailed information on Cusa and the visitation is not copied to the Scheyern text.


Scheyern copyist generally shows the awareness of his exemplar not to copy the names from the Tegernsee documents; his reproduction of the Tegernsee dates, information that he knew did not apply to Scheyern, is perhaps an effort to tie Scheyern more deeply to Tegernsee. Whether out of competition or reverence, the ‘documentary evidence’ shows that the reform is as old at Scheyern as it is at Tegernsee, equating the two monasteries in their reform primacy.

The Consuetudines Schyrenses are not solely a direct copy of those at Tegernsee and have several important distinctions. The Scheyern customary includes a series of texts on liturgical practices not found in the Tegernsee manuscripts but rather in the Melk customary, a copy of which likely came to Scheyern in an independent manuscript with the visitation committee or through Tegernsee itself. These texts specifically address the actions of the priest in celebrating the mass and the recitation of certain texts during the office, and the purposeful inclusion of these texts in the Consuetudines Schyrenses suggests a needed area of further reform and instruction for the monastery.

An important aspect of the Consuetudines Schyrenses also not paralleled in the Tegernsee manuscript are the German chapters on the lay brothers (conversi) on ff. 31v–34v. The chapters concern their behavior in the monastery, at work, mealtimes, and prayer, as well as their provisions. The presence of these texts in the manuscript shows that there was a community of lay brothers at Scheyern significant enough to warrant inclusion in the

96 Redlich, Tegernsee und die deutsche Geistesgeschichte, 115–16 and Angerer, Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee, 84 and 283–91. The 1595 Scheyern catalogue, Cbm Cat. 3, f. 139v lists a Melk customary, “Caerimoniae Monasterij Mellicensis,” but this copy is no longer extant or unidentified as of Scheyern provenance.

consuetudines."\textsuperscript{98} Tegernsee, which had a large community of lay brothers, had a comparatively large amount of German literature in its library (ca. 100 volumes) and a number of devotional aides aimed at a vernacular audience.\textsuperscript{99} The Tegernsee customary includes the statement of profession for the lay brothers, which is in German, but the Scheyern customary does not include this text.\textsuperscript{100} Scheyern, with only a meager amount of German language texts in its library, does not seem to have had a similar supply of books for their lay brothers, yet their translation of part of the consuetudines into German suggests the need to clarify instruction for the lay brothers as part of the reform process.\textsuperscript{101} In the Scheyern customary at least, if not the library, the lay brothers were taken into consideration at Scheyern. The Consuetudines Schyrenses are the literal codification of the Melk Reform at Scheyern, detailing the liturgical practices, offices and responsibilities, and monastic behavior for the monks and lay brothers in an effort to return the monastery to a purer form of Benedictine monasticism.\textsuperscript{102}

The texts are useful sources on what they can tell us regarding the book culture at the monastery. In addition to those chapters containing references to the lectio divina as established in Benedict’s Rule, the consuetudines and visitation charter contain references to private reading and book production that reflect the practices at Scheyern. The

\textsuperscript{98} The German texts in the Consuetines Schyrenses are basically a sectioned translation of the Latin section “De fratribus conversis;” see Kainz, “Consuetudines Schyrenses, II,” 794–97.


\textsuperscript{100} Angerer, Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee, 246–47.

\textsuperscript{101} The 1588 library catalogue only lists 16 German titles (see AEM, B 8º 704, pp. 71–72), while only one German manuscript, Cgm 784, which does not appear to be in the 1588 list, is attributable to Scheyern’s fifteenth-century library.

\textsuperscript{102} Kainz, “Consuetudines Schyrenses, I,” 163 wrongly assumes an influence from the twelfth-century Hirsau customs, even in the 1452 manuscript, for which there is no substantial evidence.
Consuetudines Tegernseenses, and by extension Schyrenses, did not retain the suggestions on manual labor found in the Subiaco and Melk customaries;\(^{103}\) however, they did add one important chapter related to the role of books in their monasteries: the position of the corrector of the refectory reader.\(^{104}\) This man became, for all intents and purposes, the librarian.\(^{105}\)

Concerning the corrector of the table reader and his office: A suitable brother is to be had as the corrector and emendator of the reader, who holds a place near [the reader] and may emend him when he errs, who may be exempt from serving the table, if a majority of people allow it; without the sign of [the corrector] or of the one presiding, none of the ones reading may presume to repeat the same sentence nor may anyone else besides [the corrector] or the one presiding dare to emend or correct the reader with a sign of any kind or by whispering. At the sign of this corrector the reader at the head of the table ought to pause once or often on account of noise even further down the table. It may be read at the table from the Bible, from sermons and homilies of the holy fathers, from the *Moralia* of Pope Gregory and other tracts and writings of the doctors according to the arrangement of the one presiding and according to the nature of the feasts and the seasons. Moreover, it falls specifically on the corrector to correct books and the brothers may return to him for part of the readings. Additionally, he ought to have care of each library and the keys to them nor should he presume to lend books to anyone from outside without the prior knowing. Finally, the books of the monastery may never be relinquished to

\(^{103}\) Kainz, “Consuetudines Schyrenses, I,” 704, “On manual labor” does not list the manuscript production, gardening, or cleaning suggested in the Subiaco and Melk customs.


\(^{105}\) Both customaries further explain that the “frater bibliotecarius” is described under the chapter on the corrector of the refectory reader, see Angerer, *Die Bräuche der Abtei Tegernsee*, 236 and Kainz, “Consuetudines Schyrenses, II,” 790.
anyone, unless equivalent or better ones, or at least a suitable pledge, are left in their place.106

Nowhere in the Subiaco ceremonial is such an official described or even suggested; however, once codified at Melk, the ceremonial suggests that the sacristan or “another suitable brother” care for the books, protect them from vermin, and make sure they are not taken out of the monastery.107 At Melk, this text is included in the chapter on the conservation of the host and reliquaries, which strongly suggests the importance in which the books were held in the monastery. This minor text at Melk was expanded and prioritized by the Consuetudines Tegernseenses, becoming its own section that then was transferred to Scheyern. The chapter not only explains the “corrector’s” duties in assisting the refectory reader, but also the appropriate texts for refectory reading (the Bible, sermons and homilies, the Moralia in Job by Pope Gregory I, etc.). Additionally, the refectory corrector was also responsible for correcting the books produced in the scriptorium and for keeping the libraries under lock and key. The phrase “each library” denotes multiple book collections, which clearly refer to the liturgical books kept in the sacristy, as well as books likely kept in the cloister, infirmary, refectory, and, specifically for Scheyern, possibly the upper sacristy built

106 Scheyern, Ms. 37, f. 15v and Kainz, “Consuetudines Schyrenses, I,” 702: De emendatore lectoris mensae et eius officio: Corrector vel emendator lectoris frater idoneus habeatur, qui locum prope eum teneat et errantem emendet, qui a servitio mensae, si pluralitas personarum admittat, habeatur exemptus; absque cuius aut praesidentis signo nullus legentium eandem sententiam repetere praesumat neque praeter illum aut praesidentem aliquid alias lectorum signo qualunque aut musitatione corrigere audiet vel emendare. Ad cuius correctoris signum lector in initio mensae propter strepitum et infra mensam semel aut pluries pausare debet. Legatur ad mensam de biblia, de sermonibus sanctorum patrum et omelii, de moralibus Gregorii Papae et aliis doctorum tractatibus et scriptis iuxta praesidentis dispositionem et secundum temporum et festorum qualitatem. Praeterea correctori specialiter incumbit libros corrigere et ad ipsum fratres ex parte lectionum possunt habere recursum. Bibliothecae insuper singularum curam debet habere et claves ad eandem nec extraneo cuium libris absque scitu prioris accommodare praesumat. Nemini denique unquam libri monasterii concedatur, nisi aequivalentes aut meliores vel certe vadum competens in loco ipsorum reponantur. I would like to thank Susannah Brower for her help with this translation.

107 Angerer, Caeremoniae Melicense, 139, ll. 7–10.
by Abbot Johann I.\textsuperscript{108} Stephan Sandizeller and the Scheyern scribe Maurus of Eichstätt each held the position of librarian at Scheyern, as their roles in producing and correcting manuscripts suggest.\textsuperscript{109} In the customary, the sacristan is given the responsibility of taking care of the liturgical books and implements, and there was likely some overlap between this role and that of the corrector-librarian.\textsuperscript{110}

Scheyern Ms. 37 also contains the visitation charter (ff. 50r–53v)—the \textit{obiecti}—the visitation committee’s summary results of the \textit{Interrogatorium}. The text states that the committee is under the leadership of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and includes Abbots Martin of Ochsenhausen from the Viennese Schottenstift and Laurence from Kleinmariazell, and the Melk monk, Johannes Schlitpacher.\textsuperscript{111} More so than the \textit{consuetudines}, the charter specifically lists those aspects of monastic practice at Scheyern that need to be rectified. It states:

\begin{quote}
We are making known the present course, which, according to our commission, to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Scheyern, of the previously named order, in the diocese of Freising, has to be visited. Having come in friendship and performing the work of inspection there for temporal and spiritual matters, we diligently sought out the state of the same monastery through the professed monks of this monastery, and we found this monastery in spiritual matters to have suitably acquired strength in regular observance by the work of the current abbot (i.e. Kienberger), but in temporal matters burdened, on account of being weighed down by the contracts of his predecessors. But because to our commission it pertains to foresee and diligently conduct so that the monasteries that must be visited by us much more may be guided into a better condition in spiritual matters as well as temporal matters, and to maintain such a state in the future: Therefore, besides our many principles by word, we leave behind the necessary and very useful instructions
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{108} Gressierer, \textit{Geschichte zur Klosterbibliothek Scheyern}, 74.

\textsuperscript{109} On their respective productions, see below, pp. 117–31.

\textsuperscript{110} Kainz, “\textit{Consuetudines Schyrenses, II},” 618: \textit{De sacristano...Libros chorales et omnia paramenta et ornamenta ecclesiae munde custodiat, quorum etiam semper habeat registrum}.

\textsuperscript{111} See above, p. 73, n. 74.
and regulations written below, collected by us by observing the monks of this monastery.\footnote{Kainz, “Consuetudines Schyrenses, III,” 618–19: \textit{Tenore praesentium notum facimus, quod ad monasterium beatissimae Virginis Marieae in Scheyrn praecepti ordinis Frisingensis dioecesis secundum commissionem nobis factam visitandi gratia venientes ac visitationis opus illic exercentes temporalium ac spiritualium eiusdem monasterii statum a personis ipsius monasterii professis diligenter perquisivimus et invenimus ipsum monasterium in spiritualibus perquisivimus et invenimus ipsum monasterium in spiritualibus per moderni domini abbatis operam in observantia regulari competenter viguisse, sed in temporalibus ob debita per eius praedecessores contracta gravatum fuisse. Sed quia ad nostram commissionem principaliter pertinet providere et diligenter agere, ut monasteria per nos visitanda nedum ad bonam statum tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus perducantur, sed etiam in futura tempora in tali statu conserventur: Idcirco praeter multas nostras verbo doctrinae instructiones subscriptas ordinationes ad hoc necessarias et perutiles a nobis collectas professis huius monasterii ab eis observandas relinquimus. I would like to thank Michael Barbezat for his help with this translation.} 

The charter goes on to explain in slightly more detail than the \textit{Consuetudines} the specifics regarding the \textit{Opus Dei}, including following the Roman liturgy used at Sacro Specu and the correcting of the liturgical manuscripts in accordance with the Roman rite, the appropriate hours for waking and going to bed, appropriate foods, behavior in individual cells, and the one-year terms of the prior, cellarer, and other officials; the charter also includes brief mentions of the monastery’s relationship to the parish church of St. Martin, just outside the walls of the abbey, and Scheyern’s dependencies, Niederscheyern and Fischbachau. The charter is to be read once each year, \textit{non esset onerosum}, “so as not to be onerous,” but in order to review annually the principles of Scheyern’s reformation.\footnote{Kainz, “Consuetudines Schyrenses, III,” 626.} It was signed by the committee on 20 March 1452 under the authority of Johann Grünwalder, who had taken part in the 1426 Bavarian visitations, now Bishop of Freising. The comment in the \textit{obiecti} that Kienberger was “weighed down” by the contracts of previous abbots is important, for it shows the precarious financial straits of the monastery and the need for rectification by the committee. Although neither the \textit{Consuetudines Schyrenses} nor the account registers detail specific financial reforms, the fact that the abbey before 1458 paid a
large sum of money to Hainrich Molitor to produce manuscripts for them shows how well their financial situation had turned around by that point.114

Before turning to the books themselves, there are two further pieces of evidence offered by the Consuetudines Schyrenses on the role books played at the monastery. Both the charter and the Consuetudines themselves state that the vestiarius, the brother in charge of the wardrobe, is also responsible for supplying the monks with pens, paper, and ink, and for making sure that none of the brothers are wasting their supplies.115 Scheyern’s financial account books annually record these purchases under the heading, “Exposita pro papiro, cutellis, et aliis necessariis,” for paper, knives, and other necessities, which sometimes also include books, parchment, and ink.116 This duty of the vestiarius is the closest mention to any type of “scriptorium” in the documents, and it could well be that Scheyern’s scriptorium—and perhaps most monastic scriptoria by the fifteenth century—was not a centralized body or room, but rather the result of monks producing books in diverse places around the monastery or temporary gatherings in the chapter house or refectory with individual supplies provided by the brother in charge of the wardrobe.117 Scheyern’s manuscripts reveal scribal production that includes monographic manuscripts produced by a single hand as well as those produced by multiple hands in either individual booklets or scribal units within booklets. In defining a “scriptorium” or discussing book production, these different kinds of scribal productions

114 On the Molitor contract, see below, pp. 172–73.
116 BHStA, KL Scheyern 79–83 and 133.
117 The pervading view of monastic scriptoria in Germany is still the single ‘scriptorium’ room attached to the monastic school or library, see Buzás, Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte des Mittelalters, 140–41. In the fifteenth century at Scheyern, there is no evidence for a monastic school and the multiple “libraries” at the monastery problematize such a centralized view of the scriptorium.
must be recognized and thoroughly considered. Additionally, the monks were allowed to read alone in their cells before and after meal times. While titles are not suggested for this individual reading, the fact that such a daily reading period was codified in the customary proves the importance of literacy and individual reading to the Melk Reform. Books and related implements were thus commonplace accessories to an individual’s cell. Sadly, the customary is silent on any prescription for book production at the monastery, but we need only look at the books themselves to start to understand the effects of the reform at Scheyern.

**Wilhelm Kienberger and the Expansion of Scheyern’s Library**

After Seyringer introduced the reform to Melk Abbey in 1418, the manuscript collection doubled, so that around 800 of Melk’s approximate 2,000 medieval manuscripts come from the fifteenth century. Similarly, Tegernsee’s library started growing after 1426 when it joined the Melk Reform and Kaspar Ayndorffer took the reins of the foundering monastery. The implementation of the Melk Reform under a strong abbot brought with it a *renovatio bibliothecae*, a renewal of the library, which has provided the most numerous artifacts (short of coins) from the medieval period: more fifteenth-century manuscripts exist in libraries today than manuscripts from all of the previous centuries combined. Any growth

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118 See also below, pp. 109–11.

119 Kainz, “Consuetudines Schyrenses, I,” 704: *De lectione regulari*. It expressly forbids reading in groups, *in ambitu*, but allows reading in the refectory or chapter house (*stuba communi*) during the cold months. The times for reading change depending upon the liturgical and temporal season; see Niederkorn-Bruck, *Melker Reform*, 165.

120 Niederkorn-Bruck, *Melker Reform*, 164.


in Scheyern’s library between 1427 and 1449 was likely only minor, reflecting the unsuccessful implementation of the reform; only a few manuscripts were written in this period, and their actual acquisition by Scheyern is difficult to pin down with any certainty. Nor can anything certain be said of the contemporary extent of Scheyern’s thirteenth-century library, save the six manuscripts and several fragments that are still extant today; the library currently also retains only two manuscripts from the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{123} The book needs of the fifteenth century demanded revolutionary increases in manuscript production to spread reform ideals and monastic uniformity. Since Scheyern did not start acquiring incunabula until around 1470, the earliest and strongest reflections of the Melk Reform are found in the manuscripts attributed to the third-quarter of the century.

When Kienberger assumed office in 1449, it is hard to say exactly what state the library was in. The bibliographical evidence for Scheyern’s library up to this point is minimal, but when taking into account the manuscripts from Kienberger’s tenure alone (until 1467), there are five times as many dated manuscripts from the period as there are from the first half of the century. Many of these manuscripts are the work of the Augsburg scribe and illuminator Hainrich Molitor, who produced a copy of Ludolph of Saxony’s \textit{Vita Christi} for Tegernsee (Clm 18075–76), partially while Kienberger was still a monk there; Kienberger then employed Molitor to produce the same text again, as well as several others, for Scheyern.\textsuperscript{124} Many of the other manuscripts securely attributed to Kienberger’s time at the monastery are of popular Melk Reform and University of Vienna authors, such as Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl,

\textsuperscript{123} The 1588 library catalogue rarely provides bibliographical descriptions of the volumes and is an unreliable source for identifying the earlier works still extant in the library at this time.

\textsuperscript{124} See below, pp. 167ff.
Johannes Keck, and Johannes Schlipfacher; major Melk authors, such as Petrus of Rosenheim and Martin of Senging, however, are glaringly absent in the library. Molitor’s manuscripts and the texts of these reform authors are as important and relevant to the implementation of the Melk Reform at Scheyern as the *Consuetudines Schyrenses* themselves. I think it is safe to assume that the manuscripts produced at Scheyern directly after 1450 were those that were the most imperative to contemporary monastic life and the successful introduction of the Melk Reform.

Molitor’s immediate employment at the monastery shows Kienberger’s conscious intent to re-elevate the library and bring Scheyern “up-to-date,” as it were, with contemporary libraries, such as his former homes of Tegernsee and possibly Indersdorf. The financial records during Kienberger’s abbacy do not provide much information on book production at the monastery, and yet the records are more complete and detailed than under previous abbots, likely reflecting the financial reforms that were part of the Melk Reform.¹²⁵ Perhaps the more responsible financial accounting of the monastery provided the means by which Kienberger employed Molitor. Molitor’s major productions for Scheyern—the *Vita Christi* (Clm 17413–14), *Catholicon* (Clm 17402), and *Speculum historiale* (Clm 17416–18)—are all large reference works that were extremely popular at the time, especially amongst reform monasteries.¹²⁶ The first manuscript, the *Vita Christi*, contains biblical and apocryphal stories from the life of Christ, which had a strong resonance with the more personal, pastoral

¹²⁵ BHStA, KL Scheyern 80 (1450–1466). See above on the visitation committee’s comments on the temporal state of the monastery.

intentions of fifteenth-century devotion. In volume I, a contemporary paper bifolium was inserted between folios 102 and 103 that lists readings from the Gospels and *Vita Christi* for certain Sundays and feast days.\(^{127}\) The text was not part of the celebration of the liturgy, but, matched up with feast days and Gospel readings, it served a para-liturgical function in the refectory or chapter house. The *Catholicon*, a dictionary, and *Speculum historiale*, an encyclopedia, provided a knowledge-base with which to educate the community and from which to draw sermon material. The large and highly illuminated *Catholicon* was probably of only moderate utility due to its size and nature as perhaps more of a show-piece, and aside from the heavy flaking of the illumination on the first folio, it shows little signs of use or wear; startlingly, there are no marginal corrections in the manuscript. Scheyern owned a printed copy of the *Catholicon* from 1486 (2 Inc.c.a. 1706)\(^{128}\) and early printed editions of the *Speculum naturale* (2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1))\(^{129}\) and *Speculum doctrinale* (2 Inc.s.a. 1214 e)\(^{130}\) from the 1470s; all of these books are in post-ca. 1474 Scheyern bindings with Maurus’s provenance inscription.\(^{131}\) The incunable *Catholicon* also has no marginal notes but this thinner, lighter, and unilluminated volume was likely more accessible and less cumbersome than the manuscript version; the nature of the text as a reference work rather than something

\(^{127}\) Clm 14714, ff. 102*-102**v. The temporal list starts with the first Sunday in Advent and the sanctoral with the vigil of St. Andrew.

\(^{128}\) Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 21 Aug. 1486; ISTC ib00028000.

\(^{129}\) [Strasbourg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 15 June 1476]; ISTC iv00292000.

\(^{130}\) [Strasbourg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), between 1477 and 11 Feb. 1478]; ISTC iv00278000. The 1588 Scheyern library catalogue also lists the *Speculum morale* along with the other three parts of Vincent of Beauvais’s *Speculum maius*, but there is no evidence whether this is an incunable or sixteenth-century edition, see AEM, B 8° 704, p. 37. It likely could have been the edition printed in Strasbourg by Johann Mentelin, 9 Nov. 1476 (ISTC iv00288000) and contemporary with the other Strasbourg editions, but I have yet to locate a copy with possible Scheyern provenance.

\(^{131}\) For a discussion of these Strasbourg imprints, see below, pp. 216–18.
that was “read” might explain its lack of marginal notes and correction. The fact that Scheyern’s early incunable purchases included the completion of Vincent of Beauvais’s encyclopedia, and these printed copies, illuminated in a like manner to the manuscripts of Molitor, show the relative importance of the text to the monastic community: not only was it required reading, but it was required, decorated reading. The printers of these early *Speculum* editions left spaces for hand-completed incipit initials at each section. Partly a decision of technology and partly of tradition, the necessity of hand decoration spoke not only to the traditional visuality of books but also to the market for which the book was intended: the church, who produced, used, and could afford such expensive tomes. For each, the size and decorative elaboration of the volume parallels its importance to the community. Additionally, these non-liturgical books were intended for the education and instruction of the monks, and yet they carry the “Salzburg-Augsburg” style of illumination mostly found in liturgical manuscripts.132 Predominantly reserved for Latin books (both liturgical and those for regular reading), the illumination of such volumes visually united the *lectio divina* and *lectio communis* as equal literary partners in the reformed abbey.133 The *Vita Christi*, *Catholicon*, and *Speculum maius* were some of the earliest productions of the printing press; aimed at the monastic markets, these commercial successes further substantiate the popularity and use of the texts among the reformed monasteries in southern Germany.


The *Consuetudines Schyrenses* suggest several texts for refectory reading: the Bible, homilies and sermons, the *Moralia in Job*, and “other tracts;” in this list, Scheyern’s library can attest to several sermon collections, including the homilies of Pope Gregory I (Clm 17412, ff. 1r–82v). Written and bound with his *Liber regulae pastoralis* (ff. 83r–121v), the manuscript was produced by the scribe Hainrich Zäch, perhaps by 1462. This volume of Gregory’s sermons with his ideas on episcopal pastoral care was basic to the medieval church and a foundational source for monastic edification. The size and clarity of the text suggests that the manuscript was not produced for private reading, but rather was something easily read in a group setting, such as in the refectory or chapter. Zäch also wrote Astesanus de Ast’s large two-volume *Summa de casibus conscientiae* in 1459 (Clm 17409–10). Astesanus (d. 1330) was a Franciscan canon lawyer and compiled this confessional work, *On cases of conscience*, around 1317. In each volume, the inside and outside folios of the 12-leaf quires are of parchment, while the inside folios are paper. This type of quire construction is not unusual in the fifteenth century, and parchment was used to reinforce the quire structure on a book intended for heavy use. In fact, both volumes are heavily annotated and corrected in a variety of hands, which we might well assume belong to the refectory correctors/librarians, and the text is divided throughout the margins by the letters A–F. Similar to the system developed by Hugh of St. Cher in the thirteenth century to divide chapters of scripture into smaller units, such alphabetical divisions were also used fifteenth-century manuscript sermon

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134 The manuscript is undated and unsigned, but the hand is definitely that of Zäch and in 1462 he was paid forty-four pounds for writing, see BHStA, KL Scheyern 80, f. 321v: *Hainricus Zach scripsit pro xliii libre ist zalt usque ad quinque quod (?) halz*, “Hainrich Zäch wrote, for which he is paid forty-four pounds, up to five of which are wood.” This might also be in relation to, or include, Ast’s *Summa* (Clm 17409–10) that he completed in 1459. On Zäch’s scribal production, see below, pp. 131–35.

135 The same codicological structure is found in Clm 17415, Petrus de Harentals, *Collectarius super librum psalmorum*, written in 1452 (possibly also by Zäch).
collections and summae for reading divisions, and they were adopted by many printers in the 1470s and 80s.\textsuperscript{136} These alphabetic divisions not only aid the reader in finding specific texts in the days before standardized page references, but also easily divided the text into short readings for use in the refectory.\textsuperscript{137}

Scheyern’s library was also augmented with works by the Melk Reform authors—works likely created and intended to be read during the lectio privata, the monks’ private reading time in their cells. Due both to their generally smaller format and script, the books were products for close reading, both in a literary and spatial sense. Foremost among these books were the works of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl. Scheyern owned approximately nine volumes containing texts by the Viennese professor: Clm 17456, ff. 1r–162v, Clm 17458, ff. 2r–59v, Clm 17459, ff. 4r–94v, Clm 17461, ff. 1r–112v, Clm 17462–63, Clm 17464, and Clm 17465–66. Most of the volumes in this group carry Scheyern shelfmarks that start with the letter \textit{d} in the bottom right-hand corner of the first folio or fly leaf, representing a concerted collection of Melk/Dinkelsbühl literature in the library (see App. C):

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{d17}: Clm 17462, \textit{Lecturae super Mattheum}, vol. I.
\item \textit{d18}: Clm 17463, \textit{Lecturae super Mattheum}, vol. II, dated 1452.
\item \textit{d19}: Clm 17465, \textit{Super quarto sententiarum}, vol. I.
\item \textit{d20}: Clm 17464, \textit{Quaestiones super Mattheum}, et al.
\item \textit{d21}: Clm 17456, Dinkelsbühl tracts, et al., partly dated 1463.
\item \textit{d22}: Clm 17461, Dinkelsbühl and Ebendorf sermons.
\item \textit{d24}: Clm 17458, Dinkelsbühl tracts, et al.
\end{itemize}


*d25: Clm 17459, Dinkelsbühl tracts, et al., partly dated 1453.*

The books were so shelved until ca. 1490 when the collection was reorganized by numbered shelfmarks on the title label on the top board.\(^{138}\) While the shelfmarks on the title labels do not locate each volume in the same shelf or case, the 1588 catalogue shelves all of the Dinkelsbühl volumes in “Scamno L,” along with several chronicles and historical works, such as two volumes of Hartmann Schedel’s *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg Chronicle) and the thirteenth-century Josephus and Comestor manuscripts (Clm 17404 and 17405), as well as some saints’ lives and exempla collections.\(^{139}\) Even if not shelved together in the later fifteenth century, by 1588 the Dinkelsbühl volumes were (once again) considered a single collection related to church history, judging by their neighbors. As indicated by the original fifteenth-century shelfmarks, this is the only such coherent group in the library and shows a clear intention of collection development under Kienberger. Dinkelsbühl died in 1433, and the fact that his texts were still so thoroughly promulgated twenty years after his death shows their fundamental importance to the reform initiatives.

Under the Melk Reform, Scheyern had to acquire a thorough series of Dinkelsbühl’s texts, both for private and group reading. The collection at Scheyern represents various types of compendia, *Sammelbände*, and monographs that could be used at the various reading events. The short tracts found in Clm 17456, 17458 and 17459—on the love of God, the Ten Commandments, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Beatitudes, the vices and virtues, sins, etc.—

\(^{138}\) On the two shelfmark systems, see below, pp. 272–83.

\(^{139}\) AEM, B 8º 704, pp. 44–47. No extant copies of the Nuremberg Chronicle (ISTC is00307000 and is00308000) have yet to be traced back to Scheyern.
provided the monks with theological matter on which to ruminate.\footnote{Jacqueline Hamesse, “The Scholastic Model of Reading,” in \textit{A History of Reading in the West}, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 104.} Each of these Dinkelsbühl tract-groups are bound with further individual sermons and collections. Clm 17461 is an entire collection of sermons, including one by Thomas Ebendorf, who taught in the Arts and Theology faculties at the University of Vienna from 1412–60 and was the most important and prolific professor after Dinkelsbühl.\footnote{Aschbach, \textit{Geschichte der Wiener Universität}, 493–525 and Paul Ublein, “Ebendorfer, Thomas,” in VL II: 253–66.} His sermon on the “nine foreign sins” was compiled from lectures given in 1445 and 1450.\footnote{Ublein, “Ebendorfer,” 258 and Alphons Lhotsky, \textit{Thomas Ebendorfer: Ein österreichischer Geschichtsschreiber, Theologe und Diplomat des 15. Jahrhunderts}, MGH Script. SS 15 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1957), 82, nr. 94.} Such sermon compendia suggest the purposes to which Dinkelsbühl’s texts were put: they were useful for both private reading and public sermons that underscored the values of the Melk Reform. Clm 17459 is a \textit{Sammelband} of Dinkelsbühl, monastic texts, and several sermon collections variously written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.\footnote{See above, pp. 65–6.} Although the volume has been rebound, the original title label is extant, bearing witness that these are the original contents and order of the volume. This volume is composed of texts more strictly pertaining to monastic life and includes Dinkelsbühl’s discussion of penitence and the various texts on proper monastic behavior, with some sermons thrown in for good measure.\footnote{Each of the sermon sets are in the their own quire and written by a different scribe; the final two quires of sermons (quires 14 and 15) are incomplete with textual losses; it is unclear if these are original or more modern losses.} The texts on monastic behavior pertain to the more practical reform concerns of life within the monastery.
Clm 17462–66 are copies of Dinkelsbühl’s most influential lectures, especially those on Book IV of Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*, known as the *Lectura Mellicensis*, which were delivered at Melk in 1421–24. The lectures covered over 250 distinctions in the *Sentences* and underscore Dinkelsbühl’s practical theological concerns. The *Lectura Mellicensis* are one of the key texts of Viennese-Melk theology, and their popularity throughout reformed monasteries is reflected in the over 200 copies of the text that are still extant. His commentary and questions on the Gospel of Matthew is his most important theological work (he also wrote commentaries on the Psalms and several Pauline Epistles), and he explicates the gospel through the pastoral and practical theology typical of Vienna. The *Quaestiones* guide the reader/listener back through the commentary, much like discussion points, aimed at developing a deeper theological understanding of the text. The scribe who foliated the *Quaestiones* (the *Super evangelia dominicalia* are not foliated) also wrote out the table of contents on ff. 235r–v; another scribe produced an alphabetical index to the questions on ff. 309v–313r, which has alpha-numeric references to sections of the commentary, but only volume II (Clm 17463) has these marginal references. These textual apparati further support the utility and legibility of the text, making the various commentaries and discussion points individually accessible readings for both group and private settings.

Further, two Dinkelsbühl manuscripts were not written at Scheyern but acquired later by the library and were possibly intended for parish priests. Clm 17457 was written by Henricus Grevental in 1434–42 and includes eight tracts by Dinkelsbühl, a text on curing

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illness, and Johannes Urbach’s guide for ‘simple’ or local priests. The Dinkelsbühl tracts were useful sources for sermon material and for explaining to the laity basic theological concepts, such as the Ten Commandments, Beatitudes, and the deadly sins. Johannes Urbach (sometimes referred to as Johannes de Auerbach) was a doctor of canon law and attended the Council of Constance as part of the delegation of the Bishop of Eichstätt. The Directorium simplicium sacerdotum is the final section of his confessional guide, Summa de auditione confessionis et de sacramentis, and provided further support for the pastoral care of a lay community. Although his colophon does not state it, based upon the contents of the manuscript Grevental was likely such a parish priest, for whom these texts were especially relevant. Clm 17460, Dinkelsbühl’s Sermones de tempore, was written in 1453 by Conradus Salpel, a priest in Voburg, which was a dependency of Scheyern. These manuscripts indeed show how pervasive Viennese theology was, even to local parish churches, a prime location for the pastoral theology espoused by the university and Dinkelsbühl. Since Voburg was a daughter-house of Scheyern, the monastery likely played a role in introducing Dinkelsbühl’s theology to the church at Voburg and to Salpel, while the Grevental manuscript shows another type of pastoral compendium aimed at the multiple functions of a parish priest. Both the Grevental and Salpel manuscripts have late fifteenth-century Scheyern

147 Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, De diletione Dei et proximi, ff. 1r–46v, De decem praeceptis decalogi, ff. 46v–95v, dated 4 January 1442 (f. 95v); De vitii et virtutibus, ff. 95v–183r, De septem peccatis capitibus, ff. 183r–191v, De octo beatitudinibus, ff. 192r–223r, De septem donis spiritus sancti, ff. 223r–235r, De oratione Dominica, ff. 235r–269r, De tribus partibus poenitentiae, ff. 272r–313r; De infirmus et expedicione infirmorum, ff. 314r–335v, dated September 1434 (f. 335v); Johannes Urbach, Directorium simplicium sacerdotum, ff. 336r–382r, dated August 1434 (f. 382r).


149 Clm 17460 might be the book donated to Scheyern by Ulrich Ostermair, a priest in Voburg on 25 January 1473, recorded as a New Year’s gift of “an Gelt Puchern und andern gütern.” See Gressierer, Geschichte zur Klosterbibliothek Scheyern, 7, citing BHStA, KU Scheyern, 1473, January 25.
shelfmarks on their title labels, but neither have acquisition codes nor Maurus’s provenance inscription, suggesting that the manuscripts entered the collection after ca. 1485. Although not original Scheyern productions, they represent the infiltration of Viennese theology and utility of Dinkelsbühl’s works to multiple levels of ecclesiastic and lay communities.

The Scheyern library owned works by two other important Melk authors, Johannes Keck (d. ca. 1450) and Johannes Schlitpacher (d. 1482). Keck was a professor in the faculty of arts at the University of Vienna from 1429–31, teaching the liberal arts, philosophy, and optics; in 1434, he received a degree in theology from Vienna. Keck was a close colleague of Bishop Grünwalder of Freising, accompanying him to the Council of Basel in 1441, where Keck entered into arguments with Schlitpacher and others on the legitimacy of Basel and conciliar reform.150 In 1442, Keck became a monk and entered Tegernsee, where he was prior from 1443–46 and purportedly Tegernsee’s first librarian.151 His commentary of the Rule of St. Benedict was compiled after 1448 and based upon a series of Easter sermons given in the chapter house from 1446–48.152 Keck’s commentary is heavily influenced by his background teaching the liberal arts, with several of the tracts focusing more on the philosophical aspects of the Rule.153 Scheyern’s copy of Keck’s commentary is found in Clm 17472, ff. 1r–340v, undated and written by an unidentified scribe, whose hand is not seen in


151 Redlich, *Tegernsee und die deutsche Geistesgeschichte*, 72–73.


another Scheyern manuscript; however, the rubricator’s hand is very similar to Hainrich Zäch. On ff. 341r–343v is Kech’s sermon on the blessed Trinity, which he originally composed in 1442. This sermon was added by the Scheyern scribe Maurus (ff. 341r–342v) and an unidentified hand (ff. 342v–343v) to the blank leaves at the end of the final quire (ruled the same as Keck’s commentary). Aside from the marginal alphabetic divisions A–Z in the commentary, there are few signs of use in the manuscript, although the later addition of the sermon shows the continued use of the manuscript, even if only making use of the empty leaves to preserve Keck’s sermon.

Johannes Schlitpacher was one of the most important authors in the Melk Reform and was associated with the movement longer than even Dinkelsbühl or Seyringer. Schlitpacher was not necessarily an author in his own right but more of a compiler and redactor, explicating the works of others for the utility of the reform. His writings are more focused on the practical concerns of the reform and its implementation rather than deep theological issues. He entered the University of Vienna in 1424, about the same time as Keck, and also studied in the Arts and Theology faculties, although without ever receiving a degree. In 1434, he taught at Melk and entered the novitiate there in 1435, becoming a monk the following year. At the behest of Cardinal Peter of Schaumberg, Bishop of Augsburg, Schlitpacher and four other monks from Melk helped reform the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra in 1441, and he later participated in the 1452 Bavarian and Austrian visitations with Nicholas of Cusa. Through such visitations, Schlitpacher observed first-hand the state of contemporary

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154 Rossmann, “Keck,” 1100, nr. 50.

155 On the shelving of this manuscript in the library, see below, pp. 279–81.

Benedictine practices at various monasteries and also the conditions and contents of their libraries, and his works are all intended as literary buttressing of Melk ideology. There are over 240 extant codices of Schlitpacher’s works, with over 50 manuscripts at Melk alone; Scheyern owned only two.

One of his first reform texts were excerpts from Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl’s *Lectura Mellicensis*, which Schlitpacher had compiled by 1437 in a more handy and easily accessible format than Dinkelsbühl’s original work.\(^\text{157}\) One of the 33 extant manuscripts of the *Excerpta* is Scheyern’s copy, Clm 17470, ff. 210r–328v, dated by the rubricator to 27 May 1449 (f. 328v).\(^\text{158}\) This text—a useful guide to the original—was likely in the library before a copy of Dinkelsbühl’s *Super quarto Sententiarum* (Clm 17465–66), which entered the library in the early 1450s. The *Excerpta* are bound with the final part of Narcissus Herz of Berching’s *Quaestiones super tertium sententiarum* (ff. 1r–206v), which is the continuation and completion of Clm 17469.\(^\text{159}\) The scribe of the *Quaestiones* also penned a list of distinctions and tituli for the *Excerpta* on ff. 207v–209r, which are the last two leaves of quire 18 and the first of quire 19. This list disrupts the neat textual, scribal, and codicological division in the volume, further complicating the order of production for the manuscripts, but it seems clear that the *Quaestiones* and *Excerpta* were intended by their producers to be companion texts in

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\(^\text{158}\) A name, possibly the scribe (the space is not large enough for “Johannes Schlitpacher”), has been abraded from the scribal colophon on f. 328r: *Hec igitur collecta pucriliter excerpti ex lecturatur composita et edita in monasterio Mellicensi dominus sancti Benedicti super 4˚ sententiarum dum in eodem monasterio quorem dant sitibus licet geretur pro venerabilem* [abraded]. …

\(^\text{159}\) Clm 18354 from Tegernsee is similarly a compendium of Herz’s *Quaestiones* and Schlitpacher’s *Excerpta*, which might have provided the exempla for the Scheyern copy.
the library. Both works are digested versions of Peter Lombard’s seminal work, and as a collection they show the continued, or renewed, utility of the text in the reform movement.

Scheyern also owned Schlitpacher’s commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict, Clm 17473.\textsuperscript{160} The commentary was written by the same scribe as Clm 17469, the first part of Herz’s \textit{Quaestiones}, and likely dates to the eve of Kienberger’s abbacy as well. Schlitpacher’s commentary is one of the most important texts to the Melk Reform and most frequently found in reform libraries.\textsuperscript{161} Through the visitations, he noticed the poor state of the libraries and their frequent lack of a correct copy of the Rule, and his commentary filled that void with an explicitly reform explication.\textsuperscript{162} Scheyern had five commentaries on the Rule: those by Johannes de Turrecremata (Clm 17471, ff. 1r–235r), Bernardus Cassinensis (Clm 17471, ff. 237r–359v), Johannes Keck (Clm 17472, ff. 1r–340v), Johannes Schlitpacher (Clm 17473), and the unnamed Abbot of Oberaltaich (Clm 17474). While Clm 17474 was written in 1491, the others all seem to date from the 1450s. The Scheyern book list of 1241 (Clm 17403, f. 7v; see App. A) identifies a copy of the Rule of St. Benedict “made better” by the second scribe Conrad, but there is no evidence that this manuscript existed into the fifteenth century. Aside from the commentaries, the only copy of the Rule traceable to Scheyern is Clm 26134 (ff. 1r–180r), which was compiled from multiple sources, including

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Worstbrock, “Schlitpacher,” 732–33.
\item Ellegast, “Die Anfänge einer Textkritik zur Regel des Heiligen Benedikt,” 19.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the *Collationes* and Rule of St. Basil.\textsuperscript{163} The various commentaries could also act as surrogate Rules, especially considering the textual detail of Schlitracher’s version.\textsuperscript{164}

By and large, the scribes of these Melk Reform texts produced in the first years of Kieberger’s abbacy at or for Scheyern are unidentified. While several scribes or rubricators are found in multiple texts or volumes, their identities as Scheyern monks, members of other communities, or even lay scribes is generally unknown. One manuscript written under Kienberger, and Scheyern’s only securely attributed German-language manuscript, is Cgm 784, a compendium of devotional and theological tracts written by Stephan Hüczgüet (ff. 9r–157v/277v)\textsuperscript{165} and two other scribes: 1) ff. 1r–8v is a calendar for Freising use dated 1458 and 2) ff. 278r–288v is an independent quire of devotional texts.\textsuperscript{166} The scribe of the calendar is also responsible for the rubrication on ff. 158v–277v, the second part of Hüczgüet’s production, suggesting that the two scribes worked together to complete this part of the manuscript; the anonymously written ff. 278r–288v were likely only appended when the work was bound. Hüczgüet identifies himself as a lay brother of Scheyern, a “convers proves,” in his colophon on f. 157v; this is the only manuscript in which I have identified his

\textsuperscript{163} Clm 26134 is the only Latin copy of the Rule in the 1588 catalogue, see AEM, B 8º 704, p. 62; this catalogue also contains a German copy of the Rule on p. 72. The manuscript catalogue of ca. 1595 lists a copy of the Rule, *Regulae nonnullae scriptae S. P. N. Benedicti quas beati de reformatione fratrum religiosorum* (Cbm Cat. 3, f. 149v), which is without parallel in the 1588 catalogue.


\textsuperscript{165} Colophon on f. 157v: *Das hat geschriben Stephan Hüczgüet convers proves ze Scheyren anno domini 1458 an sand Veicz tag* (15 June), and on f. 277v (with damage): *[...]üczt converß prove[...] an Ulrichs tag* (4 July). The damaged name in the second colophon might suggest a second scribe, but the scribal hands on ff. 9r–157v and 158r–277v are indistinguishable; parts of f. 277 have been cut away. On Hüczgüet, see also below, p. 140.

\textsuperscript{166} Folios 278r–288v are also in an eastern Swabian dialect, different from the Bavarian dialect in which the Hüczgüet sections are written, see Karin Schneider, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Cgm 691–867*, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis, V, 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), 334.
hand and that of the calendar scribe. The manuscript was written as an aide for Scheyern’s lay brothers and accords with late medieval *Erbauungsliteratur*, or edification literature, a genre heavily tied to the reform movements that expressed quasi-theological concepts in more common parlance.\(^{167}\) The texts in Cgm 784 include extracts from larger theological works translated into German (e.g. “Die acht Seligkeiten” (The Eight Beatitudes) from Hugo Ripelin of Strasbourg’s *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, Bk. V, 47–55, on ff. 56r–57v), as well as original German texts, both by major theological authors (e.g. Heinrich Seuse and Johannes of Neumarkt) and anonymous spiritual tracts. Some of the texts are more catechetical in nature, explaining theological concepts and sacraments, such as the eucharist (texts on ff. 9r–48r, 48r–54r, and 72r–78r), to the *simplices*,\(^ {168}\) but most of the texts in this manuscript focus on living a good life. Such behavioral texts form spiritual parallels to Scheyern’s commentaries on the Rule and other texts concerning proper monastic behavior—both address their respective audiences in their individual syntax and language but with similar goals in mind.\(^ {169}\)

Much like Schlütpacher’s concerns for the practical fulfillment of the reform, these texts are not explicitly theological but place the theological rewards for proper behavior within reach of the vernacular audience. Although stressed by the Melk Reform—both Melk and Tegernsee had sizable communities of lay brothers—the literary evidence for such a

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\(^ {169}\) Niederkorn-Bruck, *Melker Reform*, 69 does not mention specific authors or titles for German-language literature.
community at Scheyern is surprisingly minimal. Even with the lay brother’s extraordinary inclusion in the *Consuetudines Schyrenses*, Cgm 784 is the only German-language manuscript securely attributed to Scheyern in the fifteenth century, and it only has one vernacular incunable and two broadsheet almanacs as compatriots, all of which were printed in Augsburg. Even though integrated with the Melk Reform, lay literacy at Scheyern seems to have been somewhat ignored or disregarded based upon the extant evidence.

It is likely that the visitation committee, especially with Schltpacher in attendance, acted as a mobile scriptorium of its own, initiating the necessary literary productions—including Schltpacher’s own works—as the reform progressed through the monasteries. There is no documentary evidence for the visitation committee traveling with textual exempla, although the clear necessity of (re)producing not only *consuetudines* volumes but also works by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and other Vienna theologians, Petrus of Rosenheim, Johannes Schltpacher, and other Melk authors, suggests some form of standardized reading list for the reform. The committee might have also acted as a conduit by which

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171 Inc.c.a. 135, Johannes Nider, *Die vierundzwanzig goldenen Harfen* (Augsburg: Johann Bämler, 18 Dec. [1472]; ISTC in00223000; Einbl. Kal. 1472 a, Almanac 1472 [German] ([Augsburg: Johann Schüssler, 1471?]); ISTC ia00491000; and Einbl. Kal. 1493 e. Almanac 1493 [German] ([Nuremberg: Peter Wagner, about 1492–93]); ISTC ia00517800. The 1588 Scheyern catalogue lists 16 German titles in the library, but only the Nider is now identified, see AEM, B 8º 704, pp. 71–72.

172 In order to more fully understand the nature and methods of manuscript production as part of the Melk Reform it would be necessary to compare the hands and codicological structures of the Scheyern manuscripts with those of contemporary reform manuscripts from surrounding monasteries, thus discovering whether these manuscripts were indeed produced at the monasteries in question or from a centralized body/scriptorium, such as Melk, Tegernsee, or via the visitation committee. Such a study is beyond the scope of the current work.

monasteries learned of others’ libraries and thus knew where to search for the manuscripts they now required.

Clear reflections of the Melk Reform in Scheyern’s library fade after 1460. The attempt to unify the three German reform movements at this point was unsuccessful, after which the entire reform drive lost its impetus. The increasing amount of literature in circulation, both through manuscripts and the nascent printing press, expanded reading choices, and once a library, such as Scheyern, had satisfied the basic requirements of a reform library, acquisitions could expand beyond those boundaries. The waning influence of the Melk Reform into the era of the printing press is seen through two examples: printed editions of the works of Melk authors and Melk liturgical texts. The major works of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, Johannes Schlitpacher, Petrus of Rosenheim, or Johannes Keck were not printed in the fifteenth century, and it was not until the end of the century that any Melk liturgical works were printed (a missal ca. 1499 and a breviary in 1500). Four editions of Dinkelsbühl’s minor sermon works were printed between ca. 1472 and 1496, and two of those were in sermon collections with the works of other authors.277 Granted, Melk-reformed

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274 Becker, “Benediktinische Reformbewegungen,” 183–87 and Angerer, Caeremoniae Regularis Observantiae, CLXXXV–CXC.

275 Only one work of Thomas Ebendorfer was printed, his Sermones dominicales super epistolatas Pauli ([Strasbourg: Heinrich Knoblochzter], 13 Dec. 1478); ISTC ie00002000.

276 Missale Benedictinum Melicense (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, [about 1499]); ISTC im00633000 and Breviarium Benedictinum Melicense ([Nuremberg]: Georg Stuchs, 24 Feb. 1500); ISTC ib01130000.

277 Dinkelsbühl, Collecta et praedicata de passione Christi ([Speyer: Printer of the ‘Gesta Christi’, about 1472]), ISTC in00101000; Peregrinus, Sermones de tempore et de sanctis, Jacobus de Voragine, Quadragesimale, and Dinkelsbühl, Concordantia in passionem dominicam ([Ulm: Johann Zainer, not after 1479]), ISTC ip00267000; Albertus de Padua, Expositio evangeliorum dominicalium et festivalium, Dinkelsbühl, Concordantia in passionem dominicam (Ulm: Johann Zainer, ‘about’ 15 June 1480), ISTC ia00340000; and Dinkelsbühl, Postilla cum sermonibus evangeliorum dominicalium (Strasbourg: [Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger], 1496), ISTC in00102000. There are over 50 incunable editions of the Ars moriendi “Cum de praesentis exilii miseria mortis transitus...” but the work was incorrectly attributed to Dinkelsbühl in the fifteenth-century; see Madre, Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl, 292–95.
libraries already had these required works in manuscript, making printed editions redundant; however, unlike the Bursfeld and Kastl reforms, which had printed liturgical works as early as the mid-1470s (perhaps the 1450s for Bursfeld), Melk did not take to the press quite so readily.\footnote{178} The early printers of Mainz, Strasbourg, and Augsburg tended to print works that were broadly marketable to a general monastic audience—the Bible, Thomas Aquinas, Vincent of Beauvais, Guillelmus Durandus, Johannes Balbus, etc.—and shied away from those of more limited marketability, such as Dinkelsbühl or Rosenheim. In addition, the influence and ideals of the Melk Reform waned in the 1470s, with some scholars even suggesting 1474 as the end date of the reform, even though the printed Melk liturgical works from the end of the century show a certain degree of continuing currency.\footnote{179} What Scheyern’s library shows after ca. 1460 is a collection expanding beyond what we can securely describe as a Melk reading list to become a more general and comprehensive monastic library. Attributing specific acquisition intentions to the printed books is less secure than to the manuscripts, for the authors and titles of the early incunabula in the library relate less to any reform intentions and more to market availability and broadening literary requirements. We cannot securely attribute literary influences from the Melk Reform to either Scheyern’s early printed books or to their manuscripts after about 1460—the authors and subjects do not strictly accord with the program of the Melk Reform—but they can relate more broadly to fifteenth-century theology.

\footnote{178}{On the Bursfeld Psalters of 1457 and 1459, see Mary Kay Duggan, “The Psalter on the Way to the Reformation: The Fifteenth-Century Printed Psalter in the North,” in \textit{The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages}, edited by Nancy van Deusen (Albany: State University of New York, 1999) 159–60.}

\footnote{179}{Angerer, \textit{Die liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung}, 20–21, although in Austria a “Melk Reform” was referred to as late as 1626.}
After a period of lackluster reform, the flurry of activity in Scheyern’s scriptorium—those manuscripts written in the first ten years of Kienberger’s abbacy—produced what were likely the most immediately relevant texts for the edification of the Scheyern monks under the Melk Reform. Scheyern may not have been unusual in starting the century with such a paltry library, and after several ineffectual abbots, Kienberger had to bulk up this collection in order to successfully introduce and support the reform at the monastery. Under his successor, Abbot Georg Spörl (1467–1489), the library continued its growth, although naturally more so with printed books than manuscript, that textually broadened the collection. Although years behind the abbeys of Melk, Tegernsee, and even SS. Ulrich and Afra in responding to the Melk Reform, the same bibliographical pattern is seen at Scheyern: the successful introduction of the Melk Reform created a *renovatio bibliothecae* that provided the liturgical, devotional, and educational tools necessary for the reform of Benedictine monasticism.
Chapter 3
Scheyern’s Scriptorium: Assessing the Evidence

Literacy and education were imperative aspects of the Melk Reform.\(^1\) This tenet is naturally reflected in manuscript production, as prescribed in the Melk customary, and was promulgated through writing manuals, namely the Melk *modus scribendi*, a version of which was at Tegernsee (Clm 18799, f. 114r–127v) and probably known to Wilhelm Kienberger.\(^2\)

While no copy of the writing manual is extant from Scheyern, the legibility of script and correct orthography espoused in it are reflected in the increased care taken over book production at Scheyern after ca. 1450, and especially from the 1460s in those manuscripts produced by the scribe Maurus of Eichstätt. While the Melk *modus* is the partial instigator for manuscript production at Scheyern, it is superimposed over local book production practices. It cannot be overstated that books, whether manuscripts or incunabula, are physical objects whose characteristics speak directly to their individual production and use. By examining these physical processes we can more fully understand the contexts of the books and the texts they contain in relationship to the people who produced and used them.\(^3\)

Manuscripts that were produced at or for Scheyern, as well as those incunables purchased for

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\(^3\) See Beach, *Women as Scribes* for a similar codicological discussion in her study of the female scribes of Wessobrunn, Admont, and Schäftlarn in the twelfth-century.
it, represent not only the textual needs of the community, but through the codicological characteristics, script, illustration, and textual apparati, they also present the concrete elements of scribal and artistic activity at Scheyern.

This chapter concerns the physical production of books at Scheyern, focusing on scribal production, illustration, rubrication, and the addition of various textual apparati, such as foliation, indices, and headlines. The Scheyern scriptorium in the fifteenth century, I will contend, does not follow the highly organized structure often assumed of medieval scriptoria, whereby a cohort of monks diligently toil under the authority of the librarian to produce homogeneous manuscripts in a homogeneous ‘style.’ The evidence from Scheyern suggests rather a more ad hoc and disparate system wherein the ‘scriptorium’ was made up of both a regular coterie of scribes, who produced multiple manuscripts in various contexts, and one-time writers whose singular productions range from partial quires or production units to entire manuscript codices. Printed books are also considered productions of Scheyern’s scriptorium—at least those aspects of a printed book that had to be completed by hand—for ultimately they also represent the hands of the Scheyern scriptorium as well as any manuscript.

The use of the term ‘scriptorium’ should not be understood in the idealized monastic sense, as a designated room for book production. Rather, much like the monastic library, which was not a single room but multiple repositories spread around the monastery in various places based upon the book’s use, so too should scriptorium be understood in a more

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4 As described in the twelfth-century Consuetudines Hirsaugiensis, Ch. XXVI: De scriptoribus in PL 150: 1078A.
general sense as the composite of all of Scheyern’s production aspects (before binding). There is no evidence for a single architectural space at the monastery designated as a scriptorium, and indeed monks were allowed to write in their own cells and were provided with ink, paper, and pens for this. The Melk Reform stressed the importance of book production and literacy, and the evidence from Scheyern suggests that this was understood as an individual responsibility. The Scheyern account ledgers annually list total expenditures for parchment, paper, pens, ink, small knives, and “other necessities”—all the tools necessary for written production. Under the control of the vestiarius—not the librarian or refectory reader—they were instruments for the monks, as necessary as the robes or sandals for which he was also responsible. While this does not necessarily preclude the presence of centralized scribal production at Scheyern (which seems the case in a few circumstances), it likely explains many of the individually produced manuscripts and singular appearance of many scribal and decorative hands. The decoration and rubrication of the printed books that entered the library should be understood in the same light: they show a similar pattern of repeated and unique hands rubricating and decorating the new acquisitions. The Scheyern ‘scriptorium’ therefore was a disparate entity that included what we might call “centralized” or “official” production by a few scribes or decorators, as well as compendia and composite manuscripts assembled from independently-produced stints, individual manuscripts, and

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5 Beach, *Women as Scribes*, 6, n. 17 also understands a scriptorium as the combination of multiple places/spaces rather than a single-purpose room. For this discussion, I am treating the scriptorium and bindery as two separate and distinct production centers at the monastery.

6 Kainz, “Consiutudines Scheyrenses,” (1904): 789: *De fratre vestiario...Incaustum, papirum, pennas et alia ad scribendum fratribus necessaria...*. 

7 BHStA, KL Scheyern 82 and 133, passim.; in KL Scheyern 133 expenses are not itemized under the general heading, *pro papiro, libris, cultellis, pergameno et alis necessariis*; the total expenditures increase each year showing the increasing purchases of these materials.
individual decorative styles, as well as the rubrication and decoration of printed books according to this same pattern. The amalgamation of all of these aspects add up to a holistic appraisal of Scheyern’s book production in the fifteenth century.

What follows is an examination of the various physical attributes of Scheyern’s book production through the written and illustrative aspects of the books based upon the methods of quantitative codicology, which aims at understanding the history of books based upon their physical properties, such as collation, *mise-en-page*, and patterns in their aspects of production.\(^8\) Although it offers a smaller data set than quantitative codicology normally demands, the Scheyern library still provides an analyzable data set localized to one institution. This analysis will open up the Scheyern scriptorium for an inquiry into its methods of book production and questions regarding the definition of a codicological and artistic ‘Scheyern style,’ ultimately providing insight about a more general practice of how books were produced at monasteries in the fifteenth century.

**Writing Books at Scheyern: Quire Construction and Script**

The physical properties of Scheyern’s book production reflect the monastery’s individual reception of the Melk emphasis on book production and literacy. Before a scribe can start writing out a text, the support needs to be constructed, that is, they must plan out the size and format of the quires, the organization of the text, and calculate the number of quires needed to contain the text(s). Because it is the primary step in manuscript construction, it is worth making a few general remarks about quire construction in Scheyern manuscripts and

how collation pertains to the individual nature of manuscript production. (This will be further addressed under the productions of individual scribes below.) The various methods of quire construction—the physical relationships of quire to text—found in the Scheyern manuscripts attest to the disparate nature of manuscript production and the role of the scribe in constructing the manuscript. This is especially evident in the composite manuscripts and compendia in the collection, sections of which are easily identified as individual working units, that is, serial quires that completely contain a text or related texts whose physical characteristics (i.e. support, ruling, scribal hand, decoration, etc.) suggest that they are an individual codicological unit. Perhaps originally intended as separate texts, such units may have even been bound previously as a unit prior to being bound into their current state. The identification of such quire groupings—described variously as booklets, stints, or production units—is extremely informative not only for the construction of manuscripts but also helps to identify scribal production/hands and the original autonomous use or previous circulation of such units. The individual booklets in Scheyern’s composite manuscripts do not readily bear the signs of previous bindings or circulations as discussed by Gillespie and others. What these units represent in the Scheyern manuscripts is the activity of building up the library,

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10 E.g. production units in Cgm 784, Clm 17459, Clm 17409 coincide with a textual stints. The discussion of such ‘booklet’ use is most prevalent in the study of English vernacular manuscripts and has only recently started to have an influence on continental manuscript studies; see Erik Kwakkel, “Towards a Terminology for the Analysis of Composite Manuscripts,” *Gazette du livre médiéval* 41 (2002): 12–19. “Stint” is typically used to define a series of quires where there is a textual break between the last verso of one quire and first recto of the next; this is more commonly used in reference to printed books where stints may be clearly distinguished by differences in paper and presswork. See also Lucie Dolezalova and Kimberly Rivers, eds., *Medieval Manuscript Miscellanies: Composition, Authorship, Use* (Leiden: Brill, [forthcoming]).
where the needed texts were in individual quires or quire groupings and awaited formal binding. As we will see, the identification of such production units and their consideration when discussing a single manuscript allows for a broader and more complete understanding of the Scheyern library and scriptorium and their textual uses and needs.

Throughout the Middle Ages, 8-leaf parchment quires were the most common, but this pattern tended to change with the advent of paper in the late fourteenth, but especially fifteenth century, to quires commonly of 10 or 12 leaves. The number of leaves in a quire often had much to do with the length of the text being copied and individual scribal practice; however, the core of the bookblock was usually made up of a run of consistently sized quires. 12-leaf quires are by far the norm for the majority of Scheyern manuscripts—both parchment and paper—while traditional 8-leaf quires are found predominantly in the parchment liturgical manuscripts. It is useful to divide the corpus into smaller groupings in order to better understand patterns in manuscript production. Dividing the century into quarters (roughly paralleling the 1427 and 1449 reform implementations and ca. 1474 acquisition of printed books), there are no dated manuscripts extant from 1400 to 1424, 4 from 1425–1449, 12 from 1450–1474, and 11 from 1475–1499; 28 manuscripts are undated. The 1425–1449 manuscripts are too few to provide evidence for any patterns unto...

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11 Karin Schneider, *Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde für Germanisten: eine Einführung* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2009), 120.

12 BSB, Clm 17424, 17457, 17470 (ff. 210r–328v), and 17483 (ff. 325r–379v) I have restricted these numbers to manuscripts or production units that are specifically dated, ignoring instances where “circa” dates are attributed; however, I have included those manuscripts attributed as Scheyern productions.

13 Esztergom, MS II, 6; BSB, Cgm 547 and 784, Clm 17409–10, 17452, 17456 (ff. 175r–225v), 17459 (ff. 4r–94v), 17462–64, 17467, 17475, 17478 (ff. 1r–36v), 17500, 17503, and 17523; Scheyern, Ms. 37. The manuscripts that Hainrich Molitor produced for Scheyern are not included in this tally.

14 BSB, Cgm 698, Clm 17407, 17408, 17423, 17474, 17476, 17477, 17501, 17502, 17505, and 17521.
themselves and such low numbers reflect the reform’s lack of initial success at Scheyern; they range in regular quires of 8-, 10-, 12-, and 14-leaves. The largest number of manuscripts from Scheyern date from 1450–74, directly after the election of Wilhelm Kienberger as abbot and the full implementation of the Melk Reform. Once again, regular 12-leaf quires are the most common, with occasional quires of 6-, 10-, 14-, or 18-leaves generally used only as the concluding quire of a text. The two-volumes of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl’s *Lecturae super Mattheum* (vol. II dated 1452) illustrates well the individual nature of manuscript construction:

Clm 17462 (vol. I): 1\(^6\) 2–16\(^{12}\) 17–31\(^{18}\) 32\(^{10}\): 463 (of 466) ll., ff. 9/8, 17/3, and 26/3 wanting.
Clm 17463 (vol. II): 1\(^4\) 2–24\(^{12}\) 25\(^{4}\): 283 (of 284) ll., f. 6/12 wanting.

Even though the manuscripts were produced as a set, which suggests some degree of centralized production, each volume was written by a different scribe with a different quire organization. Clm 17462 is the only manuscript in the library with so many regular quires of 18 leaves, which, oddly enough, could have been composed of 12-leaf quires for the same folio count, if the 12-leaf quire had been some sort of pre-determined standard in the scriptorium or commercially available. The divergent collations for the two volumes, starting with the smaller but differently-sized first quires, represent a concerted choice on the

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15 Clm 17424 is an undated liturgical ritual attributed to second-quarter of the century with a litany based on that from SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg; see von Hueber, “Spätmittelalterliche Zeugen benediktinischer Liturgie-und Choralpflege aus Scheyern,” 193–94.

16 The leaves missing in the middle of quires are likely leaves left blank due to a problem in the paper that made them inadequate for writing. Frequently sections of paper manuscripts were left blank due to weak spots in the paper that made them inadequate for writing, and they were marked “defectus est,” as were the Scheyern manuscripts: Clm 1208, ff. 10 and 18 and a partial manuscript bifolium that Maurus added to an incunable, 2 Inc.s.a. 963 mb, ff. p4–p7.

17 In the fifteenth century paper came in reams (*risma*) of 480 or 500 sheets, with the sheets pre-folded in bundles or booklets of 10 or 12.
part of each scribe in the construction of each volume, which reinforces the individual and
unique nature of manuscript production.

Manuscript production at Scheyern slightly trailed off in the final quarter of the
fifteenth century—the so-called “retreat of the hand-written book”—likely due to the ever-
increasing acquisition of printed books.\textsuperscript{18} There is even less cohesion among the quire
organization of these manuscripts than previously, and they range from 8- to 12- with
occasional 14-leaf quires. 10-leaf quires predominate in a series of manuscripts written
around 1490:

- **Clm 17474**: Median folio (330 x 235): 1–2\textsuperscript{8}; 3–22\textsuperscript{10}; 213 (of 216) ll., ff. 2/8, 22/9, and 22/10 wanting.
- **Clm 17476**: Chancery folio (319 x 214): 1–15\textsuperscript{10} 16\textsuperscript{10(±10)} 17–22\textsuperscript{10} 23\textsuperscript{6}; 224 (of 226) ll., ff. 23/5 and 23/6 wanting.
- **Clm 17477**: Chancery folio (317 x 214): 1\textsuperscript{8} 2–10\textsuperscript{12} 11\textsuperscript{10}; 12–17\textsuperscript{12} 18–25\textsuperscript{10}; 26–28\textsuperscript{10}; 29–31\textsuperscript{12} 32–33\textsuperscript{8}; 343 (of 350) ll., ff. 1/1, 1/2, 1/7, 1/8, 33/5, 33/7, and 33/8 wanting.
- **Clm 17521**: Median octavo (167 x 117): 1\textsuperscript{12} 2–6\textsuperscript{10} 7\textsuperscript{12} 8–15\textsuperscript{10}; 152 (of 155) ll., ff. 1/2, 1/12, and 11/10 wanting.

The Scheyern scribes Frater Placidus wrote Clm 17474 in 1491 and Clm 17476 in
1485, Frater Georg Figuli produced Clm 17521 in 1491–92, and Maurus wrote out Clm
17477 in 1490; additionally, Clm 17474 and 17521 are written on the same stock of Median
paper, substantiating their contemporaneous production in the Scheyern scriptorium.\textsuperscript{19} 10-
leaf quire construction in an octavo format is complicated, as additional paper must be added
to the quire to extend it from a regular 8-leaf octavo quire to the 10 leaves found in Clm

\textsuperscript{18} Carla Bozzolo, Dominique Coq, and Ezio Ornato, “La production du livre en quelques pays d’Europe occidentale aus XIVe et XV e siècles,” in Ezio Ornato, La face cachée du livre médiéval, 203–204 and
Graphique 2 illustrates the general decrease in manuscript production from ca. 1470 on. See also Uwe

\textsuperscript{19} The watermark is a double-cross with a circle at the intersection of the arms, similar to C. M. Briquet, Les
5753 (Nuremberg, 1493).
17521. This extra step in production might suggest Georg Figuli’s preference for 10-leaf quires, no matter the format of the manuscript he was producing, and once again stresses the role of the scribe in the construction of a manuscript. Mention has already been made of Scheyern scribes likely responsible for these production decisions, such as Frater Maurus and Frater Placidus, but their scribal characteristics need to be examined in order to achieve more clarity about their identity and to support further manuscript attribution. There are less than twenty signed manuscripts in the Scheyern library, and several of those, in fact, might be post-production acquisitions, for while some details (such as binding, title label, or shelfmark) suggest a contemporary Scheyern ownership, this does not automatically equate to actual production in the Scheyern scriptorium. As mentioned previously, there are no extant fifteenth-century documents that list the names of Scheyern monks against which to correlate scribal signatures, so the identities of the scribes are based solely upon how they signed their work. I am limiting the following description of scribal productions to those manuscripts that are signed or securely attributed to Scheyern monks and to those manuscripts that show production characteristics that illuminate aspects of scriptorium production. Many of these scribes likely also took their turn at decorating manuscripts and incunables, and although these visual details will be treated separately from their scribal characteristics, they show the same patterns of production.

The following examination will focus on the named scribes, their individual hands, and the various aspects of their productions, including their preferences for quire construction.

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20 A full sheet of paper folded three times produces a booklet of eight leaves, hence octavo. A quarter-sheet of paper would have to be added to the single 8-leaf booklet to achieve a quire of ten leaves.

21 For example, Clm 17453 was written by Ulrich Magerlein of Neuburg; Clm 17460 by Conradus Salpel of Voburg; and Clm 17500 by Leonardus Dyerentshauser of Mossburg. These manuscripts are not included in my discussion of Scheyern’s book production.
and the types of texts they produced, in order to achieve as full as possible an understanding of the working methods of Scheyern’s scriptorium. The first individual is the most pervasive, if not important, in the library and scriptorium in the second-half of the century: Maurus of Eichstätt. He produced 14 substantial manuscripts (or complete texts) for Scheyern between 1468 and 1490, as well as writing the Scheyern provenance inscription, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren*, in many books, title labels, and numerous textual apparati (tables of contents, indices, headlines, and foliation); he signed works variously as Maurus of Eichstätt, Frater Maurus, and Maurus of Scheyern, but his scribal hand remains the same throughout.22 He wrote all or substantial parts of (in chronological order):

- BSB, Clm 17523, manuscript compendium, ff. 132r–133v and 234r–318v, 1469.
- Esztergom, Archdiocese Library, Ms. II 6, manuscript compendium, 1469–73.
- BSB, Clm 17503, manuscript compendium, 1474.
- BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 1044, ff. 61r–64v, Johannes Mathias Tuberinus, *Relatio de Simone pueri tridentino*, [after 4 April 1475].
- BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 1482, ff. 2v–7v, 91r–94v, and 182r–va, additional texts to *Missale Romanum* (Venice: Georgius Arrivabenus and Paganinus de Paganinis, 27 Sept. 1484).
- BSB, Clm 17407, missal, 1485.
- BSB, Clm 17502, manuscript compendium, 1487.
- BSB, Clm 17408, gradual, 1489.
- BSB, Clm 17477, manuscript compendium, 1490.
- BSB, Clm 7875, Bernhard of Clairvaux, *Sermones*, [no date].23
- BSB, Clm 17421, missal, [no date].
- BSB, Clm 17480, manuscript compendium, [no date].
- BSB, Clm 23337, ff. 42r–51v, lectionary pericopes, [no date].
- BSB, Clm 26138, manuscript compendium, [no date].

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22 Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte der Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 15–16 does not include those manuscripts signed by “Maurus of Eichstätt” with those attributed to “Frater Maurus,” but the unity of the two hands clearly shows that they are, indeed, one and the same person.

23 MBK IV/2: 729 questionably attributes this manuscript to Maurus’s hand, but the BSB catalogue dates this manuscript to the fourteenth century.
From these manuscripts, Maurus’s clear, neat bookhand is characterized as a form of Cursiva Libraria with elements of Textualis: his vertical strokes and minims are typically broad and precise, with hairline connecting strokes, his ascenders frequently have a thorn on their left side, uppercase letters with large, open bowls have a diagonal double line within the bowl, and he only rarely uses ligatures or complex abbreviations (Figs. 6–9). These characteristics change slightly depending upon the text and date of the work (the regular bookhand of his later works, such as Clm 17502 from 1487, has fewer Textualis elements); however, several letterforms stand out as particularly identifiable: $D$, $M$, $a$, and $g$. His large-bowl capitals are tear-shaped: $D$ and $P$ with straight left ascenders, and $O$ and $Q$ with slightly curving ones, but they all form a point at the top left, with a rightward bulbous swelling of the bowl. The initial strokes of his $M$ (the triangular-shaped left-half of the letterform) are consistent between the two forms of the letter that he produces: the first a familiar double-peak $M$, as in the Roman font (Fig. 8, line 1), while the second type is completed on the right with a rounded bowl (Fig. 6, line 2), reminiscent of the Augsburg scribe Hainrich Molitor. Maurus’s $a$ is of the double-bowled variety typical to Textualis, although the upper-bowl is left open and merely consists of the stroke forming the spine of the letterform (Fig. 6, line 1). The lowercase $g$ is particularly symmetrical, with a slightly smaller lower bowl directly beneath the upper bowl, and both are slightly elongated. There is also typically a short, horizontal stroke off the back of the upper bowl connecting to the following letter (Fig. 7, 24 Albert Derolez, The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 142–55. Maurus’s later script has fewer Textualis elements; in German palaeography, this script is referred to as Frankische Bastarda, see Ernst Crous and Joachim Kirchner, Die Gotischen Schriftarten (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1970), 21 and Abb. 44, but Derolez, Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books, 16 and 168–69 argues against such regionalization of script as misleading.
lines 1a “vigilia” and 2b “segregatus”). The Textualis influence is also reflected in his more decorative elements. He frequently extends descenders from the bottom line of text well into the bottom margin. In fact, these are all extra strokes added after the completion of the simple letterform to letters such as $f$, $p$, $q$, and $ʃ$ (tall-s). Equally, ascenders on the top line of text ($b$, $d$, $h$, and $l$) are flourished into the upper margin; this is completed as part of the original ductus of the letterform, however, rather than as an addition; standard forms of these letters carry bifurcated, or thorned ascenders (Fig. 9, line 1). Maurus also favored cadel initials, capitals elaborated with extra calligraphic strokes echoing the main letterforms (Figs. 6 and 9). These initials are found throughout his production, in regular text, rubrics, and headlines, as well as the *Iste liber* provenance inscription that he entered into many of the library’s books. Over his 22-year career as a scribe, the ductus of Maurus’s hand is remarkably consistent (compare Clm 17417, Fig. 6 with Clm 17477, Fig. 10, his earliest and latest dated productions), which greatly facilitates scribal attribution and prove that “Maurus of Eichstätt” and “Frater Maurus” are indeed the same individual.

Maurus’s earliest dated production is completing volume III of Vincent of Beauvais’s *Speculum historiale* in 1468, begun by the scribe Johannes Keym (ff. 1r–277v) of Augsburg and cleric of Freising; Keym had written volume I in 1464 (Clm 17416), and both volumes were illuminated by the Augsburg artist Hainrich Molitor. In spite of his seemingly well-trained hand, there is no other known or identified work of Johannes Keym. Maurus signed the manuscript on f. 233r as “Frater Maurus of Eichstätt, monk and priest of Scheyern,” so he

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27 Molitor wrote and illuminated volume IV (Clm 17418) in 1471; volume II has been missing since before the Dissolution in 1803.
was already associated with the monastery by this date and is clearly not a lay craftsman working with Keym and Molitor. Similarly, in another of Maurus’s earliest manuscripts, Esztergom, Archdiocese Library, MS II 6, he identifies himself as “Maurus of Eichstätt, a monk of Scheyern.”

I have not been able to locate any manuscript with Maurus’s hand securely attributed to Eichstätt itself; therefore, if he came to Scheyern from that monastery (if he were a monk before entering Scheyern), he may have only become a scribe once at Scheyern. In fact, it is quite possible that he trained as a scribe under Hainrich Molitor, who was producing manuscripts at Scheyern in the 1450s and 60s, just prior to Maurus’s scribal ascendancy. After Abbot Kienberger and Molitor, Maurus took up the mantel of bibliographic renewal, and he is the key figure in the Scheyern scriptorium and library from ca. 1470 to at least 1490.

Maurus’s scribal production illustrates the breadth of production possibilities from monographic manuscripts to composite manuscripts (where he is responsible for only one stint) and compendia. Like most of Scheyern’s production, 12-leaf quires are most common in Maurus’s work, although he worked on several types of manuscripts that required various codicological structures. He wrote a single 10-leaf quire of additional pericopes that was bound to the end of Clm 23337, an evangelistary written ca. 1230 by Conrad of Scheyern (i.e. Conrad(1)), and a 4-leaf quire containing Johannes Mathias Tuberinus, *Relatio de Simone puero tridentino* bound in at the end of an incunable of 1474.

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29 Lehmann, “Handschriften in Esztergom,” 84 states that Maurus died between 1488 and 1502, but we know he wrote Clm 17477 in 1490, so his death date may be adjusted to after 1490.

30 Maurus copied the text from the Augsburg edition printed at SS. Ulrich and Afra, after 4 April 1475 (ISTC it00483000), see below, pp. 214–16.
liturgical manuscripts—a missal written in 1485 (Clm 17407), a gradual from 1489 (Clm 17408), and an undated missal (Clm 17421)—each composed of traditional 8-leaf parchment quires. Clm 17421 shows textual affinities with Augsburg use, specifically with the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra in the choice of saints recalled in the litany and additional prayers.\(^{31}\) He also added texts to to a printed missal of 1484 (BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 1482), including an 8-leaf quire preceding the printed text, a 4-leaf manuscript canon (ff. 91–94, on parchment), and a 6-leaf quire at the end, on which he, Hainrich Zäch, and several other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century scribes added texts.\(^{32}\) Maurus’s major work, though, were eight multi-text compendia where he was either the sole scribe (Clm 17477, 17480, 17502, 17503, and 26138) or worked with others, as in Clm 17478, which includes texts penned by eight other scribes, and Clm 17523, which was partly written by Johannes Burger. The codicological structures of these manuscripts show the variety of ways in which quire construction and production units affected and were affected by textual necessity.

Maurus produced five compendia (Clm 17477, Clm 17480, Clm 17502, Clm 17503, and Clm 26138) for Scheyern and contributed a text to one composite manuscript (Clm 17478).\(^{33}\) Clm 17477 contains cenobitic texts by Pope Gregory I, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, Matthew of Worms, Michael of Prague, and others (Fig. 10); Clm 17480 is similarly a compendium of two works related to the \textit{Vitae patrum}, plus Hugh of St. Victor; Clm 17502

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\(^{32}\) Scheyern purchased parchment in 1486, 1488, and 1489, around the time that Maurus was producing these liturgical manuscripts, see BHStA, KL Scheyern 82, ff. 141v: \textit{Item exposita x ß denarii umb xviii haiü pergamenes forma media}, 223v: \textit{Item exposui umb xxxi haiü pergameno}, and 295v: \textit{Item umb dreï haiü pergameni virginci 32 denarii}.

\(^{33}\) Maurus also wrote several units of Clm 17523, something of a composite-compendium of confessional texts and works useful for lay pastoral care. The other scribe of this manuscript was Johannes Burger. For a discussion of the manuscript, see below pp. 137–38.
(one text dated 1487) contains fourteen texts by Bernard of Clairvaux, Anselm of Canterbury, Jean Gerson, and others on themes of monastic behavior and charity; Clm 17503 (one text dated 1474) is largely composed of sermons on these similar themes; and Clm 26138 contains eight texts by Augustine and Bonaventura related to monastic behavior. The five compendia that Maurus penned are all relevant to the proper spiritual and physical order within the cloister and without a doubt were inspired by the Melk Reform and the renewed monastic vigor at Scheyern. As librarian or head scribe, Maurus seems to have taken on the job of arming Scheyern’s library to support textually the institutional reform, which was also reflected in his highly legible hand, as espoused in the Melk *modus scribendi*. By and large, Maurus’s productions are differentiated from the monumental productions of Hainrich Molitor or Hainrich Zäch due to their size, which reflects their intended reading use as discussed further below. These compendia—although they are reference works or encyclopedia like the products of Molitor and Zäch—are more appropriate for private, individual reading and study.

These manuscripts illustrate another aspect of compendia, as opposed to composite manuscripts: compendia frequently share a common theme or represent some form of collected works. Standard paper sizes more readily facilitated the construction of composite manuscripts because anything on paper of the same format could be more easily and neatly bound together.\(^{34}\) Such standardization of support format is also reflected in the production of *Sammelbände*, a term used to describe a volume of (typically) printed works bound together due to their common format or subject matter. The various aspects of production and use

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\(^{34}\) Parchment was not originally standardized as paper; however, in the fifteenth century, parchment sizes started to reflect paper sizes: BHStA, KL Scheyern 82, f. 141v records the purchase of eighteen sheets of “median” parchment, *Item exposita x b d umb xviii haút pergamenes forma media*. 
catchwords, quire signatures, foliation, etc.) will clarify the issue of whether these manuscripts were somehow intended as discrete units by the scribe or were, in fact, produced more in the binding shop than the scriptorium. Two manuscripts on which Maurus worked will illustrate this point: Clm 17477 and 17478.

