

## Appendix 1: Archival evidence about the Speyer cathedral chapter, its library, and the codex $\Sigma$ containing the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd).

Between 1426/7 - 1550/51, the *Cnd* was copied, either directly or indirectly, into several available cognate documents, some of which are identified as the primary copies of the *Cnd*, but none of these is an exact copy<sup>1</sup> of it.

As described elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> the *Cnd* was contained in a codex that is known to have been in the library of the cathedral chapter at Speyer between 1426/7 and 1550/1. This Speyer codex, or *codex Spirensis*, or  $\Sigma$ , contained a miscellany that could be divided into the following thirteen parts<sup>3</sup> : namely,

- <1> 'Cosmographia' comprising
  - (a) (excerpt from Iulius Honorius)
  - (b) (excerpt from Orosius, *Historiae*, I,2)
- <2> 'Itineraria' comprising
  - (a) Itinerarium provinciarum antoni<ni> augusti
  - (b) Itinerarium maritimum imperatoris antonini augusti
- <3> 'Montes urbis romae et aquae' comprising
  - (a) Septem montes urbis romae
  - (b) De aquarum ductibus romam rigantibus
- <4> Dicuil, *Liber de mensura (provinciarum) orbis terrae*
- <5> 'Notitia in provinciis galliarum'
- <6> 'Enumeratio provinciarum romanarum' (from the almanac or *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius)
- <7> 'De montibus portis et viis romae'
- <8> 'De rebus bellicis'
- <9> 'Disputatio hadriani augusti et epicteti philosophi'
- <10> 'De regionibus urbis romae'
- <11> 'De regionibus urbis constantinopolitanae'
- <12> 'De gradibus cognationum'
- <13> Compilation 'Notitia dignitatum' (*Cnd*)

These numbers are used to refer to any of these parts in the form  $\Sigma\#$ : for example,  $\Sigma 13$  refers to the *Cnd* and  $\Sigma 2$  to the '*Itineraria*'.

It is intended, in this appendix, to present all the available external evidence about the codex  $\Sigma$  - that is, primarily the evidence that is not deduced from the contents of the available copies of it. This external evidence indicates the importance of  $\Sigma$  in the cathedral chapter library, the production of several copies of it, and the coexistence of  $\Sigma$  with one or more of such copies in the chapter library. And, to understand that evidence, it is necessary to know significant facts about the Speyer cathedral, the library of its chapter, and its conservation and production of books.

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<sup>1</sup> As stated in the *Commentary* - §1: *Introduction*, the word *copy* is used here, and elsewhere, to refer to a *derivative document*: that is, one that is not an *original document* (the first and genuine form of something from which others are derived). The word *copy* is, therefore, used as a synonym for a representation, or imitation or adaptation or excerpt of the document from which it is derived. The word *copy* is not used with the meaning of accurate or exact reproduction, as in facsimile or photocopy; where that meaning is intended, the word *copy* is qualified, as an *accurate copy* or *exact copy*. The word *copy* does not indicate whether it is a *direct* or *indirect* derivative of a particular document: that is, document B may be a direct copy of document A, while document C may be an indirect copy, derived from another or intermediary copy of document A; where such a relationship is intended, the word *copy* is qualified as either *direct copy* or *indirect copy*. The word *copy* does not indicate whether this refers to a copy that is generally known to be extant or a copy that is known to have existed but cannot now be identified or located; where a distinction is required, the first is referred to as an *available copy* and the second as an *unavailable copy*. A *primary copy* of the *Cnd* is any available copy of it not wholly derived from any other available copy or copies of the *Cnd*.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Commentary* - §2: *The Speyer codex  $\Sigma$*

<sup>3</sup> As described in the *Commentary* - §2: *The Speyer codex  $\Sigma$* , other divisions have been made.

### ***The Speyer cathedral***

The Speyer cathedral is the largest Romanesque building in the world and was built by the Salians as their primary church and mausoleum. The construction of the cathedral began in c.1030 under Konrad II. The crypt was consecrated in 1041, its main altar in 1046 and the entire cathedral in 1061. The building was later considerably expanded between c.1080 and 1106.

The crypt of the cathedral contains the graves of several rulers and members of the Salian and later dynasties, including the Konrad II (emperor 1027-1039) and his wife Gisela (d.1043), Heinrich III (emperor 1046-1056), Heinrich IV (emperor 1084-1106) and his wife Berta (d.1087), Heinrich V (emperor 1111-1125), Philipp von Schwaben (king 1198-1208), Rudolf I von Habsburg (king 1273-1291), Adolf von Nassau (king 1292-1298), Albrecht I von Habsburg (king 1298-1308) and the second wife (Beatrix d.1184) and daughter (Agnes d.1184) of Friedrich I Barbarossa (emperor 1155-1190). Following the death of the emperor Heinrich III on 5.Oct.1056, the burial service at Speyer was personally conducted by pope Victor II (pope from 1055-1057).

As the primary church and mausoleum of the Salian dynasty, the cathedral received valuable gifts from these and other rulers.<sup>4</sup> In 1046, Henry III donated the evangelistary known as the codex aureus<sup>5</sup> and, on his return from Roma in 1047, he presented the cathedral with the skull of pope Stephanus, one of the two patrons of the cathedral.<sup>6</sup> In 1083, the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) gave the cathedral a valuable antependium (decorative cloth covering the front of the altar).<sup>7</sup> But the cathedral was damaged by fire in 1137, 1159, 1450, 1552 and 1689 and many of its possessions were looted or destroyed during invasions, notably in 1552 and 1689.<sup>8</sup>

### ***Royal and imperial centre***

The imperial cathedral (*Kaiserdom*) made Speyer an important town. This importance was increased for especially three reasons that made Speyer a significant destination, over a long period of time, for large groups of people, especially rulers, courtiers, aristocrats and administrators.

First, Speyer was an important royal and imperial centre over several centuries. In the period 950-1125, rulers from the Saxon and Salian dynasties definitely visited Speyer on 34 occasions, for a total of 114 days, and probably on 58 other occasions, each for one day.<sup>9</sup> And it was at Speyer, in 1146, that St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) persuaded Konrad III (1138-1152) to join the Second Crusade.

Second, Speyer was the site of meetings of the imperial assembly (*Reichstag*), including those held in 1126, 1146, 1178, 1273-74, 1384, 1414, 1487(26.Jan. - 7.Feb.), 1526(25.Jun. - 28.Aug.), 1529(15.Mar. - 22.Apr.), 1542(9.Feb. - 11.Apr.), 1544(20.Feb. - 10.Jun.) and 1570(13.Jul. - 13.Dec.).

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<sup>4</sup> For example, Henry IV referred to the construction, embellishment and enrichment of the cathedral in the following terms: [...] *ecclesiam Spirensensem a nostris parentibus Cunrado imperatore augusto, avo videlicet nostro, et Heinrico imperatore augusto, patre videlicet nostro, et a nobis gloriose constructam veneramur et quam pluribus prediis et mancipiis diversisque ornamentis ad honorem dei sancteque dei genitricis Marie celebramus.* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae - Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, vol.6: Gladiss, D.v. & Gawlik, A. (eds.), *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.* (1941-1978), Diploma 489 (15 Feb. 1105), p.666).

<sup>5</sup> San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, cod. Vitr. 17

<sup>6</sup> Schlembach, A., *Zeugnis der Grossartigkeit der christlichen Kunst. Ansprach von Bischof Dr. Anton Schlembach beim Festakt im Dom am 1 April 2001 aus Anlass der Neupräsentation der Domschatzkammer im Historischen Museum der Pfalz*: Internet: <http://www.kath.de/bistum/speyer/bischof/predigt010401.htm> (accessed 22.Dec.2004)

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Kabat, S., *Brände im Dom zu Speyer*: Pfälzer Heimat 43 1992 pp.1-10.

<sup>9</sup> Friedmann, A.U., *Die Beziehungen der Bistümer Worms und Speyer zu den ottonischen and salischen Königen.* (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhheinischen Kirchengeschichte, Band 72). (Mainz, 1994), pp.234-244.

Third, the imperial cameral court (*Reichskammergericht*), which was created in 1495, was permanently located at Speyer from 1527 until 1689. This court was one of the two supreme courts of the empire - the other being the palace court (*Reichshofrat*), generally located in Wien.

In 969 Otto I (912-973, emperor from 962) made the bishop lord of Speyer,<sup>10</sup> but in 1294, the bishop had to renounce most of his earlier rights over the city in favour of an elected town council and Speyer became a free imperial city (*Reichsstadt*). From that time, the bishop could not enter the city without council permission. Accordingly, the bishop resided less frequently in Speyer and, from c.1380, was principally at Udenheim in a residence which, from 1625 onwards, was developed into the castle Philippsburg. Although the bishop no longer governed the city of Speyer, he continued to rule a substantial territory which, by 1541, comprised 24 castles, 6 towns, 104 villages and 3 tolls.<sup>11</sup>

### ***Speyer cathedral chapter***

The Speyer cathedral was always owned by the diocese - that is, by the bishop and chapter, who jointly governed the diocese. There was no religious order connected with the cathedral, with the exception of the *Stuhlbrüder* (or *fratres sedum*) who were a lay fraternity obliged to say prayers for the emperors whose tombs are inside the cathedral.

The cathedral chapter (*Domkapitel, capitulum*) at Speyer was an ecclesiastical corporate body of approximately 30 canons, or clergy ordained for religious duties in the church, and whose primary purpose was to govern the diocese jointly with the bishop<sup>12</sup>. The chapter elected the bishop, and it ruled the diocese during episcopal vacancies. The chapter was a permanent body and, in September 1483, a papal decree stated that, henceforth, only members of the nobility or aristocracy could be members of the cathedral chapter at Speyer.<sup>13</sup> Each capitular canon (*Domkapitular* or *Domherr, canonicus capitularis*) had the right to a prebend (*Pfründe*), or income, and was required to reside near the cathedral church, unless granted leave.

As an ecclesiastical corporation, the cathedral chapter had the right to possess property, which was not under the control of the bishop. Indeed, Henry III, who made several donations of property to the cathedral chapter, in 1041 and 1046, specified with the first of these that the bishop was to be excluded from their administration.<sup>14</sup>

The chapter was originally led by the cathedral provost (*Dompropst, praepositus*), who was the highest dignitary after the bishop. But, from the end of the 12thC, the leadership of the chapter passed to the cathedral dean (*Domdekan, decanus*) and, thereafter, the provost was excluded from the chapter and its meetings, unless invited. The dean both summoned, and presided over, the meetings of the cathedral chapter. There were four annual meetings, two formal weekly meetings (on Wednesday and Friday) and such other informal meetings as were required, often with a small number of canons in attendance.

After the prelates - the bishop, provost and dean - the next highest position was held by the cathedral scholar (*Domscholaster*) who was simultaneously the registrar, librarian and archivist of the cathedral

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<sup>10</sup> (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae - Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, vol.1: Sickel, T. (ed.), *Die Urkunden Konrad I, Heinrich I und Otto I.*(1879-1884), Diploma 379 (4 Oct. 969), pp.520-521).

<sup>11</sup> Duggan, L.G., *Bishop and chapter: the governance of the bishopric of Speyer to 1552*. (Studies presented to the international commission for the history of representative and parliamentary institutions, 42) (New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1978). p.7.

<sup>12</sup> Kaul, T., *Der Klerus des Domstiftes von Speyer im Jahre 1542*: Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte (Speyer) 7 1955 pp. 112-158.

<sup>13</sup> Remling, F.X., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer*. (2 vols.) (Mainz, 1852-53), vol.2, no.212, pp. 405-407.

<sup>14</sup> Friedmann, *op.cit.*, pp.116-117.

chapter, as well as being responsible for the implementation of its decisions. He was also principal of the cathedral school which had been established in 983.

### ***Library of the cathedral chapter***

Three libraries were associated with the cathedral. First, the library of the cathedral itself, comprising liturgical books and books forming part of its treasure chamber, such as the codex aureus. Second, the library of the bishop, which was in the castle (later the Philippsburg) near Udenheim since c.1381. Third, the library of the cathedral chapter, which was the largest of the three.

