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ÁLVARO CANCELA CILLERUELO

Wrocław, University Library, Mil. II 150:
Date, Place, Origin and Witnesses
of a Late Medieval Latin Compilation*

ABSTRACT

Wrocław, University Library, Mil. II 150 (6180) is a German manuscript transmitting a set of patristic, medieval, and humanistic Latin texts. Although it gives no explicit clue as to its date or origin, it can be convincingly demonstrated that it was written sometime between the 29th November 1458 and the end of 1460 within the environment of the University of Leipzig and, specifically, the Faculty of Theology. This manuscript and its owner and partial scribe – the theologian and academic Andreas Rüdiger – can be linked to other manuscripts and people active at Leipzig University. This relationship sheds light on a set of German academics and students, who shared common interests in Latin works written by (or attributed to) Isidore of Seville, as well as in texts related to the Bohemian Hussite revolution. A commented list of books owned and works written by Andreas Rüdiger is offered as an appendix.

Keywords: Mil. II 150, Andreas Rüdiger, Leipzig University, (Pseudo-)Isidore of Seville

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1. Introduction

Wrocław, University Library, Mil. II 150 (6180) is a fifteenth-century paper manuscript consisting of II + 443 fols., measuring 305 × 215 mm.¹ It comprises three codicological units copied by different hands, but they are all contemporary and were probably bound together at an early date.² Their unity is evident in various aspects. First, the scribe who wrote the last folios of the first unit (fols. 94r–95r) also wrote the first pages of the second (namely, fols. 96r–126r). Furthermore, the first owner of the manuscript, the theologian Andreas Rüdiger, recorded an index in the front pastedown, copied a significant part of the second unit (fols. 139v–185r), and compiled a table of contents in the third (fols. 434r–441r). We will return to him later on.

As for its contents, the first unit (fols. 1–95) contains letters by the master of *Ars dictaminis* Pier della Vigna (c. 1190–1249, lat. *Petrus de Vinea*).³ The last letters of this collection were copied in the first folios of the second unit, which comprises fols. 96–239 and transmits a set of patristic and medieval texts by various authors (Jerome, Ambrose of Milan, Pseudo-Augustine, Isidore of Seville, Pseudo-Sisbert of Toledo, Thomas Aquinas); this compilation is followed by Pius II's *Historia Bohemica*.⁴ Finally, the third unit (fols. 240–443) consists

¹ An excellent description of this manuscript is provided by Stanisław Kądzielski in Stanisław Kądzielski / Jan Przytułski, *Catalogus codicum medii aevi mancriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Universitatis asservantur signa 6125–6181 comprehens* (Codices Milichiani, II). Composuerunt S. K. et J. P., quibus auxilium tulerunt Wojciech Mrozowicz et Hanna Strzelecka-Ascher, Wrocław 2006, 195–199, no. 6180. For earlier descriptions and references, see also Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. Accedunt alia itinera*, 6 vols. + Index, London/Leiden 1963–1992, vol. 3, 387 and vol. 4, 435. The manuscript has been digitalised: <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/94733/edition/133728/content> (20.4.2023).

² Kądzielski in Kądzielski/Przytułski (note 1) 199. The most noticeable differences between units are their decoration and paper watermarks.

³ On these letters, see Theodor Neumann, *Die Handschriften der Milich'schen Bibliothek in Görlitz*, II, in: *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 26 (1849) 230–267, at 233–264; Emil J. Polak, *Medieval & Renaissance Letter Treatises & Form Letters. A Census of Manuscripts Found in Eastern Europe & the Former USSR*, Leiden 1993, 246; Hans Martin Schaller, *Handschriftenverzeichnis zur Briefsammlung des Petrus de Vinea*, Hannover 2002, 339. On Pier della Vigna and this manuscript, see Schaller, *Handschriftenverzeichnis*, no. 2002, and Benoît Grévin, *Rhétorique du pouvoir médiéval. Les Lettres de Pierre de la Vigne et la formation du langage politique européen (XIIIe–XVe siècle)*, Roma 2008, 554 n. 35.

⁴ The last folios of this unit (fols. 236r–239v) were originally left blank. During the 19th century fols. 236r–238r were used to create an index of Peter of Blois' letters, whereas fols. 238v–239v are still blank.

of letters, treatises and verses by the twelfth-century poet, theologian and diplomat Peter of Blois (c. 1135 – c. 1203, *Petrus Blesensis*).⁵

The manuscript lacks any indication of date or place of writing; it is generically dated to the 15th century. This paper will show that it was written in Leipzig between the end of November 1458 and the end of 1460. In its making, contents and links to other manuscripts, it is revealed to be a book relating to the university of this city, and particularly to its Faculty of Theology. It bears witness to how a group of scholars – both professors and students – shared their books and interest in certain late antique, medieval and humanistic Latin texts.

2. Date

2.1 *Terminus post quem*: Pius II's *Historia Bohemica*

When it comes to establishing afresh a reliable chronology for this manuscript, the best place to start is its contents, particularly the *Historia Bohemica* by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini – that is to say, the humanist Pope Pius II (fols. 192r–235r). This work deals with the history of Bohemia from its origins up to Piccolomini's time, but it particularly focuses on Jan Hus (c. 1370–1415) and the so-called ›Hussite movement‹ – that is to say, the Bohemian Proto-Protestant Christian movement.⁶ At the end of the work, the Wrocław manu-

⁵ On the transmission of Peter of Blois' letters, see Lena Wahlgren, *The Letter Collections of Peter of Blois: Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, Göteborg 1993, particularly at 203.

⁶ On this work, see Enea Silvio. *Historia Bohemica / Historie česká*, ed. Dana Martínková / Alena Hadravová / Jirí Mátl, Praha 1998; and, above all, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. *Historia Bohemica*, vol. 1: *Historisch-kritische Ausgabe des lateinischen Textes*, ed. Joseph Hejnic / Hans Rothe, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2005 (the most recent critical edition). See also Ilona Opelt, *Studi sull'Historia Bohemica di Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, in: Pio II e la cultura del suo tempo. *Atti del I Convegno internazionale 1989*, ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi, Milano 1991, 293–299; Václav Bok, *Zu Eschenloers deutscher Übertragung der Historia Bohemica des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, in: *Brücken. Germanistisches Jahrbuch Tschechien-Slowakei*, N.F. 2 (1994) 141–151; Rolando Montecalvo, *The New ›Landesgeschichte‹: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini on Austria and Bohemia*, in: Pius II, ›El più expeditivo pontefice‹. *Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, ed. Zweder R. W. M. von Martels / Arie Johan Vanderjagt, Leiden/Boston 2003, 55–86; Maria Giovanna Fadiga, *L'Historia Bohemica: la genesi di un'idea?*, in: *Il ritorno dei classici nell'Umanesimo. Studi in memoria di Gianvito Resta*, ed. Gabriella Albanese / Claudio Ciociola / Mariarosa Cortesi / Claudia Villa, Firenze 2015, 245–256; Hans Rothe, *Über die kritische Ausgabe der Historia Bohemica des Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini*, in: *Studien zum Humanismus in den böhmischen Ländern*.

script transmits a colophon mentioning some historical facts as well as a specific year:⁷

Quo anno eneas silius piccolomineus senensis titulo sancte sa/bine Cardinalis historiam hanc bohemicam edidit Assumptus / est ad summum pontificatum et nominatus pius 2^{us} Idem mox pro / salute christiani populi Conuentum Mantuanum indixit ac peregit 1458.

The text refers to Piccolomini's election as pope on 19th August 1458; his coronation as Pius II took place the same year on 3rd September. It also mentions one of his first measures as pope: the convocation of the Council of Mantua on 13th October, in order to prepare a military campaign against the Ottomans after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The council began on 1st June 1458, following Piccolomini's arrival at Mantua on 27th May; it finished in August 1460. Its resolutions went unimplemented: the pope died in August 1464 and the holy war he promoted was never initiated due to a lack of support among the contemporary Christian states.⁸

This colophon proves that the manuscript was certainly written after the convocation of the Council of Mantua in October 1458; however, this chronological limit can be established in a more precise way. Piccolomini wrote three versions of the *Historia Bohemica*.⁹ The Wrocław manuscript transmits the third one: in fact, the colophon *Quo anno Aeneas* etc. is one of the main features of this version, being absent from the two previous ones.¹⁰ Significantly, the original text of this final version is still extant in the manuscript Vatican, BAV, Chig. I.VIII.282, which is an ›idiograph‹: it was written for Piccolomini by the humanist Giovanni Andrea Bussi da Vigevano (1417–1475), who was employed as the pope's scribe and secretary from 1456;¹¹ Piccolomini

Ergänzungsheft, ed. Hans-Bernd Harder / Hans Rothe / Jaroslav Kolár / Slavomír Wollman, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1991, 29–48; and Jiri Špička, *La Historia Bohemica di Pio II e la storiografia ceca*, in: *Pio II umanista europeo. Atti del XVII Convegno Internazionale* (Chianciano – Pienza, 18–21 luglio 2005), ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi, Firenze 2007, 281–292. On Piccolomini as a historian, see Jean-Marie Moeglin, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Historiker*, in: *Kurie und Kodikologie. Festschrift für Claudia Märkl zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Jörg Schwarz / Georg Strack, Ostfildern 2021, 45–62.

⁷ Orthography and punctuation are those of the manuscript, fol. 235v.

⁸ On these facts regarding the Council of Mantua, and for more about Piccolomini's life and work, see Marco Pellegrini, *Pio II, papa*, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 83, Roma 2015, 794–803, with further bibliography.

⁹ See Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. *Historia Bohemica*, ed. Hejnic/Rothe (note 6) 189–192. They are labelled α , β , and γ by Hejnic and Rothe.

¹⁰ Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. *Historia Bohemica*, ed. Hejnic/Rothe (note 6) 193.