Clm 17477 contains fifteen texts unified around a theme of monastic behavior. The manuscript is constructed largely of 10- and 12-leaf quires, with an 8-leaf quire used at the beginning and two at the end of the manuscript. Although composed of four stints, Maurus formatted all of the quires the same, with a textblock of 220x150mm. in 2 columns of 40 lines. Such physical unity emphasizes the singularity of the collection, and all of the texts in the manuscript were clearly intended to be a discreet book. The Melk concern for proper monastic behavior was still current at Scheyern, even as late as 1489/90 when this manuscript was written. Maurus copied most of these texts in Clm 17477 from a manuscript at Tegernsee, Clm 18412, a compendium similarly focused around proper monastic behavior and reform. Maurus’s table of contents on the front pastedown is a copy of that from the Tegernsee manuscript (Figs. 10 and 11), and throughout the copied texts, Maurus integrated the Tegernsee textual corrections and emendations, and included the marginal notes as codified apparati for the Scheyern version. Maurus’s manuscript, however, is much neater

35 Clm 18412 (the texts in bold are found in the Scheyern manuscript): Hugo of St. Victor, *De archa Noe*, ff. 1r–33r; Richard of St. Victor, *De clavibus ecclesiae*, ff. 37r–43r, *De exterminatione mali*, ff. 43r–60r, and *De statu interioris hominis*, ff. 60r–77r; register to *Oculi morali*, ff. 77v–84r; Peter of Limoges, *De oculo morali*, ff. 85r–128r; *De septem itineribus aeternitatis*, ff. 131r–187v; Johannes Keck, *Sermo in concilio Basiliensis*, ff. 188r–190v; *Casus papales et episcopales*, ff. 191r–194r; Michael of Prague, *Remedia rim abiecti prioris*, ff. 196r–225r (written in 1454 by L. E., a monk of Tegernsee); (blank after f. 225); John Chrysostomus, *De s. Paulo*, ff. 226r–250v (written in 1453 by Sigismund); *Johannes of Segovia, Auctoritate conciliorum*, ff. 251r–255v; Augustine, *De cohabitatione mulierum*, ff. 255v–257r and *De contemtuo mundi*, ff. 257r–258v; (f. 259 blank); Hainricus de Firmaria, *De VII vitiiis*, ff. 260r–270r; (blank after f. 270); Universitatis Parisiensis et Carthusiani cuiusdam literae de schismate, ff. 271r–273v; *Sermo in concilio Basiliensis*, ff. 274r–277v; Universitatis Parisiensis et Carthusiani cuiusdam literae de schismate (con’t), ff. 278r–280r.
and more legible than its Tegernsee exemplar, which was written by multiple scribes all with comparatively unclear, cramped hands. The scribal organization and visual clarity of Maurus’s ‘copy,’ however, show concerns that go beyond mere textual acquisition. The Tegernsee manuscript contains several texts related to the Council of Basel—two sermons delivered there and a Carthusian/University of Paris tract on the earlier church schism—and Maurus partially copied Johannes Keck’s sermon on the Trinity (ff. 188r–190v) into Scheyern’s copy of Keck’s commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict (Clm 17472, ff. 341r–343v). Scheyern already had part of De septem intineribus aeternitatis in German in Cgm 784; Maurus’s copy of Augustine’s De contemptu mundi in Clm 26138 might derive from this manuscript as well. He reoriented several texts for the Scheyern manuscript, such as Chrysostom’s tract on St. Paul and Hainricus de Firmaria’s De VII vitiis to earlier positions in his manuscript. Both Maurus’s textual and organizational choices show his clear intention to create a precise, highly legible compendium focused on specific needs for Scheyern, which also shows Maurus as a highly competent scribe/librarian closely following the prescriptions of the Melk Reform and modus scribendi. Additionally, Scheyern’s financial accounts record money sent to Maurus at Tegernsee in 1489/90, and paper purchases, which the monk Paulus took to Maurus, clearly relate to the production of this manuscript. The production of this compendium illustrates not only the use of textual exemplars and the scribal choices regarding Scheyern’s textual needs that recreated the exemplar in the copy, but also the textual and scribal differences between the Tegernsee and Scheyern manuscripts that

36 See below, pp. 279–80.

37 BHStA, KL Scheyern 82, f. 385r: Item xii d pro papiro quod portat Paulus fratrem Mauro and f. 386v: Item fratri Mauro ad Tegernsee dedimus vii β d 2α.
highlight the problems in defining a manuscript as a “copy” when there is little sense of mechanical or rote reproduction. Maurus shows us that especially in the production of compendia or groupings of short texts, the scribe had as much power to create as to copy.

One of Maurus’s composed manuscripts clearly shows the lack of media separation between print and manuscript. Clm 17478 (in its current state) is divided into three distinct manuscript units, with several quires missing from the middle of the work (Fig. 12). A table of contents written on f. 1r in the seventeenth century establishes the original contents of the book as:

1 Quadripartitu Cirilli  
2 Formicarius Johannis Nider  
3 libellas Ponitentialis et mirabi joannis de deo  
4 Gerson de trahendis ad Xpm parvulis  
5 __ de arte audiendi confessione  
6 __ de remedis contra [damage]  
7 aureola sc. Hieronymi  
8 legenda sancti francisci et s. clare

The three tracts by Jean Gerson and the Aureola s. Hieronymi are now missing from the work, and the legends of St. Francis and St. Clare are actually three separate works: Bonaventura’s Life of St. Francis, and the anonymous “On the Miracles of St. Francis” and “Legend of St. Clare.” The various texts, including Johannes Nider’s Formicarius, a tract on witchcraft and heresy, share a certain thematic unity insofar as they all concern pastoral care or provide a relationship to the laity. Maurus wrote the Cyrillus and seven unidentified scribes produced the Nider, de Deo, and Legenda texts. Contemporary quire signatures show that the Cyrillus text was on quires a–c, a new codicological unit contained the Nider and de Deo texts on quires a–o, and the Legenda were in quires g–l; the missing texts were on six

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38 The spine of the fifteenth-century binding is now broken, due to the missing quires.
quires a–f. One might assume that these four missing texts were in manuscript; circumstantial evidence, however, suggests otherwise. Johann Sensenschmidt in Nuremberg printed all of these texts around 1470. The three editions would make up six quires, the missing a–f: *De trahendis ad Christum*, a, *De arte audiendi confessiones et De remediis*, a, and Jerome’s *Aureola*, a–b. Scheyern’s 1610 catalogue of manuscripts lists the contents of this volume, yet it skips the Gerson and Jerome texts, which were still in the volume later in the century when the table of contents was added to the pastedown. Since these texts were in print, they were ignored in the *manuscript* catalogue. In the early nineteenth century when the manuscripts and incunabula from the Bavarian monasteries were taken into the royal collection, incunabula were frequently removed from such mixed-media composites, following the contemporary library practices that prized typographic monuments distinctly from manuscripts and separated the two. The removal of the texts (literally destroying the spine of the volume in the process), thus further suggests that those missing were indeed printed texts.

One of the wayward texts might still be at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. A copy of Gerson’s *De arte audiendi confessiones et De remediis contra recidivum peccandi* (2 Inc.s.a. 505) is in a modern binding with a “5.” in the upper right corner of f. a1r (Fig. 13). Such numerals were added to composite works in the nineteenth century to enumerate and clearly distinguish the various tracts in *Sammelbände*. *De arte audiendi confessiones* would have

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39 Jean Gerson, *De trahendis ad Christum parvulis* (Nuremberg: [Johann Sensenschmidt, about 1470]), ISTC ig00274000; Jean Gerson, *De arte audiendi confessiones et De remediis contra recidivum peccandi* ([Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, about 1470]), ISTC ig00191000; Hieronymus, *Aureola ex floribus S. Hieronymi contexta* ([Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, about 1470-72]), ISTC ih00154000.

40 BSB, Cbm Cat. 3, f. 216r; all texts were included in the ca. 1595 catalogue, but without any notation to the medium, see BSB, Cbm Cat. 3, f. 139v–140r.
been the fifth text in Clm 17478. The rebound text has been trimmed, losing any evidence of former quire signatures, and as an independent printed unit, it would not necessarily share any rubrication characteristics with the other codicological units. The evidence is too thin to support any correlation between the initial E on f. a1r of the incunable with those initials found in the manuscript texts of Clm 17478, for the style of incipit initials and lombards varies in each scribal stint, further underscoring the composite nature of this book. The four editions printed by Sensenschmidt around 1470 were all folios on Chancery paper, which promoted their unified binding, almost as a Sammelband in their own right within Clm 17478, and in fact, one of the aspects that helped bring Clm 17478 together was the consistent use of Chancery folio paper for the manuscript and printed works. The autonomous quire signatures in the three units suggest that the parts of this volume might have had independent codicological lives, although the 1471 date of the Cyrillus and the ca. 1470–72 imprint dates for the Nuremberg incunables suggest that they did not circulate as independent codicological units for long before their composite binding at Scheyern. Clm 17478 shows how disparate units—three manuscript booklets and four printed works—were bound together at Scheyern for the production of a composite volume centered on a core theme, while the medium of the text was irrelevant to the volume’s creation.

Further, Maurus’s activity as librarian or head scribe is underscored by his production of textual apparati—tables of contents, indices, headlines, foliation, etc.—and completing texts by adding in any missing leaves. This is especially true for the incunabula, where Maurus added indices to 2 Inc.c.a. 291 b (f. a1v, also headlines and foliation), 2 Inc.s.a. 800

41 The paraphs are similar to those in Clm 17412, although the initials do not bear a similar correspondence.
(ff. 1v–3v, also foliation), and 2 Inc.s.a. 813 c (f. a1v, also foliation), and headlines to 2
Inc.c.a. 309 c (both vols.); the creation of an index and foliation naturally go hand-in-hand.
For whatever reason, several printed books arrived at Scheyern missing text, and in all the
cases where this is observable, Maurus provides the wanting text (2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1, f. C1 and
2 Inc.s.a. 963 mb, f. p4-p7). Overall, Maurus’s scribal production at Scheyern shows a very
broad oeuvre. This reinforces the notion that scribes were not strictly limited to manuscript
texts, and to fully grasp scriptorium production, especially in the fifteenth century, one
cannot simply look at the manuscripts. The breadth of Maurus’s productions for Scheyern
show that he was the most wide-ranging and prolific scribe in the scriptorium, and he is the
one who most likely held the position of librarian and corrector of the refectory reader as
described in the Consuetudines Schyrenses.42

Maurus took over the position of librarian from Stephanus Sandizeller, of whom
comparatively little is known. A seventeenth-century inscription in Clm 17459 refers to
Sandizeller as the cellarer and librarian under both abbots Wilhelm Kienberger and Georg
Spörl, and the one responsible for “ornamenting” the library with books; he died on 6
October 1467.43 Nothing is know about Sandizeller before appearing in library documents in
the 1450s, but the family of Sandizell (Sandecelle) had been tenants of Scheyern since the

43 Folio 95r: Hic liber conscriptus a Stephani Sandizeller Monacho Schyrensis qui vixit ariam annum domini
1467. Sub abbatibus Guilielmo et Georgio: hi Bibliothecam egregii ornativ Feste Bruselhio(?). Obiit
[abraded] neq voloquius Schyrense R. P. Stephanus Sandizeller Cellarii et bibliothecarii Monastarii, quas
Bibliotheca insignifi fue[?]. illustroris obii vi Octobris ioy 1467. Kienberger’s abbacy ended in 1467, so it is
unlikely that Sandizeller was librarian for long under Spörl, indeed, if at all. The Necrologium Schyrense
records Sandizeller’s death date as 17 November 1471; see Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes
Scheyern,” 15; whatever necrology this is, there is no reference to the source in Hartig’s article nor is it part of
the printed Scheyern necrology in MGH, Necrol. III, 133–36.
fourteenth century. Unlike Maurus, Sandizeller seems to have been more librarian than scribe. He wrote only three texts: Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl’s *De tribus partibus penitentiae* and *De oratione dominica*, now bound into the composite manuscript Clm 17459 (ff. 4r–51v and 52r–94v, respectively), and Clm 17510, Andreas de Escobar’s *De decimis*. For Dinkelsbühl’s *De tribus partibus penitentiae* he dated the colophon 1453 (f. 52r):

> The tract on penitence and its parts were completed on Ascension Day after Nones by Brother Stephan Sandizell, at the time a monk at Scheyern. In the year of the Lord [14]53.

The colophon of *De oratione dominica* simply states (f. 94v): [Abraded] *Ave maria Ihesus Xristus Amen. Hab gott dem sel Stefani Sandizeller* [abraded]. The hand is a Cursiva Libraria to Currens; he was fond of large, leftward-looping ascenders on *d* and rightward-looping pointed ascenders on *h* and *l*. The ink is rather heavy in these two works, and Sandizeller seemed to hold the pen so that the nib was nearly horizontal, making the letters broad and often difficult to decipher—this is not the hand of a scribe well trained under the guidance of Melk scribal clarity. Sandizeller rubricated the manuscript in the same script as the text and tended to fill any blank space at the end of a column with a red line. Escobar’s *De decimis*, although not signed, shares these same traits and the unity of the hand is

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45 Joseph von Hefner, “Über die literarischen Leistungen des Klosters Scheyern,” *Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte* 2 (1840): 93 says the two texts were written ca. 1300 under Abbot Ulrich Berchtinger. Hefner likely misread the fifteenth-century “5” in the date on f. 52r as an “M” for the number 1000, and the BSB manuscript catalogues ascribe the date for both manuscripts as “1503.” Clm 17426, a Book of Hours dated 1469, discussed below, is dedicated to the memory of Sandizeller, substantiating his death before this date; therefore, he could not have been producing manuscripts in 1300 nor 1503.

46 Clm 17459, f. 52r: *Explicit tractatus de penitencia et eius partibus in die Ascensionis dominum post nonam per fratrem Stephanum Sandicell tunc temporis conventualis in Scheyren Anno domini 5°3°*.

47 As opposed to Libraria, Currens is characterized by a more rapid ductus, frequently blending letterforms together and producing indistinguishable minims.
apparent. A rather thin manuscript—a quarto of only 33 extant leaves—and incompletely rubricated, its condition leads to questions about the use and context of such small manuscripts. As it currently stands, the manuscript offers no clues as to its previous binding or whether it was once part of a composite manuscript or Sammelband; however, there are contemporary marginal notes throughout the text, which were heavily trimmed in a previous rebinding, but they show that the text, although incompletely rubricated, was well used.

In spite of Sandizeller’s position as librarian, he appears not to have written many manuscripts, and those that he did write do not reveal a very adept scribe; however, his role in the creation of the library goes well beyond scribal production. As the librarian, Sandizeller was likely involved in the commissioning, production, and payment of the manuscripts produced by Hainrich Molitor in the 1450s and 60s. Sandizeller, then identified as the prior, witnessed the contract made between Scheyern and Molitor regarding the balance of a debt Molitor still owed to Scheyern after the textual completion of his Catholicon manuscript (Clm 17402).\footnote{48 On the Catholicon contract, see below, pp. 172–73.} A close working relationship between Sandizeller and Molitor is revealed in Molitor’s colophon to Clm 17426, the Book of Hours that he dedicated to the memory of Sandizeller.\footnote{49 On Clm 17426, see below, pp. 177–79.} Molitor’s typical colophons for Scheyern manuscripts generally state the abbot’s name as part of the monastic dedication (e.g. Clm 14718, f. 256r: sub reverendo in Christo patre et domino domino Georgio Spörl abbate), yet this personal dedication sets the manuscript apart from his other Scheyern productions. The manuscript’s date of 1469 might also suggest 1467 as the true date of Sandizeller’s death (rather than the
1461 also found in the records), since it seems less likely that Molitor would wait eight years after his death to produce a manuscript in Sandizeller’s memory.

Under Sandizeller’s librarianship, Hainrich Zäch wrote the two-volume *Summa* of Astesanus de Ast (Clm 17409–10), completing volume II in 1459 (Fig. 14); he signed the first volume on f. 323r:

> Here ends the fifth book of this summa of cases by Brother Astesanus de Ast of the Franciscan order. Amen. 
> Hainricus Zach.\(^{50}\)

Both volumes share a similar organization of regular 12-leaf parchment quires, a 6-leaf quire ending each volume, and a rather inexplicable 10-leaf quire in the middle of the codex:

- Clm 17409: 1–6\(^{12}\) 7\(^{16}\); 8–19\(^{12}\) 20\(^{10}\) 21–23\(^{12}\) 24\(^{6}\): 334 ll.
- Clm 17410: 1–14\(^{12}\) 15\(^{10}\) 16–26\(^{12}\) 27\(^{6}\): 316 ll.

Volume I uses a 16-leaf quire to complete Book I of the text so that Book II can begin on the first leaf of quire 8; this independent production unit was probably too difficult to plan around, which is why the organization was not continued throughout the work. These two volumes written by Zäch are the only ones from the Scheyern library organized in this manner; he did not follow this idiosyncratic quire construction in his other major manuscript, Clm 17412, Pope Gregory I’s *Homiliae XL* and *Liber regulae pastoralis*. Unlike the Ast volumes, the Gregory manuscript is largely constructed of 10-leaf parchment quires, with two quires of 8- and 6-leaves used to conclude the text. Both of these productions represent the effects of the Melk Reform on Scheyern’s literary production. Not only are they standard monastic texts that Scheyern lacked, but their size, use of parchment, clarity of script, and

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\(^{50}\) Clm 17409, f. 323r: *Explicit liber quintus huius summe de casibus fratris Astexani de Ast de ordine fratrem minorum Amen. / Hainricus Zach.*
textual apparati (both have marginal subject divisions) would have facilitated their use as part of refectory or chapter readings. Neither show signs of heavy personal annotation, but the subject marginalia would have provided clear divisions for short or topical readings in public settings.

Zäch used a Cursiva Libraria with Textualis for rubrics in Astesanus’s *Summa* and the entirety of the Gregory manuscript, which is similar to Maurus’s bookhand (though slightly broader) and likely also learned under Hainrich Molitor; Astesanus’s *Summa* is written in a Cursiva Libraria hand without any Textualis elements. The Textualis elements in Zäch’s hand are readily apparent in the rounded letterforms, double-bowl *a* with open upper bowl, and the very evenly spaced, broad minims (compare Figs. 8 and 14). A distinguishing feature of Zäch’s bookhand is his penchant for writing a *g* with a backward-curling lower-bowl. This is visible in the word “dignissimo” in the first rubric (Fig. 14, line 4a), where the tail of the *g* points down-left with a curl to the right. On the other hand, the *g* in his bookhand (Fig. 14, line 4b) has an open, hooked tail and the upper bowl is enclosed by a flat horizontal stroke; lacking the distinction and rigidness of the Textualis elements, this hand has a more relaxed appearance due to the slight angle of the minims. In both hands Zäch extends some descenders into the bottom margin, and this is exaggerated for his *g*, where the tail can extend well into the bottom margin and have a flamboyant curl back up and to the right (often looking more like a *q*). In fact, this tendency for tails and extenders is another characteristic of his script; it is seen, in a more controlled sense, in the abbreviations for -rum and -us and in his signature on f. 323r where Zäch adds a very thin curled descender. He also seems to prefer a *v* beginning with a leftward loop, a slightly arched, downward stroke with a
crossbar for \( I \), an \( S \) that resembles the number 6 (a Textualis trait), and a \( Q \) with an open bottom and flat top.

With these characteristics in mind, his hand might be identified in the following manuscripts: the rubrics and the table of questions for Book II of the Sentences (ff. 52v–53r) in Clm 17452 from 1468; a transcription of the *Scheyern Fürstentafeln* in Clm 17509, ff. 1r–6v;\(^{51}\) a series of six tracts by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl (ff. 1r–162v) and the beginning of Franciscus de Mayronis, *Tractatus de eucharistiae* (ff. 163r–163vb) in Clm 17456; a section of Clm 17465, Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl’s *Super quarto sententiarum* (vol. I, ff. 1r–74ra), as well as the provenance inscription; the rubrics in Clm 17475, Humbertus, *De expeditione religiosorum libri VI*, dated 1455; and the majority of Scheyern’s account register for 1450–66, BHStA, KL Scheyern 80. In this account register under the year 1462 is a note that Hainrich Zäch was paid for writing.\(^ {52}\) It is unlikely that the payment refers to the account book itself, but rather one of the undated manuscripts, such as Gregory’s *Homeliae* and *Liber pastoralis*. Zäch does not seem to have tried his hand at rubricating any incunabula, yet he added additional texts to the 1484 *Missale Romanum* in the manuscript quire that Maurus added to the end of the printed text (BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 1482). Zäch’s name also appears on the rear pastedown of Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, N. 23, Bonaventure, *Meditationes vitae Christi* (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 12 Mar. [14]68), along with the entreaty: *Da quesumus omnipotens ut qui beati Augustini episcopi et confessoris* (Fig. 15).\(^ {53}\)

\(^{51}\) See below, p. 256.

\(^{52}\) BHStA, KL Scheyern 80, f. 321v: *Hainricus Zach scriptis pro xliii libre ist zalt usque ad quinque qd(?) halr*, Hainrich Zäch wrote for 19 pounds is paid up to five [?] haller.

\(^{53}\) The inscription derives from a collect used on St. Augustine’s feast day, “Grant, we beseech you, Almighty God: that we [who here observe the birthday of] the blessed bishop and confessor Augustine...”
The aspect of the rotund \(Z\) in his signature bears a certain correlation to the \(g\) with the rightward curl on f. 1r of Clm 17409, and similarly, the extended tail on the \(-us\) abbreviation is reminiscent of his habit of extending descenders. Due to the parchment manuscript pastedown underneath this paper pastedown, the paper was ripped across the inscription when it was glued down, so that this inscription was on the paper before its use in this binding; Zäch therefore is not directly related to the book itself and this is not a mark of ownership, but the paper with his name and petition were preserved from another context. This same “Hainricus” is inscribed on the front pastedown of Clm 17412, one of Zäch’s attributed manuscripts, wherein it acts as a mark of scribal production in an otherwise unsigned work.

Zäch’s career at Scheyern spanned over forty years, from at least the production of Ast’s *Summa* in 1459 to 1498, when he left Scheyern to reform and reopen Wessobrunn Abbey, becoming its abbot in 1499.\(^{54}\) Bringing the reform ideas from Scheyern, Zäch focused great attention on reforming the liturgical practices at Wessobrunn, and towards that end he commissioned new liturgical manuscripts—two antiphonaries and a collect—and corrected an old lectionary, and a gradual, “along with the rest,” according to Melk usage.\(^{55}\) His experiences in Scheyern’s scriptorium likely influenced his bibliographic activities at

\(^{54}\) Hemmerle, *Benediktinerklöster in Bayern*, 337–38 and Irmtraud Freifrau von Andrian-Werburg, *Das Bistum Augsburg, 2: Die Benediktinerabtei Wessobrunn*, Germania Sacra: Historisch-statistische Beschreibung der Kirche des alten Reiches 39: Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Mainz (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 403–404. Wessobrunn was dissolved in October of 1498, and on 4 Nov. 1498 three monks from Scheyern—Zäch, Augustin Hafner, and Georg Ziegler—transferred to Wessobrunn to reopen the monastery (BHStA, KL Wessobrunn 24, f. 82v). The transfer of monks to Wessobrunn and the renovation of their library might be the reason why several Scheyern books also have Wessobrunn provenance.

Wessobrunn. Zäch’s transfer to and promotion at Wessobrunn suggests that he held a relatively high position in his final years at Scheyern, which might explain why he was not more active in the scriptorium then.

The next scribe, Frater Placidus, produced two manuscripts as the main scribe: Clm 17476, Humbertus Lombardus, *De nomine et amore Jesu* and *Disputatio de conceptione Beate Virginis*, written in 1485, and Clm 17474, *Expositio super regulam s. Benedicti Johannis Chrysostomi* by the Abbot of Oberaltaich, written in 1491 (Figs. 16–18). Placidus signed the colophon of Clm 17476, after dedicating the work to the love of Christ, on f. 211v:

Jesus Christ the King. This book ends dedicated to and for you, or so that you may receive it consecrated for your name, through grace I pray you also find it to have worth, having been dedicated to you, Christ, so be it. Let love be kindled, and let your honor stand forth, which through this volume, this present thing is taught. Amen.

Frater Placidus

Placidus’s bookhand is also a Cursiva Libraria but with decorative elements, such as the overly-curled macrons, more often found in the more decorative German Fractura hand of the later fifteenth century. While his rubric hand, a more formal Textualis, bears several similarities to those of Maurus and Zäch—the rather rounded and even letterforms, double-bowl *a* with an open top, etc.—his bookhand is quite distinctive in its simultaneous use of sharp, tight loops (e.g. *b*) and more florid sweeping strokes (e.g. macrons, ascenders, crossbars). He initiates several of his letterforms with graceful rightward strokes, for

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56 *Ihesu rex Christe. Tui liber explicit iste / Et tibi dictatus, aut nomini tuo sacratus / Hunc ut suscipere, per gratia tua quoque habere / Digneris flagito, Christe de tituli devoto / Fiat. Ferveat amor, exestat et tuus honor / Qui per volumine, hoc praeens docetur. Amen. / Fr. Placidus*. I would like to thank Michael Barbezat for his help with this translation.

57 *Derolez, Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 169.
example, $A$ and $I$, which are especially apparent when against the left margin (Fig. 16, lines 1a, 34a, and 14b and Fig. 17, lines 20a and 8b); the sway-back ductus of the $I$ is particularly distinctive in the Scheyern scriptorium and not seen in any other scribal production. For $H$, Placidus has several varying letterforms, but the most prevalent tends to be one produced with a rightward curling ascender, with the stroke of the bowl paralleling this stroke, which in turn curls back up to continue to the next letter (Fig. 16, line 2b and Fig. 17, line 2b). For $b$ and $h$ especially, but also on $l$ and tall-s, he produces a small, tight loop on the ascender that is also unique to the Scheyern scriptorium (Fig. 16, line 1b and Fig. 17, line 1a). Overall, Placidus’s bookhand has a more decorative quality than any other seen in the scriptorium or extant Scheyern manuscripts. He also wrote the bulk of Franciscus de Mayronis, *Tractatus de eucharistiae* in the compendium Clm 17456, ff. 163vb–168v (ff. 163r–163vb was produced by Zäch) and rubricated ff. 1r–168v of that volume. He also rubricated several incunabula, including the 1474 Ambrose now at the Schottenkloster in Vienna, vol. I of the 1474 *Pantheologia* (BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 309 c; vol. II was rubricated by Maurus), a commentary on Valerius Maximus (BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 252 ab), and the 1489 edition of Robert Caracciolus’s *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum* now in Philadelphia; he added marginal notes to vol. I of Jerome’s *Epistolae* (BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 953) and two Cistercian devotional tracts printed ca. 1477 in Augsburg (BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 183 and 183/1); he is also the main scribe for Scheyern’s account registers BHStA, KL Scheyern 81 (1467–83) and 133 (early 1490s).\(^{58}\) Placidus seems to have had two main periods of work in the Scheyern scriptorium: most of the incunabula he rubricated are from the late 1470s, while his manuscript production centers

\(^{58}\) This is counter to the perceived notion that “scriptorium” production was separate from a monastery’s administrative writing, see Christ, *The Handbook of Medieval Library History*, 33.
around 1490. Much like Maurus and Zäch, his scribal efforts span a range of productions—complete manuscripts, apparati in a printed book, and monastic documents—which show the diversity of scribal work produced in a monastic scriptorium. The fact that his primary period for manuscript production was well after the advent of print shows the continued necessity of the traditional craft even with the ‘new media,’ and his rubrication of printed books—just as with Maurus and Zäch—proves the equable cohabitation of the two books forms in the scriptorium and library.

The following series of scribes sign their names to only one manuscript each, and in the case of two scribes, they might have also rubricated a printed book. Outside of their names and individual works, nothing is known about these monks, their roles in the monastery, or their literary lives. Johannes Laubvogel wrote Clm 17501, a compendium of works by Dionysius Areopagite, in 1475.\footnote{De coelestia hierarchica, ff. 1r–52r; De ecclesiastica hierarchica, ff. 52r–113r; De divinis nominibus, ff. 113v–198r; De mystica theologia, ff. 198r–227v; Epistolarum ex translatione Johannis Scoti Erigenae, ff. 228r–229r.} He signed f. 227v, the colophon to \textit{De mystica theologia} with: \textit{Deo gracias fro ich da war. Explicit liber Epistolarum Dyonisii Ariopagite per me Johannem Laubvogel de Scheyrn scriptum et finitum die xii mensis Maii Anno domini M\textdegree ccccc\textdegree lxxv\textdegree}.\footnote{The Laubvogel manuscript was mentioned by Magnoaldo Ziegelbauer along with the other literary treasures of Scheyern in his \textit{Historia rei literariae ordinis s. Benedicti} (Augsburg: Veith, 1754), I: 554.} Laubvogel was also the rubricator of the volume and likely added the lombard initials at the textual incipits, which are in the same ink as the rubrication.

Johannes Burger wrote the majority of Clm 17523, a composite manuscript of ten texts produced around 1468–69, with small sections and illustrations by Maurus of Eichstätt.\footnote{Johannes Burger wrote ff. 1r–131v, 134r–233v, and 319r–346r and Maurus, ff. 132r–133v and 234r–318v; see Catalogue, pp. 350–51.}
Burger signed f. 346r as: *fratrem Iohannem Burger in Scheyrensis*. Burger’s hand is quite similar to Maurus’s Cursiva Libraria/Textualis hand, suggesting that Maurus trained Burger, yet Burger produced slightly different capital letters and with less decorative marginal flourishing than was typical for Maurus. The overall theme of the manuscript centers around confessional behavior and practice, with additional stints intermixed with sections taken from the popular handbooks on canon law (Heinrich of Merseburg and Johannes of Freiburg), and Laurentius Valla’s tract on free will. Burger’s stints largely focus on the confessional aspect, while Maurus’s stints, bound in the middle of Burger’s, include both confessional themes and a seemingly out of place two-quire booklet with a list of sacred books and a scriptural mnemonic text by Johannes Schlitpacher.\(^62\)

Another Scheyern scribe, Frater Benedict, shows similarities as well to the script of Hainrich Zäch, under whom he likely learned to write. Benedict wrote parts of Clm 26134, an undated composite manuscript of monastic and canon law texts: a version of the Rule of St. Benedict derived from St. Basil and Bernard of Clairvaux (ff. 1r–180r) and “On the discipline of monks” (ff. 223r–226v). He signed the colophon on f. 178v: *Explicit regula Sancti Benedicti per fratrem Benedictum diaconum* and an initial on f. 83r (see below). His regular bookhand is quite similar to that of Zäch in Clm 17409–10, while his rubrics and titles bear the Textualis features of Zäch’s hand in Clm 17412. Benedict’s production in Clm 26134 not only represents the physical composition of manuscripts from individual working units, but also the scribal training provided at the monastery.

\(^{62}\) This stint, quires 28–29, was likely introduced to the confessional collection at binding.
The commonalities of the hands between many Scheyern scribes shows some form of centralized scribal instruction at the monastery, all of which stems from Hainrich Molitor’s contemporary Augsburg script first introduced to the monastery around 1452. The form was picked up by Maurus and Zäch, who likely passed it on to Placidus, Johannes Burger, and Benedict through their work in the scriptorium. An important aspect of the Melk Reform was literary production, but importantly, also the legibility and clarity of that production, and the Cursiva Libraria hand with Textualis elements promulgated in the Scheyern scriptorium fit that bill exactly.

Frater Georg Figuli (Figuli is possibly the Latinized version of the German name Töpfer, i.e., Potter) wrote Clm 17521 in 1491–92 in a Cursiva Libraria hand but without the more angular Textualis elements common in the scriptorium. Georg signed both texts in the manuscript, the Opusculum de preaconiis et magnificis excellentiis V. Mariae on p. 210: F. G. Explicit quarto kalendas Octobris. Hac est in festo sancti Veneslav (28 Sept.) Anno domini 1491, and Jean Gerson’s Regulae morales, p. 298: Finiunt regule morales Magistri Johannis Gerson septimo idus Marcii (9 March) Feria sexta ante dominicam quadragesime. Per me Fratrem Georgium Figuli anno domini 1492. Frater Georg made use of a symbol as part of his scribal signature (p. 210):

\[\text{\includegraphics[width=0.3\textwidth]{image.png}}\]

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63 On the script, see below, pp. 170 and 198–99.

64 Steinberg, “Instruction in Writing,” 211.
The colophon on p. 298 also bears this arrowhead symbol, although pointing downward and without the initials. Similarly, in the three-volume *Opera* of Jean Gerson printed in 1488 (2 Inc.c.a. 2057 a), volume II includes a manuscript register written by Figuli on three 10-leaf quires bound at the start of the volume. On the final folio (f. 3/10v) he signed the work, *Finit quinto nonas Marcii MCCCClxxxviiij* (3 March 1489), with the arrowhead symbol, which also appears at the colophon to volume II on f. Ss5v, where he wrote *Laus deo omnipotenti*, accompanied by another arrowhead. Georg’s use of a symbol in addition to his name to identify his work is unique in the Scheyern scriptorium, and such a visual signature, akin to a mason’s mark, might have been a way to have his work accounted for in the disparate production of the scriptorium.

The only identified scribe of a German manuscript at Scheyern is Stephan Hüczgüet, a lay brother of the monastery. He wrote the majority of Cgm 784 (ff. 9r–277v), a composite theological, devotional manuscript; other scribes produced the calendar on ff. 1r–8v and texts on ff. 278r–288v. Hüczgüet signed the manuscript several times: f. 157v, *Das hat geschrieben Stephan Hüczguet convers proves ze Scheyren anno domini 1458 an sand Veicz tag* (15 June) and on f. 277v (with damaged text), *...üczt converß prove...an Ulrichs tag* (4 July). Scheyern did not have a large vernacular collection, with only a couple of manuscripts and printed books in German, and this is the only securely attributed vernacular devotional manuscript.

Collectively, the manuscripts produced by the Scheyern scriptorium show the diverse and varied nature of bibliographic production in the fifteenth century. Their library was built through both highly trained monastic scribes who appear in many books (e.g. Maurus of 140

65 On the lay brothers, see above, pp. 80–1.
Eichstätt), as well as singular productions by otherwise unknown scribes of individual booklets, units, and complete manuscripts. The majority of Scheyern manuscripts are unsigned, but more than that, rarely have I identified one hand producing more than one of these manuscripts. As with the signed production, these unsigned production units include the various constructions of monographic and composite manuscripts and compendia, such as Clm 1208, the *Chronica* of Otto of Freising, a single work written by eight anonymous scribes *in seriati*m.\(^{66}\) Not surprisingly, Scheyern monks with an aptitude for writing also produced monastic documents, such as their account registers, where Zäch’s and Placidus’s hands make annual appearances.\(^{67}\) Initiated under Stephanus Sandizeller, the initial growth in manuscript production at Scheyern was the result of the complete implementation of the Melk Reform under Abbot Kienberger and the employment of Hainrich Molitor, whose scribal influence is seen in the perpetuation of his scribal hand through Maurus and the other monks. While the majority of Scheyern manuscripts are unsigned or single monuments to a scribe’s activity, the manuscript growth of the library was the direct result of individual accomplishments in book production. The ‘scriptorium’ was not *solely* a structured and centralized entity as the variety of manuscript production proves, but rather a series of different and multiple production opportunities. It seems to have run partially in rotation, with each monk taking his turn at the round of manual labors, i.e. cleaning the monastery,

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\(^{66}\) Scribe 1, ff. 1r–20va, 41r–44r; Scribe 2: ff. 20va–30v and 71r–80v; Scribe 3: ff. 31r–40v; Scribe 4: ff. 44v–51va; Scribe 5, ff. 51va–52ra; Scribe 6, ff. 52ra–56va; Scribe 7, ff. 56vb–70v; Scribe 8, ff. 81r–149v.

\(^{67}\) Karl Christ, *The Handbook of Medieval Library History*, trans. Theophil M. Otto (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1984), 33 argued that the “business office” was separate from the scriptorium; however, at Scheyern, this separation is clearly permeable. In 1487, the monastery employed a scribe, Sixtus (otherwise unknown), for unidentified work. He is included with a list of servants—swineherd, smith, brewer, etc.—and was thus likely not a monk at the monastery, see BHStA, KL Scheyern 82, ff. 149r–152v. This same section details some payments to monastic officials, such as four gulden, a robe, and shoes for Martin, the cellarer.
tending the land, producing food, and making manuscripts, as suggested by the Melk
customary.

Decorating Books at Scheyern: Illuminations and Initials

If for scribal production at Scheyern there are comparatively few identified hands then
there are even fewer named hands decorating the manuscripts and incunables. In only three
cases did Scheyern decorators sign their work, and these are for lombard initials rather than
major illumination. There are only a couple of entries for decoration in the Scheyern account
books, which suggests that most decoration was produced in house or, if produced out of the
monastery, hidden in the total price of the purchased book.\textsuperscript{68} As with scribal production, the
decoration of manuscripts and incunabula—which includes elaborate illumination, flourished
initials, simple lombard initials, and visual rubrication, such as the addition of paraph marks
or capital strokes—shows many different hands at work, which supports the diverse and
disparate nature of book production at the monastery seen with the scribal production. Even
more so than for the textual production, book decoration at Scheyern shows a substantial
division of labor, where in some cases different hands produced the major initials, minor
initials, and rubricated apparati. This division is a more common aspect of printed books, and
it suggests that as Scheyern’s acquisitions increased, the practice of rubrication was treated in
assembly-line fashion, wherein specific individuals provided specific rubricated features in

\textsuperscript{68} Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 16–17 records various payments for painted
letters and pictures in 1494–98 referenced in KL Scheyern 82, f. 319r, yet I was unable to find these entries in
the ledger. The monastery bought a painted letter of St. Christopher, BHStA, KL Scheyern 82, f. 385r: \textit{Item vi
denarii pro una littera depicta ymagine Christoferi}, but in Scheyern’s extant books there is not an image of St.
Christopher, neither produced by hand nor in a printed image. There are only two woodcut Crucifixions
remaining in Scheyern books: a fifteenth-century woodcut pasted inside the top board of Clm 17423 and a
sixteenth-century engraving pasted inside the top board of Clm 17426.
new purchases. Of the named individuals responsible for Scheyern decoration, two are the monks Maurus and Benedictus, and the other is identified by the letters he included in two initials in an incunable, C. P. The bulk of Scheyern book decoration was provided by anonymous hands, but I have given descriptive names to the two most elaborate and distinguishable decorators, the “Rich Illuminator” and “Geometric Flourisher,” who I will discuss in more detail below. The only Scheyern ‘illuminator’ to sign his work is found in the 1487 manuscript of Otto of Freising’s *Chronica* (Clm 1208), where an initial on f. 39v is inscribed, *von Scheirn dy illuministen*. The “illumination” is brown penwork in a very messy lattice-work pattern, which I have not seen in any other Scheyern manuscript or incunable, nor is it even reflected in the rest of the initials in *Chronica*. The identification of some decorative hands is problematic, especially those based around lombard initials, which by their very nature can be rather generic and undistinguished, and as with scribal hands, certain aspects might have been taught or copied from within the monastery. On the other hand, even minor lombards proved an ample field for creative embellishment, and the initials created by a single hand can range from the plain to the elaborate, obfuscating attempts at attribution. Whereas scribal production provides entire pages and quires of comparanda, an incipit page might have only one or two lombard initials and many pages do not have any, which provides more limited possibilities for comparisons. Furthermore, just as scribes might have written in different scripts depending on the textual circumstances, decorators similarly

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70 The other main scribes, who in all likelihood also decorated books, do not have any attributed decorative production. For example, the major initials in Hainrich Zäch’s Clm 17409–10 are incomplete and the minor lombard initials are completely without distinction.
might have produced different styles of decoration depending upon the situation. As multiple decorators are likely to have worked on the same book, we cannot automatically assume that every decorative aspect in a book was produced by the same hand: even slight changes in motifs or overall construction and aspect of the letterform could suggest a separate hand at work.\footnote{There is much more variation in the construction of lombard initials, than, for example, majuscule letters in a scribal hand.} With these caveats in mind, my groupings of Scheyern decoration are quite conservative and strictly based upon the consistent repetition of specific motifs or letterforms within a single quire/unit or volume and then repeated in other volumes.\footnote{The assignments are based on a random sampling of lombard initials in a single book, which might have contained hundreds of such initials.} As with manuscript production, there appear to be a number of hands securely identifiable in only one volume or part of a volume, which is likely the similar result of monks taking their turn at book decoration as part of their routine of manual labors. This examination of the decorative aspects in Scheyern books is not exhaustive nor a catalogue of every style found in the books, but rather the examples discussed will again highlight important aspects of book production at Scheyern and address basic questions regarding scriptorium decoration and working methods: who was responsible for decorating Scheyern’s books, and how was that decoration accomplished? The diversity of decorative styles belies any definition of a singular ‘Scheyern style’ and even argues against the identification of such a homogeneous definition for other monasteries and institutions.\footnote{Beier, “Producing, Buying and Decorating Books in the Age of Gutenberg,” 65–82 discusses several examples of commercial and monastic decorative styles in manuscripts and incunabula.}

Frater Maurus, though a very identifiable scribe, is harder to distinguish as a decorator. He signed one initial in his compendia Clm 17502; in the initial M on f. 91v he inscribed a
scroll: *Est scriptus per fratrem Maurum A*–*87* (Fig. 9). Although it states that he “wrote” this, the inclusion of this statement as part of the decoration clearly shows that he was also responsible for the production of the initial(s). Clm 17502, which, although entirely written by Maurus (in four scribal production units), has two decorative production units: ff. 1r–121v (Maurus’s first scribal unit) and 122r–261v (final three scribal units). Based upon the signed initial on f. 91v and the continuity of flourishing, the initials in the first unit were all decorated by Maurus; the second decorative unit was decorated by my so-called Geometric Flourisher, whose crisp delineation of form and repertoire of motifs is easily distinguishable from Maurus’s production in the previous unit. There thus seems to have been little proprietary sense of scribal versus decorative production in a single manuscript, where in this case part of the decorative work in Maurus’s manuscript was completed by another Scheyern monk. This only underscores the dispersed yet cooperative nature of monastic book production. Either concurrently or successively, two hands decorated what one hand wrote. This kind of cooperation clearly illustrates the diversity of book production practiced in many monasteries, not just Scheyern.

Maurus was likely much more active adding unadorned lombard initials—which are harder to distinguish—to manuscripts and printed books, and even as a scribe he was including elaborate black or red cadel initials as part of the written text. Maurus’s two decorative schemes are apparent in his manuscript of Mathias Tuberinus’s *Relatio de Simone puero tridentino*, which shows both his elaborate cadel I with some ivy leaf and pearl decoration (as in Clm 17502) and an unflourished lombard R (2 Inc.s.a. 1044, f. 61r; Fig.
It is a banal detail, but the curled, balled terminals of the R are one identifiable aspect of Maurus’s style, since they are consistently found on the minor lombard initials in most of his manuscripts. These same characteristics are also seen in his manuscript addition to Clm 23337, the thirteenth-century lectionary, where the initials beginning each pericope on ff. 42r–51v have the same gentle sway to the balled terminal, if more elaborately flourished than the Tuberinus or Clm 17502 (Fig. 19, e.g., the initial A on f. 42r). Other aspects consistently found in the lombards in Maurus’s manuscripts include exaggerated curves on Ss (including the 6-type of S), s-curls as the crossbar in As and Es, extended ball-terminals that are reminiscent of Art Nouveau motifs, and an overall neat and proportional appearance to the letterform (this is certainly not the case with all lombard initials in Scheyern books nor rubrication in general). The repetitive nature of such decoration might have led Maurus (and many rubricators) to create visual fantasies with the letterforms, often inspiring their idiosyncratic decorative tendencies. In Maurus’s case, two of the initials in his entire oeuvre have integrated animal forms: 2 Inc.s.a. 1214 e, I, f. h2v includes a bird on the flourished tail of an N and the vertical body of the P on f. o7r has been turned into a lizard.

74 The lombards in 2 Inc.s.a. 1044, which with the Tuberinus is bound, are different than those in Maurus’s manuscript.

75 An identical R is also seen in 2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1, f. l2v.

76 Maurus’s lombards are found in: Esztergom, MS II 6; BSB, Clm 17407, 17408, 17452, 17467, 17474, 17477, 17478, 17480, 17502, 17503, 23337, 26138; BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 309 c, I–II, 2 Inc.c.a. 563 c/d, 2 Inc.c.a. 801 c, 2 Inc.c.a. 953, I–II, 2 Inc.c.a. 1051, 2 Inc.c.a. 1051, 2 Inc.c.a. 1065 c, 2 Inc.c.a. 1125, 2 Inc.c.a. 1153, I, II, and IV, 2 Inc.c.a. 1482, ff. 2v–7v, 91r–94v, and 182r–va, 2 Inc.c.a. 1706, q.q. a–f, 2 Inc.c.a. 2197 c, 2 Inc.c.a. 2225 s, q.q. r–G, 2 Inc.s.a. 212 a, I, II, and IV, 2 Inc.s.a. 800, 2 Inc.s.a. 813 c, 2 Inc.s.a. 872 a, 2 Inc.s.a. 963 mb, 2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1, 2 Inc.s.a. 1214 e, I–II, Inc.c.a. 13; and GNM, N. 23.
In only two cases did Maurus partially rubricate a book: 2 Inc.c.a. 1706, qq. a–f and 2 Inc.c.a. 2225 s, qq. r–G, and in 2 Inc.c.a. 1153 and 2 Inc.s.a. 212 a he was responsible for three of the four volumes (vols. I, II, and IV in each case). In the books bearing Maurus’s rubrication, there is no similar uniformity to the illumination or flourished decoration, and his style of flourishing is only found in Clm 23337, 2 Inc.c.a. 801 c, and 2 Inc.s.a. 872 a. Augsburg illuminators worked on Clm 17407 as well as 2 Inc.c.a. 309 c, II, f. a2r, 2 Inc.s.a. 1214 e, I, ff. a2r, c3r and II, f. bb1r, and GNM, N. 23, f. a2r; the Rich Illuminator provided decoration for 2 Inc.c.a. 212 a, I–IV, 2 Inc.c.a. 1125, and 2 Inc.s.a. 813 c; and the Geometric Flourisher added to Clm 17407 and 17502, 2 Inc.c.a. 309 c, I–II, 2 Inc.c.a. 563 c/d, 2 Inc.c.a. 953, I–II, and 2 Inc.c.a. 1482. Maurus’s work as a rubricator does not have a consistent parallel in a decorative hand, but what these books afford us is a clear picture of the variety

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77 Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 14–15 incorrectly attributes the illumination of Clm 17407 to Hainrich Molitor, who was already deceased.
and variability of Scheyern book decoration and the cooperative nature of the rubrication and decoration process.

The vast majority of books that Maurus rubricated also bear his *Iste liber est* provenance inscription, a title label on the top board in his hand, and an acquisition code on the first fly leaf (likely also added by him); the incunables were largely printed in the 1470s and early 1480s, with only three imprints after 1485, which more-or-less mirrors his dated scribal productions. His activity in the Scheyern library is overwhelmingly comprehensive. Maurus not only wrote but also added lombards and cadels to the liturgical manuscripts Clm 17407 and 17408, high-profile productions that required a neat and careful scribe and a similarly able decorator; even though the manuscripts were produced four years apart and with different styles of illumination, the uniform script and lombards attest to the same hand at work on both books. The evidence shows that Maurus was the main rubricator in the Scheyern scriptorium into the mid-1480s, after which point he seems to refocus on scribal production (Clm 17407, 17408, 17477, and 17502) and leaves the rubrication (predominantly incunabula) to other hands. Maurus was thoroughly involved in book production at Scheyern, and his work shows how one individual whom we would normally identify simply as a ‘scribe’ was in fact a much more comprehensive book producer.

Frater Benedictus decorated his production unit in Clm 26134 (ff. 1r–180r) and signed the initial on f. 83r (Fig. 20). The use of the spiral ribbon and alternating curled leaves in

78 Clm 17421, also written by Maurus, has lombards of a slightly different style, which are likely products of the Augsburg illumination workshop that provided the major decoration and initials throughout the manuscript, see below, pp. 201–2.

79 An initial ‘I’ in 2 Inc.s.a. 813 c, Nicolaus de Lyra, *Moralia super totam Bibliam* ([Strasbourg: Georg Husner, about 1479]), f. 139r has the word “benedictus” written over it, but I do not think this is a signature; Maurus foliated the incunable and the style of initials does not match that seen in Benedictus’s unit of Clm 26134.
this initial are references to other decorative motifs in Scheyern work, and just as he learned
to write via Hainrich Zäch, it seems his decorative style was also learned in the scriptorium.
This individual work shows a monk acting as both scribe and decorator of a single
production unit, and although it is a very minimal production in the Scheyern scriptorium, it
illustrates the often piecemeal nature of monastic book production.

The other named decorator at Scheyern is identified in an incunable from 1500, where
the initials “C :~” and “~: P” are inscribed in lombards on facing pages (Fig. 21). The style
of lombards and rubrication associated with these initials is found in approximately 17
incunable volumes, mainly printed in 1490–1500. C. P.’s decoration is defined by the use of
comma-like strokes in place of the more tradition balls in the bowls of the letterforms, a
diamond where two strokes join (as at the intersection of the two bowls of a ‘B’), flourishes
—a very consistent horizontal figure-8—attached to lombard initials and extending into the
margins from paraph marks or L-brackets, and nearly identical independent flourishes in the
bottom-center or top-center margins, all generally in a rather orangey-red (Figs. 21–22).

By this stage in the decoration of Scheyern incunables, the acquisition of books was likely
outstripping the abilities of the rubricators, and several of C. P.’s productions are only
partially complete. He only rubricated ff. a1r–a5r and d3v–d4r of 4 Inc.c.a. 1378 e (showing
that he was working through the book in serial fashion rather than by bifolium), while in 2

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80 2 Inc.c.a. 3870 c, Bernardino de Busti, *Rosarium sermonum* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, for Johannes
Rynman, 1500), I: ff. 220v–221r. There is no evidence to associate C. P. with Frater Placidus’s equally florid
style because the lombard initials in Placidus’s two manuscripts (Clm 17474 and 17476) are not in C. P.’s style,
nor do Placidus’s manuscripts have the marginal flourishing common to C. P.

81 C. P. rubricated: BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 2758, 2 Inc.c.a. 3182, I–II, 2 Inc.c.a. 3320, 2 Inc.c.a. 3446 and 3446/1, 2
Inc.c.a. 3490 b, 2 Inc.c.a. 3768 b, qq. a–L, 2 Inc.c.a. 3791, 2 Inc.c.a. 3870, I–II, 2 Inc.c.a. 248 d, q. ss, 2 Inc.s.a.
873 ad(3, and 4 Inc.c.a. 1378 e; Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. 5Q.1.16–18; Washington, Library of Congress, ff Hain
9934.
Inc.c.a. 3446 and 2 Inc.c.a. 3870 he only added visual rubrication to those leaves that also required initials; ff Hain 9934 received one initial on f. d1r only, with no further rubrication in the entire volume. This pattern of partially or sporadically completed rubrication is present in several Scheyern incunabula printed in the last decade of the century.\textsuperscript{82} The rubricators seemed to cope as best they could with the increased acquisitions, only completing those aspects that were fully necessary for the use of the book, but not always even that bare minimum.\textsuperscript{83} A number of Scheyern incunables bear no rubrication at all—the required initials were not completed (sometimes referred to as “unrealized”)—and either there are blank spaces in the text or the printed guide letter stands in for the wanting hand-produced initials.\textsuperscript{84} Books with incomplete major initials were possibly waiting for more elaborate decoration, which clearly never materialized; this is also seen in the first volume of Ast’s \textit{Summa} written by Hainrich Zäch, where the incipit initial was never produced. This breakdown in rubrication is not only seen at Scheyern but is also common across western Europe in the period and probably hints at the overall loss of the manuscript traditions as books that were typographically complete and did not require any hand additions became the norm; the ability to complete books by hand and preference/necessity for it waned, and the lack of such completion—to the point of leaving a gaping hole in the text—evidently mattered little to contemporary readers. The vagaries of rubrication in Scheyern books illustrate three main

\textsuperscript{82} For example: 2 Inc.c.a. 305 (rubrication stops at end of q. c), 2 Inc.c.a. 801 c (paraphs stop after q. c), 2 Inc.c.a. 3044 (rubrication stops after q. b), and 4 Inc.c.a. 1022a (rubrication on sporadic leaves after q. i).

\textsuperscript{83} Smith, “Patterns of Incomplete Rubrication,” does not distinguish between different forms of rubrication, such as the completion of lombards for which space is left in the printed text vs. the addition of paraphs and underlining, which are helpful but neither necessary nor a part of the printer’s program.

\textsuperscript{84} Major initials incomplete: 2 Inc.c.a. 801 c (f. a2r), 2 Inc.c.a. 1721 x (f. a1r), 2 Inc.c.a. 2033 o (f. a1r), 2 Inc.c.a. 2056 (f. a2r), 2 Inc.c.a. 2314 (f. a2r), 2 Inc.c.a. 2535 n (II, f. Aa1r; III, f. A2r; IV, f. A2r), 2 Inc.c.a. 3044 (f. a2r), fully unrubricated: 2 Inc.c.a. 832, 2 Inc.c.a. 1744, 2 Inc.c.a. 1939 b, 2 Inc.c.a. 1948 d, 2 Inc.c.a. 2068 a, 2 Inc.c.a. 2886 o, 2 Inc.c.a. 3334 b, 2 Inc.c.a. 3514, 4 Inc.c.a. 1187 g; GNM, 102052/45.
points: first, for manuscripts, incomplete rubrication is rare, and with only a few exceptions is the rubrication not completed by the scribal hand; secondly, the acquisition of printed books led to a greater diversity of decorative hands in the Scheyern scriptorium and a division of labor in rubrication; and finally, as the end of the century neared, the rubrication and decoration of incunabula dropped off due to the perceived non-necessity of hand decoration.

The manuscript addition of lombards were necessary to complete and articulate most texts, both manuscript and incunable. A largely anonymous task, such hand completion, especially for printed books, fell under the Melk prescription to “write” and care for books, and the variety of lombard initials in Scheyern books—ranging from the well-done to sloppy suggests that a bevy of monks tried their hand at rubrication, some with more success than others. Many lombards can be grouped according to specific decorative motifs. For example, an anonymous lombarder favored wavy flourishes on his letterforms, which are found in three incunables from 1488–89 (2 Inc.c.a. 2555 s, qq. n–o, 2 Inc.s.a. 178 c, and 4 Inc.c.a. 567 b). Many more books, however, bear initials that are too generic or too idiosyncratic with little consistency in motifs to attribute to individual hands; in some of these cases, the initials were likely added before the book arrived in Scheyern’s library and do not represent products of the scriptorium.

Georg Figuli (the arrowhead scribe) might have also added the lombards to the Gerson Opera of 1488 (2 Inc.c.a. 2057 a), for the same style of lombards is found throughout all three volumes as well as his manuscript register. If he is indeed the decorator, he preferred

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85 On the Melk concern for books, “scribere libros, ligare vel corrigere libros,” in Angerer, Breviarium Caeremoniarum Monasterii Mellicensis, CCM XI/1, 72, see above, pp. 75–76.
decorating the bowl of the letterform with three balls in a pyramid arrangement and
separating the various strokes of the letterform into individual components, unattached in the
main letterform. Similar initials are also found in several incunables printed from 1486–91,
including 2 Inc.c.a. 2337 and 2337/1, 2 Inc.c.a. 1706, 2 Inc.s.a. 179, and 2 Inc.c.a. 2545 (ff.
R1r–R3r). Figuli’s scribal production, Clm 17521, is the only manuscript in the Scheyern
library to use a printed initial. A woodcut initial A (47x40mm) was integrated to the text at
the incipit on f. 1v and the text fits neatly around the edges of the pasted-in paper; the rest of
the lombards in the manuscript (one 8-line O on f. 1r and many 3-line initials throughout)
were added by hand and are rather generic and undistinguished. In fact, these manuscript
lombards do not accord with those in the five incunables identified with Figuli’s rubrication;
therefore, another hand is likely responsible for the lombards in Clm 17521, even though the
inclusion of the woodcut initial was only possible through scribal planning. Figuli’s work on
Clm 17521 and the incunables clearly articulate the diverse nature of scriptorium production
and the lack of contemporary distinction from the standpoint of production between
manuscript and print.

More elaborate articulation of the text was achieved through illuminated and flourished
initials, for which there are two main hands/styles at Scheyern. They are anonymous, and
based upon their various visual characteristics, I have named them the Geometric Flourisher
and Rich Illuminator. Both artists were active in the 1480s to 1490s, and appear together in a
bible printed in 1493 (2 Inc.c.a. 2887); I have yet to find their work in books from any other
monastery and their preponderance at Scheyern suggests that they were local rather than
commercial artists.
The Geometric Flourisher partially decorated Maurus’s manuscript Clm 17502 and is found in 18 other manuscript and incunable volumes acquired in the 1480s and 1490s. His decorations are tightly woven compositions of teardrop or triangular-shaped curled leaves, spiral ribbon or curled-leaf frames, bouquets of club-flowers, and open white leaves, all meticulously outlined; this is then further flourished with assemblies of three balls, symmetrical groupings of 3–7 hairlines, and small curls (Figs. 16, 17, 23, and 24). He also frequently incorporated the Scheyern coats-of-arms into his decorations, either framing them within his compositions or adding an independent shield to the margin of a folio decorated by another hand (e.g. Clm 17407, f. 1r; Fig. 7). As before, his flourished initials do not coincide with the work of a single scribe—Clm 17407 and 17502 were written by Maurus and Clm 17476 by Placidus—and for the incunabula, there is similarly no regular parallel between his flourished decoration and a single, identified rubricator’s hand. The spiral ribbon is a motif likely derived from Hainrich Molitor (e.g. Clm 17402, f. 1r), and in Bodleian, Auct. 5Q 1.16, f. a1r and BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 800, f. a1r, the ribbon curls around a stick as also found in Molitor’s productions and GNM, N. 23, f. 2r illuminated in Augsburg (Fig. 65). His decorative work shows the same divided labor practices of the Scheyern scriptorium, which, when responsible for only one or two initials per book, is not surprising. Typically he is responsible for the major incipit initial(s) in a work (e.g. Clm 17476, ff. 1r and 10r [Figs. 16–17] and 2 Inc.c.a. 953, I, ff. 1r and a1r and II, ff. 2r and A1r) and the elaborate flourishing is not found throughout the text. The four-volume printed *Biblia latina* from 1493 (2 Inc.c.a.

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86 Clm 17407, 17476, and 17502; 2 Inc.c.a. 309 c, II, 2 Inc.c.a. 563 c/d, 2 Inc.c.a. 953, I–II, 2 Inc.c.a. 1482, 2 Inc.c.a. 2887 (I, f. Aa3v only), 2 Inc.c.a. 2889, 2 Inc.s.a. 800, 2 Inc.s.a. 994, I, and 4 Inc.c.a. 662 d; GNM, 102052/81; Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. 5Q 1.16. 2 Inc.s.a. 994 was printed about 1473–75, but the first fly leaf of each volume bears the acquisition code p27 and p28, respectively, suggesting that the work was not acquired until about 1487; on the acquisition codes, see below, pp. 272–77.
2887) shows several hands at work on the book, including two Scheyern and one commercial artist. The incipit initial for Jerome’s “Frater Ambrosius” letter (I, f. Aa4r) was likely illuminated in an intermediary workshop between the printer and Scheyern, for the style does not correspond to any other Scheyern production and is not found in any other book in the library. The Geometric Flourisher produced the initials on I, ff. Aa2r and Aa3v, while the Rich Illuminator provided the incipit initial to Genesis on I, f. Ac5v; the incipit initials in the remainder of the volumes were completed by the Geometric Flourisher. The Rich Illuminator’s more elaborate decoration was granted solely to the beginning of the biblical text as a symbol of hierarchical importance. Such division further underscores the often piecemeal nature of incunable decoration, as the work was divided between several rubricators/decorators to complete when the book entered the monastery.\(^87\) The Geometric Flourisher completed Clm 17407, the missal written by Maurus in 1485 and partially illuminated in Augsburg, providing the bulk of the initials after the Canon of the mass in the second-half of the manuscript, the sanctorum; the Augsburg decorator is largely consigned to the *Ordo missae* and Canon.\(^88\) Unlike the 1493 printed Bible, the differences in decoration here likely do not reflect some sort of decorative hierarchy in the liturgical text, for Clm 17421, Maurus’s undated missal, is fully illuminated in Augsburg. The work of the Geometric Flourisher shows no decorative distinction between genres or media; in other words, he decorated both liturgical works and reading/reference texts, both manuscript and

\(^{87}\) The initial on f. Aa3v has offset on its conjoint leaf, f. Aa6r; similar offsets occur in III, ff. P2v·P7r and P3v·P6r and IV, ff. a4v·a5r.

\(^{88}\) The Augsburg illuminator completed initials on ff. 1r, 4r, 8v, 15r, 19r, 20v, 24v, 25v, 39r, 46r, and 53v, while the Geometric Flourisher provided those on ff. 2r, 3r, 47v, 48r, 49v, 51r, 52r, 53v, 55r, 56v, 57v, 59r, 61v, 63v, 64v, 65v, 67r, 68v, 70r, 75r, 79r, and 83r.
print. The meticulously organized compositions have no derivative parallels in other Scheyern work, nor have I found comparanda at Tegernsee, SS. Ulrich and Afra, or other surrounding monasteries. This hand might be the one most aptly used to define a ‘Scheyern style’; but because it belongs to an individual, and as there is no evidence that this decorative scheme was taught or perpetuated in the scriptorium or used as a self-defining characteristic in Scheyern’s books, such an over-generalizing term should be avoided.

I have named Scheyern’s most elaborate illuminator the “Rich Illuminator” due to his use of a slightly darker, well-saturated palette and penchant for gold leaf. Frequently on a blind-stamped, gold leaf ground, his colored initials are composed of leafforms, as is standard in contemporary illumination; from these initials, in turn, elaborately curling leaves spiral through the margins containing fantastical and naturalistic flowers, fruits and strawberries, and spherical shapes decorated rather like Easter eggs (*Christuskügeln* in German) (Figs. 18, 25–32). He sprinkles delicately flourished byzants throughout the margins of folios where he has also provided the major initial, with similar filigree flourishing on floral stems that extend from the illumination; in some work, this filigree flourishing is found inside the bowl of the major initial. Most important, this illuminator seems to have two different styles of illumination: the one composed of the richly colored leaves and another built around pure filigree ornamentation. On several occasions the two styles coincide, not only in marginal filigree, but inside letterforms as well (e.g. 2 Inc.c.a. 1153, I, f. c2r and Clm 17408, f. 24v), yet most of the time the two styles are kept strictly separated, and the filigree style never receives the flourished marginal byzants like the foliate ornamentation. His work is found in 19 volumes, both manuscript and print, which
predominantly dates to two periods: the early 1480s and early 1490s. The filigree ornamentation is largely part of works from 1489–1493, yet the traditional foliate ornamentation persists in this second period of production.

The foliate style is related to the Salzburg-Augsburg style of border decoration as practiced at Scheyern by Hainrich Molitor and further introduced though several manuscripts and incunabula decorated in Augsburg before their arrival in the Scheyern library. The intertwining and curling leaves are a highly identifiable attribute of Salzburg-Augsburg style of illumination, as are the blooming floral inventions and flourished byzants, yet the variety of books in which this decoration is found at Scheyern—a manuscript from Scheyern, printed books from Venice, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, and Vicenza, most of which were bound at Scheyern—suggest that the illuminator was indeed local rather than an Augsburg craftsman who illuminated the work prior to its arrival at the monastery.

Rarely are the marginal foliate displays inhabited—there are only a couple of instances of birds occupying the foliage—but for the glossed Biblia latina printed in Strasbourg by Adolf Rusch for Anton Koberger in 1480 (2 Inc.s.a. 212 a), the Rich Illuminator provided a figural Creation scene at the opening of Genesis (Figs. 28a–b). This is his only foray into miniatures or inhabited initials, and it is perhaps not surprising that a bible received such

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89 Clm 17408 and 17474; 2 Inc.c.a. 1051, 2 Inc.c.a. 1125, 2 Inc.c.a. 1153, I–IV, 2 Inc.c.a. 2887, I–IV, 2 Inc.s.a. 212 a, I–IV, 2 Inc.s.a. 602, 2 Inc.s.a. 813 c, 2 Inc.s.a. 1103, and Inc.c.a. 13.


91 This “not after 1480” printed bible is the earliest extant bible at Scheyern; we can only assume that they had a bible or at least parts of it in manuscript prior to the late fifteenth century, but only a few pastedowns in fifteenth-century Scheyern bindings point to this possibility: Clm 17404, 17405, and 17523, and the bifolium fragments 29280(14 and 29280(20. The ca. 1595 catalogue of manuscripts lists a “Bibliae corpus. Pergameno,” a complete bible, which is now presumably lost, see Cbm Cat. 3, f. 138r; this manuscript is not listed in the 1588 catalogue.
special treatment. Rusch’s 1480 bible was produced with illumination in mind, as space was specifically left in the printed text at the beginning of Genesis for the addition of a miniature (I, f. a5r) and each incipit initial for each book was also left unprinted so as to receive hand completion.92 This massive work—the largest printed book of the fifteenth century—was clearly intended for a church or monastic audience, not only its Latin text but also the necessity of hand-completion show the intended wealthy audience. Creation scenes were traditional parts of decoration at the “In principio,” often including a delineation of the Days of Creation or simply the Creation of Adam or Eve as the culmination of the events.93 The Scheyern example shows a combination of Creation, Paradise, and the Temptation conflated into one image. The central miniature depicts God the Father (rather like Christ) looking upon his creation: the spheres of Heaven with the creatures of air and water encircling Paradise at the center. In a small frame within Paradise is the Temptation, with Adam and Eve standing to either side of the tree, only just distinguishable in this minute scale. There are seven flourished byzants dotted through the inter-columnar space of the folio, and unlike the Rich Illuminator’s other such flourished byzants that are lavishly sprinkled about the margins, these seven are squeezed within the tight confines of the textblock in a concerted reference to the seven Days of Creation. This illumination is not the standard depiction of any of its antecedents: it lacks the Creation references to light/dark and clear narrative references to the creation of the birds, fish, animals, and Adam and Eve; the concentric rings


93 On the general theme, see Johannes Zahlten, Creatio mundi: Darstellungen der sechs Schöpfungstage und naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979). Creation scenes were also frequently found at the beginning of chronicles, encyclopedia, and devotional works, such as the Nuremberg Chronicle (ISTC is00307000, ff. a1v–a7r) and Schatzbehalter (ISTC is00306000, f. g2v), both printed by Anton Koberger in Nurember with woodcut by Michael Wohlgemut.
suggest a reference to the *sphaera mundi*, but the rings lack any celestial identifications; and the depiction of the Temptation is so minute that it is nearly indistinguishable and lacks any narrative specificity. The Rich Illuminator is here combining multiple, known narratives (Genesis 1–3) into a single, conflated depiction that his audience would have been able to parse and comprehend.

While it is impossible to know what visual models might have existed in the now lost Scheyern manuscripts and books, including the complete manuscript bible cited in the 1595 catalogue, as well as other artworks around the monastery, the only extant comparandum for the Creator in an extant Scheyern manuscript is a depiction of Christ on f. 41v of Clm 23337, the thirteenth-century evangelistary (Fig. 19). In stance, action, and drapery, however, the two Christological-Creators bear no resemblance; in producing his version, the Rich Illuminator does not seem to have turned to this most local of models in the library. 

Equally, when looking outside of Scheyern for visual comparanda, as of yet no clear visual parallels have been found between the Rich Illuminator’s Genesis scene and known printed (either autonomous prints or those decorating other printed books) or manuscript depictions. The standing Creator with his hand on or holding the orb is a familiar

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94 Abbot Johann I (1436–1449) painted a now-lost Christ in Judgement for the monastery, see above, p. 68. The remaining known artworks from Scheyern are largely attested to in the 1490s account registers (BHStA, KL Scheyern 82), including painting in the chapter house and refectorium; see Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 21–31. The earliest extant non-book artwork from Scheyern is a Crucifixion carved by Hans of Pfaffenhofen in 1514, which is still at Scheyern Abbey; see Kaiser, *Die Pfarr- und Benediktinerstiftskirche in Scheyern*, 6.

95 None of the other individual visual elements in the Creation miniature can be traced to known Scheyern imagery.

96 The libraries of the major Benedictine monasteries in the orbit of Scheyern—Melk, Tegernsee, Andechs, SS. Ulrich and Afra, Wessobrunn, Weißenstephan, etc.—nor the cathedrals in Augsburg or Freising have been sufficiently examined or catalogued to provide the evidence for visual comparanda or models. Albert Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, 23 vols. (Leipzig: Deutsches Museum für Buch und Schrift, 1920–1937) and Adam von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, edited by Walter L. Strauss (New York: Abaris Books, 1978–), esp. vols. 80–87: German Book Illustration, provide no direct visual parallels.
composition since the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the Gothic period, the visual narrative was popularized in such works as the Bibles moralisées, and similar compositions of medallion scenes were used in the fifteenth century to illustrate the incipit of Genesis in manuscript and printed bibles.\textsuperscript{97} Generic parallels exist between the Scheyern miniature and the positioning of the Creator and his creation in the Genesis woodcut initial first used in a German bible printed by Günther Zainer in Augsburg, not after 1474, which also includes a depiction of the Temptation, and a similar Creation scene in another German bible printed in Augsburg by Jodocus Pflanzmann ca. 1475 (Figs. 33–34).\textsuperscript{98} The next chapter examines the bibliographic connections between Scheyern and book producers in Augsburg, and it is likely that copies of these Augsburg bibles passed through Scheyern with a traveling bookseller, at which point the Rich Illuminator might have seen the illustrations that in turn influenced the overall organization his later Creation miniature. They are not copies of each other, but all three depictions speak to local Augsburg tradition and a common visual language, of which Scheyern was an avid recipient and participant. The Rich Illuminator has condensed a maximum amount of information and narrative into the very small space that the printer

\textsuperscript{97} On the Bibles moralisées, see John Lowden, \textit{The Making of the Bibles Moralisées} (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000). As another example, the paper copies of the Gutenberg Bible in the Huntington Library and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin were illuminated in the same Leipzig workshop and decorated with Creation narratives at the incipit to Genesis. See also Clm 4501, a manuscript bible from Benedictbeuren written in 1446, for medallion scenes depicting Creation to the slaying of Abel; Josef Kirmeyer and Manfred Treml, eds., \textit{Glanz und Ende der alten Klöster: Säkularisation im Bayerischen Oberland 1803} (Munich: Süddeutscher Verlag, 1991), 152–54, Nr. 19.

\textsuperscript{98} ISTC ib00627000 and ib00626000, respectively. Zainer reused his woodcut initials in his bible of 1477 (ISTC ib00629000) and Anton Sorg used them in 1480 (ISTC ib00631000); Sorg also used Pflanzmann’s woodcut scene in his German bible of 1477 (ISTC ib00630000). On Augsburg book decoration, especially its use of woodcut illustration, see Norbert H. Ott, “Frühe Augsburger Buchillustration,” in \textit{Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart}, edited by Hartmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 201–241, esp. 206–25 on the “bruchlose Übergang,” blurred distinction between hand and woodcut illustration. To date, no visual parallels or models have been identified for the woodcut scenes.
provided, and to all intents and purposes it seems that this is a unique creation to illustrate the incipit for Scheyern.

In the books decorated by the Rich Illuminator, Maurus is responsible for providing the lombard initials in six incunable volumes, including the 1480 bible (2 Inc.c.a. 1051, 2 Inc.c.a. 1125, and 2 Inc.s.a. 212 a, I–IV). The two manuscripts decorated by the Rich Illuminator were written by Maurus (Clm 17408) and Placidus (Clm 17474), and while it is tempting to identify the Rich Illuminator with Maurus due to their percentage of overlap, the motifs, flourishing, and handling of decoration between the two hands is quite distinct. Placidus might have tried his hand at illumination, attempting to copy the Rich Illuminator: the borders in Clm 17474, the Abbot of Oberaltaich’s exposition on the Rule of St. Benedict (ff. 2r, 16r, 17r, and 26v; Fig. 18) and a border on f. c2r of Livy’s *Historiae Romanae decades* printed in 1491 (2 Inc.c.a. 2584 d; Fig. 29), which Placidus predominantly rubricated, are derivative of the Rich Illuminator. At first glance, the style of these borders is not the same as the Rich Illuminator’s standard: the colors are rather flat, there is a marked lack of spatial depth, which provides an overall more ‘cartoonish’ appearance to the illuminations, and the individual elements (i.e. initials and foliage) are not well integrated with each other. The Livy incunable and Abbot of Oberaltaich manuscript were printed and written in 1491, and the decoration of both emulates that found in the manuscript gradual of 1489 (Clm 17408). The moonflowers in the top right corner of f. 26v of Clm 17474 are reproduced from f. 1r (bottom gutter margin) of Clm 17408, and while the perfectly spherical melon, strawberry,

99 I also shy away from attributing so much to one individual; Maurus was so thoroughly involved in book production at the monastery, especially in works of higher quality, it is not surprising to find his scribal or rubrication hand repeatedly overlapping with individual illuminators, who are also generally working on higher quality productions. Also, if Maurus were indeed this talented illuminator, it would stand to reason that such decoration would be found in more Scheyern books and spread out over the tenure of Maurus’s work in the library, but it is not.
and Easter egg derive from the Rich Illuminator as well, they are more stylized and ultimately devoid of depth. The two styles are found disjointedly together on f. c2r of the Livy in the two central flowers in the bottom margin, which are more closely aligned with the style of the Rich Illuminator, who also produced the major initial ‘I’ on the page, while the remainder of the border decoration is more stylized and flat with a brighter pigmentation than typically used by the Rich Illuminator.\textsuperscript{100} If this indeed represents Placidus’s attempt at illumination (or whoever’s hand this might be), he does not seem to have worked on any other productions save these two books from 1491. Although extremely short-lived, this is the clearest example of book decoration being taught at Scheyern, in the same way that scripts were progressively taught or copied by succeeding scribes. Although hinting at a certain degree of centralized production, the differences in coloration between the two illumination styles still clearly indicate the individual nature of scriptorium production, including the production of pigments.

Just as scribes, such as Maurus and Placidus, could write in two different scripts, it only stands to reason that decorators practiced similar diversity, and the second style of the Rich Illuminator is one based largely upon filigree ornament and found most prevalently in the works from 1489–1493.\textsuperscript{101} The two styles are frequently quite distinct (originally leading me to differentiate a third decorator, the “Filigree Illuminator,” as a separate craftsman), as seen in Clm 17408, where the Rich Illuminator is clearly identifiable on ff. 1r, 34r, 35v, and 42r (Figs. 25 and 30); the pure filigree initials are found on ff. 11v and 19v (Fig. 31), while those

\textsuperscript{100} Further, the Scheyern coat-of-arms in the top right corner was likely added by the Rich Illuminator; he also integrated the leaf faces, an Augsburg characteristic, into an initial in an incunable from 1481 (2 Inc.c.a. 1153, II, f. b2r).

\textsuperscript{101} Clm 17408 and 17474; 2 Inc.c.a. 1125, 2 Inc.c.a. 1153, I–IV, 2 Inc.c.a. 2584 d, and 2 Inc.c.a. 2887, I–IV.
on ff. 24v and 38r (Fig. 32) blend the two styles. The marginal flourishing is found within the initial ‘E’ on f. 38r while the two bowls of the ‘E’ on f. 24v have outlined leaves as typically found in the Rich Illuminator’s foliate style. A similar combination of foliate and filigree is found in the initial ‘V’ on f. a2r of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea* printed in Nuremberg in 1481, wherein the filigree ornament decorates the gold ground of the initial and the ribbon letterform is decorated with outline leaves seen on f. 24v of the manuscript gradual. This *Legenda aurea* is the only work from the early 1480s by the Rich Illuminator to use such filigree ornament (he did not use it in the 1480 bible), and although there is no extant acquisition code for the book, it may well not have arrived at Scheyern until later in the decade when he more commonly produced this kind of ornament. The illuminations by the Rich Illuminator are the final major decorative productions at Scheyern in the century. As the 1490s progress, fewer and fewer printed books receive complete rubrication, much less elaborate decoration. Towards the year 1500 printed books, which were becoming more typographically complete, eclipsed manuscripts in monastic libraries, and at Scheyern those printed books that still had space for rubrication or decoration were frequently left wanting their full completion as textual necessity and acquisition superseded the more visual aesthetic of a complete book. Ironically, this final flourishing of book decoration at Scheyern was immediately followed by the resounding triumph of typography and the loss of elaborate hand decoration. After the Rich Illuminator, there are no other Scheyern illuminators in the fifteenth century, and it seems that by the last decade of the century book culture at the monastery had moved away from highly decorated volumes.