No catalogue or inventory of the library of the cathedral chapter survived the fire that completely destroyed the library in 1689. But before then, a catalogue was consulted both by Nicolaus Heinsius (1620-1681) in November 1672,<sup>15</sup> and by Johannes Gamans (d. 1684) who compiled a select list of titles from a catalogue and sometimes described, in his notes, the books that he actually consulted.<sup>16</sup> The information of these writers, supplemented by the statements of other users of the library, and evidence about the provenance of individual books, has already been collected and discussed by several writers, especially L.Grünenwald, P.Lehmann, and, most recently, J.Vorderstemann.<sup>17</sup> The information presented

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<sup>15</sup> In his letter to Jan Georg Graefe (Ioannes Georgius Graevius) (1632-1703): <Mainz, 5.Nov.1672>: *Nic. Heinsius. Joh. Geor. Graevio. Ultrajectum. [...] De bibliothecis in hac vicinia vetustioribus opinionem conceptam quodammodo in vanum cecidisse agnosco. [...] At Spira totum in bibliotheca exegi diem; quamquam autem desiderabantur complures ex libris, quos catalogus promittebat, atque in his Saturnalia Macrobianae, orationes aliaque Ciceronis, atque in eas Peditianus Asconius, Florus, Antonini itinerarium, cum pervetusto Metamorphoseon Nasonianarum exemplari, quod Langermannus <Lucas Langerman (1625-1686)> ante octennium inspexit, occurrebant tamen haud pauca minime contemnenda, de quibus coram. Officiorum Ciceronis tria, ni fallor, exemplaria satis vetusta, Rhetoricorum duo, aliaque Tullii tui manus inciderunt meas. Nam Epistolae aetatem non nisi annorum. ccc prae se ferebant. Et haec quidem hactenus. [...]. Mogontiae, 1672. a.d.6 Novembr. [...].*

(Burmans, P., *Sylloges epistularum a viris illustribus scriptarum tomi quinque collecti et digesti per Petrum Burmannum*. (5 vols. Leiden, Luchtmans, 1724-1727) *Tomus IV: quo Nicolai Heinsii, Johannis Georgii Graevii et Jacobi Perizonii Epistolae maximam partem mutuae exhibentur*. (5 vols.) (Leiden, 1714), Epist. CIX, pp.141-143 <copy used: 1714 = Paris, Bibl.Nat. Z.10.106>

<sup>16</sup> The undated list (Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, ms. XLII, 1837, n) compiled by Gamans, of books in the Speyer cathedral library, is entitled *Index Alphabeticus Bibliothecae Spirensis Cathedralis Ecclesiae praecipue MSS*. This was transcribed and printed in Lehmann, P., *Die mittelalterliche Dombibliothek zu Speyer: Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-historische Abteilung) (München) 1934 Heft 4 pp. 3-64*. (Revised edition in Lehmann, P., *Erforschungen des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*.(Stuttgart, 1959) bd.2 pp. 186-228) on pp.49-55.

<sup>17</sup> Grünenwald, L., *Die Peutingersche Tafel, eine römische Weltkarte des 4. Jahrhunderts. Stammt sie wirklich aus Speyer ?*: Palatina: Heimblatt der "Pfälzer Zeitung" und des "Rheinischen Volksblattes" 1906 pp. 146-148, 150-152, 155-156;

*Geschichte der K. Gymnasialbibliothek zu Speyer und ihrer Vorläufer*. (Programm zum Jahresberichte des K. human. Gymnasiums Speyer, 1914-1915). (Speyer, 1915);

*Die berühmtesten Bücher der alten Bibliotheken zu Speyer*: Pfälzisches Museum 4 1923 pp. 22-24;

*Die Bücher und Handschriften des alten Speierer Domstiftes von 650-1803*: Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 50 1930-1932 pp. 3-64;

Lehmann, P.,

*op.cit.*

Vorderstemann, J.,

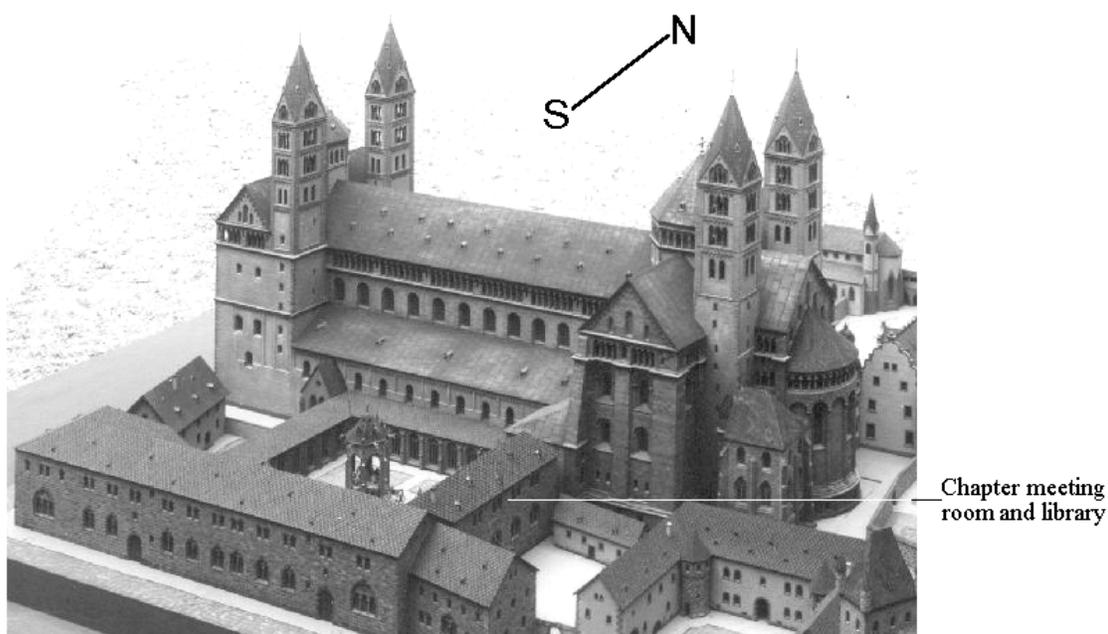
*Die Büchersammlungen des Speyerer Domes in tausend Jahren. Ein Überblick aus Anlaß der 950-Jahr-Feier im Jahre 1980. Dem Anreger dieses Aufsatzes Domdekan Prälat Bruno Thiebes zum 75. Geburtstag gewidmet*: Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte (Speyer) 33 1981 pp. 45-61.

by the aforementioned writers, and others, can now be augmented by additional evidence that has not been either fully investigated or previously published.

This additional evidence comprises statements by the cathedral chapter itself which were recorded in the minutes of its meetings (*Protocolla conclusionum actuum dominorum capitularium ecclesiae spirensis*). The books containing these minutes are maintained as the *Sitzungsprotokolle des Speyerer Domkapitels* in section 61 (*Protokollsammlung*), volumes 10929-11094, of the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe and are, hereafter referred to as GLA.<sup>18</sup> These books, which begin with the minutes of the meeting of 3.Nov.1500, contain significant evidence about the library, its operation, its books, and about the codex  $\Sigma$  itself, and the presentation of this evidence comprises most of the remainder of this appendix.

### Speyer cathedral and associated buildings c.1600

(Model by O. Martin, 1928-1930) *Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz HM 1930/21*



The buildings occupied by the cathedral chapter were attached to the southern wall of the cathedral and the chapter library was located within these buildings. Theodor Reysmann, in his poem describing Speyer and its cathedral,<sup>19</sup> states that the chapter library was located in a room adjoining the meeting room, and it can be deduced from the poem that this meeting room and the library were both located in the upper storey of the eastern wing of the cloister. Reysmann also indicated that there were two entrances to the library: the main entrance, which was secured by an iron door, and another entrance through a door that opened onto a spiral staircase leading down to the cloister.<sup>20</sup> This second entrance is

<sup>18</sup> The minutes cover the period 1500-1802. Summaries and some excerpts from the minutes for the period 1500 (3.Nov.) to 1531 (31.Dec.) have been published by Krebs, M., *Die Protokolle des Speyerer Domkapitels, 1500-1531*. (2 vols) (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1968-1969).

<sup>19</sup> GLA 61/10933,p.713 (20.Oct.1531) records that: *Theodorus Reisman poeta laureatus m.h. dechan ein carmen uberantwort, darin er den dhomb und stat beschrieben* and that the chapter made a contribution of 3 florins to him for it. (from Krebs, *op.cit.* no.9123, vol.2, p.402).

<sup>20</sup> *Pulcherrimae Spiraе summique in ea templi enchromata* reprinted in Bossert, G., (transl. by Kennel, A.) *Theodor Reysmann und sein Lobgedicht auf Speyer: Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz 29+30 1907*, pp. 156-248. <lines 785-810: | *Est locus in templo, proceres ubi habere senatum | Consuerunt, in secessu gradibusque adeunda | Hunc prope ianua conspicitur, quae ferrea tota est; | Nempe serae Caruntiacae, Taurisca repagla. | Multa vides intromissus coelestia; quae vel* |

attested in a minute of 17.Jun.1584, in which the chapter granted an applicant keys, not only to the cloister door opening to the spiral staircase, but to a door to the cloister itself.<sup>21</sup>

The security of the library, and control of access to it, were important to the chapter. In July 1527, after noting that keys to the library had been misused or not returned<sup>22</sup>, the chapter ordered that the lock on the library door be changed and that the names of those who subsequently received keys were to be recorded.<sup>23</sup> Already previously, in 1503, the chapter had ordered that the issue of keys to various doors be restricted, particularly those to the library.<sup>24</sup> Following the instruction in 1527, each recipient of a key

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*Innumeri veteres vel tempora nostra dederunt. | Qui sacra, qui leges medicorum scriptaque multa, | multorum monumenta virum sanctosque labores | Et divinatorum coelestia carmina vatam, | Quae sunt, quaeque fuerunt, quaeque orientia current, | Libros volvere rhetoricos et multa sophorum | Dogmata priscorum studio cognoscere gestit, | Huc eat: inveniet praeclara volumina sive | Innumeros, qui Biblia sacra interprete lingua | Exposuere, velit mare legum Caesarearum | Sive libebit et immensum sulcare per aequor. | Bartholon et Baldum, Salicetum aliosque videbis | Tecum Naritii ducis instar longa vehendo | Aequora per tandem patrias adpellere ad oras | Consuetos, sed et invenies, quae dicere longum est. | Hic meus Oenander noctesque diesque pererrat | Instar apis varios comportans undique succos. | Hinc descendere si libeat, testudo cavata est | Non procul et camuro fornix in pariete flexu | Oscurus modice, quo si deducaris, infra | Offert circuitus pulcher se. ...| translated by Kennel as follows:*

*| Einen Raum hat der Dom, wo Beratungen pflegt sein Kapitel | Abzuhalten, geheim; und auf Treppenstufen erreichbar | Wird man daneben gewahr eine Pforte, völlig von Eisen; | Sind doch die Bänder aus Kärntener Stahl und aus Steyrer die Riegel, | Zugelassen, erblickst du dort viel Herrliches, das uns | Zahllos die Alten, doch teils auch neuere Zeiten gespendet. | Wer viel Theologie, Gesetze und Schriften der Ärzte, | Denkwürdigkeiten und hehres Bemühen viel herrlicher Helden | Und unsterblichen Sang von gottbegnadeten Dichtern, | Wer, was da ist und was war und das, was künftig gesch'n wird, | Bücher und Redner durchblättern will und die zahlreichen Sätze | Alter weisen mit Fleisch bestrebt ist wohl zu erfassen, | Trete hinein und er wird gar stattliche Bände hier finden; | Wünscht er die endlose Zahl der Erklärer zu sehen des heil'gen | Textes des göttlichen Worts oder lüftet es ihn durch die Hochflut, | Dies unermessliche Meer, der Kaisergesetze zu steuern: | Bartholus und Salicetus und Balbus nebst andern erblickst du, | Die mit dir wie der lokrische Held durch die Weiten der Meere | Fahrend, zuletzt doch stets an den heimischen Küsten zu landen | Pflegen; doch findest du auch, was - aufzuzählen zu lang ist. | Hier verbringt mein Freund Oenander Tage wie Nächte | Gleich wie die Bienen den Saft manchfach überallher zu sammeln, | Will von hier man hinab, so ist ein gehöhlt Gewölbe | Unfern und in der Wand in gewundener Krümmung ein Bogen | ziemlich finster: sobald er hinab dich geleitet, so tut sich | Unten der Kreuzgang auf, der prächtige. |*