¹¹ On Bussi, see Jean-François Maillard / Judit Kecskeméti / Monique Portalier, *L'Europe des humanistes (XIVe–XVIIe siècles)*. Répertoire, Paris/Turnhout 1995, 89–90; José

himself reviewed, corrected, and annotated this Vatican manuscript *propria manu*.¹²

After writing the colophon *Quo anno Aeneas* etc., Bussi added a subscription stating that he began copying on 16th November 1458 and finished thirteen days later (fol. 72r):¹³

Ruysschaert, *Codices Vaticani Latini. Codices 11414–11709, schedis Henrici Carusi adhibititis*, Città del Vaticano 1959, 105; José Ruysschaert, *Le manuscrit Romae descriptum* de l'édition érasmiennne d'Irénée de Lyon, *Scrinium Erasmianum*, vol. 1, ed. J. Coppens, Leiden 1969, 263–276, at 276; Adriana Marucchi, Note sul manoscritto [Vat. lat. 5991] di cui si è servito Giovanni Andrea Bussi per l'edizione di Plinio del 1470, in: *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 15 (1967–1968) 175–182; Massimo Miglio, Bussi, Giovanni Andrea, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 15, Roma 1972, 565–572, and Massimo Miglio, *Saggi di stampa. Tipografi e cultura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, ed. Anna Modigliani, Roma 2002, 23–85; J. Monfasani, The first call for press censorship: Niccolò Perotti, Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Antonio Moreto, and the editing of Pliny's *Natural History*, in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 41/1 (1988) 1–31; Pasquale Arfé, The Annotations of Nicolaus Cusanus and Giovanni Andrea Bussi on the Asclepius, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62 (1999) 29–59; Elisabetta Caldelli, *Copisti a Roma nel Quattrocento*, Roma 2006, 11, 17, 20 y n. 40, 24, 37, 38 n. 70, 43, 45 n. 122, 101, 112–113, 116, 149, 172, 186 y 199; Rosa M. Díaz Burillo, *La editio princeps de la Farsalia de Lucano (Roma 1469): identificación y transmisión de la forma textual (1469–1483)*, in: *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios latinos* 39/2 (2019) 257–272; R. M.^a Díaz Burillo, Bussi y los textos clásicos latinos en la imprenta de Sweynheim y Pannarts. Aproximación al estudio de la *Farsalia* de Lucano (Roma 1469), in: *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 82/1 (2020) 125–138; R. M.^a Díaz Burillo, *El Bellum Civile de Lucano: tradición incunabile y postincunabile (1469–1520)*, Basel 2022, 63–111 (*passim*, on Bussi's work on the editio princeps of Lucan's *Farsalia*). Bussi was event present at the Council of Mantua, convoked by Pius II; see Miglio, *Saggi*, 40 n. 45.

¹² On this manuscript, which belonged to Pius II's library, see José Ruysschaert / Adriana Marucchi / Albinia C. de la Mare, Albinia C., *Codici latini datati della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, vol. 1: *Nei fondi Archivio S. Pietro, Barberini, Boncompagni, Borghese, Borgia, Capponi, Chigi, Ferrajoli, Ottoboni*, sotto la direzione di J. R. a cura di A. M., con la collaborazione di A. C. de la M., Città del Vaticano 1997, 104 and Plate nos. LXXIV–LXXV (first plate); Alfred A. Strnad, *Studia Piccolomineana. Vorarbeiten zu einer Geschichte der Bibliothek der Päpste Pius II. und III.*, in: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini papa Pio II. Atti del Convegno per il quinto centenario della morte e altri scritti raccolti*, ed. Domenico Maffei, Siena 1968, 295–390, at 346–347; Enea Silvio. *Historia Bohemica*, ed. Martínková/Hadravová/Mátl (note 6) CIV; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. *Historia Bohemica*, ed. Hejnic/Rothe (note 6) 128, 148, 193–194; Miglio (note 11, *Saggi*) 40 n. 45; Caldelli (note 11) 112.

¹³ *Jo. An.* is used by Bussi in other manuscripts; see Ruysschaert (note 11, *Codices*) 105, Marucchi (note 11) 176–177 n. 1, or Caldelli (note 11) 113. There is an error in Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. *Historia Bohemica*, ed. Hejnic/Rothe (note 6) 194: this colophon is not in fol. 63r – which contains the end of the fourth book – but in fol. 72r. Instead of *cum*, Hejnic/Rothe (note 6) 148 wrote *animi* and restored <*cum*> as a con-

xvi° k(a)l(endas) decembri inceptus est describi; iii k(a)l(endas) eiusdem mensis absolutus est liber a Io(hanne) an(drea) Vigeuio. In pr(esen)ti historia certat rerum uarietas ac magnitudo cum scribentis candore atque grauitate.

Since the Wrocław manuscript transmits this version, and this exceptional Vatican copy is the extant archetype of all the manuscripts transmitting it, 29th November 1458 turns out to be the *terminus post quem* for the Wrocław manuscript.

2.2 *Terminus ante quem*: a Berlin Descendant

The second piece of chronological evidence comes from a set of texts which are also transmitted in the second codicological unity: the so-called Corpus of Pseudo-Sisbert of Toledo. These three anonymous eighth-century works are copied in fols. 176r–183r, after Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* (fols. 166v–176r).¹⁴ This penitential corpus includes: i) a hexametrical composition, titled *Exhortatio poenitendi*; ii) *Lamentum poenitentiae*, an alphabetical poem written in trochaic rhythm; and iii) *Oratio pro correptione uitae*, a much longer prose work also dealing with sin and penance. More than thirty manuscripts dated between the 9th and 16th centuries transmit at least one of these works. A full examination of all the known witnesses shows that the Wrocław manuscript (hereafter r) has particular connections with one of them: Berlin, SB – PK, Magdeb. 13 (hereafter, N), another fifteenth-century paper manuscript consisting of 363 fols.¹⁵ On the one hand, it transmits a compilation of patristic, medieval and university texts partially identical to those of the Wrocław manuscript – also in the order in which they appear¹⁶:

lecture, but the conjecture *animi* is not necessary and the writing of *cum* is clear; see also Ruyschaert / Marucchi / de la Mare (note 12) 104; Miglio (note 11, Saggi) 40 n. 45. This folio is reproduced by Miglio (note 11, Saggi) 208 tav. 2.

¹⁴ On these works and their manuscript tradition, see Pseudo-Sisberti Toletani opera omnia, ed. Álvaro Cancela Cilleruelo, Turnhout 2021 (CCCM 307), 1–305; on Isidore's *Synonyma*, see Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Synonyma*, ed. Jacques Elfassi (CCSL 111B), Turnhout 2009.

¹⁵ On this manuscript, see Ursula Winter, *Die Manuscripta Magdeburgica der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, vol. 1: Ms. Magdeb. 1–75, Wiesbaden 2001, 46–53.

¹⁶ After the end of Jerome's *De Mariae uirginitate* in r, the second half of fol. 145r remained blank. Afterwards, Andreas Rüdiger – the scribe of these folios – used it to copy a short text (title: *Augustinus. Sermo de uirginitate Marie*; inc.: *Non desunt qui dicunt non potuisse fieri quod Christus nascetur de Maria, asserentes cum sint immundi*), which is not identified by Kądzielski in Kądzielski/Przytułski (note 1) 196. It is Pseudo-Augustine's *Sermo 76 Mai* (chapters 3–4), see Angelo Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, Roma 1852, 151–152. On this text see Augustinus. *Sermones selecti*, ed. Clemens Weidmann, Berlin / New York 2015 (CSEL 101), 197–198.

Author	Work	r = Wrocław, fols.	N = Berlin, fols.
Hieronymus Stridonensis	<i>De Mariae uirginitate</i> (CPL 609)	139v–145r	171ra–177va
=	<i>Epist.</i> 133, 84a, 84b (CPL 620)	145v–151r	178ra–185va
=	<i>Aduersus Rufinum</i> 1–2 (CPL 613)	151r–166r	185vb–205va 205vb–206v blank
Isidorus Hispalensis	<i>Synonyma</i> (CPL 1203)	166v–176r	207ra–218ra
Ps. Sisbertus Toletanus	<i>Exhortatio</i> (CPL 1227)	176r–177r	218ra–219ra
=	<i>Lamentum</i> (CPL 1533)	177r–178v	219ra–221ra
=	<i>Oratio</i> (CPL 1228)	178v–183r	221ra–227rb

Table no. 1°

On the other hand, a complete collation of Pseudo-Sisbert's works proves that both manuscripts share many innovations, which are absent from the other witnesses:¹⁷

- Exhort.* 69 et¹] quasi si r N
Exhort. 156 damna – potiora] damnum et damna quaedam potiora r N
Lament. tit. 5 ubi exorauit] quod ora r N
Lament. 13 ignorantiae] ignorantie peccatum r N
Lament. 53 meritis] om. r N
Lament. 199 quaeso flagello] flagello quaeso r N
Lament. 199/201 biplici – misericors] post *Lament.* 207 transp. r N
Lament. 228 emendes] emendas r N
Lament. 322 yacere] tacere r N
Orat. 33 depressus] om. r N
Orat. 49 meam] meorum r N
Orat. 359 adhuc] adhuc adhuc r N
Orat. 366 et – praeuaricabis] iter. r N
Orat. 744 recognoscat uel] om. r N

N cannot be the exemplar for r, because the latter is free from numerous innovations found in the Berlin manuscript:

- Exhort.* 2 turbaris] probaris N
Exhort. 22 te] om. N
Exhort. 62 donare] dare N
Exhort. 65 in punctionem] om. N

¹⁷ Numbers after each work refer to lines in our critical edition; see Cancela Cilleruelo (note 14).