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102 The styles of initials do not follow a serial development through the quires nor are they easily divisible by quire/production unit. There is indeed more that unifies the two styles than separates them.
The 1480s to the early 1490s were the heyday of fifteenth-century Scheyern book decoration, both for illumination and the more simple addition of lombard initials. The two major illumination and decoration hands—the Geometric Flourisher and Rich Illuminator—both date to this period as do the broadest assortment of lombard hands. They reflect the growing production of books at Scheyern and the acquisition of printed books that required hand completion. Neither the two illuminators nor the rubrication hands can be reconciled into anything defining a singular ‘Scheyern style.’ At least for the illuminators some notion of hierarchy between the styles existed, as exhibited by the incipit initials in the 1493 bible. These individual styles of decoration developed as a result of the traditional need for the visual elaboration of texts, and the continued practice of this decoration at Scheyern reflects its integral nature as an aspect of fifteenth-century book culture. Several monks at Scheyern shared a similar script—the Cursiva Libraria with Textualis elements, derived from the Augsburg script of Hainrich Molitor, and practiced at the monastery by Frater Maurus, Hainrich Zäch, Frater Placidus, Johannes Burger, and Frater Benedictus—so it is not surprising to see some correlation and shared elements between the three decorators, especially in the small, filigree flourishing found in all three hands. This Augsburg script and filigree ornamentation are the most common elements to Scheyern book production and comes closest to establishing some sort of defined ‘Scheyern style,’ and yet their specificity is still rather general, being not only hard to distinguish between the various hands but also likely indistinguishable in wider book decoration of the later fifteenth century. The clarity and standardization of the hand reflects the Melk *modus scribendi* and directive for book production. Ultimately, the identities of the hands matter less than the actual practice of
production at Scheyern. What is important to note is not Scheyern’s particularity in book production, but their integration into the larger styles and methods of book production in the period. The Scheyern books, discussed through their scribes and decorators, show the varied nature of contemporary book production and monastic libraries, which are typically assumed to be somewhat homogeneous in look, if not in contents. The monks at Scheyern had no qualms about mixing scribal hands, decorative styles, or even text media within a single volume, an aesthetic choice that belies our modern attempts to define ‘a book.’ Through this broad codicological and visual examination of artifacts from Scheyern’s library I have provided a more detailed narrative of fifteenth-century book production at a single monastery than typically heretofore presented. This thorough analysis of Scheyern’s scriptorium has shown a nuanced appraisal of how the monastery adjusted to the rapid changes in fifteenth-century book culture and how diversified scriptorium production was at this time.
Chapter 4
Scheyern and the Augsburg Book Market

The two previous chapters examined the Melk Reform—the instigator of Scheyern’s library *renovatio*—and the physical characteristics of Scheyern’s scriptorium production. This chapter will discuss one of the formative ‘tools’ in the expansion of the library: the book production center of Augsburg. I will look more closely at Scheyern’s relationship to Augsburg from ca. 1450 to 1480: the period that represents the first flourishing of the library’s *renovatio*, the period of highest production for the Scheyern scriptorium, the first incunabula purchases by the abbey, and the development of Scheyern’s own bookbindery.¹ Scheyern took advantage of its proximity to the Swabian capital to rebuild its scriptorium, library, and bindery, and the influences of Augsburg book production are evident in nearly every aspect of Scheyern’s library.² A detailed look at the relationship between Augsburg and Scheyern will point out the physical realities of book production and acquisition in the period, which, although strictly pertaining to Scheyern, are equally applicable to other libraries and collections and would show the multiple networks and physical connections by which fifteenth-century book culture spread. In what follows, I first turn to the work of Hainrich Molitor, a commercial book artisan from Augsburg, who produced a series of manuscripts for Scheyern between ca. 1451 and 1471. His production for Scheyern provides

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¹ Carl Wehmer, “Zur Beurteilung des Methodenstreits in der Inkunabelkunde,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1933): 226. The first twenty-five years of the incunable period (ca. 1454–80) also represents the time when printers were experimenting with the new invention, learning how to print texts that were marketable due to textual choice and visual appeal. It was only after ca. 1475–1480 that predominantly typographically complete texts were available on the market, thus in these cases removing the additional step and cost of hand decoration for the purchaser.

² A similar pattern is evident in the library of St. Mang in Füssen, which similarly turned to Nuremberg patrons and book producers to build up the contents of their library; see Roth, *Literatur und Klosterreform*, 49–57, esp. 49–51.
further support for his work as an illuminator rather than solely a scribe. I will argue that Molitor brought Scheyern into the orbit of other Augsburg book artisans—illuminators, printers, and binders—who were, in turn, imperative to Scheyern’s continued bibliographical growth. Then I will discuss the relationship between the Augsburg presses and booksellers in relation to the early incunabula in the library, and finally I will examine the issue of Scheyern’s bindery and argue for its development from Augsburg bookbinders.

The first introduction of the Melk Reform inspired textual connections with Freising and Augsburg, although much like this early reform implementation, the effects did not last long. Clm 17424, the undated ritual attributed to the second-quarter of the fifteenth century, is the earliest, fully extant fifteenth-century liturgical manuscript from Scheyern and might be one of the few reflections of the initial introduction of the Melk Reform in 1427 under Abbot Konrad VI Weickmann.3 Textually, this manuscript shares affinities with both the Freising and Augsburg litanies, but specific Marian texts derive from the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg.4 Even though Scheyern is in the diocese of Freising, and clearly derived some liturgical influence from the bishopric, it was nonetheless turning to Augsburg at this early date for (partial) manuscript exemplars. However, there is no further evidence of connections between Scheyern and Augsburg until the arrivals of Kienberger and Molitor, so that whatever associations might have been initiated with Clm 17424 are isolated to that early reform period.

3 See above, pp. 65–67.
**Hainrich Molitor as Scribe**

Hainrich Molitor was a commercial scribe from Augsburg who worked predominantly for the reformed Benedictine abbeys of Tegernsee and Scheyern. His scribal productions are predominantly major Church authors and Latin texts that were popular with reformed ecclesiastical institutions, especially monasteries that were part of the Melk Reform. Scheyern’s near twenty-year employment of Molitor not only brought the monastery into the textual orbit of the Melk Reform, but also one of the most vibrant book cultures in southern Germany: Augsburg. The manuscripts that Molitor produced for Scheyern illustrate the physical realities of contemporary book production: that it was often a diffuse and diversified craft involving multiple craftspeople. A nuanced examination of Molitor’s oeuvre will clearly show the multi-faceted nature of book production at a time when the craft was trying to cope with its expansion. Molitor’s legacy at Scheyern lived on not only in the works he produced, but also in the connections he helped to create between the monastery and other book producers in Augsburg.

The first extant evidence for the bibliographic interaction between Scheyern and Augsburg came with the introduction of Wilhelm Kienberger as the new abbot of the monastery. In order to start building up the meager library at Scheyern, Kienberger employed Molitor, who just had completed Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi* for Kienberger’s former home of Tegernsee.\(^5\) Whether Kienberger brought Molitor to Scheyern only to reproduce the *Vita Christi* or whether he had further plans for the scribe from the inception, Molitor ended up working for Scheyern (and almost predominantly so) for nearly twenty years. Molitor

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illuminated books for other patrons during this period, and yet he kept Scheyern as his most
dominant patron, almost solely during Kienberger’s abbacy. Molitor’s manuscripts for
Scheyern represent various types of production: from sole creations to large, multi-scribe
operations, and from works commissioned by/for the monastery to those commissioned by
individuals or commemorative ones produced at Molitor’s own expense. Furthermore, his
production practices illustrate the collaborative nature of book production, because he had to
rely on libraries (likely in Augsburg) for textual exemplars to copy for Scheyern, his
*Speculum historiale* involved at least two other scribes, and several of his Scheyern
manuscripts were bound in Augsburg at the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra; additionally,
several of Molitor’s later manuscripts for Tegernsee were illuminated by other artisans in
Augsburg. Fifteenth-century book production was not a homogeneous process, and the
development of Scheyern’s library with the aide of multiple Augsburg craftsmen is a clear
example of such diversified production.

Little is known about Molitor prior to his first productions for Tegernsee, but he might
have worked for the Dukes of Öttingen or the bishopric of Eichstätt in his formative years. 6
However, in his main production years Hainrich Molitor is one of the more recorded of
fifteenth-century Augsburg scribes; we know comparatively more about him when compared
to other book craftsmen in the period (not including printers). 7 His biography is largely

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6 Beier, “Missalien massenhaft,” 59–60 who suggests two illuminations in an Eichstätt pontifical, the
*Gundekarianum* (Eichstätt, Diözesanarchiv, Cod. B4), ff. 34v and 36v, as early works by Molitor.

7 Carl Wehmer, “Augsburger Schreiber aus der Frühzeit des Buckdrucks, II. Heinrich Molitor,” *Beiträge zur
Gutenberg-Forschung: Die 42-zeilige Bibel in Cologny, Heinrich Molitor und der Einfluß der Klosterreform um
Frühdruckzeit,” in *Augsburger Buchkultur und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, edited by
Harmann Gier and Johannes Janota, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), esp. 184–91, and Beier, “Missalien
massenhaft,” esp. 58–60.
constructed from his colophons, where several times he refers to his location or citizen status. He appears in the Augsburg tax register from 1448 to 1482 as Hainrich Müller (Lat. Molitor) *scripтор*.\(^8\) The records never refer to him as an illuminator or painter of any variety, and when he signs manuscripts by his profession, he always refers to himself as *cirographus* or *scripтор*.\(^9\) His only signed productions are for the monasteries of Tegernsee and Scheyern, and they date from 1448 to 1479. Molitor’s securely identified scribal works are (in chronological order):

Munich, BSB
- Clm 17426. Book of Hours, 28 February 1469; for Scheyern/Stephanus Sandizeller.
- [Missing]. Bernhard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica canticorum*, 1469; for Scheyern.\(^10\)
- Clm 18093. *Vitae patrum* and *Barlaam et Josephat*, 1474; for Tegernsee.
- Clm 18074. Cassian, *Collationes partum*, 1475; for Tegernsee.

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\(^8\) He is absent for the years 1459–62 (see below); in his stead is a certain Konrad Molitor, whom scholars have identified as Konrad Bollstatter, see Karin Schneider, *Ein mittelalterliches Wahrsagespiel: Konrad Bollstatters Losbuch in CGM 312 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1978). Molitor likely died late in 1482 or 1483.

\(^9\) This is not conclusive evidence, however, for the Augsburg illuminator, rubricator, and printer Johann Bämler is identified in the tax records as a *schreiber* ‘scribe’ even after he started his press in 1470; see Sheila Edmunds, “New Light on Johann Bämler,” *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 22 (1993): 41–51 and below pp. 209–10. The same is true for the early Augsburg printers Günther Zainer and Johann Schüssler; see Hans-Jörg Künast, “Getruckt zu Augsburg”: *Buckdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555*, Studiana Augustana 8 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997), 34–36.

\(^10\) Gressierer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Klosterbibliothek Scheyern*, 10. Although missing, it is described in the Scheyern library catalogue from 1610: BSB, Cbm Cat. 3, f. 218v: *Sermones S. Bernardi super cantica canticorum membrano inscripti in maiori forma, per Hainricum Molitorem de Augusta anno domini 1469*.
Clm 18081. Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmorum*, undated (1470s); for Tegernsee.

[Clm 17410, rear pastedown. Unknown text (pen trials?), undated.]

Generally speaking, his manuscripts are a fairly large size (390 mm tall, on average); all are on parchment; they typically are constructed of 10-leaf quires (*quinternions*) with sixty lines per page; and they are predominantly of major ecclesiastical reference works highly popular with the Melk Reform (e.g. the *Vita Christi, Speculum historiale, Moralia in Job*, etc.). Heavily influenced by the Italian rotunda, Molitor’s script is a form of rounded gothic that was popular for Latin manuscripts in Augsburg at the time.\(^\text{11}\) The clarity of the hand also supported the reform concern for legibility, as many of Molitor’s works were not intended for private or individual study but rather refectory reading.

Molitor’s first signed production is Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi* (Clm 18075–76, Figs. 35–36), which he produced for Tegernsee; volume I is dated 8 December 1448, and volume II 17 May 1451. Molitor referred to himself in the colophon to the first volume as *de Oetingen* (Clm 18075, f. 229r), while the second he signed: *Per manus Hainrici Molitoris de Augusta tunc temporis existentis in Tegernsee* (Clm 18076, f. 229v). The colophon of the second volume specifically states that he produced or at least finished it *tunc temporis* ‘at that time’ while in residence at Tegernsee. For a project so large, Molitor surely began work on volume I in 1447, but the completion of the work coincides with his first appearance in the Augsburg tax register.

\(^\text{11}\) Karin Schneider, “Berufs- und Amateurschreiber: Zum Laien-Schreibbetrieb in spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg,” in *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 17–18 and Johannes Janota, “Von der Handschrift zum Druck,” in *Augsburger Buckdruck und Verlagswesen*, 136–39. Wehmer, “Heinrich Molitor,” 121 suggested that Molitor’s script was the basis of the printing type for the Augsburg printer Günther Zainer due to the similarity of many letterforms; however, both men likely developed their script under the same contemporary influences, rather than Molitor being the direct model for Zainer’s typeface.
Molitor reproduced this text as his first work for Scheyern in 1453–54 (Clm 17413–14, Figs. 37–38). Judging from the dates, Molitor produced volume II (248 folios) in nearly twenty-two months at most, from March 1453 to December 1454; therefore, working backwards, I suggest that it took him twenty-one months at most to complete the 207 folios of volume I, which would place the start of his work on the volume in August 1451, three months after completing his work at Tegernsee. In the colophon to volume I, Molitor simply signs and dates the manuscript:

Here ends the first part of the *Life of Christ* by the hand of Hainrich Molitor of Augsburg. Finished in the year of the Lord 1453, on the sixth day after the second Sunday in Lent, the sixth Nones of March (2 March).

For the second volume, he elaborates on the patronage of the work for Scheyern:

Here ends the second book and as a result the entire *Life of Christ* by the hand of Hainrich Molitor of Augsburg. Under the reverend father in Christ and lord, Wilhelm, Abbot of the monastery in Scheyern, in the sixth year of his reign, Tuesday, 17 December, in the year from the incarnation of the Lord 1454.

Molitor’s next production for Scheyern was the very large and highly decorated copy of Johannes Balbus’s *Catholicon*, a dictionary and grammatical text originally written by the Dominican friar in 1286 (Clm 17402, Figs. 39–40). Next to the thirteenth-century Matutinal manuscript (Clm 17401), the *Catholicon* is considered Scheyern’s second bibliographic

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12 It is difficult to be any more specific on Molitor’s working practices, because there is no evidence for how long his work day was, how many days each week he worked, if his day were structured by the monastic schedule, etc., or if he wrote the colophon upon the completion of the writing and illumination.

13 Clm 17413, f. 206v: *Explicit prima pars Vite Christi per manus Hainrici Molitoris de Augusta. Finitus sub Anno domini 1453 feria sexta post dominicam Reminiscere vi Nones Marcii.*

14 Clm 17414, f. 259v: *Finit liber secundus et pro consequens totus liber Vite Christi per manus Hainrici Molitoris de Augusta. Sub Reverendo in Christo patre ac domino Wilhelmo abbate monasterii in Scheyren, anno regni sui sexto die martis decimaseptima Decembris Anno ab incarnacione domini 1454.*
treasure. Molitor completed the massive manuscript—312 parchment folios, measuring 570 x 390 mm—on 9 November 1458:

Here ends the book that is called the *Catholicon* or *Prosodia* by the hand of Hainrich Molitor of Augsburg, under the reverend father in Christ and lord, lord Wilhelm, Abbot of the monastery in Scheyern, of the order of St. Benedict, in the diocese of Freising, on Thursday, the fifth Ides of November (9 November), in the year from the incarnation of the Lord 1458.16

Based on Molitor’s working progress on the *Vita Christi*, I suggest that it took him approximately thirty months to write out the textually denser and longer *Catholicon*; thus, Molitor likely began the *Catholicon* in early 1456, a date further substantiated by a partially-legible inscription in a scroll between the two text columns on f. 1r: “Anno domini 1456...Shirn.” A contract (of sorts) exists for the manuscript in one of Scheyern’s account books, Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv, KL Scheyern 80, f. 297r:

Item. Hainrich Molitor has settled the account with my lord (i.e., Abbot Kienberger) of Scheyern in order to write the *Catholicon* and other [manuscripts] as I have done for His Grace until this day written, and I still owe him and his monastery over everything deducted and discounted grain and other [goods] 24 pounds Munich pfennigs, which I should to his grace and monastery pay back with writing so I truly may, and if I should not do this, then I should truly pay his monastery until fully sufficient. The bill has been drawn up on the Tuesday after St. Martin’s Day (14 Nov.) in the year [14]58 in the presence of the prior Stephanus Sandizeller, master of the lay brothers on the mountain Mathias, and chamberlain Johannes Hofmeir.

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15 These were also the first manuscripts catalogued by the commission at the Dissolution in 1803 as Scheyern 1 and Scheyern 2; this order is reflected in their current BSB shelfmarks.

16 Clm 17402, f. 312v: *Explicit liber qui nominatur Katholicon vel prosodia per manus Hainrici Molitoris de Augusta sub reverendo in Christo patre ac domino domino Wilhelmo abbate Monasterii in Scheyren Ordinis s. Benedicti Frisingensis diocese die Iovis quinto idus Novembris Anno ab incarnacione domini M˚.cccc˚.lviii˚*. 
(In another hand:) On account of the beauty of the *Catholicion*, in the previously mentioned debt, we will dismiss eight denarii of it.\(^17\)

This is not a contract for work to be produced, but rather a reckoning of Molitor’s financial balance upon the completion of writing the *Catholicion*. Molitor is repaying a financial debt to Scheyern in manuscript production. This is the only extant entry in any of the Scheyern account books pertaining to Molitor and the production of his manuscripts, so the original purpose of payment to Molitor is not known. We might assume that Scheyern had paid him a considerable sum of money up front to produce manuscripts; by the end of 1458, he had produced the *Vita Christi* and *Catholicion* and still owed Scheyern twenty-four-pound’s worth of further manuscript production (and grain).\(^18\) Such a payment structure is unusual, if unique, in commercial manuscript production for a monastery; typically, manuscripts were produced on order or with only a minor amount of speculation.\(^19\) For a monastery recently in such dubious financial standing that the visitation committee mentioned it in the *obiecti* of the visitation charter, the fact that the monastery paid such a sum up front illustrates both the necessity of the library *renovatio*, the fervor with which

\(^17\) BHStA, KL Scheyern 80, f. 297r: *Item Hainricus Molitoris hab abgerayt mit meinem gnädigen herrn von Scheyren umb geschrifft Katholicon und ander so ich seinen gnaden getan hab pis auf heut dato der briefs geschrifft und pin Im und seinem gotzhaus uber alles abziehen und machlassen (i.e. nachlassen) trayd und ander schuldig pelieben vier und zwantzig pfund münchner pfennig die sol ich seiner gnaden und gotzhaus mit geschrifft wider abzalen so ich treulichest mag und ob soll ichs nicht geschäch so sol ich sein gotzhaus teudlich zalen pis auf volligs benügen Dy Rayttung ist geschechen an Erichday nach martini Anno etc lvij praeentibus patre priore Stephan Sandizeller domino Mathia plebano In perg Johanne Hofmeir camerario. (In another hand:) *Propter bonitatem Katholicon in deibo praedicto dimitetemus sibi viij libras denariuorum;* other transcriptions for “briefs” are found in Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 11, n. 1 and Wehmer, “Heinrich Molitor,” 113. “Briefs” was originally corrected in the contract to “geschrifft,” so I have not translated it. I would like to thank Anna Bücheler and Prof. Markus Stock for their help with the translation.

\(^18\) Although Molitor’s name does mean “miller,” there is no evidence that he had any connections to a mill or farm. There are other references in the Scheyern account books to a tenant named Molitor (no first name), who was an actual miller, but if there is a connection between the two men, it is unknown.

Kienberger went after this goal, and the almost immediate financial effects of the reform.\textsuperscript{20} The account books, however, do not record any other payments to or from Molitor for manuscript production.

In their respective publications of the contract, neither Hartig nor Wehmer note that this financial account is found in the 1461 ledger (BHStA, KL Scheyern 80, 1450–66). It thus does not represent the original 1458 document.\textsuperscript{21} I would argue that this contract was rewritten into the ledger in 1461, when Molitor returned the now fully-illuminated \textit{Catholic\textsc{io}n} manuscript to Scheyern. The original 1458 contract, dated five days after he finished writing the colophon, represents the end of his scribal work on the manuscript, but not the artistic elaboration, which took an approximate two years further to complete. Subsequent to the recopying of the document, the addendum was added discounting Molitor’s debt by a further 8 pounds—a not inconsiderable sum—due to the beauty of the illumination. The entry in KL Scheyern 80 has been crossed out, which means that the contract had been paid and voided. This would have happened when the full 24 Munich pounds were repaid, and we can only assume that the other manuscripts he produced for Scheyern were part of this payment.

\textsuperscript{20} On the \textit{obiecti}, see above, p. 60. Scheyern had taken a loan from the Dukes of Bavaria-Munich as recently as 1430; see Hanser, \textit{Scheyern eins und jetzt}, 60 and Reichhold, \textit{Chronik von Scheyern}, 192–93.

\textsuperscript{21} There is no evidence of the contract in the 1458 ledger. Many of Scheyern’s account books are incomplete but original; they tended to record income rather than expenditures, which they only started doing sporadically in the 1470s.
Molitor does not appear in the Augsburg tax register from 1459–62, immediately following his scribal completion of the *Catholicon*. Where he was or what he was doing in the period so as to not appear on the tax register is unknown, although this is the approximate period in which he illuminated several other manuscripts, including a *Vita Christi* for Cardinal Peter von Schaumberg, Bishop of Augsburg (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 1.2.2º IV), which the bishop donated to the monastery of St. Mang in Füssen in 1460.

He also illuminated a *Catholicon* manuscript written by the scribe Hainrich Lengfelt in 1458 (Fig. 48), and quite possibly a copy of the Gutenberg Bible. Work for the bishop might have freed Hainrich from Augsburg’s tax burden for a couple of years. The original purpose of the 1458 account reckoning for Scheyern could also be related to his absence from the tax registers, for it immediately precedes it, but again, this is impossible to say with any certainty. In any case, something happened in Molitor’s professional life from the time he finished writing the *Catholicon* until he returned it in 1461 and began his next dated

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22 Instead, the scribe Conrad Müller is recorded, whom many equate with Konrad Bollstatter, who was from Öttingen and sometimes is referred to as Konrad Molitor, perhaps Hainrich’s brother. On Bollstatter, see Schneider, *Ein mittelalterliches Wahrsagespiel* and Jürgen Wolf, “Konrad Bollstatter und die Augsburger Geschichtsschreibung: die letzte Schaffensperiode,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 125 (1996): 51–86.


24 Princeton, NJ, Scheide Library, M163 (former Ludwig Sammlung, XII 11, see Anton von Euw and Joachim M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig* (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1982), III: 196–200). The original patron of the Scheide *Catholicon* is unknown, but the manuscript was found in the Augustinian monastery of Heilig Kreuz in Augsburg in the eighteenth century. Lengfelt produced another *Catholicon* manuscript for the Cistercian house of Aldersbach (BSB, Clm 2795) in 1462; see MBK 4/2, 728 and Schneider, “Berufs- und Amateurschreiber,” 12–13.

production for Scheyern in 1462, about which both the records and books remain silent. This silence, however, illustrates the sometimes diverse nature of late medieval book production, wherein multiple artisans collaborated in the production process, and a single work might not necessarily have reached completion during a discrete period—Molitor’s production practices made Scheyern wait years for their *Catholicon*.

Molitor’s next two productions for Scheyern were liturgical books. In 1462 he completed the *Missale monasticum* (Clm 17422, Fig. 41), the colophon of which (f. 294r) is one of Molitor’s more extensive and fully details the specific patronage of Abbot Wilhelm Kienberger:

> Here ends the missal [by] Hainrich Molitor of Augsburg. Paid for by the most reverend father and lord, lord Wilhelm, abbot of the monastery of the pure and perpetual Virgin Mary and Nurturing Cross in Scheyern, of the order of St. Benedict, in the diocese of Freising, in the year of the Lord [14]62, on the Vigil of St. Lawrence (9 August).\(^{26}\)

He is more explicit in this case, stating that the manuscript was produced not just *sub* ‘under’ the abbot, as is typical for Molitor, but rather that Kienberger *comperatus* ‘paid for’ it.\(^{27}\) This same phrasing is used in the monastic chronicle to describe Kienberger as the commissioner of many books, and similarly, in the 1241 book list in reference to the production of the Matutinal, where it states, “Abbot Conrad commissioned the large and

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\(^{26}\) Clm 17422, f. 294r: *Explicit missale pro Hainricum Molitorem de Augusta. Comperatus per Reverendissimum patrem ac dominum dominum Wilhelmn Abbatem Monasterii intemerate et perpetue virginis Marie nec non alme crucis In Schereen ordinis sancti Benedicti Frisingensis diocese Anno domini etc lxii in Vigilia Laurencii*. Molitor’s use of “pro” can only be a grammatical mistake for “per.”

\(^{27}\) I think that the standard translation of *comparo/-are* as “to buy” does not make as clear of sense in this context.
complete Matutinal in one volume.” As Kienberger would have “commissioned” Molitor’s other manuscripts for Scheyern, the wording suggests a different sort of commission from the abbot than for the Vita Christi and Catholicon manuscripts, and it might have been destined for Kienberger’s personal use rather than common use at the altar. The text shows affinities to Freising use and was likely copied from a manuscript in that locale. The quality of the parchment, script, and illumination are not up to Molitor’s typical standard, which might stem either from financial or time constraints that hastened production. The original Crucifixion image formerly pasted on f. 138v (now wanting) was likely an autonomous printed image, a single-leaf woodcut. Since the colophon strongly suggests that the manuscript was for Kienberger (and might have been paid for by him personally) rather than for Scheyern, the missal probably did not count towards Molitor’s debt with the monastery but a personal commission on behalf of the abbot, and the integration of the printed Crucifixion might have been at his request.

Molitor produced two works in 1469: a now lost collection of Bernhard of Clairvaux’s sermons on the Cantica canticorum and a Book of Hours (Clm 17426), which is dedicated to a deceased Scheyern monk, Stephan Sandizeller. Bernard’s sermons were listed in the library catalogue of 1610 (Cbm Cat. 3, f. 218v): Sermones S. Bernardi super cantica canticorum membrano inscripti in maiori forma, per Hainricum Molitorem de Augusta anno domini

28 Aventinus, Sämmtliche Werke, I: Annales Schirenses, 22,24: Vilemius Kienberger...vir religiosus et eruditus, comparavit multos libros... and Clm 17403, f. 7v: Abbas Chunradus librum matutinalem magnum et plenum in uno volumine comparavit. Reichhold, Chronik von Scheyern, 196 understood “comparavit” as “composed” or “written,” but I do not think comparavit can be translated this way and makes more sense as “paid for.”

29 von Hueber, “Spätmittelalterliche Zeugen benediktinischer Liturgie- und Choralpflege aus Scheyern,” 191 and 194–96. Scheyern’s earlier missal (Clm 17424) also shows similar Freising liturgical tendencies, but it was not used as the exemplar for Clm 17422.

30 On Molitor’s use of print media in his manuscripts, see below, pp. 193–96.
1469. This book is more typical of the standard reference works Molitor was producing for Scheyern, and it was likely credited to Molitor’s debt. The Book of Hours, on the other hand, like Kienberger’s missal, seems to be a different kind of production. A Book of Hours is by nature a book for private devotion, popular with the laity but not necessarily monastic audiences. His choice of text for this dedication automatically sets it apart from the more standard monastic texts he was writing for Scheyern and suggests a commemorative, memorial nature for the work. Molitor inscribed the manuscript “out of reverence” to the memory of Stephanus Sandizeller:

Here ends the book of hours for the day and night for to the temporal and sanctoral by Hainrich Molitor of Augsburg, out of reverence for lord Stephan Sandizeller of pious memory, monk at Scheyern, in the year of the Lord 1469 on St. Oswald’s Day (28 February).

Molitor’s professional relationship with Scheyern centered around Sandizeller; he was one of the witnesses named in the *Catholicon* contract, and in his roles as prior and librarian he likely worked closely with Molitor, overseeing his production for the monastery. Sandizeller was not a terribly adept scribe, but through his monastic duties he was clearly involved in acquiring new books for the monastery and is likely one of the key, largely undocumented, figures in the *renovatio* of Scheyern’s library. Oddly, the quality of this manuscript is not up to Molitor’s typical standard either; the parchment is of a lower quality with discolorations and thin patches in the skin, and there is minimal, if rudimentary, decoration, which does not exactly correspond to Molitor’s typical penwork flourishing and

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31 Clm 17426, f. 266v: Explicit liber horarum tam durenogue (diurnoque?) noctrieno (nocturno?) tempore tam de tempore quam de sanctis per Hainricum Molitorem de Augusta ob Revenciam dominum Stephan Sannenzeller pie recordacionis conventualis in Scheyren Anno domini M˚.cccc˚.lxix in die Oswaldi.

32 See above, pp. 128–30 on his manuscripts Clm 17459 and Clm 17510.
might have been added by another hand (Fig. 42). The manuscript was corrected by Molitor and several other hands, and wear on the pages, tabs added to the fore-edge for the major feasts, corrections to the calendar, and a sixteenth-century rebinding suggest that the manuscript was heavily used. The nature of the text and Molitor’s apparent sentiment in the colophon suggest that the manuscript could have been a personal production by Molitor rather than one commissioned by Scheyern; in other words, Molitor might have produced it at his own expense to commemorate his former colleague, Sandizeller. The manuscript’s heavy use—clearly not by Sandizeller—suggests that the Book of Hours might have been part of the lay brother’s library or a tool in communal devotional practice.

Just after finishing the Missale monasticum and while he was producing Bernard’s sermons and the Book of Hours, Molitor also was overseeing production on his largest commission: the four-volume Speculum historiale by Vincent of Beauvais (Clm 17416–18; volume II has been missing since before the Dissolution in 1803). Again, it is nearly impossible to know whether these manuscripts were part of Molitor’s debt owed to Scheyern or subsequent commissions. The extant Speculum manuscripts were written by three different scribes: Johannes Keym (vols. I and III), the Scheyern monk Maurus (vol. III), and Molitor (vol. IV); all were illuminated by Molitor and bound at SS. Ulrich and Afra. The manuscripts were produced in succession, rather than simultaneously (as multiple scribes could do), over an approximate six-year span. While the motivation behind this organization is unclear, it

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33 There are no major illuminations or historiated initials as is typical of Books of Hours, and only minor three initials in the text received penwork filigree decoration.

34 AEM, B 8º 704, pp. 37–38.
again illustrates the collaborative process, to the degree that a local monk and an outside
scribe/cleric participated in the scribal process.

The three extant volumes are composed of 10-leaf vellum quires, and the bookblock of
each measures approximately 350 x 270 mm. Volume I (Clm 17416, Fig. 43) was finished on
Monday, 15 October 1464 by the Freising cleric Johannes Keym:

Here ends the first part of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent [of Beauvais] by the
hand of Johannes Keym of Augsburg and cleric of Freising. Under the reverend
father in Christ and lord, lord Wilhelm Keinberger, Abbot of the monastery of the
blessed Virgin Mary and Nurturing Cross in Scheyern, of the order of St. Benedict,
in the diocese of Freising, Monday, 15 October, in the year of the Lord [14]64.35

Keym’s hand is the more angular gothic typical of German Swabian scripts, without the
overt Italian influences seen in Molitor’s hand. Keym was not a monk but identified himself
as a cleric at Freising and from Augsburg.36 Aside from his work for Scheyern, no other
manuscripts are signed by or attributed to him, and yet his scribal ability suggests someone
trained in the craft. The wording of his colophon is almost directly parallel to Molitor’s,
especially in the *Catholicon* (Clm 17402), which suggests that Molitor was overseeing the
writing or providing a model for Keym to follow.

Keym also began the third volume of the *Speculum historiale* (Clm 17417), writing ff.
1r–127v;37 the remainder of the manuscript (ff. 128r–233r) was completed on 2 September

35 Clm 17416, f. 153v: *Explicit prima pars Speculi hystrorialis Vincentii per manus Johannis Keym de Augusta
clericique Frisingensis. Sub Reverendo in Christo patre ac domino domino Wilhelmo Kyenberger Abbate
monasterii Beate Marie virginis necnon alme Crucis in Scheyren ordinis S Benedicti Frisingensis dyocese die
lune decimaquinta mensis Octobris Anno domini etc lxiii*”.

36 No other extant manuscripts are signed or attributed to Keym. Both Hefner, “Über die literarischen
Leistungen des Klosters Scheyern,” 94 and Knitl, *Scheyerns Stellung in der Kulturgeschichte*, 35 attributed the
illumination of volume I to Keym as well.

37 The text is incomplete; contemporary quire signatures suggest that there are perhaps as many as four quires
missing from the beginning of the volume.
1468 by Maurus, a monk from Scheyern. Maurus’s colophon makes no mention of Keym’s work on the first half of the manuscript (Fig. 6):

The third part of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent [of Beauvais] is finished by the hand of brother Maurus of Eichstätt, monk and priest of the monastery of the holy Virgin Mary and Nurturing Cross in Scheyern. Under the reverend father in Christ and lord Georg, Abbot of the aforementioned monastery. 2 September, in the year of the Lord 1468.\(^{38}\)

Also following the familiar colophon formula set by Molitor, this is the earliest production of the Scheyern scribe Maurus and the first manuscript explicitly produced under the new abbot, Georg Spörl (1467–1489).\(^{39}\) Abbot Spörl was a bibliophile equal to Kienberger; he presided over the monastery during a strong period of library expansion in the 1470s and 80s and built a new sacristy, a likely location for the growing library.\(^{40}\)

Molitor was the scribe for the fourth volume of the *Speculum* (Clm 17418), finished on 24 May 1471 (Fig. 44):

Here ends the fourth book of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent [of Beauvais] under the reverend father in Christ and lord, lord Georg Spörl, abbot of the monastery of the blessed Virgin Mary and Nurturing Cross in Scheyern, by Hainrich Molitor scribe and citizen of Augsburg. In the year of the Lord’s incarnation 1471, on the ninth Kalends of June (24 May).\(^{41}\)

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\(^{38}\) Clm 17417, f. 233r: *Finita est tercia pars Speculi hystorialis Vincencii per manus fratris Mauri Eystetensis monachi professi et presbiteri monasterii Sancte Marie virginis nec non alme Crucis in Scheyrn. Sub Reverendo in Christo patre ac domino Georgio abbate prefati monasterii. Secunda die mensis Septembris. Anno domini. Millesimo. Quadringentesimo Sexagesimo octavo.* I have already discussed Maurus’s scribal training and the production of this manuscript, see above, pp. 179–80. The date of volume three suggests a completion date of 1466 for the lost volume two, but its scribe is unknown.

\(^{39}\) The change over in scribes in Clm 17417 might coincide with the election of the new abbot.


\(^{41}\) Clm 17418, f. 256r: *Finit liber quartus Speculi hystoriale Vincencii sub Reverendo in Christo patre et domino dominio Georgio Spörl abbate Monasterii beate Marie virginis necnon alme Crucis in Scheyren per Hainricum Molitorem cirographum et concivem Augustensis. Anno dominice incarnacionis Millesimo quadrungentseimseptuagesimo primo die nona kalends Junii.*
This is the first colophon where Molitor identifies himself as *cirographum*, a scribe, more specific than the *per manus* in every other colophon; he also now identifies himself as a citizen of Augsburg.

As the books themselves are silent on the machinations of the people involved, several scenarios might be considered for the production of the Speculum. For the lost volume, there is a five to seven-year break in Molitor’s production after the *Missale monasticum* (Clm 17422) until the Book of Hours (Clm 17426) and lost Bernhard of Clairvaux manuscript, in which time Molitor himself could have written the second volume of the Speculum. In this case, the four-volume set might have originally been divided up between Johannes Keym and Molitor, with Maurus coming in only with the change in abbots. In any case, I believe that Molitor oversaw the entire production while working on the Book of Hours and Bernard manuscripts. The lower quality material of the *Missale monasticum* and Book of Hours might also be explained by the lack of money for them, as funds were clearly diverted to the more expensive Speculum production (the Missale and Book of Hours might have been produced from the Speculum remnants). The use of multiple scribes is intriguing: because the works were not produced simultaneously but in succession, nothing precluded their production by a single scribe, unless that scribe were already preoccupied with other work;42 at the time, Molitor was writing the Sandizeller Book of Hours and now-lost Bernhard of Clairvaux manuscript in 1468–69, and their completion freed him up to produce volume IV.43

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42 Alternatively, the 4-volume copy of the *Speculum historiale* from St. Mang in Füssen (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. II.1.2º 194 I–IV) was produced simultaneously in 1469–70 by multiple scribes; see Roth, *Literatur und Klosterreform*, 48 and 202–03 and Hardo Hilg, *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in Folio der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg: Cod. II. 1.2 91–226*, Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg: Reihe I. Die lateinischen Handschriften, Bd. 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 331–33.

43 The now-lost volume II of the *Speculum historiale* would likely have clarified many of the uncertainties regarding the organization of production.
It is important to note (as will be discussed later) that the three extant volumes of the *Speculum historiale* share the same illumination style and were all bound at the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg. The manuscripts, produced over a seven-year span by three different scribes, were illuminated and bound as a single set, since the stamping on the three bindings is nearly identical to one another. What the production of the *Speculum* tells us is that it was Molitor’s most extensive project and involved multiple collaborators: at least two other scribes (one of whom was from Augsburg) and the Ulrich and Afra bindery.\textsuperscript{44} While Molitor likely had a hand in training the Scheyern monk Maurus, I do not think he can be considered an ‘assistant’ in the traditional workshop regime. Molitor’s collaborators—Johannes Keym and Maurus—were not assistants in a workshop-sense but rather were skilled, independent scribes in their own right to whom Molitor meted out production while he was occupied with other work for the monastery (i.e., the now lost Bernard of Clairvaux manuscript).\textsuperscript{45}

Volume IV of the *Speculum* was Molitor’s last production for Scheyern. He produced four more manuscripts for Tegernsee in the 1470s (Clm 18093 in 1474, Clm 18074 in 1475, Clm 18025 and 18025a in 1477–79, and the undated Clm 18081), which are the final known productions of his career. As stated before, Molitor signed Clm 18074, f. 183r as in Augusta scriptor, ‘written in Augsburg,’ and for Clm 18025 his colophon (f. 189v) states that he

\textsuperscript{44} These are the only Molitor-Scheyern manuscripts in contemporary bindings, so we do not know if his other manuscripts for the monastery were originally bound at SS. Ulrich and Afra, another workshop in Augsburg, or elsewhere.

\textsuperscript{45} Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*, 121–49, esp. 127ff. on workshop practices in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This period shows the increasing diversity of workshop practices, including blurred boundaries between various media (i.e. fresco, panel painting, illumination, printed images, etc.) but also the more general concept of ‘visual culture’ wherein specific imagery was not locked into a specific media context.
produced the work *in Augsburg* sub Abbot Conrad of Tegernsee. Clm 18081, the undated manuscript of Cassiodorus’s *Expositio in Psalmorum*, was completed by two scribes—one suspiciously similar to Maurus of Scheyern (ff. 294r–373v), while the second (ff. 373v–374v), who wrote the colophon, is not seen in any other Molitor manuscript. Molitor was around to see the completion of the manuscript, as he fully illuminated it after scribal completion, so the exact reason for the change in scribes for less than the final quarter (22%) of the manuscript is unclear.

The production of Scheyern’s *Vita Christi* initiated Molitor’s near 20-year period of employment and at times residence at the monastery, but his colophons and the Augsburg tax registers create the portrait of a traveling artisan, whose ‘workshop’ was not a fixed locale. While he specifically stated that volume II of the Tegernsee *Vita Christi* was completed at the monastery, there is no specific reference in his Scheyern colophons as to exactly where its manuscripts were written or decorated. Molitor refers to himself as *de Augsburg* in his Scheyern manuscripts, while in the colophons of the Tegernsee manuscripts produced after 1471 (Clm 18093, 18074, and 18025/a), he states specifically that they were written *in Augsburg*. Molitor appears in the Augsburg tax register for the years 1448–82, but his taxes are unrecorded from 1459–62, the approximate period of his absence from Scheyern work, from the *Catholicon* contract to his completion of the *Missale monasticum*. Importantly, it is in this period, 1460–73, that he is recorded as an *Aussenbürger*, someone not currently living in the city.⁴⁶ Therefore, it is likely that at least from ca. 1462 to 1471, Molitor was primarily

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⁴⁶ Wehmer, “Heinrich Molitor,” 113. Molitor had completed the illumination of Peter von Schaumberg’s *Vita Christi* manuscript by/in 1460, when the bishop donated it to St. Mang in Füssen. Even though Molitor returned to Augsburg from Scheyern in 1471, Wehmer argues that Molitor’s retention on this “Aussenbürger” list is the result of the civic scribe merely copying by rote the previous year’s list.
residing at Scheyern, insinuating that Molitor was primarily in Augsburg during the production of Scheyern’s *Vita Christi* and *Catholicon*. Furthermore, in 1472–82, Molitor payed the *stuira minor*, a tax on resident citizens, which scholars argue further substantiates his residence outside of Augsburg until that point.\(^{47}\) This tax, though, coincides with his new status as a citizen of Augsburg (at least as first noted in his colophon in Clm 17418, f. 256r). Molitor’s final production for Scheyern, the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (Clm 17416–18) was bound at the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, even though Scheyern had a bindery at this time; thus, it seems that Molitor returned to Augsburg with these unilluminated volumes in 1471, and subsequently returned them to Scheyern after he completed the illumination and they were locally bound. What is more, the logistics of book production mean that Molitor needed exemplars to copy, none of which Scheyern possessed for any of the texts in question. While Molitor might have predominantly resided at Scheyern during his later employment, his connections to Augsburg, with its ready supply of ecclesiastical libraries, likely also provided Molitor with the textual exemplars required to produce the manuscripts.\(^{48}\) As depicted in the Augsburg tax register and by his own colophons, Molitor was a mobile craftsman, who moved according to the job at hand. The full picture of Molitor’s peripatetic existence is still incomplete (especially for his missing


\(^{48}\) Helmut Gier, “Kirchliche und private Bibliotheken in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts,” in *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 93. In 1471 Abbot Melchior von Stammheim expanded the library at SS. Ulrich and Afra, building a secondary structure so that the laity visiting the library did not disturb the monks in their daily routine. The library also had a catalogue shortly after 1474 specifically to help non-monastic visitors find books. Arguably, the library at SS. Ulrich and Afra was an early form of a public library. The copy of the *Speculum historiale* from St. Mang in Füssen (now Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, II.1.2° 194 I–IV) was copied in 1469–70 from an exemplar at SS. Ulrich and Afra; see Roth, *Literatur und Klosterreform*, 48 and Hilg, *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg*, 331–33. Roth suggests that both the St. Mang and Scheyern *Speculum historiale* derive from the same Augsburg exemplar.
years ca. 1460), but his activities illustrate the way a commercial craftsman, whose extant identified work is solely for religious institutions, had to move to the work/client to satisfy their growing bibliographic demands.

As a scribe, Molitor worked solely for the monasteries of Tegernsee and Scheyern; only these two institutions received signed work from the master. Aside from the Missale monasticum and Book of Hours he produced for Scheyern, each of his eight other manuscripts are major ecclesiastical and monastic texts, popular among the Benedictines (Cassian’s Collationes and the Vitae patrum are even mentioned specifically in the Rule of St. Benedict49); these texts were also centerpieces in fifteenth-century monastic reform. Both Tegernsee and Scheyern were members of the Melk Reform and Molitor was instrumental in furnishing the library with appropriate reform texts. Molitor supplied Scheyern (and Tegernsee) with the literary tools of reform, perhaps based upon copies found in Augsburg libraries. The scribe of the Melk Reform for Scheyern, Molitor’s employment by the monastery is part of the initial revitalization of the library and helped to introduce the expanding book market from the outside world to Scheyern.

**Hainrich Molitor as Illuminator**

In his own work and in the tax records of Augsburg, Hainrich Molitor is only identified as a scribe; there is no illumination or decoration signed by him, and yet scholars have argued that he also decorated books.50 Molitor’s production for Scheyern—the largest single

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49 *Regula Benedicti*, Chs. 42 and 73.

body of his work—is key to the argument. Looking at Molitor’s scribal productions, the comparisons between the illumination of each volume shows that they are indeed by the same hand (Clm 18075–76, Figs. 35–36; Clm 17413–14, Figs. 37–38; Clm 17402, Figs. 39–40; Clm 17418, Fig. 45; Clm 18081, Fig. 52). In fact, nearly all of Molitor’s manuscripts share this style of illumination, which is also found in volumes I and III of the *Speculum historiale* (Clm 17416 and 17417, Figs. 43 and 46) written by Johannes Keym and Maurus of Scheyern.\(^{51}\) The uniformity of decoration seen throughout Molitor’s scribal oeuvre and the unlikelihood that a separate illuminator so closely paralleled the vagaries of his peripatetic career suggest that Molitor was indeed also an illuminator.

Molitor has been situated in the so-called “Salzburg-Augsburg” school of illumination.\(^{52}\) Characterized by distinctive scrolling foliage, whose singular tendrils spring from incipit initials and spiral throughout the margins, symmetrical tri-lobed leaves, and naturalistic flowers, the style was found throughout Bavaria and was the most popular style of illumination in contemporary Latin manuscripts and incunabula from the monasteries.\(^{53}\) Originating in Bohemia at the court of King Wenceslas around 1400, the style spread to Vienna and back up the Danube into Bavaria and Swabia, where by mid-century its

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\(^{51}\) The illumination of Clm 17426, 18025, 18074, and 18093 are the only Molitor scribal productions illuminated by different hands.


\(^{53}\) Little work has been done on the illumination from the Bavarian monasteries to identify the stylistic differences between houses, which I hope my work on Scheyern will help to overcome; see also Beier, “Producing, Buying and Decorating Books in the Age of Gutenberg,” 65–82. There were manuals that helped to promulgate the style; Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *The Göttingen Model Book: A Facsimile Edition and Translations of a Fifteenth-Century Illuminators’ Manual* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1972) and Marie Roosen-Runge and Heinz Roosen-Runge, *Das spätgotische Musterbuch des Stephan Schriber: in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Cod.icon.420* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1981).
popularity coincided with the exponential growth of the book market in the region.\textsuperscript{54} The monasteries of SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, Tegernsee, and Scheyern are among the most important patrons of this style. This kind of illumination is predominantly found in Latin books destined for ecclesiastic and religious patrons; it does not appear in German-language books, even those in a religious genre (e.g. German Bibles) or owned by church patrons.\textsuperscript{55} In the traditions of the Salzburg-Augsburg style of illumination, Molitor’s vines extend through the margins, often terminating in naturalistic corkscrew curls or switchbacks. Molitor’s leaves and vines are finer and more delicate than other examples, with highly elongated tendrils. Small, symmetrical leaves, divided into three or four lobes per side with one lobe elongated and bent, spread from the stems, and each leaf is of one color.\textsuperscript{56} The loops created by the curling of the stem are often filled in with gold leaf, which is also frequently blind-stamped with a small floral tool.\textsuperscript{57} In several cases, small songbirds, storks, and owls inhabit these vine scrolls, and always surrounding the vines are gold byzants.


\textsuperscript{56} This is opposed to such illuminators as Johann Bämler, who make each half of the leaf a different color, and whose leaves are much larger and broader.

flourished with cilia-like penwork extensions. The illumination style continues to the
decorated initials that articulate the text, whether they are large framed initials, historiated, or
the simple 3- or 4-line lombards at minor textual breaks. For the large initials, the letterform
is filled with a scrolling broadleaf design, simply modeled in one color, with fine-line
highlights and shadows. Surrounded by a segmented frame (red and green are the standard
colors for Augsburg decoration), the initials are usually on a gold ground, which is either
blind-stamped with tiny floral stamps or painted over with a screen of vine motifs (Fig. 45).
Smaller lombard initials are generally of one color, either painted or of gold leaf, and
decorated with complementary filigree penwork extensions. The fact that all of these
characteristics are so consistent throughout Molitor’s signed scribal productions—and only
rarely appear in anything but them—is the basis for attributing the illumination to his hand. 58

On Molitor’s attribution as an illuminator, Eberhard König rightly points out that it is
highly unlikely that each manuscript was sent to the same illuminator in Augsburg and then
returned to the monastery, or that Molitor kept an illuminator with him during his stays in
Tegernsee and Scheyern. 59 The works attributed to this illuminator’s hand fit neatly into gaps
in Molitor’s scribal timeline, and while this does not rule out the possibility of an illuminator
working for other patrons when he had a break from Molitor’s productions, the sheer

58 Molitor’s illuminations have several idiosyncrasies, and their appearance throughout his productions further
supports the notion of scribe as illuminator. In the margins of several manuscripts he has included a bird
holding a scroll with a series of letters emblazoned on it: Clm 17402, f. 150v: I. A. M. E. I. D. Z. (held by a
squirrel), f. 178r: M. N. D. O. W. A. S., f. 311v: N. O. O. WELT (Fig. 47; there is also a tiny devil or imp on
Clm 17402, f. 77r with an empty scroll); Clm 17416, f. 178v: M. N. D. O. W. A. S. (Fig. 43); and Clm 18075, f.
2r: M. I. A. S. The meaning of the inscriptions is unknown; they do not seem to be any kind of textual
reference, an acronym for popular sayings, or related to the animal that holds them. To my knowledge, such
inscriptions are not found in any other manuscripts written by Molitor or attributed by his illuminations. The
repetition of M. N. D. O. W. A. S. on f. 178v of both Clm 17402 and 17416 is very peculiar and suggests that
these are indeed not just random, nonsensical inscriptions. For now, however, their meaning remains a mystery.

consistency between scribal hand, illuminating hand, and timeline help to substantiate Molitor as the illuminator. This decorative consistency has led to the further attribution of (unsigned) illuminated manuscripts and incunabula to Molitor’s hand, such as the *Vita Christi* for Peter von Schaumberg and the *Catholicon* written by Hainrich Lengfelt (both already discussed).\(^{60}\) Both manuscripts depict the same vine scrolls and Molitor’s characteristic jowly-faced figures seen in the Scheyern manuscripts. Molitor was very adept at foliage, initials, and floral ornament, but he was not equally sure with people, whose faces frequently seem rather haggard. The angel holding the blank shield on f. 2r of the Lengfelt’s *Catholicon* (Fig. 48) is practically identical to the one holding the arms of Scheyern on f. 1r of Clm 17414 (Fig. 38). The heavy lines around the mouths also appear on the Virgin Mary, monks, saints, and gardeners on f. 1r of Scheyern’s *Catholicon*, and the figures of David (f. 8r), Peter and Paul (f. 136r), John (f. 262r), and a nun (f. 262v) of Clm 18081.

At issue here, though, is the dating of Molitor’s work as an illuminator for Peter von Schaumberg, Lengfelt’s *Catholicon*, and other works. Again, the period around 1458 accords with his work on Lengfelt’s *Catholicon* and Peter von Schaumberg’s *Vita Christi*, his absence from the Augsburg tax records, and the Scheyern *Catholicon* contract. Molitor finished writing Scheyern’s *Catholicon* in November of 1458 and Lengfelt completed writing his manuscript in December of that same year. With only a month between the scribal completion of the Scheyern manuscript and Lengfelt’s *Catholicon*, did Molitor have enough time to completely illuminate the Scheyern manuscript before working on Lengfelt’s and then complete Peter von Schaumberg’s *Vita Christi* before he donated it to St. Mang in 1460?

An illuminated initial in Scheyern’s *Catholicum* (Clm 17402, f. 115r) contains the textual incipit in the border decoration, as well as the date 1458, *Anno domini MCCCCLVIII*. Molitor thus had started illuminating the manuscript in 1458, but since he did not return the manuscript to Scheyern until 1461, he likely completed Peter von Schaumberg’s *Vita Christi* first, then turned to Lengfelt’s *Catholicum* before finally returning to the Scheyern work. This does not fully explain his absence from the Augsburg tax register, but it might explain the purpose for his bill of debt with Scheyern: it was written to record the debt he still owed while he briefly left Scheyern’s direct employ to work for other (more powerful) patrons.

The full-page illumination on f. 1r of Scheyern’s *Catholicum* (Clm 17402; Fig. 39) is Molitor’s most elaborate and detailed work, and it is no wonder that the *Catholicum* contract states that he was granted a bonus due to the beauty of the finished product. The illumination centers around a large gold initial *A* with the Virgin and Christ Child seated beneath and God the Father in the upper half. Two monks kneeling before the Virgin are likely depictions of the work’s author, Johannes Balbus, and of the Abbot of Scheyern, Wilhelm Kienberger. Within the letterform of the *A*, two roundels contain Gabriel and the Virgin in the Annunciation, and the cross bar of the *A* almost directly between them, carries the “ihs” monogram and the words, “Ego sum alpha et o[mega].” The *A* not only structures the space of the Annunciation but is also an active participant, in many ways becoming the conduit between Gabriel and the Virgin; the letterform also encloses the supplication image below and God the Father above. Surrounding the *A* are four Prophets with scrolls,\(^61\) which are in turn framed by a spiral border with the arms of (from top left): Scheyern, Eckhard I of

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\(^61\) The scroll at the top left, the only one that is largely legible is from Psalm 49:1, *Dominus deorum locutus est*, suggesting that they are Old Testament prophets, but Hefner, “Über die literarischen Leistungen des Klosters Scheyern,” 95 identified them as four Dukes of Scheyern.
Scheyern, the Palatinate adopted by Otto II in 1229, and the Counts of Bogen adopted by Otto II in 1247. The next frame contains an inhabited vine border with roundels of the four Evangelists in the corners, and St. Leonhard on the left and Mary Magdalene on the right, to both of whom altars at Scheyern were dedicated. At the top and bottom center of this border, angels hold Scheyern’s insignia: the double-cross (top) derived from the fragments of the True Cross given to Scheyern in 1180 and the blue and gold Wittelsbach arms (bottom). Below the Wittelsbach arms, in the margin between the two columns, there is a heavily furled scroll, and although it is badly damaged and much of the gold lettering has flaked off, “Anno domini 1456...Shrn” is still legible. Molitor states in the colophon that he finished writing the manuscript in 1458, so that 1456 likely refers to the start date of the work, two years after he completed his previous production for Scheyern, the second volume of the *Vita Christi* (Clm 17414). The fact that the scribal inception of the manuscript is referred to in the illumination is another element uniting Molitor the scribe with Molitor the illuminator.

Surrounding the entire textblock is a fully painted and illuminated border, inhabited by a panoply of animals, insects, birds, flowers, and two men. On the right, a monkey holds the arms thought to belong to Scheyern’s foundress, Haziga; on the left, probably those of Otto II of Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria. The bottom margin is heavily worn and much of the gold

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62 For a fuller discussion, see below, pp. 262–65.

63 Every year the Scheyern account books record financial donations made *ad Leonhardum*, on St. Leonhard’s Day.

64 This two-year gap also provides another period in which he might have illuminated works for other patrons, perhaps even the Gutenberg Bible now in the Bodmer Collection in Cologny, Switzerland, Inc. Bodmer 259; see Bösch-Mattmann, *Inkunabeln der Bodmeriana*, 175 and König, “Möglichkeiten kunstgeschichtlicher Beiträge zur Gutenberg-Forschung,” 83–102.

65 Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 12 and Wilhelm Volker, “Die Bilder in dem Wappen der Wittelsbacher,” 14; Otto’s shield is typically a leftward-facing yellow lion on a black ground, but there are no other identifiable possibilities for the arms that make sense in this context.
and paint has flaked off, but the wooden fence backdrop is still visible, as are two dark-haired men (gardeners?), and a series of flowers and animals. Under the left text column are three dark brown forms: although damaged and difficult to make out, they are bears. The middle of these three, however, is clearly derived from a famous image of a climbing bear used in a series of printed playing cards from the 1440s and popularly used as the inspiration for manuscript and printed book decoration into the 1460s and 70s (Figs. 49a–b). In the bottom left border, there is a blue trumpet flower and columbine, and further up a lion with its head turned backwards staring up at a squirrel; on the right, just next to Mary Magdalene, there is a stag looking back towards the saint, and below that, in the garden bower, there is a heavily damaged stork, bending over to grab a snake with its beak (Figs. 50a–b and 51a–b). All of these figures derive from sets of printed playing cards. The use of such printed motifs in manuscript decoration has been ascribed to the need to expedite the illuminating process or to provide something like a stencil in busy workshops. Few of the manuscripts and incunabula in which the playing card motifs appear, however, can be attributed to the same workshop, and the very limited use of printed motifs in such an extensive border does not support the need-for-speed argument.

Molitor’s use of these motifs has not been identified before and this is his only manuscript in which they appear. The Master of the Playing Card motifs were used in two other Augsburg manuscript contexts: the Ashkenazi Haggadah (London, British Library, 193

66 The blank circle just under the right column of text was a peacock, with the fine underdrawing for the head and feathers still visible on the parchment.


68 See Bartsch 23, 234 (columbine), 235 (trumpet flower), 228 (stork).
Add. 14762)\textsuperscript{69} and a bifolium depicting the Crucifixion and St. Leonhard (New York, Morgan Library, MS M. 45, Fig. 53).\textsuperscript{70} The Haggadah was written and partially illuminated 1459/60 in Ulm by Joel ben Simeon, with a number of folios (ff. 1b–8b, 12b–13b, and 39a–46b) illuminated by Johann Bämler in Augsburg.\textsuperscript{71} On f. 46b Bämler added a lion in the bottom margin (Fig. 54); facing upwards and with his back towards the viewer, he stares intently at the framed title above his head. Possibly symbolizing of the Lion of Judah, a Jewish emblem seen as early as the frescoes in the Dura Europos synagogue from 244 CE, he has been copied directly from the Master of the Playing Cards (Fig. 55). Of the several animals added by Bämler as part of his decorative program, the lion is the only one so derived from an identifiable printed source. The Morgan Library bifolium is framed by a bower-like border decoration, just as seen on f. 6a of the Haggadah and similar to that on f. 1r Scheyern’s \textit{Catholicon}. In the bottom center border of the right leaf, a seated brown bear looks up toward St. Leonhard freeing two prisoners in the central panel (Fig. 56). As the bears in Scheyern’s \textit{Catholicon}, Bämler’s bear, as well as the flowers to either side, are also derived from the playing cards. The motifs are purely decorative and do not perform any emblematic or directive function as the lion in the Haggadah. Johann Bämler signed the Morgan bifolium in the outer gold frame (left side) of the Crucifixion leaf: \textit{artifex Johannes Bemler 1457}, and the association of the secondary illumination in the London Haggadah with


\textsuperscript{70} Meta Harrsen, \textit{Central European Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library} (New York: Morgan Library, 1958), 68–69, Nr. 57.

\textsuperscript{71} Sheila Edmunds, “The Place of the London Haggadah in the Work of Joel ben Simeon,” \textit{Journal of Jewish Art} 7 (1980): 25–34, argues that the illuminator of this part of the manuscript (ff. 1v–8v, 12v–13v, and 39r–46v) was Johann Bämler, although Goldstein, \textit{Ashkenazi Haggadah}, 11 believes that the style is too generic to specifically attribute to Bämler; see also Yael Zirlin, “Joel Meets Johannes: A Fifteenth-Century Jewish-Christian Collaboration in Manuscript Illumination,” \textit{Viator} 26 (1995): 265–82.
Bämler locates the playing card motifs in his workshop. The use of the playing cards as models is almost superfluous in these cases, except to show how pervasive the imagery had become, even as far south as Augsburg where they had not been identified previously. The use of these mass produced and distributed images allow us specific opportunities for glimpses into contemporary artistic practices and to understand the influence of prints, even before printing.  

Clm 17422, the missal Molitor produced for Abbot Kienberger, included a printed Crucifixion originally pasted on f. 138v. The mixture of manuscript and print was not unusual in the period and shows the integration of commercially available images into individual creations to fulfill devotional and liturgical needs. While the use of the printed image in the missal likely expedited and lessened the cost of production, the argument that the use of printed motifs as manuscript models expedited the illumination of books is not particularly valid in a work as elaborate as Molitor’s Catholicon (or in the context of the Haggadah or Bämler’s bifolium). The small amount of time that was possibly saved by copying an existing image in these five instances could not have made that much difference in the overall illumination of the Catholicon. In essence, the use of printed decorative models in a manuscript is no different than the use of a printed book as the exemplar of a

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72 The latest use of the playing card motifs that I have found is in the title page (f. A2r) of a manual on distilling, Hieronymus Brunschwig’s Kleines Destillierbuch (Strasbourg: Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger, 8 May 1500), ISTC ib01227000, where two deer, one bending down to drink and the other rearing up and looking backwards, are derived from the playing cards; see Albert Schramm, Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke, fortgeführt von der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1937), XX, Die Strassburger Drucker, II: 24. These same deer also appear on the cover of the programs for the annual International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo.


74 This is true for all uses of the playing card motifs in fifteenth-century painted decoration: they are usually part of more extensive decorative programs not derived from printed material; therefore, their purpose seems to be more as simple motifs than a stage in the mass production of book illumination.
manuscript: scribes and artisans were able to copy what was available and the media distinction mattered little; print importantly affords us a higher chance of the model surviving so that we may more clearly understand these production practices. Molitor’s use (albeit singular) of printed motifs as decorative models shows the breadth of visual options and influences available to artists in the period and the porous distinctions between manuscript and print in the fifteenth century.

Molitor’s later work for Tegernsee shows a break in his autographic illumination practices. While he illuminated the copy of Cassiodorus (Clm 18081, Fig. 52) himself, Clm 18093, 18074, and 18025 were illuminated by an Augsburg workshop, again possibly affiliated with Johann Bämler (Fig. 57).75 Again, the illumination accords with the Salzburg-Augsburg style of foliate borders inhabited with brightly-colored flowers and flourished byzants; however, these features are rather more energetic than Molitor’s delicate renditions. In general for this hand/workshop, the foliage is larger, the leaves are painted in two colors (divided by the stem), with fine cross-hatching for highlights and shadows, and the colors are quite vibrant and bright. There is a certain fluidity to the way the leaves spiral through the margins, and the physical motion of the artist’s hand seems readily apparent in their lively nature. While the consensus used to be that these illuminations were by Molitor’s hand under some ‘new Augsburg influences’ that altered his style on his return to the city,76 almost every characteristic of this style diverges from Molitor’s previously-identified hand. The entire construction and handling of the marginal foliage, the form of the leaves, as well as their


76 Steingräber, Die kirchliche Buchmalerei Augsburgs um 1500, 18 attributes the change in Molitor’s style to a new style of Augsburg illumination, exemplified by Johannes Franck at SS. Ulrich and Afra, but König, “Augsburger Buckkunst,” does not directly address the illumination of the later manuscripts for Tegernsee.
coloration and shading are like nothing Molitor previously created. More recently, scholars have suggested that the three Tegernsee manuscripts illuminated in this new style are the products of Tegernsee monks that Molitor trained while in residence at the monastery twenty-five years prior.\footnote{Beier, “Missalien massenhaft,” 60 suggests that a few illuminations in Clm 18081 (ff. 136r and 262r) might have been completed by Tegernsee monks or other Augsburg illuminators; however, I would argue that these historiated initials are indeed by Molitor as they show his tell-tale jowly faces. As Beier also suggests, a thorough examination of Tegernsee illumination, which is lacking, would provide a great deal of information regarding the illumination practices at the abbey and their relationship to commercial producers.} Clm 18081, though undated, retains the style of illumination that we recognize as Molitor, without any hint of new stylistic influences; Clm 18093, dated 1474 (three years after Molitor finished writing volume IV of Scheyern’s *Speculum*), was illuminated in the new Augsburg style. The timeline of production here does not support Molitor writing and illuminating Clm 18081 (not to mention completing Scheyern’s *Speculum*), then writing Clm 18093 and evolving a completely new artistic style by 1474.

The style and elemental organization is very similar to that of Bämler; however, individual details, such as the bowtie leaves, byzants, and shadow hatching do not exactly match Bämler’s identified hand. The evidence clearly shows that at this point in his career, Molitor was associated with another Augsburg illuminator or group of illuminators likely affiliated with Johann Bämler, who completed the three Tegernsee manuscripts, and in fact, also illuminated works for Scheyern (see below).\footnote{Such collaborative production has been more deeply examined with the manuscripts produced ca. 1500 by the Augsburg scribe Leonhard Wagner and illuminator Nicholas Bertschi; see Walter Berschin, “Neue Forschungen zum Augsburger Buchmaler Nicolaus Bertschi der Älteren,” *Scriptorium* 55 (2001): 228–48 and Peter Rückert, “Augsburger Buchkunst um 1500 und ihre Netzwerke im deutschen Südwesten,” in *Augsburger Netzwerke zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Wirtschaft, Kultur und Pilgerfahrten*, edited by Klaus Herbers and Peter Rückert (Tübingen: Narr, 2009), 51–53.}

The flourishing book culture of southern Germany in the fifteenth-century was anything but hegemonic, and the books themselves reveal the variety of hands that produced...
them and the multiple paths to completion possible between scribe and owner. Scheyern employed Hainrich Molitor ostensibly to ‘modernize’ the library, that is, to stock their library with a core set of texts necessary to the Melk Reform. Molitor’s manuscripts for Scheyern physically reveal the workings of fifteenth-century book production with the variety of motivations and artisans behind each bibliographic artifact. What Scheyern additionally gained from their connection with Molitor was an introduction to the book producers of Augsburg, a fortuitous circumstance as the monastery not only then had access to manuscript producers and binders but soon also to the new kids on the block—printers.

**Augsburg Influences on the Scheyern Scriptorium**

Hainrich Molitor spent twenty years working for/at Scheyern, so it would be quite natural to see his influence on the abbey’s scriptorium, both in terms of scribal production and illumination. In Chapter 3 I discussed the scribal production of the Scheyern scribe Maurus, who wrote half of volume III of the *Speculum historiale* (Clm 17417), and the similarities between Molitor and Maurus’s scribal hands. Maurus’s part of the *Speculum* was written in a rounded gothic hand, quite dissimilar from Johannes Keym’s more angular gothic hand in the first half of the manuscript. In this case, Maurus was likely trying to emulate the cadence and legibility of Molitor’s Augsburg script. The same script is seen in Maurus’s production following the *Speculum*, a compendium of Pope Gregory I, *Expositio in Cantica canticorum*, Augustine, *Enchiridion*, and Ambrose, *Hexameron* (Esztergom, Archdiocese Library, Ms. II, 6), written in 1469–71 (Fig. 58). This was likely meant to be a pendant work to the now-lost Molitor manuscript of Bernard’s *Sermones in Cantica*
canticorum of 1469 and was produced at the same time as Molitor’s volume IV of the *Speculum*. Maurus was a very adept and highly-trained scribe, perhaps even before any interaction with Molitor, although no identified work by Maurus appears before this period. After 1471, he only retains the rounded gothic hand for rubrics and the Scheyern provenance inscription, preferring the more rapid and compact Cursiva Libraria script for regular text, as suggested by the Melk *modus scribendi*. Similarly, the scribe Hainrich Zäch used the rounded gothic of Molitor for the entirety of Clm 17412, Gregory I, *Homiliae XL* and *Liber regulae pastoralis* (undated), as well as for the rubrics in Clm 17409–10, Astesanus de Ast’s *Summa*, completed in 1459, just after Molitor finished the *Catholicon*. Whether Zäch was a lay scribe in Augsburg or a monk of Scheyern at this point is unclear, but both Molitor and Zäch produce the same g with forward-curling lower bowl.\(^79\) Another scribe, Frater Placidus, used the script in the rubrics for Clm 17474 and 17476, written in 1491 and 1485, respectively. While it is unlikely that Placidus learned the script directly from Molitor himself, its continued use by Maurus and Zäch and its presence in the books themselves kept the humanistic Augsburg script current at Scheyern. The script was well-suited for rubrics: color and style set it off from the regular text, which together with the lombards or illuminated initials helped to articulate the text and increase its legibility.

One might expect Molitor’s illumination to have had a lasting influence on the Scheyern scriptorium, but the longevity of this ‘school’ and Molitor’s direct influence is, in many cases, questionable and needs to be reconsidered. In some of the only research on Scheyern illumination, Berthold Riehl suggested a Molitor school at Scheyern and saw his

\(^{79}\) Molitor: Clm 18093, f. 7r and Zäch: Clm 17409, f. 1r. This type of g is sometimes found in other Augsburg and Upper Bavarian manuscripts, and is thus not specific to Molitor or Zäch, but Maurus, for example, never seems to have adopted this form of g in his own work.
influence in several foliate borders in Scheyern manuscripts, including Clm 17407, 17421, 17476, and 17480. Subsequently, Michael Hartig reattributed several of Riehl’s “Molitor” manuscripts and ascribed others to the hand of the artist, namely Clm 17421, 17456 and 17463. Neither, however, apparently looked for comparanda in the printed books. The manuscripts of the supposed ‘Molitor school’ present a broad variety of foliate border decoration, of various qualities, and using differing motifs. A second look at these books, along with a few that Riehl and Hartig disregarded or did not know about, clearly illustrate the diversity of decorative styles and indeed question any specific Molitor influence. Instead, what Scheyern book illumination shows is a monastery whose artists developed independently of Molitor’s influence, both within and outside of the local Augsburg style.

The first manuscript in Riehl’s ‘school’ is Clm 17407, a missal written by Maurus of Scheyern in 1485 (Fig. 7). The border decoration follows the scrolling leaf pattern of the Salzburg-Augsburg style, but the leaves are larger and vines fill the margins more densely than seen in Molitor’s work. Hartig ascribed the illumination to Maurus, and especially with the “IGITUR” incipit on f. 39r (Fig. 59), which he thought was a case of Maurus trying to copy Molitor’s work in Clm 17402. This is not the work of a Scheyern monk, however,

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80 Riehl, “Studien zur Geschichte der bayerischen Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts,” 106–7. Riehl refers to “two artists” active at Scheyern in the 1480s who were directly influenced by Molitor, yet one of these artists is the Augsburg workshop responsible for the illumination of Maurus’s liturgical books (Clm 17407 and 17421) and the other is Scheyern’s Rich Illuminator, see above, pp. 155ff.


82 Following Riehl, Rudolf Quoika, Musik und Musikpflege in der Benediktinerabtei Scheyern (Munich: Bayerische Benediktinerakademie, 1958), 14 also attributed all Scheyern music manuscripts, except Clm 17408, to Molitor as both the scribe and decorator.

83 Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 16 thinks that Molitor worked with Maurus on this manuscript, but the Augsburg tax records suggests that Molitor died in 1482–83.

but the production of an artist in Augsburg. While Riehl finds the border “a crasser version” of Molitor’s work, the illumination accords directly with Augsburg-style illumination and seems closely related to the workshop production associated with the Augsburg illuminator and printer Johann Bämler. This workshop illuminated Clm 17407 and Clm 17421 for Scheyern (Figs. 60 and 61). The style seen in the two Scheyern missals is brasher than that of Molitor’s later Tegernsee manuscript, Clm 18025, even though the foliate decoration in all three manuscripts follows the same pattern. The incipit initial R in Clm 17421, f. 1r, depicts Christ in a red cloak striding out of the tomb. All four margins are filled with vibrant foliate decoration, including the blue and gold Wittelsbach arms of Scheyern, conical flowers (nearly identical to those in Clm 18025, f. 1r), and flourished byzants. The triumphant Christ is reminiscent of the judging Christ in a series of missals illuminated by Johann Bämler and his workshop in the 1460s to 80s. The leaf bearing the Crucifixion miniature prefacing the Canon of the Mass in Clm 17421 has been torn out (original f. 40), leaving a fragment of a red and blue frame with gilt flower stamped into the blue band. This exact frame surrounds the miniature of Pope Gregory I, Jerome, and a monk on the verso of the folio that prefaces Clm 18025, volume I of the *Moralia in Job* that Molitor wrote for Tegernsee in 1477 (Fig. 27). We can only imagine what Scheyern’s lost Crucifixion might have looked like, and the

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86 See below, p. 216.


89 The flower stamp is nearly identical to the binding stamps used by SS. Ulrich and Afra (EBDB s009555) and Scheyern (EBDB s004795), showing a further Augsburg connection to this workshop and the development of Scheyern’s bindery (see below).
quality of the Gregory miniature with its finely modeled faces and vibrant colors is but a tantalizing hint.

Nearly identical illuminations are found in a Scheyern incunable: Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale* ([Strasbourg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 15 June 1476]); 2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1 (Fig. 63), wherein the curve of the vine and placement of flowers follow the same pattern. The practice of using patterns for illumination was put to great use by artists in Augsburg and elsewhere, where printed books caused such a boon for illuminators that methods of speeding up ‘original’ work were developed. If a workshop suddenly had multiple copies of exactly the same book to illuminate, a model pattern provided the means by which the workshop could (almost) keep up with the production of the printing press. In fact, the opening for the canon of the mass in Clm 17407, f. 39r, the *Te igitur*, has the same border pattern as f. 1r. This illumination, however, is not related to Molitor, except to say that both originate from Augsburg; due to the illumination of the Strasbourg Vincent of Beauvais incunable, I think that Maurus wrote the text in Augsburg (from a local exemplar) and then had it illuminated there as well. It is quite likely that the textual exemplar for the manuscript was located in Augsburg, perhaps at the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra, but no direct textual exemplar has yet been identified. The lombard initials up to f. 46r were illuminated by this Augsburg workshop, but from f. 47v, at which time the money or his time in

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Augsburg might have run out, Scheyern’s Geometric Flourisher completed them with his typical red penwork flourishing.\textsuperscript{91}

The Geometric Flourisher is also responsible for decorating Clm 17476, the Humbertus Lombardus, \textit{De nomine et amore Jesu}, written by Frater Placidus in 1485 (Fig. 15). The reason for Riehl’s attribution of this manuscript to a “Molitor school” is hard to understand, as the red filigree penwork is like nothing that Molitor ever produced. He might have been referring to Placidus’s other manuscript, Clm 17474, written in 1491, which has foliate decoration on f. 2r (Fig. 18), but again, the style and composition bear no resemblance to Molitor, or to Maurus, to whom Hartig attributes the decoration.\textsuperscript{92}

Clm 17480, Maurus’s undated \textit{Homiliae SS. Patrum} and Cassian’s \textit{De institutione SS. Patrum libri XII}, is Riehl’s only attributed manuscript that bears a superficial resemblance to a “Molitor school” (Fig. 33); however, the style, organization, and design of the border and its elements do not reflect any of Molitor’s characteristics. This style of illumination is not found in any other Scheyern manuscript and might represent the work of yet another Augsburg illuminator or a one-off by a Scheyern monk. The shaded diamonds in the \textit{R} are indeed found in Molitor’s work (Clm 17402, f. 32r) and in the work of Johannes Franck from

\textsuperscript{91} On the Geometric Flourisher, see above, pp. 153–55.

\textsuperscript{92} Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 16.
the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra, but they are a common element in Augsburg illumination and not specific to a single illuminator.\textsuperscript{93}

Hartig attributed a further manuscript to Molitor’s artistic activities: Clm 17463, although he also surprisingly calls this manuscript, “completely worthless for art historical study.”\textsuperscript{94} Clm 17463, volume II of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl’s \textit{Lecturae super Mattheum} was written in 1452 and decorated with red lombards with Maiblumen in-fill and black-line leaves in the red letterform.\textsuperscript{95} While the Maiblumen in-fill decoration (almost ubiquitous in Rhenish, central and southern Germany lombard decoration, in both manuscript and woodcut initials) bears a slight similarity to Molitor’s penwork flourishing, the overall style is completely different than anything ever produced by Molitor. While I would not ascribe any Molitor influence to the decoration in Clm 17463, the flourished lombards represent a style of decoration, perhaps from Scheyern itself, that could indeed be a useful art historical element in ascertaining the origin of the book and further commercial/artistic connections at Scheyern.

\textsuperscript{93} Scheyern also held one volume from an antiphonal set from SS. Ulrich and Afra (Clm 17406), which was written and illuminated by Johannes Franck in the 1450s. The other volumes of this set from SS. Ulrich and Afra are Clm 4302, 4304, and 4305. See Wilhelm Wittwer, “Catalogus Abbatum Monasterii SS. Uldalrici Et Afrae,” edited by Anton Steichele, \textit{Archiv für Geschichte des Bistums Augsburg} 3 (1860): 265, Steingräber, \textit{Die kirchliche Buchmalerei Augsburgs um 1500}, 12, and König, “Augsburger Buchkunst an der Schwelle zur Frühdruckzeit,” 192–95. When and how the volume came to the Scheyern library is unknown; it was rebound in the sixteenth century and does not bear the seventeenth-century \textit{Monasterij Schyrensis} provenance inscription. The manuscript was thus a later gift or loan from SS. Ulrich and Afra, which was simply in the Scheyern library at the Dissolution. In any case, there is no evidence that the volume was at Scheyern in the fifteenth century or has any connection to contemporary library or scriptorium needs at Scheyern. Riehl and Hartig both assumed the volume to be at the library in the fifteenth century.

\textsuperscript{94} Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern,” 9 and 11, along with Clm 17412, 17452, 17460, 17464, 17469, 17473, 17476, and 17483, all of which only have lombard initials, except Clm 17476 which has elaborate red filigree penwork initials on ff. 1r and 10r, see Figs. 16–17.

\textsuperscript{95} The same decoration is found in Clm 17464, Nicholas von Dinkelsbühl’s \textit{Quaestiones super Mattheum} and \textit{Super evangelia dominicalia}, which also dates to ca. 1452 and is in an almost identical drawn-leather binding to Clm 17463.
One manuscript that does show an influence of Molitor’s style is one that Riehl and Hartig either were unaware of or ignored: Esztergom, Ms. II, 6. The illumination of Maurus’s manuscript is based upon Molitor’s motifs, but the modeling is rather flat and the coloring garish (Fig. 58). The artist is emulating Molitor’s delicate leaves and extended vine tendrils that end in corkscrews, yet they lack the finesse and refinement of the originals. The penwork flourishing of the byzant and bouquet in the top margin is looser and sloppier than Molitor’s standard. This exact style of illumination is not seen in another Scheyern book and might again represent a one-off imitation of Molitor by the scribe Maurus or another monk. In any case, it does not appear that Molitor’s style of illumination survived beyond his employment at the monastery.

Ultimately, Molitor’s lasting influences on the Scheyern scriptorium were minimal, and his heritage in the library was almost solely found in his manuscripts on the shelves. If Molitor were indeed in residence at Scheyern for twenty years, we might expect more resounding scribal and artistic influences on the monks in the scriptorium, but we do not find this. Based upon scribal characteristics, Maurus represents Molitor’s strongest influence at Scheyern, while Scheyern’s Rich Illuminator might show certain Augsburg characteristics in his scrolling foliate forms and flourished byzants, but the general style, the handling of the leaves themselves, their coloring and arrangement do not reflect any explicit Molitor influence. The lack of artistic integration and influence between Molitor and the other Scheyern book producers suggests that Molitor, a commercial and lay employee of the monastery, was more separated or isolated from the monastic community than perhaps assumed in such circumstances. This isolation would have been facilitated by Scheyern’s
diversified and dispersed “scriptorium,” located in areas of the monastery that were off limits to the lay artisan.