<sup>21</sup> GLA 61/10947,f.140v (17.Jun.1584): *It(em) d(octor) Balthasar Feldman vic(carius) ist bewilligt, d(a)s er mög ein schlüssel, zu dem schnecken, so unden im Creutzgang hineuff in die Liberej gehet, vnd den zur dhur im Creutzgang naher der dechanej zu haben, vnd zu seiner noitturft des studiums geprauchten.*

<sup>22</sup> GLA 61/10932,f.187r (Jul.1527): <187r1-4> *Ornatus. Jacob Lütz (con)t(inuatus) d(ed)it defectus das die schlüssel zu d(er) libry misspraucht vnd nit vberantwort w(er)d(en).*

<sup>23</sup> GLA 61/10932,f.186v (Jul.1527): *It(em) sol der ornat in der kammern vnd sunst durch her Hans und custod(en) <incomplete sentence> und das schlos an der libery verendert werd(en), kheinem gege(ben) als dan mit wiss(en) seins oberh(e)rn vnd die selbigen die also schliessel ne(m)me(n) ufzeichnen.*

<sup>24</sup> GLA 61/10929,f.185r (Apr.1503): *Dessglichen solle(n) sie auch furter kein Tafel oder anders in die kirchen und crutzgangk hengken, oder kisten oder schengk in die kirchen zusetzen, on meyner h(er)rn wissen und erlaubnus nymants gonnen, noch ymants einen Schlüssel, es sej woe zu es woll und sunderlich zu der liberej, geben, vnd ist solchs den fabrica vnnnd ornatsmeistern capitulariter gesagt word(en).*

had to swear an oath,<sup>25</sup> which, in 1527, included the promise not to allow unauthorised strangers to remain in the library unless supervised by a keyholder.<sup>26</sup> In 1528, the chapter ordered that no keyholder was to permit access to the library by anyone else without the prior permission of either the dean, or the senior canon and, where such permission was granted, that the stranger had to be supervised.<sup>27</sup> Keyholders were reminded that keys were given only for personal use,<sup>28</sup> and all grants of keys and the name of their holders were apparently recorded in the minutes.<sup>29</sup> An exceptional grant was made, in 1540, to the prominent outsider, Dr. Konrad Braun (1491-1593), then head of the chancellery of the *Reichskammergericht* in Speyer. He stated that he had previously possessed the keys to several doors, including one to the library, to enable him to use the latter whenever he chose and he now petitioned, successfully, that his privilege be renewed.<sup>30</sup> Security within the library was augmented by the practice of attaching books to the shelves with chains, which needed to be removed on the few occasions when books were allowed to be borrowed.<sup>31</sup>

Before 1503 it had apparently been the practice to allow books to be borrowed from the library against written undertakings (*recognitiones*) for their return. This had often occurred without the knowledge or permission of the chapter and it was noted that several unsuccessful requests for their return had been made. So, in February 1503, the chapter ordered that another demand be made for their return; that the

<sup>25</sup> For example, GLA 61/10932,f.200r (Sep 1527): *It(em) sol der Ornatmeist(er) myn(em) hern sindico ein schliessel zu d(er) libery noch gewonlichem bescheen Iurament werd(en) lass(en).*

<sup>26</sup> GLA 61/109232,f.204v (Oct. 1527): *Vff begern des ornatmeinst(er)s ist gewilligt her Kilian mangolt und Diether hoffman <gap of half a line - for further names?> person der kirchen schliessel zur libery zugeben, doch das sie wü nit gescheen gewöhnlich(es) Iurament thun vnd erinnert werden des puncten im infuren eins frembd(en), das sie by dem selb(en) plyben so lang einer darin ist.*

<sup>27</sup> GLA 61/10932,f.264r (Jul.1528): *Dem Ornatsmeinst(er) ist vf sein begern befolgen her Thebolten sculterj ein schliessel zu der Libery zugeb(en) doch das er den fur sich alleyn gepräuch vnd nyemant darin fure one furwiss(en) myns her dechants oder eltsten Canonicken, aber dem lessmeister zun Aügüstyner sol der Ornatsmeister khein eigen schliessel geb(en) er mage aber mit andern so schliessel haben in die libery gen doch das dieselb(e)n by Ime blyben.*

<sup>28</sup> GLA 61/10932,f.226v (Jan.1528): *Meinst(er) Vryten kind(er)meister ist zugelass(en) ein schlessel zu der Libery zuhaben dessgleichen h(er) Niclaus baltzen doch also das Ir keiner kein frembde(n) darin fuer sond(dern) fur sich selbs gepräuch bis myn hern ein ander ordenung furnem(en).*

<sup>29</sup> Apart from the grants already mentioned above, the following are recorded for the period 1500-1600: GLA 61/10922,f.266v (Aug.1528); 61/10933,p.511 (Oct.1530); 61/10933,p.540 (Dec.1530); 61/10933,p.806 (3.May.1532); 61/10935,p.580 (5.Aug.1544); 61/10936,p.139 (9.Jul.1547); 61/10945,p.340 (10.Nov.1579); 61/10947,f.9v, (24.Jan.1583); 61/10947,f.242v (23.Aug..1585); 61/10947,f.273r (8.Feb.1586); 61/10949,p.431 (2.May.1594); 61/10949,p.806 (5.Dec.1596); 61/10949,p.885 (27.Mar.1597).

<sup>30</sup> GLA 61/10935,p.151 (12.May.1540): *In vigilia penthecost(en) hot d(e)r ornat meist(er) Jacob lutz mein her(n) in sant steffpha(n)s khor angezeigt, wie doctor Co(n)radt brav(n) d(es) k(oniglich) cha(m)mergerichts verwalther d(e)r cantzley, beger ein schlussel zu der liberey vnd auch schlusiel d(as) er zu seiner gelegenheit moge dar vff ku(m)men etc. wie woll im er vormalss auch eine(n) gehabt, vnd mein her(n) nit wissens d(as) er auch zu den ander(en) thuren ausserhalb der liberey menche gehabt vnd doch mey(n) her(n) dhu(m)dechant sullichs anzeigt wie er vormalss auch schlussel gehabt do mit er hab mog(en) zu yderzit des dags zur liberey ku(m)men habens mey(n) her(n) auch lassen blybenn doch d(as) d(e)r ornat meist(er) den gewonlich(en) eydt od(er) glybt vo(n) im ne(m)me(n).*

<sup>31</sup> GLA 61/10935,p.682 (2 Sep 1545): *Doctor Niclas praedicator hat meine hern gepetten sye wollen Ime eyn buch oder zwey auss der Lieberey leyhen vnd heym zu tragen vergunden; dyeweyl aber nun etwas beschwerlich vnd onbreuchlich, auch beym stiefft nit herkommen, das man die bucher hinweg leyhe; so habens meyne her d(em) Niclasen zugefallen doch {<marginal addition> eyn acht tage ongeuerlich} leyhen wollen, wan mans anders onschaden von Ketten bringen mage, doch das er dem ornat meynster eyn gepurlich handtschriefft gebe.*

disorder in the collection caused by the missing books be obviated by a reorganisation of the remaining collection; and that henceforth no book was to be removed from the library without the permission of the chapter,<sup>32</sup> and, therefore, all subsequent requests to borrow books appear to have been recorded in the minutes.

The borrowing of books was not encouraged, especially on the grounds that if the right were granted to one person, others would claim the same privilege, so that requests were either refused, or it was suggested that a requested book be used within the library.<sup>33</sup> One request was granted against the deposit of another manuscript as a surety for the return of the borrowed book.<sup>34</sup> Despite these precautions books continued to be removed,<sup>35</sup> or lent out and not returned.<sup>36</sup>

The copying of books sometimes involved removing the gatherings of the book being copied, and then rebinding them when they had been copied. For example, in November 1502, Peter Drach (c.1440-1504), a member of a family of printers at Speyer, asked to borrow the manuscript *Super omnes libros metaphysicales Aristotelis* written by (St.) Albertus Magnus (c.1200-1280)<sup>37</sup>, which was still in the

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<sup>32</sup> GLA 61/10929,173r (11.Feb.1503): *Nachdem etliche bucher vsser der libery on meiner h(er)r(e)n wiss(en) genomen worden, vnd auch derhalben etliche recognitiones verhanden sein sollen, Ist herrn Heinrichen Cratzen Tumherrn beuolhen worden, solch recognitiones zuersehen, vnd das man ein Mandat sub pena exco(mmun)icationis vssgeen lasse, das die ihenen so bucher haben, wider antwort(en) die in die libery zu legen. Item soll man auch die ordenung der buch(er) halben, wider erneuern, vnd das furter kein buch vss der libery genomen werden soll. Es geschehe dan mit willen vnd wissen meyner herrn vom Capitel.*

<sup>33</sup> GLA 61/10933, p.24 (25.Jun.1529): <p.24,31-37> *Als doctor Philips Drachstet begert, im etlich bucher in iure auss der liberey mitzuteilen etlich defect in seine(n) bucher zu compliren ist bedacht das nit gut sei, die heruss zuleih(en) dan sollichs ain inbruch geper vnd ein anderer das auch darnach haben wolt, doch wo er die andersswo nit bekommen mag sol im onabgeschlag(en) sein, in der liberei seine defect zu compliren.*

<sup>34</sup> GLA61/10935,p.682 (2.Sept.1545) see note 31.

<sup>35</sup> For example, GLA 61/10935,p.394 (21.Jul.1542): *Jacobus Lutz m(a)g(iste)r Ornatus befragt d(er) mengel sagt dem Ornat gee ab. It(em) werd(en) die mess vnd ander bucher vertrag(en), das gut were ein mandat wurde affigirt das ein Jeder wider antwort. Et (continua)tus d(edi)t fidem;* and GLA 61/10935,p.481 (21.Jul.1543): *Jacobus Lutz m(a)g(iste)r Ornatus befragt d(er) mengel sagt das wil mess bucher verlorn, vnd gut were das ein Monitoriu(m) aussgie(n)g, das ein Ide person die bucher so Im haws hette wolte lieff(er)n, et (continua)tus d(edi)t fid(em).*

<sup>36</sup> Two books which had been lent to the foundation in Germersheim (Pfalz), but not returned, were referred to in three consecutive years during the meetings called to determine the *Besetzung der Ämpter* when, customarily, the (re)appointed head of the *Ornatsamt* was asked to comment on its shortages or deficiencies (*mengel*): that is, on 20.Jul.1537 (GLA 61/10934,p.626), 19.Jul.1538 (GLA 61/10934,p.763) and 18.Jul.1539 (GLA 61/10935,p.66). The two books were last referred to on 19.Aug.1539 (GLA 61/10935,p.85): *Mit den bucher(n) so ma(n) ge(n) germerssheim gelauwenn sol der ornat meist(er) weitther bey in anhaltt(en) vnd da mit verfug(en) d(en) si selbs an mey(n) hern supplitire(n) vnd mey mog(en) anzeig(en).*

<sup>37</sup> GLA 61/10929,f.149r-v (6.Nov.1502): *Als her Hainrich Cratz furbracht hat wie das Peter Drach burger zu Spyer Im ein recognition geben het, Im das buch Albertj magni super methaphisicam zu lyhen vnd er mynen herrn ein ander buch dogegen vbergeben, vnd das den prediger munchen zu Kollen oder Franckfurt abzuschriben zu schicken vnd dornach das drucken lassen und meynen herrn on schaden wider zustellen wolt. Also haben mein herrn doctor Jobsten den prediger beschickt vnd in gefragt, ob er solch buch anderswoe geschriben oder gedruckt gesehen, doruf er neyn gesagt hat. Also haben mein h(er)rn douon geredt das mislich sej, solch buch in der munchen handt komen zu lassen, vnd dieweil solch buch durch Albertu(m) magnu(m) mit siner aigen handt geschriben worden, were zubesorgen, das es die munch nit von in komen liessen dorzu solt es vsgeschnitten vnd dornach wider gebund(en) werden, so wurde die schrift an dem gebende abgeschnitt(en) und das buch dadurch verderbt. Woe aber das buch hie in doctor Jobsten huss*

library when Gamans compiled his select list of books before 1684.<sup>38</sup> Drach proposed that he would have the manuscript copied by monks, either in Köln or in Frankfurt, and then return it before he printed the copy. The chapter expressed concern that their manuscript, allegedly an autograph by Albertus, was liable to be damaged if the monks separated its gatherings by cutting the binding strings along the inner spine. It discussed the possibility that the manuscript could be copied at Speyer, and awaited a final decision - which is not recorded - by the dean.