Exhort. 67 desinatur] desidiantur *N*
Exhort. 157 augmenti] augmenta *N*
Exhort. 159 persequendo] sequendo *N*
Exhort. 175 efferunt] afferunt *N*
Lament. 26 dira] dire *N*
Lament. 173 deflentes] flentes *N*
Lament. 245 dicitō] dicite *N*
Lament. 265 mortis] *om.* *N*
Orat. 16 expeto] expecto *N*
Orat. 124 ut] ad *N*
Orat. 125/126 tu parcis] *om.* *N*
Orat. 190 in] et *praem.* *N*
Orat. 200 statuas] *om.* *N*
Orat. 263 et condita] *om.* *N*
Orat. 432 tempus instat] instat tempus *N*
Orat. 681 et proximum] *om.* *N*

In contrast, in no passage *N* preserves the right reading if *r* is mistaken; *N* contains every significant error found in *r* together with its own faults.¹⁸ This classic Maasian 'latent evidence' is confirmed by two passages in the third work of this late Latin corpus; in both cases, *N*'s text can only be explained if it derives from the Wrocław manuscript. The first passage runs as follows (emphasis added):

Orat. 389/395: Dauid autem ait: *Miserator et misericors Dominus, patiens et multum misericors, non secundum peccata nostra fecit nobis, neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuet nobis. Et in Salomone: Misertus est Dominus poenitentibus. Et rursus: Quoniam pius et misericors est Deus, et remittens in tempore tribulationis peccata omnibus exquirentibus se in ueritate.*¹⁹

390 miserator – misericors²] Ps. 144, 8; cf. Ps. 85, 15 || 391/392 non – nobis] Ps. 102, 10 || 392/393 misertus – poenitentibus] Eccli. 12, 3 || 393/395 quoniam – ueritate] Eccli. 2, 13

et in salomone ... et remittens] *om.* *N*^a

When copying this text, the scribe of *N* made a mistake and then immediately corrected it (fol. 224ra):

retribuit nobis ~~in tempore tribulationis peccata omnibus~~. Et in Salomone

Let us see the same passage in *r* (fol. 180r, lines 12/14 indicated):

¹² paciens et multum misericors [...] iniquitates nostras retribuit nobis.

¹³ et in Salomone: Misertus [...] et misericors est Dominus, et remittens

¹⁴ in tempore tribulationis peccata omnibus exquirentibus [...]

¹⁸ *N* has even preserved the most evident errors found in *r*: see for example *Exhort.* 47 puni] pune *r N*.

¹⁹ Cancela Cilleruelo (note 14) 435.

The mise-en-page found in r explains N's mistake. After finishing r's line 12 (*retribuit nobis*), the scribe of N skipped line 13 and started copying line 14. When he had copied the first five words (*in tempore tribulationis peccata omnibus*), he realised the mistake, crossed it out and underlined the faulty words, and started copying the right line (13). This kind of emendation, which preserves the initial error, is particularly interesting: it constitutes what Aubrey Diller calls an ›incipient error‹.²⁰ It not only proves that N derives from r, but also shows that it is a direct copy; both the error and its correction can only be explained if the scribe of N had in front of him the mise-en-page of r, which provoked the fault and also provided him with the right text.

A second passage similarly leads to the same conclusion (emphasis added):

Orat. 408/414: In cuius (*sc. Dei*) miseratione et misericordia patet mihi per poenitentiae uiam ad uitam de morte regressio, ad caelum de inferno recursus, ad lucem de tenebris aditus. Hoc ergo imprimis, Domine, peto et sic ad reliqua transeam: Da mihi deuotissimam ad poenitendum mentis intentionem, quae sit acceptabilis et placita coram te.²¹

After *peto*, the text of N (fol. 224rb) runs as follows:

et sic] et sic ad re regressio ad caelum de inferno recursus ad reliqua *N sic*

After *Domine peto et sic*, the scribe of N first wrote *ad re*, followed by *regressio, ad caelum de inferno recursus*. Once again, he realised that he had already copied these last words in the previous sentence, crossed them out and copied the right text (*ad reliqua* etc.). The mise-en-page of r (fol. 181r, lines 21/23) again explains N's text:

²¹ dimitam fiducialiter deprecabor [...] patet mi perpetua uitam de morte

²² regressio, ad caelum de inferno recursus, ad caelum [...] peto et sic ad re

²³ liqua transeam da mihi deuotissimam [...]

When copying from r, the scribe of N finished line 22, including *ad re*; but instead of continuing on line 23, he turned back to the beginning of the same line 22 (*regressio, ad caelum de inferno recursus*). When he noticed the mistake, he corrected it and continued copying the right text of line 23 (*ad reliqua transeam* etc.). Once again, such an error can only be committed and corrected if the scribe of N had in front of him the mise-en-page of r.²²

²⁰ Aubrey Diller, Incipient Errors in Manuscripts, in: Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 67 (1936) 232–239; see also Michael D. Reeve, Manuscripts and Methods. Essays on Editing and Transmission, Roma 2011, 158, 160, 166.

²¹ Cancela Cilleruelo (note 14) 436.

²² Both passages illustrate two of the main types among Diller's ›incipient errors‹, namely amended omissions and corrected repetitions; see Diller (note 20) 234–235. Many er-

As a descendant of r, N is useless for editing Pseudo-Sisbert's work – and in all likelihood all the texts shared by both manuscripts. However, it is of primary importance for dating the Wrocław manuscript, because in numerous colophons the scribe of N dated and located his work in Leipzig between 1459–1460. The colophon which is found after Pseudo-Sisbert's works appears in fol. 227rb and runs as follows: *et sic est finis huius Laus deo l anno d(o)m(ini) · 1460 · Lipczk ·*.²³ Since these works have been taken from the Wrocław manuscript, this year can be taken as a latest possible date for the writing of r, which therefore must have been copied between 29th November 1458 and the end of 1460 – in any case, predating the writing of N.

3. Place

As with date, the Wrocław manuscript lacks any indication of place. In spite of this, the fact that it was used in Leipzig at such an early date in order to make a direct copy (N) attests that it could at least be found in that city around 1460. Two further pieces of evidence confirm that it was in fact written there. The first comes from the *stemma codicum* of Pseudo-Sisbert's works, which proves that the lost exemplar of r was also found in Leipzig when r was copied; secondly, the owner and partial scribe of r was active in this city during the same years.

3.1 Stemmatic Evidence

The *stemma codicum* of Ps. Sisbert's works shows that r and N are closely linked to three other manuscripts, which also transmit Isidore's *Synonyma*: Z = Leipzig, UB, 208 (fols. 282v–287v)²⁴; J = Jena, ThULB, 2 Op. Theol. IV, 41

rors found in N can be explained in view of r. For example, in *Exhortatio* 71 r uses *h9i* to abbreviate *huiusmodi*, but the scribe of N misunderstood this and read *huius* (*h9*). In *Lamentum* 50, instead of *ultra* r reads *uita*; its exemplar probably abbreviated *ultra* as *ult'a*. The scribe of N reacted to r's mistake, which results in nonsense, but limited himself to writing *uitae*.

²³ See also fols. 83ra, 100rb, 120va, 133vb, 146vb, 170vb, 205va, 362ra. It is important to note that several scribes copied this manuscript, but only one hand, using red ink, introduced these indications of year 1459 or 1460 (most of them followed by the mention of Leipzig).

²⁴ See Rudolf Helssig, *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig: Die theologischen Handschriften*, vol. 1: Ms 1–500, Leipzig 1926, 291–295. The manuscript has been digitalised: <https://digital.ub.uni-leipzig.de/object/viewid/0000006768> (20.4.2023).

(fols. 282ra–291va)²⁵; and O = Strasbourg, BNU, MS. 0.034 (fols. 99v–111r)²⁶. These three German manuscripts share with r and N numerous errors:

Exhort. 77 respue] respuere Z J r N O
Exhort. 84 roga] rogo Z J r N O
Exhort. 124 idolis templum] idolum templis Z J r N O
Exhort. 155 sicut quisnam] si quis ut nam Z J r N O
Lament. 8 elidit] ledit Z J r N O
Lament. 98 in] om. Z J r N O
Lament. 156 habet – fugiet] habent – fugient Z J r N O
Lament. 172 sed] om. Z J r N O
Lament. 182 tremet] tremefacta Z J r N O
Orat. 100 denique] om. Z J r N O
Orat. 127 autem] om. Z J r N O
Orat. 168 certum] certe Z J r N O
Orat. 268/269 et – tuo] om. Z J r N O
Orat. 346/347 prostrata] prostratus Z J r N O
Orat. 517/518 desolationem meam] desolationem nostram Z J r N O
Orat. 572 peccatorum] om. Z J r N O

Z r O are doubtlessly independent. Each of them has errors absent from the other two. See for example:

Lament. 192 quod] om. Z
Lament. 237 si] om. Z
Orat. 139 illius haec] om. Z
Orat. 204 titubat] om. Z
Orat. 757 ostendisti] om. Z
Exhort. 156 damna] damnum et *praem.* r
Lament. 53 meritis] om. r
Orat. 33 depressus] om. r
Orat. 366 ipse] om. r
Orat. 744 recognoscat uel] om. r

²⁵ See Bettina Klein-Ilbeck / Joachim Ott, *Die Handschriften der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden 2009, 380–382. This composite volume contains a manuscript bound between two incunabula: the *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius of Heisterbach, printed in Cologne in 1481 (GW no. 05881, ISTC no. ic00031000), and Ludovicus Pontanus' *Singularia in causis criminalibus*, printed in Magdeburg c. 1480–1482 (GW no. M34961, ISTC no. ip00930400.). The manuscript has been digitalised: https://collections.thulb.uni-jena.de/receive/HisBest_cbu_00004855 (20.4.2023).