One book that Riehl and Hartig certainly never considered, and one that might be the key piece in the chain between Augsburg, Molitor, and Scheyern, is Scheyern’s copy of Pseudo-Bonaventura’s *Meditationes vitae Christi*, printed in Augsburg by Günther Zainer in 1468 (GNM, N. 23).96 This is Scheyern’s earliest dated incunable, but it is in a Scheyern binding that likely dates from the mid-1470s.97 On f. a3r is an illuminated initial ‘I’ with marginal foliate decoration, flourished byzants, and a woodpecker (Fig. 65). The extended vine tendrils and delicate leaves are Molitor’s style, and the spiral initial ‘I’ is almost an exact copy of one in the *Catholicon* manuscript (Clm 17402, f. 55r; Fig. 40). The book was partially illuminated by Molitor, or a closely related artist, while the rubrication was completed at Scheyern. The third bifolium of quire a (ff. a3–a8), on which the incipit illumination appears, contains yellow capital strokes (preferred by Molitor) on its recto and verso; the capital strokes and paraph marks in rest of the quire and the book are red. It was not an uncommon practice for workshops partially to illuminate printed books, leaving the bulk of the visual articulation up to the final owner to complete.98 It seems that Scheyern’s earliest incunable passed through Molitor’s hands between leaving Zainer’s shop and arriving at Scheyern. Through Molitor, Scheyern was introduced to Augsburg manuscript

96 ISTC ib00893000.

97 Ernst Kyriss dates the development of Scheyern’s bindery to ca. 1476, likely do to the increased acquisition of printed books that year, but he never explains his reasons for dating; see below, p. 220.

98 Smith, “Patterns of incomplete rubrication,” 133–47. This might also suggest a relationship between Zainer and Molitor, which Wehmer, “Heinrich Molitor,” 121 suggested in terms of Zainer’s font design, but in this case both men are likely drawing on the same Augsburg traditions for their respective script and font.
production, and it is only natural that the Augsburg connections established over his twenty-year relationship with the monastery continued with early printed books.

**Early Incunabula at Scheyern**

By 1480, the library likely had over 60 incunabula. Scheyern’s earliest dated incunable is the first book printed in Augsburg: the *Meditationes* of 1468, with the next printed editions being 2 books from 1472, 4 from 1473, and 7 from 1474. This small trajectory illustrates the slow but increasing acquisition of printed books by the library in the early 1470s. The Augsburg presses are the most represented among the Scheyern incunables printed before 1480 with 13 books, followed by Strasbourg with 11, 9 from Nuremberg, 5 from Bologna, Venice and Ulm each with 4, Basel and Rome with 3, and 1 book apiece from 4 other German and 4 Italian cities. While Italian presses are represented in the early years of Scheyern’s incunable purchases, illustrating the international component of the printed book market, the nearby German presses have the highest percentages and show the immediate local market for many printed works and the importance of the monasteries to the initial success of the printing press. Augsburg and Strasbourg lead the pack, and the connections between individual printers and booksellers in the two cities funneled Strasbourg incunables to Scheyern and other Bavarian libraries. The Augsburg-Strasbourg incunables

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99 See App. C, Scheyern Acquisition Codes.

100 The earliest Italian incunable in the library is Eusebius’s *De evangelica praeparatione*, printed in Venice by Leonhardus Aurl in 1473; ISTC ie00120000 (Groningen, Rijksuniversiteit, Inc. 83).


102 See Künast, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, 140–50 on the agents for other German presses who were active in Augsburg and 156 on Augsburg’s trade with the presses of Venice. See also Victor Scholderer, “Some Benefactions of Erhard Ratdolt,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 39 (1955): 98–99.
are more than double those from Nuremberg, another major Bavarian printing city with international trade capacity.\textsuperscript{103} With few exceptions, Scheyern’s Nuremberg imprints are the first local edition of a work, and their presence in the Scheyern library reflects the market availability of the work.\textsuperscript{104} The imbalance between Augsburg-Strasbourg and Nuremberg imprints, whether due to proximity or pre-established personal connections, highlights the continued primacy of the Augsburg book market to Scheyern.

Augsburg did not have a press until 1468, 14 years after Gutenberg’s bible appeared on the market, and there are no extant printed books from Scheyern prior to this date, either. Perhaps they were too focused on Molitor’s manuscript production, but in any case, the introduction of printing to Augsburg also appears to be the introduction of printed books to Scheyern. The Church was a strong supporter of the press. In lieu of a university in Augsburg (or Strasbourg), the Church was the driving force behind the technology, both in conception and the reception of books.\textsuperscript{105} Local bishops and monasteries were frequently the financial backing behind the presses, and many early printers were notaries or secretaries for dioceses

\textsuperscript{103} BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 563 c/d, 2 Inc.c.a. 602 b and b/1, 2 Inc.c.a. 794 ad, and 2 Inc.s.a. 182 c/1; GNM, Inc. 102052/5, 102052/6, and 102052/126–127; and Angers, Université Catholique de l’Ouest, Fondation V.

\textsuperscript{104} Both Bartholomaeus de Chaimis’s \textit{Confessionale} (2 Inc.c.a. 602 b; ISTC ib00156000) and the \textit{Modus legendi abbreviaturas} (2 Inc.c.a. 602 b/1; ISTC im00743000) have contemporary Strasbourg or Basel editions, and only Johannes Andreae’s \textit{Super arboribus consanguinitatis} (2 Inc.s.a. 182 c/1) and an earlier Augsburg edition (ISTC ia00599000).

before becoming printers themselves. The Church had the money to support and purchase printed works, and they were also the single-largest international audience with a regular need for books; they were the most reliable commercial market in the early years of printing.

Augsburg’s first printer, Günther Zainer, was trained in the printing house of Johann Mentelin, Strasbourg’s first printer, who, in turn, had likely learned from Gutenberg himself. Mentelin focused on the Church market in the Alsace and southern Germany, printing the second edition of the Latin Bible in 1460, the first edition of the German Bible in 1466, and popular Latin authors: Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, John Chrysostum, and Rabanus Maurus; only in 1469–70 did he start printing such classical authors as Aristotle, Terence, and Virgil, which were also not uncommonly found in monastic libraries. Günther Zainer and his younger brother Johann (Ulm’s first printer) were in Strasbourg in the


109 ISTC ib00624000. BSB, Rar. 285 was purchased 27 June 1466 by the Augsburg councilman and chronicler Hector Mülich and his wife Ottilia Conzelmann.
1460s. Both men worked in Mentelin’s shop, likely as press assistants, learning the technology they would take to Augsburg and Ulm. Günther Zainer moved to Augsburg in 1467 to begin printing in 1468. Although more well known for his German language printing, especially those works illustrated with woodcuts, Latin texts dominated the early years of Zainer’s Augsburg press, with works by Bonaventua, Bernhard of Clairvaux, Johannes Balbus, and Guillelmus Durandus printed in the first five years, as well as almanacs and devotional texts in Latin. After working in Augsburg for several years (likely under his brother), Johann Zainer established his press at Ulm around 1473. This network of printers in Strasbourg, Augsburg, and Ulm, which, through Mentelin’s son-in-law Adolf Rusch (the Strasbourg “R-Printer”) also included connections to Basel and Nuremberg, provided a trade structure across the region to disperse printed works, for which Scheyern was a customer. Johann Schüssler, Augsburg’s third printer, was also a participant in the Mentelin-Zainer network, selling Mentelin’s books to Bavarian monasteries, such as St.

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112 Zainer’s *Catholicon* was financed by Peter von Schaumberg, the Bishop of Augsburg, for whom Molitor illuminated a copy of Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi*.

113 The death of Melchior von Stammheim in 1473 coincides with a definite shift to German-language dominance in Augsburg printing; see Künast, *Getruckt zu Augsburg*, 221.

114 Amelung, *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten*, 15–148. All of Scheyern’s Ulm incunabula come from Johann Zainer’s press.


116 Künast, *Getruckt zu Augsburg*, 86–91. In 1480, Rusch printed a Latin bible with the *Glossa ordinaria* for Anton Koberger of Nuremberg and used the type of Johannes Amerbach of Basel (ISTC ib00607000), of which Scheyern had a copy, 2 Inc.s.a. 212 a.
Mang in Füssen, and at the Nördlingen fair.\footnote{In 1472, St. Mang bought Mentelin’s Augustine, *Epistolae* (ISTC ia01267000; current location unknown), Alphonus de Spina, *Fortalitium fidei* (ISTC ia00539000; Augsburg, Universitätbibliothek, Ink. C109), and *Pharettra doctorum et philosophorum* (ISTC ip00571000; Augsburg, Universitätbibliothek, Ink. C116) from Schüssler for 18 Gulden and 20 kreuzer; see Schorbach, *Der Strassburger Frühdrucker Johann Mentelin*, 145 and 164 and Roth, *Literatur und Klosterreform*, 47. All three volumes are in K90 “Wundervogel” bindings, which is associated with the bindery of Johann Schüssler, see below pp. 222–23.}

In his own right, Schüssler started printing in Augsburg in 1470 and largely concentrated on Antique authors, also popular with the Church but not overlapping with Mentelin or Günther Zainer’s productions.\footnote{His first work was Flavius Josephus, *De antiquitate Judaica* and *De bello Judaico* ([Augsburg]: Johann Schüssler, 28 June 1470 and 23 Aug. 1470), ISTC ij00481000.} This was a strictly business decision in all likelihood, as the capital investment to print these works would not have been a drain on either Mentelin or Günther Zainer but would have also expanded the market share of their network. Schüssler, ultimately, did not print for very long—his last imprint was in 1473—and he returned to acting strictly as a bookseller for the network.\footnote{Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker*, I:133 and Künst, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, 87. Schüssler’s last book is Augustinus von Ancona, *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica* ([Augsburg: Johann Schüssler], 6 March 1473); Scheyern’s copy of this work (2 Inc.c.a. 164 a) was illuminated and bound in Schüssler’s shop (see below). The Augsburg tax records only refer to Schüssler’s occupation as schreiber, scribe, even during his tenure as a printer; see Künst, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, 35.}

There was a secondary network in Augsburg from 1478–1505, centered around the printers Johann Bämler and his step-son Johann Schönspenger the Elder.\footnote{Künst, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, 91–95. In 1472 Bämler married the widow Barbara Schönspenger, mother of Johann Schönspenger the Elder, the Augsburg printer; Barbara’s first husband was likely in the book business as well. In 1484, Barbara was selling books at the Frankfurt Fair for Bämler and is one of the first women identified in the printed book trade.} Johann Bämler was a rubricator and illuminator, whose early rubrication work is found in Strasbourg incunables.\footnote{Victor von Klemperer, “Johann Bämler, der Augsburger Drucker als Rubriaker,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1927): 50–52, Schorbach, *Der Strassburger Frühdrucker Johann Mentelin*, 104 and Edmunds, “New Light on Johann Bämler,” esp. 32–33 where she suggests that Bämler never worked in Strasbourg, as older literature argued. On Bämler as an illuminator, also see König, “Augsburger Buchkunst,” 195–97, and Beier, “Missalien massenhaft,” 63–66. He is also associated with the illumination of the London *Haggadah*; Edmunds, “The Place of the London *Haggadah*,” 25–34.} Bämler rubricated several Mentelin imprints, including a copy of Thomas
Aquinas, *Summa theologicae: Pars secunda, secunda pars*, printed not after 1463, and Augustine’s *De civitate dei*, printed not after 1468. In each case, Bämler identifies himself as the “illuminator,” even though by our modern definitions the books are only rubricated rather than elaborately decorated with gold leaf and colors. Bämler started printing in Augsburg in 1469–70, but he also continued to work as an illuminator and rubricator. He printed 133 editions (only 26 in Latin) between 1470 and 1495 that were largely German translations of Latin devotional texts aimed at the lay market but also useful to monastic lay brothers.

There are no references in the Scheyern account ledgers for specific book purchases from booksellers like Schüssler or at book fairs. The entries in the ledger related to books do not enumerate the purchases, are only vague references to books, “pro libris,” and they only start in the mid-1480s. The evidence for Augsburg connections to Scheyern’s printed books thus comes from the books themselves. Scheyern’s early Augsburg imprints are (in date order):


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122 ISTC it00208000; BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 1146 a, f. y6r: *Johann Bämler de Augusta huius libri Illuminator anno etc. [14]68*.

123 ISTC ia01239000; on Bämler’s signed works, see Edmunds, “London Haggadah,” 33, n. 41.

124 Johannes Nider, *Die vierundzwanzig goldenen Harfen* ([Augsburg]: Johann Bämler, [not after 1470]), ISTC in00222000.

125 BHStA, KL Scheyern 82, f. 141v (1486): *Item fratro Hainrico dominica post epiphaniam duam dedi iii rigl quos exposuit pro libris* [I gave 3 rigl(?) to Brother Hainrich on the second Sunday after Epiphany, which he spent on books] is the earliest extant reference to Scheyern’s book purchases; f. 295v (1489) records the only book titles in the entire financial registers: *...libris Gerson...libro terre sancte...libello latinitate*. The later ledger, KL Scheyern 133, lumps together books, paper, parchment, knives, and “other necessary things,” under a single heading, frequently only recording the grand total for the combined purchases.
The titles on this list parallel the preponderance of Latin authors printed by Augsburg presses in the early years. For Scheyern, these choices are largely theological texts—commentaries on scripture, theological summae, and sermons—that augmented their already growing Latin manuscript library. Three texts on this list stand out: the Pseudo-Bonaventura’s *Meditationes vitae Christi*, the 1472 Almanac, and Johannes Nider’s *Die vierundzwanzig goldenen Harfen*; these last two are two of the only three German-language

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126 The fragment was removed from an unknown incunable, where it was used as a pastedown, and added to a fragment of the top half of the Almanac, of unknown provenance. Maurus’s provenance inscription is visible through the bottom half of the leaf, attesting to its fifteenth-century Scheyern provenance.
incunables securely attributed to the library, two of which are single leaf almanacs.\textsuperscript{127} The *Meditationes* pairs with the manuscript of Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi* in the library, both texts are meant to help the reader develop a closer, personal bridge to the divine and are representative of the pastoral bent of fifteenth-century (and Melk) theology.\textsuperscript{128} Similarly, Nider’s *Harfen* is a rendition of the Apocalyptic vision of the heavenly throne, geared towards melding monastic practice with vernacular devotion. Although Scheyern had a community of lay brothers, they are not well documented, and the meager amount of German literature in Scheyern’s library attests to a certain lack of vernacular literary attention.\textsuperscript{129}

A further Augsburg connection is shown through the only manuscript in the library that I can directly attribute to a printed exemplar: Johannes Mathias Tuberinus’s *Relatio de Simone puero tridentio*, which although an unicum for the Scheyern library, again exemplifies the porous boundary between manuscript and print.\textsuperscript{130} Maurus of Scheyern copied the text from the edition printed by SS. Ulrich and Afra after 4 April 1475\textsuperscript{131} (Figs. 8

\textsuperscript{127} While there are several German manuscripts with fifteenth-century Scheyern connections, if not direct provenance, there are few printed works. Scheyern might have also owned a 1493 German Almanac ([Nuremberg: Peter Wagner, about 1492-93]; Munich, BSB, Einbl. Kal. 1493 e, ISTC ia00517800), a fragment of which (lines 51–66) was removed from an unknown copy of Conradus Summenhart, *Opus septipartitum de contractibus* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, for Johannes Rymman, 13 Oct. 1497), ISTC is00863000 (former Munich Duplicate 8987), as well as Otto von Passau’s *Die vierundzwanzig Alten, oder Der goldne Thron* ([Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, about 1483]), ISTC io00121500, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 53, which was bound at Scheyern but has a 1497 donation inscription from Johannes Leytner to Tegernsee.


\textsuperscript{129} As evidence by the catalogue of books in this study, very few of the fifteenth-century books are in German. Even in the 1588 Scheyern library catalogue, there are only 16 German titles listed under “Teutsche materi,” see AEM, B 8° 704, pp. 71–72.


\textsuperscript{131} ISTC it00483000.
and 35) onto 4 leaves (ff. 61r–64v), now bound at the end of Sallust’s *De coniuratione Catilinae* and *De bello Iugurthino* printed in Basel in 1474 (2 Inc.s.a. 1044). Except for the incipit heading, the manuscript follows the orthography and organization of the Augsburg edition almost exactly, with only slight differences in the page breaks and some abbreviations. A copy of this edition either passed through Scheyern, perhaps with a traveling bookseller, or Maurus copied the text while on a trip to Augsburg or another locale that owned a copy of the edition. This is the only manuscript at Scheyern that I can securely attribute to using a printed exemplar. The binding together of the Sallust and Tuberinus might simply be related to their similar formats and contemporary acquisition by the library. On the other hand, Sallust’s two works are a critique of declining Roman morality and society in the first century BC, which contemporary readers might have related to the critique of the Jews in the case of Simon of Trent. Aside from the binding, however, there are no overt signs of complementarity or association between the texts. The Tuberinus has no marginal commentary or marks of use to show that it was heavily read or used. Maurus’s motivations for copying this text and its explicit utility in the library are unknown, but it does

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132 ISTC is00058000.

133 There is no extant evidence for Maurus traveling to other monasteries in the mid-1470s. In the mid-1480s, Maurus was in Augsburg copying several liturgical manuscripts (Clm 17407 and 17421), and in 1489 Maurus travelled to Tegernsee and partially copied one of their manuscripts (Clm 18412) for Scheyern (Clm 17477), see above, pp. 123–24.

134 The Sallust is on Chancery folio paper, while the Tuberinus is Royal quarto, which are basically the same dimensions, even before the edges of the book were trimmed.

135 Scheyern also owned Johannes Franciscus de Pavinis’s response on the Simon of Trent case printed in Rome in 1478 (Library of Congress, ff Hain 9934).

136 The Sallust only has minor marginal notations, mainly in the form of textual emendations, but no other signs of actual use.
illustrate a well-known point of fifteenth-century book culture: the simultaneity of manuscript and print.

Scheyern’s two incunable editions of the *Speculum naturale* (volume I only), printed in Strasbourg by Adolf Rusch in 1476 (2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1), and the *Speculum doctrinale*, printed 1477–78 (2 Inc.s.a. 1214 e), were decorated in Augsburg before being bound at Scheyern (Figs. 63 and 67). The volumes were illuminated by the same Augsburg workshop associated with Johann Bämler that illuminated the Scheyern liturgical manuscripts Clm 17407 and 17421, in which a general pattern was used to produce the border decoration. The use of a pattern was likely due to the workshop’s increased production after the advent of print, wherein a single pattern could be used for the multiple copies of one edition, or even related editions (or any book of similar format), as in this case with Johann Mentelin and Adolf Rusch’s printing of Vincent of Beauvais’s entire *Speculum Maius.*

A copy of Rusch’s (“R-Printer”) *Speculum doctrinale* printed around 1477, now also in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, was illuminated in Augsburg for the Franciscans of St. Anton in Munich (2 Inc.c.a. 236(2, Fig. 68). The blue foliate initial on blind-stamped gold ground with a red and green segmented frame is standard Augsburg work, as is the penchant for red, blue, green, and pink leaves and flourished byzants. The tondo in the bas-de-page

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137 ISTC iv00292000 and ISTC iv00278000, respectively.

138 Between 1473 and 1478 the two printers combined produced the entire *Speculum maius*: *Speculum doctrinale* ISTC iv00278000 and iv00279000; *Speculum historiale* ISTC iv00282000 and iv00283000; *Speculum morale* ISTC iv00288000; and *Speculum naturale* ISTC iv00292000. Rusch derived typographic material from Mentelin, especially seen in Rusch’s two *Speculum* editions, see BMC I 59–60. Scheyern owned an unknown edition of the *Speculum morale* as identified in the 1588 catalogue, see AEM, B 8º 704, p. 37 and above, p. 90, n. 126.

139 ISTC iv00278000. This work was bound in Augsburg by Pauls Wolf (K78, EBDB w000959), who was connected to SS. Ulrich and Afra—the two binderies share 9 stamps. Wolf might have also been associated with the illuminator, as the six-pointed star, acorn, and small flowers used in the blind-stamping of the illuminations are quite similar to Wolf’s binding tools.
contains the arms for the convent of St. Anton. The exact style and organization of the foliate border do not match those in Scheyern’s copy of this edition (2 Inc.s.a. 1214 e, Fig. 67), but they are significantly related to elements seen in Scheyern’s copy of the *Speculum naturale* (2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1, Fig. 63). While the border decoration of the Scheyern incunable is less densely filled and in softer colors than the St. Anton copy, certain elements between the two are comparable: the forked vines at the top right, one of which ends in a gold ball-like flower, while the other springs a leaf, leading to a clock-wise curl that terminates in a flower, and in the bottom right margin the tendril ends in the same series of curls and splits. Further, the incipit initial in Scheyern’s *Speculum naturale* springs a nearly identical vine tendril to that on the incipit initial to Book II of the St. Anton *Speculum doctrinale* (f. b7r). 140 Though the individual styles of the two illuminators differ, the forking of the tendrils, bow-tie leaves, and orientation of flowers is clearly based upon a common pattern, if slightly altered due to the idiosyncrasies of the incipit initials.

The illuminated borders in Scheyern’s two Strasbourg *Speculum* editions just discussed, one border in their *Pantheologia* printed in Augsburg in 1474 (2 Inc.c.a. 309 c, vol. II, f. a2r, see below), Clm 17407, Clm 17421, and the St. Anton *Speculum doctrinale* are all based upon the same pattern. While the individual styles are slightly varied due to the individual illuminators and dates of production, it is clear that each artist is working from a basic model of border decoration, and one that was current in Augsburg from at least the mid-70s to mid-80s. So many details between the borders are comparable that it is not possible for the

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140 In addition, there are shared tools between the various volumes used to blind-stamp the gold leaf around the initials and in some parts of the border. Both the Scheyern and St. Anton volumes bear the same bull’s-eye, spiky leaf, and 6-pointed star tooling. Because of the size and the simplicity of designs, the uniqueness of the tools is hard to distinguish, but they are, for example, different than those used by Molitor and might still help to differentiate the workshops.
individual designs to have been created independently or not to be the result of basic copying. Christ on f. 1r of Clm 17421 is related to the workshop of Johann Bämler, and it could be that Bämler is responsible for creating the border pattern followed by multiple illuminators. I expect that there are indeed many copies of similarly illuminated incunabula from Strasbourg, Augsburg, and other cities, which passed through this workshop (and others like it) on their way to their final destinations, and the creation of a standardized border pattern amenable to multiple editions was an endeavor to cope with the increasing quantity of print production. As a center of the book market, Augsburg had a strong attraction for sellers and purchasers, and the connections between Günther Zainer in Augsburg and Mentelin and Rusch in Strasbourg helped funnel Strasbourg imprints through booksellers in Augsburg on their way to clients in Bavaria and further east. Scheyern specifically commissioned this illumination shop to decorate its copies of Rusch’s Speculum naturale and doctrinale and add their coat-of-arms to the bottom margins, before they were bound at Scheyern. These Scheyern incunabula complete the set of the Speculum maius begun in manuscript by Molitor and illustrate the abbey’s interaction, initiated by Molitor, with the Augsburg book market.

Two further Scheyern incunables were illuminated in Augsburg: Rainerius de Pisis, Pantheologia ([Augsburg: Günther Zainer], 1474) (2 Inc.c.a. 309 c) and Pope Gregory IX, Decretales (Rome: Georgius Lauer, 5 Nov. 1474) (2 Inc.s.a. 291 b). The Pantheologia was illuminated in two different styles: the majority of the two-volume work has slightly garish

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142 ISTC ir00006000 and ISTC ig00448000, respectively.
foliate initials in rather flat colors with little marginal foliage (Fig. 69), while vol. II, f. a2r was illuminated by the workshop related to Johann Bämler that used the border pattern (vol. I, f. a1r is wanting, which would have likely carried illumination similar to vol. II, f. a2r). Scheyern clearly commissioned the work because the decoration both on vols. I, f. a3r and II, f. a2r bear the monastic coats-of-arms. This work illustrates a financial reality of book illumination: the two incipit folios were granted higher quality illumination while the more minor textual divisions were relegated to a lower quality, which would have been reflected in the ultimate price of the work. The differences in decorative styles did not matter so much as the visual articulation of the text was fulfilled. The Decretales, printed in Rome, was illuminated by another Augsburg artisan, who produced rather simple but unevenly-painted marginal foliate decoration and rubricated initials. The five books of the Decretales each begin with an incipit miniature, traditional for canon law texts: a cleric presenting the book to the enthroned Gregory (f. a2r), a judge standing between two men (f. n10r), a priest preaching (f. B9r), a priest marrying a couple (f. M10r), and a monk before a judge (f. Q1r), all of which show an awkward spatial arrangement of the figures (perhaps due to the thin, vertical format) and there is a certain careless or rushed sense to the application of the paint. This decorative hand is not found in any other Scheyern book. It was also bound by an unidentified Augsburg bindery, and it represents a clear intermediate stage in book distribution between printer and purchaser: the incunable arrived in Augsburg from Rome, at which point it was purchased by or for Scheyern and then illuminated and bound before
being taken to the monastery. Once at Scheyern, Maurus added headlines to the *Pantheologia* and foliated and added an alphabetical index on f. a1v to the *Decretales*. These two incunables received differing degrees of decoration from different Augsburg workshops, but they exemplify the use of visual evidence in understanding the commercial organization of the printed book trade and physically shows the path that books took from printer to purchaser. It is perhaps not surprising that Scheyern’s proximity to the commercial center of Augsburg is reflected so heavily in the early years of their printed book acquisitions, which only further epitomizes the use printers and booksellers made of established trade connections that could transport books from printers to local audiences in distant parts of Europe.

**Augsburg Bookbinding and Scheyern**

The third aspect of the Augsburg book market evident in the Scheyern library is the Augsburg bindings on several manuscripts and incunables, and the introduction of blind-stamping to Scheyern’s bookbindery in the mid-1470s. This final aspect of Augsburg influence on Scheyern is perhaps the least explicit, but this discussion is an endeavor to understand the physical processes of establishing an independent monastic bindery within local traditions. Most literature on fifteenth-century binding focuses on identifying and

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143 On the importation of Italian books to Augsburg and southern Germany, see Holter, “Einbandforschung und Buchhandelsgeschichte,” 301/5–302/6 and Wagner, “Venetian Incunabula in Bavaria,” 163–66 and 173–74. Scheyern seems to have started acquiring books printed in Italy before the monasteries of Windberg and Tegernsee discussed in Wagner’s article, which is perhaps due to their closer proximity to and reliance on Augsburg.


145 Kyriss, *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet*, I: Taf. 67–68. Shop 30 [K30] dates the Scheyern bindery to ca. 1476–1497. Scheyern of course had a bindery prior to 1476, but it was around this point that the art of blind-stamping came to the bindery, upon which Kyriss’s work focuses.
localizing shops or more generally discussing the corollary nature of bookbinding to the expanding printed book market.\textsuperscript{146} The physical and artistic development of binderies in the fifteenth century has yet to be thoroughly understood. Arguably based upon the blind-stamping of bindings from the Romanesque period, binders returned to the practice of using heated metal tools to stamp figures and patterns into leather-covered boards, and the craft rapidly expanded in conjunction with the increasing amount of manuscript and printed book production.\textsuperscript{147} In northern Europe, especially Germany, the individuality of the patterns and tools was established from the inception.\textsuperscript{148} Binders of one city tended towards a certain stamped organization or pattern. For example, many Nuremberg bindings are easily recognizable due to the use of alternating rosette and twig/leaf stamps (\textit{Laubstab}) framing the boards like a garland, with ogival lattice work in the central panel,\textsuperscript{149} whereas Augsburg binders tended to favor concentric rectangular frames filled with palmettes, square rosettes,

\textsuperscript{146} Foot, \textit{The History of Bookbinding as a Mirror of Society}. Kyriiss, \textit{Verzierte gotische Einbände} and Ilse Schunke, \textit{Die Schwenke-Sammlung gotischer Stempel- und Einbanddurchreibungen. Nach Motiven geordnet und nach Werkstätten bestimmt und beschrieben}, 2 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1979–1996) are focused on identifying individual shops and assigning tools, but to my knowledge there is no literature on how or why binders developed certain patterns or tools.


\textsuperscript{148} While such tools might have been available at fairs or centrally produced, their individual patterns and regionalized appearance on bindings suggest a much more specific and local production. As an opposing example, cast panels used on bindings in the Netherlands were mass produced, providing the same pattern to many binders, see Staffan Fogelmark, \textit{Flemish and Related Panel-Stamped Bindings: Evidence and Principles} (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1999).

or a mythical creature, such as a basilisk or a dog-headed bird (known as a “Wundervogel” or “Fuchsvogel”). Furthermore, because each tool was individually carved they were specific to individual binders and can thus be organized into specific binding shops. Some binders even stamped their names on their bindings. Monastic binderies frequently had tools with either their name, patron saint, or coat-of-arms, which further help substantiate institutional provenance. Tools could be shared between binders—much as happened with printers and their typographic material—which blurs the specific identifications of individual workshops. Ernst Kyriss dated the introduction of blind-stamping at Scheyern to ca. 1476, and it is my contention that they learned the craft and copied tools from Augsburg binders perhaps even slightly earlier than Kyriss had assigned. The development of the craft at Scheyern coincides with the increased acquisition of incunables, largely through and from the Augsburg presses.

Scheyern was introduced to contemporary blind-stamping practices by the binderies of Augsburg: both through the books bound in Augsburg that were sent to Scheyern as well as the physical production of the blind-stamping tools used at Scheyern. Only five books from the Scheyern library produced before 1480 are still in Augsburg bindings. They are:

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150 Otto Mazal, *Einbandkunde: die Geschichte des Bucheinbandes*, Elemente des Buch- und Bibliothekswesens 16 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), 108. There was another style of binding popular in Augsburg that made use of a “Bogenfries” roll—a rolled stamp composed of an interlaced arch, topped by a fleur-de-lys—and the two styles of binding design are rarely found in conjunction. Scheyern’s copy of *Guillermus Alvernus, Episcopus Parisiensis, De sacramentis* ([Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, not after 1497]), ISTC ig00716500, GNM, Inc. 102052/153 is bound in this style by Bogenfries-Rolle II (K83).

151 For example, Needham, *Twelve Centuries*, nrs. 21 (Johannes Fogel of Erfurt) and 22 (Johannes Richenbach of Geislingen).

152 Geldner, *Inkunabelkunde*, 191. For example, the Scheyern (EBDB s00477) and Tegernsee (EBDB s011192, s019282, s011175, and s019283) binderies both had armorial stamps, and the SS. Ulrich and Afra bindery had banderole stamps with the name of each patron saint (EBDB s009390 and s009391).

153 Later incunables in Augsburg bindings are: 2 Inc.s.a. 247 c, K85 “Hirsch-Rolle II;” 2 Inc.s.a. 556 g, K83 “Bogenfries-Rolle II;” and 2 Inc.s.a. 873 ad(3, K81 “Jagd-Rolle V.”

Augustinus de Ancona, *Summa de ecclesiastica potestate* (Augsburg: [Johann Schüssler], 6 Mar. 1473); 2 Inc.c.a. 164 a. Bound by the Schüssler shop (K90 “Wundervogel,” EBDB w001512 “Fuchsvogel-Meister I”).

Pope Gregory IX, *Decretales* (Rome: Georgius Lauer, 5 Nov. 1474); 2 Inc.c.a. 291 b. Bound by an unidentified Augsburg shop.

The binding of the *Speculum historiale* by SS. Ulrich and Afra establishes yet another connection between Molitor and the famous monastery, where he might have found the copy-texts for the Scheyern manuscripts. The Augustinus and Gregory incunables were rubricated, illuminated, and bound in different Augsburg workshops; in fact, the Augustinus was bound in a bindery associated with its printer, Johann Schüssler, who provided something of a one-stop-shop—printing, decorating, and binding—for incunable purchases; however, the Scheyern copy was not provided with the illuminated border common to many Schüssler imprints but rather a simpler blue initial with red flourishing on f. a2r, which likely represents another “Schüssler” decorative style provided by his production network. The printer who could provide the text, as well as decoration and binding under one roof or through a tight affiliation of craftsmen, is not a great leap from some monastic production

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models, wherein all aspects of the book were produced at the institution. Printed books were usually rubricated and bound after purchase, and Scheyern would have specifically ordered the books completed in this manner by the respective workshops. All five of these Augsburg bindings arrived at Scheyern in the early 1470s, and they appear to be their first bindings in this technique.

To be sure, Scheyern had a bindery before the 1470’s introduction of blind-stamping. The Scheyern account ledger for 1436 makes note of 30 denarii spent on “skins for the binding of books.” There are a number of Scheyern books, including incunabula from after ca. 1476 that are bound in unstamped sheep, calf, pig, and deer. Even without the easily identifiable blind-stamp characteristics, aspects of the bindings, such as the jaggedly cut turn-ins and primary wound endbands (some with secondary embroidery) are Scheyern binding practices continued after the introduction of stamping, which suggests that these bindings are also indeed products of Scheyern’s bindery. Further, the library contains three manuscripts with the rare drawn-leather technique used to decorate the boards. Considered the poor man’s version of the cut-leather technique, these three volumes exhibit oak and holly leaf patterns impressed free-hand into the leather; they were likely bound in the 1450s. In

155 BHStA, KL 79, f. 45v: xxx denarii pro pelle ad libros ligandos.

156 For example, Clm 17412, Gregory I, Homiliae XL (ff. 1r–82r) and Liber regula pastoralis (ff. 83r–122v), written by Hainrich Zäch (undated), is bound in unstamped, soft white sheepskin with secondary embroidery over primary wound endbands. I did not record binding details such as board lacing, stitching, frequently endband treatment, etc. on the unstamped bindings, which would provide further evidence regarding Scheyern’s binding practices and help to substantiate the bindings as products of Scheyern’s bindery or not.

conjunction with the drawn-leather design, Clm 17463 also shows some early blind-stamping with a tiny circle and caliper-shaped stamps (Fig. 70). The repeated appearance of this rare drawn-leather technique and the later use of the caliper stamp with other blind stamps identified by Kyriss more fully localize these books to the Scheyern bindery, further establishing the presence of a bindery at Scheyern before the later, more thorough introduction of blind-stamping.

Scheyern did not learn the craft of bookbinding from Augsburg, but it was reliant on the book center for the introduction of the contemporary practice and style of blind-stamping. Kyriss’s dating of the bindery from “ca. 1476” only takes into account the presence of the new stamping tools, not any previous binding practices at the monastery (which are indeed difficult to substantiate without identifying characteristics, such as stamping). It also seems that new forms of endbands were introduced to Scheyern ca. 1476, for the three types of endbands most commonly found on Scheyern blind-stamped bindings—a primary wound endband, secondary embroidery on a primary wound endband, and leather braiding on a primary wound endband—are predominantly found on blind-stamped Scheyern bindings.

The reason for Kyriss’s specific dating is unclear, and we might only assume that he suggested a date based upon the growing preponderance of blind-stamped bindings on dated incunables; he only infrequently looked at manuscripts. While the growing incunable purchases in the early 1470s illustrate the increasing demands on the Scheyern bindery, the

158 The caliper stamp was later used on Clm 17410 (from 1459?), which was bound by the blind-stamping shop as identified by Kyriss.

159 Szirmai, The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding, 206–14. A primary wound endband is single cord of twine wrapped around the band; secondary embroidery is decorative threads wrapped over this, and leather braiding is similarly over the primary winding. The only Scheyern binding to have secondary embroidery on the endband but no blind-stamping is Clm 17412, see above, p. 222, n. 153.
blind-stamp shop also bound books dating from the 1450s to early 1470s, books from before 
Kyriss’s dating of the shop.\textsuperscript{160} Dating bindings is problematic, as books might spend years in
“temporary” paper or vellum wrappers or be rebound after a period of heavy use or
damage.\textsuperscript{161} While I might argue for an introduction of blind-stamping to the bindery closer to 
1470 due to the increasing contacts with Augsburg and the increasing size of the library, the 
exact date is not at issue here, but rather how Scheyern might have acquired the tools and 
practices for the technique.\textsuperscript{162}

Appendix C shows the tools assigned to the fifteenth-century Scheyern bindery.\textsuperscript{163}

They include floral and animal representations, geometric ornaments, as well as banderoles 
with the “IHS” monogram and “Maria” (stamps 51 and 52), a Lamb of God (stamp 3),\textsuperscript{164} and 
the Wittelsbach arms of the monastery (stamp 4). The stamps are purely decorative and

\textsuperscript{160} For example, Clm 17413–14 from 1453–55, Clm 17456 from 1463, Clm 17452 and GNM, N. 23 from 1468,
Clm 17478 and 2 Inc.s.a. 1076 a from 1471, and Clm 17467 from 1470–72.

\textsuperscript{161} Several of the thirteenth-century manuscripts were rebound in this period: Clm 1052 (thirteenth–sixteenth 
century) and Clm 17403 (1241); Clm 17404 (ca. 1215/by 1241) and Clm 17405 (ca. 1215/by 1241) were 
rebound in the fifteenth century in unstamped pigskin bindings. Other fifteenth-century Scheyern books were 
rebound in the sixteenth century, suggesting the contemporary heavy use that the books might have seen, for 
example, the liturgical manuscripts Clm 17407, 17408, and 17422. Many earlier medieval manuscripts were 
also rebound in the fifteenth century, see J. A. Szirmay, “Repair and Rebinding of Carolingian Manuscripts in St 
Gall Abbey Library in the Fifteenth Century,” in \textit{The Institute of Paper Conservation: Conference Papers 
Manchester 1992}, edited by Sheila Fairbrass (Leigh: Institute of Paper Conservation, 1992), 165–70 and idem, 
“Carolingian Bindings in the Abbey Library of St Gall,” in \textit{Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of 

\textsuperscript{162} There were no entries for the purchase of iron tools or binding materials in the Scheyern account books for 
this period.

\textsuperscript{163} The tools have been culled from Kyriss, the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz: 
Einbanddatenbank [EBDB], <www.hist-einband.de>, and my own examinations and rubbings of Scheyern 
bindings. The “\textit{xxxxxx}” number is the stamp identifier code in the Einbanddatenbank. Rubbings of the caliper 
and small circle stamps from ca. 1450 are unavailable. These stamps were still used into the 1530s: BSB, 2 
P.lat. 86, \textit{Epistolae Pauli} (Cologne: Eucharius Cervicorni, 1533); VD 16, B 5004 is in a K30 binding. The 
dispersal and destruction of Scheyern books from the sixteenth century and the lack of thorough cataloguing for 
those that are extant prevents a more detailed examination of the continuing use of these stamps and work of the 
bindery. There is also a series of K30 bindings, where the earliest recorded provenance from the late-fifteenth 
and early-sixteenth century is not Scheyern, suggesting that Scheyern bound books for outside customers or that 
by this date the tools were owned by another institution or binder.

\textsuperscript{164} A slightly different Lamb of God stamp appears on the quarter-pigskin binding on BHStA, KL Scheyern 
133, from the 1490s, but a rubbing of the stamp is unavailable.
neither their form nor arrangement carry deeper theological or contextual meanings. They are composed into various patterns on the boards, and there do not appear to be any correlations between pattern, stamps used, covering material, or contents. The armorial stamp is the only specifically “Scheyern” stamp and acts as a mark of ownership; however, this stamp is not used on every binding, nor is it always in a prominent position or even right side up. This is the one stamp that Scheyern clearly commissioned, and they chose not to reproduce Haziga’s arms or the double cross; their identity in binding stamps was concentrated to the Wittelsbach arms as the mark of the monastery.

The exact style of Scheyern’s armorial stamp is not seen in any other fifteenth-century armorial binding stamp, and it is, in fact, comparatively detailed for the genre, suggesting the greater attention that went into crafting the tool. Several of Scheyern’s blind-stamps, though, are comparable to those from Augsburg binderies. A knowledgable craftsman would have had to produce the individually-carved iron brands used in blind-stamping, for which Scheyern likely turned to an Augsburg blacksmith familiar with the tools of the binding trade. Appendix C, stamp 14 is a small, double-flower vine ornament. A rubbing of the Scheyern stamp is unavailable, but the tool used by the Augsburg binder associated with the printer Johann Schüssler (K90 “Wundervogel,” EBDB s012962) is identical in design and

165 The individual artistic nature of cut-leather work allowed for the specific relationship of binding to contents. For example, see Eric Marshall White, Elizabeth Ann Haluska-Rausch, and John T. McQuillen, *Six Centuries of Master Bookbinding at Bridwell Library* (Dallas: Bridwell Library, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, 2006), Nr. 7.

166 The Wittelsbach-founded Augustinian monastery at Indersdorf (EBDB w002329) did not reproduce the Wittelsbach arms as a binding stamp; Ensdorf, the other Wittelsbach monastery, did not have a blind-stamp bindery in the fifteenth century.

Similarly, stamp 20, a geometric ornament with floral center, is identical to stamps from the Augsburg binderies of Ambrosius Keller (K49, EBDB s000910) and especially SS. Ulrich and Afra (K2, EBDB s009528), which is found on Scheyern’s Clm 17416–18. Scheyern’s small three-lobed leaf (stamp 30) shares its unusual form with a slightly smaller stamp from the Augsburg bindery of Pauls (or Paulus) Wolf (K78, EBDB s013347). There are not comparisons for all of Scheyern’s stamps, but when there are such comparisons, the closest comparanda are located in Augsburg binderies. Further, the palmette (stamp 30) is a common motif, and near hallmark, of many Augsburg bookbindings, especially the Schüssler/“Wundervogel” shop. Scheyern often used the palmette in the outer frame of the board, at the junction of the raised spine band with the board, and framing the panels created by the raised bands on the spine; such placement of the palmette stamp is again a very common feature on Augsburg bindings.

Blind-stamping was introduced to Scheyern’s bindery through the bookbinders of Augsburg. The strongest comparisons for Scheyern stamps are found in Augsburg binderies, and it is highly likely that a local blacksmith or metalworker was responsible for crafting Scheyern’s tools. The fact that Scheyern seemed to follow certain Augsburg patterns in design and stamping suggests an affiliation between binderies and the personal interaction of binders; these are aspects that are learned or copied rather than arrived at by happenstance.

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168 On Schüssler’s bindery, see above, p. 223, n. 153.

169 Freckmann, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Bursfelde*, 276–87 discusses the similarities of stamps found in Bursfeld Congregation monasteries near Bursfelde Abbey itself, but she makes no argument for the origin of the stamps.

170 For example, Clm 17503, 2 Inc.c.a. 1051, and 2 Inc.c.a. 2886 o for palmettes in outer frame; 2 Inc.c.a. 3179 c for palmettes at band junction; and 2 Inc.c.a. 309 c, vol. 1 for spine panel stamps; for all, see 2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1.
Scheyern’s bindery was developing in tandem with increasing book production at the monastery under Kienberger. Once again, Scheyern is indebted to Augsburg for the introduction of contemporary book production practices to the monastery. Through the early Augsburg printers, illuminators, and binders, Scheyern started rebuilding their library, and the monastery’s reliance on Augsburg shows the integral position of the city in the regional and international book trade. These same influences were likely felt in many surrounding monasteries, and the further study of institutional libraries would help to flesh out the (physical) relationships between monasteries and commercial centers in the fifteenth-century book market. Scheyern’s library development from ca. 1450–1480 is a direct reflection of the book market and book producers of Augsburg, whose trade connections and local craftsmen provided the monastery with the commercial and artistic abilities to initiate their *renovatio*.

Scheyern focused on Augsburg book producers to augment their library through manuscript production, illumination, printed book acquisition, and bindery development. This reliance speaks not only to Augsburg’s proximity to Scheyern, but also to the contemporary reputation of the city’s book industry. Scheyern employed one of the now most well known Augsburg scribes and illuminators and later patronized a group of high-quality illuminators in efforts to ‘ornament’ the library. The quality of Augsburg illumination in Scheyern books speaks to the perceived or desired status of the monastery as a patron. By establishing such intimate connections with Augsburg, the Scheyern scriptorium, bindery, and library were elevated to a quality rarely seen in other monasteries of this size at this time.
Chapter 5

Continuity and Identity: The Past as Present in Scheyern’s Library

History was not distant in the Middle Ages. The performance of the liturgy alone commemorated the biblical past and the pantheon of saints and martyrs that filled the litany, and in their daily offices the monks were to remember their deceased brethren, institutional founders and donors, near and distant kings, nobles, and ecclesiastics, and other monastic houses with their own coterie of associates.1 Such a mentality of *memoria* made the past ever-present in a monastic environment that was littered with the tombs and memorials of the deceased.2 Scheyern’s library provided a bibliographic *memoria*, both through the older manuscripts in the library, which visually and textually preserved the monastery’s history, and in a series of fifteenth-century manuscript copies of the Scheyern *Fürstentafel*, a German narrative of the early Scheyern-Wittelsbach history up to 1255. The library preserved and promoted Scheyern’s dynastic history through the propagation of the *Fürstentafel* and the display of their monastic coats-of-arms on the inside and outside of many manuscript and printed volumes.3 Scheyern’s dynastic past was textually and visually emphasized in the

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fifteenth-century book collection, and the library was an active agent in the creation of Scheyern’s identity.

In discussing the metaphor of “seeing as reading,” Brian Stock refers to the “traditions of representing places in visual or verbal terms,” and this chapter will “read” Scheyern as such a visualized place. The promotion of Scheyern Abbey as specifically “Wittelsbach” was due to its location on the ancient hilltop residence of the Dukes of Scheyern, whereby the abbey took over the locus sanctus of the family; thus, the dynasty and the abbey cannot be separated at this singular location, and every visual identification of “Scheyern Abbey” carries with it the historical Wittelsbach association. The abbey was remodeled in the seventeenth century and little of the earlier fabric remains; therefore, my reading of Scheyern is based upon the extant books and the documents that suggest the physical fifteenth-century cloister environment. I will discuss the history of Scheyern Abbey through its relationship to the Scheyern-Wittelsbach dynasty, as well as the earlier library and scriptorium production at Scheyern that survived into the fifteenth century and beyond, before considering how this temporal and codicological history was understood, accessed, and employed in the fifteenth century. Scheyern was the Wittelsbach memorial monastery par excellence, and this association is of critical importance when examining Scheyern’s history; the monastery marked and commemorated the location of the family’s origins. The presence of Scheyern-Wittelsbach coats-of-arms on graves in the monastery and decorating many fifteenth-century books in the library coupled with the increasing interest in Bavarian history in the fifteenth century.

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century provides a way to read the library, and entire monastery, as an historical monument. To be sure, there is no explicit documentary evidence of the monastery trying overtly to (re)connect itself with the ruling dynasty in the fifteenth century; however, through this historical and visual discussion, I hope to represent the historical mentality of the monastery by showing how the library functioned as a repository of Scheyern identity.

Reading History in Scheyern’s Thirteenth-Century Library

For most Bavarian libraries the period after the turn of the millennium was quite uncertain; many monasteries were still recovering from the Hungarian incursions of the late tenth century and were slow to rebuild their collections, while others set about the process immediately.5 This bibliographic renewal was created by and fostered the so-called “renaissance” of the twelfth century, which also saw the increasing popularity of such orders as the Cistercians, Carthusians, and Cluniacs.6 While the Cluniac Reform held great sway in France and England in the eleventh century, its effects were felt less in Germany, where the Gorze monastery was the leading reform house in the eleventh and early-twelfth centuries.7 In the twelfth century William of Hirsau vivified the Cluniac reform in German lands under the so-called Hirsau Reform movement, which induced a flourishing period for scriptoria and libraries. This revival was relatively short-lived, however, and by the turn of the century

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5 Beach, *Women as Scribes*, 21–22 and 25.


religious fervor and literary acumen were waning in many Benedictine monasteries in southern Germany.  

The Hirsau Reform is codified in the *Constitutiones Hirsugiensis*, the Constitutions (or Customs) of Hirsau, which was written around 1077. In terms of the literary life of the monastery, William quoted directly from the *Consuetudines Cluniacenses* written by Odilo, Abbot of Cluny and William’s classmate in the school at St. Emmeram at Regensburg. For the Hirsau Reform, the first cantor is also the librarian (*bibliothecarius/armarius*) and is called such because he is in charge of the library (*bibliotheca/armarium*). The description is not highly informative regarding the role of books in the monastery, except for the fact that the collection was important enough to distinguish the office, and that the role of the librarian grew out of that of the cantor, who was typically responsible for the liturgical books. In spite of a sense from the *Constitutiones Hirsugiensis* that the library is semi-sacred—

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9 *Constitutiones Hirsugiensis*, PL 150: 927B–C and 929B–C, where William states in the preface how his youth at St. Emmeram and the Cluniac reforms influenced his text; Nieske and Hillebrandt, “Die Reformen von Cluny und Hirsau,” 178.

10 On their descriptions of the *armarius*, see Burkard Tutsch, *Studien zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der Consuetudines Ulrichs von Cluny* (Münster: Lit, 1998), 116–20. Karl Christ, “In caput quadragesimae,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 60 (1943): 48 makes the argument that the single library at Hirsau (PL 150: 1077C: *camera, ubi libri reconduntur*) reflects the organization at Cluny, but Else Maria Wischermann, *Grundlagen einer cluniacensischen Bibliotheksgeschichte* (Munich: Fink, 1988), 30 questions the argument since an *armarium* is not included in Ch. 17: “Description of the monastery of Cluny” in the *Liber tramitis*, 203–206; however, the description does not include a treasury, either, which Cluny indeed had.

writing, reading, and singing are not allowed and even the librarian does not have free access to the room unless specifically carrying out the duties of his office—almost nothing is known of the actual library at Hirsau. The destruction of the abbey by the French in 1692 left few manuscripts extant, and the supposed library catalogue from the period only exists in a sixteenth-century transcription of a now lost manuscript. The catalogue, written after 1165, mainly lists unspecified books by author or genre, e.g. *libri Augustini episcopi* and *varii libri chronici et historici*. The few authors included in the list, however, are predominantly the Church Fathers and early Christian authors, but also include William of Hirsau himself and a certain monk called “Peregrinus,” now identified as Conrad of Hirsau. Conrad taught in the monastic school and wrote *Dialogus super auctores*, which discusses the main authors used in the teaching of grammar and rhetoric; these include Donatus, Cato, Aesop, Sedulius, Prudentius, Cicero, Boethius, Virgil, Lucan, and Ovid. The presence of Conrad in the Hirsau catalogue and the list of authors in his own work suggests that the library at Hirsau included these secular authors as well, perhaps in a separate collection in conjunction with the monastic school. In spite of the emphasis placed on the library and scribal production by William and the Hirsau Reform, with so few existing manuscripts and only rather

12 *Constitutiones Hirsaugeiensis*, PL 150: 1077C–D.

13 The extant manuscripts are discussed in Heinzer, “Buchkultur,” 267–75. The catalogue is Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 134.1 Extravagantes, ff. 71r–72r.


16 Mews, “Monastic educational culture revisited,” 191–92. The 1165 Hirsau catalogue does not list any of these authors directly; however, the last entry of the catalogue states, “Et in summa valde multi libri, quorum titulos et auctores nolui hoc scribere,” and in total very many more books, whose titles and authors I will not write here.
circumstantial textual evidence, reconstructing a “Hirsau library” seems to be a frustratingly fruitless endeavor.\textsuperscript{17} That being said, the twelfth-century library catalogues from other Hirsau-reformed monasteries exhibit bibliographical correlations with the purported Hirsau library reflected in the 1165 catalogue as well as in Scheyern’s thirteenth-century book production.\textsuperscript{18}

Scheyern’s bibliographic reflection of the Hirsau Reform is about 100 years behind other Bavarian monasteries. By 1120, shortly after the monastery’s relocation to Scheyern, the Hirsau Reform had lost its impetus, but it is not until the early-thirteenth century that there is any direct evidence of a scriptorium or library at the abbey. Scheyern, and its earlier foundations, had to have book collections that at the very least contained the necessary liturgical books. Fires at Scheyern on 21 January 1171 and 16 November 1183 destroyed the wooden church and likely any book collections it housed.\textsuperscript{19} No manuscripts can be securely tied to any of Scheyern’s earlier, eleventh-century foundations, while of the eleventh- and twelfth-century liturgical fragments found in later bindings, only one has secure thirteenth-century Scheyern provenance: Clm 29322(58, a leaf from a twelfth-century breviary that has

\textsuperscript{17} Heinzer, “Buchkultur,” 265.


\textsuperscript{19} On the fires, see Schirensis Annales in MGH Script. SS 17: 630,15 (21 Jan. 1171) and 23–24 (16 Nov. 1183).
marginal notes by the early-thirteenth-century Scheyern scribe Conrad(1). Scheyern built a new stone church that was consecrated by Archbishop Otto II of Freising on 9 October 1215, and it is from around this time that we have evidence of book production at Scheyern.

The evidence for the thirteenth-century book collection at Scheyern rests predominantly upon a book list from 1241 detailing the production of the scribe(s) Conrad, who worked under Abbots Conrad I of Luppburg (1206–1225) and Heinrich (1226–1259) (App. A and Fig. 71). There is a strong correlation between the scriptorium activity and the dedication of the stone church in 1215. It is apparent that after the fires of 1171 and 1183 and under the Wittelsbach patronage, the new church was built and parts of the monastery expanded, after which the abbots turned their attention to rebuilding the book collection.21

The Matutinal is dated to ca. 1215, at the earliest, contemporary with the consecration of the new church. Even though the 1241 list may not describe the complete extent of Scheyern’s manuscript holdings, but merely those produced at the monastery in the preceding twenty or thirty years, the rebuilding of the monastery also entailed a new book collection. The 1241 book list hints at a rich, if small, book collection composed of liturgical and scholastic books, and assuming that the bulk of their collection was destroyed in the fires, this list could well represent those texts deemed most necessary and useful to a monastic library in the early-

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20 Clm 29322(58 was removed from the binding of the Matutinal (Clm 17401). A late-twelfth-century antiphonal fragment was used as the front pastedown is Clm 17413, volume 1 of Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi*, written by Hainrich Molitor in 1453. The antiphonal has been localized to either Regensburg or Scheyern, and other fragments from this manuscript are found as pastedowns in 2 Inc.c.a. 305, 2 Inc.c.a. 801 c, and 2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1, as well as quire guards in an incunable from Andechs, 2 Inc.c.a. 797. The preponderance of fragments from this manuscript in Scheyern books suggests the antiphonal was part of Scheyern’s library, at least at its dismemberment in the fifteenth century. See Klemm, *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften*, Kat. N 13 and Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, Kat. 13.

21 *Chronicon Schirense*, Ch. 24 in MGH Script. SS 17, 623,19 on Conrad’s construction of a new parish church to St. Martin made of brick and an All Saints’ Chapel; Reichhold, *Chronik von Scheyern*, 104 on Heinrich’s constructions of a granary, infirmary, and chapel to St. Catharine. Coincidentally, this was also the period of massive rebuilding of churches across Bavaria, see Walter Haas, “Kirchenbau im Herzogtum Bayern zwischen 1180 und 1255,” in *Wittelsbach und Bayern*, I/1: 409–25, esp. 412–15.
thirteenth century. Of the manuscript copies of the Constitutiones Hirsugiensis extant, none are associated with Scheyern, and we can only assume that since Scheyern was built according to the Hirsau architecture model, its library practices might follow the reform model as well. The books on the list are predominantly liturgical (likely because of the destruction of the liturgical books when the churches burned), and texts such as saints’ lives, sermons, and the Rule, those appropriate for private or communal reading, as suggested in the Rule of St. Benedict and Constitutiones Hirsugiensis. There are roughly twenty further liturgical manuscripts on the 1241 list that are now lost, many of which might have ended up as end leaves and pastedowns in later bindings or otherwise lost. There is little evidence suggesting a specific Hirsau liturgy; therefore, any connections between the Scheyern liturgical manuscripts and the Hirsau liturgy would be tenuous at best.

What can be tied to the Hirsau Reform from the manuscript production in the 1241 list are the secular and scholastic authors—Cicero, Lucan, Horace, Flavius Josephus, and Petrus

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22 The two previous Scheyern foundations, Fischbachau (before 1087) and Petersberg (1104), along with Scheyern, were all built on the Hirsau architectural model, and the timeline of building represents the beginning and end of Hirsau influence in Bavaria, from ca. 1080–1120. Even with some subsequent remodeling, this series of Hirsau monasteries are the best-preserved examples of Hirsau-style architecture extant in Bavaria; see Hoffman, Hirsau und die “Hirsauer Bauschule,” 67 and Michael Hartig, Die oberbayerischen Stifte: Die grossen Heinstätten deutscher Kirchenkunst (Munich: Manz, 1935), I: 52. Even at this late date, after the Hirsau Reform had lost its popularity, the stone church at Scheyern was built in the Hirsau architectural style, likely emulating what had previously been there.

23 Regula Benedicti, Ch. 38 and PL 150: 1027D.

24 Felix Heinzer, “Die Hirsauer ‘Liber ordinarius’,” Revue Bénédictine 102 (1992): 309. Heinzer derives evidence of a Hirsau litany from the commonalities between manuscripts from the Hirsau houses of Rheinau, Weingarten, Moggio, and Zweifalten, plus a twelfth-century fragment arguably from Hirsau itself. Comparisons between the extant Scheyern liturgical manuscripts and fragments with those of other Hirsau houses might further clarify a specific Hirsau liturgy and its use at Scheyern, but such a study is outside the parameters of this dissertation.
Comestor—all of whom were quite popular in Hirsau houses. Cicero, Lucan, and Horace ("Oracius") were discussed in Conrad of Hirsau’s *Dialogus super auctores*; however, he advised reading Cicero’s *De amicitia* and *De senectute*, rather than the *De officiis* found at Scheyern. The Lucan manuscript might be a copy of Arnulf of Orléans glosses, which was a popular school text in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, while Horace’s "sermons" likely refer to his satires. The presence of these secular works, along with the mention of the teacher, Arnold, in the 1241 list of office holders, suggests that Scheyern had a school at the time. Common for such well-used school books, the manuscripts themselves are no longer extant and were likely used “to pieces.” Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica*, a universal history and abridgment of scripture, was one of the survivals. It was a foundational theological text and required reading at the Universities of Paris and Oxford. Comestor drew on Josephus’s *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, a copy of which also survived at Scheyern, for part of

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25 Dengler-Schreiber, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Michelsberg*, 91, and Mews, “Monastic educational culture revisited,” 191–92. The 1241 list also includes unidentified scholastic books, “libros scolasticos.” Benediktbeuren (MBK III/1) also owned a number of the books in the mid thirteenth century found on the Scheyern list, including Josephus (76,2), Comestor (76,19), Lucan (76,16, 18, and 28), and Horace (76,31); similarly, Prüfening (MBK IV/1): Horace and Lucan (420,164), Josephus (425,165), and Comestor (425,166), and Freising cathedral (MBK IV/2): Lucan (628,13–14) and Comestor (629,36).

26 Hyugens, *Dialogus super auctores*, 100–03, 110–14. Prüfening owned a copy of Cicero’s *De senectute* (MBK IV/1: 420,168–69); copies of Cicero’s works are rare in thirteenth-century library catalogues throughout MBK.


28 The depictions of music, astronomy, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, philosophy, arithmetic, and geometry in the *Historia scholastica* (Clm 17405), ff. 3r–4v is also likely related to Scheyern’s monastic school; see Adam S. Cohen, “Making Memories in a Medieval Miscellany,” *Gesta* 48 (2009): 136–37.
his history, and the two texts underscore the revival of the Hirsau education model at Scheyern.29

The reform also stressed a high degree of hospitality and care for the poor (pauperes Christi),30 which is reflected in the list’s emphasis on Abbot Heinrich’s excellent reputation “spread far and near,” even in “this time” of war.31 Even in the early thirteenth century, when the Hirsau Reform had lost its main impetus but Scheyern had to reconstruct its church and library after a series of fires in the late twelfth century, the production of these texts reflects the continued influence (or attempt to recapture the past influence) of the reform at Scheyern. Whereas other reformed monasteries flourished in the late-twelfth century and had plateaued or started to wane by the early-thirteenth, Scheyern’s almost anachronistic recapture of the reform through their library might hint at what they lost in the fires.

The 1241 book list contains two separate lists. The first contains perscriptis libris per auctores, books recorded according to their “authors,” which in this case means the monastic official who commissioned their production: Wilhelm the prior, Henrich the custodian, Arnold the teacher, Heinrich the cellarer, and Conrad the presbyter.32 This section also

29 Both texts were found in the “Hirsau” library at Zweifalten; see Mews, “Monastic educational culture revisited,” 189–90. The manuscripts are Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesbibliothek Cod. hist. 2º 418 (Josephus, Antiquitates Iudaicae) and Cod. theol. et phil. 2º 204 (Comestor, as part of a compendium); see Sigrid von Borries-Schulten, Die Romanischen Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Teil 1: Provenienz Zweifalten, Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Band 2: Die Romanischen Handschriften (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1987), Nrs. 67 and 72.


31 The reference to war in the 1241 book list likely relates to the political and military turmoil during Duke Otto II’s reign after the death of his father, Ludwig I, at Kelheim in 1231; see Kraus, Geschichte Bayerns, 115–16.

32 The fragmentary Necrologia Schirensia lists the prior Wilhelm as the “author of books that Conrad wrote,” (auctor librorum, quos Conradus scripsit) on 5 March (iii Nones), see MGH Necrol. 3, 134. The books in this section of the list include liturgical works and those such as the Cicero and Lucan; it is clear that Conrad is not using the word “auctores” in the modern sense of authorship, but rather as the author or impetus for production.
specifically picks out Scheyern’s great Matutinal, commissioned by Abbot Conrad and written and decorated by a Brother Conrad, who is also identified as the scribe of the Josephus manuscript produced under Abbot Heinrich. After a long paean on Abbot Heinrich’s property management and hospitality, the list continues with those *sine auctore* manuscripts, works seemingly *un*commissioned, written by a Brother Conrad, which include further liturgical manuscripts, Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica*, and a copy of the Rule of St. Benedict, which he “made better.” The language suggests that this was an existing copy of the Rule—maybe a survival from the fires—to which he added something, such as a commentary or gloss, or perhaps rebound.33 The list does not mention how or where the books were stored.

The 1241 book list is of limited utility for scribal attribution due to the often vague language and the predominance of the name Conrad—Abbot Conrad, a scribe Conrad, and Conrad the presbyter; there is no evidence beyond the name, however, to link the presbyter to the scribe. The scribe Conrad has been separated into two individuals based upon the paleographical distinctions found in the manuscripts: Conrad(1) wrote under Abbot Conrad and then Abbot Heinrich (perhaps the cellarer from the first list) and produced those manuscripts in the first list, while Conrad(2), who wrote only under Abbot Heinrich, wrote those manuscripts in the second list, which includes the *Glossarium Salomonis* (Clm 17403)

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33 No evidence of this copy exists.
and the 1241 book list. The authorship of the *Chronicon Schirense* is at times assigned to Abbot Conrad rather than the somewhat anonymous Conrad(1), and the work does not appear in the 1241 list. Contrary to the evidence from the list, the Matutinal and Josephus manuscripts have been attributed to different scribes, Conrad(1) and Conrad(2), respectively. Conrad(1), the scribe and artist of the Scheyern Matutinal, is often described as the most distinguished artist in thirteenth-century Bavaria. For the Matutinal, he produced the cycle of miniatures on ff. 14r–19v and the historiated initials on ff. 66v–406r, while another artist was responsible for the initials on ff. 26r–65v, the calendar on ff. 20v–23r, and the miniature cycle on ff. 23v–25r. Conrad(1) might also be “Chounrado custode,” Conrad the custodian, responsible for helping provost (later abbot?) Heinrich to decorate the ciborium of the high altar with gold and lapis lazuli in 1224. In fact, both Conrad(1) and

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38 Schirensis Annales (Clm 17401, f. 6r) in MGH Script. SS 17: 632,43–44: *a Chounrado custode et Heinrico praeposito, postea facto abbate, ciborium maioris altaris auro et lazurio ornatur et feliciter consumatur*. Kroos, “Bildhandschriften,” 483 suggests that the ciborium depicted in the Theophilus legend (Clm 17401, f. 19v) might reflect the one made by Conrad and Heinrich.
Conrad(2) seem to have been able metalworkers, because the last item in the 1241 list states that Brother Conrad (i.e. Conrad(2)) bound a gospel used on high festivals in gold and silver.

Ultimately, the thorny issue of individuating the Conrads and their production matters less here than what that production actually was. As shown by the pastedowns in many of Scheyern’s fifteenth-century bindings, modern monks had no qualms about tearing up older, out-of-date manuscripts to help protect their recent acquisitions, and yet several manuscripts were fortunate enough to escape the binder’s knife. At least six of these thirteenth-century manuscripts survived intact into the fifteenth century, several of which were rebound in this period or had new texts or textual apparati added, which illustrates the continued utility of certain manuscripts 200 years after their original production. The extant thirteenth-century manuscripts are:

Munich, BSB
Clm 17401. Matutinal, 1215–30, scribe: Conrad(1).
Clm 17404. Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae* and *Bellum Iudaicum*, ca. 1225/by 1241, scribe: Conrad(2).
Clm 23337. Gospel lectionary, ff. 1r–41v, ca. 1230, scribe: Conrad(1).

The identified early thirteenth-century fragments are:

Clm 29306(118. Gradual.
Clm 29318(13. Lectionary.
2 Inc.c.a. 309 c (2 vols.). Gradual, ca. 1230–40 (I, front and rear pastedowns)
   and sacramentary, ca. 1230–40 (II, front and rear pastedowns).
2 Inc.c.a. 1153 (2 vols.). Lectionary (I, rear pastedown) and breviary (I, front
   pastedown and II, front and rear pastedowns).
2 Inc.c.a. 3446. Festival (front and rear pastedowns).
Did the extant Scheyern manuscripts survive because of their decoration and miniature cycles? Were they perpetually useful to the monks, or on the contrary, forgotten about and preserved through being ignored? The school texts, the Josephus and Comestor, survived while other classical and early medieval authors disappeared without a trace. Even with the 1241 book list, we cannot know fully what was lost over the centuries, nor what those lost manuscripts contained textually and visually; however, the reasons for the extant manuscripts’ survival might be related to the preservation of Scheyern’s history. The relevance of Conrad’s *Chronicon Schirense* goes without saying, and throughout the centuries the text was used as a key source on the early history of the Wittelsbach dynasty and Scheyern Abbey. The *Chronicon* was sporadically updated into the sixteenth century, mainly recording the deeds of successive abbots, thus creating a single historical continuum for the monastery.\textsuperscript{39} Similarly, the Matutinal and *Glossarium Salomonis* each preserve various documents on Scheyern’s history, landed possessions, and filial churches.\textsuperscript{40} As is typical, important information was frequently recorded in the blank spaces of existing manuscripts, and these manuscripts were frequently liturgical or semi-sacred (such as the Matutinal). The sacral nature of the housing document sanctified the inscribed contents, and

\textsuperscript{39} Stephan, *Traditionen*, 17*-18*.

in turn, the need to preserve the inscribed benefited the container.\textsuperscript{41} The manuscript text and added documents were unified in a relationship of historic preservation: as long as that text was used and kept, the memoria of the document was active; with the loss of the manuscript, the authority of the document was lost as well. The \textit{Chronicon Schirense} and additional texts in the Matutinal and \textit{Glossarium Salomonis} preserve the bulk of the documents related to Scheyern’s land possessions from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in some cases into the sixteenth; the need to maintain this authority aided in the manuscript’s preservation.

Clearly, not all of the extant thirteenth-century manuscripts owe their survival to archival preservation. The nature and extent of the decorative programs in the manuscripts—the Matutinal, \textit{Glossarium Salomonis}, Josephus’s \textit{Antiquitates Iudaicae} and \textit{Bellum Iudaicum}, Comestor’s \textit{Historia scholastica}, and the gospel lectionary—also likely made them worthy of preservation.\textsuperscript{42} Of course, we do not know what was lost from Scheyern over the years, but except for the \textit{Chronicon}, which is textually important in itself, each of the surviving thirteenth-century manuscripts is well decorated. Just as in the nineteenth century when the Hofbibliothek in Munich wanted every manuscript and incunable from the dissolved monasteries as part of its idealized cultural patrimony, the ‘treasure’ aspect of a decorated manuscript frequently facilitated its preservation, and this might be what helped to preserve these few from destruction. The manuscripts were preserved into the fifteenth century when the \textit{Chronicon}, \textit{Glossarium Salomonis}, Josephus, and Comestor were all


\textsuperscript{42} Of course, it is impossible to know what might have been lost; we can assume that the missals identified on the 1241 book list would have had Crucifixion images, and some of the extant liturgical fragments have decorated initials that might hint at their further decorative programs, e.g. 2 Inc.e.a. 309 c (2 vols.), see Klemm, \textit{Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts}, Kat. 15.
rebound (the *Chronicon* and *Glossarium Salomonis* specifically at Scheyern). The lectionary had a quire of additional pericopes added to it in the fifteenth-century by the Scheyern scribe Maurus (ff. 42r–51v), who retained ruling and spacing of the original text (Fig. 19). While his decorated initials are not modeled on the original, the extension of the textual formatting shows a conscious effort at emulation and perpetuation; he also foliated the entire manuscript, facilitating its continued use. The utility of liturgical manuscripts was subject to changes in the liturgy, and the out-of-date or unusable liturgical manuscripts from Scheyern are largely what ended up as the pastedowns and flyleaves in fifteenth-century bindings. Of course we do not know what was lost, and yet the preserved manuscripts have extensive decorative programs and/or documentary relevance that might have saved them from being “recycled.”

Although this is still a somewhat fractured picture of Scheyern’s early book collections, it is the only one afforded us, and it leads to more questions than answers on the nature of the early collection. Scheyern’s pre-fifteenth-century library is extant through only a handful of thirteenth-century manuscripts and fragments, with further documentary evidence provided by the 1241 book list. There is no evidence regarding the manuscripts from the previous foundations of Bayrischzell, Fischbachau, and Eisenhofen, and none have been identified. Do the ninth- to eleventh-century manuscript fragments extant in later Scheyern bindings represent the remnants of these collections? We do not know how the book collections at Scheyern were stored or organized: how many *armaria* were there and where were they located? We do not know if Scheyern had a specified librarian, for neither the book list nor any other documents refer to an *armarius* or even a cantor who might doubly serve as
librarian. The 1241 list names a certain Heinrich as cellarer, but under the Hirsau Reform (unlike other practices) the cellarer was not responsible for the library but rather the food and material provisions of the monastery.\footnote{PL 150, Ch. 43, 1102B–1104A.} Did Scheyern follow the \textit{Constitutiones Hirsugiensis} in the organization of its \textit{armarium} as it did in its architectural construction? Were Conrad(1) and Conrad(2) each the \textit{armarius} in his time as well as highly productive scribes? Automatically answering “yes” to any of these questions would be to fall into the trap that “we assume more about medieval libraries than we know about them.”\footnote{“Man rühmt die mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken mehr also man sie kennt,’’ Paul Lehmann, \textit{Corveyer Studien}, Abhandlungen der Münchener Akademie, philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse, Bd. 30 (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919), 9 [reprinted in his \textit{Erforschung des Mittelalters} 5: 101]. It is easy to make assumptions regarding medieval libraries where there is frequently a lack of secure evidence for the growth of collections and the history of individual manuscripts. See Ladislaus Buzás, \textit{Deutsche Bibliotheksgeschichte des Mittelalters} (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1975), 24.}

\textit{Memoria Schyrensis: Painting Scheyern’s History}

What we do know about Scheyern is that it was intimately tied to the ruling nobility of Bavaria, and this connection cannot be overlooked. Scheyern was the \textit{locus sanctus} of the Wittelsbachs, and their graves filled the church, chapels, and cloister. Scheyern rose to prominence along with the family, for the same year that Pfalzgraf Otto II of Wittelsbach was made Duke of Bavaria, Scheyern gained a relic of the True Cross given to the family by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The meaningful translation of the relic from Eisenhofen to Scheyern in 1180 paralleled Otto’s own ascension to Bavarian prominence, and he likely was the impetus in its move. Similarly, as the noble patrons of the monastery, the family played a role in the rebuilding of Scheyern in the early-thirteenth century, as well as supporting the monastery’s manuscript production. Through Wittelsbach donations and the acquisition of
estates, Scheyern was financially secure enough in 1215 to bear a considerable portion of the 
ransom for Duke Ludwig I, who had been imprisoned in Brabant. As Vogt, the Duke was 
involved enough with Scheyern in the thirteenth century to warrant his participation in the 
resignation of two abbots. After only three years at the monastery, Abbot Hartmann (1203– 
1206) resigned “at the instigation and request” of Ludwig, but the motivation for the Duke’s 
actions are unknown. Similarly, when Abbot Conrad I resigned in 1225, there is some 
question that it was also in relation to a problem with Duke Ludwig I. The Chronicon states 
that Conrad resigned “for the respect and love of God, not out of fear of Duke Ludwig,” and 
the negation itself is enough to suggest a conflict between the two men. In a likely further 
reference to the Wittelsbach Dukes of Bavaria, the 1241 book list states that Abbot Heinrich 
pleased “all the princes of the land,” which is in contrast to Hartmann and Conrad’s 
questionable departures under Wittelsbach displeasure. The size and quality of the extant 
manuscripts suggest a large financial outlay by the monastery, in spite of the fact that the 
book list states that Conrad(2) produced manuscripts without taking money “from the 
public,” which likely refers to the general funds of the monastery. As the premiere patrons 
and Vögte of the monastery, the Wittelsbachs surely had a hand in Scheyern’s economic 
fortunes, which allowed their early-thirteenth-century rebuilding and manuscript production.

45 Schirenses Annales in MGH Script. SS 17: 632,19–21 and Reichhold, Chronik von Scheyern, 76–77. This 
was the same year as the consecration of their new church.


47 Schirenses Annales in MGH Script. SS 17: 633,7–8: Abbas Chounradus abbatiae cessit intuitu et amore Dei, 
non timore ducis Luodouovici, while the Chronicon Schirense (MGH Script. SS 17, 623,23–24) merely states 
that he “laid down his crozier;” see also Stephan, Traditionen, 84*, and Reichhold, Chronik von Scheyern, 92– 
104. Abbot Conrad transferred to Fischbachau, where he died after 1245.
The Matutinal manuscript pays homage to Scheyern’s monastic history and through that history to the Dukes of Scheyern as well. The translation of the monastery from Bayrischzell to Fischbachau, then to Eisenhofen, and finally to Scheyern also included an unorthodox change in saintly patronage with each move.\textsuperscript{48} The Matutinal memorializes Scheyern’s previous monastic foundations with a full-page miniature on f. 24v depicting Sts. Martin and Peter, each holding a two-towered church, and facing them on f. 25r is an enthroned Virgin Mary, who also holds her own diminutive church (Figs. 72–73). Lacking a reference to Bayrischzell, the full opening is a memorial to the foundations at Fischbachau (St. Martin), Eisenhofen (St. Peter), and Scheyern, with Scheyern and the Virgin Mary in the prominent position. The Martin and Peter miniature also could be viewed as a reference to Eisenhofen alone, since that foundation had altars dedicated to the two saints at the west and east ends, respectively.\textsuperscript{49} The manuscript contains the morning office of matins, the longest of the day, and yet the manuscript’s immense size (550x390mm) and elaborate decoration probably meant that it was not for daily liturgical use and intended for special feasts or holy days; its size, however, meant that it could be seen by a number of readers at once and was likely an effective showpiece, if not meant for everyday celebration. The \textit{memoria} function of the Matutinal dedication image is further enhanced by the lack of coloration in the figure of the Virgin and unnamed, prostrate abbot, as well as Martin and Peter on the facing folio. The abbot is visually united with the saints in their own timeless existence. Unidentified, he represents every Scheyern abbot in perpetual supplication to their saintly patrons, and his

\textsuperscript{48} Kroos, “Bildhandschriften,” 477.

\textsuperscript{49} Abbot Heinrich later dedicated the parish church at Scheyern to St. Martin; see \textit{Chronicon Schirense}, Ch. 24 in MGH Script. SS 17: 623,19. The story of St. Boniface founding a church dedicated to St. Martin at Scheyern in the eighth century, if true, pushes the historical depiction on this folio back to the foundations of Christianity in Bavaria.
body bridges the painted barrier of frame and architecture to connect the viewer with the viewed, ingratiating the monastic community standing outside the book with the world depicted in it. The red-line style of illustration has been related to a “memory machine,” where the lack of figural pigmentation is an “empty” space filled by the reader’s own mental associations. Typically associated with more complex, theologically-geared images in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these “empty” dedication images act as visual spaces to be filled mnemonically with the material textually recorded in Conrad’s *Chronicon*. The depictions of Sts. Martin, Peter, and the Virgin Mary, each holding their church and under fictive architecture generally representative of “church” or “holy space,” encapsulate the history of Scheyern and its foundations. Some scholars have suggested that the canopy over the Virgin on f. 25r (or f. 19v in the Theophilus legend) reflects the ciborium produced at Scheyern by Heinrich and Conrad in 1224. If true, then this would have added a recognizable aspect for the monks between the Marian devotion in the legend and the very choir in which they were seated, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. While there are no overt references to the Dukes of Scheyern in these miniatures, their roles in establishing the various foundations and ultimately moving the monastery to Scheyern could not have gone unremembered. The graves of Haziga and her sons were moved from Eisenhofen to Scheyern approximately 100 years before the manuscript was made, so the monks would have passed the graves in the cloister and church multiple times each day as they performed their duties. Even in the early-thirteenth century, the history of Scheyern was a daily part of the monks’ lives, both through their devotions as well as their physical environment.