Copies could be produced in a very short period of time using the aforementioned process. Jacob Wimpfeling (1450-1528), cathedral preacher at Speyer 1483-1498, noted in 1497 that cardinal Marco Barbo (1420-1491), having found a composition by Lupold von Bebenburg (c.1297-1363) in the library, had this book copied in one night, by distributing parts of this book among several scribes.<sup>39</sup> But such a process could also create problems if the gatherings were either copied, or re-bound, in the wrong sequence. In his edition of Titus Livius in 1535, Beatus Rhenanus (Beat Bild von Rheinau) (1485-1547) noted that parts of the text in the manuscript from Speyer occurred in the wrong order and required rearrangement.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to manuscript books, the cathedral library also possessed printed books, including multiple copies of the same works. An unfinished minute of the meeting held on 23.Jul.1516 states that the library held triplicates of some works, and the unrecorded conclusion to this discussion probably instructed that superfluous books be culled.<sup>41</sup> The same minute indicates that the chapter kept itself informed about

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*aggeschriben werden mocht, alsdan sich mein herrn wyter bedencken wolten, und beschlisslich wurde die sach vfgeschlagen bis vf zukunfft meines herren Tumdechans.*

<sup>38</sup> Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. XLII, 1837,n (17 pp.): *Index Alphabeticus Bibliothecae Spirensis Cathedralis Eccles(iae) praecipue MSS* (p.1,a,8-12; b,1-6):<Library catalogue consulted by Gamans?> *Alberti Magni in Metaphysica(m) Ar(istote)lij autographu(m) in paruo folio pergam., cl(asse).II l(ittera) B.* <Comment by Gamans> *ipse uidi et inscriptio(n)em pergameno grandib(us) litteris libro agglutinata(m) ei(us) rei teste legi: Metaphisica. Istum libru(m) manu p(ro)p(ri)a scripsit magnus Albertus parte scriptura Alberti et partem legi [?.] pt. [?.] in hoc viri docti [?.] . Est liber in 4. pergam. 3 digitos crass(us), corio albo et assere tectus. Osculatus su(m) iterum iteru(m)q(ue), quia reliquiae.* (Lehmann, *op.cit.* p.49).

<sup>39</sup> Herding, O. & Mertens, D. (eds.), Jakob Wimpfeling. Briefwechsel. (2 vols. München, Fink, 1990), No.69 (31.Mar.1497) p.264: *Reverendissimus optimusque pater Marcus ecclesiae quondam Romani cardinalis et Aquileiensis patriarcha, dum Spirenses olim bibliothecas solacii causa lustraret, incidit in quoddam Lupoldi Bebenburgensis opusculum suae mox paternitati adeo placitum, adeo iucundum, ut libellum ipsum conscis<s>um et in plures librarios distributum una nocte exscribi sibi curaret; postridie enim abire statuerat. [...]*

<sup>40</sup> (title page) *T.Livii Patavini latinae historiae principis decades tres cum dimidia [...] doctissimae in hunc autorem Beati Rhenani & Sigismundi Gelenij adiunctae Annotationes. [...] Basileae in officina Frobeniana Anno M.D.XXXV.* (p.33) *IN FRAGMENTA LIBRI SEXTI TERTIAE DECADIS ANNOTATIONES. Quod nos nacti fuimus, è Spira Liuiianum exemplar, ex fragmentis uetustissimoru(m) codicum saltuatim descriptu(m) uidebatur, praesertim in hoc libro Sexto tertiae Decadis. Nam initium uoluminis fecerat librarius a particula,quam nos uix tandem in medio libro reperimus, abruptis uerbis. Cum ea coh(a)erebat aliquot paginis intermedijs omissis, libri finis. Deinde quum septimum librum conferre coepissemus, iterum particulam inuenimus quae ad Sextum librum pertinebat. Vide miram co(n)fusionem. Nos in hijs Annotationibus excusorum codicum ordinem sequimur. [...]*

<sup>41</sup> GLA 61/10930,f.269v (23.Jul.1516): *Opera Augustini und Jeronimi, so itzo mit einem neuen druck und apparat aussgagen, zu Franckfurt zubestellen in die libery ist befolen d. scolastico, her Hansen von Lewenstein und mym her senger, desglychen auch ander volumina, so nit in der libery sein, mit der zeit zubestellen und die bucher, so etwan dryfeltig darin liegen* (from Krebs, *op.cit.*, no.4629, vol.1, p.444).

recent publications and this continuing interest was noted again in 1527.<sup>42</sup> On another occasion, a request to borrow an unidentified book was refused because the chapter had two copies of the composition and did not know which of the two was the more accurate.<sup>43</sup> In 1672, Heinsius noted the existence of three copies of one composition by Cicero, and two copies of another one.<sup>44</sup>

### ***The codex Σ in the library of the cathedral chapter 1500-1550***

Between November 1500, when the minutes of the chapter meetings first began to be kept, and 21-24.Aug.1552, when the chapter house was plundered, and some library books were destroyed, the chapter minutes contain several references to books in its library. But these references rarely contain the titles of the books, or distinguish between manuscript and printed books.

While L.Grünenwald, P.Lehmann, and J.Vorderstemann, and others, have identified the titles of several books that existed in the cathedral chapter library,<sup>45</sup> the chapter minutes for the period 1500-1550 appear to mention only six separate titles. Four of these six titles refer to books which were not yet part of the library when their titles were recorded in the minutes: namely, the Speyer *directorium orandi*, yet to be printed, which was mentioned twice;<sup>46</sup> the two printed books *opera Augustini et Jeronomi*,<sup>47</sup> and *acta conciliorum a Niceno usque ad ultimum*<sup>48</sup> to be obtained from Frankfurt, each mentioned once; and a book to be entitled *Acta et gesta in obitu domini graciosi Georgii episcopi Spirensis*, which was to record the episcopate of the bishop Georg who died on 28.Sept.1529.<sup>49</sup> The remaining two titles referred to books which actually were part of the library. One of these titles referred to the autograph manuscript of Albertus Magnus *Super metaphisicam*, which was mentioned once, in 1502.<sup>50</sup> The other title, *Itinerarium antonini* or simply *Itinerarium*, was mentioned twenty times in the minutes between

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<sup>42</sup> GLA 61/10932, f.203v (25.Sept.1527): *Acta conciliorum a Niceno vsq(ue) ad vltimu(m) in nechst Franckforter mess in duobus voluminib(us) aussgagen vnd itzo ein buchfurer hie hat sollen durch den ornatmeinster in die libry kauft vnd bestellt werd(en).*

<sup>43</sup> GLA 61/10932,f.304v (1.Apr.1529): *Souiel aber das buch belangt welches sein(em) churf(urstlichen) g(naden) Artzet Im zugeben begert mit erbietung ein dagegen and die stat zu kauiff(en) ist beschlossen wiewol sollichs doppel ist so sol es doch bei dem stift behalt(en) werd(en) dwyl ma(n) nit weisst welches am correct(e)st(en) ist von der zwayen bucher.*

<sup>44</sup> See note 15.

<sup>45</sup> See note 17. The titles listed by these three writers can be augmented by others that are mentioned in the correspondence of Jakob Wimpfeling, in: Herding, O. & Mertens, D. (eds.), *op.cit.*, No.14 (6.Sept.1488), pp.142-3; No.45 (25.Apr.1495), p.229; p.627, note 1, and the letter quoted above (see note 39).

<sup>46</sup> GLA 61/10930,f.364r (23.Jul.1520): Krebs, *op.cit.*, no.5469 vol.2, p.46: *Begriffen directorium orandi nach diesem bistumb in der fabricken kosten cum privilegio drucken zulassen zu Pfortzheim in eim angezeigten buchstaben sint verordent d. sco., cantor und custos.* (to which Krebs added, as note 25: *Ein Directorium horarum canonicarum secundum ritum dioc. Spir. dicendarum* erschien 1522 zu Speyer); and GLA 61/10930,f.368r (20.Nov.1520): Krebs, *op.cit.*, no.5533, vol.2, p.51: *Ist durch mein hern schulmeinster uf gesterig handlung mit dem drucker directorium orandi betreffen angezeigt, wie sie mit ime neher uberkommen mogen [...].*

<sup>47</sup> GLA 61/10930,f.269v, (23.Jul.1516): *Opera augustinj vnd Ieronimj so itzo mit einem new(en) druck vnd apparat aussgag(en) zu franckfurt zubestell(e)n In die libery ist befall(en) d(er) scolastico her hans(en) von lew(e)nst(ein) vnd myn her seng(er), desglych(en) auch ander volumina <continued [13-14]> so nit In den libery sein mit der zeit zübestell(e)n vnd die buch(e)r so etwan dryfeltig darin lieg(en) <sentence not completed>.*

<sup>48</sup> GLA 61/10932,f.203v, (25.Sept.1527).

<sup>49</sup> GLA 61/10933,p.138 (29.Sept.1529): *Daruf beschlossen und gehandelt wie des in ein sundern buch, daruf geschriben Acta et gesta in obitu domini graciosi Georgii episcopi Spirensis, welches buch im schranck in der grossen capitel stuben ist und leith.* (Krebs, *op.cit.*, no.7984, vol.2, pp.291-292).

<sup>50</sup> GLA 61/10929,f.149r-v (6.Nov.1502): see note 37.

22.Jan.1526 and 19.Jun.1550 (including once as only a marginal title), which does not include the book referred to only as the *Anthoninus* in 1533. The title *Itinerarium* or *Itinerarium antonini* was used by the chapter consistently during this period to identify the codex  $\Sigma$  and any copy of it, as indicated below.

It is not known when the title *Itinerarium antonini* was first applied by the chapter to the codex  $\Sigma$  and any copy of it, nor why it was selected, since all the primary copies of  $\Sigma$  agree that  $\Sigma$ 2 lacked the first 24 words that are present in those copies of the '*Itineraria*' not derived from  $\Sigma$  and which include the words *Incipit itinerarium provinciarum antoini*<ni> from which a title could be derived. The *Itinerarium antonini*, as edited by Geoffroy Tory (c.1480-c.1533), was first printed in Paris by Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne the Elder, 1470-c.1520) in 1512,<sup>51</sup> and the correspondence of several writers shows that this publication was widely known and used during the first half of the 16thC. It is probable, therefore, that the title *Itinerarium antonini*, used by the chapter to denote  $\Sigma$ , was derived from the identification of one part of its miscellany, in the same way that the title *Cosmographia Scoti*, for the copy of  $\Sigma$  in the codex  $\mathbf{O}$ , was derived from another part of the same miscellany.

#### 1526-loan

A book with the title *Itinerarium antonini* is first mentioned in the minutes of the chapter meeting on 22.Jan.1526, where it was noted that permission had been given to the cathedral provost at Köln to borrow a book with that title for four months, and that the Speyer canon Christoph von Gleichen (d.1548)<sup>52</sup> would take the book to Köln and act as surety for its return.<sup>53</sup> The provost of the cathedral chapter at Köln, from 19.Jan.1524 onwards, was Hermann von Neuenahr (1492- 1530).

Before his death on 2.Oct.1530, Neuenahr wrote a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530) on the subject of *Gallia Belgica*. This short treatise was published in 1584.<sup>54</sup> In it, Neuenahr mentioned several sources, including two *Itineraria*<sup>55</sup> which he described, in reference to the location of the place

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<sup>51</sup> *ITINERARIVM prouinciarum omniu(m) Antonini Augusti, cum Fragmento eiusdem, necnon indice haud qua(m)q(uam) asperna(n)do.* (separate paragraph) *CVM PRIVILEGIO, ne quis temere hoc ab hinc duos annos imprimat.* (separate paragraph) *Venale habetur vbi impressum est, in domo Henrici Stephani e regio(n)e schol(a)e Decretorum Parrhisijs.* There is no date, but dedicatory letter, beginning *Godofredus Torinus Bituricus Philiberto Baboo viro modestissimo S.P.D* is dated, at the end, *Parrhisijs: e regione Collegij Coqueretici. 14. Calendas Septembris. 1512.* <copy used: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Res/A.lat.b.13>

<sup>52</sup> Christoph von Gleichen (Graf zu Gleichen) (b.?-1548) was simultaneously Domherr (canonicus) at Köln and Strasbourg (Krebs, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.39, n.11.