²⁶ See Ernest Wickersheimer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. 47: Strasbourg, Paris 1923, 23–26. This manuscript is traditionally quoted as ›34‹, but D. Bornemann (Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Strasbourg) confirms that ›MS. 0.034‹ is now the right shelfmark. The manuscript has been digitalised: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10235174x> (20.4.2023).

Lament. [tit.] 2/5 duplici – peccatorum] om. O

Lament. 272 est] om. O

Orat. 121/122 poenitentia – se] om. O

Orat. 407/408 fortiter – dimittam] om. O

Orat. 702/703 suscipere – uiduae] om. O

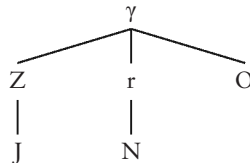
However, J is a descendant of Z. First, it contains and repeats every error found in Z. Second, in fol. 291rb J omits *per te inueniam illam quatenus nouum tibi* (*Orat.* 739/740); in Z these words constitute a whole line (fol. 287vb, line 17), which was wrongly skipped over by J's scribe. Some faults are also examples of Diller's ›incipient errors‹, proving that J is a direct copy. In *Lamentum* 10 J reads *nemo ~~consolatore~~ lugens et suspiro*. The insertion of *consolatore* was caused by Z's mise-en-page:

⁴¹ consolatore quadro clausus lapide nemo

⁴² lugens et suspiro miserere calamitatis

After concluding Z's line 41 (*nemo*), the scribe of J turned back to the beginning of the same line. When he had already copied *consolatore*, he realised and corrected the mistake, and continued on the right line (42).

Available evidence consequently shows that Z r O independently derive from a lost manuscript γ , as shown in this *stemma codicum*:



This *stemma* is historically interesting. Z can certainly be placed within a historical context: its decoration was made c. 1455 by an artist who worked between 1455–1456 at the St Thomas Convent in Leipzig (founded in 1212).²⁷ There Z was written, and held until its library was secularised in 1541; the books were then transferred to the University Library. A catalogue compiled

²⁷ See Thomas Fuchs / Christoph Mackert, 3 × Thomas. Die Bibliotheken des Thomasklosters, der Thomaskirche und der Thomasschule im Laufe der Jahrhunderte. Katalog zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung in der Bibliotheca Albertina vom 18. Oktober 2012 bis 20. Januar 2013, Leipzig 2012, 14, 15, 31, 92; Christoph Mackert / Armand Tif, Blätterleuchten. Mitteleuropäische Buchmalerei des 15. Jahrhunderts in Leipziger Handschriften. Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig vom 10. Dezember 2015 bis 20. März 2016. Mit Beiträgen von Regina Cermann / Katrin Sturm / Hedwig Suwelack, Luzern 2015, 16–18, 30–33.

that year includes Z as item *L, primum latus, II: tres partes Ambrosii*, according to the Ambrosian works which are copied in its first folios.²⁸ In light of the *stemma* of this family, the Leipzig origins of N and Z are also important with regard to r's origin. Z proves that γ was in Leipzig c. 1455 and the scribe of its sibling r independently had access to γ in 1458–1460; N attests that r was used in the same city in 1460. If its exemplar γ and its copy N were both in Leipzig between 1450–1460, it is possible to infer that r was in all likelihood copied in this city as well.

Furthermore, despite the lack of explicit information, O is a German manuscript. Jacques Elfassi has pointed out that some of its contents are typical for other fifteenth-century German manuscripts.²⁹ Besides, I would like to draw attention to fol. 132v, in which the scribe has added some miscellaneous lines combining short Latin and German texts. If Z and r were independently copied from γ in Leipzig, and O also had access to γ in the mid-fifteenth century, it was probably in the same city.

3.2 Historical and Palaeographical Evidence: Andreas Rüdiger

The stemmatic inference that r was copied in Leipzig sometime between the end of 1458 and 1460 is confirmed by what we know of its owner and partial copyist Andreas Rüdiger, a German scholar active in Leipzig. The hand of Rüdiger in this manuscript was first identified by Theodor Neumann, who did not indicate the folios copied by Rüdiger.³⁰ Kądzielski has rightly specified that Rüdiger wrote fols. 139v–185r (in the second codicological unit), and fols. 434r–441r and 442v (in the third); in the front pastedown he also wrote a note of ownership, *Liber magistri Andree de Gorlicz*, and a table of contents.³¹

No comprehensive study has been devoted to Andreas Rüdiger, but the key events of his life are consequential for r's history. Rüdiger was born in Görnitz, in Upper Lusatia, and he moved to Leipzig for his education. In 1439 he entered the university, where he graduated as *Magister artium* in 1442. From 1450 he is frequently mentioned as a teacher (*Magister*). He became dean in 1452, *Licentiatius theologiae* in 1456, and in 1476 he is for the first time called

²⁸ Helssig (note 24) 292.

²⁹ Jacques Elfassi, *Chronique isidorienne II* (2010–2011), in: *Eruditio Antiqua* 4 (2012) 19–63, at 30, no. 2.

³⁰ Neumann (note 3) 230.

³¹ Kądzielski/Przytułski (note 1) 199. For a sample of his handwriting in this manuscript, see Plate 1 (Wrocław, Mil. II 150, fol. 176r). Further instances will be quoted *infra* (see note 63 and the Appendix).

Doctor theologiae. In 1495, he is still being quoted as a *Magister* in the Leipzig University records.³² He died in 1496.³³

Rüdiger's biography confirms that, when *r* was written, he was active at the University of Leipzig as a teacher at the Faculty of Theology.³⁴ His academic

³² On these dates, see Georg Erler, *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, 3 vols., Leipzig 1895–1902, vol. 3, 729. The last reference to Rudiger is in vol. 2, 15.

³³ This year is attested by his nephew, Paul Schwoffheim, who inherited his library and wrote notes such as that in the manuscript Wrocław Mil. II 43 (6095, front paste-down): *Obtinui ego magister Paulus Suoffheym hunc librum post obitum doctoris Andree auunculi mei utinam felicem anno 1496*. Similar notes can be found on numerous books inherited from Rüdiger. On Schwoffheim, see *infra*.

³⁴ Besides this, he was also a canon in Meißen from 1463 and later in Bautzen (Upper Lusatia). On Rüdiger, see Konrad Wimpina / Joachim Johann Mader, *Scriptorum insignium, qui in celeberrimis, praesertim Lipsiensi, Wittenbergensi, Franfordiana ad Oderam academiis, a fundatione ipsarum usque ad annum Christi 1515 floruerunt, centuria ab Avctore Eivs Temporis Anonymo [= Konrad Wimpina] Concinnata, nunc vero In Lucem Edita, à Joachimo Johanne Madero, Hannoverano, Helmaestadi 1660, C2r–v* (2^a ed. by Konrad Wimpina / Joachim Johann Mader / Johann Friedrich Ludwig Theodor Merzdorf, *Scriptorum insignium, qui in celeberrimis praesertim Lipsiensi, Wittenbergensi, Francofurdiana ad Viadrum Academiis a fundatione ipsarum usque ad annum Christi 1515 floruerunt, centuria, quondam a J. J. Madero Hannoverano edita. ex mspto autographo emendata [...] a J. Fr. L. Theod. Merzdorf, Leipzig 1839, 40–41); Georgius Serpilius, Jesaia oder Umständige Nachricht Von Dieses Propheten Lehre und Lob, Leben und Tod, Sammt dessen berühmtesten Auslegern: Zur Continuation Der Biblischen Scribenten, Regensburg 1717, 501–502; Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon: Darinne die Gelehrten aller Stände sowohl männ- als weiblichen Geschlechts, welche vom Anfange der Welt bis auf ietzige Zeit gelebt, und sich der gelehrten Welt bekannt gemacht. Nach ihrer Geburt, Leben, merckwürdigen Geschichten, Absterben und Schrifftten aus den glaubwürdigsten Scribenten in alphabetischer Ordnung beschrieben werden*, III: M–R, Leipzig 1751, col. 2292; Gottlieb Friedrich Otto, *Lexikon der seit dem funfzehenden Jahrhunderte verstorbenen und jztlebenden Oberlausizischen Schriftsteller und Künstler*, vol. 3/1: R und S, Leipzig 1803, 111–112; Johannes Förstemann, *Vermischte Beiträge aus Handschriften und Urkunden der Leipziger Universitäts-Bibliothek*, in: *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, 18 (1897) 126–158, at 128; Köhler (note 71, *Zur Geschichte*) 10; Hermann Kinne, *Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Magdeburg. Das (exemte) Bistum Meißen 1. Das Kollegiatstift St. Petri zu Bautzen von der Gründung bis 1569*, Berlin/Boston 2014, 965–967; Bernhard Tönnies, *Die Handschriften der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena*, vol. 1: *Die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Handschriften der Electoralis-Gruppe*, Wiesbaden 2002, 107; Beate Kusche, »Ego collegiatus« – Die Magisterkollegien an der Universität Leipzig von 1409 bis zur Einführung der Reformation 1539. Eine struktur- und personengeschichtliche Untersuchung, Leipzig 2009, vol. 2, 495–497; Christian Speer, *Quellen zum privaten Buchbesitz im spätmittelalterlichen Görlitz (ca. 1400 bis 1550)*, in: *Bürgers Bücher. Laien als Anreger und Adressaten in Sachsens Literatur um 1500*, ed. Christoph Fasbender / Gesine Mierke, Würzburg 2017, 60–81, particularly 63, 65, 70–72.*

interest is also consistent with the theological contents of r, a personal miscellaneous book partially transcribed by him: he copied all the patristic contents shared with N (see above, Table no. 1), the Pseudo-Ambrosian epistle 4 *De moribus et uita honesta* (fol. 183v = CPL 1289; PL, 17, cols. 749–752), and the *Oratio de passione Christi* (fol. 184v–185r = PL, 184, cols. 1319–1324). He read the whole volume in such a careful way as to write a thematic index of Peter of Blois' letters in alphabetical order (fols. 434ra–441rb).