Scheyern’s fortunes changed at the death of Duke Otto II in 1253, when Bavaria was divided in 1255 between his two sons Ludwig II and Heinrich XIII, each of whom transferred their patronage to other burial churches for their individual ducal lines. As the burial church and cloister of the formerly united Dukes of Bavaria, Scheyern’s prominence disappeared and the monastery became a memorial to its own past. Both King Ludwig IV of Bavaria and his son Duke Ludwig V, “the Brandenburger,” granted Scheyern rights over the parishes of Pfaffenhofen (1318) and Vohburg (1356) in efforts to support the flagging monastic economy, and yet the monastery was unable to adequately support its members. Its place as the original burial church for the Wittelsbachs was never entirely forgotten, though, but its purpose clearly shifted to something more commemorative. In 1356 Duke Ludwig V established a daily mass to be said for his soul and the souls of his forebears at the St. Margaret altar in the Fürstenkapelle at Scheyern, which was continued until the secularization of the monastery in 1803. Ludwig’s mass shows a conscious effort to recall the early dynastic history of his family by a man whose attentions were generally focused on the Tirol, not on Upper Bavaria and certainly not on Scheyern.

In an act that would have beneficial repercussions for Scheyern for the next century, Duke Friedrich of Bavaria-Landshut (1339–1393) commissioned around 1390–93 to

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52 See above, p. 49, n. 46.


55 In spite of the noble donations, ca. 1375 Scheyern was in terrible financial straights. It was barely able to feed or clothe its monks, many of whom had to transfer to other houses; see Reichhold, “Das Kloster Scheyern als Grundherr in der Hofmark Scheyern (I. Teil),” 262.
decorate the walls of the cloister a series of ten fresco panels illustrating the lineage of the Wittelsbach family from their tenth-century origins until the mid-thirteenth century. The Fürstentafel, as they are now known, were accompanied by text panels describing the historical events to which each scene related. The cloister was remodeled in the early-seventeenth century by Abbot Stephan Reitberger, who had the frescos ‘copied’ onto wooden panels, and the series continued up to Duke Maximilian I (1573–1651); the panels were then hung in the newly remodeled Fürstenkapelle. The text panels themselves were extant until the end of the eighteenth century (likely disappearing at Dissolution), and there are at least 27 manuscript copies of the text dating between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. Duke Friedrich’s donation of these panels, which did not include contemporary history but only the dynastic history up to the division of Bavaria ca. 1255, encapsulates the abbey’s role in the foundations of the dynasty, yet at the same time it seemingly removes them from contemporary relevance. The Fürstentafel commemorate Scheyern’s location, both physically and mentally, as the epicenter of Wittelsbach origins.

The Fürstentafel texts describe: 1) how Carloman got the Dukedom of Bavaria from Tassilo III, 2) the descent from Carloman to Arnulf and Wernher, 3) a brief comparison between the kings of Rome, France, Greece (i.e. Byzantium), and Hungary with Scheyern, 4)

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57 Reitberger, Chronicon Originis et Foundationis Monasterii Scheirn, 49–50. On the extant seventeenth-century painted panels, see Michael Meuer, Die gemalte Wittelsbacher Genealogie der Fürstenkapelle zu Scheyern (Munich: Schön, 1974) and Strömer, “Hausklöster der Wittelsbacher,” 142.

the lives of Arnulf and Wernher, 5) how Wernher inherited the Dukedom of Bavaria, 6) Eckhard I of Scheyern and the “Bundschuh” legend, 7) the descent of the Dukes of Scheyern, Dachau, Grub, and Valley, 8) how the Dukes of Scheyern inherited the Dachau and Wittelsbach possessions, 9) the family history from Pfalzgraf Otto I to the assassination of Ludwig I at Kelheim in 1231, and 10) the life of Otto II up to the division of Bavaria. The Fürstentafel barely mention the foundation of Scheyern (in Panel 9) and then only in relation to its function as the family burial place. Herein lies the purpose of the Fürstentafel: to commemorate the family at the original seat of their power with Scheyern Abbey acting as the placeholder. The Scheyern Fürstentafel are a version of a genealogical tree expressing the descent of the Dukes of Scheyern-Wittelsbach through a linear narrative rather than the more traditional “tree” form. In tandem with the Chronicon Schirense, they are visual and textual memorials uniting place and family.\footnote{Oexle, “Memoria und Memoriabild,” 412–18 on the memoria roles of genealogical trees.}

Not surprisingly, the early history depicted and described in the Fürstentafel texts was largely based upon the chronicle of Conrad of Scheyern, where the line originates with Emperor Arnulf, who is identified as the great-great-grandson of Charlemagne, and his sons Arnulf and Wernher (a.k.a. Berthold).\footnote{Chronicon Schirense, Ch. 16 in MGH Script. SS 17: 620 and Siegmund and Genzinger, “Zur Scheyerer Tabula Perantiqua,” Panel 2, 155. The Chronicon Schirense is not as interested in Wittelsbach genealogy as the “genealogy” of the monastery, and the negative reputations of Arnulf and Wernher mattered little; see Jean-Marie Moeglin, “Die Genealogie der Wittelsbacher: Politische Propaganda und Entstehung der territorialen Geschichtsschreibung in Bayern im Mittelalter,” Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 96 (1988): 36. The chronicle claims Arnulf is the son of Carloman, who was the son of Louis the German, son of Louis the Pious, son of Charlemagne. Aventinus, following Otto of Freising, identified Arnufl and Wernher as the sons of Luitpold, but traces the Scheyern descent through a certain Babo of Scheyern as the grandfather of Otto II of Scheyern; Sämmtliche Werke, VI: Bayerische Chronik, Bk. VII, 349. Abbot Reitberger’s new Fürstentafel of 1623 begins with Emperor Otto I granting Scheyern to Arnulf and his brother Berthold (Wernher) and them receiving wives from the King of Hungary; there is no indication of Arnulf and Wernher’s parentage. See Meuer, Die gemalte Wittelsbacher Genealogie, 37.}
Scheyern and Wittelsbach propaganda: first, Otto of Freising placed Arnulf and Wernher as the sons of Luitpold, Margrave of Bavaria (d. 907) rather than the emperor, and secondly, it set out Arnulf and Werner as the models of “bad princes.” Arnulf supposedly confiscated church lands in order to finance his wars against the Hungarians, and Wernher was a traitor at the Battle of Lechfeld in 955, but he was rehabilitated by St. Ulrich of Augsburg who saved him from execution. Conrad of Scheyern and the Fürstentafel retained the Carolingian genealogy, but as the reputation of Arnulf “the Bad” did not align with the Wittelsbach self-promotion, the descent in the Fürstentafel was shifted to the reformed Wernher as the first Count of Scheyern. The first five text panels of the Fürstentafel were drawn predominantly from chapters 16–17 of Conrad’s chronicle, solely focusing on the family relations and immediate descent of Arnulf and Wernher. Thus half of the original ten Fürstentafel were taken up by the tenth-century history alone, suggesting the contentious nature of this genealogy and the need to clarify more fully and ‘prove’ the Carolingian descent and early Wittelsbach history. In the 1623 rendition, the first panel depicts Emperor Otto I granting Bavaria to Arnulf and Werner (identified as Berthold of Kärnten), thus ignoring the

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Carolingian/Luitpolding issue altogether and turning Bavaria into a direct imperial gift to the family.64 This shift between the fourteenth-century desire for Carolingian ancestry to the seventeenth-century focus on Bavaria as the Wittelsbach’s *terra nostra* illustrates the various contemporary intentions of the family’s need for dynastic validation first through historical associations and then land ownership.

The final five panels (6–10) of the *Fürstentafel* focus more specifically on the history of the Dukes of Scheyern, beginning with Count Eckhard I of Scheyern—the hereditary founder of the Scheyern-Wittelsbach line—whom the text says died in 1091 in the Holy Land. Panel six describes his participation in the crusade and the legendary tale that he was known throughout the army for wearing boots with red laces. According to the panel, the entire army adopted this dress and conquered Jerusalem under the sign of the boot.65 At this point, the *Fürstentafel* seem to have elided Otto I, the Freising Vogt, who died in the Holy Land ca. 1076, with Eckhard I, the son of Otto II and Haziga, who died in 1091 (Fig. 4) with the crusade undertaken by Duke Welf I of Bavaria in 1101.66 The story of the panel, not found in the *Chronicon Schirense*, is more important than the historical details, however, as Eckhard’s victorious pilgrimage/crusade rehabilitated the Scheyern line damaged by the negative reputations of Arnulf and Wernher. While the genealogy of the family described in

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64 Meuer, *Die gemalte Wittelsbacher Genealogie*, 37–40. This idea of the Wittelsbach ownership of Bavaria is paralleled in Wildenberg’s chronicle, where the family is referred to as the “House of Bavaria” with definite rights of land ownership; this possessive notion is also what permitted the repeated division of Bavaria among the Wittelsbach nobles. See Johann Ebran von Wildenberg, *Chronik und Stamm der Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein und Herzoge in Bayern 1501*, edited by Georg Leidinger (Strassburg: Heitz (Heitz & Mündel), 1901), 1–2, Reinhard Stauber, *Herzog Georg von Bayern-Landshut und seine Reichspolitik: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen reichsfürstlicher Politik im Wittelsbachisch-Habsburgischen Spannungsfeld zwischen 1470 und 1505* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1993), 48–50.


66 Siegmund and Genzinger, “Zur Scheyerer Tabula Perantiqua,” Panels 7 and 9, 156–58 and n. 73.
panel seven is confused and does not always correspond to the known lineage, the ‘modern’
descent from ca. 1180 accords with the otherwise known genealogy. The Fürstetafeln do not
describe the genealogy of the monastery, for neither Haziga, Berthold of Burgeck, nor the
earlier foundations are mentioned, but they focus instead on proving the family’s descent and
attachment to the location of Scheyern. The Fürstentafel repeatedly emphasize the Burg,
hill, of Scheyern, indubitably tying the family to the place and establishing their ‘ancient’
ownership and connection to the land of Bavaria.

The Fürstentafel concluded in the mid-thirteenth century with the death of Duke Otto II
and the subsequent division of Bavaria, physically illustrating this major break in Bavarian
history, and especially for Scheyern. The last panel states, “In [1258] the burials of the Dukes
of Bavaria went away from Scheyern; Ludwig founded Fürstenfeld and there lies also
Heinrich of Landshut.” The text sums up the Scheyern burials, claiming that 62 counts and
60 lords of Scheyern are buried in the monastery along with their wives. The point of the
Fürstentafel is shown in this final panel: the memorialization the family (similar to Duke
Ludwig’s commemorative mass) through a visual and textual history at the physical place of
their purported origins and in a space given over to the physical preservation of monuments
to the deceased. Even if slightly exaggerated, the nearly 250 burials suggested in the final

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67 Panel 7 mentions the translation of the True Cross relic to Scheyern, but only in the context of the Dachau
line dying out; there is no mention of the monastery at Eisenhofen.

68 The date in Panel 10 is actually 1285, but this is likely a mistake for 1258, when as a penance for killing his
wife, Marie of Brabant, Ludwig II founded the monastery of Seldental, which was then moved to Fürstenfeld in
1263; see Siegmund and Genzinger, “Zur Scheyerer Tabula Perantiqua,” Panel 10, 159. Heinrich XIII is
actually buried at Seligenthal bei Landshut, and not Fürstenfeld, see List, “Die mittelalterlichen Grablegen der
Wittelsbacher in Altbayern,” 534.

panel would have littered the space in and around the monastery, and in tandem with the
Fürstentafel panels, they were the physical reminders of Scheyern’s memorial role.

The bulk of the Fürstentafel manuscripts were produced in the fifteenth century, during
the nascent hey-day of Bavarian historiography and chronicle production. The manuscripts
are most closely associated with monastic foundations, and the earliest was produced at the
end of the fourteenth century for Fürstenfeld, the burial monastery for the line of Duke
Ludwig II of Upper Bavaria. Three copies are associated with Scheyern specifically, Cgm
5747 (ff. 1r–12r) from ca. 1460, Cgm 5748 from ca. 1470, and Clm 17509 (ff. 1r–6v) from
before 1450. Cgm 5747 (f. 1r) refers to the text as “the chronicle of Scheyern” and states
that the panels hung in the cloister, “das ist die kronick zw Scheyrn, die in dem Cräutzgang
hangt,” while a manuscript from Regensburg (Clm 1805, ff. 44r–47r) states on f. 47r that it
was copied from an exemplar at Indersdorf (now presumably lost), which was copied from
an exemplar hanging (pendens) at Scheyern. Their direct association with the Scheyern
burials is suggested clearly in Cgm 5748, which is inscribed Grufttafeln, or grave-panels.
Early provenance of the manuscripts shows that they were predominantly located in Bavarian
and Austrian monastic communities that had some connection to the Wittelsbach dynasty or
Dukes of Scheyern, such as Clm 1805 from St. Emmeram at Regensburg (1425), Clm 9711
from Oberaltaich (1449–52), Vienna, ÖNB 2672 from Mondsee (1453), Andechs 21 from
Andechs (1457), Vienna, ÖNB 3447 from Salzburg (1463), Clm 27415 from Diessen

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70 Siegmund and Genzinger, “Zur Scheyerer Tabula Perantiqua,” 154. Cgm 5747 also contains a list of the
deceased women associated with the Scheyern-Wittelsbach line on ff. 12v–13r. The Fürstentafel text in Clm
17509 is bound with a copy of Aventinus’s Annales Schirense (ff. 7r–25v) written in 1528.
(1474/82), and Cgm 227 from Ebersberg (after 1481). Interest in the text largely stemmed from its presentation of early Bavarian genealogy, which was related to the foundation histories of many Bavarian monasteries. Members of the various Wittelsbach familial lines were the Vögte (or related to them) of such monasteries as St. Emmeram, Andechs, Diessen, and Ebersberg, and as such, the history of the Dukes of Scheyern and Wittelsbachs was part of their institutional history as well. More specifically, the counts of Andechs-Meranien were a branch of the Scheyern line, and up until the division of Bavaria they were buried at Scheyern itself. Cgm 2928 from the Franciscan convent in Munich contains the Fürstentafel text from 1429 (ff. 15r–18r) and the Chronicle of Andechs (ff. 18v–26r) written by the scribe Johannes Sack. Although written by different scribes, the two texts are united in a single quire, as a single entity, codicologically uniting two familial lines and the abbeys they represent. Andechs had at least two other manuscripts of the Fürstentafel: Andechs 21 from 1457 and Augsburg, Ordinariatsbibliothek 106 (ff. 37v–40v) from after 1457, both integrated with chronicles of Andechs. More so than any other monastery except Scheyern, the

71 Moeglin, Les ancêtres du prince, 250–52. Moeglin did not include the fifteenth-century Tegernsee manuscript Clm 1807, ff. 82r–86v, which includes the Fürstentafel text within a larger collection of various works on Bavarian history and monastic foundations.

72 On Cgm 2928, see Karin Schneider, Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften aus Cgm 888-4000, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis V/6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 364–79 and Die datierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Teil 1: Die deutschen Handschriften bis 1450, Datierte Handschriften in Bibliotheken der Bundesrepublik Deutschland IV/1, edited by Karin Schneider (Stuttgart: Reichert, 1994), 55. Part I (ff. 1–14 and 22–323) was produced at Regensburg in 1434–36 while Part II with the Scheyern-Andechs texts (ff. 15–21) is bound into the middle of seemingly unrelated, devotional material. Johannes Sack is a relation (brother?) of Hermann Sack, the scribe-owner of the Regensburg part of the manuscript; the scribe of the Fürstentafel is unidentified. On Sack’s scribal productions, see MBK IV/2, 694.

73 For Andechs 21, see Albert Brackmann, Die Enstehung Andechser Wallfahrt, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 5 (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1929), 17, and Benedikt Kraft, Andechser Studien, Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte, 74 (Munich: Historische Vereins für Oberbayern, 1940), II: 630. For Augsburg, Ordinariatsbibliothek 106, see Benedikt Kraft, Die Handschriften der Bischöflichen Ordinariatsbibliothek in Augsburg (Augsburg: Haas & Grabherr, 1934), 96; the manuscript is the Chronicon Andecense largely written by Anton Pelchinger in 1457 but the Fürstentafel text is by another scribe.
multiple copies of the *Fürstentafel* from Andechs show an historical interest at the monastery and the desire to emphasize their early Wittelsbach connections—Scheyern’s history is Andechs’ as well. The dispersal of the *Fürstentafel* manuscripts was related to the increasing interest in Bavarian historiography, and monasteries, as the traditional keepers of history, saw the Wittelsbach genealogy as related to their own foundation histories.

Bavarian chroniclers used two main sources for early Wittelsbach history: Otto of Freising’s *Chronica de historia duabus civitatibus*, written in the mid-1140s, and the *Chronicon Schirense*. As Bavarian history-writing flourished in the fifteenth century, both earlier chronicles were major sources for more popular works, such as those written by Andreas von Regensburg (1425–28), Georg Hauer (1479), Hans Ebran von Wildenberg (1490s), and Viet Arnpeck (1495), which ultimately culminated with Bavaria’s most important early modern historiographer, Johannes Turmair, called by the name Aventinus.\(^74^\)

Much like Ebran of Wildenberg before him, who wrote for the Dukes of Bavaria-Landshut, Aventinus was commissioned to write his history of Bavaria by the Wittelsbach Dukes of Bavaria-Munich in the early-sixteenth century.\(^75^\) Scheyern Abbey’s connection to the early

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\(^75^\) Gerald Strauss, *Historian in an Age of Crisis: The Life and Work of Johannes Aventinus 1477–1534* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 68–69. In February 1517 Aventinus was officially commissioned to produce a history of Bavaria; this was the same year one of his “kleinere Schriften,” the *Annales Schirenses*, was published. For Aventinus’s original manuscript, see BSB, Clm 1719 and Scheyern’s copy, Clm 17509, ff. 7r–25v of 1528.
Wittelsbachs made it an important source and archive for these writers, many of whom made use of Scheyern’s chronicle and the *Fürstentafel*, but Aventinus referred to the genealogy depicted in the *Fürstentafel* as “fabulous” and “material for painters” rather than as true historical sources.\(^7^6\) As the forebears of the Wittelsbach dynasty, the contentious Carolingian descent of the Dukes of Scheyern had to be reconciled by each of the chroniclers. Otto of Freising’s Luitpoldian descent was adopted in the chronicles of Andreas von Regensburg, Georg Hauer, and Veit Arnpeck; however, Hans Ebran von Wildenberg, under the patronage of Georg of Bavaria-Landshut, sided with the Carolingian descent described in the *Chronicon Schirense* and *Fürstentafel*.\(^7^7\) Following Otto of Freising, Aventinus authoritatively corrected this misconception, placing their origins in the Luitpolding family;\(^7^8\) nonetheless, he called the “Scheirn” the “oldest noble line in Bavaria,” and stated that they had a king at the time of Emperor Augustus.\(^7^9\) Such ennobling of the Wittelsbach origins not only elevated the dynasty, but their dynastic history as well, which included Scheyern Abbey.

**Reading Scheyern’s Coats-of-Arms**

In his program of ancestral commemoration, Duke Friedrich of Bavaria-Landshut likely also reconstructed the tomb of Scheyern’s founders, Graf Otto II of Scheyern and

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\(^7^8\) Holzfurtner, “Ebersberg – Dießen – Scheyern,” 569 doubts this origin.

\(^7^9\) Aventinus, *Sämtliche Werke*, VI: *Bayerische Chronik*, Bk. VII, 348.
Placed directly in front of the main altar, the tomb was a highly visible monument to the origins of the abbey and Wittelsbach dynasty and represented the continued presence of the dead. The tomb depicts the figures of Otto and Haziga holding a model of Scheyern in their draped hands. The tomb effigies are reminiscent of the patron miniatures in the Matutinal manuscript (Fig. 72–73), and the figures elide the function of saintly patron and secular founder to thus create Otto and Haziga as pseudo-saints legitimizing Scheyern. Although neither had any role in the founding of Scheyern Abbey itself (by their son Pfalzgraf Otto I in 1119), they function as the ancestral founders of the abbey and family, which corresponds to Duke Friedrich’s promotion of Scheyern history.

On the base supporting the tomb effigies was an elaborate display of ancestral arms. The depictions include several versions of the Wittelsbach fess (zig-zag), the arms of Haziga and the Dukes of Kastl (in reference to her first husband), the boot armorial of Count Eckhard I of Scheyern, the lion from the Palatinate, the blue and white diamonds (Rauten or fusils) of the Counts of Bogen, and the panther, adopted from Dukes of Ortenburg-Kraiburg in 1241. The lion, diamonds, and panther are still part of the Bavarian armorial today. The coats-of-arms on the tomb are thus not strictly related to Otto and Haziga themselves, but represent an

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80 BHStA, Plansammlung, Nr. 2627, see Wittelsbach und Bayern, I/2: Nr. 37 and List, “Die mittelalterlichen Grabecken der Wittelsbacheer in Altbayern,” 524–25. The grave was destroyed during Abbot Reitberger’s remodeling of the monastery ca. 1623 and only exists in the sixteenth-century drawing.

81 Oexle, “Memoria und Memorabiild,” 391–94. The Psalms were frequently read over tombs in the process of para-liturgical commemoration, see Renate Kroos, “Grabbräuche – Grabbilder,” 293–99. Such tombs frequently played major roles in the preservation of the institutions and their high visibility is an indication of that function; see Kathleen Nolan, “The Queen’s Body and Institutional Memory: The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne,” in Memory and the Medieval Tomb, edited by Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 254.

82 Willibald Sauerländer and Joachim Wollasch, “Stiftergedenken und Stifterfiguren in Naumburg,” in Memoria, 354–69 discusses the role of the donor figures in the west choir of Naumburg cathedral as representing the foundations and traditions of the cathedral.

accumulation of Scheyern-Wittelsbach and Bavarian arms from the eleventh to thirteenth century and make the tomb of Scheyern’s founders a visual monument of Bavarian history.

The various Wittelsbach and Bavarian coats-of-arms seen on the tomb are found in the decoration of Scheyern books, and they are used equally as statements of ownership as well as deeper references to Scheyern history. Scheyern Abbey’s connection to the Wittelsbach dynasty is visually entrenched through their monastic coats-of-arms. The primary heraldic insignia of Scheyern—a gold horizontal zig-zag on a blue field (or, a fesse dancetté azure)—is one of the earliest recorded Wittelsbach armorials and marks their perpetual association with their founding family. This coat-of-arms was first used by Duke Ludwig I around 1200 and adopted by his son Otto II.84 However, the family did not retain the zig-zag insignia for long; around 1247 they adopted the blue and white diamonds (fusilly in bend) from the Counts of Bogen.85 The zig-zag arms were also used at Indersdorf and Ensdorf, twelfth-century Wittelsbach foundations, although both monasteries adopted the more traditional Wittelsbach colors of a red blazon on a silver field. The arms first appear in association with each of the monasteries in the fourteenth century: at Scheyern, they are first seen in the seal of Abbot Wolfgang (1346–53).86 Although discontinued by the family, the use of the arms by the three early, primary Wittelsbach foundations (they were also briefly used in the fourteenth century at Geisenfeld, an eleventh-century Ebersberg foundation that the Dukes of


85 Volkert, “Die Bilder in den Wappen der Wittelsbacher,” 14. Otto II’s mother, Ludmilla of Bohemia, was previously the widow of Count Albrecht III of Bogen, and when Otto’s half-brother Albrecht IV died in 1247 without heir, he inherited the Bogen lands and insignia. The blue and white fusils (Ger., Rauten) are the iconic element representing modern-day Bavaria.

86 Eduard Zimmermann, Bayerische Klosterheraldik (Munich: [Zimmermann], 1930), 146. Wolfgang’s seal is the oldest extant Bavarian monastery’s coat-of-arms. See also Ferdinand Geldner, “Eingemalte und eingepreßte Wappen-Exlibris,” Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens 3 (1960): 51–53.
Scheyern took over) show the overt connection that the monasteries were trying to make with their founders.

Scheyern’s secondary coat-of-arms was the arms of the kingdom of Aragon, vertical red stripes on a gold field (or, four pallets gules). Two notes in the *Glossarium Salomonis* (Clm 17403, ff. 238v and 244v) claim that Haziga was the daughter of the king of Aragon, and at least by the fifteenth century the monastery had adopted her purported insignia, further aligning themselves with their historical foundation (Figs. 7, 15, and 39). Monastic coats-of-arms were typically derived from the location of the cloister, their saintly patron, or most well-known relic; less frequently are they based on a noble family’s device, which only further exemplifies Scheyern’s decision to consciously mark themselves as specifically “Wittelsbach.” Scheyern’s True Cross fragment, their most numinous relic, only rarely appears in monastic insignia before the sixteenth century.

By the fifteenth century, armorials were commonly found decorating manuscripts and printed books in private and institutional libraries across Europe. Used to denote ownership, represent a donor, or reflect historical and familial associations, coats-of-arms and heraldic devices were included in decorated borders and initials as well as carved or impressed into leather bindings. In the 1470s Scheyern incorporated the use of blind-stamping into their existing book bindery, and one of the tools they used was a roundel with the Wittelsbach shield (see App. B, stamp 4). On the inside of books, Scheyern’s armorials are added to nearly thirty manuscripts and incunables as part of the ornamentation of the page, in works

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87 Zimmermann, *Bayerische Klosterheraldik*.

88 The double-cross insignia is found in only Clm 17402, f. 1r and 2 Inc.s.a. 1214 e, f. c3r; the provenance inscription written by Maurus and other scribes also rarely identified Scheyern as the monastery of the True Cross, see Clm 17409, 17416, 17453, and 2 Inc.s.a. 873 ad(3.
produced both by professional craftsmen and Scheyern monks. Each of the Molitor manuscripts, except for the Book of Hours dedicated to the memory of Stephan Sandizeller (Clm 17426)—a memoria monument in its own right—includes the Scheyern armorial as part of the decoration. Augsburg illuminators tended to only use the Wittelsbach zig-zag armorial while the double-cross emblem makes a few rare appearances in the books they decorated for Scheyern. Their copy of the Vincent of Beauvais’s Speculum naturale (BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1) has the illuminated arms of Scheyern on f. a2r, crested with Scheyern’s True Cross relic standard (Fig. 63). The form of double-cross in the Speculum naturale, with the flared base and bulbous mid-section, is exactly that of Scheyern’s relic holder and its reproduction as part of the armorial makes the insignia specifically Scheyern (Fig. 75). Every book with Augsburg-style illumination also bears Scheyern’s coat-of-arms, either originally or, as in the case of Clm 17407, subsequently added by a Scheyern artist (Fig. 7). This same Scheyern artist, whom I have named the Geometric Flourisher, included Scheyern’s arms in several of his productions, including Clm 17476, f. 10r and Clm 17502, f. 205r (Figs. 17 and 24). The armorial never appears on its own, without further, elaborate ornamentation accompanying it. There is a correlation between the level of illumination in the books and the inclusion of Scheyern’s armorial; every work that received elaborate Augsburg illumination also included the armorial, either originally or added at Scheyern by the Geometric Flourisher. For the Scheyern books an elaborate degree of illumination went hand-in-hand with a mark of ownership. With a few exceptions, the books with such decoration tend to be

89 The gold repoussé container supposedly carried the True Cross relic from Jerusalem to Eisenhofen and then Scheyern, see Wittelsbach und Bayern, I/2, Nr. 39 and Reichhold, Chronik von Scheyern, 134–39. On similar containers in Germany, see Heribert Meurer, “Kreuzreliquiare aus Jerusalem,” Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg 13 (1976): 11–13.
either liturgical manuscripts, such as Clm 17407 and 17408, or large-format encyclopedia, such as the manuscript and incunable works of Vincent of Beauvais and Johannes Balbus’s *Catholicon*. For liturgical manuscripts, the placement of Scheyern’s coat-of-arms in juxtaposition with the liturgical text co-commemorates the monastery/Wittelsbach dynasty in tandem with the already commemorative actions of the liturgical celebration; equally, the device in the encyclopedia insinuates the monastery and its history into the larger course of history described in the text.

The *Catholicon* manuscript written and decorated by Hainrich Molitor in 1458 bears a number of Wittelsbach armorials on the elaborately illuminated first folio (Figs. 39 and 76). Unique among fifteenth-century Scheyern books—and Molitor’s most elaborate composition—the copious decoration of the folio is a microcosm of Scheyern patronage, both saintly and secular. At the center nestled under the large initial A, the Virgin Mary is seated in a garden holding the Christ child upon her lap while two monks kneel before her, one in a white cowl with a blue robe and a smaller monk all in black. Likely representative of Abbot Wilhelm Kienberger and a member of the Scheyern community, the depiction is akin to the thirteenth-century dedication images in the Matutinal, *Glossarium Salomonis*, and *Historia scholastica*, where the abbot or scribe kneels before the Virgin. In the background is a walled town with crenellated gate, within which are several towers or spires. Perhaps representative of Scheyern itself, its self-referential, symbolic function is similar to the model churches held by Sts. Martin, Peter, and the Virgin in the Matutinal. As massive tomes dedicated to the Virgin, both the Matutinal and *Catholicon* share dedicatory, commemorative functions extraneous to but cooperating with the texts they introduce. Surrounding the *Catholicon’s*
central Marian image is a thin decorative frame with four coats-of-arms in the corners (clockwise from top left): the Wittelsbach zig-zag, a boot, two lions passant, and the blue and white fusils. The zig-zag is the well-known Wittelsbach armorial used as Scheyern’s main heraldic device. The boot was identified by Hartig as representing the Counts of Dachau, likely based upon a monument stone with a shoe armorial once found at Dachau.\textsuperscript{90} A more likely association is with Eckhard I, the son of Count Otto and Haziga, who was legendarily referred to as “Herzog Bundschuh,” in essence, Duke Laced-shoe, as espoused in the \textit{Fürstentafel}.\textsuperscript{91} The shoe armorial is seen on the fourteenth-century grave of Otto and Haziga and was likely depicted in the original \textit{Fürstentafel} frescos; the “Bundschuh” story was not repeated in the seventeenth-century fresco ‘copy’ but preserved through the manuscript \textit{Fürstentafel} tradition. Eckhard’s original grave was at Eisenhofen bei Dachau—along with the other early Scheyern members—but moved to Scheyern Abbey in the twelfth century; the shoe armorial found at Dachau likely derives from this first burial. The two lions passant are abbreviated from the triple lion first used by Duke Otto II around 1229 after he inherited the Palatinate from his father-in-law, Henry V of Braunschweig, the eldest son of Henry the Lion and Mathilde of England.\textsuperscript{92} Duke Otto more commonly used the single lion rampant, also

\textsuperscript{90} Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstiftes Scheyern in der Zeit der Gotik,” 11; on the stone, see List, “Die mittelalterlichen Grablegen der Wittelsbacher in Altbayern,” 523. Scheyern also has a relic known as the “Scheyern sock,” a piece of cloth that supposedly contained the True Cross relic on its transport from Dachau to Scheyern, although the shape of the cloth is not necessarily foot-shaped and not related to the armorial; see \textit{Wittelsbach und Bayern}, I/2, Nr. 40.


\textsuperscript{92} Volkert, “Die Bilder in den Wappen der Wittelsbacher,” 14–15. Hartig, “Kunstgeschichte des Benediktinerstifts Scheyern in der Zeit der Gotik,” 11 misidentified the lions as belonging to the Abensberg family, a branch of the Dukes of Ebersberg. The three lions likely derive from the English coat-of-arms via Mathilde of England. On the modern Bavarian flag the three lions passant are representative of Swabia, but in the fifteenth century there were no overt connections between the Scheyern-Wittelsbach line and Swabia to argue for a representation of that region in the \textit{Catholicum} decoration.
adopted from the coat-of-arms of Henry the Lion (also common to the Welf and Staufer dynastic arms), which also appears in connection to Scheyern and modern-day Bavaria.

Finally, the blue and white fusils were adopted around 1247 by Ludwig II from the Counts of Bogen. The four coats-of-arms surrounding the dedication miniature represent the earliest Scheyern-Wittelsbach emblems, and they were likely prominently displayed around the monastery on various tombs (such as that of Otto and Haziga) and other now-lost ornamentation. Their commemorative function was likely clear to contemporary viewers considering the popularity of Bavarian historiography and the dissemination of *Fürstentafel* manuscripts.

The next foliate border is inhabited by St. Leonhard on the left and Mary Magdalene on the right and angels holding the double-cross at the top and Wittelsbach arms at the bottom. Scheyern had altars/chapels dedicated to both Sts. Mary Magdalene and Leonhard; Duke Ludwig V’s family mass was to be said at the altar to Mary Magdalene, and the fifteenth-century financial registers have annual entries listing the donations to St. Leonhard. Paired with the Virgin Mary, they are Scheyern Abbey’s three main patrons. The double-cross standard held by the angel represents Scheyern’s True Cross relic and the mid-twelfth-century reliquary holder supposedly brought from Jerusalem (Fig. 75). In the outer floral

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93 St. Leonhard of Noblac is the patron saint of prisoners, and his connection to Scheyern is likely related to the imprisonment of Ludwig I in 1215.
border, monkeys hold the arms of Duke Otto II of Bavaria (left) and Haziga (right). The opposing arms in some sense represent something of an alpha and omega for Scheyern, with Haziga as the monastery’s founder and Otto II’s death representing the end of Scheyern’s original prominence in the mid-thirteenth century. This first folio of the Catholicon, a dictionary, but as the name suggests, a compendium of universal language, commemorates the contemporary and historical Scheyern, visually integrated with a panoply of religious history—God the Father in the top of the initial A, the Annunciation across the A, four prophets representing the Old Testament, and the four Evangelist symbols representing the New. The assembly of armorials radiating around the Virgin Mary—not unlike those surrounding the tomb of Otto and Haziga—is a veritable family history of the early Wittelsbach dynasty integrated with a depiction of Scheyern through its patron saints, founder, and current abbot.

Even in the fifteenth century Scheyern could not be divorced from the Dukes of Scheyern-Wittelsbach who had founded the monastery 400 years prior. Although the abbey had lost its position as the Wittelsbach’s primary monastery in the mid-thirteenth century, it continued to function as a living memorial to its former self. It maintained the early family graves and so was the keeper of the dynastic history, as seen in their preservation of the sole manuscript of the Chronicon Schirense and various foundation documents, and as

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94 The armorial for Duke Otto II “the Noble” of Bavaria is a gold rampant lion on a red shield (gules, lion rampant or), adopted from the armorial of the Palatinate, which he inherited in 1214. While the depiction here is a black lion, there is no other associated armorial that makes sense in this context. The lion might have originally been gold and oxidized in reaction to the red ground. While Otto’s death represents a certain end for Scheyern, it was also one of the greatest periods for the early Wittelsbachs with substantial land acquisitions; see Max Spindler, “Die Auseinandersetzungen mit Landesadel, Episkopat und Königum unter den drei ersten wittelsbachischen Herzögen (1180–1253),” in Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte II: das alte Bayern: der Territorialstaat vom Ausgang des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts, edited by Max Spindler (Munich: Beck, 1988), 11–51, esp. 30–31 and 37–52 on the land acquisitions of Otto II.
commemorated by Duke Ludwig V’s mass and the Fürstentafel. The extant sections of the twelfth- to fourteenth-century Scheyern necrology preserve entries for members of the dynastic line, including Emperor Arnulf (12 Feb.), Bernhard of Scheyern (2 March), Pfalzgraf Otto I (5 March), and Otto II of Scheyern (4 Dec.). Such commemorative memoria stretched back into the Carolingian era, which was clearly mirrored in the Chronicon Schirense, Fürstentafel, and Duke Ludwig’s mass. The resurgence of Wittelsbach historiography in the fifteenth century renewed interest in Scheyern, if only as the repository of dynastic memoria. The coats-of-arms on and in the books clearly parallel those on the tombs, and one cannot be disassociated from the others. Monastic culture is a culture of commemoration: the liturgy, prayers, and readings are all memorial aspects aimed at remembering something that is past, whether that represents biblical history and saints, founders and monastic brethren, or Benedictine monasticism through practices of reform. With a group of monks praying for one’s soul, monasteries were powerful living memorials. This familial memoria was liturgically promoted through Duke Ludwig V’s mass and armorials in every missal and liturgical book and the location of the tomb of Haziga and Otto nearest the epicenter of monastic devotions, while even the more secular texts such as the Speculum maius volumes and Catholicon displayed patronage images and armorials that integrated Scheyern in the larger view of history.

Scheyern’s library was a locus of memoria, and with the subsequent destruction of the original Fürstentafel frescoes and Scheyern-Wittelsbach graves, the books are the main physical evidence of this historical commemoration remaining. The Chronicon Schirense,

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*Glossarium Salomonis*, and *Fürstentafel* manuscripts are the textual repositories of monastic and dynastic history; the Matutinal and *Catholic*on perpetually commemorate Scheyern Abbey’s history through their representations of the patrons of Fischbachau, Eisenhofen, and Scheyern. Emblazoned on the interior and exterior of many books (e.g., the *Catholic*on, Vincent of Beauvais’s *Speculum maius* volumes, most liturgical books, etc.), the monastic coats-of-arms identify the volumes as belonging to or bound at Scheyern, and this identity is specifically derived from their dynastic heritage commemorated in the *Chronicon Schirense*, *Glossarium Salomonis*, and *Fürstentafel*. The Wittelsbach and Aragonese coats-of-arms even decorate Scheyern’s current library (on either side of the doorway) as emblems of historical identity and perpetual commemoration (Fig. 3).
Chapter 6
The Library of Scheyern Abbey and Its Contents

Scheyern’s library was a repository of individual bibliographic artifacts that show the religious, literary, economic, artistic, and historical construction of the monastery in the fifteenth century. The books’ text, production, decoration, binding, and shelving are the concrete reflections of reform implementation, commercial connections, and self-identity at the abbey. Scheyern’s involvement in contemporary book culture is not unilateral but a manifold reflection of the various needs of the monastery—needs that demanded bibliographic interactions with other monastic libraries and urban commercial producers. One further element that reflects Scheyern’s adaptation to burgeoning fifteenth-century book culture is the organization and use of the collection itself.¹ The books themselves provide clues to their own acquisition and organization through the library shelfmarks entered in many volumes. Even though only a fraction of these shelfmarks are extant for the books in the collection, they nonetheless hint at the overall organization of the library and how the monks actually used the books. The evidence suggests that the library and library users disregarded the distinctions between manuscript and print, with both media seemingly undifferentiated in the collection in terms of production, decoration, binding, shelving, and use.

The Library in Manuscript and Print

Hab dank mein schöner Maure

¹ There is no documentary evidence regarding the monks’ access to the library, and even its location in the upper sacristy built under Abbot Johann I in the 1430s or 40s is a supposition; see above, p. 68.
“Have thanks my wondrous Maurus, You have written many good books,” is inscribed on the front pastedown of one of Scheyern’s earlier incunable acquisitions, Pope Paul II’s *Regulae ordinationes et constitutiones cancellariae apostolicae* printed in Augsburg in 1476 (4 Inc.c.a. 84 m; Fig. 77). Written directly under Maurus’s provenance inscription “Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren,” the statement is rather enigmatic as to why Maurus should be grateful that he has written good books, but there is a sense of consolation at something past. Were the author of the inscription and Maurus aware of the sea-change printing was going to bring to libraries and manuscript production? Initially, scribes might have been the ones needing to be consoled when printed books—books not written by pen—entered their domains, seemingly ending their careers. This end, of course, did not come (immediately), and Maurus continued to produce manuscripts for Scheyern after the arrival of print. The dichotomy of the inscription about manuscripts in a printed book (in which the scribal rubrication was never completed) highlights the media difference that at least some

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2 BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 84 m, Paulus II, *Regulae ordinationes et constitutiones cancellariae apostolicae* ([Augsburg: Johann Wiener], 1476); ISTC ip00159000.

3 Johannes Balbus’s *Catholicon* printed in Mainz around 1460 (ISTC ib00020000) states in its colophon (f. 372r) that the book *non calami, stili, aut penne suffragio, sed mire patronarum formarumque concordia proporcione et modulo impressus atque confectus est*, “without the help of reed, stilus, or pen, but by the wondrous agreement, proportion, and harmony of punches and types, has been printed and finished.”

users and producers recognized. Even if some recognized a difference in book media and some portent of change, the difference was certainly not reflected in the organization of the library collection.

The organization of Scheyern’s library is expressed through two different shelfmark systems (two of the provenance elements I used to reconstruct the library), which represent two successive methods of ordering the library collection. The earlier shelfmark is an alphanumeric code written in the bottom right corner of the first blank folio or fly leaf of fifty-one extant volumes (App. C and Fig. 78a–c); rebinding, the removal of the first folio, and damage have frequently destroyed this important bit of library history in other surviving books. The extant alpha-numeric codes create a list seemingly divided into two parts. Codes b–d are not chronologically ordered and seem to organize the books into vague subject categories, especially with the Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl titles all falling under d (a concerted Melk Reform collection in the library). There are no extant codes e–i, but from code k they follow a general chronological progression without any apparent subject organization. The critical gap in the extant codes between these two organizational systems also seems to include the first acquisitions of printed books (if going by the extant chronological list alone). We can only assume what happened within this break in the shelfmarks: was the

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6 Their positioning in the bottom right corner of the folio frequently has meant that through damage, wear, and destruction, the code has worn away and several were quite difficult to read. More volumes appeared to have such a code, but the darkening of the area or the deteriorating corner made the code illegible.
collection organized at its then current extent somewhere between codes e–i, with new acquisitions simply appended to the end? Are these codes not in fact shelfmarks but inventory markers, perhaps used to keep track of the books loaned out during Lent? Is the break in codes in fact a separation of collections respectively acquired under Abbot Wilhelm Kienberger (1449–67) and then Georg Spörl (1467–89)? What the extant alpha-numeric codes clearly show, though, is an attempt to organize a library whose growth was exacerbated with the acquisition of printed books.

At first glance this organization system separates manuscripts from printed books; however, the manuscript of Otto of Freising’s Cronica (Clm 1208) is organized at p29, within a series of incunables. In terms of the purpose for these codes, a distinction between manuscript and print was clearly not one of them, as the two book media were thus united in the collection. The 1487 date of the Cronica fits chronologically within the imprint dates of the surrounding incunabula, showing that this second-half of the list is organized by relative acquisition date. This date does not always parallel the date of production, however, for the location of such volumes as Gregory XI’s Decretales from 1474 (n12; 2 Inc.c.a. 291 b) and Plutarch’s Vitae illustrium virorum from 1473–75 (p27–28; 2 Inc.s.a. 994) suggest later acquisitions by the library, around 1480 and 1487, respectively.\(^7\)

This organization by acquisition date also proves how quickly some printed books were distributed to their audience. Scheyern was acquiring incunables in more or less the same chronology in which they were printed and appeared on the market, actively acquiring ‘new’

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\(^7\) Bartholomaeus Angelicus’s De proprietatibus rerum (l10), with an assigned printing date of “about 1479–80,” is oddly ahead of the chronological progression. This might reflect a subsequent reordering of the collection that moved a book previously organized at l10 to another location and replaced the vacancy with the newly-acquired Bartholomaeus; on a similar practice of reordering existing collections, see Vincent Gillespie, Syon Abbey (London: British Library, 2001), lv.
books, hot off the presses, as it were. Most of the incunabula with extant codes are from the presses of southern Germany, and this shows how reliant Scheyern was on the printers of Augsburg, Strasbourg, Basel, and Ulm—those presses associated with the Mentelin-Zainer and Bämler networks of print distribution. By and large, the texts acquired up to ca. 1480 are core devotional and theological texts that we might still associate with the influences of the Melk Reform that began with manuscripts. The rapid growth of the collection because of the advent of printed books might have caused the shift from genre to chronological organization in the alpha-numeric codes. The genres the library acquired in the third phase, from ca. 1480 (around code $m$), diversify to include classic and humanist literature (Ceasar and Plutarch), history (Antoninus Florentinus and Otto of Freising), and theological authors who are not specifically Melk-related (Robertus Caracciulus, Vincentius Ferrerius, and Bernardinus Senensis). This same expansion of authors, titles, and genres paralleled the ever-expanding array of works available in print through the incunable period, and the increased availability and acquisition of such works diluted the singular influence the Melk Reform had on Scheyern’s library. The bulk of the works on the Scheyern list are predominantly theological or devotional in nature. The acquisition of sermon collections began under the influences of the Melk Reform, wherein sermons, such as the compendium of Dinkelsbühl and Ebendorf sermons (Clm 17461, $d22$), carried the reform ideals to member monasteries.

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8 A parallel might be seen in the incunabula purchases by Windberg, whose account registers record buying books in the year they were printed; see Wagner, “Venetian Incunabula in Bavaria,” 163.

9 See above, pp. 209–12.
where they were part of the *lectio communis* and *lectio privata*.\(^\text{10}\) Sermons are one of the largest specifically titled collections in the library (see below), and their printed distribution in the fifteenth century was one of the most rapid means of theological mass communication.

The alpha-numeric codes hint at the size of the library and reveal the dramatic bibliographic effects of the Melk Reform and the printing press.\(^\text{11}\) The extant codes proceed through eighteen alphabetic divisions, with no more than thirty numerical distinctions per letter.\(^\text{12}\) Such a closed system, as used at Scheyern, St. Emmeram at Regensburg, and St. Gall, represents the extent of a library collection and its organization at a specific point in time, wherein new acquisitions could not be incorporated into the extant shelfmark system and must await a subsequent reorganization of the library (as at Scheyern) to be shelved in their subject area.\(^\text{13}\) Alternatively, the more open and expansive shelfmark systems used at the libraries of Tegernsee and St. Ägidien at Nuremberg could incorporate newly acquired titles in their extant subject organization, as shown by the great range in their shelfmark

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\(^{11}\) Löffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, 20–21 suggests an average size was only a few hundred books and the nearly 2,000 volumes at Tegernsee were exceptional. The evidence from Scheyern might force us to estimate a higher average for the size of a fifteenth-century library, and the continued examination of other libraries would bear this out.

\(^{12}\) 20 distinctions were used at St. Emmeram at Regensburg in the 1500/01 catalogue (MBK IV/1, 185–322) and St. Gall used alphabetic divisions *A–Z* (i.e. 23 divisions per numeral) rather than numerals in their 1461 catalogue (MBK I, 101–18).

\(^{13}\) A similar reorganization happened at St. Emmeram, Regensburg between the 1449/52 library catalogue of Konrad Pleystainer (without shelfmarks but recorded by pulpits, MBK IV/1, 164–76) and the 1500/01 catalogue (see below), showing the relative expansion of collection in those 50 years.
It seems that the decision for an open or closed shelfmark system was up to the librarian or monastery and not dictated by the order or reform union. Even accepting s13 as the complete extent of Scheyern’s library under this system, the extant and missing codes suggest that around 1490 the library contained at least 523 volumes. Thus, using the q-codes as a guide, 30 volumes were acquired in 1488–89, from Johannes Gerson’s *Opera* of 1488 (q1) to Bernardinus Senensis’s *Sermones de evangelio aeterno* of 1489 (q30). If we make the assuming that this trend continued at approximately 30 volumes every two years (i.e. 15 volumes per year), then from 1490–1501 the library could have acquired an additional 165 volumes, which would place Scheyern’s collection at nearly 700 volumes by the end of the century. By comparison, the extensive library at Tegernsee contained some 1,003 volumes in the inventory of 1484, and only ten years later, in 1494 the library had acquired an additional 735 volumes, totaling 1,738. In this ten year period alone, Tegernsee acquired more books than were possibly in Scheyern’s library by 1500.

Perhaps more comparable in size to Scheyern is the library of Michelsberg bei Bamberg, a member of the Bursfeld Union, which had 533 volumes in 1483, and only after this point

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14 Shelfmark numerals per letter division in the 1483 Tegernsee catalogue routinely reach the 50s and 60s (MBK IV/2, 751–849) and at St. Ägidien in Nuremberg letters A–L had between 45–96 numerical divisions (MBK III/3–4, 430–503).


16 I am generously approximating the collection with these numbers and ignoring the 1489 imprint at r1.

17 Gressierer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Klosterbibliothek Scheyern*, 63 only cites the 1588 catalogue on the size of the library and the effect that printing had on its growth. The Scheyern catalogue of 1588 only contains about 600 titles. Based upon the extant trajectory shown in the acquisition list, we can well assume that Scheyern acquisitions in the 1490s likely numbered several hundred new books, and then not to mention all sixteenth-century acquisitions, the 1588 catalogue is likely still only a part of the collection. For comparative acquisitions by the monastery of Windberg, see Wagner, “Venetian Incunabula in Bavaria,” 161.

18 MBK IV/2, 751. Similarly, Wittwer, *Catalogus abbatum*, 369 states that the library of SS. Ulrich and Afra had grown by over 1,000 manuscript and printed volumes by the end of the century, but he does not offer up the size of the library prior to this addition; see also MBK III/1, 49.
does it seem to have started acquiring printed books.\textsuperscript{19} The library catalogue of St. Emmeram at Regensburg compiled by Dionysius Menger in 1500/1501 lists only approximately 830 volumes.\textsuperscript{20} Although perhaps not the full extent of the collection (liturgical books are unrecorded), the Menger catalogue divides the St. Emmeram books into three categories: manuscripts on parchment, manuscripts on paper, and printed books on paper, and this reorganization along media distinctions was likely a way to cope with a growing collection made too unwieldy by printed acquisitions and now divisible by new media.\textsuperscript{21} The size and organization of Scheyern’s library is thus not unusual when compared with some surrounding monasteries, and it is reflective of the effect that the Melk Reform and advent of print had on library growth. These shelfmarks not only show what books are extant from Scheyern, but the lacunae depict how many (extant and missing) books are still missing from this organization. The heretofore unrecognized alpha-numerical shelfmarks prove the physical extent of Scheyern’s library growth more concretely than the mere enumeration of fifteenth-century books and provide a clearer understanding of the timeline of textual acquisition and development.

\textsuperscript{19} MBK III/3–4, 370–96. While most of the books in the original 1483 catalogue are not identified as either manuscript or print, a series of additional inventories and purchase lists from between 1483 and 1493 refer to works by their medium. In 1486, their sacristy inventory included 20 missals printed on parchment, 2 written on parchment, and 1 printed on paper, see MBK III/3–4, 393.

\textsuperscript{20} This number only includes volumes with identified shelfmarks in the original catalogue and not the often repetitive additional lists produced after this point, see MBK IV/1, 185–385 and Bettina Wagner, “\textit{Libri impressi bibliothecae monasterii Sancti Emmerammi}: The Incunable Collection of St Emmeram, Regensburg, and its Catalogue of 1501,” in \textit{Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century}, edited by Kristian Jensen (London: British Library, 2003), 179–205. St. Emmeram had two incunables that were bound at Scheyern: Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek, 2º Inc. 105 and 2º Inc. 151, and which were in their 1501 catalogue; see Catalogue, pp. 435–36. The other three K30 bindings currently in the Regensburg Staatliche Bibliothek (2º Inc. 21, 2º Inc. 229, and 8º Inc. 18, see Catalogue, p. 424) lack fifteenth-century Regensburg provenance and are likely former Munich duplicates.

\textsuperscript{21} The section of the catalogue recording printed books is the earliest “incunable” catalogue, see Wagner, “\textit{Libri impressi bibliothecae monasterii Sancti Emmerammi},” 183.
After ca. 1491 (s13) Scheyern’s library was reorganized under a new shelfmark system: a subject-focused organization identified by a shelf number found on the title label on the top board (App. D and Figs. 79a–c); it is currently present on sixty-two volumes. This shelfmark reorganization was likely due to the growth of the collection and the insufficient organization provided under the previous system. Generally on books acquired before the early 1490s the shelfmark number is crammed into the small bottom margin of the title label, which suggests that it is an addition to an existing label, and thus a reorganization of the collection after the volume’s original acquisition, binding, and labeling; the labels of books from the later 1490s typically leave more room for the shelfmark. The numbers generally organize the works by genre or theme. Extant numerical shelfmarks reach at least 51 organizational divisions, but the partially legible shelfmark 84 on Ludolphus de Suchen’s *Iter ad Terram Sanctam* (2 Inc.s.a. 806) suggests further divisions or collections in the library. There is no indication of how many books were possibly contained under each number or to what kind of container (i.e., shelf, case, cupboard, lectern, etc.) the number pertained, nor were the books chained. The thematic organization of the numbering system makes it synonymous with the more typical alpha-numeric shelfmark pattern of library organization. Shelfmark 3 contains commentaries on the Gospel, such as Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl’s two-volume *Lecturae super Mattheum* and the *Quaestiones evangeliorum* by Johannes de Turrecremata; 29 has

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22 For a comparable reorganization of the Tegernsee collection between Ambrosius Schwerzenbeck’s catalogue of 1483 and Konrad Sartori’s of 1501, see Bauer, *Geistliche Prosa im Kloster Tegernsee*, 41–44.

commentaries on the *Rule of St. Benedict* by Johannes de Turrecremata, Bernardus Cassinensis, and Johannes Schlippacher; shelf 6 is for canon law while 38 is for civil law; and 44–45 contain classic Latin and humanist authors. The presence of a Scheyern shelfmark substantiates the book’s acquisition when no production characteristics point to the scriptorium. For example, Clm 17457, written by Heinrich Grevental in 1434–42, and Clm 17460, produced by Conard Salpel in Voburg in 1452–53, both have Scheyern title labels on their top boards with the shelfmarks [?]5 and 18, respectively. Although neither manuscript was produced at the monastery, they became part of the monastery’s collection during the period.24

The extant shelfmarks show the diverse genres acquired by Scheyern, and how individual works functioned within the collection. As incomplete and poorly stocked as some of these extant shelves are, they nonetheless hint at the overall organization of the collection and the function of specific volumes. For instance, Scheyern had multiple shelves for sermons—at least 18, 20, 24, and 25—which parallels the overwhelming accrual of sermons seen in the system of acquisition codes.25 Johannes Keck’s commentary on the *Rule of St. Benedict* (Clm 17472), a popular work of the Melk Reform, is not shelved with the other commentaries under 29, but rather on 25 with the *de sanctis* sermons of Vincentius Ferrerius (2 Inc.c.a. 2051) and Franciscus Mairoranis (4 Inc.c.a. 1022 a). The Keck volume importantly contains his *Sermo de benedicta trinitate* on ff. 341r–343v, and this short text—

24 Abbot Paulus Preu (1489–1505) came to Scheyern from Voburg, possibly bringing the Salpel manuscript with him. His arrival might have also precipitated the reorganization of the library. Salpel also owned 2 Inc.s.a. 1176 d (Catalogue, p. 414), which he gave to Conrad Preysing of St. Veit, Freising, but this volume does not carry any fifteenth-century Scheyern provenance evidence.

25 The Meffret sermons from 1485 (2 Inc.s.a. 873 ad(1,2) have only a partially legible shelfmark on the title label, [?]3, which might belong to 23, thus filling out a more extensive sequence of sermon shelves in the library.
added by Maurus and another scribe to three blank leaves at the end of the commentary text—clearly determined the shelving of the entire volume. Even though Maurus’s title label identifies the work as Keck’s commentary on the Rule, the shelving of the volume shows the relative importance of the sermon and its greater value in the overall collection. Thus, Scheyern users promoted the volume as a sermon collection, which in turn suggests their use of Keck’s commentary as a possible source of sermon material.

The shelving of the Keck manuscript volume with printed sermon collections further substantiates the undifferentiated use of the two book media in Scheyern’s library. Many volumes, from production to binding and shelving, exhibit the unified context of manuscript and print in the collection. Of course, both book media received the same bindings, were equally suitable for marginal notations, and were produced or completed by the same Scheyern scribes and decorators. In the compendium volume Clm 17478, the printed works of Jean Gerson and St. Jerome were bound in the midst of several manuscript texts, and the manuscript copy of Tuberinus’s *Relatio de Simone puero tridentino*—derived from a printed exemplar—was also bound up with an incunable (2 Inc.s.a. 1044). There are only a few instances of (likely) printed images used in manuscripts in the library, including two missals that now lack their added Crucifixion images (Clm 17422, f. 138v and 17423, f. 55v; Fig. 80)

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26 Rossmann, “Keck,” 1100, nr. 50. The sermon was first delivered in June 1442 at the Council of Basel; it is extant in only two other manuscripts, both from Tegernsee: Clm 18412, ff. 184r–186v (Keck’s own manuscript copy) and Clm 18638, ff. 177v–180r. These manuscripts had shelfmarks *d* 62 and *h* 37, respectively, in the 1483 Tegernsee catalogue, see MBK IV/2, 803–04; at Tegernsee, shelfmarks *d* seem to be general theology and sermons while *h* is predominantly monastic works, such as expositions on the Rule of St. Benedict, but of course, the shelving of these compendia is considerably determined by the other texts in the volume. Maurus copied several texts out of Clm 18412 for Scheyern’s manuscript Clm 17477, see above, pp. 123–25.

27 See above, pp. 214–16.
and a woodcut initial A integrated into the incipit text of Clm 17521 (f. 1v). These three manuscripts represent instances wherein available print media was used to fulfill a specific devotional or visual need, both by commercial producers (Clm 17422 by Hainrich Molitor) and local Scheyern production (Clm 17521 by Georg Figuli). Although there are only a few such examples of combining manuscript and print in Scheyern’s library, when faced with the opportunity the scribes, librarians, and binders alike ignored the difference in media in favor of more important textual and visual concerns or binding needs. For Scheyern, a distinction between manuscripts and printed books was only first codified in the 1610 catalogue of manuscripts, which in light of its more immediate bibliographic concerns, ignored the printed works sandwiched in the middle of Clm 17478.

In organizing its growing collection, Scheyern’s two fifteenth-century shelfmark systems represent the tangible means of library organization and use. Under both systems, manuscripts and printed books were not differentiated on the shelf and were thus united in a single collection. Such bibliographic unification was more often than not the norm, and articulated organizations, such as that seen in the 1500/1501 St. Emmeram at Regensburg catalogue, represent exceptions to standard practices. The effect of print on Scheyern’s

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28 These Crucifixions were likely autonomous printed images that were removed to other contexts when the missal itself became obsolete. Scheyern’s other two manuscript missals have the entire Crucifixion leaf cut out (Clm 17407, f. 38 and 17421, f. 5/10 [original f. 40]), suggesting that the image was painted directly onto the leaf rather than being an autonomous image that was glued onto the page; see above, p. 201 for Clm 17421. On Clm 17521, see above, p. 151.

29 Most scholarship on the simultaneous use of manuscript and print in a single codex is generally concerned with the integration of the two within devotional contexts, see below, p. 300.

30 See above, pp. 125–27. The Tuberinus manuscript in 2 Inc.s.a. 1044 is not recorded in any of the extant Scheyern catalogues, manuscript or general collection.

31 The St. Emmeram catalogue distinguishes libri in pergameno, libri in papiro, and libri impressi in papiro, although this distinction is equally about support material (parchment and paper) as it is between a “book” and a “printed book,” see Wagner, “Libri impressi bibliothecae monasterii Sancti Emmerammi,” 183.
library was indeed dramatic, as less than one-quarter of the extant alpha-numeric shelfmarks represent manuscripts, and the ever-increasing amount of annual printed acquisitions likely forced the reorganization of the library and integration of recent acquisitions under the numerical shelfmark system. Although incomplete, the extant Scheyern shelfmarks hint at the physical methods by which the monastery adjusted to the bibliographic revolutions of the period.

This considerable library expansion also signals Scheyern’s increasing economic stability. In the visitation charter in the 1452 Consuetudines Schyrenses, the committee specifically pointed out the financial dilemma the monastery was facing, “in temporal matters owing, on account of being weighed down by the contracts of [Kienberger’s] predecessors.”32 There is no evidence regarding the specific financial reforms implemented by him, and yet before 1458 the monastery was in the position to pay Hainrich Molitor a considerable sum of money in advance to produce manuscripts; the 1458/61 bill states that Molitor still owes Scheyern 24 Munich pounds-worth of manuscripts after producing the Vita Christi and writing the Catholicon.33 The production of these manuscripts, not to mention the material outlay for Scheyern’s local production, such as the early works by Maurus and Hainrich Zäch, depicts a certain level of economic stability that allowed for the growth of the library, plus the decoration and binding of the books. The acquisition of printed books—although in many cases cheaper than manuscript production but still not cheap—was only possible through such financial standing. The three elements of reform, library growth, and economic stability form a cycle wherein the reform produced the economic stability that

32 Kainz, “Consuetudines Schyrenses, III,” 618.
33 See above, pp. 172–74.
allowed for the book production that the reform required; without such financial feasibility and bibliographical support, the reform was likely in peril, which might explain its initial lack of success after the first introduction at Scheyern in 1427. The growth of Scheyern’s library—as physically represented by the alpha-numeric shelfmarks—shows the economic stability of the monastery under the Melk Reform.

Monks Reading, Monks’ Reading: The Contents of Scheyern’s Library

Scheyern’s two shelfmark systems show the divergent ways the collection was organized: originally according to subject, which devolved into chronological acquisition with the influx of printed material, and then subsequently was reorganized into more coherent subject divisions. This reorganization facilitated the use of a collection of over 500 volumes that was clearly becoming too unwieldy and disorganized in its current state. With what, though, was the collection growing? What were the monks reading? What was available to them in manuscript and in print, and what is the relationship, if any, between the two book media in individual genres?

Scheyern’s acquisitions tend towards the conservative and standard titles for a monastic collection. From ca. 1450 acquisitions were based around the precepts of the Melk Reform in order to bring the library up to date with current theological practices. The initial acquisitions of printed books followed this same trajectory of encyclopedias, devotional works, and commentaries begun with manuscript, including the remainder of the Speculum maius begun under Hainrich Molitor (2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1 and 2 Inc.s.a. 1214 e), Pseudo-Bonaventura’s Meditationes vitae Christi (GNM, N. 23), the Margarita Davitica, a devotional commentary
on the Psalms (Bodleian, Auct. 5Q 3.25), and Ambrose on Luke (Schottenstift, 96). The genres in the library continued to expand through manuscript and print for the remainder of the century, and Scheyern continued to produce titles in manuscript that were not available in print (e.g. Clm 17476, Humbertus Lombardus, De nomine et amore Jesu, written in 1485) or which formed a specifically desired collection (e.g. Maurus’s compendium Clm 17477, copied from the Tegernsee manuscript).

Based upon the extant books and roughly paralleling the numerical shelfmarks, genre groups in the library included history and secular works (22%), followed closely by general theology (21%), and sermons (15%), after which came encyclopedias (including dictionaries) and scripture (each 7%), doctrinal and catechetical texts, monastic works, and canon law (each 6%), followed by devotional texts (5%), liturgica (4%), and civil law (1%) (Fig. 81).\(^\text{34}\)

Naturally the collection was dominated by religious subject matter, wherein even the encyclopedia—including the manuscript and print copies of Johannes Balbus’s Catholicon (Clm 17402 and 2 Inc.c.a. 1706)—served as sources for scriptural exposition and sermons. The divisions between genres thus can be quite blurred, as seen also with Vincent of Beauvais’s Speculum maius, whose component works could fit under multiple genres.\(^\text{35}\)

Scheyern collected both manuscripts and incunabula in each genre, although some areas are more clearly dominated by one book medium (Fig. 82). It is not surprising that the liturgical books are predominantly in manuscript (including two from the thirteenth century), as these were produced specifically for Scheyern, with only the Missale Romanum from 1484

\(^{34}\) The negligible “Other” category (of less than 1%) includes independent lists and registers not part of a larger text and not strictly pertaining to one of the genre divisions, e.g. the list of doctors of theology, law, and philosophy in Clm 26134, ff. 214v–222v.

\(^{35}\) At St. Emmeram, Regensburg, the printed Speculum maius was shelved between passionals and Antoninus Florentinus’s Summa theologica; MBK IV/1, 345–6341–6341.
(2 Inc.c.a. 1482) and *Psalterium* from 1494 (Bodleian, Auct. 5Q 6.100) in print. The liturgical incunables show signs of use (sometimes heavy) and the *Missale Romanum* has additional quires of texts and prayers in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hands, but in what is perhaps a sign of conservatism, Scheyern (as most Melk institutions) does not seem to have taken to liturgical printing as readily as some reformed institutions, such as those under the Bursfeld Union. Monastic texts are another collection area dominated by manuscript and only to a lesser extent affected by print. The group includes the *Rule of St. Benedict* and associated commentaries (including Clm 17471, 17472, 17473, and 17474), the *Consuetudines Schyrenses* (Clm 14944 and Scheyern, Ms. 37), and many short texts in compendia volumes that relate to the proper behavior of monks and the order of a monastery (Clm 17459, 17477, 17502, and 26134). The introduction of the Melk Reform spurred the growth of this genre, not only with the *Consuetudines Schyrenses* specifically, but also the multiple commentaries on the *Rule* by Melk Reform authors, such as Johannes Keck and Johannes Schlitpacher. In print Scheyern acquired two books by Johannes Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim (2 Inc.c.a. 3117 b and Inc.c.a. 158 a) and the *Institutiones* of Cassian (4 Inc.c.a. 1378 e), although none until the 1490s. Scheyern did not acquire printed books widely in this area because their needs were met more specifically by manuscript; no works of Keck or Schlitpacher were printed in the fifteenth century, and the only commentary on the *Rule*

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36 Melk liturgical books were not printed until the end of the century: *Missale Benedictinum* (*Mellicense*) (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, [about 1499]), ISTC im00633000 and *Breviarium Benedictinum* (*Mellicense*) ([Nuremberg]: Georg Stuchs, 24 Feb. 1500), ISTC ib01130000; see above, p. 105. A Bursfeld liturgical work was printed as early as 1459: *Psalterium Benedictinum cum canticis et hymnis* ([Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 29 Aug. 1459), ISTC ip01062000, and Michelsberg bei Bamberg had over 20 printed liturgical books by 1486, see above, p. 275 n. 19.
printed in the fifteenth century was that of Johannes de Turrecremata, a copy of which
Scheyern owned in manuscript (Clm 17471, ff. 1r–235r).37

Print, however, did drastically alter some collections. Prior to the advent of print
Scheyern had only a small collection of canon law composed largely of the excerpts and brief
texts in Clm 17483 and 17523. Print brought 13 volumes in the corpus of canon law to
Scheyern, including the Liber sextus Decretalium of Boniface VIII and the Constitutiones of
Clemens V (bound together in 2 Inc.c.a. 1721 x), two editions of Gregory IX’s Decretales (2
Inc.c.a. 291 b and 2 Inc.c.a. 3334 b), Gratian’s Decretum (GNM, Inc. 102052/45), and two
editions of the Decisiones Rotae Romanae (both bound in 2 Inc.c.a. 3320). Along with
Henricus de Segusio’s four-volume commentary on the Decretalium (Bodleian, Auct. 5Q
3.1–4) and several further volumes of commentary on canon law, the collection is almost
entirely formed by print without a single manuscript volume wholly devoted to the subject.

The volumes of sermons (approx. 9 manuscript and 28 printed) and general theology
(approx. 16 and 31) also have substantial majorities in print, even without enumerating the
multi-volume theological summae, such as those by Alexander de Ales and Antoninus
Florentinus (e.g., 2 Inc.c.a. 1153 and 2 Inc.c.a. 563 c/d) and sermon collections broken up
into de tempore and de sanctis volumes (e.g., 2 Inc.c.a. 1948 d, Petrus de Palude’s Sermones
Thesauri novi de tempore et de sanctis). While these collections were not solely created in
print, Scheyern’s manuscripts in these genres are predominantly compendia and composite
volumes, which provide a larger number of texts but fewer overall volumes (e.g., Clm 17477,

37 Johannes de Turrecremata, Expositio regulae S. Benedicti (Paris: Pierre Levet, for Nicolaus Militis, 4 May
1491), ISTC it00516000. The Rule itself was not even printed until the late 1480s–ca. 1490, and the first edition
was likely in German, Regula ([Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, about 1485–90]), ISTC ib00308150. The late
date of printing suggests that until that point the market for the Rule had been satisfied in manuscript.
17502, and 17503); print allowed—or forced—Scheyern to acquire larger, monographic works. For the sermon collections, only Bernhard of Clairvaux is represented in both manuscript and print: the compendium Clm 17503 of 1474 contains a series of his sermons (ff. 1r–30v, 83r–142v, and 255r–256r) and the monographic volume, Clm 7875, not to mention the now lost volume produced by Hainrich Molitor in 1469; near the end of the century Scheyern acquired Bernhard’s *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis et de diversis* printed in Basel in 1495 (2 Inc.c.a. 3179 c). The sermons of Melk authors, such as Thomas Ebendorf, Johannes Keck, and Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, are only present in manuscript in the library, and were, in fact, never available in an incunable edition; only Dinkelsbühl has a monographic volume devoted to his sermons (Clm 17460). The sermons were predominantly shelved at least between 20 and 25, and the 28 print volumes expanded the library with authors whose works to then had been uncollected in manuscript, including Vincentius Ferrerius, Johannes de Turrecremata, Bernardinus Senensis, Robertus Caracciolus, and Bonaventura.38 Printed sermon collections provided an efficient means of dispersing contemporary theological argument, and the international trade in printed works meant that the immediacy of such sermonized information could quickly reach distant parts of Europe.39 The availability of print thus expanded Scheyern’s library outside the specific parameters of the Melk Reform, and suddenly library acquisitions changed from having to copy out Bernard of Clairvaux’s sermon *Missus est* (Clm 17503, ff. 1r–30v) in order to fulfill a specific need or want to being able to purchase an entire collection of his sermons (2 Inc.c.a.

38 Ferrerius: 2 Inc.c.a. 2051 and 2 Inc.c.a. 2337; Turrecremata: 2 Inc.c.a. 794 ad; Bernardinus: 2 Inc.s.a. 178 c and 2 Inc.s.a. 179; Caracciolus: 2 Inc.s.a. 266, 4 Inc.c.a. 567 b, and Philadelphia, Goff C-145; Bonaventura: 2 Inc.c.a. 1036 e, 4 Inc.c.a. 1280 d, and 4 Inc.c.a. 1281 b.

39 Honemann, “The Buxheim Collection and Its Dispersal,” 175 on Buxheim’s sermon collection printed in Italy.
3179 c) to fulfill their current and as yet unknown future needs; however, this change also
denied a collection as much individuality in the ways they could excerpt and combine
specific texts to meet their specific needs. Print broadened and in many ways also
homogenized libraries; manuscript still provided textual idiosyncrasy.

The same patterns exhibited in Scheyern’s sermon collection were repeated in the
theological books, with twice as many books in print as in manuscript and many of the
manuscript texts bound into compendia (e.g. Clm 17477 and 17478). The theological texts
are indeed a broad category and a catch-all for the works not ascribed as devotional,
doctrinal, dealing specifically with scripture, or the cenobitic life. This genre also includes
the more discrete collections of theological summae and Lombard’s Sententiae, both of
which were collected throughout the second-half of the century. The earliest extant
Sententiae commentaries in the collection stem from the Melk Reform with works by such
authors as Narcissus Herz, Hainricus de Oyta, Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, and Johannes
Schltpacher.40 Once again, print was able to broaden the collection initially satisfied in
manuscript; the print purchases included the Sententiae itself (2 Inc.s.a. 800),41 a commented
edition by Bonaventura (2 Inc.c.a. 2535 n), and independent commentaries by Robert Holkot
and Richardus de Mediavilla (2 Inc.c.a. 3490 b and 2 Inc.s.a. 872 a). Scheyern’s continual
acquisition of so many works related to the Sententiae throughout the period shows the

40 Herz: Clm 17469 and 17470, ff. 1r–206v; Oyta: Clm 17468; Dinkelsbühl: Clm 17465–66; Schltpacher: Clm 17470, ff. 210r–328v.

41 Clm 17452, ff. 1r–182r contains only parts of the straight Sententiae text.
continued importance of the text to the theological foundations of the fifteenth century and
the expansion of Scheyern’s literary culture outside of the Melk core.42

Astesanus de Ast’s *Summa* (Clm 17409–10) is the only manuscript that Scheyern
owned in the genre, and its early production within a decade of Kienberger’s arrival suggests
its importance to the Melk Reform.43 The remaining 16 *summa* volumes in the collection are
all in print and include two editions of Nicolaus de Ausmo’s *Supplementum summae
Pisanellae* (Angers, Université Catholique de l’Ouest and BSB, Inc.c.a. 13), Angelus de
Clavasio’s *Summa angelica* (2 Inc.c.a. 2033 o), Rainerius de Pisis’s two-volume
*Pantheologica* (2 Inc.c.a. 309 c), and the four-volume *summae* of Alexander of Ales and
Antoninus Florentinus (2 Inc.c.a. 1153 and 2 Inc.c.a. 563 c/d).44 Rainerius’s *Pantheologica*
and *summae* of Alexander and Antoninus all carry highly decorated initials and borders,
including Scheyern’s coat-of-arms. The elaborate decoration of such foundational theological
references—in a similar style and manner to liturgical books—visually elevated these texts to
a higher status in the library. The inclusion of Scheyern’s armorials, which is a decorative
detail almost solely reserved for liturgical books and large theological references, reflects
their perceived ownership of the text. As part of the Church institution, the history described
in these texts was part of Scheyern’s history, and the armorial integrated and promoted the
abbey within this larger theological narrative.

42 On the fifteenth-century commentaries of the *Sententiae*, see John van Dyk, “The Sentence Commentary: A

43 Ast’s *Summa* was also one of the first printed—after a Strasbourg and Mainz edition of Thomas Aquinas—by
Johann Mentelin in Strasbourg not after 1469; ISTC ia01160000. See Schorbach, *Der Strasbourger

44 Currently only volumes III and IV of Antoninus’s *Summa* are extant, but all four volumes are attested in the
1588 Scheyern catalogue, see AEM, B 8º 704, p. 23.
Scheyern’s current collection of scripture is also composed of predominantly printed works. In fact, the two copies of the Bible in the library are incunables with commentary: the *Glossa Ordinaria* of pseudo-Walafrid Strabo from 1480 (2 Inc.s.a. 212 a) and the *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra from 1493 (2 Inc.c.a. 2887). The 1480 bible is the earliest extant complete copy of scripture in the library, and it received the most elaborate decoration of any of the scriptural volumes. The rest of the collection is wholly comprised of biblical commentaries in manuscript and print: on the *Cantica canticorum* by Pope Gregory I (Esztergom, MS. II 6, ff. 2r–48v), discussions of Matthew by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl (Clm 17462–63 and 17464, ff. 1r–235v), Johannes de Histino on Titus (Clm 17452, ff. 183r–317v), expositions on the Psalter by Cassiodorus and Petrus de Harentals (2 Inc.c.a. 2545 and Clm 17415), and commentaries on the entire Bible by Nicholas of Lyra and Johannes Marchesinus (2 Inc.s.a. 813 c and 4 Inc.c.a. 662 d). In terms of texts, the two media are nearly even with six titles in manuscript and eight in print, yet the number of volumes, five and fifteen (aided by the two four-volume glossed Bibles of 1480 and 1493), skew the overall numbers more strongly in favor of print. While the manuscript bible identified in the 1595 manuscript catalogue is no longer extant, the scripture collection overall shows a strong preference for commentary, both by contemporary (e.g., Dinkelsbühl) and scholastic (e.g., Lyra) authors.

This distinction hints at the effect of print on the library: the Melk Reform was introduced and initially supported at Scheyern through manuscript, and those manuscripts

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45 The ca. 1595 Scheyern manuscript catalogue records a complete but undated Bible on parchment, see BSB, Cbm Cat. 3, f. 138r; neither the 1588 nor ca. 1595 catalogues include liturgica, which would have likely included a copy of the Gospels, e.g. as cited as the last entry in the 1241 booklist. On the printed bible with *Glossa ordinaria*, see Karlfried Froehlich, “An Extraordinary Achievement: The Glossa Ordinaria in Print,” in *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions*, edited by Paul Saenger and Kimberly van Kampen (London: British Library, 1999), 15–21, and Kristen Jensen, “Printing the Bible in the Fifteenth Century: Devotion, Philology and Commerce,” in *Incunabula and Their Readers*, 124–25.
that initially were produced and acquired by Scheyern might well be considered among the most important, immediate, and up-to-date theological works for their time and the needs of their audience; the advent of print, on the other hand, allowed Scheyern to acquire the deeper and broader theological foundations for their modern library and the sources and references used by many Melk authors. In all likelihood, Melk texts were not printed because the market for them was relatively small and had been satisfied in manuscript; print required a larger market to survive, and the prevalence of scholastic authors, such as Peter Lombard, John Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura, would have been most applicable to a wide audience/market, including Scheyern. In print, Scheyern was able to acquire the complete works of such scholastics as Johannes Gerson, the leader of counciliar reform at the Council of Constance (2 Inc.c.a. 2057 a), two editions of Bonaventura’s works (2 Inc.c.a. 2225 s and 2 Inc.c.a. 3182), and the encyclopedia of Bartholomaeus Anglicus (2 Inc.s.a. 159). Scheyern’s library thus acquired through print a deeper theological and historical foundation than originally provided in the manuscripts; this expanded library placed Scheyern on par with other theological communities whilst simultaneously homogenizing the collection with those communities.

Forming just over one-fifth of Scheyern’s library are history and secular books, books that are presumably ‘non-religious’ but of course are fully enmeshed with religious history and theological concerns. The history books include the thirteenth-century Josephus and Comestor manuscripts (Clm 17404 and 17405), the *Chronicon Schirense* (Clm 1052), the

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46 There are no extant incunabula from Scheyern of works by either Thomas Aquinas or Augustine, even though the 1588 catalogue lists quite extensive collections of each author, see AEM, B 8º 704, pp. 8–9 (Augustine, 19 volumes) and 9 and 23–24 (Aquinas, 12 volumes).

47 This homogeneity provided by print is why the Munich Hofbibliothek ended up with so many duplicate printed books at Secularization.
Scheyern Fürstentafel (Cgm 5747 and 5748, and Clm 17509, ff. 1r–6v), and Otto of Freising’s Cronica from 1487 (Clm 1208). Contemporary historical manuscripts focus on local history, naturally their own Fürstentafel, but also the related twelfth-century chronicle of Otto of Freising, which was not available in a printed edition. In print, Scheyern collected antique authors, such as Ceasar’s commentary on the Gallic Wars and Suetonius (2 Inc.c.a. 711 and 4 Inc.s.a. 1721), and the histories of Curtius Rufus, Lucan, and Livy (2 Inc.c.a. 3004, 2 Inc.c.a. 2886 o, and 2 Inc.c.a. 2584 d). Within this group, a further humanist interest was expressed through their acquisitions of authors including Plutarch, Ovid, Boccaccio, and the fifteenth-century author Franciscus Philelphus (2 Inc.s.a. 994, 2 Inc.c.a. 3514, 2 Inc.c.a. 3446, and 2 Inc.c.a. 2758), and this interest was only expressed in print. Scheyern also had a series of astronomical works, including Johannes de Sacro Bosco, Regiomontanus, and Alchabitius (4 Inc.c.a. 256, 4 Inc.c.a. 382 a, and St. Petersburg, Academy of Science, [25]), a single-leaf German almanac of 1472 (Einbl. Kal. 1472 a), Jacobus Soldus’s work on the plague (4 Inc.c.a. 128 a), and three medical works (2 Inc.c.a. 1051, 2 Inc.s.a. 907, and 2 Inc.s.a. 1103), all in print. For such historical, humanist, and secular works, Scheyern had only approximately 7 manuscripts (3 from the thirteenth century) but 31 printed volumes, and the distinctions between the manuscripts Scheyern produced and the incunabula they acquired illustrate the role print played in expanding the breadth of collections.