<sup>53</sup> GLA 61/10932,f.145v, (22.Jan.1526): *Graue Cristoff von gleichen domh(er)n sein dry quinden gegendt vnd nochedem sein residentz In vier oder funff wochen aussget das myn h(er)n Ime der Residents alssdan gestendig sein woll(en) (et)c Ist sein gnad angezeigt das solich begern der Residents halb(en) wider den geprauch darumb solle(n) Ir g(nad) noch aussgang Ir residentz dieselbig p(er) proc(urator)es fabrice wie gewonlich in sein(er) g(nad) gegenuarth ansag(en) lass(en), vnd wie sein gnad furter by myn hern vnd de(m) stieft zuwonen furhet sich mit claydung gleich myn h(er)n trag(en) vnd der kurtzen Rock zum chorgang sich mass(en) (et)c, vnd hat heruf sein gnad versprochen burg zu sein das das buch Itinerarius Antonini so mynem h(e)r(n) domprobst zu Coln vf recognicion in iijj Monat(e)n zuantwort(en) gelihen, myn her(re)n In b(eende)ter Zeit ongeu(er)lich wider werd geantwort.*

<sup>54</sup> Printed in conjunction with *Petri Divaei Lovaniensis De Galliae Belgicae antiquitatibus liber 1.* (Antwerpen, C. Plantin, 1584) as: *H. NVENARI, DE GALLIA BELGICA COMMENTARIOLVS nunc primùm in lucem editus. ANTVERPIAE, Ex officina Christophori Plantini, M.D.LXXXIII* The letter begins, without address, (p.3): *Rem nuper à me flagitasti, Pyrckhemere doctissime, [...] vt Germaniae illius nostrae, quam Romani Galliam Belgicam appellare maluerunt, chorographiam tibi descripta(m) mitterem; [...]* and ends, without place or date (p.29) *Vale. FINIS.* <copy used: Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 H HOLL II, 1328>

<sup>55</sup> Neuenahr, *op.cit.* (p.12, Borbetomagus): *Eandem autem ciuitatem postea Rufiniana(m) fuisse appellatam variis modis conijcere licet ex supputatione etiam miliarium, quae in duobus Itinerariis*

*Asciburgium*, as an *Itinerarium Theodosianum* in *Spirensi bibliotheca* and an *Itinerarium vetustissimum* belonging to Konrad Peutinger (1465-1547).<sup>56</sup> The second of these two *itineraria* is the Celtis- Peutinger Roman map (hereafter *CPmap*),<sup>57</sup> which Konrad Celtis (1459-1508), its first known owner, titled *Itinerarium antonini*.<sup>58</sup> Neuenahr referred to the *Itinerarium Theodosianum* once more in reference to the location of *Mons Brisiacus*,<sup>59</sup> which was listed in **Σ2**,<sup>60</sup> but not on the *CPmap*. But his statement that *Asciburgium* occurred in both *Itineraria* is incorrect, since it occurs on the *CPmap*<sup>61</sup> but did not exist in **Σ**. Neuenahr attributed *itineraria* to both the emperors Antoninus and Theodosius,<sup>62</sup> and his use of the title *Itinerarium Theodosianum* to refer to the *Itinerarium* he borrowed from the cathedral chapter in 1526 is not surprising. The only part of **Σ** that included the name of an author, the title of his composition, and the date of its completion, was **Σ4** which was a copy of the *Liber de mensura orbis terrae* of Dicuil,<sup>63</sup> who referred to himself as a "Scotus" (or being *ex nostra Scottia* - that is, Ireland)<sup>64</sup> and, among

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*adiungitur*. These two *itineraria* are elsewhere referred to without number: for example, (p.10): *variant a Ptolemaeo quae videre potui Itineraria*; (p.10): *Adduntur in Itinerariis*; (p.12): *Itineraria supputant vndecim miliaria*; (p.13): *in Itinerariis subinde reperitur*; (p.14) *Itineraria [...] adfirmant*.

- <sup>56</sup> Neuenahr, *op.cit.* (p.15): *Miror quosdam graues viros, & alioqui nec indoctos nec antiquarum rerum mediocriter curiosos, in Asciburgi descriptione tam crasso errore fuisse detentos, vt Embricam ciuitatem veteribus Asciburgum vocatam putarint. quorum error me quoque adduxerat vt eos verum dixisse crederem, donec Itinerarium Theodosianum in Spire(n)si bibliotheca ac postea etiam clarissimi viri Conradi Peutingeri protonotarij Augustensis ciuitatis aliud Itinerarium vetustissimum perlustrassem. vbi cum viderem constantissimè Asciburgum inter Nouesium & Veteracastra constitui, tandem ad Cornlium Tacitum iam antea saepius lectitatum confugi, ibi'que comperi Asciburgum citerioris Germaniae oppidum esse.*
- <sup>57</sup> Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex Vidobonensis 324.
- <sup>58</sup> Rupprich, H., *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*. (München, Beck, 1934) prints the testament of Celtis as item 338 (pp.603-609), from the *Liber testamentorum universitatis Viennensis 1504-1551*, Wien, Univ(ersitäts)Archiv, Ms.22, foll.20ff noting that this document is an *Abschrift*. *Das Original ist nicht mehr auffindbar*. This document contains the following two items: (lines 76-79): *Item. Ego lego domino doctori Conrado Peutinger Itinerarium Antonini Pii, qui etiam eundem nunc habet, volo tamen et rogo, ut post eius mortem ad usum publicum puta aliquam librariam convertatur.* and (lines 144-145): *Item. Itinerarius Anthonii est apud dominum Conradum Peutinger.*
- <sup>59</sup> Neuenahr, *op.cit.* (p.9): *Constanter tamen in Itinerariò Theodosiano Montem Brisiacum comperio recta series describi inter Basileam & Argentoratum, suppresso nomine Breucomagi: [...] referring to (**Σ2**) 'Itinerarium [...]' (Cuntz, *op.cit.* p.34b, p.36b, p.53a).*
- <sup>60</sup> Cuntz, O., *Itineraria Romana. Volumen prius: Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*. (Stuttgart, Teubner, 1929), p.34,col.2, line 6.
- <sup>61</sup> Miller, K., *Die Peutingersche Tafel*. (2 Ausg.) (Ravensburg, Maier, 1887/1888; Stuttgart, Strecker & Schröder, 1916 & 1929; Stuttgart, Brockhaus, 1962), facsimile map, Segment II,5.
- <sup>62</sup> Neuenahr, *op.cit.* (p.10-11): *malim ego Itinerariis fidem dare quàm Ptolomaeo: nam illa sunt per miliaria supputata & seriem rectam demonstrant. Praeterea Imperatorum iussu Antonini atque Theodosij totius orbis itinera diligenter conscripta atque in ordine redacta legimus, quibus in hac parte fides adhiberi meritò posset, si non ipsa etiam aliquando deprauata essent. [...]*
- <sup>63</sup> Tierney J.J. & Bieler, L., *Dicuil Liber de mensura orbis terrae* (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, Vol. VI) (Dublin, Institute for Advanced Studies, 1967): Prologue (p.49): *Post congregatam epistolam de questionibus decim artis grammaticae cogitavi ut liber de mensura prouintiarum orbis terrae sequeretur secundum illorum auctoritatem quos sanctus Theodosius imperator ad prouintias praedictas mensurandas miserat; [...]. IX,13 (p.102): Dicuil [...] ego [...]. | Post octingentos uiginti quinque peractos | Summi annos domini terrae, ethrae, carceris atri | Semine triticeo sub ruris puluere tecto | Nocte bobus requies largitur fine laboris. |*
- <sup>64</sup> Dicuil, VII,15 (Tierney & Bieler, p.76): *Illae insulae [...] in quibus [...] heremitae ex nostra Scottia nauigantes habitauerunt.*

his sources, identified both a *cosmographia*<sup>65</sup> and, in the first two sentences, a *scriptura missorum* <imperatoris> *Theodosii*.<sup>66</sup> This available information led the copy of  $\Sigma$  in the codex **O** to be titled *Cosmographia Scoti*, which Andreas Alciatus (1492-1550), in the first printed reference<sup>67</sup> to the existence of a copy the *Cnd*, expanded to *opusculum [...] Scoti antiqui authoris de imaginibus magistratuum ad Theodosium imperatorem*,<sup>68</sup> while Beatus Rhenanus, like Neuenahr, referred to his copy of  $\Sigma 4$ , as the *descriptio iunioris Theodosii iussu facta*.<sup>69</sup> Evidently, Neuenahr preferred to invent the title *Itinerarium Theodosianum* for the miscellany in  $\Sigma$  whose parts contained none with the title *Itinerarium antonini*.

### 1533-copy

A book referred to as the *Anthoninus* is mentioned in the minutes of the meeting held on 14.Oct.1533 in which the chapter instructed the dean<sup>70</sup> to allow one of the sons of Konrad Peutinger to borrow it for between two to four weeks in order to have it copied.<sup>71</sup> This borrower was Claudius Pius Peutinger (1509-1552) who was a lawyer and advocate at the *Reichskammergericht* (the Imperial chamber court,

<sup>65</sup> Dicuil, VI,20; VI, 37; VI,54; VII,5; VII,23; VIII.2; VIII,24; VIII.26.

<sup>66</sup> Dicuil, prologue 1-2; I,1; III,4; V,4; VIII,1.

<sup>67</sup> *Andree Alzati Mediolanensis, in tres posteriores Codicis Iustiniani annotationes. In quibus obiter q(uam) plurima alior(um) author(um) loca explanant(ur). [...] Ioannes Schottus Argentin(a)e pressit. Annon Christiano MDXV. <copy used: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, I.rom.C.2°.11t>.*

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.* (unnumbered f.4r): *Andreas Alçatus, sacrosancto Antistiti Philippo Saulo, electo Brugnatensi. [...] Accipe igitur sub patrocínio tuo eius authoris opusculu(m), que(m) iam diu tibi addictum habes: vel ex eo maxime, q(uo)d & tu merito in huiusce glori(a)e partem debes admitti: qui non parum multam ope(m) nobis attuleris, cum Scoti antiqui authoris de imaginib(us) magistratuum, ad Theodosium Imperatorem, quod unicu(m) extabat exemplar, mihi dono dedisti. [...] Vale, BONONIAE, Nonis Ianuariis. M.D.XIII.*

<sup>69</sup> *PROCOPII CAESARIENSIS DE REBUS GOTHORVM, PERSARVM AC VANDALORVM libri VII, unà cum alijs mediolorum temporum historicis, quorum catalogum sequens indicabit pagina. His omnibus accessit rerum copiosissimus index. BASILEAE EX OFFICINA IOANNIS HERVAGHI MENSE SEPTEMBRI ANNO, M.D.XXXI. <copy used: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: 2° A.gr.b.967> (prefatory letter, foll.2r-3v): BEATVS RHENANVS BONIFACIO AMERBACHIO IVRECONSVLTO S.P.D. [...] (f.2v): Adiuuant hic nos duae quaedam orbis descriptiones, quarum altera iunioris Theodosij iussu facta est, nisi fallit titulus: altera no(n) multo posterior uidetur. In Theodosiana sic legitur, < $\Sigma 4$  / Dicuil,1.15> Germania omnis q(ue) Gotthia finiuntur ab Oriente flumine Huistia, ab Occidente flumine Rheno, à Septentrione Oceano. à Meridie flumine Danubio. Audis hic Gotthiae nomen. Et sequitur illic, < $\Sigma 4$  / Dicuil,1.15> Dacia & Alania finiuntur ab Oriente desertis Sarmatiae, ab Occide(n)te flumine Huistia, à Septentrione Oceano, à Meridie flumine Histro. [...] Altera illa descriptio, ubi initium Europae facit à Tanai flumine, post Septentrionalis Oceani Histri q(ue) mentionem, sic habet. [...] (f.3v): Bene uale amice eximie, Selestadij decimo sexto Calend. Septembreis Anno M.D.XXXI.*

<sup>70</sup> Identified as Georg von Sternenfels, who was elected to the position of *Domdekan* on 14.Mar.1530 and held it until his death late in 13.Nov.1536 (Fouquet, G., *Das Speyerer Domkapitel im späten Mittelalter (ca. 1350-1540). Adlige Freundschaft, fürstliche Patronage und päpstliche Klientel.* (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 57), (2 vols.) (Mainz, 1987) 2: p.817).