4. Intellectual Context: Further Stemmatic and Historical Evidence

Elements of Rüdiger's life and historical context are relevant for understanding the patterns underlying the *stemma codicum* of Z J r N O. As for the branch containing r, we are also aware of the owner of its apograph N: Peter Rode de Luneburg († 1483), who also wrote some notes on religious hierarchy found in fol. 83ra–va.³⁵ Before he became canon in Magdeburg, he was also active at Leipzig University between 1441–1462: he enrolled at it in 1441, became *Baccalaureus artium* in 1442 and *Magister artium* in 1447. Rode was a teacher at the same centre where Rüdiger worked: they are both quoted as *Magistri* and *Examinatores magistrandorum* in the university records.³⁶ In 1459, when parts of N were copied for him, Rode was dean of the Faculty of Theology and Rüdiger one of its professors.³⁷ In 1461, after N had been finished, Rode was elected as *Rector* of the university.³⁸

This historical evidence and the connection between both manuscripts not only attest that r and N are witnesses linked with the university, particularly to its Faculty of Theology; they also show that Rüdiger and Rode were known to each other, probably as friends or colleagues who seems to have shared some interests during the late 50s and early 60s of the 15th century. The study of *marginalia* in both manuscripts is significant. In the margins of

³⁵ Rode's hand can be compared, for example, with the *marginalia* of Berlin, SB – PK, Magdeb. 12, fols. 3r–267v + Magdeb. 93, fols. 3v–243r (autographed comments on Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*), Magdeb. 21, fols. 161va–162vb, or Magdeb. 46, fols. 3ra–26vb and 218vb–230vb; see Winter (note 15) 45, 69 and 143. On Rode, see Gottfried Wentz / Berent Schwineköper, *Das Erzbistum Magdeburg*, vol. 1/1: *Das Domstift St. Moritz in Magdeburg*, Berlin / New York, 1972, 541–545; Erler (note 32) vol. 3, 712. Rode's library is one of the three largest sources for the Magdeburg collection, which is today held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; see Winter (note 15) 9.

³⁶ Erler (note 32) vol. 2, 157, 160, 161, 163.

³⁷ Erler (note 32) vol. 2, 173–174.

³⁸ Erler (note 32) vol. 2, 183.

the Wrocław manuscript (fols. 139v–166r), Rüdiger wrote numerous notes regarding the text of Jerome's works. They are reproduced in the Berlin apograph (fols. 171ra–205va); however, they were not copied by the anonymous scribe of these folios, but by Rode himself. This fact implies that Rode ordered a copy of Jerome's work from Rüdiger's book; when he received it and realised that it lacked Rüdiger's notes, he himself undertook to copy Rüdiger's *marginalia* from it: Rode had personal access to Rüdiger's book and checked it.³⁹

To my knowledge, this relationship has not to date been pointed out, but evidence for it can be traced back to other manuscripts. Three sermons wrongly attributed to Augustine of Hippo are copied in r (fols. 132r–139r); they deal with the Annunciation and Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The same texts are copied in an identical order in the manuscript Berlin, SB – PK, Magdeb. 22, fols. 120rb–125vb, which was also copied for Peter Rode in 1459–1460.⁴⁰

³⁹ In Isidore's and Pseudo-Sisbert's works, Rüdiger's *marginalia* from r were copied in N by scribe of the main text (who is different both from the copyst of Jerome's works and from Rode's hand). On these notes, see *infra*.

⁴⁰ On this manuscript, see Winter (note 15) 74–79. The first sermon (r, fols. 132r–133v; Magdeb. 22, fols. 120rb–121rb), possibly by Ambrosius Autpertus (8th c.), is CPPM, IA, no. 980 (PL, 39, cols. 2105–2110). The second (r, fols. 133v–136v; Magdeb. 22, fols. 121rb–123va) was not identified to date. It is the *Sermo de assumptione beatae Mariae uirginis* by Giovanni of Arezzo, on whom see Guy Philippart, Jean, évêque d'Arezzo (IXe s.), auteur du *De assumptione* de Reichenau, in: *Analecta Bollandiana*, 92 (1974) 345–346; Matilde Cupiccìa, *Il De assumptione* di Reichenau (BHL 5355m). Edizione critica, studio dell'attribuzione a Giovanni d'Arezzo, analisi delle fonti nella traduzione dal greco, Tesi di Dottorato Università degli Studi di Firenze, Firenze 2001 (which I have not seen); Matilde Cupiccìa, *Iohannes Aretinus Ep.*, in: *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo*, vol. 1, ed. Paolo Chiesa / Lucia Castaldi, Firenze 2004, 187–195; *Sermones in dormitionem Mariae. Sermones Patrum Graecorum praesertim in dormitionem assumptionemque beatae Mariae uirginis in Latinum translati, ex codice Augiensi LXXX (saec. IX)*, ed. Arpad P. Orbán, Turnhout 2000 (CCCM 154). Both r and N are absent from critical studies on this work. This is probably due to an omission in the *incipit*. Instead of *Hodierna festiuitas dei genitricis uirginis Marie dormitione toto orbi uenerabilis*, both manuscripts omit *Hodierna*, starting at *Festiuitas dei* etc. This makes it much more difficult to identify the text in light of its *incipit*. The *explicit* is well preserved (*fidem conrobora et memor bone consuetudinis propitiatrix semper nobis esto apud filium tuum dominum et saluatorem nostrum cui honor et gloria ... Amen*). There are other manuscripts affected by this damage which seem to be absent from critical studies on Giovanni of Arezzo's work. See for example Clemens Weidmann, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, Wien 1997, vol. 7/1, 393. Further witnesses are München, BSB, Clm 18742, fols. 51r–59v (15th c.); Melk, StiftsB., 2 (*olim* 148), fols. 232–240 (end of 14th c.); Lambach, StiftsB., 312, fols. 89r–92v (15th c.); Wilhering, StiftsB., 62, fols. 51v–56r (15th c.); etc. All these manuscripts probably belong to the same family, which should be placed in Cupiccìa's *stemma*. However, since Karlsruhe, BLB,

The stemmatic relation of r and Magdeb. 22 in these texts will be established by collating both manuscripts. In any case, the link between r and N, the transmission of these three works in the same order, location and chronology, as well as the identical owners of both manuscripts, suggest that r and Magdeb. 22 are also witnesses to the connection between Rüdiger and Rode.

This interest in patristic studies is not their only point in common. As attested by r, Rüdiger was able to get one of the earliest copies of the final version of Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica*. This early access to the work reveals a particular interest in the political, religious and military situation of Bohemia, which is very near to both Leipzig and Lausatia, Rüdiger's homeland; it also shows that Rüdiger paid attention to Pius II's role and views on the Hussite revolution. The same interest can be seen from Rode's library. As a mid-fifteenth century theologian, he noted with interest the reformation promoted by the Hussite Bohemians: he was also the owner and partial scribe of the manuscript Berlin, SB – PK, Magdeb. 21 (1451–1462), transmitting Piccolomini's *De legatione Bohemica* (fols. 355ra–366rb; 366v blank) and Nicholas of Cusa's *Contra Bohemos* (fols. 367r–378v)⁴¹.

A similar connection to that of r and N with the university and its members can also be observed in the second branch of this family, namely that of Z J. As previously indicated, Z was written and decorated at St Thomas Convent in Leipzig, where it was held until the secularisation of its library. Significantly, this monastic centre was used by the university, particularly the Faculty of Law, both as a lecture hall and as a library.⁴² As for its extant copy J, the

Aug. LXXX (end of 9th c.) is contemporary with the author and was maybe corrected by him, it is likely that the critical edition would not be deeply affected by these additions. This Karlsruhe manuscript has been digitalised: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:bsz:31-11832> (20.4.2023). The third work (r, fols. 136v–139r; Magdeb. 22, fols. 123vb–125vb) is CPPM, IIA, no. 161 (edition: PL, 40, cols. 1141–1148), but the text has been abbreviated; it starts at *Quantum dominus donauerit loqui* (PL, 40, col. 1143, first chapter). The ending is well preserved (*ignosce tu et tui*). Machielsen (CPPM, IIA, no. 161) is well aware of the existence of abridged versions of this text. The same features found in r and Magdeb. 22 are also present in the already-quoted Clm 18742, fols. 59v–61v (where the ending has been linked with a different text). This Munich manuscript has been digitalised: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00133391?page=,1> (20.4.2023).

⁴¹ Winter (note 15) 69–74. In our view, the anonymous scribe who wrote Piccolomini's *De legatione Bohemica* is the same hand who transcribed Magdeb. 13 fols. 195r–227r for him, using Wrocław Mil. II 150 as exemplar; he is also responsible for Magdeb. 21 fols. 1r–161r. Further palaeographical connexions could be established.

⁴² See Christian Alschner, *Die Säkularisation der Klosterbibliotheken im albertinischen Sachsen* (Mark Meißen, Leipzig und Pegau), Leipzig 1969, 51–52; Fuchs/Mackert (note 27) passim. St Thomas may even have had connections with Andreas Rüdiger.

owner of this is also known: Thammo Loesser († 1503), who was a canon in Meißen and is quoted in a note on fol. 1r: *Ex testamento eximii doctoris Thamonis Loßer, canonici in Mißna 1504*. In the mid-fifteenth century, when Rüdiger and Rode were active as professors, Loesser also studied at Leipzig University: his name is included in the records among the *Doctores decretorum*, graduating at the Faculty of Law.⁴³ Such an education explains that J, a book of a law student such as Loesser, issued from Z, written and held at a convent used as a lecture theatre and library precisely by the Law Faculty. The date of J has been established at around 1464–1467 in light of its watermark, but the location of its writing has not yet been identified. The use of Z at St Thomas, and the career of its owner, reveal that, just as Z r N (and perhaps O), J is also a book created and intended for a religious scholar active at the University of Leipzig in the third quarter of the 15th century.