There is little evidence of German literature in Scheyern from before 1500 and nothing that might be strictly defined as secular literature in the library. The 1588 catalogue lists 16 German titles, only one of which can be securely identified as an incunable in the extant
The bulk of the German material in the Scheyern library is found in the two devotional manuscripts, Cgm 784 and Salzburg, B V 13, which are largely composed of excerpts and short tracts of Latin works translated into German or original German devotional texts. The majority of Cgm 784 was written by Stephan Hüczgüet, a lay brother at Scheyern (ff. 9r–277v), and the manuscript now in Salzburg likely reflects a similar production by an unknown lay brother. While German material apparently received short shrift in the library, the part of the Consuetudines Schyrenses concerning the lay brothers was written in Latin and German (Scheyern, Ms. 37, ff. 31v–34v), a unique translation among consuetudines copied from Tegernsee, and this shows at least a concerted effort at facilitating the lay brothers’ comprehension of their duties. The devotional works are almost evenly split between manuscript and print, and the group includes the lay compendia Cgm 784 and Salzburg, B V 13, the Book of Hours that Hainrich Molitor produced in memory of Stephan Sandizeller (Clm 17426), as well as works on the Life of Christ meant to inspire deeper devotion and connection to the human Christ, such as Ludolph of Saxony’s Vita Christi (Clm 17409–10) and Bonaventura’s Meditationes vitae Christi (GNM, N. 23), and those by Richardus de Sancto Laurentio and Pelbartus de Themeswar in praise of the Virgin Mary (2 Inc.c.a. 2889 and 4 Inc.s.a. 1715). Devotional books depend on their context and use, and thus it is their function that unites within this group seemingly disparate works as Hüczgüet’s private devotional compendium and the large Vita Christi manuscript produced for communal

48 See AEM, B 8º 704, pp. 71–72. The catalogue also includes a German Rule of St. Benedict, which was only printed in three editions prior to 1588: the first edition at Memmingen in 1485–90 (ISTC ib00308150) and the next two at Tegernsee in 1574 and 1575 (VD 16 B 1711 and 1712). Johannes Nider’s “The Twenty-Four Golden Harps” is a vision of the Throne of God through which explicates the monastic life for the laity, see John W. Dahmus, “Preaching to the Laity in Fifteenth-Century Germany: Johannes Nider’s ‘Harps’,” The Journal of Ecclesiastical History 34 (1983): 55–68.
reading. Many of the short doctrinal tracts are bound with devotional works, also blurring the
distinction between genres, but they focus more specifically on clarifying theological issues,
such as the German ‘Our Father’ explications in Cgm 784 (ff. 85r–94v) and Salzburg, B V 13
(ff. 281r–289v) or Bonaventura’s *De sacramento eucharistiae et de preparatione digna* (Clm
26138, ff. 28r–40r), rather than providing material for meditative reflection. Although
balanced at approximately 7 volumes each in manuscript and print, print allowed Scheyern to
collect more easily large monographic works that they had not prioritized in manuscript, such
as the confessional of Bartholomaeus de Chaimis (2 Inc.c.a. 602 b and 4 Inc.c.a. 829 f) and
Guillermus Alvernus’s *Dialogus de septem sacramentis* (GNM, Inc. 102052/153).

The growth of Scheyern’s book collection is revealed through the two shelfmark
schemes, which physically show the library’s attempt to cope with the increasing amount of
literature entering the monastery, as well as to create some sort of organization for that
growing body of information. Library organization was not an aspect of the Melk Reform
promulgated between monasteries by the *consuetudines*, and the independence of
monasteries in the reform’s loose congregation also allowed individual institutions to
develop their own organizational schemes. The chronological acquisition codes and
numerical shelfmarks are autonomous creations of the Scheyern library, that are not reflected
at other Benedictine monasteries in the region.

From the point of view of the reception and use of books at Scheyern, there is no visual
distinction between manuscript and print: both receive the same decorations (or none, in
some cases), apparati, bindings, and shelfmarks.\textsuperscript{49} The encomium to Maurus that he had “written many good books” typifies the perceived notion that print was somehow ‘better’ than manuscript, which needed buttressing in the face of the new book “written without pen,” and yet the monks continued to produce and use manuscripts after Scheyern started acquiring printed books. Manuscript answered the monks’ immediate and most imperative needs: first with the advent of the Melk Reform, and later in those works that the printing press did not produce or for which the audience was too specific or local, such as the \textit{Fürstentafel} and liturgical manuscripts. In print, however, the monks were reading more widely than they had in manuscript, with humanist and classical Latin texts in the library only available in print, and canon law almost solely represented in the new medium. Print also deepened the collection, providing the monks with the scholastic background to contemporary theology. In terms of acquisition, the pastoral theology of Melk gave way to scholasticism, and yet the use to which that scholasticism was put was likely still under the influence of Melk theology. Such an expansion of the collection seemingly dilutes the textual influences of the Melk Reform, yet it was the reform that instigated such literary expansion in the first place.

Conclusion
The Historical Context of Scheyern Abbey’s Library

In his discussion of book and library history, Enno Bünz urged, “nicht mehr Theorie, sondern mehr Geschichte” in an effort to re-focus scholarship on an inter-disciplinary examination of books rather than ‘the book’. This exploration of Scheyern Abbey’s fifteenth-century library is a response to this call for more attention to local histories so as to more clearly articulate the relationship of the part to the whole in Late Medieval/Early Modern book culture. Additionally, Elizabeth Eisenstein reminded historians of the dangers of ascribing the ‘typical’ or ‘average’ when it came to production or usage aspects in fifteenth-century books. Even monastic institutions show such a variety of literary needs that blanket statements regarding monastic book culture are frequently too general to be of much use. For instance, the size and quality of the lay brothers’ libraries at Melk and Tegernsee were not reflected at Scheyern, which also lacked key reform texts common to other Melk monasteries; however, Scheyern promoted its historical identity as no other Bavarian monastery could, and the quality of decoration (both commercial and local) of its books exceeds the expectations for a heretofore somewhat disregarded monastery. For its part, Scheyern Abbey is but an example of how a reformed Benedictine monastery in Upper Bavaria reacted to contemporary literary demands and opportunities by integrating

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51 Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), I: 11–12. Critics of Eisenstein claim that her arguments are based on too general or ‘average’ evidence rather than relying on the specifics, the books themselves; see Joseph A. Dane, The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 11–18 for a discussion of Eisenstein’s thesis and succeeding scholars’ critiques of her argument.
themselves into the larger bibliographic community—both religious and secular—of southern Germany. Even among Melk Reform monasteries, the literary and physical artifacts housed in Scheyern’s library reflect an individual adaptation to reform practices realized through local book production. The only thing that might be ‘typical’ of Scheyern is this bibliographic integration itself, with which every reader, library, and institution in the period had to cope to some degree. Scheyern’s importance, however, lies in this very integration; that is, what the library reveals are the specific literary decisions and various uses of book production networks to achieve its bibliographic goals. This examination has emphasized the unity between manuscript and print by highlighting the lack of distinction through reception and use in the library of Scheyern Abbey. The various pathways to understanding Scheyern’s fifteenth-century library growth, from physical production to historical interpretation, thus fell equally to manuscripts and printed books and their united roles in the collection. The books are thus cultural, commercial, and historical artifacts that reflect an extensive narrative of paradigms that are not limited to Scheyern Abbey or even southern Germany but that reach across Europe.

**Fifteenth-Century Book Culture: Manuscript and Print**

Rather than understanding the fifteenth century as the ‘waning’ of the Middle Ages—some sort of decadent nether-age set in opposition to the light of the Renaissance and Reformation—we must endeavor to see the period for its advances in information dissemination and greater international exchanges brought about by a symbiotic relationship between society and books. In this case, we might refer to a “long fifteenth century,” from
the first increases in manuscript production ca. 1370 to ca. 1520 as the printed book achieved an autonomous identity from the manuscript at the eve of the Reformation. This period encapsulates my examination of Scheyern’s fifteenth-century library and underscores the actual unity between manuscript and print during the period. Although this extends the mutual influences of the two media, it also problematizes the idea of the “incunable period” by eliding the commercial and social impact specific to print with that of manuscripts, which were becoming a smaller and more idiosyncratic piece of the market.

Scheyern’s library depicts the rich interaction in book culture in fifteenth-century Bavaria as inspired by various reform movements (predominantly the Melk Reform for Bavaria) but affecting all aspects of book production and use from scribal copying and printing to decoration and binding. This interaction largely denies any useful division between manuscript and print in the period. Just as they were shelved side by side in the Scheyern library, both media must be considered together when discussing fifteenth-century book culture. While at least two Scheyern monks might have understood a difference in books printed rather than hand-written—*Hab danck mein schöner Maure / Dū habst viel*

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guter bücher geschribene—all other aspects of the books in the library negate any distinction between the two media.54

It is indeed helpful in this case to discuss book media in the period as more than a binary between manuscript and print, for there were actually three technologies at work in the production of the book block: manuscript, printmaking, and typography.55 Books were produced by one technology alone (e.g. a complete manuscript), any two in combination (e.g. manuscripts with woodcut images), or all three (e.g. printed books with woodcut initials and hand rubrication):

1: Scribal work
2: Printmaking
3: Typography
4: Scribal work and printmaking
5: Printmaking and typography
6: Typography and scribal work
7: Scribal work, printmaking, and typography56


55 Paul Needham, “Prints in the Early Printing Shop,” in The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe, edited by Peter Parshall (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 77–80. The production aspects of quire construction and binding were not greatly altered by the textual or decorative media, nor by the use of paper or parchment support.

These production possibilities are also reflected in the post-production use and reception of books, where various media could be further combined in individual copies.57 ‘The book’ in the fifteenth century was thus not a single entity. Although Scheyern’s library lacks, for example, the print interventions in manuscripts examined by Peter Schmidt and the “manuscripts” of engraved images with texts written in as discussed by Ursula Weekes, book media were combined at Scheyern, where two manuscript missals once held printed Crucifixion images (Clm 17422 and 17423) and manuscripts and printed books were bound and shelved together (e.g., Clm 17478 and 2 Inc.s.a. 1044). For Scheyern, Molitor’s use of printed playing card models for motifs in the Catholicon manuscript (Clm 17401) and the Rich Illuminator’s inspiration from printed images in Augsburg bibles for his Creation composition in the 1480 bible (2 Inc.s.a. 212 a) reflect the artistic bridge between print models and manuscript productions. Whether in textual or visual production, the exemplar-copy relationship was a two-way street between manuscript and print—it was not a strict ‘evolution’ from manuscript to print—and the form of the exemplar did not necessarily dictate the form of the copy. Such variety in production and use speaks to the diversity of the book market, both before and after the advent of typographic printing, which further complicates any broad, or ‘average’ discussions of ‘the book.’ Solely examining manuscripts or incunabula creates only a fractured and incomplete picture of the richness and diversity of fifteenth-century book culture.

While manuscript and print media have been divided by modern academic demands—including the removal of printed texts from a Scheyern Sammelband in spite of the damage to its binding (Clm 17478)—in the fifteenth century the division seemed more concerned with parchment vs. paper than manuscript vs. print. Johannes Trithemius’s often-cited diatribe against print in his De laude scriptorum (Ch. 7) focuses on the distinction between parchment and paper, with parchment almost a synonym for manuscript and paper for print.

All of you know the difference between a manuscript and a printed book. The word written on parchment will last a thousand years. The printed work is on paper. How long will it last? The most you can expect a book of paper to survive is two hundred years. Yet, there are many who think they can entrust their works to paper. Only time will tell.\footnote{Johannes Trithemius, In Praise of Scribes, 63.}


Similarly, the 1500/1501 library catalogue from St. Emmeram at Regensburg seems more concerned with the support medium than with the way in which the text was produced, wherein the catalogue divides the collection by medial groups: manuscripts on parchment, manuscripts on paper, and printed books on paper.\footnote{On the St. Emmeram catalogue, see above, p. 277.} The St. Emmeram catalogue offers no explanation for this differentiation, and the collections are somewhat textually analogous; however, they did own the 1494 edition of Trithemius’s De
laude scriptorum, and Dionysius Menger might have ascribed to Trithemius’s admonition as he organized the collection. Such distinctions did not prove warranted as manuscripts and printed books continued to be produced on paper, and the St. Emmeram catalogue is a rare example of categorically differentiating the media in a library setting. The durable nature of parchment that Trithemius recognized is seen in the Scheyern manuscripts Clm 17415, 17423, and 17453, where parchment leaves were used for the inner and outer bifolia of otherwise paper quires. A not uncommon practice, parchment helped strengthen and reinforce the binding structure on works intended for heavy use, but where a suitable amount of parchment was either unavailable or too expensive. As Trithemius said, “Only time will tell,” and it did, as the paper of the fifteenth century proved as strong and as durable as its parchment.

Menger’s 1500/1501 catalogue for St. Emmeram is one of the few known instances where books are categorically differentiated based by their support and textual medium and shows the possible danger of ascribing the unique as ‘typical.’ In a similar vein, in his Lives of Illustrious Men, Vespasiano da Bisticci relates that the Duke of Urbino would have no printed books in his glorious library of manuscripts, “In this library all the books are superlatively good, and written by pen; had there been one printed volume it would have been ashamed in such company;” however, there were printed books in Frederico da Montefeltro’s library. As a dealer in manuscripts, Vespasiano was surely biased towards his

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61 MBK IV/1, 354,6680–82.


63 Martin Davies, “‘Non ve n’è ignuno a stampa’: The Printed Books of Federico da Montefeltro,” in Federico da Montefeltro and his Library, edited by Marcello Simonetta ([Vatican City]: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 2007), 63–78.
wares and important clients, yet the typically highly illuminated printed books in the Urbino library had nothing to be ashamed of next to visually identical manuscripts and would have kept at least some of Vespasiano’s craftsmen occupied decorating the output of the presses. Scheyern’s employment of Augsburg illuminators to decorate their manuscripts and early incunabula acquisitions displays the same visual unity seen in the books of the Urbino library. Visually, the two book media are indistinguishable, and the decoration levels the playing field between manuscript and print (Figs. 43, 45–46, 63 and 67). The old trope that early printed books ‘copied’ manuscripts is only true insofar that at the advent of print the book looked a certain way, and it just happened to be in manuscript; Gutenberg did not invent a new type of book form, he merely reproduced existing text and left the making of the book itself to illuminators and binders, for whom the manner of textual production was likely of little concern.

After Frederico da Montefeltro’s death in 1482, his son, Guidobaldo, inherited the ducal library and left instructions for the librarian to bind manuscripts and printed books alike (it is unclear how or even if they were bound differently beforehand). Bookbinding, like decoration, is thus a great equalizer, for one cannot judge by the cover whether a book is hand-written or printed. This is as true for the library of the Dukes of Urbino as it is for Scheyern and all libraries, since binding structure and construction do not differentiate between media and are solely concerned with the sewing together of quires: parchment or

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65 See Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, I: 49. The transport of printed books from printer to purchaser in either loose quires or lightly tacketed paper or parchment wrappers necessitated rebinding, and Guidobaldo might have needed to ensure that the incoming books were not simply left as-is.
paper, manuscript or print. What the two Scheyern monks might have perceived as a difference in textual production between manuscript and print with the earliest acquisitions of incunabula, the Scheyern rubricators and decorators (when necessary) and binders ignored.

The Scheyern library displays a considerable divergence between manuscript and print, with the extant volumes approximately one-quarter manuscript and three-quarters print. The advent of the printing press did radically alter the size of fifteenth-century libraries, but as the Scheyern library has thus far shown, the two book media must be examined together to understand contemporary book culture. While the Melk Reform was largely played out in manuscript and the market for specific reform texts (i.e., Dinkelsbühl, Schlipacher, Keck, etc.) was satisfied before the advent of print, the literary emphasis of the reform was a driving force in the continued growth of Scheyern’s library, helping it to achieve approximately 700 volumes in manuscript and print by 1500.

Art in Commerce

The economic impact of the Melk Reform has yet to be fully understood, but the nearly immediate library expansion at Scheyern reflects the fiscal efficacy of the reforms implemented under Abbot Kienberger. The financial stability of the monastery was the necessary precursor to library expansion, which in turn brought Scheyern into contact with the commercial book producers in Augsburg who were so integral to the library’s

development. As the Melk Reform heavily relied on personal connections and networks, Kienberger’s move from Tegernsee to Scheyern in order to fully implement the reform instigated a coterie of bibliographic affiliations for the monastery, the most notable of which was the employment of Hainrich Molitor. The bibliographic imperative of the Melk Reform was Kienberger’s impetus for bringing Molitor to Scheyern, and the highly unusual advance payment to Molitor (discussed in the Catholicon contract) might suggest the fervor with which Kienberger fought for Molitor’s services to augment the library. Molitor’s employment at Scheyern led the monastery to rely more heavily on Augsburg rather than remaining bibliographically dependent upon its reform mother-house Tegernsee, and this move was critical to their library growth. This bibliographic interaction with Augsburg continued after Molitor’s employment at the monastery as Scheyern patronized the illuminators, printers, binders, and booksellers of Augsburg. Generally only discussed in the literature for the Molitor manuscripts, many of Scheyern’s books further reveal a decorative richness that is unexpected from a collection that has heretofore been largely unexamined. This visual information is key to understanding the physical structures of fifteenth-century book production and the commercial book networks active in the period. The multivalent commercial organization, in which Scheyern was both audience and participant, exhibits the diversity of contemporary book production. The monastery’s wall was a porous boundary that did not isolate scribes, printers, artists, binders, etc., and the distinctions between

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commercial and monastic production in the fifteenth century are often as vague as those between manuscript and print.\footnote{68 A clear example of this non-boundary between monastic and commercial production are the monastic presses, such as that at SS. Ulrich and Afra, which were commercial enterprises not solely restricted to monastic audiences. See Eisenstein, \textit{The Printing Press as an Agent of Change}, I: 14–15 and Clark, “Print and Pre-Reformation Religion,” 72–74.}

The bibliographic networks between monastic institutions created by the Melk Reform were symbiotically paired with the networks of commercial book producers, and these two networks intertwined to create fifteenth-century book culture.\footnote{69 Graf, “Ordensreform und Literatur in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts,” 112–14.} As the books in Scheyern’s library show, the two systems cannot be separated when discussing contemporary book production; nearly every book represents some bibliographic interaction between the two spheres. This collaboration places book production in and around Augsburg (and likely other central Bavarian cities, such as Nuremberg) on par with production practices in contemporary London and Paris.\footnote{70 On English production, see the various chapters in Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney, eds., \textit{Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England} (York: University of York, York Medieval Press, 2008) and Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin, eds., \textit{The Production of Books in England, 1350–1500} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). For Paris book production, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, \textit{Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500}, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Miller, 2000) and Godfried Croenen and Peter F. Ainsworth, eds., \textit{Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400} (Louvain: Peeters, 2006). See also Anja Grebe, “‘Er illuminiret ihnen schöne Bücher und machet ihnen ihre Wappen und Kleinot in ihre Wappenbrief’: Nürnberger Buchmalerei von der Dürerzeit bis zum Barock,” in \textit{Heilige und Hasen: Bücherschätze der Dürerzeit}, edited by Thomas Eser and Anja Grebe (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseum, 2008), 11–21 on late fifteenth-century Nuremberg manuscript illumination, and Margriet Hülsmann, “Sets of Codicological Characteristics and Their Overlapping Areas: Various Aspects of Book Production,” in \textit{Sources for the History of Medieval Books and Libraries}, 257–70 on manuscript production in the northern Netherlands.} Collaborative book production was the norm in each production center, and multiple scribal and decorative hands can be identified and traced through the books. The craft organization in London seems more specialized than what we know about Bavarian production, insofar as sometimes different artists were responsible for
the various aspects of decoration, such as initials and border decoration. In this case, the Scheyern books do not reveal such close collaboration between commercial producers, but rather between commercial and Scheyern producers, as seen in Scheyern’s 1485 missal illuminated by an Augsburg artist and the Geometric Flourisher (Clm 17407). Unlike Paris or London, the book producers of Augsburg did not seem to be as centralized in one neighborhood or street, but collected around the monasteries or city markets near their major patrons and commercial traffic. Typically controlled by a libraire who organized the production, manuscript commissions were doled out to multiple producers (scribes and decorators). Such production is more fractured than truly “collaborative,” since such concerted cooperation between the scribe and illuminator is not reflected in the manuscripts; both are following the prescripts of the commission, text, and libraire. For Scheyern’s production, the abbot or librarian likely acted in the role of libraire, organizing which texts needed to be produced or purchased, where to find a manuscript exemplar when required, and perhaps how the final product was to look. Such collaborative production is seen clearly in Scheyern’s 1485 missal (Clm 17407), which was written by Maurus from an exemplar likely at SS. Ulrich and Afra (or at least with Augsburg textual influences). The manuscript was then partially illuminated by an Augsburg craftsman who used the border pattern common to several Augsburg illuminators, and then several initials and the coat-of-arms on f. 1r were provided by the Geometric Flourisher at Scheyern (Fig. 7). In this work alone,

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72 See Künast, Getruckt zu Augsburg, 34–52 and 130–32 on the locations of printers in Augsburg in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. More detailed mapping of book producers’ locations, including scribes, illuminators, and binders, would be quite useful, but lies outside the scope of this dissertation.
multiple monastic and commercial producers contributed to the final product, but it can hardly be described as a ‘collaborative’ effort between Maurus and the Augsburg illuminator. Printed books that were partially decorated or rubricated by one craftsman and completed by another (perhaps monastic) show a similar division in the means of production.

Printed books equally, if not more so, reflect such collaborative contribution as they are commercial products at their most basic level. Scheyern’s earliest printed book, the Pseudo-Bonaventura Meditaciones vitae Christi printed in Augsburg in 1468, has one bifolium illuminated and rubricated by Hainrich Molitor, while the rest of the work was rubricated and bound at Scheyern (GNM, N. 23). Similarly, Scheyern’s Speculum doctrinale volumes were printed in Strasbourg, had illuminated (pattern) borders with Scheyern’s monastic insignia added in Augsburg, and then the lombard initials were added and the volumes were bound at Scheyern (2 Inc.s.a. 1214 e; Fig. 67). The full production of this book in such commercially and geographically separated locales is akin, if somewhat exaggerated, to manuscript quires moving from the scribe(s) to the illuminator(s) down the street in Paris or London. Rather than showing collaboration, per se, between various commercial and monastic producers, this organization shows the diverse nature of fifteenth-century book production and the multiple ways the industry adapted to the increasing demand for books. For their own works, the monastery acted as a secondary producer in the commercial network. Again, the boundary between commercial and monastic production here is so vague as to be nearly immaterial when trying to define or discuss ‘the book’ in these specific terms. Even Molitor’s manuscripts, many of which were produced in residence at Tegernsee or Scheyern, obfuscate a clear delineation between commercial and monastic production. Attention to such rich
visual evidence proves the diverse organization of fifteenth-century book production and the frequent cooperation between producers in different societal milieux.

The development of Scheyern’s bindery in the 1470s is indebted to Augsburg binders, and towards 1500, Scheyern’s bindery became a commercial producer in its own right. A number of incunabula are bound in Scheyern bindings but have no further evidence of Scheyern ownership or of ever having been part of the Scheyern library. Included in the Catalogue at the end of this dissertation, these books represent Scheyern’s role as a commercial binder. Scheyern bound books for other monasteries, such as St. Emmeram at Regensburg (Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek, 2º Inc. 105 and 2º Inc. 151), as well as for individual patrons, such as Georg Waser in Niederscheyern (2 Inc.c.a. 394 b) and Dr. Georg Zingel of Ingolstadt (2 Inc.c.a. 2286 d); some books eventually returned to the monastery after being bound for external patrons (4 Inc.s.a. 1979, 4 Inc.s.a. 2002 m, and Inc.c.a. 227 a). Several books in Scheyern bindings were subsequently donated to Tegernsee (2 Inc.c.a. 299, 2 Inc.s.a. 53, 2 Inc.s.a. 326, and 2 Inc.s.a. 813 b) and a group of books were acquired by the Brigittine convent at Altomünster in 1542–44 (2 Inc.c.a. 1231 c, 2 Inc.c.a. 1273, 2 Inc.c.a. 1810, 2 Inc.c.a. 2022, 2 Inc.c.a. 2286 d, 2 Inc.c.a. 2338 n, and 2 Inc.c.a. 3334). The early sixteenth-century history of the Scheyern bindery is difficult to reconstruct due to the lack of provenance cataloguing for the sixteenth-century works at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and other libraries that might now house former Scheyern volumes, and indeed these works might represent post-1500 developments at the Scheyern bindery. Nonetheless, the extant binding evidence shows commercial interactions with other monastic institutions (some of which even had their own binderies, such as St. Emmeram) and local individuals, which
were not inventions of the sixteenth century but were regular aspects of monastic culture. Scheyern’s scriptorium does not show similar commercial parallels, and even the books bound at Scheyern do not seem to have been rubricated there. Scheyern was simultaneously an audience for and producer of the fifteenth-century book trade. This bimodal participation is not limited to Scheyern, and many monasteries likely similarly participated in the commercial binding trade.\textsuperscript{73} The physical and visual characteristics of individual volumes are the evidence for the integration of monastic and commercial book production in the fifteenth century, and this diversity and the connections it elicits must be kept in mind when considering fifteenth-century book production.

Augsburg was the epicenter of Scheyern’s dominant commercial networks, which were introduced through Hainrich Molitor, one of the first well-documented fifteenth-century book producers and one to work almost solely for reform institutions. Reform monasteries created a large, consistent, and rich patronage group, all of whom required approximately the same bibliographic updating at the same time. Molitor produced the \textit{Vita Christi} for Scheyern (Clm 17413–14), a near copy of the one he had just produced for Tegernsee Abbey (Clm 18075–76), as one of the monastery’s first literary supports of the reform. Subsequently, when Molitor finished writing Scheyern’s \textit{Catholicon} in 1458 (Clm 17402), he took a temporary leave from his work for Scheyern, and he illuminated a \textit{Vita Christi} manuscript for Cardinal Peter of Schaumberg, Bishop of Augsburg (Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Cod. I. 2.2\textdegree IV and II.1.2\textdegree 122), who had invited the Melk reformers to SS. Ulrich and Afra in 1441;

immediately upon completion of the *Vita Christi* in 1460, Schaumberg donated the book to the reformed monastery of St. Mang in Füssen. Around this same time Molitor illuminated a copy of the *Catholicon*, written by Heinrich Lengfelt of Augsburg in 1458, for the Augustinian house of Heilige Kreuz in Augsburg, another Melk institution (Princeton, Scheide Library, M163). The concerted requirement for books by reform monasteries allowed artisans to focus their production on this patronage circle, and the repeated productions for Melk institutions of the *Vita Christi* and *Catholicon*, as just two examples in the genre, represent the specific bibliographic needs of the monasteries.⁷⁴ This same bibliographic need was shortly filled by the printing press—the *Catholicon* was first printed in Mainz in 1460 and the *Vita Christi* in 1472 in Cologne—and Cardinal Schaumberg financed Günther Zainer’s 1469 edition of the *Catholicon*, in an act akin to his St. Mang donation. Although not specifically “Melk” texts, these printed editions were still intended for the monastic or ecclesiastical market, as their large folio format and need for hand-completion denoted a wealthy purchaser in need of such a foundational reference work. The available market for these works in southern Germany, Austria, and Bohemia (to where most of Augsburg’s book production was focused) was indeed largely reformed monasteries.

Molitor’s production is the earliest known example in fifteenth-century Germany of an artist’s oeuvre centering around the patronage of a specific group of reform institutions. Such production was unusual for a commercial artist at the time, since reform production was more typically handled by monastic producers as part of reform bibliographic promulgation, which was reflected in the work of the well-known scribe Leonhard Wagner and artist

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⁷⁴ We can also include the multiple manuscript copies and early printed edition of Vincent of Beauvais’s *Speculum maius* in this group, which were similarly produced or acquired by reform monasteries in the 1450s to 70s.
Johannes Franck from SS. Ulrich and Afra. Although some book producers moved across regions according to where the work was—and even Wagner left SS. Ulrich and Afra for a time to write parts of three liturgical volumes for Lorch Abbey (Melk Reform) with the commercial Augsburg illuminator Nicholas Bertschi in 1510–12—Molitor’s peripatetic existence was limited to Bavaria and focused on the singular patronage of Melk Reform institutions. Such specifically reform-centered commercial production has been more succinctly recognized among monasteries of the Cassinese Reform in sixteenth-century Italy, where such artists as Correggio and Raphael received repeated commissions from reform monasteries. Although the production of artists under the Cassinese Reform was not as narrowly focused as the book production of Hainrich Molitor, such concerted patronage speaks to the commercial answer to reform requirements. The implementation of reform, whether in fifteenth-century Germany or sixteenth-century Italy, demanded theological, bibliographic, and visual ‘modernization,’ which turned monasteries simultaneously into a

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76 Alexander, Medieval Illuminators, 124.

77 On the Lorch choirbooks, see below, pp. 316–17.

78 Giovanni Spinelli, O.S.B., “La congrégation bénédictine cassinienne et l’art italien (XVe–XVIIIe siècle),” in Benoît et son héritage artistique, edited by Roberto Cassanelli and Eduardo López-Tello Garcia (Paris: Cerf, 2009), esp. 314–24 on their artistic patronage. In specific relation to libraries, see Diana Gisolfi, The Rule, the Bible, and the Council: The Library of the Benedictine Abbey at Praglia (Seattle: College Art Association in association with University of Washington Press, 1998). We know that Scheyern employed Augsburg sculptors and Munich painters in the sixteenth century (see above, p. 157, n. 92), even though their works have now largely been destroyed. A parallel examination of these documented but lost Scheyern works with other known pieces by these artists could reveal a similar reform-centric patronage of certain artists, along the lines of that exhibited in the Cassinese monasteries. Such an examination, however, lies outside the bounds of this dissertation.
large and devoted patronage group, whether for a copy of the *Vita Christi* or *Catholicon*, a new fresco in the refectory, or an altarpiece.

An aspect of this modernization can be found in the so-called Augsburg-Salzburg style of illumination, which seemed to enter Bavaria in tandem with the Melk Reform around mid-century and was practiced across both ecclesiastical and commercial milieux. Specifically relegated to Latin books, the use of the style saw no distinction between manuscript and print. It was practiced by such commercial Augsburg artisans as Hainrich Molitor, Johann Bämler, Leonhard Beck, and Nicholas Bertschi, as well as monastic illuminators, such as Johannes Franck at SS. Ulrich and Afra, the Scheyern illuminator (Maurus?) of Esztergom, MS. II, 6, and even the later development of the style by the Rich Illuminator. Not including Molitor’s work, Augsburg illuminators decorated 9 volumes for Scheyern in the Augsburg-Salzburg style. Most of the volumes were decorated by different illuminators who used the same pattern for marginal ornamentation: Clm 7875, 17407, 17421, 2 Inc.c.a. 309 c (2 vols.), 2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1, and 1214 e (2 vols.), while 2 Inc.s.a. 291 b was decorated by an unrelated Augsburg artisan (Figs. 7, 60–61, 63, 67, and 69). The use of a pattern by the Augsburg illuminators shows their attempt to cope with the increasing manuscript and printed book production in the period. While each of the examples follows a singular pattern, the differing formal styles represent different artisans at work. This group was either part of a singular workshop of illuminators possibly associated with the printer and illuminator Johann Bämler


81 See above, p. 196, n. 75 and p. 203–04.
or a less centralized affiliation of multiple Augsburg craftsmen who all based their work on the same model.\textsuperscript{82} This collaboration thus depicts one aspect of book production organization in Augsburg: the connections between a group of artists, as well as the participation of that group with multiple text producers (scribes and printers).

Hainrich Molitor’s employment by Scheyern coincided with the advent of print and the increasing flow of printed books through Augsburg book producers—even before the city had its first press (1468)—and Molitor’s connections with other commercial Augsburg producers and institutions (such as SS. Ulrich and Afra) presented Scheyern with a wealth of bibliographic opportunities. Introduced to print through such works as Pseudo-Bonaventura’s \textit{Meditationes vitae Christi} (GNM, N. 23) and Vincent of Beauvais’s \textit{Speculum naturale} and \textit{Speculum doctrinale} (2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1 and 1214 e), all of which were illuminated in Augsburg, the city played a dominant role in Scheyern’s bibliographic development. Scheyern’s proximity to the trade center surely aided this influence, both through the physical characteristics of the books, such as illumination and binding, as well as being an immediate audience for Augsburg goods. The commercial connections manifested through the Scheyern library are likely reflective of connections in other aspects of the monastic community that the vagaries of time have not preserved. Scheyern’s library is one of the clearest examples of monastic libraries in southern Germany for the integration of monastic

\textsuperscript{82} On the problems of ascribing visual styles to a ‘workshop,’ see Alexander, \textit{Medieval Illuminators}, 127–28 and 140. To date, no known model book or print has suggested an exemplar for this border.
and commercial book producers.\textsuperscript{83} Much like the non-distinction between manuscript and print in the library, the combination of institutional and secular book producers found in Scheyern’s library represents another case of the library uniting book characteristics that have typically been treated separately. Attention to such physical and artistic aspects of books underscores the variety of production characteristics in ‘the book’ in the fifteenth century, and these considerations are relevant and instructive for all contemporary collections in Europe.

\textbf{The History in Books}

In a display of institutional perpetuation, Scheyern’s abbot kneels before the Virgin Mary in the thirteenth-century Matutinal (Clm 17401, f. 25r; Fig. 73) and 1458 \textit{Catholicon} (Clm 17402, f. 1r; Fig. 39). Neither abbot is labeled, and so this ‘every-abbot’ acts as an anonymous stand-in for the monastic community. Crossing over into the idealized realm of their patron, each dedication scene is accompanied by references to Scheyern-Wittelsbach history: the patrons of the earlier Scheyern foundations of Fischbachau and Eisenhofen in the Matutinal (f. 24v), and a array of Scheyern-Wittelsbach and Bavarian armorials in the \textit{Catholicon}. As productions of their respective reforms, each manuscript thus integrates the depiction of historical identity with contemporary textual needs. As clearly as the \textit{Chronicon Schirense}, the Matutinal and \textit{Catholicon} also preserve Scheyern history. With the concerted emphasis on Wittelsbach and Bavarian historiography in the fifteenth century, Scheyern was

in a unique position to employ this dynastic history as part of its identity, which
simultaneously re-emphasized its earlier reform foundations. These historical concerns depict
the continued activity of the monasteries in local, regional, and dynastic history, even as the
responsibility for creating and preserving such history moved from the monasteries to the
Wittelsbach courts in the course of the fifteenth century. Such bibliographic examples
illustrate the historical aspect of the Melk Reform and the instigation of a sense of continuity
and commemoration rather than a break with previous traditions.

Similarly, Leonhard Wagner and Nicholas Bertschi’s liturgical production for Lorch
Abbey not only shows the monastery’s interaction with other monastic (Melk Reform) and
commercial book producers in Augsburg, but the decoration of the volumes also promotes
Lorch’s would-be history as the house-cloister and mausoleum for the Staufer dynasty.84
Founded in 1102 by Friedrich I, Duke of Swabia under the Hirsau Reform, the monastery did
not serve long as the burial place for the Staufer and few members of the family are actually
buried there; in 1251 the Dukes of Württemberg took over as the Vögte of the abbey and the
Swabian influence decreased. These dates are somewhat analogous to the early timeline of
Scheyern Abbey, and when Lorch was reformed by Melk in 1462, it similarly re-promoted its
foundational Staufer history, a so-called “Staufer-Renaissance.”85

Produced with the support of Duke Ulrich of Württemberg and his wife Sabina of Bavaria, the Lorch choir books

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84 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. mus. fol. I 63–65; see Ulrich Merkl, Buchmalerei in
and Steiner, 1999), 279–85, and Felix Heinzer, “Die Lorcher Chorbücher im Spannungsfeld von klösterlicher
Reform und landesherrlichem Anspruch,” in 900 Jahre Kloster Lorch, 138–39. On the history of Lorch Abbey,
see Franz Quarthal, ed., Die Benediktinerklöster in Baden-Württemberg (Ottobeuren: Bayerische Benediktiner-
Akademie, 1975), 370–81, and Felix Heinzer, Robert Kretschmar, and Peter Rückert, eds., 900 Jahre Kloster
Lorch.

85 Heinzer, “Die Lorcher Chorbücher,” 545. See also Schreiner, “Erneuerung durch Erinnerung.”
include a plethora of noble, secular, civic, and monastic armorials throughout the three volumes, which encompass an entire history of the abbey through its ducal, territorial, and religious affiliations (Fig. 83). The presence of Staufer armorials in the illuminated borders serves a two-fold function: to recall the early history of the abbey in line with the Melk promotion and memorialization of twelfth-century monasticism, as well as to promote Duke Ulrich of Württemberg as the inheritor of the dukedom of Swabia, the historic title of the Staufer. Ubiquitous in late medieval/early modern culture, coats-of-arms served as markers of identity, ownership, and association, but were also employed symbolically as emblems of desired affiliations and historical recollections. Tied to the liturgical books, the armorials are instruments of memoria for the monastic viewers in the course of their duties. Although less elaborate or heavy-handed than the Lorch examples, the placement of the Scheyern armorials in every fifteenth-century choir book promotes the same foundational memorial associations during the liturgical celebration.

Parallel to the “Staufer-Renaissance” at Lorch, the promotion of Wittelsbach history and identity at Scheyern was partly tied to the historical idealizations of the Melk Reform, and the promotion of Wittelsbach history through the Scheyern Fürstentafel and secular Bavarian chronicles is mirrored in the Swabian historiographic interest in the Staufer Dukes.

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86 Heinzer, “Die Lorcher Chorbücher,” 534–35 on the various men and families commemorated in the armorials. See also Merkl, Buchmalerei in Bayern, 281–84 for identification of the coats-of-arms in the three volumes.

of Swabia. Although few Staufer dukes lay at Lorch, the Staufer tomb was rebuilt in the center of the church in 1475 under Abbot Nicholas Schenk in an overt commemoration of the abbey’s Staufer heritage. The reconstruction of Otto and Haziga’s tomb at Scheyern in the late fourteenth century played a similar role in commemorating the twelfth-century foundations of the abbey. Unlike Lorch and the Staufer, however, the Wittelsbach founders of Scheyern still ruled Bavaria, and yet the recapitulation of their twelfth-century foundations played a similar commemorative and self-promoting role. As seen with the promulgation of Fürstentafel manuscripts at many Bavarian monasteries with early connections to the Dukes of Scheyern or Wittelsbach, Scheyern preserved a history relevant to many Bavarian monasteries, and we might even say to Bavaria itself. Scheyern’s connections to the Wittelsbach are what instigated its refoundation in the 1830s as King Ludwig I of Bavaria recognized Scheyern as the “St. Denis of Bavaria.” As the locus sanctus of the Wittelsbach, Scheyern was memoria at the intersection of the religious and secular worlds. This intersection is preserved through the books, which reflect the reading and liturgical necessities of a fifteenth-century reformed Benedictine monastery as well as a sense of historical continuity through the preservation of older manuscripts and the use of armorial identity.

The “History in Books” is not simply such overt textual preservations or the use of decoration to recall historical associations, but also the reflection of Scheyern’s historical development through the books themselves. As physical artifacts, the books illustrate the

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88 Graf, “Staufer-Überlieferungen aus Kloster Lorch,” 223ff. A more in-depth comparison between Scheyern and Lorch and their respective dynastic and historiographic promotions lies outside the scope of this dissertation.

89 Kreuzer, “Die Wiedererrichtung der Benediktinerabtei Scheyern (Oberbayern) I,” 192–93; see above, p. 35.
introduction(s) and effects of the Melk Reform and Scheyern’s contemporary monastic and commercial connections. The stability and growth of Scheyern arguably runs parallel to the library, and the strength of the community can be ‘read’ in the vitality of the collection. The growth of libraries across Europe in the fifteenth century reflects the increasing importance of the book as a cultural artifact and as a reflection of local needs and practices. Following Bünz’s admonition for “more history,” the holistic examination of individual libraries provides a richer resource of contemporary book culture than merely examining reform influence or the advent of print. This examination of Scheyern’s library has shown the multivalent ramifications of the fifteenth century on a monastic library through religious, commercial, and secular paths.

The preservation of books in libraries is not a foregone conclusion, for time, pests, nature, use, catastrophes, and people ultimately determine the survival of the books. When we consider Aventinus’s examination of 30 extant thirteenth-century manuscripts in 1517 (only 6 of which are now extant) and the manuscripts lost between the 222 described in the 1595 catalogue and the 126 manuscripts taken to the Hofbibliothek at Dissolution in 1803, the library has lost more manuscripts than are currently extant. Similarly, out of the 689 incunabula taken to the Hofbibliothek, only about 400 volumes are currently identified, half of which do not bear any evidence of fifteenth-century Scheyern provenance; the fifteenth-

90 See Dengler-Schreiber, Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg, Freckmann, Die Bibliothek des Klosters Bursfelde im Spätmittelalter and Roth, Literatur und Klosterreform.


century library of Scheyern that I have reconstructed here appears only as a fragmentary view of its true size and breadth. Even with this somewhat incomplete picture, this examination of the library of Scheyern Abbey has explored several paths in which the books represent Scheyern’s historical, devotional, intellectual, and physical evolution in the fifteenth century. The history of Scheyern Abbey is thus found in the library. The books as well as the lacunae in the collection speak to the historical events that affected Scheyern, from the thirteenth-century scriptorium production after the monastery was rebuilt and the introduction of the Melk Reform in the fifteenth century, to the destructive acts of the Early Modern period and ultimate dispersal of the collection in the nineteenth century. In reconstructing the contents of Scheyern’s library, both the earlier and later histories of the collection must be kept in mind when addressing the extant evidence.

This examination of Scheyern’s book collection in the fifteenth century has introduced multiple avenues for understanding the function of the library: as a reflection of contemporary reform practices, as a physical manifestation of book production practices, as a product of a commercial network of manuscript and printed book producers in Augsburg, and as a locus for the preservation and creation of dynastic historiography. By exploring the physical construction of Scheyern’s library collection, we have achieved a more thorough understanding of the processes of library growth in the fifteenth century and the multiple influences and networks active in this bibliographic development. Library acquisition was not a singular process and involved multiple options, including local or ‘in house’ manuscript production, commercial manuscript production, and the purchase of printed books, which also instigated a series of decisions regarding local or commercial decoration and binding.
Book production and acquisition in the fifteenth century was thus not just the media decision, manuscript or print, but rather it involved a more complex series of decisions to fulfill the bibliographic needs of the community. Just as today we can decide whether to purchase a text as a physical book or an e-book, so too in the fifteenth century: for Scheyern, the option of manuscript or print media mattered less than the acquisition of specific information, the text. These decisions regarding bibliographic media, although centuries apart, are similarly based upon the factors of cost, availability, and use. Examined through the lenses of religious reform, scriptorium production, commercial interactions, and dynastic promotion, Scheyern’s library represents a complex web of influences and interactions that cannot be fully understood through a single paradigm. The breadth of bibliographical evidence herein assessed provides a more complete picture of fifteenth-century monastic library development in Bavaria than previously understood and the role of the library in the creation, promotion, and preservation of culture. Such multi-faceted examinations of other libraries would reveal similar commercial complexities and historical considerations that would deepen our knowledge of fifteenth-century book culture and, in turn, cast more light upon Scheyern. The library holds the relics of the religious, economic, intellectual, historical, and artistic development of Scheyern Abbey in the fifteenth century. The books—both manuscripts and early printed books—are thus the primary physical artifacts at the intersection of these issues and offer unique historical access to these cultural phenomena.
Catalogue of Scheyern Manuscripts and Incunabula, I: Books in the Scheyern Library by 1500

Manuscripts

Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár (Cathedral Library of the Esztergom Archdiocese).

M1
Scheyern, 1469 (f. 48v), 1471 (f. 84v), and 1473 (f. 167r).
Scribe: Maurus of Eichstätt.
Binding: modern. Pastedowns (now fly leaves): missals, fourteenth century(?) (front) and eleventh/twelfth century (rear).
Provenance: Scheyern. – Laurentius Ferenzfy, secretary to Ferdinand II, King of Hungary (r. 1618–1637) (f. 1r). – Emericus Czobor, 20 July 1648 (f. 1r).
Description: Parchment, collation unavailable. Rubricated; illuminated initials on ff. 2r, 3r, and 49r, with lombards and scribal cadel initials; initials in Register (ff. 82r–84r) incomplete.
Fig. 58

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

M2
Cgm 547. *Oberbayerisches Landrecht Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern.*
Scheyern, third-quarter of fifteenth century (late 1450s?).
Binding: K30 Scheyern: quarter blind-stamped sheep over beveled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 clasp. Quire guards include lectionary, ninth century and grammar, fourteenth century.
Description: Chancery folio (310x215): 112(12+1) 2–7 12, 49 leaves. Scribal initials and headlines.

M3
Scheyern, after 1493.


2 References to figures are to reproductions in this dissertation.
Binding: sixteenth-century leather back over wooden boards.
Provenance: Scheyern.
Description: Chancery quarto (207x155): 1–512, 59 (of 60) leaves, f. 5/12 wanting. Text concerns the abbacy of Abbot Paul Preu (1489–1503).
Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00045113/image_1

M4
Cgm 784. I: Calendar (Freising, Ger.), ff. 1r–8v; Monk of Heilsbronn, Von den sechs Namen dem Fronleichnam, ff. 9r–48r; Von der Eucharistie, ff. 48r–54r; Von sieben Flügeln der Seele, ff. 54r–56r; Hugo Ripelin of Strassburg, Die acht Seligkeiten (Ger.), from Compendium theologiae veritatis (V, 47–55), ff. 56r–57v; various texts including, Die Zeichen der Liebe (Ger.), from Rudolf of Biberach, De septem itineribus aeternitatis, ff. 57v–61r; Die Zeichen eines wahrhaften Grundes, ff. 61r–62v; Sechs Dinge, die ein Gotteskind haben muss, ff. 62v–64v; John 1: 1–14 (Ger.), ff. 64v–65r; Pange lingua (Ger.), ff. 65r–v; John 13 with commentary (Ger.), ff. 65v–72r; Marquard of Lindau, Eucharist tract (adaptation, Ger.), ff. 72r–78r; Geistliche Geißel, ff. 78r–84r; Von vollkommenen Leben (enumeration), ff. 83r–v; Heinrich Seuse, Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit, excerpts from Ch. 15, ff. 83v–84r; “O” antiphons (Ger.), ff. 84v–85r; Two “Our Father” explanations (Ger.), ff. 85r–94v; Heinrich of Freimar, De IV instinctibus (Ger.), Probate-spiritus-kompilation, ff. 95r–125v; Die Unterscheidung wahrer und falscher Andacht, ff. 125v–134r; Geistliche Neujahrsbrief, ff. 134r–146r; Sermon on the Seven Liberal Arts (Ger.), ff. 146r–153r; Heinrich Seuse, Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit, excerpts from Ch. 6, ff. 153r–155v; Zehn Stücke zu einem guten Leben, ff. 155v–156v; Vom der Mäßigkeit beim Essen, ff. 157r–v; Johannes of Neumarkt, Life of St. Jerome (Ger.), ff. 158r–268v; Von Pfaffen, die spielen und trinken, ff. 268v–269r; Martin of Amberg, Gewissenspiegel (excerpts, incomplete), ff. 269v–277v. II: Thomas à Kempis, Imitatio Christi, II: 12 (Ger.), ff. 278r–280r; Christliche Lebensregel (verse), ff. 280r–v; Zehn Stücke zu einem guten Leben, ff. 280v–281v; Unidentified text and two dicta on Sts. Bernhard and Augustine (Ger.), ff. 281v–282r; Gerard of Vliederhoven, Cordiale quattour novissimorum (Ger.), ff. 282r–288r; Fünfzehn Nutzen der Passionsbetrachtung, ff. 288r–v.
I: Scheyern, 1458 (calendar); II: Scheyern(?), fifteenth century.
Scribes: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–8v and rubrication ff. 157v; Stephan Hüczgüet, ff. 9r–277v, signed f. 157v: Das hat geschrieben Stephan Hüczgüet convers proves ze Scheyren anno domini 1458 an sand Veicz tag (15 June) and possibly f. 277v (with damage): […]ücht converβ prove[…] an Ulrichs tag (4 July); Scribe 2, ff. 278r–288v.
Binding: fifteenth-century brown calf over wooden boards, on 3 double bands, rebacked. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: medicinal text, thirteenth century (front).
Provenance: Scheyern.
Description: Chancery quarto (215x152): 1^{10}; 2–7^{12} 8^{14} 9–13^{12} 14^{(4+1)} 15–22^{12} 23–24^{14}; 25^{(3+1)]: 292 (of 300) ll., ff. 1/1, 1/10, 24/11–14, and 25/13–14 wanting. I: red lombards, rubricated; II: lombards.

M5
Cgm 5747. *Kronick zu Scheyrn: Scheyerner Fürstentafeln*, ff. 1r–12r; list of wives of Scheyern-Wittelsbach line, ff. 12v–13r.
Scheyern, ca. 1460.
Binding: fifteenth-century sheep over wooden boards, heavily worn.
Description: Chancery quarto (210x140): 1–2^{10}, 20 ll, with f. 2/10 as rear pastedown.

M6
Cgm 5748. *Kronik zu Scheyrn: Scheyerer Fürstentafeln*.
Scheyern, ca. 1470.
Binding: Nuremberg, Hans Bopp (EBDB w003020), sixteenth-century.
Provenance: Scheyern, N° V. Eccl.: S: II (seventeenth-century Scheyern archive shelfmark) and Dissolution note on front pastedown: Kloster Scheyern. Cart. I, Nr. 5.
Description: Chancery quarto (190x145): 1^6 2^4, 9 (of 10) ll, f. 1/1 wanting. Text on ff. 1/2–1/6 only; quire 2 is blank.

M7
Clm 1052. Conrad of Scheyern, *Chronicon Schirense*.
Scheyern, ca. 1220, with additions from the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries.
Scribe: Abbot Conrad or Conrad(1).
Provenance: Scheyern.
Description: Unavailable.

M8
Clm 1208. Otto of Freising, *Cronica*.
Scheyern, 1487.
Scribes: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–20va, 41r–44r; Scribe 2: ff. 20va–30v and 71r–80v; Scribe 3: ff. 31r–40v; Scribe 4: ff. 44v–51va; Scribe 5, ff. 51va–52ra; Scribe 6, ff. 52ra–56va; Scribe 7, ff. 56vb–70v; Scribe 8, ff. 81r–149v.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind stamped pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands.
Provenance: Scheyern. – Wessobrunn, Benedictines (bookplate).
Description: Chancery folio (306–308x212–215): 112 28; 310 412 5–1010 118 1212 138 1412 1510: 151 (of 152) ll., f. 14/12 wanting. Initials incomplete, rubricated.
Inscription in initial on f. 39v: Von Scheirn dy illuministen.
Acquisition code: p29.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 38: sub Scamno I.

**M9**

Clm 3435. Johannes Nider, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis.*
Bavaria, 1474.
Scribes: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–304v; Scribe 2 (possibly Georgius Figuli), ff. 305r–332v.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Primary wound endbands.
Provenance: Scheyern(?). – Au am Inn, St. Felicitas, Augustinians (now Franciscans), *Monasterij S. Faelicitatis in Auu* (f. 1r) and book label on front pastedown, dated 1778.
Description: Chancery folio (312x210): 1–1812; 19–2512 2612±12; 2712(11+1, 12+1); 28–2912: 345 (of 350) ll., ff. 1/1, 18/11, 18/12, 19/1, and 29/12 wanting. Ink ruling (212x134) in 2 columns of 45 lines. Many quires loose and falling out of binding, some wanting. Lombards, rubricated.

**M10**

Clm 7875. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones.*
Scheyern, fifteenth century.3
Scribe: Maurus of Eichstätt.
Binding: K30 Scheyern.
Description: Parchment: 182+1 2–88 06+1; 10–238: 175 (of 176) ll., f. 1/1 wanting. Lombards, rubricated; Augsburg illumination.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 19: Scamnum D(?).

**M11**

Clm 14944. *Consuetudines Schyrensis.*
Scheyern, 1427 or 1452.
Binding: Regensburg, St. Salvator, Franciscans(?), EBDB w002337.
Provenance: Scheyern. – Regensburg, St. Emmeram, Benedictines.5

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3 Dated to fourteenth century by BSB manuscript catalogue, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, III/3: 205.
4 Minsinger also owned 4 Inc.c.a. 1281 b in 1596.
5 Not in the fifteenth-century catalogues from St. Emmeram in MBK IV/1, 185–385.
Description: Median octavo (78x111): 1\textsuperscript{12} 2\textsuperscript{10} 3\textsuperscript{10(10+1)} 4\textsuperscript{10} 5\textsuperscript{14} 6\textsuperscript{10}; 56 (of 65) ll., ff. 5/1–14 and 6/1–5 wanting; f. 1/1 blank. Lombards, rubricated.

**M12**

Clm 17401. Matutinal.

Scheyern, 1215–1230.

Scribe: Conrad(1).


Provenance: Scheyern.


Figs. 72 and 73

**M13**

Clm 17402. Johannes Balbus, *Catholicicon*.

Scheyern, 1458.

Scribe and illuminator: Hainrich Molitor, colophon (f. 312v): *Explicit liber qui nominatur catholicon vel prosodia per manus Hainrici Molitoris de Augusta sub reverendo in Christo patre ac domino domino Wilhelmo abbe Monasterii in Scheyren Ordinis s. Benedicti Frisingensis dioecese die Ionis quinto idus Novembris Anno ab incarnacione dominum M˚.cccc˚.lviii˚*.

Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped brown calf over wooden boards, on 6 double bands, rebacked.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Hoc volumen est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown, now mounted).

Description: Parchment (565x390): collation unavailable (extant signatures suggest mostly 10-leaf quires). Lombards, rubricated: 28 illuminated initials, including: f. 1r, full-page illumination with Balbus and Kienberger presenting the work to the Virgin, Annunciation watched over by God the Father, historical Scheyern-Wittelsbach armorials, Sts. Mary Magdalene and Leonhard, and dated 1456; f. 55r with Scheyern-Wittelsbach arms; f. 115r initial D dated 1458; f. 150v with inscribed scroll “\textsuperscript{I.A.M.E.I.D.Z.}” Minor lombards in red, blue, gold, green, and pale green with filigree linework, some including profile faces.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 49: Scamnum M.

Figs. 39, 40, 47, 49a, 50a, 51a, and 76

**M14**

Clm 17403. *Glossarium Salomonis (Mater verborum).*

Scheyern, 1241.

Scribe: Conrad(2).
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped sheep or calf over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 6 double bands, rebacked. 2 modern clasps; furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns: gradual, ca. 1230–35, likely also by Conrad(2).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Hoc volumen est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (f. 1r; over earlier inscription that is too faint to read unaided).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 49: Scamnum M.

**M15**

Clm 17404. Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, ff. 2r–203r and *Bellum Iudaicum*, ff. 204r–301v; “Scheyerer Rhythmus von der Erlösung,” ff. 302r–303r.6
Scheyern, ca. 1225/by 1241.
Scribe: Conrad(2).
Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped pig over bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double bands, relaid over modern rebacking (1959). 2 foredge nail clasps; bosses wanting. Pastedowns: Bible (NT) or lectionary, thirteenth century (front and rear; same as Clm 17405); also BHStA, KL Scheyern 233, list of goods sold, 1282–85 and KU Scheyern 52, letter to Ludwig II, 1285–86 (see Stephan, *Urkunden*, Nr. 47).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front fly verso) and *Iste liber est devotorum de Schuren* (f. 303v, late sixteenth/early seventeenth-century).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 44: Scamnum L.

**M16**

Scheyern, ca. 1230–40.
Scribe: Conrad(2).
Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped pig over bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double bands, relaid over modern rebacking (1969). Fly leaves: Bible (NT) or lectionary, thirteenth century (front and rear; same as Clm 17404).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (f. 5r) and *Monasterij B. V. & SS Crucis in Scheÿrn* (f. 2r).
Description: (see Klemm, *Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 34–36.)
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 44: Scamnum L.

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6 F. J. Worstbrock, “Scheyerer Rhythmus von der Erlösung,” in VL VIII: 659–61. The text is also found in Clm 14358, ff. 130v–132r from St. Emmeram, Regensburg.
M17
Clm 17407. Missal.
Scheyern, 1485.
Scribe: Maurus of Eichstätt; Illuminator: Augsburg illumination (Johann Bämler workshop?) and “Geometric Flourisher.”
Binding: sixteenth-century white sheepskin over wooden boards, on 5 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedown: antiphonal(?), thirteenth/fourteenth century (front). Rear pastedown with date, 1485, in Maurus’s hand.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 1r).
Description: Parchment, collation unavailable (appear to be 8-leaf quires). Lombards, rubricated, foliation; illuminated initials, f. 1r (with quartered Scheyern coat-of-arms added). Decorated initials by Augsburg workshop (ff. 1r, 4r, 8v, 15r, 19r, 20v, 24v, 25v, 39r 46r, and 53v) and “Geometric Flourisher” (ff. 2r, 3r, 47v, 48r, 49v, 51r, 52r, 55r, 56v, 57v, 59r, 61v, 63r, 64v, 65v, 67r, 68v, 70r, 75r, 79r, and 83r). Folio 38 (with Crucifixion) wanting. Additional texts added to f. 89v (fifteenth and sixteenth century), and additional paper bifolium (ff. 90–91) with sixteenth-century liturgical texts for “In time of war” and “For Duke Ernst of Bavaria.”
Figs. 7 and 23
Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00054127/images/

M18
Clm 17408. Gradual.
Scheyern, 1489.
Binding: sixteenth-century white sheepskin over partially beveled wooden boards.
Provenance: Scheyern, arms (f. 1r).
Description: Parchment (360x260): collation unavailable (appear to be 8-leaf quires). Lombards; 9 illuminated initials by the Rich Illuminator, f. 1r with quartered Scheyern coat-of-arms added by the Geometric Flourisher.
Figs. 25, 31, and 32
Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00054128/images/

M19
Clm 17409–10. Astesanus de Ast, Summa (2 vols.).
Scheyern, 1459.
Scribe: Hainrich Zäch (signed I, f. 323r; dated II, f. 260r).
Binding (both vols.): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped brown leather over wooden boards, on 5 double cords. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: antiphonal, twelfth century (I,
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis nec non Alme crucis In Scheyren* (I, front fly recto).


Acquisition code: I: c14.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 67: Scamnum P.

Figs. 1 and 14

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M20

Clm 17411. Berthrandus de Turrus, *Cardinalis expositio epistolarum*.

Italy, 1395.

Provenance: Scheyern.

Description: Unavailable. Maurus of Eichstätt added notes to ff. 1r–3v and 4v; see MBK, 729.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 65: Scamnum O.

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M21


Scheyern, fifteenth century.

Scribe: Hainrich Zäch; Decorator: Geometric Flourisher.

Binding: fifteenth-century unstamped soft sheep over wooden boards. Braided colored twine over primary wound endbands.

Provenance: Scheyern.

Description: Parchment: 1–1110 128 136, ff. 13/5 and 13/6 wanting, 122 (of 124) leaves; f. 1/1 blank. Lombards, rubricated; scribal rubrics and catchwords. Some marginal flourishing on f. 2r by Geometric Flourisher. Front pastedown with inscription *Hainricus*.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 18: Scamnum D.

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M22


Scheyern, 1453–54.


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7 On the twelfth-century antiphonal fragment, see Klemm, *Romanischen Handschriften*, II/1: Nr. 12.
anno regnium sui sexto die martis decimaseptima Decembris Anno ab incarnacione domini 1454.).

Binding (both vols.): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over partially beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and bosses wanting. Pastedowns: antiphonal, eleventh century (fragment removed from I, now Clm 29316(9) and breviary, twelfth century (I, rear and II, front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (I, front pastedown and II, rear pastedown) and Monasterij B. Virginis et Alma Crucis in Scheyrn (II, f. 1r).

Description: Parchment (both vols.), I: 1–2410: 240 ll.; II: 1–2510: 249 (of 250) ll., f. 25/10 (blank?) wanting. Lombards, rubricated; illuminated initials: I, f. 1r and II, f. 1r with Scheyern coat-of-arms.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 49: Scamnum M.

M23
Clm 17415. Petrus de Harentals, Collectarius super librum psalmorum.
Scheyern(?), 1452.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped (top board only) white pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and bosses wanting. Pastedowns: missal, twelfth century (front) and breviary, twelfth century (rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis Ordinis S. Benedicti (f. 1r).

Description: Parchment and paper: 1–1912 206: 233 (of 234) ll., f. 20/6 wanting; parchment for outer and inner leaves of quires. Lombards, rubricated; initial on f. 1r incomplete.

M24
Clm 17416–18. Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum historiale, Parts I, III (incomplete), and IV (3 of 4 vols.).

Molitorem cirographum et concivem Augustensis. Anno dominice incarnacionis
Millesimo quadringentesimoseptuagesimo primo die nona kalends Junii);
Illuminator: Hainrich Molitor (all vols.).

Binding (all vols.): Augsburg, SS. Ulrich and Afra (K2).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis necnon alme crucis In
Scheyer (I, front pastedown) and Monasterij Schyrensis (I, f. 1r).

Description: Parchment (all vols.), I: 1–2510 264: 252 (of 254) ll., ff. 26/3 and 26/4
wanting; III: 16 2–2110 229 2310; 233 (of 234 extant) ll., f. 23/10 and perhaps as
many as four quires at the beginning wanting; IV: 112 2–2610: 256 (of 262) ll., ff. 1/1,
1/12, 26/4, 26/5, 26/9, and 26/10 wanting. Lombards, rubricated; I: 10 illuminated
initials, including f. 1r with Scheyern coat-of-arms and f. 178v with scroll: M. N. D.
W. O. A. S.; III: 6 illuminated initials; IV: 8 illuminated initials, including f. 1v with
Scheyern coat-of-arms. Red, blue, green, and gold lombards with penwork
flourishing. Contemporary quire signatures at bottom edge, most trimmed.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, pp. 37–38: Scamnum I.

Figs. 43 (Clm 17416); 6 and 46 (Clm 17417); 44 and 45 (Clm 17418)

M25
Clm 17421. Missal.

Augsburg, fifteenth-century.

Scribe: Maurus of Eichstätt; Illuminator: Augsburg workshop.

Binding: late sixteenth-century velvet over reverse-bevelled wooden boards, on 3
double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Primary wound endbands.

Description: Parchment (250x192): 1–510 610(10+1) 76: 65 (of 67) ll., ff. 5/9 and 5/10
wanting; blind and light ink ruling in 1 column 173x123 (177x123 after canon) of
20 lines. Lombards, rubricated; 13 illuminated initials: f. 1r with historiated initials
of the Resurrection and Scheyern coat-of-arms. Folio 5/10 (i.e. original f. 40, recto
with Crucifixion) wanting.

Figs. 60 and 61

M26
Clm 17422. Missale monasticum.

Scheyern, 1462.

Scribe and illuminator: Hainrich Molitor (f. 294r: Explicit missale pro Hainricum
Molitorem de Augusta. Comperatus per Reverendissimum patrem ac dominum
dominum Wilhelmm Abbatem Monasterii intemerate et perpetue virginis Marie nec
non alme crucis In Schereen ordinis sancti Benedicti Frisingensis diocese Anno
domini etc liii in Vigilia Laurencii).

Binding: sixteenth-century, blind-rolled pig over reverse-beveled wooden boards, on 4
bands.

Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 2r).

Description: Parchment (230x165): 18 2–1210 1314(14+1) 14–2810 2912: 294 (of 295) ll., f.
29/12 wanting; blind ruling in 1 column of 36 lines. Lombards; 10 illuminated
initials, f. 9r with Scheyern coat-of-arms. Crucifixion (f. 138v, pasted in image) wanting.

Fig. 41

**M27**

Clm 17423. Missal.

Scheyern(?), 1499 (first fly leaf).

Binding: fifteenth-century, red-dyed deer over beveled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedown: Crucifixion woodcut (71x96mm) with printed inscription, *vere filius dei erat iste* (front).


Description: Parchment and Chancery quarto (211x159): 1–4\(^{12}\); 5–6\(^{8}\); 7–10\(^{14}\) 11\(^{12}\): 131 (of 132) ll., f. 11/12 wanting; parchment for inner and outer leaves of each quire; blind ruling in 1 column of 12 lines. Lombards, rubricated, foliated; red and blue lombards with penwork flourishing at major sections. Crucifixion (f. 55v, pasted in image) wanting (now front pastedown?).

Fig. 80

**M28**

Clm 17424. Ritual.

Scheyern(?), second-quarter of the fifteenth century.

Binding: fifteenth-century “drawn leather” over beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 1 clasp and round bosses wanting.

Provenance: Scheyern, *[Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown, partially removed) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 1r).

Description: Parchment (223x171): 1–2\(^{8}\) 3\(^{6}\); 4–8\(^{8}\); 9–10\(^{8}\); 11–12\(^{8}\): 88 (of 94) ll., ff. 3/5, 3/6, 10/5, 12/5, 12/7, and 12/8 wanting; blind ruling in 1 column of 13 lines. Lombards; historiated initial on f. 1r (priest baptizing a baby in a font). Pencil date of 1427 on f. 1r.

Fig. 5

**M29**

Clm 17426. Book of Hours (*Liber horarum*).

Augsburg/Scheyern, 1469.

Scribe and illuminator: Hainrich Molitor (f. 266v: *Explicit liber horarum tam durenoque (diurnoque?) noetrieno (nocturno?) tempore tam de temporibus quam de sanctis per Hainricum Molitorem de Augusta ob Revenciam dominum Stephan Sannenzeller pie recordacionis conventualis in Scheyren Anno domini M°.cccc°.lxix in die Oswaldi*).

Binding: sixteenth-century, blind-rolled pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. Pastedown: Crucifixion engraving (106x166mm) with Virgin Mary, John, and Mary Magdalene, signed “R F” on shield (front).

Description: Parchment (190x136): 1\(^6\); 2–31\(^8\) 32\(^6\): 250 (of 252) ll., ff. 32/5 and 32/6 wanting. Lombards, rubricated; decorated initials. 3 gold lombards with red penwork decoration, ff. 7r and 33v; red and blue lombards throughout, some with penwork flourishing. Tabs for vigil of the Nativity (f. 33v), Epiphany Sunday (f. 60r), Resurrection Sunday (f. 159r), and vigil of Pentecost (f. 191v).

Fig. 42

M30
Italy, fourteenth/fifteenth century.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: quarter pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Title label: [?]iv’ *institutionum seu Elementorum Justiniani*. 38.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 66: Scamnum P.

M31
Scheyern(?), 1468 (f. 182r).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis necnon alme Crucis In Scheyren* (front pastedown).
Description: Royal folio (405x282): 1\(^14\) 2–10\(^12\) 11\(^10\); 12\(^12\) 13\(^10\) 14–16\(^12\); 17–27\(^12\) 28\(^6\): 326 (of 328) ll., ff. 1/14 and 28/4 wanting; ink ruling in 2 columns (276x196) of 51 lines. Lombards, rubricated (same in both texts), headlines in a different hand from rubrication.
Acquisition code: b26.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 27: Scamnum F.

M32
Clm 17453. Gallus of Königssaal (attr.), *Malogranatum*.
Neuburg, 1451.
Scribe: Ulrich Magerlein of Neuberg\(^8\) (f. 215v: *Finitus est liber iste per me Ulricum Magerlein Concuiciem Newburgensis. Anno domini millesimo quadmoquinquagesimo primo*).

\(^8\) He also wrote BSB, Clm 7512, *Malogranatum oder der dreifache Weg zur Vollkommenheit*, with Bernhardus Periscot, dated 1433.


Description: Parchment and Royal folio (402x287): 1–18¹²: 216 ll.; parchment for inner and outer leaves of quire; ink ruling in 2 columns (290x179) of 52 lines. Lombards, rubricated; red lombards, some with green penwork decoration, and decorated initial on f. 84v.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 25: sub Scamno E.

**M33**


Scheyern(?), 1463 (f. 225v).


Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis. In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij B: Virginis et Alma Crucis in Scheyrn* (f. 1r).

Description: Royal folio (407x287): 1⁴ 2–13¹² 14⁸ 15¹² 16¹⁰ 17–19¹²: 210 (of 214) ll., ff. 19/7, 19/8, 19/9, and 19/12 wanting; ff. 1r–174v: blind ruling in 2 columns (290x185) of 56 lines, ff. 175r–225v: ruling in 1 column (302x194) of 51 lines. Lombards, rubricated; 7 (ff. 1r, 61r, 70r, 92r, 98v, 146r, and 175r) red and green lombards with penwork flourishing.

Acquisition code: d21.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 45: Scamnum L.

**M34**

donis spiritus sancti, ff. 223r–235r, De oratione Dominica, ff. 235r–269r, De tribus partibus poenitentiae, ff. 272r–313r; De infirmus et expedicione infirmorum, ff. 314r–355v; Johannes Urbach, Directorium simplicium sacerdotum, ff. 336r–382r.


Scribe: Heinrich Grevental (f. 95v: Explicuit dicta per venerabilem magistram Nicolaus Tynkelspuhel composita circa decem precepta etc Scriptuta et finita per Heinrich Grevental. die quarta Mensis Januarii Anno etc Quadragesimosecunda).

Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped white leather (deer?) over curve-beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and 5 bosses wanting. Title label (damaged): Grad[?]us de [?] preceptis Nico[?]dinch[?]uci era[?]c. ?5.

Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 1r).

Description: Chancery folio (308x216): 1–2212 238 24–2712 2816 29–3122 322: 384 (of 385) ll., f. 32/2 wanting; ruling in 2 columns (217x143) of 38 lines. Lombards, rubricated, foliated (same throughout, not by Grevental); scribal catchwords and signatures.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, pp. 44–45: Scamnum L.

M35


Scheyern(?), fifteenth century.


Binding: fifteenth-century white leather (deer?) over beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and 5 bosses wanting. Front pastedown with table of contents. Title label (worn): Salis [?] de octo beatitudinibus [?] septem donis spiritus sancti ac phia alia qu[?]orum ivenus in folio volate. 10(?).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front fly leaf recto).

Description: Chancery folio (303x215): 16 212 312(12+1); 4–512; 6–912; 10–1512; 16–1912; 20–2112 2216; 2316; 2416; 256: 300 (of 301) ll., f. 9/8 wanting; ff. 2r–234r: ruling in 2 columns (204x137) of 38 lines, ff. 234v–246v: blind ruling in 2 columns (215x143) of 34 lines, ff. 247r–273v: ink ruling in 2 columns (211x159) of 44 lines, ff. 275r–286v: ink ruling in 1 column (209x141) of 36 lines. Lombards, rubricated (mostly incomplete in Dinkelsbühl). Figures in Peter Cantor (ff. 157v, 158r–v, 159r, 160r–v) incomplete.

Acquisition code: d24.
M36

I: Scheyern, 1453; II: [Scheyern], fifteenth century.

Scribes: I: Stephan Sandizeller, ff. 4r–94v (q. 1–10; f. 64r: *Explicit tractatus de penitencia et eius partibus indie Ascensionis domini post nonam per fratrem Stephanum Sandicell tunc temporis conventualis in Scheyren Anno domini 5˚3˚. Incipit tractatus super donum cum oratione Magistri Nicolaii de dinkelspuehel deodem die Ascensionis domini* and f. 94v: [abraded] Ave maria ihus xpus Amen. *Hab gott dem sel Stefani Sandizeller [abraded];* II: Scribe 2, ff. 96r–113v (qq. 11–12); III: Scribe 3, ff. 114r–117v (q. 13); IV: Scribe 4, ff. 118r–123v (q. 14); V: Scribe 5, ff. 124r–134v (q. 15).


Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren and [?] S. Stephani Sancizeller Monachi Schyrensis Ana annum [?] 1467* (eighteenth-century inscription, f. 1r).

Description: Chancery folio (293x210): 1–7 12 8 10 9 6 10 10; 11 12 12 10; 13 4; 14 6; 15 10: 151 (of 152) ll., f. 12/7 wanting; ff. 1r–94v: ink ruling in 2 columns (206x147) of 44 lines, ff. 96r–113v: ink ruling in 2 columns (253x169) of 44 lines, ff. 114r–117v: ruled in 1 column of 56 lines. I: lombards, rubricated; decorated initial f. 4r (oxidized?). Lettered subject guide for Dinkelsbühl texts, ff. 2v–3v. II: lombards, rubricated (partially completed). III: no lombards or elaboration. IV: no elaboration, incomplete text. V: red lombards at sections, incomplete text.

Acquisition code: d25.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 45: Scamnum L.

M37
Clm 17460. Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, *Sermones de tempore*.

Voburg, 1452–53.

Scribe: Conrado Salpel, priest in Voburg: f. 178r: *Explicit pars hyemalis in sermonibus eximii doctoris necnon Bdit (?) magistri Nicolai de dinkelspuehel finita per me Conradum Salpl de Keysgaung presbyterem Anno domini etc. 1.4.5.2. feria quinta ante festum Symonis et Jude and f. 254v: Et sit est finis illorum sermonum Anno domini etc. 1.4.5.3. Per me dominum Conrado Salpel presbiterem feria quarta quinti hora [?] Ascensionem domini In voburg.
Binding: fifteenth-century, blind-stamped leather over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and bosses wanting. Title label (damaged): *Sermones* [?]. 18.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r).

Description: Chancery folio (298x200): 1–1912 2014 21–2212 2310(10+2) 24–2512; 302 ll.; light ink ruling in 2 columns (201x139) of 38 lines. Lombards, rubricated; red and blue major initials. Scribal catchwords.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 46: Scamnum L.

**M38**


Scheyern(?), fifteenth century.

Scribes: I: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–112v; II: Scribe 2, ff. 113r–181v.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped brown calf over slightly tapered wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Top board badly damaged. Pastedown (rear): fragment of document mentioning the monastery at Reichenbach(? Reidenpach), thirteenth century(?).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 1r).

Description: Chancery folio (313x215): 1–912 108; 11–1612 176; 190 ll.; ff. 1r–112v: light ruling in 2 columns (212x140) of 35 lines, ff. 113r–181v: graphite ruling in 2 columns (210x149) of 41 lines. Lombards, rubricated; red lombards in I. Rubricator of I added title to f. 113r; Scribe 2 rubricated ff. 114r–181v, no lombards.

Acquisition code: d22.

**M39**


Scheyern(?), 1452 (II, f. 280v). 9

Scribes: I: Scribe 1; II: Scribe 2, ff. 1r–45v, Scribe 3, ff. 46r–end (= Clm 17465, Scribe 2).

Binding: I: fifteenth-century fileted leather over beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: missal, fifteenth century (front and rear). Title label: *Pars prima magistri Nicolai dinkelspuehl super matheum*. [?].

II: fifteenth-century “cut leather” and blind-stamped brown leather over beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: antiphonal, fifteenth century (front and rear, same as Clm 17464). Title label: *Magistri nicolai dinkelspuehl Super [?] Secundi*. 3.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (I and II, front fly leaf recto) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (I, f. 2r and II, front pastedown).

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9 *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, IV/3, 100 records the date as 1456.
Description: I: Chancery folio (319x210): 1⁶ 2–16¹² 17–31¹⁸ 32¹⁰: 463 (of 466) ll., ff. 9/8, 17/3, and 26/3 wanting; ink frame ruling in 2 columns (215x131) of 36 lines. II: Chancery folio (313x213): 1⁴ 2–24¹² 25⁴: 283 (of 284) ll., f. 6/12 wanting; light ink ruling in 2 columns (137x211) of 42 lines. Lombards, rubricated. Scribal rubrication and catchwords in I; scribal catchwords, rubrication partially incomplete in II (same as Clm 17466), but some decorated initials (as in Clm 17464).

Acquisition code: I: d17; II: d18.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 46: Scamnum L.

Fig. 70 (Clm 17463)

M40


Scribes: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–235v; Scribe 2, ff. 236r–313v.

Binding: fifteenth-century, “cut leather” and blind-stamped brown calf over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: antiphonal, fifteenth century (front and rear, same as Clm 17463).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste est liber beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front pastedown) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 1r).

Description: Chancery folio (316x214): 1–20¹²; 21–27¹²: 324 ll.; ff. 1r–235v ink ruled in 2 columns (209x136) of 40 lines, ff. 236r–313v blind ruling in 1 column (208x125) of 40 lines. Lombards, rubricated, foliated; decorated initials (as in Clm 17463). Table of contents (in foliation hand), ff. 235r–v. Super evangelia dominicalia, blind ruled (208x125) in 1 col. of 40 lines; lombards, rubricated, unfoliated.

Acquisition code: d20.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 46: Scamnum L.

M41


Scribes: I: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–74r; Scribe 2 (same as Scribe 3 of Clm 17463), ff. 74r–end. II: Scribe 3.

Binding: I: fifteenth-century, blind-stamped light sheep over beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns, I: unidentified music manuscript. II: Ordo(?), thirteenth/fourteenth century (front) and breviary, thirteenth/fourteenth century (rear). Title label (Maurus), I: Magistri nicolai dunckelspuehel super 4˚ Sententiaram Prima pars. II: wanting.