<sup>71</sup> GLA 61/10934,p.135 (14.Oct.1533): <marginal heading beside line 9> *Anthoninj verleyhnus* <lines 9-14> *Verrers ist bewilligt vf bitlich ansuchens doctor Beutingers Sun den Anthoninu(m) vf gnungsam sicherheyt vnd Caution ongeferde vf xiiij tag od(er) iiij woch(en) zue leyhen, der es mitler Zeyt ausschreib(en) vnd meyne(n) H(er)n wied(er) on nochtheyl vnd schad(en) zustellen will, vnd ist solichs meim h(er)n dhombdechant beuolh(en).*

The *dhombdechant* is identified as Georg von Sternenfels, who was elected to the position of *Domdekan* in 14.Mar.1530 and held it until his death late in 1535. (Remling, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.835; Krebs, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.324)

which was located in Speyer 1527-1689) during only the year 1533. The library of Peutingen included a book<sup>72</sup> that contained a copy of the same documents, in the same order, as the copy of them that existed in  $\Sigma$ 1-7. It must be noted, however, that while the chapter minutes contain twenty references to a book, or books, with the title *Itinerarium* or *Itinerarium antonini*, this reference in 1533 does not include the word *Itinerarium* and this may be significant in an identification of the book borrowed by Peutingen.

#### 1534-copy

At the meeting on 24.Jul.1534, the chapter authorised the payment of 12 guilders to the cathedral succentor, Martin Rutenberg, for a copy of the *Itinerarium* which he was writing on parchment and had almost completed.<sup>73</sup> It was not stated for whom this copy was made. The direct payment to Rutenberg indicates that this copy was not produced in the cathedral workshop. A comparison of the cost of this copy (12 guilders), with that alleged for the production of the codex **M** (69 guilders), suggests that the copy written by Rutenberg was probably not illustrated.

#### 1535-copy

On 19.Jan.1536, the chapter noted that the bishop of Salzburg (Matthäus Lang) had previously requested, and received, a copy of the *Itinerarium* and had now inquired about the cost of its production. The chapter did not know the cost and ordered inquiries to be made.<sup>74</sup> Payment for the copy was owed to the cathedral workshop,<sup>75</sup> and was believed to be still outstanding on 22.May.1539. But an examination of

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<sup>72</sup> München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4013, VII+77 foll., paper, Gothic cursive script. This codex is discussed in detail in *Appendix 2*.

<sup>73</sup> GLA 61/10934,p.242 (24.Jul.1534): <marginal heading beside line 21> *neue Succentor* <lines 21-23> *Als vord(er) Zeit der neue Succentor, sich vnd(er)nomen den Itinerariu(m) vf pergamen abzuschreib(en) vnd solichs beynach volstreckt, Ist Ime bewilligt, fur ein belonung xij g(u)ld(en) zu geb(en).*

*der neue Succentor* is identified as *Martinum Rutenberg de Frissach* in GLA 61/10934,p.243 or *Martino Rutenberg von Frissach* in GLA 61/10934,p.238. The place *Frissach* is probably Freisbach, c.15 km west of Speyer.

<sup>74</sup> GLA 61/10934,p.431 (19.Jan.1536): *Mein her dhumbscolast(er) hat angezeigt, Nachdem mein g(nedig)st(e)r her der Bischof zu Saltzburg vf beg(er) der Itinerarius abgeschrieb(en) vnd gefertigt, habe Ir f(urstlich) g(nad) beg(er)t antzuzeig(en) wes der cost habe, derhalben Ir Erw(urden) beg(er) mein h(er)n wolt(en) Ime solich(en) cost(en) antzeig(en), damit er wiss, dem bischof antzuzeig(en) hab(en) mein h(er)n dauon geredt vnd beschloss(en) das man sich erkhundig(en) soll was der cost gewesen.*

The *her dhumbscolast(er)* is identified as David Göler (Goler, Goller) von Ravensburg (d.1539), who resigned from this position on 27.Feb.1537 (GLA 61/10934, p.591 and 592); see also Fouquet, *op.cit.* 2: pp.535-537.

The *Bischof zu Saltzburg* at this time was Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468/69-30.Mar.1540), provost of the Augsburg cathedral chapter 1500; cardinal from 1510; archbishop of Salzburg from 1519.

<sup>75</sup> GLA 61/10935,p.50 (22.May.1539): <marginal heading beside line 10> *Fabrick* <lines 13-17> *Der fabricken meist(er) hat anpracht, [...] Fur das ander So stee der fabrick der vncost noch aus so vf den Itinerariu(m) gang(en) der dem Bischof zu Saltzburg geb(en) wiewol m(y)n h(ern) Senger selig(en), sol derhalb(en) gelt von de(m) Bischof empfang(en) hab(en) soll, Ist Ime beuolh(en) die Ex(ecuto)res darumb zuersuch(en).*

The title *Der fabricken meist(er)* refers to one of the two *procuratores fabricae* for the year July 1538 - June 1539, who are identified in GLA 61/10934 p. 764 as "*Nicolaus bauer et Anthonius Schnepff*" (Anton Schnepff). Nikolaus Bauer (Buer, Bawer) was *Fabrikmeister* from 9.Jul.1527 until his death in 1556 (Kaul, *op.cit.* p.152); Anton Schnepf was appointed cellerar (*cellerarius*) on 23.Jul.1529 (GLA. 61/10933, p.55).

the workshop register by 3.Jul.1539 revealed that payment had, in fact been received, even though the workshop master initially, and falsely, alleged that the payment, which Lang had sent to David Göler, had not been passed on to the workshop.<sup>76</sup> It is not stated whether this copy was illustrated.

The minutes on 19.Jan.1536 indicate that the copy for Lang must have been completed by the end of 1535 and it is known that a copy of the text of the *Itinerarium* was almost completed by the end of July 1534. But it is unlikely that the 1534 copy was the one that was given to Lang in 1535: firstly, the cost of the 1534 was known, while the chapter needed to inquire about the cost of the 1535 copy; and, secondly, payment in 1534 was made directly to Rutenberg, while payment for the 1535 copy was made to the cathedral workshop.

#### 1537-loan

On 10 January 1537, the chapter granted permission to one of its canons, Otto 'Truchsess' von Waldburg,<sup>77</sup> to borrow the *Itinerarium Iterini* (i.e. *antonini*) from the library. It is not stated whether he intended to have the *Itinerarium* copied.<sup>78</sup>

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The *Senger selig(en)* (the "late blessed cantor") was David Göler von Ravensburg, who died on 20/21.Mar.1539 (GLA 61/10935,p.29, dated 22.Mar.1539) and was succeeded in this position by Otto Truchsess von Waldburg. (see note 77).

<sup>76</sup> GLA 61/10935,pp.60-61 (3.Jul.1539): *Her georg goler hat anpracht, das sie Selwert(er)e auss befelh her dauid seins bruder selig(en) willens Ime ein Epithaiiu(m), an die Maur zu machen, mit bit solichs zu vergunden, Ist Ime geantwurt ma(n) wolle das art besichtig(en) vnd Ime antwurt(en) Fur das Ander, beg(er)t er mein h(er)n wolten der bew halb Im Ampt Ketsch mit Ime handeln, vnd fordern Zu(m) dritt(en), nachdem m(y)n h(ern) Ime nechst furgehalt(en) das sein brud(er) selig der fabrick des cost(en) halb so vf den [p.61] Itinerariu(m) gangen, noch Zu thun, Nun hette er befund(en), das sein brud(er) selig dem fabrick(en)meister Niclaus bauern, entricht habe, befrembd sich vf des fabricken meister vnnutz fordern (et)c, Daruf m(y)n h(ern) her Gorg(en) antzeigt, das d(er) fabrickenmeist(er) auss dem Register befund(en) das es betzalt, bedarff nit ferrers, Daruf sich her Goerg hefftig beclagt dess verclagens.*

This discussion about the *Itinerarium* may have been begun on 16 June 1539 since the minutes for this meeting (GLA 61/10935,p.56) have the word *Itinerari(us)* as a marginal heading beside lines 21-22, but the accompanying minutes do not refer to it <lines 12-26>: *Nachdem nach absterb(en) her Dauid golors selig(en) besitzers des Ampts Ketsch vnd seiner zugehor, dasselb besichtigt word(en), wess vor mengel an den bewen befunden, haben mein h(er)n mit her Gorg(en) goler vnd andern mit selwert(er) gehandelt, das sie die bew vermes der Statut(en) stellen soll(en), Daruf sie angezaigt Ir vngelegenheit sein zu bawen, mit bit sie gunstiglich bedenk(en) vnd ein leidlich gelt von Ine(n) nemen, vor die bewe Dess m(y)n h(ern) bewilligt doch das die Bew vberschlag(en) wer(en) In Ir beisein.*

***Itinerari(us)*** *Als Rudolf von Zeisskhum von den vnd(er)than zu gleissweyler fron hab(en) will, vnd der faut zu Germerssh(eim) mein h(er)n derhalb geschrieb(en), Soll solich schreiben den vnderthanen zugeschickte werd(en) vnd daruf Irn schriftlich(en) bericht zu geben.*

*georg goler* is identified as Georg Göler (Goler, Goller) von Ravensburg (d.10/11.Nov.1558), brother of David (*dauid seins bruder seligen*). Georg was elected provost on 19.Nov.1544; Kaul, *op.cit.* pp.121-122; Fouquet, *op.cit.* 2: pp.538-540.

<sup>77</sup> Otto 'Truchsess' von Waldburg (25.Feb.1514 - 2 Apr.1573) - The title *Truchsess* initially denoted a court stewardship and later a hereditary titular stewardship. Otto was canon at Speyer since 1528, Bishop of Augsburg 1543, cardinal priest from 1545 and cardinal bishop from 1562. He retained his canonry at Speyer until 18 February 1568 (Fouquet, *op.cit.* 2: pp.840-842.) and was also a canon and dean of the cathedral in Trento (Kaul, *op.cit.* pp. 118-1200).

<sup>78</sup> GLA 61/10934,p.577 (10.Jan.1537): *Meim g(nedige)n hern otto truchses ist vergundt das buch Itinerariu(m) Iterini (et)c aus der liberey aus zuschreib(en) doch das es wo Ir g(nad) hinweg wurd wid(er) In die liberey geantwurt werd.*

### 1537/9-copy

On 12.May.1537, the minutes state that the *Itinerarium* had recently been copied (*abgeschrieben*) but was still to be illustrated (*noch zu illuminieren*) by an artist, named Caspar, from Heidelberg. The chapter apparently wanted Caspar to do the work at Speyer but he apparently refused since the chapter now decided to send the old exemplar (*den alten hinuber geben*) to Heidelberg.<sup>79</sup> The canon Stephan Mertz undertook to guarantee its return and to ensure that Caspar did not make it available to anyone else. In February 1538, the chapter unsuccessfully attempted to persuade Caspar, with an offer of lodgings as well as payment, to complete his work at Speyer.<sup>80</sup>

Since the chapter could not have expected the old exemplar to be returned from Heidelberg before its pictures had been copied, the copying must have been completed before 18.Jul.1539 when the chapter noted that the *Itinerarium*, previously sent to Heidelberg, had still not yet been returned.<sup>81</sup>

### 1542-copies

At its meeting on 18.Nov.1542, the chapter noted that its provost, Johan von Erenberg, had sought permission to borrow the *Itinerarium* and take it to his residence in Mainz specifically in order to copy its pictures (*zu Meintz abzumalen lassen*). The chapter replied that, since a copy of the *Itinerarium* that had been written for the chapter (*meiner hern geschrieben*) was in the process of being illustrated at Speyer (*hie*), but that this work had not yet been quite completed (*er sey noch nit gar gefertigt*), Erenberg should consider having his copy also illustrated at Speyer, so that the two copies could be illustrated together (*hie malhen liess so gieng eins mit dem andern*).<sup>82</sup> Apparently Erenberg declined the offer and

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<sup>79</sup> GLA 61/10934,p.613 (12.May1537): <marginal heading beside line 16> *Itinerarius* <lines 16-21> *Ferrers nachdem der Itinerari(us) abgeschrieben(en) vnd noch Zu illuminieren, beschwer sich der Illumist den hie sonder bei Ime zu heidelberg ausszustreich(en), mit beg(er) bescheidts ob er Ime den alt(en) hinuber geb(en) sol od(er) nit, Ist bewilligt Ime hinvber zu geb(en) et d(edi)t Mertz fid(em) de cauendo (et)c restitutionis (et) nulli alieno com(m)unicando.*

Mertz is identified as Stephan Mertz (Steffen Merten), Kaul, *op.cit.* p.135.