5. Conclusion

Despite the lack of any explicit indication, the date of the manuscript Wrocław Mil. II 150 can be established with certainty between the 29th November 1458 and the end of 1460, that is to say, after the writing of BAV Chig. I.VIII.282 and before the conclusion of Berlin, SB – PK, Magdeb. 13. The location of its copying can also be identified as Leipzig in light of: i) the colophons of its direct copy Magdeb. 13; ii) its owner and partial scribe, Andreas Rüdiger, active at the Faculty of Theology; and iii) a sibling manuscript, Leipzig UB 208, issuing from the same lost exemplar γ at St Thomas Convent in Leipzig, which was used by the university as lecture hall.

The links between Wrocław Mil. II 150, Berlin Magdeb. 13, Leipzig 208, and Jena 2 Op. Theol. IV, 4 have not been previously established. Furthermore, the connections between their owners had not been drawn. This is because each of these manuscripts followed its own path after the death of its possessor. In the third quarter of the 15th century, however, they all were found and

Rüdiger was linked to Dietrich III von Bocksdorf, a lawyer who also worked as a teacher at the university, was closely connected with St Thomas Convent and became Bishop of Naumburg (Saxonia). See Marek Wejwoda, *Spätmittelalterliche Jurisprudenz zwischen Rechtspraxis, Universität und kirchlicher Karriere*, Leiden 2012, 166; and Gertrud Schubart-Fikentscher, Dietrich III, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 3 (1957) 683.

⁴³ Erler (note 32) vol. 2, 37, line 43 (the reference found in vol. 3, 512 is wrong); on Loesser, see also Klein-Ilbeck/Ott (note 25) 380. I had no access to Wolfgang Otto, *Die Inkunabeln aus dem Besitz Dr. Thammo Lösers. Die Bibliothek eines Meißner Domherrn des Spätmittelalters*, Berlin 1973.

read in the same location: at Leipzig University, where the readers and owners of these manuscripts were active, and directly or indirectly interrelated. One of the three branches issuing from γ (Wrocław-Berlin) corresponds to two scholars at the Faculty of Theology (Rüdiger and Rode); a second branch (Leipzig-Jena) developed at Leipzig Law Faculty (St Thomas Convent and Thammo Loesser). Fresh research may shed further light on the relationships between these scholars, who seem to have shared books and common interests (such as Isidore's *Synonyma* or the corpus of so-called Pseudo-Sisbert). The third independent branch issuing from γ is represented by a contemporaneous manuscript: Strasbourg MS. 0.034. Given that this is also a German book and γ was found in Leipzig at that time, this city becomes a very plausible place of origin for this barely known manuscript, which is held today in the Strasbourg Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire.

The provenance of γ is uncertain. The *stemma codicum* of Ps. Sisbert of Toledo's works shows that γ was a sibling of San Gall 269, which was copied at San Gall at the beginning of the 10th century: both San Gall 269 and γ derive from a common exemplar labelled Γ .⁴⁴ Unlike San Gall 269,⁴⁵ γ left no descendant earlier than the middle of the 15th century. This chronology suggests that, if γ was imported to Leipzig from the St Gall area, it was perhaps copied and/or transferred by a Leipzig scholar within the context of the Council of Constanza (1414–1418), which sparked an intense interchange of books.⁴⁶ The intellectual environment of γ 's descendants in Leipzig also suggests that γ was in hands of university theologians. Furthermore, the text of γ was carefully read from a theological perspective: in *Oratio 268/269 qui (sc. Spiritus sanctus) a te et ab eodem Filio tuo procedit inseparabiliter*, all the manuscripts issuing from γ – and, as a matter of consequence, γ itself – omit *ab eodem Filio*.⁴⁷ Such an omission points to an environment in which the *Filioque* debate was still open or had been reopened, even if it does not point to any precise historical context.⁴⁸

All these manuscripts combine Isidore's *Synonyma* and Ps. Sisbert's works. This combination is also found in San Gall 269 and its descendants and can

⁴⁴ Cancela Cilleruelo (note 14) 151–153, 186–187, 249–251.

⁴⁵ This manuscript has been digitalised: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0269> (20.4.2023). Two twelfth-century descendants issuing from San Gall 269 are St Gall 223 and Vienna 794; see *ibidem*. Both are online too; see <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0223> (20.4.2023) and https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_4562389&order=1&view=SINGLE (20.4.2023).

⁴⁶ I owe this hypothesis to Prof. Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann (Zurich).

⁴⁷ Cancela Cilleruelo (note 14) 427. On this passage, see also pp. 59–61.

⁴⁸ On the *Filioque*, see Anthony Edward Sicienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy*. Oxford 2010. Note that, in view of Z, γ was earlier than c. 1455, but its dating lacks any *terminus post quem*.

be traced back to an old ancestor, Σ. This lost witness was earlier than the mid-ninth century and gave rise to a large number of descendants: its offspring include sixteen manuscripts, that is to say, almost half of the extant witnesses of Ps. Sisbert's tradition.⁴⁹ However, all these German manuscripts show a particular influence of Isidore's *Synonyma* on Ps. Sisbert's works in two ways. First, in the Strasbourg manuscript the *explicit* of Isidore's work (fol. 111r: *Explicit liber sinonimorum Isidori*) follows Ps. Sisbert's last work, as if it were a sort of appendix. The same phenomenon of absorption and integration occurs in other manuscripts.⁵⁰ Secondly, the textual influence of Isidore can also be observed in the way in which Ps. Sisbert's corpus was read and annotated. As Jacques Elfassi points out, a family in the manuscript tradition of the *Synonyma* divided the second book into chapters with thematic titles *De fornicatione*, *De castitate*, *De oratione*, *De ieiunio*, etc.⁵¹ Such titles, in an enlarged form, also appear in Wrocław Mil. II 150, Leipzig 208 and Strasbourg 0.0034, which implies that they were at least inherited from γ.⁵² This thematic guide was found by Andreas Rüdiger in his exemplar for Isidore's *Synonyma* and inspired him to add further, similar titles in the margins of his copy of Ps. Sisbert's works: *De uindicta peccatorum per penas* (fol. 176r), *De penitentia* (fol. 176r), *De malis qui conuertuntur* (fol. 177v), etc.⁵³

The location and date of Mil. II 150 also shed lights on the textual history of other works. As for the *Historia Bohemica*, its date reveals it to be among the oldest copies of the final version of Piccolomini's work. This chronology shows the extent to which it was relevant for these intellectual networks to read Pius II's work on Bohemia and the Hussite revolution, almost immediately after its composition. In the transmission of Pier della Vigna's letters, Mil. II 150 also demonstrates the relevance of this author to 15th-century university education.⁵⁴

Finally, having been reintegrated into its original environment, the history of the Wrocław manuscript can now be traced since Rüdiger's death in 1496. In his will Rüdiger left his library to his nephew Paul Schwoffheim († 1539),

⁴⁹ See Cancela Cilleruelo (note 14) 63, 142–158, 183–192, 242–255 and 279–280.

⁵⁰ For example, the Vat. Ross. 350; see Cancela Cilleruelo (note 14) 136.

⁵¹ *Isidori Synonyma*, ed. Elfassi (note 14) LXXXIII–LXXXIV.

⁵² They are also found in St Gall 269, but were added by a later hand.

⁵³ See Plate 1, Wrocław Mil. II 150, fol. 176r, *marginalia*. All these notes, written by Rüdiger himself in the Wrocław manuscript, were subsequently reproduced, using red ink, by the unknown scribe (not Rode) of these folios of Magdeb. 13: see fol. 118ra (*De uindicta peccatorum per penas*), fol. 118rb (*De penitentia*), fol. 118vb (*De malis qui conuertuntur*), etc. Rüdiger also wrote notes on Jerome's works; in this case, however, it was Rode who copied them in Magdeb. 13, still using Mil. II 150, because the scribe had not transcribed them. See *supra*.

⁵⁴ Grévin (note 3) 554 n. 35.

who was also born in Görlitz. Following in Rüdiger's steps, he studied in Leipzig, where he was *Magister* in Theology, as well as a Dean and Rector at the university; like Rüdiger, he was also a canon in Meißen and Bautzen.⁵⁵ This is how in 1496 Schwoffheim inherited a significant library, which he himself enlarged. When he died, the Franciscan convent in Görlitz, founded in 1234, received his entire collection of manuscripts and printed books.⁵⁶ In 1785 this religious library, known as *Bibliotheca Antiqua*, was transferred to the Görlitz Gymnasium, which already held all the books collected by Gottlieb Milich (1650–1720) and, particularly, those of his son, the collector, scholar and lawyer Johann Gottlieb Milich (1678–1726). On the day he died, Johann Milich left his books to the Görlitz Gymnasium in his will. This library, subsequently enlarged with the Franciscan library and the Görlitz State Archive (*Ratsarchiv*), became commonly known collectively as *Bibliotheca Milichiana*.⁵⁷ Its largest number of medieval manuscripts came, in fact, from the Franciscan library, and ultimately from Rüdiger's collection.⁵⁸ Although it was relocated on several occasions – from 1907, the books were in the Public Library – the collection remained in Görlitz until the end of World War II.⁵⁹

After 1945, Görlitz was divided into two cities by the Oder-Neiße Line: on the western bank, Görlitz, belonging to East Germany; on the eastern side, Zgorzelec, as part of Poland. During the administrative and institutional reorganization behind the Iron Curtain, the old Görlitz library was transferred to Wrocław, where different regional collections were concentrated during the post-war period.⁶⁰ At first, it was resettled at the State Archive (Archiwum

⁵⁵ On Schwoffheim, see Przytulski in Stanisław Kądziałski / Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Catalogus codicum medii aevi manusciporum qui in Bibliotheca Universitatis asservantur signa 6055–6124 comprehendens* (Codices Milichiani, I). Composuerunt S. K. et W. M., quibus auxilium tulerunt Jan Gromadzki, Jan Przytulski et Hanna Strzelecka-Ascher, Wrocław 1998, 72–73; and Kusche (note 34) vol. 2, 775–777. He was the son of Rüdiger's sister, as he himself acknowledges in manuscripts such as Mil. II 41 (paste-down): after *Liber magistri Andree de Gorlicz* 9 (written by Rüdiger himself), Schwoffheim added *Post cuius utinam felicem obitum ad me magistrum Paulum Suoffheym ex sorore eius nepotem peruenit*. The best work on collectors and libraries in Görlitz is Speer (note 34) particularly 63, 65, 70–72.