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Maria virginis In Scheyren (I, first blank recto [by Hainrich Zäch] and II, front pastedown) and Monasterij Schyrens (I and II, f. 2r).
Description: I: Chancery folio (311x214): 1\(^{14}\) 2–24\(^{12}\): 288 (of 290) ll., ff. 16/12 and 24/11 wanting; blind ruling (quire 1 is light ink) in 2 columns (205x135) of 44 lines.
II: Chancery folio (308x216): 1\(^{4}\) 2–4\(^{12}\) 5\(^{10}\) 6\(^{12}\) 7\(^{10}\) 8–18\(^{12}\) 19\(^{8}\): 210 (of 212) ll., ff. 19/5 and 19/8 wanting; blind ruling in 2 columns of 40 lines. Lombards (same in both vols.), rubricated (incomplete in II but same as Clm 17463).

Acquisition code: I: d19.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 46: Scamnum L.

M42
Clm 17467. Lectura super IV libros sententiarum.
Scheyern(?), 1470–72 (f. 133v: 1472 and f. 267v: 1470).
Scribe: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–79v, 134r–205v, and 230r–267v; Scribe 2, ff. 80r–133v; Scribe 3, ff. 206r–229v.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light calf over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: sacramentary, thirteenth century (front and rear).
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis Ordinis S: P: Benedicti: (f. 2r).
Description: Chancery folio (280x211, trimmed): 1–5\(^{12}\) 6\(^{8}\) 7\(^{12}\) 8\(^{12}(±12)\) 9–20\(^{12}\) 21\(^{12}(8+1)\) 22\(^{12}\) 23\(^{12}(12+1)\): 260 (of 262) ll., ff. 6/2 and 16/12 wanting; blind ruling in 1 column (200x150) of 64 lines (quire 1: ruled in 1 column (189x140) of 36 lines). Lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 28: Scamnum F.

M43
Clm 17468. Hainricus de Oyta, Quaestiones super IV libros sententiarum.
Vienna, 1389.
Scribe: Andreas Pyrmtz (f. 178r: Explicuit Questiones primi libri sententiarum Reverendi magistri Hainrici de Oyta Wynne scripte. Sub Anno domini m° ccc° lxxviiij° etc carnis brunum per Andream Pyrms and f. 240r: Expliciunt quos quarti libri sentenciarum et per constituens(?) tocius libri sentiarum complete sub anno domini m° ccc° lxxviiij° m[?] feria ante festum pasce Carnis briuij etc.).
Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped red leather (sheep or deer?) over wooden boards, on 5 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Primary wound endbands. Title label (damaged, Maurus?): Questiones magistri [?] super libr....
Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front fly leaf recto), Monasterij Schyrensis and Scheÿrn (f. 1r).
Description: Chancery folio (294x206) ruled in light ink (216x133) in 2 columns of 47–49 lines. Lombards incomplete. Quires numbered in roman numerals and marginal notations by scribe.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 28: Scamnum F.

M44
Clm 17469. Narcissus Herz von Berching, Quaestiones super tertium sententiarum.
Scheyern(?), [1440s?].
Scribe: Same as Clm 17473.
Binding: fifteenth-century unstamped sheep (heavily peeling) over beveled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: missal or breviary, fourteenth/early fifteenth century (initials incomplete). Title label (Maurus):
Scriptum magistri Narcisci super 2˚ sniarum .5.
Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (f. 2r) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 3r).
Description: Chancery folio (303x210): 1–2012 2110: 249 (of 250) ll., f. 21/8 wanting; ink ruling (203x139) in 2 columns of 38 lines. Lombards, rubricated.
Acquisition code: c12.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 30: sub Scamno F.

M45

Clm 17470. Narcissus Herz von Berching, Quaestiones super tertium sententiarum, ff. 1r–206v; Distinctions for Bk. IV of Sententiae, ff. 207v–209r; Johannes Schlipatcker, Excerpta ex lectura Nicholas de Dinkelsbühl super quarto Sententiarum, ff. 210r–328v.
Scheyern(?), Herz: 1440–50s(after 1442, f. 206v (with Herz’s death date, 16 Oct. 1442); Schlipatcker: 1449 (f. 328v: Et sic est finis huius operis. Eruare sit laus donor virtus gloria Benedicte trinitati In secula seculorum. Et finitus est libellus iste feria secunda proxima post festum sancti Urbani anno domini M˚ cccc˚ xlviii˚).
Scribe: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–206v and 207v–209r; Scribe 2: ff. 210r–328v.
Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped blue leather over wooden boards, on 4 double boards. 2 clasps wanting. Title label: Narcissus sr(? et sententiarum Necnon excerpta Nicolao dinckelspuehl super quarto sententiarum. .5.
Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front pastedown).
Description: Chancery folio (293x220): 114 2–1612 1714; 18–2612 2714 284: 332 (of 334) ll., ff. 2/5 and 4/6 wanting; blind ruling (200x138) in 2 columns of 42 lines; at quire 9 changes to ink ruling (200x142); at f. 201r (18/2r) ink ruling (221x157) of 44/45 lines; at quire 23 blind ruling of same dimensions. Lombards, rubricated; decorated initial f. 1r. Quires numbered on verso of final leaf by “2-rubricator.” Rubricator same in Schlipatcker.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 46: Scamnum L.

M46

Bavaria (Scheyern?), fifteenth century.
Scribes: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–235r, 235r–236r; Scribe 2: ff. 237r–359v.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep over wooden boards, on 3 double cords. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedown: Scheyern necrology, fourteenth century. Title label (worn): Expositio de Ioannis Caruralis. S. [?] Super Regula [?]. Item Expositio Bernardi Cassiciensis super eadem Regula. Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front pastedown) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 2r).

Description: Chancery folio (310x212): 114 2–2012; 21–3112: 367 (of 374) ll., ff. 1/14, 20/9, 20/10, 21/1, 31/7, 31/8, and 31/12 wanting; blind ruling (222x140) in 2 columns of 40 lines. Lombards, rubricated. Scribal rubrics and catchwords. Cassiensis: Ink ruling (202x140) in 2 columns of 43 lines. Scribal rubrics and lombards. Arabic quire numbers on first leaf of quire. 1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 29: sub Scamno F.

M47


Bavaria (Scheyern?), fifteenth century.

Scribes: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–340v; Maurus, ff. 341r–342v (also rubrication?); Scribe 3, ff. 342v–343v.

Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped white sheep over beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: breviary(?), twelfth/thirteenth century (front and rear). Title label (Maurus): Exposicio magistri Iohannis keck Super Regula Sancti Benedicti. Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (front pastedown and f. 2r).

Description: Chancery folio (307x210): 1–1712 1810 1914 2010 2114 2210 2314 2410 2514 2610 2714 2810(10+1) 2912: 344 (of 347) ll., ff. 29/9, 29/10 and 29/12 wanting; ink ruling (211x144) in 2 columns in 40/41 lines; quire 12 (Sermo): blind ruling (219x156) in 2 columns of 40 lines. Lombards, rubricated (Maurus?); decorated initial on f. 2r. Marginal letters A–Z by rubricator. Illustrations on ff. 13v (parts of brain), 9/11r (sundial), and 21/3v–4v (phases of moon and eclipse).

M48


Scheyern(?), [1440s(?)].

Scribe: Same as Clm 17469.

Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped sheep over beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Fly leaf (front): breviary(?), fifteenth-century, with note dated 1495. Title label (Maurus): Exposicio magistri Iohannis Schlipacher Super Regula Sancti Benedicti. Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front pastedown) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 2r).

10 MGH Necrol. III: 133–36 and Stephan, Traditionen, 19*, n. 5.
Description: Chancery folio (307x215): 1–26\(^{12}\); 310 (of 312) ll., ff. 16/9 and 26/10 wanting; ink ruling (214x135) in 2 columns of 41 lines. Lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 29: sub Scamno F.

M49

Scheyern, 1491 (f. 15v: *Finit Tabula in die Marci ewangeliste Anno domini \(\cdot 1 \cdot 4 \cdot 9 \cdot 1 \cdot \) [= 25 April] and f. 212v: *Finit penultima die mensis Marcii Anno domini \(\cdot 1 \cdot 4 \cdot 9 \cdot 1 \cdot ^{\circ} \) [= 30 March]*).


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (inside front board and f. 2r).

Description: Median folio (330x235): 1–2\(^{8}\); 3–22\(^{10}\): 213 (of 216) ll., ff. 2/8, 22/9, and 22/10 wanting; blind ruling (230x152) in 2 columns of 42 lines. Lombards, rubricated; illuminated initials on ff. 2r, 16r, 17r, and 26v by the Rich Illuminator. Scribal catchwords.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 29: sub Scamno F.
Fig. 18

M50
Clm 17475. Humbertus, *De expeditione religiosorum libri VI*.

Scheyern(?), 1455 (f. 151: *Et sic est finis huius [?] deo gracias 1455*).

Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped brown leather over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: antiphonal, fifteenth century (front and rear; rear foliated CCCxv). Title label (worn): *D[e Expe]ditio Religiosorum [libr]i Sex.*.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (f. 2r) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 4r).

Description: Chancery folio (310x213): 1\(^{2}\) 2–13\(^{12}\) 14\(^{8}\): 141 (of 142) ll., ff. 5/11 wanting, ff. 1/1–1/2 blank; ink ruling (135x210) in 2 columns of 39 lines. Lombards, rubricated. Scribal catchwords (and rubrics?).

M51

Scheyern, 1485 (f. 211r: *Explicit liber super tractatus de nomine et amore ihesu editus a fratre Uberto lombardo de ordine predicatorum. Finitus est ante in vigilia corporis Christi. 1485*, f. 211v: *Ihesu rex Christe. Tui liber explicit iste / Et tibi dictatus, aut nominini tuo sacratus / Hunc ut suscipere, per gratia tua quoque habere / Digneris flagito, Christe de tituli devoto / Fiat. Ferveat amor, exestat et tuus honor / Qui per

Scribes: Frater Placidus, ff. 1r–225v (signed f. 211v).

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped red-dyed calf over partially-beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedown (front): Donatus, Ars minor, fifteenth century(?).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front pastedown) and Monasterij B: Virginis et alma Crucis in Scheyrn (f. 1r).

Description: Chancery folio (319x214): 1–15 10 16(±10) 17–22 10 23 6 24 (of 226) ll., ff. 23/5 and 23/6 wanting; blind ruling (214x134) in 2 columns of 39 lines. Lombards, rubricated; decorated initials (by Maurus?) on ff. 1r and 10r, f. 10r with both Scheyern coat-of-arms. Scribal catchwords and foliation.

Figs. 16 and 17

M52

Clm 17477. Gregorius I, Pope, Compendium ex moralibus XV libros dispositum, ff. 1r–104v; Johannes Chrysostomus, Homeliae laudibus s. Pauli, ff. 105r–122r; Hugo de Saint-Victore, De arca Noe, ff. 122v–158r and De institutione novitiorum, ff. 159r–170r; Richardus de Saint-Victore, De clavibus ecclesiae, ff. 170r–176v, De exterminatione mali, ff. 176v–193v, and De statu interioris hominis, ff. 194r–210v; Peter of Limoges (attributed in the text to John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury), De oculo morali, ff. 211r–256v; Hainricus de Firmaria, De VII vitiis, 257r–266v; Casus papales et episcopales, ff. 267r–269v; [Grimlaicus, Regula seu vita solitariorum, ff. 270r–305r]; Mattheus of Worms, Dispositio sacerdotis ad mensam altaris (excerpts), ff. 305r–305v; Michael of Prague, Remediarium abiecti prioris, ff. 306r–348r; Johannes de Segovia, De auctoritate conciliorum (extracts), ff. 348r–352v; Peter Damian, De heremita, ff. 353r–355r.

Scheyern, 1490 (front pastedown: Anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimonagesimo scriptus est iste liber).

Scribe: Maurus of Eichstätt; partially copied from Clm 18412 (from Tegernsee).

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped red leather over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedown (front): table of contents by Maurus. Title label (Maurus, heavily damaged): ... moralibus ... beate Gregorii ... folio volante etc.

Provenance: Scheyern, ISTE·LIBER·EST·BEATE·MARIE·VIRGINIS·NECNON·ALME·CRUCIS·IN·SCHHEYREN (front pastedown) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 3r).

Description: Chancery folio (317x214): 18 2–9 12; 10–14 12 15 10(±10) 16 10 17–24 12; [25–27 12 wanting]; 28–30 31–32 8: 325 (of 369) ll., ff. 1/1–1/2, 1/7–1/8, 25/1–27/12, 29/6–29/8, and 31/2 wanting; blind ruled (220x150) in 2 columns of 40 lines. Lombards, rubricated, foliated, catchwords, signatures by Maurus; manuscript signatures start over at f. 104r (10/1r). Initials on ff. 3r and 306v cut out. The missing quires contained Grimlaicus’s Regula seu vita solitariorum, ff. 270r–305v, which is not in the original Tegernsee manuscript. Maurus copied a note from the Tegernsee manuscript that attributed De oculo morali to John Peckham, “as was
stated in a printed book” (f. 217r); there were two editions before 1490 both printed in Augsburg and attributing the work to Peckham: ISTC ij00390000 and ij00391000.

Fig. 10

**M53**


Scheyern, 1471 (f. 36v: *Explicit liber Quadripartitus apologeticus Venerabilis Cirilli. Anno domini. 1471*).

Scribes: Maurus (also rubrication in section), ff. 1r–36v; Scribe 2, ff. 37r–48v; Scribe 3 (Placidus?), ff. 49r–60v (quire 5); Scribe 4, ff. 61r–72v (quire 6); Scribe 5, ff. 73r–152v and 153r–191v; Scribe 6, ff. 192r–219r and 219r–227v; Scribe 7, ff. 228r–229v; Scribe 8, ff. 230r–240r.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white leather over partially-beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: missal, twelfth–thirteenth century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Schreyren (front pastedown) and Monasterij Schyrens (ff. 2r and 192r).

Description: Chancery folio (311x218): 1–312; 4–1612; [wanting quires]; 17–1912 2014: 242 ll.; ink ruling/frame (240x155) in 2 columns of 44 lines; folios 61r–72v, ink ruling (224x153) of 42 lines; ff. 73r–191v, blind ruling (230x150) of 43 lines; ff. 192r–227v, ink ruling (230x157) of 48 lines; ff. 228r–240r, ink ruling (224x154) of 40 lines. Lombards, scribal rubrication; decorated initials. Scribal catchwords throughout. On the wanting incunable editions, see below under Incunabula.

Acquisition code: c19.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 7: sub Scamno A.

Fig. 12

**M54**

Clm 17480. *Homiliae SS. Patrum, de tempore et de sanctis*, ff. 1r–175v; Johannes Cassianus, *De institutione SS. Patrum libri XII*, ff. 181r–245v; Hugo de Saint-Victore, *Claustrum animae*, ff. 246r–328r

Scheyern, fifteenth century.

Scribe and rubricator: Maurus of Eichstätt.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped red leather over partially beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: lectionary, first-half of the ninth century (front and rear, also one fragment removed, see Clm 29303(4)).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis ordinis S: P: Benedicti* (f. 1r).
Description: Chancery folio (321x215): 162–1612; 17–2912: 341 (of 342) ll., f. 29/7 wanting; blind ruling (218x142) in 2 columns of 41 lines. Lombards, rubricated; illuminated initials, ff. 1r (with Virgin adoring Christ child), 181r, 182r, 246r–v. Scribal catchwords.
Acquisition code: o11
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 50: Scamnum M.
Fig. 64

**M55**

Clm 17482. *Calendarium ecclesiasticum cum agendis et regulis eodem spectantibus.*
Scheyern(?), ca. 1500.
Scribe: multiple scribal changes throughout, frequently on same folio.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: unidentified manuscript, fifteenth century(?) covered over by calendar chart (front) and contemporary notes on moving feast days (rear). No title label.
Description: Chancery folio (318x213): 1–258: 199 (of 200) ll., f. 12/8 wanting; ink framed and ruled (250x155) in 1 column of 37 lines. Lombards, rubricated; scribal catchwords. Marginal numeration and front pastedown chart in same hand. Cycles of the sun (f. 5/1v) for years 1501–2032.

**M56**

Scribes: Scribe 1, ff. 3r–157r; Scribe 2, ff. 159r–272v; Scribe 3, ff. 273r–324v; Scribe 4, ff. 325r–379v; Scribe 5, ff. 380r–387v; Scribe 6: ff. 387v–435v.
Binding: fifteenth-century cut-leather over slightly rounded wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Title label: *Decisiones Guilhelmi hoerwort decretorum doctoris*. 38.


Description: Chancery folio (303x221): 18 2 14 3–13 12; 14 28(2); 15 10 16 14 17 10 18 14 19 10 20 14 21 10; 22–23 12; 24 12; 25–28 12; 29 6; 30 20 31 12; 32–33 12; 34 1(4+2); 35 16 36 12; 37 16; 38 18: 447 (of 461) ll., ff. 1/7, 14/1, 14/2, 14/6, 28/11, 36/12, 37/1, 37/2, 37/16, 38/1, 38/2, 38/3, 38/13, and 38/17 wanting. I: ink framed (223x131) in 1 column of 45 lines, contemporary arabic foliation; II: blind ruled (220x121), contemporary roman foliation, contemporary arabic foliation; III: ink ruled (205x135) in 41 lines; IV: blind (folded) ruled (225x117) in 1 column of 46 lines, contemporary arabic foliation for each Arnassana text with remainder of section unfoliated. Quire 1 (8 leaves) is a table of contents for the *Decisiones rotae* written by a different hand than the text.

1588 Scheyern catalogue: sub Sacmno G.

**M57**


Scheyern(?), fifteenth century.

Scribes: Scribe 1, ff. 3r–v; Scribe 2, ff. 4r–178v.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped brown calf over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 2 clasps. Pastedowns: missal, twelfth/thirteenth century(?) (front and rear).

Title label (Maurus): *Textus octo librorum phisicorum. Textus de generacione et corrupcione. Textus librorum De Anima*. 43.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Iste liber Attinet venerabili monasterii Scheyrensis* (f. 2r).

Description: Chancery folio (295x216): 116 2 12(12+2) 38 4–91 12; 10–16 12; 192 (of 196) ll., ff. 1/3, 1/15, 16/7, and 16/12 wanting. *Physicorum libri VII* blind ruling (207x100) in 1 column of 22 lines (double-spaced), with blind ruling in margins; *De generatione et corruptione* and *De anima* blind ruling (205x126) in 1 column of 20 lines. Lombards, rubricated, *De generatione et corruptione* incomplete. *De generatione et corruptione* and *De anima* with heavy marginal annotation.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 42: sub Sacmno K.

**M58**


Scheyern, 12 May 1475.
Scribes: Johannes Laubvogel (f. 227v: *Deo gracias fro ich da war.* Explicit liber *Epistolarum Dyonisii Ariopagite per me Iohannem Laubvogel de Scheyrn scriptum et finitum die xii mensis Maii Anno domini M° cccc° lxxv°*).

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped brown calf (heavily worn) over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Primary wound endbands. Pastedowns: missal, fifteenth century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown).

Description: Chancery quarto (215x154): 114 2–1912 2010; 223 (of 228) ll., ff. 1/1, 1/6, 20/8, 20/9, and 20/10 wanting; blind ruling (135x89) in 1 column of 20 double-spaced lines. Scribal rubrication, catchwords; decorated initials.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 52: sub Scamno N.

M59


Scheyern, 1487.

Scribe and decorator: Maurus of Eichstätt (f. 91v, M: *Est scriptus per fratrem Maurum A·87*).


Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste libellus est beate Marie virginis in Scheyren* (front pastedown).

Description: Chancery quarto (215x160): 114 2–312 412(5+2) 5–1012; 11–1712; 18–2012 21–2210; 23–2412: 280 (of 288) ll., ff. 1/1, 1/14, 11/1, 10/12, 17/12, 21/1, 22/10, 24/10, and 24/12 wanting; blind ruling (141x103) in 1 column of 31 lines. Lombards, rubricated; decorated initials. Initials, rubrication, catchwords, and signatures (start over at quire 18) by Maurus. Quartered Scheyern coat-of-arms in decorated initial on f. 205r.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, pp. 18–19: Scamnum D(?).

Figs. 9 and 24
M60

Scheyern, 1474.
Scribe: Maurus of Eichstätt (f. 256v: *Explicit libellus iste scriptus per fratrem quendam presbytrem professum Monasterii In Scheyren sub obediencia domini Abbatis Georgii etc. temporis ibid Anno domini M˚ cccc˚ lxxii˚. F . M.*).
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped red calf over slightly beveled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Braided twine over primary wound endbands. Title label damaged, ... .17(?).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste libellus est beate Marie virginis nec non Alme Crucis In Scheyren* (front pastedown).
Description: Chancery quarto (212x157): 1–512; 6–712 812(3+1) 9–1312; 14–1912 2016 218 2210 232: 247 (of 249) ll., ff. 20/5 and 21/2 wanting; blind ruling (140x92) in 1 column of 29 lines. Lombards, rubricated; decorated initials. Scribal rubrication, headlines, and catchwords; lombards are not by Maurus (as in Clm 17502).
Acquisition code: c24.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, pp. 18–19: Scamnum D(?).

M61
Clm 17504. *De pugna spirituali sermones quadregesimales*, ff. 1r–106v; *Speculum peccatorum*, ff. 107r–112r; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De horis canonici*, 112r–127r; *Deus misereatur nostri*, ff. 127v–129r; sermons on the body of Christ and other topics, ff. 130r–140r; *Sorrows and joys of the Virgin Mary*, ff. 140v–142r; sermon for Easter vigil, ff. 143r–146v; Augustine, *De desiderio divino amoris* (incomplete), ff. 147r–149v.

Scheyern(?), fifteenth century.
Scribes: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–106v; Scribe 2, ff. 107r–142r; Scribe 3: ff. 143r–149v.
Binding: fifteenth-century, blind-stamped calf over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 clasp wanting.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste libellus est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown).
Description: Chancery quarto (208x153): 1–912; 10–1112; 1214; 134; 144: 151 (of 154) ll., ff. 11/12, 12/14, and 14/4 and quire before 1 (probably blank?) wanting; ff. 1r–106v, blind ruled (146x96) in 1 column of 28 lines; ff. 107r–129r, graphite ruling (165x112) in 1 column of 27 lines; ff. 130r–149v, graphite ruling (170x115) in 1 column of 31 lines. Lombards, rubricated.
**M62**


Scheyern(?), 1476 (f. 120v: *Explicit Lavacrum conscientie feria sexta post Remigii Anno domini millesimo Quadringentesimo sexagesimo septimo* (= 18 Jan. or 6 Oct.).

Scribes: Scribe 1, ff. 1r–120v; Scribe 2, ff. 121r–152v.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped calf over partially beveled wooden boards (heavily worn), on 3 double bands. 1 clasp wanting. Braided endbands.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Atinet iste liber monasterio beate Marie virginis in Scheirnensis* (f. 1v, with coat-of-arms).

Description: Chancery quarto (210x145): 1\(^{14}\) 2–9 \(^{12}\) 10\(^{12}\) (10+1); 11–12\(^{12}\): 145 (of 147) ll., ff. 1/14 and 10/10 wanting; ff. 1r–120v, blind framed and ruled (146x94) in 1 column of 30 lines; ff. 121r–152v, blind ruled (170x107) in 2 columns of 31 lines. Lombards, rubricated, foliated; decorated initials. Rubrication and Description same throughout all scribal sections. Tabula for *Lavacum conscientiae* on ff. 2r–3r.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 62: sub Scamno N.

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**M63**

Clm 17509. *Scheyern Fürstentafeln*, ff. 1r–6v.

Scheyern, fifteenth century (second-half).\(^{11}\)

Scribe: Hainrich Zäch.

Binding: modern.

Provenance: Scheyern.


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**M64**

Clm 17510. Andreas de Escobar, *De decimis*.

Scheyern, fifteenth century.

Scribe: Stephanus Sandizeller.

Binding: modern.

Description: Paper quarto: 1–3\(^{12}\), 33 (of 36) ll., ff. 1/7, 3/11, and 3/12 wanting; f. 3/10 blank; ink ruling (141x108) in 1 column of 30 lines. Initials incomplete.

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**M65**

Clm 17521. *Opusculum de precaonis et magnificis excellentiis V. Mariae*, pp. 1–210;


Scheyern, 28 Sept. 1491 and 9 March 1492.

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\(^{11}\) The stint is traditionally dated to before 1450 or to the first-third of the century, but this date is probably too early for Hainrich Zäch; see Moeglin, *Ancêtres du Prince*, 250.

Binding: fifteenth-century unstamped brown leather over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 clasp wanting. Pastedowns: missal, twelfth/thirteenth century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 1r).

Description: Chancery octavo (167x117): 112 2–610 712 8–1510: 152 (of 155) ll., ff. 1/2, 1/12, and 11/10 wanting; blind ruling (116x71) in 1 column of 30 lines. Lombards, rubricated; scribal rubrication. Woodcut initial ‘A’ (47x40) pasted into initial space on f. 1v.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 55: sub Scamno M(?).

M66


Scheyern(?), after 1491/early sixteenth century.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light sheep over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 1 clasp wanting. Title label: Sermones diversi Adalrici de Lindaw monachi In Tegernsee. Pastedowns: missal, thirteenth century (front) and missal, late fourteenth century (rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber attinet monasterio Sancte Marie necnon alme crucis Zu Scheyren (f. 1r).

Description: Chancery octavo (157x105): 1–24 3–712; 8–1012; 11–2212 236: 254 ll.; light ink ruling (110x61) in 1 column of 23 lines. Lombards, rubricated, foliated. Sermon on f. 46v says it was composed (“factus est”) in 1491. Table of contents (quire 2) written by foliation rubricator.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 60: sub Scamno N.

M67

Clm 17523. Johannes Urbach, Directorium confessionis, ff. 1r–131v; Interrogationes fiendae in confessione de superstitionibus simplicium, ff. 132r–133v; Heinrich of Mersburg, Lectoris Magdeburgensis summula iuris canonici, ff. 134r–233v; Johannes of Freiburg, De instructione confessorum, ff. 234r–268v; Johannes Gerson, De regulis mandatorum, ff. 269r–295r; De libris sacris, ff. 296v–298r; Johannes Schlitpacher, Memoriale metricum super Biblia, ff. 298v–318r; Arbor et gradus consanguinitatis et affinitatis, ff. 319v–327r; Thomas Aquinas, De viribus animae humanae cum interpretamentis germainicis, ff. 328r–330r; Laurentius Valla, De libero arbitrio ad Garsium epsicopum Herdensem, ff. 334r–346r.

Scheyern, 1468–69.

Scribes: Johannes Burger, ff. 1r–131v, 134r–233v, and 319r–346r (f. 346r: Finis huius tractatuli de predestinacione et prescia per Laurencium commendatissimum doctarum editu permodum dialogi rescriptem per fratrem Iohannem Burger in
**M68**

Clm 23337. Evangelistary.

Scheyern, ca. 1230 and second-half of fifteenth century.

Scribes: Conrad(2), ff. 1r–41v (qq. 1–6) and Maurus of Eichstätt, ff. 42r–51v (q. 7).

Binding: sixteenth-century, blind-rolled brown calf over wooden boards, on 3 double bands; rebacked.

Description: Parchment (230x158): 1–48 58(1) 610; 710: 61 ll.; quire 7 has blind ruling (162x96) in 1 column of 30 lines (double-spaced). For a fuller description of the thirteenth-century portion of the manuscript, see Klemm, *Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 33–34. Folios 42r–51v have decorated initials at incipits. Entire manuscript has fifteenth-century foliation by Maurus. Pericopes added by Maurus include readings for major feasts: Vigil of the Nativity (f. 42r), Last Supper (f. 42v), Corpus Christi (f. 43v), saints: Benedict (f. 45v), Mary Magdalene (f. 47r), and a reading for the dead (f. 49r). On the thirteenth-century production, see Klemm, *Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 33–34.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 65: Scamnum O.

Fig. 19

**M69**

Clm 26134. Rule of St. Benedict, derived from the Collections of the Fathers, the Rule of St. Basil, and Bernard of Clairvaux’s *De praecepto et dispensatione illustrata*, ff. 1r–180r; directions for the election of the abbot, ff. 181r–189r; titles of books on canon law, ff. 189v–214r; table on the doctors of theology, law, and philosophy, ff. 214v–222v; ‘On the discipline of monks’ (incomplete), ff. 223r–226v
Scheyern, fifteenth century (second-half?).
Scribes: Frater Benedict, ff. 1r–180r (f. 178v: Explicit regula Sancti Benedicti per fratem Benedictum diaconum); Scribe 2, ff. 181r–226v (hand is quite similar to Benedict’s but several letters and macrons are formed differently).
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light sheep over bevelled wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 1 clasp wanting. Pastedowns removed, offset.
Description: Chancery octavo (159x115): 1–6 10 7–8 9 10–16 12 17 8; 18–20 21 10 11 22 6: 226 (of 228) ll., ff. 22/5 and 22/6 wanting; ff. 1r–180r, blind ruling (111x75) in 1 column of 28 lines; ff. 181r–189r, blind ruling (125x80) in 1 column of 29 lines. Lombards, rubricated (same throughout); decorated initials. ‘On the discipline of monks’ on separate quire: Chancery octavo (151x106) with blind ruling (113x86) in 1 column of 19 lines; unrubricated. F. 83r (in initial): Benedictus, either referring to scribe, in which case the scribe might also be the decorator, or to the text. Diagram on f. 120v of a clock with the monastic hours labeled.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 62: sub Scamno N.
Fig. 20

M70

Clm 26138. Augustine, De fuga mulierum, ff. 1v–5r, De continentia, ff. 5r–8r, De contemptu mundi, ff. 8r–13v, De communi vita clericorum, ff. 13v–27v; Bonaventura, De sacramento eucharistiae et de preparatione digna, ff. 28r–40r, Laudatorum, 40v–54v, De laude Jesu Christi (incomplete), ff. 55r–67v; Augustine, De cognitione verae vitae, ff. 68r–81v.

Scheyern, fifteenth century.
Scribe and rubricator: Maurus of Eichstätt.
Binding: modern (August 1920).
Description: Chancery octavo (154x98): 16 2–4 12; 512 612(6+1) 72: 70 ll.; blind ruling (106x70) in 1 column of 25 lines. Lombards, rubricated; decorated initials. Label (damaged) pasted to f. 1r with date 30 Nov. 1444 (pridie kalends decembris Anno M° cccc” xliii”).

M71

2 Inc.s.a. 1044, ff. 61r–64v. Johannes Mathias Tuberinus, Relatio de Simone puero tridentino.

Scheyern, after 4 Apr. 1475.
Scribe and rubricator: Maurus of Eichstätt.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: dark calf over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: Ordinarium missae, fourteenth century (front and rear).
Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front pastedown).
Description: 14°: 4 ll., bound after Gaius Sallustius Crispus, De coniuratione Catilinae, with De bello Jugurthino ([Basel: Martin Flach (printer of Basel), about 1474]).
ISTC is00058000. Lombard on f. 1r. Copied from printed edition (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, [after 4 Apr. 1475]), ISTC it00489000.

Fig. 8

Salzburg, St. Peter, Klosterbibliothek.

**M72**

B IV 13. Calendar (Freising use), ff. 1r–6v; devotional tracts (Ger.), ff. 8r–82v; commentary on the Ten Prayers of Marquard of Lindau and Thomas Peuntner (Ger.), ff. 96r–201r; “Mirror of Devotion” (Ger.), ff. 202r–239v; instructions and prayers for Communion (Ger.), ff. 242r–265v; Communion tract (Ger.), ff. 265v–281r; commentary on Our Father (Ger.), ff. 281r–289v; daily prayers (Ger.), ff. 291r–312r.

Scheyern(?), third-quarter of the fifteenth century.

Binding: K30 Scheyern.

Provenance: Scheyern(?). – Salzburg, St. Peter, Benedictines, *Conventij S. Petri Salisburgi 1628* (f. 8r).


Scheyern, Klosterbibliothek.

**M73**

Ms. 33. *Liber formulares*.

Scheyern, fifteenth century.


**M74**

Ms. 37. *Consuetudines Schyrenses*.

Scheyern, 1452.


Lost/Location Unknown.

**M75**

Bernhard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica canticorum*, 1469. Scribe: Hainrich Molitor.\(^{12}\)

**Incunabula**

Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica.

**P1**

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\(^{12}\) Described in the Scheyern manuscript catalogue of 1610, see Cbm Cat. 3, f. 218v: *Sermones S. Bernardi super cantica canticorum membrano inscripti in maiori forma, per Hainricum Molitorem de Augusta anno domini 1469.*


1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 38: sub Scamno I.


Angers, Université Catholique de l’Ouest, Fondation V.

P2


1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 32: sub Scamno G (or p. 61: sub Scamno N).


Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Library.

P3


Binding: K30 Scheyern(?).


Cambridge, University Library.

P4


Binding: K30 Scheyern.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis in Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij B. Virginis S. Almae Crucis in Scheyern* (f. 1r).

Description: Unrubricated, initials incomplete.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 47: sub Scamno L (or p. 65: sub Scamno O).

Groningen, Rijksuniversiteit.

P5

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren*.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 68: sub Scamno P.

Bibliography: Anton Gerard Roos, *Catalogus der incunabelen van de bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen* (Groningen: Wolters, 1912), Nr. 83.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

**P6**


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped leather over bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 clasp. Pastedown: lectionary, twelfth century (rear).


Description: rubricated, woodcuts colored.

Acquisition code: l29.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 71, *Das Buech genant die vierundtzhainzigst harffen*.

**P7**


Binding: K90 Augsburg.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis in Scheyren* (front pastedown), *Monasterij Schyrensis* and *F. F. Schyrensium* (f. 2r) and *Monasterij Scheÿrn* (f. z6v).

Description: lombards, rubricated.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 9: Scamnum B.

**P8**


Binding: Augsburg (unidentified bindery), blind-stamped calf over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. Paper label (Maurus’s hand): *Decretales .6*.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r).

Description: lombards, rubricated; illuminated in Augsburg workshop, miniatures at beginning of books: ff. a2r, n10r, B9r, M10r, and Q1r. Foliation and alphabetical index (f. a1v) by Maurus.

Acquisition code: n12.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 33: Scamnum H.
P8
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep or calf over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 5 double bands. 2 clasps, but furniture wanting. Pastedowns: antiphonal, twelfth century (front and rear).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis in Scheyren* (f. 1r).
Description: rubricated, woodcut initials colored.
Acquisition code: l30.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 64: Scamnum O.
Available online through BSB: [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00025011/image_1](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00025011/image_1)

P9
Binding: K30 Scheyern (both vols.): blind-stamped calf over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided colored twine over primary wound endband. Pastedowns: gradual, first-half of thirteenth century (I, front and rear); sacramentary, first-half of thirteenth century (II, front and rear).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Maria virginis In Scheyrem* (I and II, front pastedown) and *Monasterij B: Virginis et Almae Crucis in Scheyrn* (I and II, f. a2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated (both vols. same); illuminated initials: I, f. a3r and II, f. a2r with Scheyern coat-of-arms. Headlines in II by Maurus.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 37: Scamnum I.
Fig. 69

P10
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped reddish, soft calf over wooden boards, on 3 bands; wearing very badly. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Primary wound endbands. Pastedowns removed, offsets. Title label (Maurus): *Summa gallensis quo...* (worn).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r).
Description: woodcut initials colored.
Acquisition code: l3.
Available online through BSB: [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043211/image_1](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043211/image_1)

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13 On twelfth-century antiphonary fragments, see Klemm, *Romanischen Handschriften*, II/1: Nr. 13.
P11


Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (IV, front pastedown).

Description: lombards, rubricated; decorated initials: III, f. a6r and IV, f. a3r with Scheyern coat-of-arms (by Maurus).

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 23: Scamnum E.

P12.1

Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043241/image_1

Bound with:

P12.2


Description (both eds.): lombards, rubricated. Contemporary foliation and table of contents (f. a1r of Bartholomaeus) by same hand.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 32: sub Scamnum G.

P13

Description: lombards, rubricated; illuminated initial (Italian), f. a2r with abraded Italian arms.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 66: Scamnum P.
Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00046992/image_1

P14
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns: missal, fourteenth century (front and rear). Title label (Maurus): *Liber Commentarius G. Iuly Cesaris de bellis gallico et civili.* .44.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis Ordinis S: P: Benedicti*: (f. a1r).
Description: lombards, rubricated.
Acquisition code: m10.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 39: sub Scarno I.

P15
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns: *Liber ordinarius*, fourteenth century (front and rear) and breviary, twelfth century (removed, see Clm 29322(51). Title label (Maurus): *Questiones magistri Iohannis de Turrecremata Super Ewangelia De tempore et Sanctis.* .3.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (ff. a2r, z8v, A2r, M9v).
Description: lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 29: sub Scarno F.

P16
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light sheep or calf over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns: antiphonal, twelfth century (front and rear).14
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij B. Virginis et alma Crucis in Scheïrn ord: S: Benedicti*: (f. a2r).

14 On twelfth-century antiphonary fragments, see Klemm, *Romanischen Handschriften*, II/1: Nr. 13.
Description: lombards, rubricated; initial on f. a2r incomplete.

P17
2 Inc.c.a. 814 (2 vols.). Johannes de Anania, Commentaria super prima et secunda parte libri quinti Decretalium, with Repertorium (Bologna: Henricus de Colonia, 7 Dec. 1479, 5 Jan. 1480 (In three parts, dated: 7 Dec. 1479 (Commentaria, parts I-II); 5 Jan. 1480 (Repertorium)). ISTC ij00250150.

Binding (both vols.): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Primary wound endbands with pendant braid.


Description (both vols.): lombards, rubricated; rubrication by “C.P.” Title paper label stuck in at f. b2r: Sancti Bernardi ad Eugenium li: quinque. Item flores excerpti de libris eiusdem. Cum aliis tractatibus. (= 2 Inc.s.a. 183).

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 33: Scamnum H.

P18

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: missal, fourteenth century (rear (f. “99”), front wanting). Title label: Drines(?) de Regluis Iuris et Bartholomeus Cepola veronensis de simulatis contractibus Repeticio pulchra .d. Pauli De Castro super Rubricam de libris et postumis. .7. According to title label, two works used to be bound before the Paulus de Castro: Dinus de Mugello, De regulis iuris and Bartholomeus Cepolla, De simulatione contractuum; however, there is no damage to the binding to suggest the removal of these two works.

Provenance: Scheyern, Scheyrn (f. a2r).

Description: unrubricated.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 67: Scamnum P.

P19

Binding (both vols.): K30 Scheyern(?): fifteenth-century, blind-stamped leather covered in red-painted paper and quarter white leather, over wooden boards, on 5 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided colored twine over primary wound endbands. Pastedowns: sacramentary, eleventh century (front and rear, both vols.).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Maria virginis In Scheyrn (I, front pastedown) and F. F. Schyrensium (II, f. 2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated; decorated initials on I, f. a1r and II, f. A1r with Scheyern coat-of-arms. Minor initials on I, f. 1r and II, f. 2r by Maurus(?).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 5: Scamnum A.

P20
2 Inc.c.a. 1036 e. Bonaventura, Sermones de tempore et de sanctis ([Ulm]: Johann Zainer, 1481). ISTC ib00949000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped sheep over partially-bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands.
Pastedowns: sacramentary, tenth century (front and rear; additional leaf removed, see Clm 29300(11).
Description: lombards, rubricated; De tempore and De sanctis by different rubricators: De tempore has same rubricator as 2 Inc.c.a. 1065 c and 2 Inc.c.a. 1125.
Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis in Scheyren (front pastedown and fly verso) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 2r).
Acquisition code: n24.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 20: sub Scamno D.

P21
2 Inc.c.a. 1051. Jacobus de Dondis, Aggregator sive De Medicinis simplicibus (Venice: [For Michael Manzolus], 23 May 1481). ISTC id00359000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting; fragment of leather strap with dark red-colored paper glued to outer side remaining. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns (front and rear): missal, twelfth century.
Description: lombards, rubricated, foliated; 12 illuminated initials by the Rich Illuminator. Purchase inscription in his hand: Nomina doctorum phisicorum et autorum huius Libri ~ Emptus est pro x ß [trimmed] Anno domini ‧ 148[trimmed] (f. 2r).
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 2r).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 63: Scamnum O.
Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00052314/
   image_1

P22
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped sheep over partially-bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands.
Title label: Preceptor de Magister H[damaged] 18.
Provenance: Scheyern, F. F. Schyrensium and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 2r).
Description: red and blue lombards, rubricated (same rubricator as 2 Inc.c.a. 1036 e and 2 Inc.c.a. 1125); illuminated initial I (f. a1r).
Acquisition code: n26.

P23

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped sheep over partially-bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather over primary wound endbands. Pastedowns: sacramentary, ninth century (front and rear; one fragment removed, see Clm 29300(11).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis in Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 1r).

Description: Lombards, rubricated (same rubricator as 2 Inc.c.a. 1036 e and 2 Inc.c.a. 1065 c); illuminated initial V (f. a1v) by the Rich Illuminator.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 47: sub Scamno L.

Fig. 26
Available online through BSB: [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043182/image_1](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043182/image_1)

P24

Binding (all vols.): K30 Scheyern: quarter blind-stamped, red pig over partially bevelled wooden boards, covered in red-painted paper, on 5 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided colored twine over primary wound endbands. Pastedowns: I: breviary, thirteenth century (front) and lectionary, thirteenth century (rear); II–IV: breviary, thirteenth century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis in Scheyren* (front pastedown, all four vols.).

Description: lombards, rubricated (all 4 vols. same); illuminated initials by the Rich Illuminator, with Scheyern coat-of-arms: I, f. c2r, II–IV, ff. b2r.


1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 26: Scamnum F.

Fig. 27

P25

Description: lombards, rubricated; illuminated initial (II, f. 1r).
Acquisition code: p12.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 23: Scamnum E.

P26
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped sheep over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double bands, rebacked. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Primary wound endbands.
Description: 3-line lombards (blue) and major initials flourished (ff. b1r, p6r, f. 91r in manuscript canon) by hand, rubrics and 2-line lombards printed. Manuscript additions: ff. 2v–7v (1, f. 8 wanting, f. 1 blank), ff. l6 and m1 (canon) replaced with 4 manuscript leaves (ff. 91–94), and a quire of 6 leaves at end (236, ff. 5 and 6 wanting). Folios 2v–7v, 91r–94v, and 182r–va written by Maurus of Eichstätt, f. 181vb written by Hainrich Zäch, and ff. 182vb–185v in several unidentified fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hands.
Available online through BSB: [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00056714/image_1](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00056714/image_1)

P27
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped sheep over wooden boards, on 5 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting; evidence of previous chain on top board. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns: sacramentary, eleventh century (front and rear). Title label: *Catholicicon* .49.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber attinet Venerabili Monasterio Scheÿrensis* (front pastedown) and *Monastreij Schyrensis* (f. a1r).
Description: lombards, rubricated; ink-line initial with Scheyern coat-of-arms, f. a1r (prefatory drawing for illumination?).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 49: Scamnum M.
Fig. 2

P28.1
Bound with:
P28.2
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped leather over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: sacramentary, tenth century (front and rear). Title label (damaged): *Sextus Decretalium Cum Clementinis*.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r).

Description (both eds.): lombards, rubricated.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 32: Scamnum G.

P29

2 Inc.c.a. 1744. Justinianus, *Codex Justinianus* (with the Glossa Ordinaria of Accursius)


Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a2r)

Description: No rubrication, initials incomplete.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 66: Scamnum P.

Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00050162/

image_1

P30

2 Inc.c.a. 1939 b. Rupertus, Abbas Tuiciensis, *De victoria verbi dei* ([Augsburg]: Anton Sorg, 1487). ISTC ir00365000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped leather over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: gradual, fourteenth century (front and rear). Title label: *Opus Ruperti abbat...[damage]*. .1.


Description: no rubrication, initials incomplete.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 10: Scamnum B.

Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043992/

image_1

P31


Binding (both vols.): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps wanting; no furniture. Pastedowns (both vols.): missal, eleventh century (front and rear). Woodcut labels (top board, both vols.) of letter ‘I’ with devil turning a man on a wheel.

Provenance: Scheyern. – Munich, Franciscans, St. Anton, *Monachii ad PP. Franciscanos no Bibl.* (I: f. a1r and II f. a2r) and stamp on top edge.

Description: no rubrication, initials incomplete.
P32


Description: lombards, rubrication; initial f. a1r incomplete.

P33
2 Inc.c.a. 2051. Vincentius Ferrerius, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 1488–89 (In three parts dated: I) 1488; II) 10 Feb. 1489; III) 27 Mar. 1489)). ISTC if00132000.


Provenance: Scheyern, *Est beatae Mariae Virginis in Scheirensis* (blank before f. 1), *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 1r and titlepage before a1 (*De sanctis*)), and titlepage before f. a1 (*De tempore*).

Description: lombards, rubricated; *De sanctis* and *De tempore* by different rubricators. Seventeenth-century notes on sermon dates.

P34.1

Bound with:

P34.2

Binding: fifteenth-century, quarter brown leather over wooden boards. Pastedowns: printed missal fragments (front and rear, same as 2 Inc.c.a. 2314) and manuscript missal fragment, fourteenth century (rear). Paper label: *Donum Ioannis Anthonii Prepositi Mediolanem. Super Rxca de Appellacionibus. Domini Viti de Cambanis Tract. de clausularum. 38.*

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (ff. a1r, a2r of *Appellationum* and f. a2r of *Clausularum*).

Description (both eds.): lombards, rubrication.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 34: Scamnum H.
P35
2 Inc.c.a. 2057 a (3 vols.). Johannes Gerson, Opera, edited by Johannes Geiler von Kaisersberg ([Strassburg: Johann (Reinhard) Grüninger, partly with the types of Johann Prüss and Martin Flach], 1488 (In three parts dated: I) 10 Sept. 1488; II) 3 July 1488; III) 6 Sept. 1488)). ISTC ig00186000.

Binding (all vols.): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white leather over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands.
Pastedowns: psalterium, twelfth century (I and III: front and rear, II: rear).
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (I, ff. a1r, a2r; II, ff. 1r, A3r; III, ff. aa1r, aa2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated (all vols. same). Manuscript table of contents by Georg Figuli for all three vols. added to beginning of II: 1–310 (30 leaves); dated 3 March 1489 on f. 3/10v with Figuli’s arrowhead symbol, also seen on II, f. Ss5v.
 Acquisition codes: I: Q1, III: Q3.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 7: sub Scamno A.

P36
2 Inc.c.a. 2068 a. Lanfrancus de Oriano, Repetitiones (Cologne: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, 1488). ISTC il00055000.

Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 2r).
Description: unrubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 35: sub Scamno H.
Fig. 79a
Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043487/image_1

P37

Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Scheyrn (I, f. a1r and II, f. A1r).
Description: lombards, rubricated (both vols. same); initials in I, ff. a1r and a2r incomplete. Marginal notes (and rubrication?) by Frater Placidus.
 Acquisition code: II: q7.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 25: sub Scamno E.
Available online through BSB: I: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00041458/image_1; II: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00041460/image_1

P38
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped leather over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Title label: *Opera sancti Bonaventure. 4*.[?].
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (ff. a2r and a3r) and *F. F. Schyrensium* (f. a1r).
Description: lombards, rubricated; Rubricator 1: quires a–m and P–S, Rubricator 2: qq. n–q and H–O, Rubricator 3: qq. r–z and A–G.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 19: Scamnum D.

P39
2 Inc.c.a. 2314. Felinus Sandeus, *Super titulo “De rescriptis” et nonnullis aliis; Sermo de indulgentia plenaria; Quando litterae apostolicae noceant patronis ecclesiaram; Additiones ad opus principiatum a Nicolao de Tudeschis in Decretum; Tabula* (Venice: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus, Bononiensis, 29 Sept. 1489). ISTC is00156700.
Binding: fifteenth-century, quarter leather over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: printed missal fragment (front, same as 2 Inc.c.a. 2056) and manuscript missal fragments, fourteenth century (front and rear). Title label: *Felicus sandeus de rescriptis et nonnullis Aliis etc.*
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated; initial on f. a2r incomplete.
Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00061510/image_1

P40
2 Inc.c.a. 2328. Florentius Diel, *Modernorum summulae logicales* (Speyer: Peter Drach, [not before 1489]). ISTC id00190000.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber Attinet Venerabili Monasterio Scheyrensis* and *Monasterij Schyrensium* (f. a1r).
Description: lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 41: Scamnum K.

**P41.1**
2 Inc.c.a. 2337. Vincentius Ferrerius, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 1488–89 (In three parts dated: I) 1488; II) 10 Feb. 1489; III) 27 Mar. 1489)). ISTC if00132000.

Bound with:

**P41.2**
2 Inc.c.a. 2337/1. *Corona beatae Mariae virginis* ([Strassburg: Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner), not after 1488]). ISTC ic00923000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns: Ordinarius missae, twelfth century (front and rear).\(^15\) Paper label (worn):

*Sermones*....

Provenance: Scheyern, *Ex lib. B. Virginis* [abraded] *in Scheyrn* (f. §1r), *F. F. Scheyrn* (f. §2r) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r of *Corona*).

Description: lombards, rubricated.

Acquisition code: r10.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 57: Scamnum N.

**P42**


Provenance: Scheyern (II–IV), *Iste liber Attinet venerabili monasterio Scheyren* (II, blank before f. Aa1r; III, f. A1r; IV, f. a1r) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (IV, f. a2r).

Description: lombards, rubricated (II–IV same).

Acquisition code: II: r6.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 19: Scamnum D.

Fig. 78a

**P43**

\(^{15}\) On the pastedowns, see Klemm, *Romanischen Handschriften*, II/1: Nr. 11.


Description: lombards, rubricated.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 17: sub Scamno C.

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**P44**


Binding: I: fifteenth-century white sheep over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 1 clasp wanting. Provenance: Scheyern, arms on f. c2r. – Wessobrunn, Benedictines, *In Usum Frm. Wessobrunnensium* (f. 1r) and bookplate (front pastedown). 16

Description: lombards, rubricated; illuminated initial on f. c2r by the Rich Illuminator, with Scheyern coat-of-arms by a second illuminator. Quires [*] and a–b by a different rubricator.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 41: Scamnum K.

Fig. 29

Available online through BSB: [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00055954/image_1](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00055954/image_1)

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**P45**


Description: lombards, rubricated.

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**P46**


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16 Friedrich Warnecke, *Die deutschen Bücherzeichen (Ex-libris) von ihrem Ursprunge bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Stargardt, 1890), Nr. 2451.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: quarter blind-stamped white sheep over interior bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: sacramentary, thirteenth century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r).

Description: lombards, rubricated.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 68: sub Scamno P.

P47


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: gradual, fourteenth century (front and rear).


Description: initials incomplete, no rubrication.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 41: Scamnum K.

Available online through BSB: [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00055969/image_1](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00055969/image_1)

P48


Binding: sixteenth century.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* and *F. F. Schyrensium* (I, f. Aa1r; II, f. Da1r; III, f. A1r; and IV f. a2r).

Description: lombards, rubricated (all 4 volumes same); illuminated initials by the Rich Illuminator; I, f. Aa2r with Scheyern coat-of-arms.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, pp. 4–6: Scamnum A.

P49

2 Inc.c.a. 2889. Richardus de Sancto Laurentio (attributed to Albertus Magnus), *De laudibus Mariae* (Strassburg: Martin Flach (printer of Strassburg), 1493). ISTC ia00248000.

Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis Ord: S. Benedicti (f. 1r) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated; decorated initials on ff. a1v and a2v by Maurus.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 50: Scamnum M.

P50
2 Inc.c.a. 2898 g. Ovidius Naso, Publius, Metamorphoses, commentary by Raphael Regius (Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, [after 5 Sept. 1493]). ISTC io00189000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped sheep over bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting.
Description: lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 43: sub Scamno K.

P51
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped quarter white sheep over bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: missal, twelfth century (front and rear). Paper label (Maurus’s hand): Quinto Curcius de Rebus gestis All[?]agiri Regis macedonum. .44.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis Ordinis S: Benedicti (f. a1r).
Description: lombards (ff. a1v and b1r only), rubricated; initial on f. a2r incomplete.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 43: sub Scamno K.

P52
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped quarter leather over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 clasp wanting.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis ordinis S: Benedicti (f. A1r) and Monasterij Schyrensis (ff. A2r and f. 140v).
Description: lombards, rubricated. Rubrication by Frater Placidus.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 17: sub Scamno C (or p. 53: sub Scamno M?).

P53
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: unidentified letter, fifteenth century (front) and missal, twelfth century (front and rear).
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis and F. F. Schyrensium (f. a1r), Scheïrn (f.a2r) and ad Confr.: S. Rosarii (f. a1r).
Description: lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, pp. 18–19: Scamnum D.

P54
2 Inc.c.a. 3182 (2 vols.). Bonaventura, Opuscula, with Octavianus de Martinis, Oratio in vitam et merita S. Bonaventurae, Johannes Franciscus de Pavinis, Relatio circa canonizationem Bonaventurae, Robertus [Caracciolus?], Sermo de laudibus Bonaventurae; Sixtus IV, Bulla canonizationis (Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 1495). ISTC ib00928000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern (both vols.): blind-stamped leather over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: sacramentary, fourteenth–fifteenth century (I–II, front and rear). Paper labels: I: Prima pars operum Seraphici doctoris Sancti Bonaventure. .15(?) and II: Secunda pars operis Seraphici doctor[?] S. Bonaventure. .15(?)
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (I, f. 1r and II, ff. A1r, A2r, and C6v) and F. F. Schyrensium (I, f. 2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 19: Scamnum D.

P55
2 Inc.c.a. 3235 m. Speculum exemplorum (Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 4 Dec. 1495). ISTC is00655000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: German notary instrument mentioning “Lionhart abbt zu weihnstefn” (either Leonhard I, 1380–1415 or Leonhard II, 1481–84) and “Hainrich Anegoling Conventual zu Scheyrn” (front).
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 1r), over abraded earlier inscription.
Description: lombards, rubricated, ff. 4/6v–b1r and D3v–D7r only.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 47: sub Scamno L.

P56
2 Inc.c.a. 3286. Hugo de Sancto Caro, Postilla super psalterium (Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, for Stephanus and Bernardinus de Nallis, 12 Nov. 1496). ISTC ih00530000.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Scheïrn (f. AA3r) and F. F. Schyrensium (f. a1r).
Description: printed initials, unrubricated.
P57.1
2 Inc.c.a. 3320. *Decisiones Rotae Romanae* and *Decisiones diversae*, compiled by Aegidius Bellamera (Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, 1496). ISTC id00113500.

Description: lombards, rubricated: Rubricator 1: qq. a, c, f, h, k, and l; Rubricator 2 (Frater Placidus): qq. b, d, e, g, and i.

Bound with:

P57.2
2 Inc.c.a. 3320/1. *Decisiones Rotae Romanae* and *Decisiones novae*, compiled by Guillelmus Horborch, with Jacobus de Camplo, *Additiones; Decisiones antiquae*, compiled by Guillelmus Gallici, Guillelmus Horborch and Bonaguida Cremonensis; *Decisiones diversae*, compiled by Bernardus de Bosqueto and Thomas Fastolf, edited by Johannes de Molendino and Johannes Franciscus de Pavinius, with Sixtus IV and Innocentius VIII, *Regulae cancellariae* (Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, for Benedictus Fontana, 19 July 1496). ISTC id00113200.

Description: lombards, rubricated: Rubricator 3: qq. a, c, d4–5, e, f, i, l, m, o, r, s, t, B, and D; Rubricator 4: qq. b, d1–3/6–8, g, h, k, n, p, q, A, C, E, and F. Initials on ff. m1r, A1r, and D4r incomplete.


Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij b. virginis et S. Crucis in Scheyrnsis* (front fly) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r of *Decisiones Rotae Romanae*).

1588 Scheyern catalogue, pp. 66–67: Scamnum P.

P58
2 Inc.c.a. 3334 b. Gregorius IX, Pope, *Decretales cum glossa*, edited with a gloss by Hieronymus Clarius (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 10 June 1496). ISTC ig00473000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: sacramentary, eleventh century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis ordinis S: P: Benedicti: (f. 1r) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 2r).*

Description: lombards incomplete (most lombards and rubrics printed).

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 33: Scamnum H.

P59.1
2 Inc.c.a. 3446. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogiae deorum*, additions by Dominicus Silvester, with *De montibus, silvis, fontibus, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis seu
paludibus, de nominibus maris (Venice: Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 25 Mar. 1497). ISTC ib00754000.

Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00048652/

Bound with:

P59.2
2 Inc.c.a. 3446/1. Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, In Somnium Scipionis expositio with Saturnalia (Venice: [Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis], 29 June 1492). ISTC im00012000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: liturgy (Good Friday), thirteenth century (front and rear). Paper label (Maurus?): Iohannis boccacii de Genealogia deorum libri 15. Et alia eiusdem opuscula. Item Macrobius de Sompnio Scipionis libri duo. Libri saturnaliam eiusdem septem.~ .45.

Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 1r).

Description (both eds.): lombards (most woodcuts), rubricated; rubrication by “C.P.”

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 68: sub Scamno P.

Fig. 79b

P60
2 Inc.c.a. 3490 b. Robertus Holkot, Quaestiones super IV libros Sententiarum, edited by Augustinus de Ratisbona and Jodocus Badius Ascensius, with Quaestio de imputabilitate peccati, Conferentiae quaedam, and Determinationes quarumdam aliarum quaestionum (Lyons: Johannes Trechsel, 5-20 Apr. 1497). ISTC ih00287000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns removed, offset.

Provenance: Scheyern, F. F. In Scheyrn (f. 1r).

Description: lombards, rubrication.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 30: sub Scamno F.

P61.1

Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043216/

Bound with:

P61.2
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: gradual, fourteenth century.
Description (both eds.): lombards, rubricated.

P62
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: fragment of *Historia nova, pulchra, devota et authentica de sancta Anna* ([Augsburg: Anton Sorg] 1479), ISTC ia00742000.
Description: printed initials, unrubriated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 43: sub Scamno K.
Available online through BSB: [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00057432/image_1](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00057432/image_1)

P63
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting.
Description: lombards, rubricated.

P64
Description: lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 36: sub Scamno H.

P65

Binding: K30 Scheyern (both vols.): blind-stamped light pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: sacramentary, fourteenth century (II, front and rear; I removed but offset seems to be from the same manuscript) and proof print from *Schwabenspiegel: Summarie von kunglichen und keyserlichen darzu landt und lehen rechten* ([Augsburg: Günther Zainer, about 1475]), ISTC il00046000 (II, rear).


Description: lombards, rubricated; rubricated by “C.P.,” initials on ff. 220v and 221r signed “C:~” and “~:P”.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 56: Scamnum N.

Fig. 21

P66


Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Maria virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown and front fly recto) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a2r).

Description: lombards, rubricated.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 40: Scamnum K.

P67

2 Inc.s.a. 178 c. Bernardinus Senensis, *Quadragesimale de christiana religione* ([Basel: Johann Amerbach, not after 1489]). ISTC ib00346000.


Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r).

Description: lombards, rubricated.

Acquisition code: r1.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 25: sub Scamno E.

P68

2 Inc.s.a. 179. Bernardinus Senensis, *Sermones de evangelio aeterno* ([Basel: Johann Amerbach, not after 1489]). ISTC ib00349000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped brown calf over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns:
missal, fifteenth century (front) and sacramentary, twelfth century (rear).\(^\dagger\) Title label (partially torn away): *Sermones s. Benhardini* [ew]angeli[...].

Description: Lombards, rubricated.
Acquisition code: q30.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 57: Scamnum N.

**P69.1**
2 Inc.s.a. 182 c. Bernardinus Senensis, *Tractatus de contractibus et usuris* ([Strassburg: Printer of Henricus Ariminensis (Georg Reyser?), not after 1474]). ISTC ib00345000.

Bound with:

**P69.2**

Description (both eds.): lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 25: sub Scamno E.

**P70**
2 Inc.s.a. 212 a (4 vols.). *Biblia latina* (with the *Glossa Ordinaria* of Pseudo-Walafrid Strabo and interlinear glosses of Anselmus Laudunensis) ([Strassburg: Adolf Rusch, for Anton Koberger at Nuremberg, not after 1480]). ISTC ib00607000.

Description (4 vols.): modern.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (IV, f. 1r and f. A1r (Epistles of Paul)).
Description: Lombards, rubricated; illuminated initials by the Rich Illuminator in all 4 vols.; Creation miniature on I, f. a1r.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 5: Scamnum A.
Figs. 28a–b

**P71**
2 Inc.s.a. 247 c. Georgius Bruxellensis, *Cursus quaestionum super philosophiam Aristotelis*, edited by Thomas Bricot ([Freiburg im Breisgau: Kilianus Piscator (Fisher), about 1494]). ISTC ig00147000.

Binding: K85 Augsburg. Title label: *Cursus optimarum questionum super philosophiam aristotelis cum interpretacione textus per magistram Thoma bricot sacre theologii professorum. 40.*

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\(^\dagger\) On the twelfth-century sacramentary fragment, see Klemm, *Romanischen Handschriften*, II/1: Nr. 10.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber attinet Venerabili Monasterio Scheïren* (front fly recto) and *Monasterij Scheïrn* (f. Aa1r).
Description: lombards, rubricated.

**P72**

2 Inc.s.a. 248 d (2 vols.). Johannes de Bromyard, *Summa praedicantium* ([Basel: Johann Amerbach, not after 1484]). ISTC ij00260000.


Description (II): lombards, rubricated; rubrication possibly by “C.P.”
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 25: sub Scamno E.

**P73**

2 Inc.s.a. 252 ab. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulcri, *Commentarium in Valerianum Maximum* ([Strassburg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch?), not after 1475]). ISTC id00242000.


Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 38: sub Scamno I (or p. 41: Scamnum K).

**P74**

2 Inc.s.a. 266. Robertus Caracciolus, *Sermones quadragesimales de poenitentia* ([Strassburg: Georg Husner, about 1479]). ISTC ic00180000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Primary wound endbands. Pastedowns: gradual, fourteenth century.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Maria virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Scheïrn* (f. a2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated.
Acquisition code: m17.

**P75**

2 Inc.s.a. 461 c. Johannes de Fonte, *Compendium librorum Sententiarum* ([Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1475–76]). ISTC ij00314000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 center-board clasp wanting. Braided leather endbands.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r).
Description: initials and rubrication printed.
Acquisition code: m2.

P76
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting, no furniture. Braided leather endbands.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrens and Monasterij Scheýrn (f. a2r).
Description: rubricated, initials incomplete.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 63: Scamnum O.

P77
2 Inc.s.a. 552 f. Guillermus Alvernus, Episcopus Parisiensis, De fide et legibus ([Augsburg: Günther Zainer, not after 1476]). ISTC ig00711000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped red sheep over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided colored twine over primary wound endbands with pendant braid. Pastedowns: matins readings, eleventh century (front and rear).
Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front pastedown) and F. F. Schyrensium (f. a2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated.
Acquisition code: k26.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 12: sub Scamno B.

P78.1
2 Inc.s.a. 556 g. Guillermus Alvernus, Episcopus Parisiensis, Rhetorica divina ([Freiburg im Breisgau: Kilianus Piscator (Fischer), not after 1491]). ISTC ig00714000.
Bound with:

P78.2
2 Inc.s.a. 556 g/1. Ephrem Syrus, Sermones ([Freiburg im Breisgau: Kilianus Piscator (Fischer), not after 1491]). ISTC ie00044000.
Binding: K83 Augsburg. Title label: Rethorica divina domini Guilermi parisiensis. Item libri sancti Effrem diaconi :~ .33.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrens (f. 1r).
Description (both eds.): lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 48: sub Scamno L.

P79
2 Inc.s.a. 602. Johannes Herolt, Liber Discipuli de eruditione Christifidelium ([Strassburg: Jacob Eber, about 1483]). ISTC ih00093000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns removed: see Clm 29303(4), lectionary, first-half of the ninth century.


Description: lombards, rubricated; illuminated initial f. a2r by the Rich Illuminator.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 56: Scamnum N.

P80

2 Inc.s.a. 800. Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum libri IV* ([Strassburg: Printer of Henricus Ariminensis (Georg Reyser?)], about 1476]. ISTC ip00479100.


Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown).

Description: lombards, rubricated; decorated initial on f. a1r. Table of contents added on 3 leaves before text, ff. 1vc–3v by Maurus of Eichstätt.

Acquisition code: m23.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 27: Scamnum F.

P81

2 Inc.s.a. 804. Innocentius III, Pope, *Liber de contemptu mundi, sive De miseria humanae conditionis* ([Germany (Blaubeuren?): Printer of Lotharius (H 10209) (Conrad Mancz?), probably before 1474]). ISTC ii00084000.


Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren*.

Description: lombards, rubrics; foliated by hand of 1588 Scheyern catalogue.

Acquisition code: l22.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 62: sub Scamno N.

Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00044165/image_1

P82


Binding: fifteenth century, quarter brown leather over beveled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 center-board clasp wanting. Spine damaged from removal of several texts. Fly leaf: evangelistary, fifteenth century (front fly, rear pastedown covered by plain paper). Title label (Maurus): *De Itinere ad terram sanctam*. 
Sermo de concepcione S Marie. Tractatus hebraiciis contra iudeos de comdirommbria [sic] veri inestie. .84(?).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front fly verso) and Monasterij Beatae Virginis et alae Crucis in Scheÿrn ordinis S. P. Benedicti (f. a1r).

Description: lombards, rubricated. The “Tractatus hebraiciis…” is likely Petrus Niger’s Contra perfidos Judaeos de conditionibus veri Messiae, which was only printed in two editions in the fifteenth century, both by Conrad Fyner in Esslingen in 1475 (ISTC in00257000) and 1477 (ISTC in00258000).

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 55: sub Scamno M.

P83

2 Inc.s.a. 813 c. Nicolaus de Lyra, Moralia super totam Bibliam ([Strassburg: Georg Husner, about 1479]). ISTC in00112000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns: sacramentary, ninth century (front and rear; additional fragment removed, see Clm 29300(11).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front pastedown) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 1r).

Description: lombards, rubricated, foliated; 3 illuminated initials (ff. a2r, a2v, and h1r) by the Rich Illuminator, initial on f. z1r (Matthew) incomplete. Lombard initial ‘I’ on f. s4r signed “Benedictus.” Foliation and register on f. a1v by Maurus of Eichstätt.

Acquisition code: n11.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 3: Scamnum A.

P84

2 Inc.s.a. 872 a. Richardus de Mediavilla, Commentum super quarto Sententiarum (Venice: Christophorus Arnoldus, [not after 1477]). ISTC im00423000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns: breviary, twelfth century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren (front fly verso) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. aa2r).

Description: lombards, rubricated; decorated initial on f. a1r.

Acquisition code: m28.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 28: Scamnum F.

Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00058895/image_1

P85

Binding (I; II bound in sixteenth century): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided colored twine over primary wound endbands with pendant braid. Pastedsowns: psalter, twelfth/thirteenth century (front) and sacramentary, twelfth century (rear). Title label (Maurus): *Sermones Meffret de [?] pars yemalis*. .[?].

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (I, front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (I, f. a2r); *Ex libris M. Joannis Schnabelii* (II, front pastedown), *Monasterij Schyrensis* (II, f. Aa1r), and *Ex Lib. B. Virginis in Scheyrn* (II, f. Aa2r).

Description: I: lombards, rubricated; II: unrubricated.


1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 56: Scamnum N.

P86


Binding: K81 Augsburg.


Description: lombards.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 56: Scamnum N.

P87


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light sheep over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Title label (Maurus?): *Anditorarius nicolai medicinarum Iohann[?] mesue Grabadin. Liber servitoris de preparacione medicinarum. .45*.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a3r).

Description: lombards, rubricated

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 63: Scamnum O.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped calf and sheep over bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: sacramentary, eleventh century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyrn* (front pastedown, not by Maurus) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r).

Description: lombards, rubricated.

Acquisition code: o23.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 48: sub Scamno L.

P89


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped red sheep over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Primary wound endbands. Pastedowns: Liber ordinarius, fourteenth century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyrn* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. *2r*).

Description: lombards, rubricated. Ff. p4–p7 replaced in manuscript by Maurus of Eichstätt.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 56: Scamnum N.

P90

2 Inc.s.a. 994 (2 vols.). Plutarch, *Vitae illustrium virorum* [Latin], edited by J.A. Campanus, with Sextus Rufus, *De historia Romana* ([Strassburg: Johannes Mentelin and/or Adolf Rusch, about 1473–75]). ISTC ip00831000.

Binding (both vols.): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Pastedowns: missal, eleventh century (front and rear, both vols.). Title labels: I: *Plutarchi prima pars*. 44; II: *Plutarchi secunda pars*.


Description (both vols. same): lombards, rubricated; decorated initials and contemporary foliation. Manuscript register on leaf before II, f. aa1r.


1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 40: Scamnum K.

P91

2 Inc.s.a. 1044. Gaius Sallustius Crispus, *De coniuratione Catilinae*, with *De bello Jugurthino* ([Basel: Martin Flach (printer of Basel), about 1474]). ISTC is00058000.

Bound with: Johannes Mathias Tuberinus, *Relatio de Simone puero tridentino*, ff. 1r–4v (ff. 61r–64v of volume). For description, see Manuscripts section above.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: dark calf over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: *Ordinarium missae*, fourteenth century (front and rear).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown).
Description: lombards, rubricated.

**P92**

2 Inc.s.a. 1076 a. Honoratus Servius Maurus, *Commentarii in Vergilii opera* ([Strassburg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 1471]). ISTC is00480000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern. Pastedowns: Liber ordinarius, fifteenth century (front and rear).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 41: Scamnum K.

**P93**

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped brown calf over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and round scalloped furniture wanting. Braided colored twine over primary wound endbands, heavily fraying. Title label (Maurus): *Liber pandectarum medicine*. 47.
Description: lombards, rubricated (dated 1483); illuminated initials by the Rich Illuminator.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 63: Scamnum O.

**P94**

2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1 (vol. I only). Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale* ([Strassburg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 15 June 1476]). ISTC iv00292000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light pig over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 5 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided colored twine over primary wound endbands with pendant braid.
Description: lombards, rubricated; illuminated initial f. a2r by Augsburg workshop (Johann Bämler workshop?), with Scheyern coat-of-arms. Folio C1r wanting, replaced in manuscript by Maurus of Eichstätt.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 37: Scamnum I.
Fig. 63

**P95**

Binding (both vols.): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 5 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands. Fly leaves: antiphonal, twelfth century (both vols., front and rear).\(^{18}\)

Title label, I: *Vincentii Speculi Naturalis pars prima*; II: *Secunda pars Speculi Naturalis vincentii*. 9.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (I and II, front fly verso), *Monasterij Scheïrn* (I, f. a2r), and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (II, f. bb1r).

Description: lombards, rubricated; illuminated initials on I, ff. a2r, c3r and II, f. bb1r by Augsburg workshop (Johann Bämler workshop?), with Scheyern coat-of-arms.

Acquisition code: l6 (vol. I).

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 37: Scamnum I.

Fig. 67

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4 Inc.c.a. 84 m. Paulus II, Pope, *Regulae ordinationes et constitutiones cancellariae apostolicae* ([Augsburg: Johann Wiener], 1476). ISTC ip00159000.

Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped extremely worn and tattered sheep (?) over slightly bevelled wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 1 clasp wanting. Primary wound endbands with leather tab. Pastedowns: prayer texts, twelfth century (front (partially from II Cor. 8: 16-21) and rear). Title label (Maurus): .26 (36?). *Regule ordinaciones et constituciones cancellarie domini pauli secundi.* [?].

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (f. 1v) and Monasterij Schyrensis. (f. a1r); inscription: *Hab danck mein schöner Maure / Dü habst vil guter bücher geschribene* (f. 1v).

Description: unrubricated.

Acquisition code: l20.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 60: sub Scamno N.

Figs. 77 and 78b

Available online through BSB: [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00034767/image_1](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00034767/image_1)

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P96

4 Inc.c.a. 128 a. Jacobus Soldus, *Opus de peste* (Bologna: Johannes Schriber, de Annunciata, for Thomas de Bononia, 1478). ISTC is00613000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern (restored): blind-stamped red sheep relaid over modern boards.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r).

Description: lombards, rubricated.

Acquisition code: s13.

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\(^{18}\) On the twelfth-century antiphonal fragments, see Klemm, *Romanischen Handschriften*, II/1: Nr. 13.

**Binding:** K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light pig over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided colored twine over primary wound endbands with pendant braid. Pastedowns: breviary, eleventh century (front and rear).

**Provenance:** Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a2r).

**Description:** unrubricated.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 65: sub Scamno O.

4 Inc.c.a. 567 b. Robertus Caracciolus, *Sermones quadragesimales de peccatis; Sermo de S. Bonaventura; Sermo de S. Bernardino; Sermo I de annuntiatione B.V.M.; Sermo de laudibus sanctorum*; with *Epistola ad Johannem de Aragonia* (Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 27 Sept. 1488). ISTC ic00160000.

**Binding:** K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light sheep over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 clasp and furniture wanting. Title label (worn, by Maurus?): *Quadrigesimale De peccatis fris Roberti De licio .[?]0*.

**Provenance:** Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a2r).

**Description:** lombards, rubricated.

**Acquisition code:** r19.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 51: sub Scamno M.


**Binding:** K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: lectionary, tenth century (front and rear). Title label: *Mamatrectus: .10 (19?)*.

**Provenance:** Scheyern, *Monasterij Scheÿrn* and *Monasterij Scheyrn* (f. a2r).

**Description:** lombards, rubricated; decorated initials on ff. a2r (Prologue) and a6r (Genesis).

Available online through BSB: [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043500/image_1](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043500/image_1)


**Binding:** K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light pig over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 1 clasp wanting. Pastedown (rear only): texts from Gospel of Mark, lectionary, twelfth–thirteenth century(?).
Description: rubricated (only up to f. b6r); woodcut initials colored.

**P102**
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light brown sheep over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 1 clasp and furniture wanting. Fly leaves: Good Friday liturgy, tenth century (front and rear).
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r).
Description: lombards, rubricated

**P103**
4 Inc.c.a. 1022 a. Franciscus de Maioranis, *Sermones de sanctis*, with *Tractatus super Pater Noster; De poenitentia; De articulis fidei; Super Magnificat; De corpore Christi; De donis spiritus sancti; De ultimo judicio; Super Missa est* (Venice: Peregrinus de Pasqualibus, Bononiensis, 11 Feb. 1493/94). ISTC im00093000.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 61: sub Scamno N.

**P104**
4 Inc.c.a. 1187 g. Boethius (Pseudo-), *De disciplina scholarium*, commentary by Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas (Strassburg: [Georg Husner, 1495?]). ISTC ib00825000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped quarter white sheep over bevelled wooden boards, on 2 double bands, rebacked. 1 catch plate. Fly leaves: judicial text, thirteenth century (front and rear). Title label: Boecius De disciplina scolarium cum commento notabili. .51.
Provenance: Scheyern.
Description: unrubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 39: sub Scamno I.

**P105**
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light sheep over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 1 clasp and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: gradual, fourteenth century (front and rear, same as 4 Inc.c.a. 1402).
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis and F. F. Schyrensium (f. 1r) and Scheyrn (f. 2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated (ff. a1r–a5r and d3v–d4r only).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 54: sub Scamno M.

P106
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 1 clasp and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: gradual, fourteenth century (front and rear, same as 4 Inc.c.a. 1378 e).
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 1r).
Description: lombards, rubricated.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 51: sub Scamno M.

P107
Binding: I: fifteenth-century, Wessobrunn. II: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 1 clasp and furniture wanting.
Pastedowns removed: see Clm 29322(159, breviary, fourteenth century).
Provenance: I: Wessobrunn, Benedictines; II: Scheyern, Sum Beate Mariae Virginis in Scheirn (f. 1r) and Monasterij Schyrensium (f. 2r).
Description: I: undecorated; II: lombards, rubricated.

P108
4 Inc.s.a. 1271. Michael de Hungaria, Sermones praedicabiles ([Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, 1483–85]). ISTC im00539400.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensium (f. a2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated. English inscriptions, f. o6r.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 24: sub Scamno E.

P109
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped calf over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 1 clasp and furniture wanting. Fly leaves: lectionary, tenth century (front and rear).
Provenance: Scheyern, Scheýrn (f. a1r) and Ex libris B. Virginis Marie in Scheýrn (f. a2r).
Description: lombards, rubricated (ff. l8v-m1r, v5r-aa1r only).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 52: sub Scamno M.

**P110**


Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown).

Description: lombards, rubricated (probably in Ingolstadt?)
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 39: sub Scamno I.

**P111**


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped red sheep over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather over primary wound endbands. Pastedowns: homilary, eleventh century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (front pastedown), *Monasterij Schyrensis* and *S. S. Virg in Scheyrn* (f. a2r), and *Iste liber est S. S. Virg. in Scheÿrn* (f. 22/4r).

Description: lombards, rubricated; illuminated initials on ff. a2r, s2r, and t1r by the Rich Illuminator.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 32: sub Scamno G (or p. 61: sub Scamno N?).

**P112**


Binding: K30 Scheyern: quarter white leather (heavily peeling) over bevelled wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 1 clasp wanting. Pastedown (removed, Clm 29280(20): Epistles of Paul (abbreviated), Scheyern?, second-half of the twelfth century. Title label (partially covered, by Maurus?): *Liber*....

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r).

Description: no hand Description: printed initials, rubrics, and foliation.

**P113**

Einbl. Kal. 1472 a (Fragment 3 only). Almanac 1472 [German] ([Augsburg: Johann Schüssler, 1471?]). ISTC ia00491000.

PI14


Description: initials incomplete, unrubricated.

PI15
Formerly in Clm 17478, current location(s) unknown. Johannes Gerson, *De trahendis ad Christum parvulis* ([Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, about 1470]), ISTC ig00274000; Johannes Gerson, *De arte audiendi confessiones et De remediis contra recidivum peccandi* ([Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, about 1470]), ISTC ig00191000; Hieronymus, *Aureola ex floribus S. Hieronymi contexta* ([Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, about 1470–72]), ISTC ih00154000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white leather over partially-beveled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Pastedowns: missal, twelfth–thirteenth century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Schreyren* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (ff. 2r and 192r).

Description: printed editions removed from manuscript volume in nineteenth-century. Current copies unknown, but *De arte audiendi et De remediis* might now be BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 505.