<sup>80</sup> GLA 61/10934,p.704 (17.Feb.1538): *Als d(er) Itinerariu(s), Zu Illuminieren meist(er) Casparn beuolh(en) vnd aber er derselb(en) hie mach(en) wolt, wo man Ine(n) in kost bestellt, (et)c Soll dweilman Ime In d(er) kost halt(en) will mit Ime gehandelt werd(en) was er sich seiner besoldung desto ring(er) halt(en) wolle.*

<sup>81</sup> GLA 61/10935,p.66 (18.Jul.1539): *1539 18 Julij Besetzung der Ampter A(nn)o xxxix Freitag den xvij Julii Custos Ornatus Jacobus Lutz procur(ator) ornatus d(er) mengel befragt Sagt das die ij bucher zu germerssh(eim) dergleichen d(er) Itenerari(us) von heidelberg noch nit wid(er) geantwurt, So beger niemant In das begeinen haws so dem ornat zusteet dweil es nichts einzukhomen, It(em) ein verschreibung vber die gult so die fabrick gibt, Et continuat(us) d(edi)t fid(em).*

The *Custos Ornatus Jacobus Lutz* was Jakob Lutz, first appointed to head the "Ornatsamt" temporarily on 19.Nov.1526 (GLA 61/10932,f.172v) but continued in the appointment as "Magister ornatus" until 21.Jul.1548 when, on account of advancing age, he retired in favour of Georgius Frei (GLA61/10936,pp. 258-259); also Kaul, *op.cit.* p.138.

On the *ij bucher zu gemerssheim*, see note 36.

<sup>82</sup> GLA 61/10935,p.421 (18.Nov.1542): *Mein h(er) dhombp(ro)bst hat ansuchen lassen, Ir Erw(urden) den Itinerariu(m), zu leyh(en), den zu Meintz abzumalen lassen, Ist In geantwurt, meiner h(er)n geschrieb(en), er sey noch nit gar gefertigt, ob Ime nit zu thun das Ir Erw(urden) hie malh(en) liess so gieng eins mit de(m) andern.*

The *dhombprobst* was Johann von Erenberg who, having previously been dean (*Domdekan, decanus*) from 18.Jul.1523 to 25.Oct.1529, was elected to the position of provost (*Dompropst, praepositus*) on 25.Oct.1529, holding this position until his death on 03.Nov.1544. He was also cathedral dean (*domdekan*) at Mainz from 1529. (Krebs, *op.cit.* vol.1, p.255, n.14; Kaul. *op.cit.* pp.116-117).

waited until the illustration of the first copy was completed, because the chapter decided, at its meeting on 9.Dec.1542, to grant his request to take the *Itinerarium* to Mainz to be copied (*abschreiben*).<sup>83</sup> The *Itinerarium* lent to Erenberg was the one described as the old exemplar in the minutes of 24-26.Jan.1548.

#### 1548/50 copies

On 24 January 1548, the chapter received a letter from the bishop (*myn gnediger her von Speir*)<sup>84</sup>, forwarding a letter that he had received from Ottheinrich (1502-1559, *Pfalzgraf von Neuburg* from 1505 and *Kurfürst von der Pfalz* from 1556) requesting to borrow the *Itinerarium Anthoninj* to have it copied. As a precedent for own his request, Ottheinrich cited the fact that the book that he wanted to borrow had previously been lent to the former cathedral provost (*dhombprobst seligen*).<sup>85</sup> The chapter discussed the letter on 24.Jan.1548 and again on 26.Jan.1548.<sup>86</sup>



Ottheinrich

It is not known how Ottheinrich knew of the existence of this old exemplar titled *Itinerarium Anthonini* in the chapter library, or what he knew about it, or how he knew that it had been lent to Erenberg. Ottheinrich may have visited Speyer during the episcopate of his uncle Georg, who was Bishop of Speyer from 1513 to 1529.<sup>87</sup> But Ottheinrich was certainly at the cathedral a few months before his initial request to borrow the *Itinerarium*, because his name was recorded as having been one of a select group of dignitaries who were invited to the chapter as its guests in Jul.1547.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>83</sup> GLA 61/10935,p.430 (9.Dec.1542): <marginal heading beside line 10> *Itinerarius* <lines 9-13> 9 *Decembr(is) Her Niclaus Bauer von weg(en) mein h(er)n dhombp(ro)bst hat gebett(en), Ir Erw(urden) den Itinerariu(m) ghen Meintz zu leyhen, In Ir(er) Erw(urden) behausung mog(en) abschreib(en) lassen Ist Ir Erw(urden) von m(y)n h(ern) vff ein Recognition vergundt.*

<sup>84</sup> Philipp II, Freiherr von Flersheim (1481-14.Aug.1552) who was elected bishop by the chapter on 22.Oct.1529. Remling, F.X., *Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer*. (2 vols.) (Mainz, 1852-1854), 2: p.268.

<sup>85</sup> GLA 61/10936,p.207 (24.Jan.1548): *Hat m(y)n g(nedige)r her von Speir mein(en) H(er)n ein missiue so Hertzog Ott Heinrich pfaltzgraf, Ir g(naden) des Itinerariu(m)s halb zugeschrieb(en) vberschickt, Vnd wiewol Hertzog Ott Heinrichs beger steet Ime das zu leyhen, es abschreib(en) zu lassen, angesehen es m(y)n h(er)n weylandt dem dhombprobst selig(en) auch gelihen hab(en), Ydoch ist m(y)n h(er)n beschwerlich das Buch hin auss zu leyhen, dan es andern auch abgeschlag(en), Aber wo Ir g(naden) vff Irn cost(en) es hie wolle abschreib(en) lassen durch ein bekhante person, wols man Ir g(naden) dasselb vergund(en).*

The *dhombprobst seligen* (*the late, blessed praepositus*) is identified as Johann von Erenberg (see note 82).

<sup>86</sup> GLA 61/10936,p.208 (26.Jan.1548): <marginal heading beside line 15> *Itinerari(us)* <lines 13-24> *Hertzog Ottheinrich pfaltzgraff schreib vnd begert den Itinerariu(m) Anthoninj, sonderlich das alt Exemplar Ir g(nad) zuleyhen, dasselbig abschreib(en) zulass(en). Haben m(y)n h(ern) daruon geredt vnd In ansehung das die alt(en) herren es nit mher auss zuleyh(en) beschlossen, fur gantz beschwerlich geacht, Es Ir g(naden) zuleyhen, wollen ehe Ir g(naden) ein exemplar verfertig(en) lassen, Daruf Ir g(naden) geantwurt das alt exemplar sey etwas blod, vnd steen m(y)n H(ern) Im werck das zu renouiren, so das volpracht woll(en) sie Ir g(naden) {wo anderst Ir g(naden) als dan noch daruff bedacht Einn Exemplar zu haben} eins vertig(en) lass(en).*

<sup>87</sup> The parents of Ottheinrich, who was born in 1502, both died in 1504, leaving him and his brother Philipp (1503-1548) under the guardianship of his paternal uncle, Friedrich II (1482-1556, *Kurfürst von der Pfalz* from 1544), until 1522. Another paternal uncle, Georg von der Pfalz (1486-27/29 September 1529), cathedral provost at Mainz until 1529, was elected Bishop of Speyer in February 1513, at the insistence of the emperor, Maximilian I. The chapter discussions concerning the election, the imperial influence, and the results of the election are recorded in the minutes: GLA 61/10931,pp.12-22. (Krebs, *op.cit.*, nos. 3725-3733, vol.1, pp.352-354).

<sup>88</sup> GLA 61/10936,p.144, (22.Jul.1547): [...] *hab(en) m(eine) h(er)n Ir g(nade)n* <Friedrich II, kurfürst> *sampt der Furstin, Pfaltzgraf Wolfgang* <von Zweibrücken>, *Hertzog Ott heinrich vnd hertzog*

Ottheinrich was a renowned bibliophile who had a reputation for acquiring books, sometimes disreputably,<sup>89</sup> and for not returning books that he borrowed,<sup>90</sup> so that the chapter was determined that it would not lend him its valuable *Itinerarium*. Accordingly, the chapter ordered that Ottheinrich be told, firstly, that an earlier chapter (*die alten herren*) had decided that the book was never to be lent out again (*nit mher auss zuleyhen*); secondly, that he could have it copied at Speyer (*hie abschreiben*), at his expense (*vff Irn costen*), by a known person (*durch ein bekhante person*); thirdly, that the book which he wanted to borrow was damaged (*das alt exemplar sey etwas blod*) and the chapter first needed to decide whether to repair it (*vnd steen myn Hern im werck das zu renouiren*); fourthly, that if the chapter decided to have the book repaired, it could be copied only after such repairs had been completed (*volpracht*) and, fifthly, if, at that time, Ottheinrich still agreed to the production of a copy, this could be arranged by the chapter (*einn exemplar vertigen lassen*).

Ottheinrich replied that he would be satisfied with a copy but requested that its pictures must be an accurate copy of those in the old exemplar (*das die figuren wie die alten sollen gemalt werden*). So on 3.Feb.1548, the chapter instructed the vicar Tymeneck, not the masters of the workshop, to copy the text of the *Itinerarium*, and to do so in the deanery (*in der dechanej*). At the same meeting, the chapter instructed that Ottheinrich be advised to be patient (*sich woll werden zu halten wissen*)<sup>91</sup>. These three minutes (24.Jan., 26 Jan., 3.Feb.) contain significant information. First, in his initial request (24-26.Jan.) to borrow the *Itinerarium Anthonini*, Ottheinrich specifically asked to borrow the old

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*Philipsen, dessgleichen m(ein) g(nedige)n hern von Speir <bishop Philipp II von Flersheim> die beysitzer vnd elich vom Rhat vff die khoment Sondag zu nacht, auch laden lassen, vnd soliche gastung volpracht.*

<sup>89</sup> It was at this time, around 1548, that Ottheinrich plundered the monastery at Lorsch and stole its entire library. (Schottenloher, K., *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich und das Buch. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der evangelischen Publizistik*. (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte begründet von J. Greving, Heft 50/51) (Münster in Westf., Verlag der Aschendorfschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1927), pp.7-8) as described in *Die Chronik der Grafen von Zimmern* (Barack, K. (revised Herrmann, P.), *Zimmerische Chronik, urkundlich berichtet von Graf Froben Christof von Zimmern (d.1567) und seinem Schreiber Johannes Müller (d.1600)*. (4 vols.) (Meersburg, Hendel, 1932), vol.3, §974, p.589: [...] Lorsch [...] p.590 [...] closter [...] do ist der nachgendt churfürst Ott Hainrich, tanquam alter Nabucadnezar kommen; der hat die kaiserlich uralte bibliothek sampt butzen und still, wie man sagt, hingefürt und wie augenscheinlich, sicht es eim zerfalnen spital vil gleicher, dann einer so herrlichen und kaiserlichen stiftung. [...]

<sup>90</sup> Among the minutes of the Mainz cathedral chapter at least three refer to requests by Ottheinrich to borrow some of its books: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Mainzer Domstiftsprotokolle, Band 10 (1551-1555) - f.256v-257r (31.May.1553), - f.399v-400r (20.Oct.1554) and fol.258v (3.Jun.1553): *Ist die versiegelte Recognition so Michael Toxites poeta Laureatus in namen vnd von wegen Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs, der geliehenen bucher halben aus der liberej alhie vber sich gegeben verlessen, vnd also angenom(m)en word(en)*. to which a different scribe has added the words: *O periculosa(m) restitutio(n)em etc.* expressing reluctant acceptance of the fact that any books lent to Ottheinrich were unlikely to be returned.