⁵⁶ Kądziałski/Mrozowicz (note 55) ix.

⁵⁷ Kądziałski/Mrozowicz (note 55) [vii] and ix.

⁵⁸ Kądziałski/Mrozowicz (note 55) ix.

⁵⁹ Kądziałski/Mrozowicz (note 55) ix. On the old catalogues made in Görlitz, see Kristeller (note 1) vol. 4, 435.

⁶⁰ Konstanty Klemens Jażdżewski, *Catalogus manusciporum codicum medii aevi Latino-rum signa 180–260 comprehendens*. Katalog łacińskich rękopisów średniowiecznych obejmujący kodeksy 180–260, Wratislaviae 1982, 7–8. Around 6000 manuscripts (including 300 medieval) were resettled in Wrocław. According to Kristeller (note 1) vol. 4, 435, the Milich library was transferred in 1951.

Państwowe we Wrocławiu), where the manuscripts were provided with new shelfmarks. The Mil. II 150 was catalogued as ›17/7787‹, as can be seen still on fol. Ir. Between 1953–1955, most books belonging to the old Milich library were transferred from the State Archive to the University Library; in 1968 the *Codices Milchiani* still remaining at the State Archive were relocated to the University Library, with some exceptions.⁶¹ There they have received new shelf marks – Mil. II 150 is now 6180. The old Milich shelf marks, in which ›II‹ means *in folio*, are however still in use.⁶²

Appendix: Books and Works of/by Andreas Rüdiger

Andreas Rüdiger's library and works are still to be reconstructed. As for his library, inherited by Paulus Schwoffheim, it can be at least partially recovered from the notes of ownership written on the front pastedown of his manuscripts, sometimes also provided with a number.⁶³ Let us take for example the case of Wrocław Mil. II 39 (6091). A first note on the pastedown, written by Rüdiger himself, reads *Liber Andree de Gorlicz 6*; thereafter, a second note, written by Schwoffheim, runs as follows: *post cuius obitum felicitis memorie in manus magistri Pauli Suoffheyem de Gorlicz nepotis eius deuenit anno 1496*. Similar notes can be found in numerous manuscripts. Other owners are mentioned in certain books:⁶⁴ in a Leipzig incunabulum listed below (Alfonsus de Spina's *Fortalitiuum fidei*, Basel, Bernhard Richel, ante 10th May 1475), we find an institution (a *Collegium*): *Liber magistri Andree Rudiger de Gorlitcz. Post cuius obitum felicitis memorie ad manus magistri Pauli Suoffheyem*

⁶¹ So Lesław Spychała, *Wegweiser durch die Handschriftenbestände der Universitätsbibliothek Wrocław/Breslau*, in: *Kulturgeschichte Schlesiens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 2, ed. Klaus Garber, Tübingen 2005, 655–748, 710. Some books were transferred to the Jagellonian Library (Cracow); others are probably in private hands. Kristeller (note 1) vol. 3, 387 and vol. 4, 435, states that the Milich manuscripts were at first divided between the Archive and the University, but all of them were finally brought together in the latter institution.

⁶² In 1973 Franz Römer was aware of the relocation of these manuscripts at the Wrocław University Library, but he stated that Mil. II 150 was lost (›Verlust‹); see Franz Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, vol. 3: Polen, Dänemark, Finnland, Schweden, Wien 1973, 232. If the manuscript was lost, it was a temporary loss.

⁶³ As for Rüdiger's hand, see note 31. For a sample of Schwoffheim's writing, see Wrocław Mil. II 70 (fol. 194r), which has been digitalised: <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/84164/edition/133581/content> (20.4.2023). This manuscript also preserves instances of Rüdiger's hand; see for example fol. 111r.

⁶⁴ See Speer (note 34) 72 n. 51 for other examples.

de Gorlitz, nepotis eius devenit, tandem collegio maiori. In the case of manuscript Mil. II 44 (6096), after Rüdiger's note in the pastedown (*Liber magistri Andree de Gorlicz*) there is a second note mentioning Ludovicus Sartor (or Sneyder), also born in Görlitz († 1536), Doctor and Professor of Theology in Leipzig, and canon in Meißen as well:⁶⁵ *Liber magistri Lodowici Sartoris Gorliczensis receptus ex clarissimo uiro domino doctore Rudiger Gorliczensi, cuius anima requiescat in pace.* Sneyder completed an index on Augustine of Hippo's *Confessions* which had been partially undertaken by Rüdiger.⁶⁶

As for the scribes of Rüdiger's manuscripts, most are unknown or unidentified. Nevertheless, there are at least two subscriptions by the same scribe, Johannes Gircko (or Greifenberg). He wrote two manuscripts: the whole of Mil. II 41 (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Pars III; subscription on fol. 444rb, dated 17th June 1449: *Summa ... scripta in Lipkcz per Johannem Girko alias Greifenberg*);⁶⁷ and Mil. II 103, fols. 230ra–416va (Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum*; subscription *per Iohannem Girko* on fol. 416va, dated 15th April 1450). Gircko can be found in the Leipzig University registers as matriculated during the summer semester of 1437. He is mentioned as *Iohannes Girko de Laubano*, which reveals that was born in Lubań (Lower Silesia).⁶⁸ Rüdiger's hand is found in numerous manuscripts. In the most of these he annotated the texts or wrote indices; in certain cases, he copied particular works. I am not aware of any manuscript wholly copied by Rüdiger, which is consistent with the fact that he did not work as a scribe: when he copied long texts, such as fols. 139v–185r of Mil. II 150 (6180), he probably had a personal interest in owning a copy of such works. The hand of his nephew, Paul Schwoffheim, can also be found in numerous books.⁶⁹

To my knowledge, there are at least 16 manuscripts and 25 incunabula belonging to Rüdiger's library. In the following list, manuscripts in which the hand of Rüdiger can be found are provided with an asterisk; if the manuscript

⁶⁵ See Kądzielski in Kądzielski/Mrozowicz (note 55) 146. This manuscript has been digitalised: <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/145010/edition/136763/content> (20.4.2023).

⁶⁶ His subscription is in fol. 203va: *Completem est registrum presens per dominum dominum [sic: d ... d ...] Andream Rudiger de Gorlicz, felicitis memorie, et per me Lodowicum Sneyder de Gorlicz scriptum anno Domini MCCCC LXXXIX, ipso die sancti Tiburcii* (that is to say, 11th August 1499).

⁶⁷ A microfilm of this manuscript has been digitalised: <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/21919/edition/54993/content> (20.4.2023).

⁶⁸ Erler (note 32) vol. 1, 121. See Kądzielski in Kądzielski/Mrozowicz (note 55) 138; Przytułski in Kądzielski/Przytułski (note 1) 134.

⁶⁹ See Kądzielski/Mrozowicz (note 55) and Kądzielski/Przytułski (note 1) ss. vv. *Possesores, Scribae*, Paulus Schwoffheim.

is provided with a note similar to *Liber magistri Andree*... followed by a number, I indicate it in square brackets.

Manuscripts:

Wrocław, BU:⁷⁰ Mil. II 20 (6073 [Liber ... 52]), Mil. II 21 (6074 [Liber ... 4])* , Mil. II 39 (6091 [Liber ... 6])* , Mil. II 40 (6092 [Liber ... 7])* , Mil. II 41 (6093 [Liber ... 9]), Mil. II 42 (6094)* , Mil. II 43 (6095), Mil. II 44 (6096 [Liber ... 2])* , Mil. II 46 (6098)* , Mil. II 55 (6107)* , Mil. II 70 (6122)*,⁷¹ Mil. II 103 (6155 [Liber ... 31])* , Mil. II 121 (6173), Mil. II 150 (6180)* , Mil. II 441 [Liber ... 75].⁷²

Jena, ThULB: Ms. El. f. 37.⁷³

⁷⁰ Kądzieski/Mrozowicz (note 55) and Kądzieski/Przytułski (note 1) ss. vv. *Possessores, Scribae*, Andreas Rudiger and Paulus Schwoffeim. Some of them have been digitalised at <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/collectiondescription/8> (20.4.2023).