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum [GNM].

PI16

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light sheep over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Braided leather endbands.


Description: lombards, rubricated.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 27: Scamnum F.


Binding (both vols.): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Braided colored twine over primary wound endbands with pendant braid.


Description: initials incomplete, unrubricated.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 34: Scamnum H.


P118


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps and 5 bosses wanting. Pastedown (front only): missal, fourteenth century(?).


Description: initials incomplete, unrubricated.


P119


Provenance: Scheyern, *F. F. Schyrensium* and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r).

Description: lombards, rubricated; decorated initials on ff. 1v and 2r (by Maurus?).

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 32: sub Scanno G.


Fig. 79c

P120


Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r).

Description: lombards, rubricated.

Acquisition code: n1.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 51: sub Scanno M.
Bibliography: Hellwig and Matthey, *Inkunabelkatalog GNM*, Nr. 278.

P121
Inc. 102052/153. Guilielmus Alvernus, Episcopus Parisiensis, *De sacramentis*, with *Cur deus homo; De poenitentia* ([Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, not after 1497]). ISTC ig00716500.

Binding: K83 Augsburg. Title label (Maurus): *Tractatus wilhelmi parisiensis de sacramentis Cur deus homo et de ponetencia ac de universo ~.33.*


Description: Lombards, rubricated. 1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 12: sub Scanno B.


P122

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped light sheep over bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 clasps to center of top board and 8 round corner bosses. Primary wound endbands. Pastedowns: calendar and music manuscript fragments (front) and plain paper (rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensium* (ff.1r, 2r, and 54r) and Hainricus Zäch. *Da querelumus omnipotens ut qui beate augustini episcopi et confessoris* (rear pastedown).

Description: Lombards, rubricated; illuminated initial (Heinrich Molitor or follower) on f. a2r. 1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 48: sub Scanno L.


Figs. 15 and 65

Oxford, Bodleian Library.

P123

Binding (all vols.): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. Pastedowns (II and III): missal, fourteenth/fifteenth century (II: removed, now MS. Lat. liturg. B.7., fols. 106–7). Title label (I–III): *Tercia/secunda/prima pars Speculatoris cum addicionibus Jo. An. et Bladi. 7(?)*; the volumes were mislabeled at Scheyern, but this order was followed by the Bodleian shelfmarks: vol. I is 1.18 and III is 1.16.

Description: lombards, rubricated (same in all vols.); decorated initial (by Maurus?) on I, f. a1r.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, pp. 67–68: Scamnum P.


Fig. 22

**P124**


Binding (all vols.): K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over partially-beveled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. Clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: missal, fourteenth century (front and rear, all vols.).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren* (IV, front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 4r). – Oxford, Bodleian Library, acquired between 1847 and ca. 1892, probably in 1850.

Description: lombards, rubricated (all vols. same); foliated. Manuscript register on ff. 3r–v.

Acquisition code: I: m11; II: m14; III: m13; IV: m12.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 33: Scamnum H.

Bibliography: Bod-Inc, H-031.

**P125**


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped calf over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: missal (ordinal), fourteenth/fifteenth century (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyrensis* (front pastedown) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. 2r). – Oxford, Bodleian Library, purchased by 1841.

Description: unrubricated; on initial completed on f. 2r.

Acquisition code: k23.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 17: sub Scamno C.

Bibliography: Bod-Inc, M-096.

Fig. 78c

**P126**

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 2 double and 1 single band. Pastedown: sacramentary, twelfth century (front and rear).


Description: lombards, rubricated.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 12: sub Scamno B.

Bibliography: Bod-Inc, P-514 (copy 2).

Philadelphia, Free Library.

**P127**


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white sheep over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 clasp and furniture wanting. Pastedowns (removed, offset): thirteenth-century manuscript (by Conard(1)).

Description: Rubricated. A few marginal textual corrections by Frater Placidus.


Acquisition code: q19

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 51: sub Scamno M.

St. Petersburg, Academy of Science.

**P128**


Binding: sixteenth-century, quarter leather over wooden boards.


Vienna, Schottenstift.

**P129**

Binding: Augsburg(?), blind-stamped brown calf over wooden boards, on 3 double cords, rebacked.19 Pastedowns: unidentified incunable fragments (front and rear). Title label (Maurus): Ambrosius super Lucam. Et speculum beate marie virgine Editu a domino Bonaventura.

Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis in Scheyren (front pastedown) and Monasterij Schyrens (f. 2r). – Malkius Plager (f. 2r). – Vienna, Schottenstift, stamp (f. 2r).

Description: rubricated.
Acquisition code: k29.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 14: Scamnum C.

Bibliography: Albert Hübl, Die Inkunabeln der Bibliothek des Stiftes Schotten in Wien (Vienna: Bradmüller, 1904), Nr. 96.

Washington, DC, Library of Congress.

P130

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Primary wound endbands. Title label (damaged):

Consil[...]
es Oldradi titriusque iuris doctor. 28.

Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrens (f. 2r) and Monasterij Scheýrn (f. 21r).
Description: lombards, rubricated (f. 21r only).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 67: Scamnum P.

Location unknown.

P131

Alanus de Insulis, Distinctiones dictionum theologicalium ([Strassburg: C.W., not after 1473]). ISTC ia00169000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern(?).
Provenance: Scheyern, Iste liber est beate Marie virginis in Scheyrensis.


19 EBDB w003226, "Blüte vier Doppelblätter I," ca. 1474–1535; see also Schwenke-Schunke, II: 15 identified as "zu Augsburg."
Manuscript Fragments Removed from Scheyern Books

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Frag1
Clm 29280(14. Bible, Commentary on Psalms.
Second-half of the eleventh century.
1 bifolium. Removed from Munich duplicate, Dpl. 10102 (current location unknown).

Frag2
Clm 29280(20. Bible, Epistles of Paul (abbreviated).
Scheyern(?), second-half of the twelfth century.
1 bifolium fragment and 1 leaf. Removed from Inc.c.a. 158 a.

Frag3
Clm 29300(1. Sacramentary.
Eighth century.
1 leaf. Removed from 2 Inc.s.a. 813 b.

Frag4
Clm 29300(11. Sacramentary.
Bavaria, first-third of the ninth century.
3 leaves. Removed from 2 Inc.c.a. 1125, 2 Inc.s.a. 805, and 2 Inc.s.a. 813 c; also
BHStA, KL Scheyern 126 (2 leaves).
Bibliography: Bierbrauer, Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften, I:
Nr. 173.
Available online through BSB: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00061141/
image_2

Frag5
Clm 29300(34. Sacramentary.
Tegernsee(?), eleventh century.
1 leaf. Removed from Clm 1052.

Frag6
Clm 29300(35. Sacramentary.

20 The fragments are catalogued in Hermann Hauke, Katalog der lateinischen Fragmente der Bayerischen
Staatsbibliothek München: Bd. 1. Clm 29202–29311, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae
Monacensis, T. 4, Ps. 12,1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994) and idem, Bd. 2. 29315–29520, Catalogus codicum
manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis, T. 4, Ps. 12,2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002). Krämer,
Handschriftenerbe, II: 711 also lists the uncatalogued Clm 29590(2, Clm 29779(3, and Clm 29800(11 as
pastedowns removed from Scheyern books, but these leaves are not yet available in published catalogues, nor
was I able to examine them in person.

21 The shelfmark 2 Inc.s.a. 805 does not exist; the actual book this fragment was removed from is unknown.
Tegernsee(?), eleventh century.
1 leaf. Removed from Munich duplicate, 2 Inc. dpl. 4198 (current location unknown).

Frag 7
Clm 29303(4. Lectionary, Freising use.
Freising, first-half of the ninth century.
3 bifolia and 2 fragments. Removed from Clm 17480 and 2 Inc.s.a. 602; also BHStA,
KL Scheyern 81.

Frag 8
Clm 29306(118. Gradual.
Scheyern, second-half of the thirteenth century.
1 leaf. Removed from unidentified Scheyern incunable.

Frag 9
Clm 29306(67. Gradual.
Twelfth century.
1 leaf. Removed from unidentified Scheyern book. With inscription on recto: *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren*.

Frag 10
Clm 29310(12. Liber ordinarius.
Scheyern, early-fifteenth century.
4 fragments. Removed from Munich duplicate, 2 Inc. dpl. 4054 a (currently unidentified). Fragment 4 with inscription: *Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren*.

Frag 11
Clm 29311(10. Missal.
Second-half of the eleventh century.
1 leaf. No provenance evidence.

Frag 12
Clm 29311(100. Missal.
Scheyern, early-fourteenth century.
1 bifolium. From unidentified Scheyern book. Folio 1v with inscription, *Monasterij In Scheürn*.

Frag 13
Clm 29316(9. Antiphonal.
Second-half of the eleventh century.

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22 Cited in Krämer, *Handschriftenerbe II*, 711, but no identifiable Scheyern provenance.
1 leaf. Removed from Clm 17413.

**Frag14**
Clm 29316(118. Antiphonal.
   Scheyern(?), fourteenth century.
   2 leaves. Removed from Munich duplicate, 2 Inc. dpl. 7088 and Inc. Typ. No 1574.

**Frag15**
Clm 29317(8. Collectionary.
   Scheyern(?), eleventh/twelfth century.
   2 bifolia. Removed from Munich duplicate, Inc. dpl. 7242. Folio 3v with inscription:
   \textit{Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheyren}.

**Frag16**
Clm 29318(13. Lectionary.
   Scheyern(?), late-thirteenth century.
   1 leaf. Removed from an unidentified Scheyern book. With inscription: \textit{Iste liber est beate Marie virginis In Scheryen}.

**Frag17**
Clm 29322(51. Breviary.
   Scheyern(?), twelfth century.
   5 leaves and 8 fragments. Removed from 2 Inc.c.a. 794 a and Munich duplicate, 2 Inc. dpl. 3109.

**Frag18**
Clm 29322(58. Breviary.
   Scheyern(?), late-twelfth century.
   Marginal notes by Conrad of Scheyern (i.e. Conard(1)).
   1 leaf. Removed from Clm 17401.

**Frag19**
Clm 29322(159. Breviary.
   Scheyern(?), fourteenth century.
   1 leaf. Removed from 4 Inc.c.a. 1676 a.

**Frag20**
Clm 29322(235. Breviary.
   Scheyern(?), first-half of the fifteenth century.
   1 bifolium. Removed from 4 Inc.c.a. 1280 d.

**Frag21**
Clm 29500(8. \textit{Quaestiones disputate}.)
First-half of the fourteenth century.
1 bifolium. Removed from 2 Inc.s.a. 182 c.
Catalogue of Scheyern Manuscripts and Incunabula, II: Scheyern Books Excluded from this Study

List 1: Fifteenth-century Books with Post-Fifteenth-century Scheyern Provenance

Manuscripts

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

EM1
I: Bavaria, ca. 1424–25. II: Bavaria, 11 May 1481 (Sawrer); 1470/81 (*Dialogus*).
Scribe 1: ff. 1r–61r; Scribe 2: 61v–69v; Scribe 3: ff. 70r–80v; Johannes Praittnawer, ff. 81v–85v; Scribe 4: ff. 86r–92r.
Binding: modern.

EM2
Cgm 791. I: Silvester of Rebdorf, *Meditationes de passione Christi* (Ger.), ff. 1r–186v; Register for *Meditationes de passione Christi*, ff. 194v–197r; Johannes of Indersdorf, Prayers from the “Ebran Prayerbook,” ff. 187r–v; Marian prayer (Ger.), ff. 187r–189v; speech collection on the suffering of Christ (Ger.), ff. 189v–190r; speech collection on the Love of God (Ger.), f. 190r; Johannes of Indersdorf, Prayer for Herzog Wilhelm III of Bavaria I (2–9), ff. 190r–192v; Johannes of Indersdorf, speech collection for educating the nobility (Ger.), ff. 192v–193r; John I: 1–14 (Ger.), ff. 193v–194r; Passion narrative (Ger.), ff. 198r–207r; Marquard of Lindau, Decalogue explanation, ff. 208r–275v; “Vom geistlichen Haus,” f. 276r; speech collection on silence (Ger.), ff. 276v–277v; Engelhard of Ebrach, speech collection (Ger.), f. 277v; dicta (Ger.), f. 277v; *Vitas patrum* (2 excerpts), ff. 278r–279v. II: Sermon on the Angels (Ger.), ff. 280r–291r.
I: Western Bavaria, 1438. II: Fürstenfeld, 1448.
Scribe 1: ff. 1r–279v; Hainrich Chafringer, ff. 280r–291r.
Provenance: Wilhalm Schein. Maria (front pastedown).

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23 The manuscripts in this section are cited in Krämer, *Handschriftenerbe*, II: 711, yet have been excluded from this study due to their lack of fifteenth-century provenance evidence.

**EM3**

Cgm 807. Third Rule of the Franciscan Order (Ger.), ff. 1r–8v; Marian hymn (Ger.), f. 8v. Bavaria, second-quarter of the fifteenth century.

Provenance: Andreas Schilling of Scheyern, 1655 (f. 9v).


**EM4**

Clm 7036. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Flores*.

Italy, 1389.

Scribe: Thomas de Monaco in Campo Principum.

Provenance: Fürstenfeld. – Scheyern(?).

**EM5**

Clm 17406. Antiphonal.

Augsburg, St. Ulrich and Afra, 1450s (after 1440).

Scribe and illuminator: Johannes Franck.

Binding: Ca. 1700 white sheep over reverse beveled wooden boards, on 5 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Gilt arms of Abbot Willibald Popp (1694–1735) of SS. Ulrich and Afra, Augsburg on top board.

Provenance: Augsburg, SS. Ulrich and Afra. – Scheyern (before 1803).

**EM6**


Fifteenth century.

Scribe 1: ff. 1r–340v.

Binding: fifteenth-century blind-stamped leather over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. Pastedowns: Augustine, *Retractionum*, I, Ch. 18–22 (front and rear).

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (front pastedown and f. 1r).

Description: 1–512 614 7–1412 1514 16–2312 2414 25–2612; 318 ll.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 9: Scamnum B.

**EM7**

196r–207r; Regula confessorum sive compendium, ff. 208r–243v; De x praeceptis, ff. 244r–257v; De executione infirmorum qui sunt in articulo mortis, ff. 258r–263v; Sermo de assumptione Mariae, ff. 264r–266v.

Mossburg, 1458–1460.

Scribe: Frater Leonardus Dyerentzhauser, ff. 1r–183v, 196r–207r, 264r–266v (signed ff. 92v and 207r); Scribe 2: ff. 184r–195v, 208r–263v.

Binding: restored fifteenth-century red leather over wooden boards, rebacked and reboarded.

Description: 1–9 12; 10 12 11 4(4+4); 12–16 12; 17 12; 18–21 12; 22 14 238(8+1): 266 (of 271) ll., ff. 8/9, 9/8, 9/12, 16/11, and 16/12 wanting. There is a note about Conrad of Scheyern on f. 207r.

EM8

Clm 23871. Angelus de Clavasio, Summae angelicae, ff. 1r–8r; Martin Prenninger, Oratio ad universitatem Ingolstadt, ff. 10r–18r; Sixtus IV, Constitutiones et regulae de ordine gratiarum clericis concedendarum, ff. 19r–40v; Ulrich von Richental, Concilium zu Konstanz (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 2 Sept. 1483), ISTC ir00196000 (ff. Cxiii and Cxcii), ff. 41r–42v; Die new Reformation des keyserlichen Camergerichts, ff. 43r–49r; Die heubtsachen mit iren ununderscheiden von latin zu tutsch gemacht, ff. 50r–57v; Artikel die man bruch in allen rechten, ff. 58r–71v; Laurentius de Aquilegia, Practica sive usus dictaminis, ff. 72v–81v; Thomas à Kempis, De disciplina claustralium, ff. 82r–92v; On Thomas à Kemps with a list of his books, ff. 92v and 94r–v; Alphabetaum monachi, ff. 94v and 93r–v; Gerhardi Groesse (Geert Groote?), Epistola pro admonitione noviter conversi, ff. 93v and 95r; De disciplina religiosorum in conversando, ‘De disciplina ait pslamista’, ff. 95v–102r.

Fifteenth–sixteenth century/1471 (Sixtus IV and Reformation).

Scribe 1: ff. 1r–8r; Scribe 2: ff. 10r–18r; Scribe 3: ff. 19r–40v, 72v–81v; Scribe 4: ff. 43r–57v; Scribe 5: ff. 82r–87r; Scribe 6: ff. 87r–102r.

Binding: modern.

Description: collation unavailable, heavily repaired.

EM9

Clm 23872. Johannes Gerson, De vita spirituali.

Fifteenth century.

Scribe: Joseph Heller(?).

Binding: modern.

Provenance: Joseph Heller(?).

Description: 1–6 12: 72 ll.

EM10

24 This text is also found in a fifteenth-century manuscript from Tegernsee, BSB, Clm 18526, ff. 156r–57v.

Fifteenth century.
Scribe 1: 1r–102r, 108r–117v, 186r–194v; Scribe 2: ff. 102v–105r; Scribe 3: ff. 119r–147r; Scribe 4: ff. 150r–186r.

Binding: fifteenth-century red sheep over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Single loop headbands. Previously held Donatus fragments, see below BSB, Rar. 103/1.

Provenance: Scheyern.
Description: 1–2 12 3 14 4–6 12 7 12(12+1) 8 12 9 10 11–13 12 14 14 15–16 12 17 10: 203 (of 208) ll., ff. 3/14, 10/13, 10/14, 14/14, and 17/10 wanting.

**EM11**


Fifteenth–sixteenth century.
Scribe 1: ff. 1r–41v; Scribe 2: ff. 42r–65v.

Binding: Wessobrunn Abbey, “d k” binder; sixteenth-century, blind-stamped calf over wooden boards, restored.
Description: 1–5 12 3 14 4–6 12 7 12(12+1) 8 12 9 10 11–13 12 14 14 15–16 12 17 10: 203 (of 208) ll., ff. 3/14, 10/13, 10/14, 14/14, and 17/10 wanting.

**Incunabula**

Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

**EP1**


Binding: K30.


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25 EBDB w002682, ca. 1470–1521; see also Schwenke-Schunke, II: 281.
Cambridge, MA, Harvard University.

**EP2**
  Binding: fifteenth-century.

**EP3**
Baker Business Historical Collection, Kress Library. [no shelfmark]. Bernardinus Senensis, *De contractibus et usuris* ([Strassburg: Printer of Henricus Ariminensis (Georg Reyser?), not after 1474]). ISTC ib00345000.

**EP4**
  Binding: fifteenth-century.

Dublin, Milltown Park.

**EP5.1**
  Bound with:

**EP5.2**

**EP5.3**
  Binding: fifteenth-century, blind-stamped pig over wooden boards.
  Provenance: Scheyern, *B. Mariae Virginis in Scheur* and *Monasterij Schyrensis*. 

**EP6**


Description: Folios d3–d7 wanting, replaced in manuscript, dated 1499.


Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek (Bischöfliches Seminar Eichstätt).

**EP7.1**


Bound with:

**EP7.2**

*Breviarium Romanum* (fragment: Pt. 2, ff. 258–267) (Venice: Bernhard Maler (Pictor), Erhard Ratdolt and Peter Löslein, for Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1478). ISTC ib01118100.


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped leather over wooden boards, on 2 double bands.

1 clasp (strap intact) and furniture wanting. Pastedowns (damaged): lectionary or Bible, including I Cor. 6:12, twelfth/thirteenth century(?) (front).

Also bound with 14 uncatalogued manuscript texts.

Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek (Staatsbibliothek Eichstätt).

**EP8**


Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped leather over wooden boards, on 2 double bands.

1 clasp.


Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek.

**EP9**

Inc. oct. 43. Peregrinus Oppoliensis. *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*. [Strassburg: Johann Grüninger], 4 Sept. 1495.
Provenance: Christophorus Coriarius, signature (f. a1r). – Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. a2r).


Hague, Museum Meermanno Westreenianum.

EP10
IV.F.18. Ars moriendi “Cum de praesentis exilii miseria mortis transitus…” [Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, about 1495].
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis.

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek.

EP11
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis. – Wendt Antiquariat, Hamburg. – Badische Landesbibliothek (at least since 1957).
Bibliography: INKA.

London, British Library.

EP12
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis. – Purchased by British Museum Library, 1873.

EP13
IA.4492. Johannes Gerson, De pollutione nocturna and De cognitione castitatis et de pollutionibus diurnis, with Forma absolutionis sacramentalis ([Cologne: Ludwig von Renchen, about 1488]). ISTC ig00262000.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis. – Purchased by British Museum Library, 1866.

EP14
IA.6109. Andreas de Escobar, Modus confitendi ([Augsburg: Johann Wiener, about 1475]). ISTC ia00660070.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Scheyern. – Purchased by British Museum Library, 1886.

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26 Provenance cited in Incunable Provenance Index in Rare Book Reading Room.
EP15
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 53: sub Scamno N.

EP16

EP17
IA.12923. Johannes Carthusiensis, *Nosce te*, with *Corona senum*; *De immensa caritate Dei*; *De humilitate interiori et patientia vera*; and *Flos vitae* ([Heidelberg: Heinrich Knoblochtzer, after 6 July 1489]). ISTC ij00275000.

EP18
Binding: K151, Eichstätt(?).

EP19
Binding: K151 Eichstätt.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 66: sub Scamno O.

EP20
Provenance: *F. Fratrum Schyrensis* (fly leaf); *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a2). – Purchased by British Museum Library, 1867.

**EP21**
Binding: Salzburg?.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 69: sub Scamno P.

**EP22**
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 42: sub Scamno K.

**EP23**
Binding: K175 Eichstätt.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 32: sub Scamno G.

**EP24**
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. Aa2, pars aestivalis). – Purchased by the British Museum Library, 1867. *De sanctis* has an ownership inscription from the monastery of Benedictbeuren (*…emptus Anno Dni M CCC lxxxvi…*) and the bookplate of Abbot Ludwig Perczl; also a later inscription: *Sebastianus Sellinger Kochl Pfarrer 1629* – but no Scheyern inscription. Both volumes were bought at the same time (in 1867) and re-bound by the British Museum Library, suggesting that they were bought separately or as a made-up set, but that only the *Pars aestivalis* is from Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 56: Scamnum N.

**EP25**
IC.17686. Bartholomaeus Cepolla, *De simulatione contractuum* (Rome: [In domo Antonii et Raphaelis de Vulterris], 1 Sept. 1474). ISTC ic00397000.
Provenance: Scheyern, Scheyrn (f. 1r). – Purchased by British Museum Library, 1867.

EP26
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 67: Scamnum P.

EP27
Binding: K170, unlocalized south German.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 31: Scamnum G.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

EP28
2 Inc.c.a. 161 a. Aegidius Romanus, De regimine principum ([Augsburg: Günther Zainer], 1473). ISTC ia00087000.
Binding: sixteenth-century.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 1r).

EP29
Provenance: Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 21: sub Scamno D.

EP30
2 Inc.c.a. 744 b. Innocentius IV, Pope, Apparatus super libros Decretalium, with Baldus de Ubaldis, Margarita Repertorium super Innocentio IV (Strassburg: [Heinrich Eggestein], 1478). ISTC ii00095000.
Binding: K69 Ingolstadt.
Provenance: Scheyern.
Ref.1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 35: Scamnum H.

EP31
2 Inc.c.a. 753. Lucius Coelius Firmianus Lactantius, Opera (Venice: Andreas de Paltasichis and Boninus de Boninis, de Ragusia, 12 Mar. 147[9]). ISTC il00008000.
Provenance: Konrad Knauer. – N. N., 1547. – Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 48: sub Scamno L(?).
EP32
Binding: Munich, Franciscans(?), restored fifteenth-century blind-stamped leather.
  Former pastedown: Clm 29322(51, Breviarium, Scheyern(?), twelfth century.
Provenance: Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 29: sub Scamno F(?).

EP33
Binding: Scheyern(?), restored fifteenth-century blind-stamped leather.
Provenance: Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 31: Scamnum G.

EP34
Description: lombards, rubricated.
Bound with: Hermann of Grevenstein, *Quaestiones breves super quattuor libris Sententiarum*, ff. 1r–28v (incomplete); *Sermones* [Latin and German], ff. 30r–32v, written by Balthasar Hubmaier, 1527.
Scribes: Scribe 1: ff. 1r–23ra and marginal notes on f. 30r; Scribe 2: ff. 23ra–27r;
  Scribe 3: ff. 27v–29r and marginal notes on f. Y8r of *Expositio evangeliorum*;
  Balthasar Hubmaier: f. 28v and 30r–32v.
Description: Paper folio: 1\(^{10}\) 2\(^{12}\) 3\(^{10}\): 32 leaves; ink ruling (215x140) in 2 columns of 51ll.

EP35

EP36
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 34: Scamnum H.

EP37
Binding: K154 Ingolstadt.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 29: sub Scamno F(?).

EP38
Binding: sixteenth-century.

EP39

EP40
2 Inc.c.a. 2412 e. Gratianus, *Decretum* (with gloss of Bartholomaeus Brixiensis) (Venice: Georgius Arrivabene, 10 March 1490). ISTC ig00382000.
Binding: K154 Ingolstadt: blind-stamped calf over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. No endbands.
EP41

Binding: K113 Nuremberg.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* and *S. Crucis et B. V. M. in Scheýrn* (f. a1r).

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 28: Scamnum F.

EP42
2 Inc.c.a. 2801. Petrus de Ancharano, *Repetitio capituli “Canonum statuta” de constitutionibus; De regulis iuris; De foro competentii; and De probationibus* (Bologna: Benedictus Hectoris, 3 Aug. 1493). ISTC ia00569300.

Provenance: Scheyern.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 34: Scamnum H.

EP43
2 Inc.c.a. 2822 a (4 vols.). Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum libri IV*, commentary by Bonaventura with Johannes Beckenhaub, *Tabula, Articuli in Anglia et Parisiis condemnati* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Kilianus Piscator (Fischer), [not before 2 May 1493]). ISTC ip00487000.


1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 19: Scamnum D (Bonaventura).

EP44.1

Bound with:

EP44.2

Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped white pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: gradual, fourteenth century (front and rear). Instructions on first flyleaf to bind the Gratianus first, “pro prima in ligacione.”

Provenance: Altomünster, Brigittines, shelfmark g12 (f. a1r).

EP45

Provenance: Christoph Lederer, 1534. – Scheyern.
EP46

EP47
Binding: K88 Augsburg.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 50: Scamnum M.

EP48.1
2 Inc.s.a. 183. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, with *De conflictu civitatis Babylon et Jerusalem; Liber Cypriani de duodecim abusionum gradibus* ([Augsburg: Anton Sorg, about 1475-77]). ISTC ib00368000.
Bound with:

EP48.2
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r of *De consideratione*).
Description (both eds.): rubricated, woodcut initials colored in red.

EP49.1
Bound with:

EP49.2
2 Inc.s.a. 225 a/1. Pseudo-Bernard of Clairvaux, *Meditationes de interiori homine; De bona conscientia; Meditationes de miseria vitae* ([Augsburg: Anton Sorg, about 1475, not after 1476]). ISTC ib00401000.

EP49.3

EP49.4
2 Inc.s.a. 225 a/3. Johannes de Turrecremata, *De efficacia aquae benedictae* ([Augsburg: Anton Sorg, about 1475]). ISTC it00508000.
Binding: Salzburg(?), restored fifteenth-century blind-stamped leather.
Provenance: Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 20: sub Scamno D.

**EP50**

2 Inc.s.a. 322. Johannes Kannemann, *Passio Jesu Christi necnon alius tractatus de Christi passione, sive Collectura* and Rabanus Maurus, *Historia S. Catherinae* ([Cologne: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, about 1476]). ISTC ik00006000.

Binding: modern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 50: sub Scamno M(?).

**EP51**


Binding: K69 Ingolstadt: quarter leather over wooden boards.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (ff. a2r and a3r).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 35: Scamnum H.

**EP52.1**

2 Inc.s.a. 745 e. Johannes de Verdena, *Sermones “Dormi secure” de tempore* ([Basel: Johann Amerbach, not after 1484]). ISTC ij00453000.

Bound with:

**EP52.2**

2 Inc.s.a. 745 e/1. Johannes de Turrecremata, *Expositio super toto psalterio* ([Basel: Johann Amerbach, not after 1482]). ISTC it00530000.

Provenance: Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 29: sub Scamno F(?).

**EP53**


Binding: fifteenth-century, blind-stamped pig over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps wanting, no furniture. Pastedowns: tax list (Latin, front) and notary document, 1582 and letter (German, rear).

**EP54**

Provenance: M A C monogram with coat-of-arms, unidentified (f. a1r). – Dr. Johann Keller. – Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 17: sub Scamno C.

EP55
2 Inc.s.a. 1176 d. Johannes de Turrecremata, *Expositio super toto psalterio* ([Augsburg]: Johann Schüssler, [not after 1471]). ISTC it00518000.
Binding: plain deer over partially bevelled wooden boards (307x215).
Provenance: Conard Salpel and Conrad Preysing, Freising, St. Veit, inscription:
*Conradus Salpl Canonicus S. viti frisingensis dedit confratri nostro Conrado Preysing. idem ordinavit Monasterio.* – Scheyern, Monasterij Scheyrn and Monasterij Scheirn (f. a1r).

EP56
Provenance: Scheyern.

EP57
Binding: modern.
Provenance: *Ex dono dominij Mathei Simoni parochi in Oberulrhein.* – Scheyern, S. Crucis et BVM Scheyrn (f. a1r).

EP58.1
Bound with:
EP58.2
Binding: fifteenth-century, quarter sheep.
Provenance: Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 65: sub Scamno O.
**EP59**


Binding: eighteenth-century.
Provenance: Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 24: sub Scamno E (or p. 52: sub Scamno N?).

**EP60**


Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.

**EP61**


Binding: eighteenth-century.

**EP62**


Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r) and *Monasterij Scheÿrn* (f. a2r).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 63: Scamnum O.

**EP63**

4 Inc.c.a. 1010. Jacobus de Clusa, *De valore et utilitate missarum pro defunctis celebratarum* and Johannes de Mechlinia, *Determinatio utrum perfecta Dei opera possint impediri daemonis malitia* ([Heidelberg: Heinrich Knoblochtzer], 1493). ISTC ij00040000.

Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.

**EP64**


Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.
EP65
Binding: modern.

EP66
4 Inc.c.a. 1280 d. Bonaventura, *Sermones mediocres de tempore* and *Sermones quattuor de eucharistia et de passione domini* (Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 12 Mar. 1496). ISTC ib00942000.
Binding: fifteenth-century, blind-stamped quarter pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 1 clasp wanting. Pastedown: breviary, Scheyern(?), fifteenth century (now Clm 29322(235).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 20: sub Scamno D.

EP67
Binding: K86 Augsburg.
Provenance: Johann Kegelmayr, priest in Euernbach, 1592. – Hieronymus Minsinger, priest in Euernbach, 25 May 1596.27 – Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 20: sub Scamno D.

EP68
Provenance: Georg Waser, of Niederscheyern. – Scheyern.

EP69
Binding: fifteenth-century, blind-stamped sheep over wooden boards.
Provenance: Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 48: sub Scamno L.

EP70

27 Minsiger also owned Clm 7875 ca. 1600.

Binding: K79 Augsburg.


**EP71.1**


Bound with:

**EP71.2**


And 5 sixteenth-century works: Gaius Julius Solinus, *De memorabilibus mundi* (Speyer: Conrad Hist, 1512); VD 16, S6961. Polydorus Vergilius, *De inventoribus rerum* (Strassburg: Matthias Schürer, December 1509); VD 16, V744. Desiderius Erasmus, *De ratione studii ac legendi* (Strassburg: Matthias Schürer, July 1512); VD 16, E353. Desiderius Erasmus, *Collectanea adagiorum* (Strassburg: Matthias Schürer, July 1510); VD 16, E1912. Polydorus Vergilius, *Proverbiorum* (Strassburg: Matthias Schürer, February 1510); VD 16, V769.

Binding: seventeenth-century.

Provenance: Scheyern.

**EP72**

4 Inc.s.a. 58 n. Alanus de Insulis, *Doctrinale altum seu liber parabolicarum (cum commento)* (Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, [about 1493]). ISTC ia00172000.

Binding: modern.

Provenance: Scheyern.

**EP73**


Binding: sixteenth-century.


**EP74**

Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Scamno* (f. a1r).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 60: sub Scamno N.

**EP75**

Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.

**EP76**

Binding: nineteenth-century.
Provenance: Elchingen, Benedictines, 1628. – Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 27: Scamnum F.

**EP77**

4 Inc.s.a. 457 n. *Ars moriendi* “*Cum de praesentis exilii miseria mortis transitus...*” ([Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, about 1495]). ISTC ia01098000.
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.

**EP78**

4 Inc.s.a. 609. *Somnia Danielis* ([Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, about 1490]). ISTC id00009000.
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Scheýrn* (f. a1r).

**EP79**

Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Scheýrn* (f. a1r).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 53: sub Scamno N.

**EP80**

Binding: modern.
EP81
4 Inc.s.a. 796 f. Albertus de Ferrariis, *De horis canonici* ([Rome: Johannes Reinhardi, not after 1475]). ISTC it00464500.
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.

EP82
4 Inc.s.a. 888 f. Johannes Gerson, *De pollutione nocturna* and *De cognitione castitatis et de pollutionibus diurnis; Forma absolutionis sacramentalis* ([Cologne: Ludwig von Renchen, about 1488]). ISTC ig00262000.
Provenance: Scheyern, ff. a1r–b6v, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r).²⁸ – Hartmann Schedel, ff. c1r–d6v.

EP83
4 Inc.s.a. 1053 a. Hugo de Sancto Caro, *Expositio missae, seu Speculum ecclesiae; Defectus in missa occurrentes; Johannes Andreae, Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis; Impedimenta suspicionis ordinum; Confessio catholicorum generalis; Expositio dominicae orationis* ([Nuremberg: Caspar Hochfeder, about 1491-95]). ISTC ih00525000.
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.

EP84
4 Inc.s.a. 1091. Michael Francisci de Insulis, *Determinatio de tempore adventus Antichristi* ([Cologne: Arnold Ther Hoernen, not before 1478]). ISTC if00294900.
Binding: modern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 53: sub Scamno N(?).

EP85
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Scheyrn* (f. a1r).

EP86
Binding: modern.

²⁸ British Library copy, BMC I 268, IA.4492 also has Scheyern provenance, *Monasterij Schyrensis* inscription on f. a1r.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schirensis* and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (ff. a1r and a2r).

**EP87**
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r) and *Monasterij Scheÿrn* (f. b8v).
Formerly part of a Sammelband: 9. on f. a1r.

**EP88**
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.

**EP89**
Binding: fifteenth-century, unstamped leather over wooden boards, on 3 double bands with raised kettle stitches. 1 clasp wanting. Pastedowns: sacramentary, eleventh century (front and rear).

**EP90**
Inc.s.a. 206. Gaius Iulius Solinus, *Polyhistor, sive De mirabilibus mundi* ([Rome: Johannes Schurener, de Bopardia?, about 1474-75]). ISTC is00616000.
Binding: fifteenth-century.
Provenance: Scheyern.

**EP91**

**EP92**
Provenance: Scheyern, removed from Conradus Summenhart, *Opus septipartitum de contractibus* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, for Johannes Rynman, 13 Oct. 1500), ISTC is00863000; former BSB, 2 Inc. Dpl. 8987 (current location unknown).

**EP93**
Rar. 103(1. Aelius Donatus, *Ars minor* ([Mainz: Type of the 36-line Bible, about 1455–57]). ISTC id00315100.
Provenance: Scheyern, removed from binding of Clm 24510.

**EP94**
Rar. 111. *Biblia latina* ([Bamberg: Printer of the 36-line Bible, not after 1461]). ISTC ib00527000.
Provenance, Fragment 3: Michael Pichler, judge at Scheyern, 1660.

**EP95.1**
Bound with:
**EP95.2**
Binding: seventeenth-century.
Provenance: Scheyern.

**EP96.1**
Bound with:
**EP96.2**
**EP96.3**
**EP96.4**
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.
Cbm Cat. 221i.
EP97.1
Bound with:

EP97.2
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.
Cbm Cat. 221i. First two texts in Sammelband, Rar. 183, Hans Folz, Von der Buhlschaft dreier Studenten (Nuremberg: Hans Folz, 1480), ISTC if00239360 and Rar. 183/1, Hans Folz, *Poetische Historie vom Ursprung des heiligen römischen Reichs* (Nuremberg: Hans Folz, 1480), ISTC if00239690, from collection of Hartmann Schedel.

EP98.1
Bound with:

EP98.2

EP98.3
Res/2 A.lat.b. 750/2. Gaius Sallustius Crispus, *De coniuratione Catilinae* ([Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, about 1500]). ISTC is00090000.

EP98.4

EP98.5
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a1r of Valerius Maximus).

EP99.1
Bound with:

EP99.2
Res/4 A.gr.b. 485/1. Ars moriendi “Cum de praesentis exilii miseria mortis transitus...” ([Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, about 1493]). ISTC ia01097000.
EP99.3

EP99.4
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.

EP100
Res/4 A.lat.b. 49. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* (with commentary ascribed in the text to Thomas Aquinas) (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 8 June 1495). ISTC ib00799000.
Binding: Scheyern, sixteenth century, with stamped Scheyern coat-of-arms on top and bottom board.
Provenance: Scheyern.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 39: sub Scamno I.

EP101.1
Res/4 A.lat.b. 56. Boethius (Pseudo-), *De disciplina scholarium*, commentary by pseudo-Thomas Aquinas (Strassburg: [Georg Husner, 1495?]). ISTC ib00825000.
Bound with:
EP101.2
Res/4 A.lat.b. 56/1. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* (with commentary ascribed in the text to Thomas Aquinas), with *Compendiosa consolationis resumptio* (Strassburg: [Johann Prüss, before 6 Mar. 1491]). ISTC ib00792000.
Binding: Sixtus Heiligmair in Ingolstadt, K151. Pastedowns: Latin and German notes (front) and pen and ink drawing of St. Martin (rear).

EP102
Res/4 Mor. 399. *Poeniteas cito* ([Reutlingen: Michael Greyff, about 1490]). ISTC ip00842000.
Binding: modern.
Provenance: Scheyern.

EP103
Res/4 P.lat. 1489/1. Anna, *Historia divae Annae* ([Leipzig]: Martin Landsberg, [about 1492]). ISTC ia00741600.
Binding: nineteenth-century.
Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

**EP104**

**EP105**
Binding: fifteenth-century, blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps wanting.
Provenance: Jesuits, *Collegij Societatis Iesu Monasterij* (f. 1r). – Scheyern. 1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 52: sub Scamno M.

**EP106**
Binding: K83 Augsburg.

Oxford, Bodleian Library.

**EP107**
Binding: fifteenth-century, blind-stamped goatskin over wooden boards. Title label on top board with “25.”
Bibliography: Bod-Inc, N-036.

**EP108**

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29 I have not personally examined this volume and the description is taken from Bod-Inc, so cannot positively ascribe the binding or title label to Scheyern provenance.
Bibliography: Bod-Inc, T-086.

**EP109**
Auct. 5Q 5.6. *Summa Rudium* (Reutlingen: Johann Otmar, 1487). ISTC is00861000.
Binding: fifteenth-century.
Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis* (ff. a2r and k5v) and *FF Schyrensium* (f. a1r).
Bibliography: Bod-Inc, S-360 (copy 1).

**EP110**
Auct. 5Q 6.67. Basilius Magnus, *De legendis antiquorum libris, sive De liberalibus studiis et ingenii moribus*, translated by Leonhard Brunus Aretinus, edited by Martinus Brenningarius (Ulm: [Johann Zainer, 1478]). ISTC ib00274000.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 42: sub Scamno K.
Bibliography: Bod-Inc, B-130 (copy 1).

**EP111**
Auct. 6Qinf. 2.8,9. Mombritius, Boninus, *Santuarium sive Vitae Sanctorum* ([Milan: Printer for Boninus Mombritius, about 1477]). ISTC im00810000.
Bibliography: Bod-Inc, M-306.

**EP112**
Bibliography: Bod-Inc, S-051.

Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne.

**EP113.1**
Bound with:

**EP113.2**
Anselmus, *Dialogus Anselmi et Beatae Mariae Virginis de Passione Jesu Christi* ([Passau: Johann Petri, about 1485–86]). ISTC ia00764000.


**EP114**

4. *Vocabularius juris utriusque* ([Strassburg: Printer of Henricus Ariminensis (Georg Reyser?), not after 1477]). ISTC iv00337200.

Binding: fifteenth-century(?), blind-stamped leather over wooden boards. Pastedowns: unidentified manuscript.

Provenance: Scheyern.

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 35: sub Scamno H.


Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek.

**EP115**


Binding: K30 Scheyern.

Bibliography: INKA.

**EP116**


Binding: K30 Scheyern.

Bibliography: INKA.

**EP117**


Binding: K30 Scheyern.

Bibliography: INKA.

Riga, Valsts Biblioteka.

**EP118**


Binding: eighteenth-century.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrens* (ff. 11r and 74v).

Schlägl (Austria), Stiftsbibliothek.

**EP119**
Ipl 53 (R. 267.2). Vincentius Ferrerius, *De fine mundi* ([Nuremberg]: Conrad Zeninger, [1481]). ISTC if00122000.

Speyer, Pfälzische Landesbibliothek.

**EP120**
Inc. 36/1. Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano, *Super sexto Decretalium (I-II)*, edited by Johannes Stoll and Henricus Niffer (Speyer: Peter Drach, [not after 1479]). ISTC id00311000.
Binding: fifteenth-century calf over wooden boards.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 35: Scamno H.
Bibliography: INKA.

**EP121**
Binding: modern.
Bibliography: INKA.

Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket.

**EP122**

**EP123**

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**EP119**
Ipl 53 (R. 267.2). Vincentius Ferrerius, *De fine mundi* ([Nuremberg]: Conrad Zeninger, [1481]). ISTC if00122000.

**EP120**
Inc. 36/1. Dominicus de Sancto Geminiano, *Super sexto Decretalium (I-II)*, edited by Johannes Stoll and Henricus Niffer (Speyer: Peter Drach, [not after 1479]). ISTC id00311000.
Binding: fifteenth-century calf over wooden boards.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 35: Scamno H.
Bibliography: INKA.

**EP121**
Binding: modern.
Bibliography: INKA.

**EP122**

**EP123**

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Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

EP124
Inc. fol. 9814. Lucius Coelius Firmianus Lactantius, Opera; with S. Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus, De Resurrectione Christi carmen (Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 27 Aug. 1478). ISTC il00009000.
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 48: sub Scamno L(?)
Bibliography: INKA.

Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek.

EP125
Binding: fifteenth-century, blind-stamped sheep over wooden boards.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis. – Metten, Benedictines, FF Mettensium.
– Uppsala, University Library, acquired 1963.

EP126
35b: 939. (Pseudo-) Thomas Aquinas, De eucharistia ad modum decem praedicamentorum, sive De corpore Christi, Expositio orationis dominicae [possibly no. 7 of his Opuscula?], with Nicolaus de Lyra, Dicta de sacramento ([Cologne: Heinrich Quentell, about 1500]). ISTC it00297000.

EP127
Binding: fifteenth-century(?), red sheep over wooden boards.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monasterij Schyrensis. – Uppsala, University Library, acquired 1959.
Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois Library.

**EP128**
X271.1/T73c/1493. Tritheim, Johann, *Collatio de republica ecclesiae* ([Mainz: Peter von Friedburg, after 1 Sept. 1493]). ISTC it00435000.


Washington, DC, Library of Congress.

**EP129**

Binding: modern.

Provenance: Scheyern, *Monasterij Schyrensis ordinis S: P: Benedicti* (f. a1r) and *Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a2r).

1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 65: sub Scamno O.

List 2: Incunabula Commercially Bound at Scheyern

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

B1
2 Inc.c.a. 299. Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Christi* ([Strassburg: Heinrich Eggestein], 1474). ISTC il00337000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern.

B2
Provenance: Georg Waser, Niederscheyern. – Altomünster, Brigittines.

B3

B4
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over partially bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting. Braided twine endbands over single-loop cords.
Provenance: Altomünster, Brigittines, 1542 (front pastedown).

B5
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 4 double bands. 2 clasps wanting.

B6
2 Inc.c.a. 1810. Paratus, *Sermones “Parati” de tempore et de sanctis* (Cologne: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, 1486). ISTC ip00095000.


**B7**


**B7**


**B8**

2 Inc.c.a. 2338 n. Johannes Reuchlin, *Vocabularius breviloquus*; Guarinus Veronensis, *Ars diphthongandi*; Johannes de Lapide, *De arte punctandi*; and *De accentu* (Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 6 Nov. 1489). ISTC ir00167000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern.

Provenance: Altomünster, Brigittines, 1543 (front pastedown).

**B9**


Binding: K30 Scheyern.

Provenance: Munich, Paulists.

**B10**


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30 Alber also owned Inc.s.a. 57 a, see below.
Binding: K30 Scheyern.
Provenance: Altomünster, Brigittines.

B11

Binding: K30 Scheyern.

B12
2 Inc.c.a. 3334. Gregorius IX, Pope, *Decretales cum glossa*, edited with a gloss by Hieronymus Clarius (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 10 June 1496). ISTC ig00473000.


Provenance: Altomünster, Brigittines, 1543 (f. *1r*).

B13.1
2 Inc.s.a. 53. Otto von Passau, *Die vierundzwanzig Alten, oder Der goldne Thron* ([Strassburg: Johann Prüss, about 1483]). ISTC io00121500.

Bound with:

B13.2
2 Inc.s.a. 53/1. Hieronymus, *Vita et transitus* ([Blaubeuren: Conrad Mancz, about 1475]). ISTC ih00239000.

Binding: K30 Scheyern.


B14

Binding: K30 Scheyern.

Provenance: Andreas Engelhart, Hartpenning, 9 Oct. 1493 inscription: *Hic liber Scolastice hystorie comparatus per dominum Andream Englhart plebanum et decanum In harpenning [Hartpenning]. Sub anno incarnationis dominice 1492 manu propria per Rubricas illuminatus ac virgulatus ast etiam corporatus. Scolastice hystorie finis per Andream Engelhart decanum in Harpenning comparatam rubrica et manu sua propria illuminatam. Sub anno domini*
Millesimoquadringentesimononagesimotercio die Martis Mensis Octobris nona. – Tegernsee, 1519 inscription: *Iste liber attinet venerabili Monasterio sancti Quirini Regis et martiris in Tegernsee. Quem obtulit ob remedium anime sue pro usu fratrum ibidem, honorabilis vir et dominus Andreas Engelhart, quondam Decanus et plebanus in hartpenyng, Anno domini 1519.

B15

Binding: K30 Scheyern.
Provenance: Polling, Augustinians.

B16

Binding: K30 Scheyern(?): blind-stamped sheep (very smooth and hard, seems rather thin, too) over bevelled wooden boards, on 3 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: glossed psalter, litany, and theological tracts, fifteenth century (front and rear) and sacramental, eighth century (now Clm 29300(1).


B17

Binding: K30 Scheyern.
Provenance: Altomünster, Brigittines.

B18

Binding: K30 Scheyern.
Provenance: Dillingen, Kreis- und Studienbibliothek.

B19
Binding: K30 Scheyern.
Provenance: Weihenstephan, Benedictines.

B20
4 Inc.c.a. 1280 c. Bonaventura, *Sermones mediocres de tempore; Sermones quattuor de
eucharistia et de passione domini* (Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de
Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 12 Mar. 1496). ISTC ib00942000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern.
Provenance: *Andreas Unnfueg Confirmat me suum esse, et emptus est liber istud pro 10
kr Anno [15]59*. – Johann Stadlberger, Pfarrer in Flintsbach und Oberaudorf,
Benefiziat in Kiefersfelden, 1697.

B21
4 Inc.s.a. 1248 a. Johannes Melber, *Vocabularius praedicantium, sive Variloquus*,
compiled with the assistance of Jodocus Eichmann [Latin and German] ([Strassburg:
Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner), about 1488-90]). ISTC
im00466000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern.
Provenance: Andreas Weinbuch, Pfarrer. – Wolfgang Miller, Peißenberg, 1568. –
Rottenbuch, Augustinians.

B22
4 Inc.s.a. 1979. *Vocabularius incipiens teutonicum ante latinum* [German and Latin]
([Speyer: Peter Drach, about 1485]). ISTC iv00318000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over bevelled wooden boards, on 2 double
bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: missal, eleventh century (front
and rear).
Provenance: Anton Flugenter(?), of Staub (f. a1r, faded inscription). – Scheyern,
*Monasterij Schyrensis* (f. a2r).

B23.1
4 Inc.s.a. 2002 m. Paulus Wann, *Sermones de praeservatione hominis a peccato*
([Nuremberg: Fratres Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini, about 1479-83]). ISTC
iw00003000.
Bound with:

B23.2
4 Inc.s.a. 2002 m/1. Bartholomaeus de Chaimis, *Confessionale; Anselmus Cantuariensis,
[Admonitio morienti, extract]: Interrogationes faciende infirmo morienti; and
Hermannus de Schildesche, *Speculum sacerdotum* ([Nuremberg: Conrad Zeninger],
13 June 1482). ISTC ib00160000.

B23.3
4 Inc.s.a. 2002 m/2. S. Vincentius Ferrerius, *De fine mundi* ([Nuremberg]: Conrad
Zeninger, [1481]). ISTC if00122000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over wooden boards, on 2 double bands. 2 clasps and furniture wanting. Pastedowns: antiphonal, eleventh century (front and rear) and notes by Alberzeller (rear).
Provenance: Peter Alberzeller, inscription (f. 2r): Petrus Alberzeller patri Wendelino in Alttenmunster ordinis Sancti Salvatoris Salutem pluriam dicit. – Scheyern(?).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 55: sub Scamno M.

B24
Binding: K30 Scheyern.
Provenance: Wessobrunn, Benedictines.

B25
Binding: K30 Scheyern: blind-stamped pig over reverse-bevelled wooden boards.
Provenance: Konrad Glück, inscription 1518 (f. [a1r]): Iste liber fuit magistri Conradi gluck praedicatoris In sulzzpach [Sulzbach/Opf.] etc. Anno 1518 quem legauit ad eandem praedicaturam [Sulzbach/Opf., Pfarrkirche Mariä Himmelfahrt]. – Scheyern, Modi S. Crucis et BVM in Scheyrn etc. (f. [a1r]) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. a1r).
1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 32: sub Scamno G.

B26
Inc.s.a. 57 a. Psalterium and Commune sanctorum (Ulm: Johann Zainer, [about 1480]). ISTC ip01041500.
Provenance: Petrus Alber, pleban in Klemans.31 – Wilhelm Ems, deacon in Tandern. – Scheyern, notes on f. 31v related to Scheyern donations. – Munich, St. Anton, Franciscans.
Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek.

B27
2º Inc. 105. Hugo de Prato Florido, Sermones dominicales super evangelia et epistolae ([Reutlingen: Michael Greyff, not after 1479]). ISTC ih00505000.
Binding: K30 Scheyern.

31 Alber also owned 2 Inc.c.a. 2022, see above.
Provenance: Regensburg, St. Emmeram.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{B28}


Binding: K30 Scheyern.

Provenance: Regensburg, St. Emmeram.\textsuperscript{33}

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

\textbf{B29}

Inc. fol. 474. Albertus Magnus, \textit{Sermones de tempore et de sanctis} (Augsburg: Johann Wiener, [about 1476–79]). ISTC ia00331500.

Binding: K30 Scheyern.

Provenance: Buxheim, Carthusians; sold Carl Förster Kunstauction, 1883, nr. 2964.

\textsuperscript{32} In the library catalogue of 1500/01 written by Dionysius Menger with shelfmark E 17, see MBK IV/1, 347,6437–39.

\textsuperscript{33} In the library catalogue of 1500/01 written by Dionysius Menger with shelfmark E 12, see MBK IV/1, 347,6405–07.
List 3: Post Fifteenth-Century Scheyern Manuscripts

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
Cgm 2818 (formerly Cbm. 2818). Veit Arnpeck, Bayrische Chronik.
Bavaria, sixteenth century.
Binding: sixteenth-century roll- and panel-stamped pigskin over partially-bevelled wooden boards, on 4 double cords. 2 clasps, 1 wanting.

Clm 1011. Necrologium Schirense.
Scheyern, seventeenth century.

Clm 1209. Otto of Freising, Cronica Ottonis Frisingensis cum continuationibus.
Scheyern(?), 1510.
Binding: Wessobrunn Abbey, “d k” binder;34 sixteenth-century blind-stamped leather over wooden boards.
Provenance: Scheyern, Monachus Schyrensis conscriptus est iste liber (f. 1r) and Monasterij Schyrensis (f. 2r).

Clm 17425. Devotional (French).
France, fifteenth century.
Provenance: Brother Johannes of Scheyern, given to him by his father, a citizen of Augsburg, 1626.35

Clm 17485. Vitus Beringus, Florus Danicus.
Scheyern(?), seventeenth century.

Clm 17486. Angelus März OSB, Liber ‘quod Thomas Kempensis non sit auctor libri imitacione Christi’.
Scheyern, eighteenth century.
Scribe: Angelus März OSB,36 Scheyern.

34 EBDB w002682, ca. 1470–1521; see also Schwenke-Schunke, II: 281.


36 Librarian of Scheyern.


Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library.
List 4: Incunabula of Unknown Current Location


Binding: K30.
Provenance: Scheyern. – Munich, Hofbibliothek, duplicate. – Hans Deckel.

Burchardus Urspergensis, *Historia Friderici Imperatoris, sive Chronicon* ([Augsburg: Monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra, 1472]). ISTC ib01285000.

Bibliography: Gilhofer & Ranschburg, Vienna, Sammlung Franz Trau, cat. XIX, 1905, lot 225.

*Breviarium Bambergense* (Bamberg: Johann Sensenschmidt and Heinrich Petzensteiner, 10 Sept. 1484). ISTC ib01147400.

Bibliography: Identified in the 1803 Dissolution list, see Gressierer, *Geschichte zur Klosterbibliothek Scheyern*, 19, nr. 6.


1588 Scheyern catalogue, p. 32: sub Scamno G.
Bibliography: BSB, Einbl. Kal. 1493 e was removed from an unknown copy of this edition; former BSB, 2 Inc. Dpl. 8987.
Bibliography


Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis. 11 vols. to date. Munich: Bibliothecae regiae, 1858–.


Eisermann, Falk, Eva Schlotheuber, and Volker Honemann, eds. Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter:


———. Scheyerns Stellung in Der Kulturgeschichte. Freising: Datterer, 1880.


lucem edidere ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposta exhibentur. 35 vols.
Florence: Zatta, 1759–98.


Schneider, Karin, and Elisabeth Wunderle, eds. *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*. Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae regiae monacensis V. 8 parts to date. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1920–.


Appendices

Appendix A: Scheyern Book List of 1241. BSB, Clm 17403, Glossarium Salomonis, f. 7v.¹


¹ Transcribed in MBK IV/2, 732–33. I would like to thank Susannah Brower for her help with the translation. The underlining is transcribed from MBK.

² = fragraret.
‘Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est’, id egit, ut non solum toti provintie sed et cunctis principibus favorabillissime complaceret. Igitur de munere divine benedictionis et gratia beatissime Dei genetricis Marie supra notatis opusculis a fratre Chunrado consummatis subnotatos libros sine auctore comparavit et scripsit et ad honorem virginis perpetue Marie feliciter complevit: I. Collectarium. II. Evangeliarium et lectionarium in uno volumine. III. Item evangeliarium. IV. Librum in quo evangelia de nocte leguntur; cui et addita sunt mysteria divini officii et instituta Innocentii pape. V. Librum in quo summe festivitates et orde sacerdotalis. VI. Librum parvum defunctorum in quo et anniversarii dies. VII. Librum benedictionum. VIII. Scolasticam hystoriam. VIIIII. Psalterium glosatum et graduale in uno volumine. X. Librum regule beati Benedicti melioravit. XI. Evangelia in summis festivitatibus legenda auro et argento circumdedit et honeste decoravit.

In the name of the Lord. In the year from the birth of the son of God 1241, with Pope Gregory VIIIIII happily governing under the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and with apostolic authority of the universal catholic church, with Emperor Frederick acting in [his] authority, when Conradus,3 bishop worthy of God, was enlightening the Freising seat with the authority of God, and this monastery of Scheyern, under the rule and control of the reverend father in Christ, Heinrich,4 known far and wide for his good reputation,5 Brother Conrad, one of the brothers of this place, led his spirit, full of industriousness and care, to the labor of this work (i.e. the production of manuscripts), and with God furnishing the outcome to his pious prayers, he carried it through all the way to the end. Of course in this work, his (Heinrich’s?) care, known and pleasing to all, commended the previously named brother Conrad, who more devoutly devoted himself under the light yoke of the pious father for the duty of his office. In the end, so that the work might not be hindered but thrive and be completed, while nothing of the expenses was taken for him from the public, he himself thus gathered those

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3 Konrad I von Tölz and Hohenburg, Archbishop of Freising (1230–1258).

4 Heinrich (1226–1259); Reichhold, Chronik von Scheyern, 104–05.

5 Literally, “smelled far and wide of a good odor.”
things that were necessary from every direction. Indeed, he worked alone, collected alone without any benefit or help, so that no one might be burdened. For in fact, so that I may conclude many things in a few words, he accomplished it, so that contrary to hope the work was finished in short time, while indeed in work of the common order [i.e. monastic labor] he was not found last. Even though such great and urgent care detained him, nevertheless, did less work fall on the aforementioned writer (i.e. Conrad). For the books having been written out by their authors, who are noted beneath; clearly Wilhelm of happy memory being the prior, Henrich being the custodian, Arnold being the teacher, Heinrich being the cellarer, Conrad being the presbyter, these men (i.e. Abbot Heinrich and Conrad(2)) commissioned these books: Book of Collects. Lectionary. Official. Breviary. Psalter. Gradual. Another gradual. Passions or lives of the saints in one volume. Another passions or lives of the saints in another volume. Missal. Another missal of the saints. Missal of the dead. Another sermons, which starts with ‘Hodie scietis’. Matutinal, second part. Scholastic books. Tullius’ of the offices. A glossed Lucan. Sermons of Horace. Abbot Conrad had the great and complete Matutinal made in one volume, which book Brother Conrad (i.e. Conrad(1)), with

6 Possibly Clm 23337 or 2 Inc.c.a. 1153, I, rear pastedown. The possibly identified manuscripts here and below are thirteenth-century productions, but frequently unlocalizable due to their fragmentary state.

7 Possibly 2 Inc.c.a. 1153, I, front pastedown and vol. 2 front and rear pastedowns.

8 For either gradual, possibly Clm 17403, front pastedown and 2 Inc.c.a. 309 c, I, front and rear pastedowns.

9 Possibly Inc.c.a. 227 a, front and rear flyleaves.

10 Cicero, *De officiiis*.

11 On Lucan and Horace in Hirsau libraries, see Hyugens, *Dialogus super auctores*, 110–14, esp. for Horace’s *Sermones* (i.e. Satires), 113, l.1318. He says these are unsuitable for reading, even though they were quite widely used in the twelfth century, see Tunberg, “Conrad of Hirsau,” 70.

12 Konrad I von Luppburg (1206–1226); Reichhold, *Chronik von Scheyern*, 91–104.

13 Clm 17401, Matutinal.
praise-worthy diligence and zeal in all things pertaining to it, guided to the end. He decorated it with pictures and azure most amply, so that nothing of beauty or care might seem to be wanting. However, Abbot Heinrich made to be written in one volume Josephus’ *Antiquitates* and *Jewish War*,\(^{14}\) which Brother Conrad, the frequently named, wrote not without great work, as God knows. I say, this [Abbot] Heinrich, with divine grace presiding over this monastery and accompanying him, increased this place with estates, he restored and redeemed those lost or pawned by his predecessors. He enlarged and praiseworthily embellished the mountain and cloister with buildings and structures of the walls, he sweated over and pressed hard for the fullest hospitality. For among the various tumults and events of war, to which Bavaria was subjected at this time, but especially this place, nevertheless he paid attention to hospitality, so that among all he was second to none, but was among the first, and the fame of his good reputation was spread far and near. For, as a certain wise man said: ‘It is not the lowest praise that one has pleased leading men,’\(^ {15}\) he did it with the result that he pleased not only the whole province but also all the princes\(^ {16}\) with the greatest approbation. Therefore, by means of the gift of divine blessing and the grace of the most blessed Mother of God Mary, with the works noted above having been completed by Brother Conrad, he acquired and wrote the books without author noted below and he happily completed for the honor of the perpetual Virgin Mary: I. Collectarium. II. Gospel lectionary and lectionary in one volume. III. Another Gospel lectionary.\(^ {17}\) IV. A book in which the

\(^{14}\) Clm 17404, Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae* and *Bellum Iudaicum*.

\(^{15}\) Horace, Epistles, 1.17.35.

\(^{16}\) Probably a reference to the Dukes of Bavaria.

\(^{17}\) For either lectionary, possibly Clm 23337 or 2 Inc.c.a. 1153, I, rear pastedown.
Gospels from the night are read; to which are added the mysteries of the divine office and the Institutes of Pope Innocent.\textsuperscript{18} V. A book in which are the highest festivals and the Ordo for the priest.\textsuperscript{19} VI. A small book of the dead, in which are the anniversary days. VII. Benedictional. VIII. Scholastic history.\textsuperscript{20} VIII. Glossed psalter and gradual in one volume. X. A book with the Rule of Blessed Benedict [which Conrad] made better. XI. Gospel in which one must read on the highest festivals, [which Conrad] enveloped in gold and silver and honorably decorated.

\textsuperscript{18} Innocent III, 1160/61–1216, \textit{De sacro altaris mysterio}; it is unclear to what work “Institutiones” refers.

\textsuperscript{19} Possibly 2 Inc.c.a. 3446, front and rear pastedowns, with excerpts from the Good Friday liturgy.

\textsuperscript{20} Clm 17405, Peter Comestor, \textit{Historia scholastica}. 
Appendix B: Scheyern Bindery Stamps.\textsuperscript{21}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stamp</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Acorn. EBDB s023311</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Acorn. EBDB s004790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Agnus Dei, in circle. EBDB s023309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Armorial: Scheyern. EBDB s004777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Berry. EBDB s004788</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{21} Images taken predominantly from Einbanddatenbank, w000068 <\url{www.hist-einband.de}> (accessed 13 May 2009).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stamp</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Branch. EBDB s004901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Caliper. See Clm 17410, 17463, and 17464.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Eagle, in shield. EBDB s023308</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3-flower bouquet, in diamond. EBDB s004783</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Floral ornament, in diamond. EBDB s004784</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stamp</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Floral bouquet, large. EBDB s023310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Fleur-de-lys, in diamond. EBDB s004909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Double fleur-de-lys, in diamond. EBDB s004910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Double flower-vine ornament, small rectangle (19mm). *Scheyern rubbing unavailable; “Kreuz frei,” Augsburg K89 (EBDB s013101), identical to Johann Schüssler/“Wundervogel,” Augsburg K90 shown.</td>
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<td>Stamp</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Double flower-vine ornament, large rectangle. EBDB s004905</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Grapevine interlace. EBDB s004797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>No image available. Geometric ornament, tiny circle (2 mm). See Clm 17464.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Geometric ornament, twist. EBDB s004796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Geometric ornament. EBDB s004792</td>
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<td>Stamp</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Geometric ornament, flower center. *Scheyern rubbing unavailable; Ambrosius Keller, Augsburg K49 (EBDB s000910) and SS. Ulrich and Afra, Augsburg K2 (EBDB s009528) shown.</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Geometric ornament, dotted band. EBDB s004799</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Geometric ornament, square with half-fleur-de-lys. EBDB s004906</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Geometric ornament, square with half-flowers. EBDB s004904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Geometric ornament, square with flower center. EBDB s017537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamp</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Double knotwork. EBDB s004798</td>
</tr>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Square knotwork. EBDB s004918</td>
</tr>
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<td>27</td>
<td>“Kopfstempel.” EBDB s004786</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>“Kopfstempel.” EBDB s023312</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Leaf and twig (“Laubstab”). EBDB s004907</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Leaf, 3 lobes and stem. EBDB s004789</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Leaf, spiky. EBDB s004912</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Leaf ornament. EBDB s004903</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Leaf ornament, 3 leaves, spiky. EBDB s004913</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Leaf ornament, 3 leaves, spiky, with center. EBDB s004914</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Leaf ornament, 3 leaves. EBDB s030927</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Leaf ornament, 3 leaves. EBDB s004782</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Leaf ornament, 4 leaves. *Scheyern rubbing unavailable; Jörg Schapf, Augsburg K63 (EBDB s030913) and Pauls Wolf, Augsburg K78 (EBDB s013371) shown.</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Palmette. EBDB s004778</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Plant, with 2 flowers and bud. EBDB s004780</td>
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<td>Double Rautengerank. EBDB s004917</td>
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<td>Rautengerank. EBDB s004781</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Rosette, six round petals and center. EBDB s004793</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>Rosette, six round petals and center. EBDB s004902</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>Rosette, six petals, with center. EBDB s004795</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>Rosette, six petals, spiky, with center. EBDB s004794</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>Rosette, five petals, spiky, with center. EBDB s004911</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>Rosette, 2 whorls, in dotted frame. EBDB s004787</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>Rosette, 3 whorls, in circle frame. EBDB s004915</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>Rosette, 3-whorls, in circle frame. EBDB s004916</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>Rosette, 3 whorls, in circle rope frame. EBDB s004779</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>Scroll: IHS, with flowers. EBDB s004900</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>Scroll: Maria, with flowers. EBDB s004785</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>Star, 6 points. EBDB s023314</td>
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<td>54</td>
<td>Triple stem. EBDB s004791</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>Unicorn, in diamond. EBDB s004908</td>
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# Appendix C: Scheyern Acquisition Shelfmarks.

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<tr>
<td>b26</td>
<td>Peter Lombard, <em>Sententiae</em> and Johannes de Histino, <em>Postilla super epistola ad Titum.</em></td>
<td>1468</td>
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<td>c12</td>
<td>Narcissus Herz von Berching, <em>Quaestiones super tertiam sententiarum.</em></td>
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<td>d14</td>
<td>Astesanus de Ast, <em>Summa</em> (vol. I).</td>
<td>1459</td>
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<td>d18</td>
<td>Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, <em>Lecturae super Matheum</em> (vol. II).</td>
<td>1452</td>
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<td>Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, <em>Quaestiones super Matheum</em> and <em>Super evangelia dominicalia.</em></td>
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<td>Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, <em>De vitii et virtutibus, De septem donis spiritus sancti, De octo beatitudinibus, De dilectione Dei et proximi, De decem praeceptis decalogi, Sermo de eucharistiae; Franciscus de Mayronis, Tractatus de eucharistiae; Petrus de Pirkenwart, Sermo de eucharistiae; Petrus Beckarius, De laude gloriosae Virginis Mariae.</em></td>
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<td>Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, <em>Sermones de festivitatibus dominie et Mariae</em>; Thomas Ebendorf de Haselbach, <em>Sermo de IX peccatis alienis.</em></td>
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<td>Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, <em>De octo beatitudinibus, De septem donis spiritus sancti, De vitiis et virtutibus, Sermo de oblationibus; Thomas Ebendorf de Haselbach, De confessione; Peter Cantor, Viaticum tendentis Jerusalem; Alanus, Sermons; Collectiones Heidelpergenses; Sermo de sancto spiritu; Sermo de purificatione sanctae Mariae.</em></td>
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<td>Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, <em>De tribus partibus penitentiae, De oratione dominica; Ordo in monasterio</em>; Bernhard of Clairvaux, <em>De formula honestae vitae</em>; Bernardus Cassinensis, <em>Speculum monachorum</em>; <em>Speculum regulae monachorum</em>; Conradus Entzigruber, <em>Sermo de coena domini</em>; sermons.</td>
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<td>k23</td>
<td>Margarita Davitica, <em>seu Expositio Psalmorum</em> ([Augsburg: Günther Zainer, about 1475–76]).</td>
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<td>Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. 5Q 3.25</td>
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<td>Guillermus Alvernus, Episcopal Parisiensis, <em>De fide et legibus</em> ([Augsburg: Günther Zainer, not after 1476]).</td>
<td>1476</td>
<td>BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 552 f</td>
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<td>l3</td>
<td>Johannes Gallensis, <em>Summa collationum, sive Communiloquium</em> (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1475).</td>
<td>1475</td>
<td>BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 375 b</td>
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<td>Vincent of Beauvais, <em>Speculum naturale</em> ([Strassburg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 15 June 1476]).</td>
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<td>Bartholomaeus Anglicus, <em>De proprietatibus rerum</em> ([Basel: Berthold Ruppel, about 1479–80]).</td>
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<td>Paulus II, Pope, <em>Regulae ordinationes et constitutiones cancellariae apostolicae</em> ([Augsburg: Johann Wiener], 1476).</td>
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<td>BSB, 4 Inc.c.a. 84 m</td>
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<td>Innocentius III, Pope, <em>Liber de contemptu mundi, sive De miseria humanae conditionis</em> ([Germany (Blaubeuren?): Printer of Lotharius (H 10209) (Conrad Mancz?), probably before 1474]).</td>
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<td>Alvarius Pelagius, <em>De planctu ecclesiae</em>, with <em>Tabula Petri Dominici</em> (Ulm: Johann Zainer, 26 Oct. 1474).</td>
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<td>Johannes de Fonte, <em>Compendium librorum Sententiarum</em> ([Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1475–76]).</td>
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<td>Henricus de Segusio, <em>Summa super titulis Decretalium</em> ([Augsburg]: Ludwig Hohenwang, 1477 ), vol. I.</td>
<td>1477</td>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. 5Q 3.1</td>
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<td>1477</td>
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<td>Henricus de Segusio, <em>Summa super titulis Decretalium</em> ([Augsburg]: Ludwig Hohenwang, 1477 ), vol. III.</td>
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<td>Robertus Caracciulus, <em>Sermones de timore divinorum iudiciorum; Sermo de morte</em> (Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1479).</td>
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<td>Nicolaus de Lyra, <em>Moralia super totam Bibliam</em> ([Strassburg: Georg Husner, about 1479]).</td>
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<td>Gregorius IX, Pope, <em>Decretales</em> (Rome: Georgius Lauer, 5 Nov. 1474).</td>
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<td>Bonaventura, <em>Sermones de tempore et de sanctis</em> ([Ulm]: Johann Zainer, 1481).</td>
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<td>Henricus de Herpf, <em>Speculum aureum decem praeceptorum dei</em> (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 12 Mar. 1481).</td>
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<td>Paratus, <em>Sermones “Parati” de sanctis</em> ([Passau: Johann Petri, not after 24 Mar. 1485]).</td>
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<td>p9</td>
<td>Meffret, <em>Sermones de tempore et de sanctis, sive Hortulus reginae</em> ([Basel: Nicolaus Kesler, not after 1485]).</td>
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<td>Antoninus Florentinus, <em>Chronicon</em> (Parts I–III) (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 31 July 1484), vol. II.</td>
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<td>Plutarch, <em>Vitae illustrium virorum</em> [Latin], edited by J.A. Campanus, with Sextus Rufus, <em>De historia Romana</em> ([Strassburg: Johannes Mentelin and/or Adolf Rusch, about 1473–75]), vol. I.</td>
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<td>Plutarch, <em>Vitae illustrium virorum</em> [Latin], edited by J.A. Campanus, with Sextus Rufus, <em>De historia Romana</em> ([Strassburg: Johannes Mentelin and/or Adolf Rusch, about 1473–75]), vol. II.</td>
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<td>Otto of Freising, <em>Cronica Ottonis Frisingensis</em>.</td>
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<td>Petrus Berchorius, <em>Repertorium morale</em>, edited by Johannes Beckenhaub ([Nuremberg]: Anton Koberger, 4 Feb. 1489), vol. II.</td>
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<td>Bernardinus Senensis, <em>Sermones de evangelio aeterno</em> ([Basel: Johann Amerbach, not after 1489]).</td>
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<td>Peter Lombard, <em>Sententiarum libri IV</em>, commentary by Bonaventura, with Johannes Beckenhaub, <em>Tabula; Articuli in Anglia et Parisiis condemnati</em> ([Nuremberg]: Anton Koberger, [after 2 Mar. 1491]), vol. II.</td>
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<td>Vincentius Ferrerius, <em>Sermones de tempore et de sanctis</em> (Strassburg: [Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner)], 1488–89), bound with: <em>Corona beatae Mariae virginis</em> ([Strassburg: Printer of the 1483 Jordanus de Quedlinburg (Georg Husner), not after 1488]).</td>
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<td>Robertus Caracciolus, <em>Sermones quadragesimales de peccatis; Sermo de S. Bonaventura; Sermo de S. Bernardino; Sermo I de annuntiatione B.V.M.; Sermo de laudibus sanctorum</em>; with <em>Epistola ad Johannis de Aragonia</em> (Venice: Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 27 Sept. 1488).</td>
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<td>Jacobus Soldus, <em>Opus de peste</em> (Bologna: Johannes Schriber, de Annunciata, for Thomas de Bononia, 1478).</td>
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### Appendix D: Subject Shelfmarks.

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<td>Rupertus, Abbas Tuiciensis, <em>De victoria verbi dei</em> ([Augsburg]: Anton Sorg, 1487).</td>
<td>BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 1939 b</td>
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<td>Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, <em>Lecturae super Mattheum</em> (2 vols.), II dated 1452.</td>
<td>BSB, Clm 17463–64</td>
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<td>Johannes de Turrecremata, <em>Quaestiones Evangeliorum de tempore et de sanctis</em> (Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1478).</td>
<td>BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 794 ad</td>
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<td>Peter Lombard, <em>Sententiae</em> and Johannis de Histino, <em>Postilla super epistolam ad Titum</em>, 1468</td>
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<td>Peter Lombard, <em>Sententiarum libri IV</em> ([Strassburg: Printer of Henricus Ariminensis (Georg Reyser?), about 1476]).</td>
<td>BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 800</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Hugo de Sancto Caro, <em>Postilla super psalterium</em> (Venice: Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio, for Stephanus and Bernardinus de Nallis, 12 Nov. 1496).</td>
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<td>Juveneus Presbyter, <em>Historia evangelica heroicis versibus conscripta</em> ([Cologne: Cornelis de Zierikzee, about 1500]).</td>
<td>BSB, Res/4 A.lat.a. 291</td>
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<td>Narcissus Herz von Berching, <em>Quaestiones super tertium sententiarum</em>, [ca. 1440?].</td>
<td>BSB, Clm 17469</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Narcissus Herz von Berching, <em>Quaestiones super tertium sententiarum</em>; list of Distinctions for Bk. IV of <em>Sententiae</em>; Johannes Schlipacher, <em>Excerpta ex lectura Nicholas de Dinkelsbühl super quarto Sententiarum</em>, after 1442/1449.</td>
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<td>Johannes de Bromyard, <em>Summa praedicantium</em> ([Basel: Johann Amerbach, not after 1484]).</td>
<td>BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 248 d</td>
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<td>9(?)</td>
<td>Vincent of Beauvais, <em>Speculum naturale</em> ([Strassburg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 15 June 1476]), Vol. I only.</td>
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Figure 63. Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 1212(1, f. c3r. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale* ([Strasbourg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), not after 15 June 1476]). Illuminated for Scheyern in Augsburg. Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
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Figure 66. Munich, BSB, 4 Inc.s.a. 1891, f. a1r. Johannes Mathias Tuberinus, *Relatio de Simone puero tridentino* ([Augsburg: Monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra, after 4 Apr. 1475]).
Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00040436/image_5](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00040436/image_5) (last accessed 6 June 2012).
Figure 67. Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 1214 e, I, f. a2r. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale* ([Strasbourg: The R-Printer (Adolf Rusch), between 1477 and 11 Feb. 1478]), illuminated in Augsburg for Scheyern. Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
Figure 69. Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 309 c, I, f. a3r. Rainerius de Pisis, *Pantheologia, sive Summa universae theologiae* ([Augsburg: Günther Zainer], 1474), illuminated in Augsburg for Scheyern. Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
Figure 70. Munich, BSB, Clm 17463, top board with drawn-leather decoration. Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, *Lecturae super Matheum* (vol. II), 1452. Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
Figure 71. Munich, BSB, Clm 17403, f. 7v. Glossarium Salomonis, Scheyern, Conrad(2), 1241. Scheyern book list from 1241. Photo: Hauke and Kroos, Das Matutinalbuch aus Scheyern, Abb. 1.
Figure 73. Munich, BSB, Clm 17401, f. 25r. Matutinal, Scheyern, ca. 1215–30. Patron of Scheyern: Virgin Mary. Photo: Reichhold, *Chronik von Scheyern*, Abb. 68.
Figure 74. Munich, BHStA, Plansammlung Nr. 2627. Late sixteenth-century drawing of late fourteenth-century grave of Otto II and Haziga in the Scheyern church. Photo: List, “Die mittelalterlichen Grablegen der Wittelsbacher in Altbayern,” Abb. 182.
Figure 75. Scheyern Abbey, True Cross relic holder, twelfth century. Reichhold, *Chronik von Scheyern*, Abb. 57.
Figure 76. Munich, BSB, Clm 17402, f. 1r (detail). Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
Figure 77. Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 84 m, front pastedown. Paulus II, *Regulae ordinationes et constitutiones cancellariae apostolicae* ([Augsburg: Johann Wiener], 1476). Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00034767/image_4 (last accessed 6 June 2012).
Figure 78. Acquisition shelfmarks: (a) Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 2535 n, II, front flyleaf, r6; (b) Munich, BSB, 4 Inc.c.a. 84 m, front flyleaf, l20; (c) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 5Q. 3.25, front flyleaf, k23. Photos: (a) Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; (b) Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00034767/image_3 (last accessed 6 June 2012); (c) Bodleian Library.
Figure 79. Subject shelfmarks: (a) Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 2068 a, top board, 38; (b) Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 3446, top board, 45; (c) Nuremberg, GNM, Inc. 102052/81, top board, 9. Photos: (a) Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00043487/image_1 (last accessed 6 June 2012); (b) Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00048652/image_1 (last accessed 6 June 2012); (c) author.
Figure 80. Munich, BSB, Clm 17423, f. 55v. Missal, Scheyern(?), 1499. Folio wanting pasted-on Crucifixion woodcut. Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
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