⁷¹ This already-quoted manuscript (see note 63) transmits Aristotle's *Politics* annotated by Rüdiger (fols. 1v–108v), Johannes Versor's commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics* (fols. 111ra–194vb) and *Politics* (fols. 219r–345v), a moral companion (*Paruulus philosophie moralis*, fols. 195ra–218va), a partial copy of *De regimine principum ad regem Cypri*, 1–2.2 by Thomas Aquinas (titled *De rege et regno*, fols. 350ra–361vb), a poetic anthology titled *Polithecon* (fols. 363ra–390ra) and university *Distinctiones* (fols. 363ra–390ra); see Strzelecka-Ascher in Kądzieski/Mrozowicz (note 55) 227–230. On the *Paruulus*, unidentified by Strzelecka-Ascher, see Charles H. Lohr, *Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries. Authors: Narcissus-Richardus*, in: *Traditio* 28 (1972) 281–396, 354. In light of its contents, this manuscript is to be identified as the book quoted by Gustav Köhler, *Alte Nachricht über die Stiftung der Universität Leipzig*, in: *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin*, 13/3 (1835) 255–256, still in Görlitz, and described as: *Textus librorum politicorum Aristotelis; Quaestiones super x libros Ethices; Paruulus philos. moralis comment.; tractatus de rege et regno; liber metricus de uariis, dictus Poleticon; Liber distinctionum*. The note of ownership quoted by Köhler is identical (apart from Köhler's transcription mistakes, such as *obimius* instead of *obtinui*): *Liber Magistri Pauli Swoffheim de Gorlicz. quem obtinui ex doctore Andree Rudiger de Gorlicz felic(is) memorie*. As shown by the *exlibris* and contents, it is the same book quoted again in 1840 by Gustav Köhler, *Zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerei in Görlitz: eine Festschrift, Görlitz 1840*, 10 (= in: *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* 35 (1859) 34–56): *Textus librorum politicorum Aristotelis cum aliis*.

⁷² A new *membrum disiectum* of this 13th-century manuscript has been recently found in Naumburg (Saale), Domstiftsbibliothek, Fragm. 64. See Matthias Eifler / Christoph Mackert / Michael Stolz, *Ein neu aufgefundenes Fragment von Wolframs ›Parzival‹ aus Naumburg*, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 143 (2014) 306–332, particularly at 329, n. 116; see also <https://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/HSP0005E48A00000000> (20.4.2023). The note of ownership can be read on Wrocław Mil. II 441, fol. 4r (intercolumn): *Liber magistri Andree Rudiger 75 / Nunc Magistri Pauli Swoffheim de Golicz Nepotis*.

⁷³ Tönnies (note 34) 107–108.

Incunabula:

Wrocław, BU:⁷⁴ 290 (GW 2764), 449 (3756), 738 (GW 6069), 873 (GW 7258), 886 (7424), 970 (8375), 976 (8411), 988 (8648), 1049 (9435), 1107 (GW M22459), 1440 (GW 13561), 1447 (GW 13625), 1522 (GW M10890), 1664 (GW M13131), 1684 (GW M15085), 2202 (GW M32161), 2207 (GW M32577), 2500 (GW M39213), 2598 (GW M42634), 2611 (GW M12484), 2797 (GW M46615), 2813 (GW M47233), 2822 (GW M47391), 2834 (GW M48033).

Leipzig, UB: Ed.vet.s.a.m.9-e (GW 01575).

More of Rüdiger's books are likely to be found in Leipzig, Wrocław, or other libraries (including perhaps private ones). Since Wrocław Mil. II 441 was provided by Rüdiger with no. 75, it is possible to infer that it was a large library; its reconstruction would be a justifiably lengthy undertaking.⁷⁵

As for his own writings, in 1660 Joachim J. Mader published an unedited work by Konrad Wimpina, in which Rüdiger is recorded as the author of five works and some other minor writings:⁷⁶

Super Isaiam prophetam volumen, sed incompletum ex senecta.

Super Ethicorum Aristotelis lib. VIII.

Declarationem Bullae Misnensis lib. I, *Quam difficile* etc.

De concursu ad cruorem, lib. I. *Dubitatur a plerisque quid sentiendum sit* etc.

De oblationibus plebano debitibus. lib. I. *An oblationes quae fiunt in ecclesia* etc.

Orationes magistrales et doctorales, recommendationes quamplurimas. Quaestiones quoque disputatas etc.

This information was reaffirmed in 1717 by Serpilius, adding further traces of his teaching: »Extant sedulae lectionis suae summa indicia, Remissoria in diuersos libros â se quam commodissime edita: utpote in *Capreolum*, *Aureolum*, *Cameracensem*, *Maronem*, in postillam *Alberti*, in summam *Henrici Hostiensis*, et *aliorum supra triginta librorum*.«⁷⁷ Serpilius' assessments were restated in 1751 by Jöcher, and in 1803 by Otto.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ See Bronisław Kocowski, *Katalog inkunabułów Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu. Catalogus incunabulorum typographicorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, 3 vols., Wrocław 1959–1977, vol. 2, 288; descriptions are found in vol. I. To each entry I add its corresponding GW number (they are often absent from Kocowski's catalogue). As for the Milich incunabula and Schwoffheim's books, see Kocowski, vol. 2, 302–303 and 290–291.

⁷⁵ Some books owned by Schwoffheim were also provided with a number. For example, Mil. II 70 (6122) was »29« according to Strzelecka-Ascher in Kądzielski/Mrozowicz (note 55) 230.

⁷⁶ Wimpina/Mader (note 34) C3r–v; 2^a ed. by Wimpina/Mader/Merzdorf (note 36) 40–41.

⁷⁷ Serpilius (note 34) 501–502.

⁷⁸ Jöcher (note 34) col. 2292; Otto (note 34) 111–112.

Rüdiger's output has not been studied. I have not found any witness of the *Declaratio*, the work *De concursu ad cruorem*, nor *De oblationibus*. However, the first two main works on Isaias and Aristotle have luckily survived. The unfinished book on Isaias is transmitted in the manuscript Leipzig, UB, Theol. 605 (paper, 192 fols., third quarter of the 15th); Rüdiger's commentary deals with Is. 1,1–1,11.⁷⁹ As for his commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics*, this is also transmitted on a single manuscript: München, BSB, Clm 625 (96 fols., a. 1459), written by the humanist Hartmann Schedel in the summer of 1459: *A.D. MCCCCLIX tempore aestiuo ego hartmannus schedel propria manu has questiones Ethicorum collegi in lipczk a famosissimo magistro Andrea de Gorlicz sacrae paginae doctore* (fol. 95v).⁸⁰ It also remains unedited.⁸¹ Bénédicte Sère's study on books 8–9 states that Rüdiger's work largely derives from the commentary by John Versor († *post* 1482), which was probably written before 1446 and was an immediate success.⁸² This dependency would date Rüdiger's work between 1446–1459, which shows the extent to which the work of John Versor was immediately influential in the mid-fifteenth century.⁸³

⁷⁹ Peter Burkhart, *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig*. Bd. 2: Die theologischen Handschriften. Teil 1 (Ms 501–625), Wiesbaden 1999, 259–258. The work is listed by Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 11 vols., Madrid 1950–1980, vol. 2, no. 1291, ›Andreas de Goerlitz Lusatius‹.

⁸⁰ See Charles H. Lohr, *Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries Supplementary Authors*, in: *Traditio* 30 (1974) 119–144, at 122. On Schedel's library, and in particular on this manuscript (referenced in an inventory of Schedel's collection), see Richard Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ausbreitung der italienischen Renaissance, des deutschen Humanismus und der medizinischen Literatur*, ed. Otto Hartig, Freiburg im Breisgau 1908, 109; Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Hartmann Schedel als Humanist*, in: *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 11 (1871) 351–374, at 361. See also Outi Merisalo, *Scripti manu mea*. Hartmann Schedel in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 490, in: *Ars & Humanitas* 8/2 (2014) 119–130. The manuscript has been digitalised: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00124320-5> (20.4.2023).

⁸¹ For a list of questions discussed by Rüdiger in this work, see Jerzy Bartłomiej Korolec, *Komentarz Andrzeja ze Zgorzelca do Etyki Nikomachejskiej*, in: *Materialy i studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytniej i Sredniowiecznej A: Materialy i do historii filozofii sredniowiecznej w Polsce*, 7 (1967) 26–37.

⁸² See Bénédicte Sère, *Penser l'amitié au Moyen Âge. Étude historique des commentaires sur les livres VIII et IX de l'Éthique à Nicomaque* (XIIIe–XVe siècles), Turnhout 2007, 50–51, 64, 365–366, 405, 429. On John Versor, see also Charles H. Lohr, *Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries Authors: Johannes De Kanthi – Myngodus*, in: *Traditio* 27 (1971) 251–351, at 290–299.

⁸³ On the immediate success of Versor's commentary, see particularly Sère (note 82) 365.

The use of Versor's work should be further examined in light of Rüdiger's library, since his copy of Versor's exegesis is still extant: it is the manuscript Wrocław Mil. II 70 (6122), fols. 111ra–194vb, which also contains Aristotle's *Politics*, annotated by Rüdiger (fols. 1v–108v), as well as Versor's commentary on it (fols. 219r–345v).⁸⁴

As for Rüdiger's shorter works, his *Declarationes articulorum pro Johanne Schröter de Hirsbergk priore de veteri cella sanctae Mariae* can be found in the manuscript Leipzig, UB, 1399 (dated in fol. 534v: 1477), fols. 496r–499v, after Petrus Lombardus' *Sententiae* (fol. 2r–494r).⁸⁵ Further works may be hidden in unexplored university manuscripts.

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⁸⁴ See *supra* (note 71).

⁸⁵ On this manuscript, see Christoph Mackert, *Repositus ad bibliothecam publicam – eine frühe öffentliche Bibliothek in Altzelle?*, in: *Die Zisterzienser und ihre Bibliotheken: Buchbesitz und Schriftgebrauch des Klosters Altzelle im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. Tom Graber / Martina Schattkowsky, Leipzig 2008, 85–170; Christoph Mackert, *Kurzerfassung der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig im Signaturenbereich Ms 1114 – Ms 1714*, Leipzig 2008, s. v. ms. 1399, at http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/projekt-Leipzig-pdfs/ms_1399.pdf (20.4.2023). This Leipzig manuscript has been digitalised: <https://digital.ub.uni-leipzig.de/object/viewid/0000004395> (20.4.2023).