<sup>91</sup> GLA 61/10936,p.209 (3.Feb.1548): <marginal heading beside line 21> *Itinerari(us)* <lines 20-24> *Hat Hertzog Ott Heinrich wid(er) geschrieb(en) das Ir g(naden) zu frid(en) mit einer Copey, mit beg(er) das die figuren wie die alt(en) sollen gemalet werden, welch(er) muhe halb Ir g(naden) sich woll werd(en) zu halten wissen, Daruf sol Tymenick vicarij es In der dechanej schreib(en)*.

*Tymenick vicari(us)* is identified as the vicarius *Benedict Tymeneck* or *Benedictus Thimeneck* who is mentioned several times in volumes 61/10935 and 61/10936 as, for example, in 1546 when he sought leave to visit his parents (61/10935, p.872: *Benedict Thimeneck*).

*In der dechanej*. The dean was Johannes von Heppenheim (vom Saal) who was elected to the position on 24.Nov.1535 and held it until his death on 3.May.1555 (Kaul, *op.cit.* pp.117-118) or 23.May.1555 (Krebs, *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.188, n.15). A request by the executors of the testament of *meins hern dhomdechans seligen* is recorded in the minutes of 12.Jun.1555 (GLA 61/10939,p.74).

exemplar (*sonderlich das alt Exemplar*), which indicates that he knew that the chapter had at least one copy of it, which he did not want to borrow. It is certain from later minutes, cited below, that, in January 1548, the chapter already owned the illustrated codex **M**,<sup>92</sup> which was probably produced in 1542.<sup>93</sup> But it is also certain that Ottheinrich did not see this codex **M** until shortly after 5.Dec.1549, when he had requested to see it, after the chapter had recently told him of its existence.<sup>94</sup> So while Ottheinrich specifically distinguished the *alt exemplar* from a copy of it in the chapter library in January 1548, he had not personally seen that copy.

Second, his request (3.Feb.) for an accurate copy of the pictures in the old exemplar (*die figuren wie die alten sollen gemalet werden*) suggests that he had reason to believe that this might not be done in a copy made for him unless he specifically requested that this be done. That reason can only be that, before 3.Feb.1548, Ottheinrich had actually either seen the old exemplar, or received an fairly accurate description of its pictures, together with the information that the chapter had a copy of it that did not contain pictures *wie die alten* (he did not actually see **M** until almost two years after his initial request). One person who could provide information about both these matters was Erenberg (who died 3.Nov.1544) who knew that, before he borrowed the old exemplar to have its pictures copied at Mainz, the chapter had recently produced a copy; and it was the loan of the old exemplar to Erenberg that Ottheinrich cited as the precedent for his own request to borrow it.

The unillustrated copy produced by Tymeneck was apparently completed by 17.Oct.1548 when the chapter ordered the masters of the workshop to inquire from an artist about the cost of illustrating it with a copy of the pictures in the old exemplar (*vf die alte handt zu malen*), as requested by Ottheinrich.<sup>95</sup>

Fourteen months later, on 5.Dec.1549, the chapter confirmed that the copy of the text prepared by Tymeneck had still not been illustrated (*das geschriben exemplar noch nit gemalet*) and that the chapter had written to Ottheinrich offering, either to have the pictures of the old exemplar (*vf die allt handt*) copied during the next spring, when it was warmer (*vf den fruling so es wider warm*), or to give him an available copy already illustrated with pictures in a contemporary style (*ein exemplar vf die neue handt gemalet*). This minute indicates that the offer to give Ottheinrich this illustrated copy had been made sometime in late 1549 - but apparently not recorded in the minutes - because Ottheinrich had now replied that he would like to inspect this available illustrated copy, which was now sent to him.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> foll.2-170 of the composite codex **M-W**, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 10291.

<sup>93</sup> Two of the pictures in codex **M** include the date 1542: on f.78r, the picture captioned *DISPVATIO ADRIANI AVG: ET EPICETI PHI* has the inscription **1542** in the upper frame of the throne; on fol.81r, the picture captioned *URBS QVAE ALIQVANDO DESOLATA NVNC PRAECLARIOR PISSIMO IMPERIO RESTAVRATA* has the inscription **M.D.XLII** in the lower frame of the picture. This date could refer, either to the date when these pictures were produced, or to the date copied from the direct exemplar of **M** (in the same way that the date **1484**, at the end of the primary copy **T**, produced in 1529, was probably copied from its exemplar).

See *Commentary - §3: The copies of the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd)*.

<sup>94</sup> GLA 61/10936,p.438 (5.Dec.1549): *ein exemplar vf die neue handt gemalet [...] das man Ime wolle das gemalet <exemplar> [...] zusehen [...] zuschicken*, (see note 96)

<sup>95</sup> GLA 61/10936,p.288 (17.Oct.1548): *Itinerariu(m) Anthoninj, Hertzog Ott Heinrichen volents zu uerfertigen, sollen die fabriken maist(er) bey eine(m) Maler zuerfaren, was er forder, den vf die alte handt zu malen*.

The workshop masters (*fabriken maister*) are identified as Nicolaus Bauer and Adam Danckman in the *Besetzung der Empter* on 21.Jul.1548 (GLA 61/10936,p.258). Adam Danckmann occasionally held the same position. (*ibid.*).

<sup>96</sup> GLA 61/10936,p.438 (5.Dec.1549): <marginal heading beside line 7>: *Hertzog Ot Heinrich <lines 6-14>: Hertzog Ott Heinrich pfaltzgraff, hat des Itinerarij halb m(ynem) h(ern) dhumbdechan, geschrieb(en) vnd angemant, Ist Ir f(urstlich) g(nad) geschrieb(en), wie das geschrieb(en) exemplar vf die allt handt noch nit gemalet, man wolle vf den fruling so es wid(er) warm, vleiss an*

Ottheinrich was apparently not satisfied with this illustrated copy and renewed his request that the copy being produced for him must contain an accurate copy of the pictures in the *alt exemplar* since, on 20.Mar.1550, the chapter instructed its workshop masters either to exert more effort in finding an artist or, if none could be found, to inform Ottheinrich that it had been unsuccessful.<sup>97</sup>

On 2.Jun.1500, the chapter noted that it had informed Ottheinrich that no artist could be found to add copies of the pictures in the old exemplar (*vf die alt handt*) to the unillustrated *Itinerarium* (*der geschriben Itinerarius*). It also noted that Ottheinrich had earlier replied that he would be satisfied (*zu friden*) with the copy belonging to the chapter and illustrated with contemporary style pictures (*den Ihringen ...vf die neue handt gemalet*) which he had previously seen (*hievor besichtigt*). He had apparently returned this unbound (*vngebunden*) illustrated copy (*solchen verfertigten Itinerarium*) to the chapter, which now sent it back to Ottheinrich as a gift, noting that it had cost 69 guilders to produce and leaving it to Ottheinrich to determine what, if anything, he might give the chapter, in return.<sup>98</sup>

But Ottheinrich persisted with his request for an accurate copy of the pictures in the old exemplar, because, at its meeting on 19.Jun.1550, the chapter noted that, although he had now received the *Itinerarium* illustrated *vf die new handt*, he still wanted a copy of the pictures in the *alt exemplar*, and that he now requested permission to send one of his artists to Speyer to trace those pictures (*die alte figuren durchzaichnen*) onto paper made transparent through prior soaking in oil (*vf geoldrenckt pappeir*). The chapter decided that it would seek the advice of its painter, Hans, on the proposed process and, if it could be effected without damaging the *alt exemplar*, the request of Ottheinrich would be granted.<sup>99</sup> The request was obviously granted, and the tracings on transparent paper were actually made,

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*keren das es gemalet Wo aber ir g(naden) benugig sein wolle, wolle man Ir g(naden) ein exemplar vf die neue handt gemalet zustellen Vf solchs hat er wid(er) geschrieb(en) vnd beg(er)t, das man Ime wolle das gemalet zusehen, onschad(en) zuschick(en), Ist bewilligt.*

The dean (*dhumbdechan*) was identified as Johann von Heppenheim (vom Saal) (See note 91).

<sup>97</sup> GLA 61/10937,p.42 (20.Mar.1550): <marginal heading beside line 10> *H(ern) Ott Heinrich* <lines 10-14> *Als Hertzog Ott Heinrichen vertrosstung geschehen den Itinerariu(m) vf die alt handt malen zu lassen, vnd aber khein maler zubekomen, Ist dem fabrick(en) maister beuolhen sich besser vmbzuthun, vnd wo kein maler zubekomen, dess dem Hertzog(en) zubericht(en).*

The *fabricken maister* refers to one of the two *procuratores fabricae* identified as *Nicolaus Baur et Adam Danckman* for the period from 20.Jul.1549 - 10.Aug.1550 (GLA 61/10936,p.395).

<sup>98</sup> GLA 61/10937,p.78 (2.Jun.1550): <marginal heading beside line 21> *Hertzog Otheinrich* <lines 21-31> *Nachdem vf m(y)n h(er)n schreiben, das der geschriben Itinerari(us), vf die alt handt zu malen, nit mog(en) bestellt werd(en), Hertzog Ott Heinrich zu friden das man Ime den Ihring(en) so Ir g(nad) hievor besichtigt vnd vf die neue handt gemalet ist, vngbund(en) zuschickt vnd darbej Antzeig(en) wolle wass er cost — Ist bedacht wiewol derselbe vf 69 g(u)ld(en) gecost Ir g(naden) solchen, verfertigt(en) Itinerariu(m), zu schencken, vnd Ir g(naden) den p(er) Na(tura)m zu antwurt(en) lassen, Wess Ir g(nad) fur sich selb dem Stifft zu gutt(en) gebe, musst man gescheh(en) lass(en), vnd zu danck annemen.*

<sup>99</sup> GLA 61/10937,p.90 (19.Jun.1550): <marginal heading side line 20> *Hertzog Otheinrich* <lines 19-27> *Hat Hertzog Ottheinrich wid(er)umb begert dieweil der Itinerari(us) so m(y)n h(er)n Ir g(naden) verert, zu wit vf die new handt gemalet, Das m(y)n H(er)n vnbeschwerdt sein wolt(en), seine Maler, so Ir g(naden) derhalb(en) geschickt vf geoldrenckt pappeir, die alte figuren durch zaichnen zu lass(en), Vnd dieweil m(y)n h(er)n nit wissen ob es on schaden gescheh(en) moge, So ist bedacht Meist(er) Hanse(n) Malerns Rhat dar In zuhoeren, wo es on schad(en) gesein mogt, so ist es bewillgit.*

The identity of *Meist(er) Hanse(n) Malern* [...] is uncertain since it is not clear whether the word "*Maler*" designates his employment, or his surname, or both. A *Hansen Maler* first occurs in the minute of 16 June 1502 (GLA 61/10929,f.123v - Krebs, *op.cit.*, no.742, vol.1, p.77), so that the later references to a painter named *Hans* in the minutes are unlikely to be references to the same

sometime after 19.Jun.1550, because those paper tracings are listed in the 1557 inventory of artwork (*gemeel*) in the writing room of Ottheinrich in his castle at Neuburg.<sup>100</sup>

Codex **M** (which had been given to Ottheinrich by the cathedral chapter after 2.Jun.1550), and codex **W** (copied from paper tracings begun after 19.Jun.1550) were subsequently bound together as the composite codex **M-W** in its present, original covers, one of which has the embossed and gilded inscription 1551.<sup>101</sup> Consequently, the tracing paper copies of the pictures in the *alt exemplar* were recopied onto the vellum sheets in **W** sometime between 19.Jun.1550 and the end of 1551. There is no evidence that the composite codex **M-W** has been rebound after 1551.

Three facts, in particular, must be noted about the pictures in the codex **W**.

First, it is absolutely certain from the chapter minutes, that Ottheinrich was never permitted to borrow the *alt exemplar* to have it copied elsewhere and it was for this reason that the tracings on paper were produced at Speyer by an artist he sent there (*seine Maler...geschickt*).

Second, the pictures in **W** are not direct copies of those in the *alt exemplar* because they were not traced from the pictures in the *alt exemplar*. This is demonstrated by the request discussed on 19.Jun.1550; by the evidence of the existence, in 1557, of the transparent sheets containing the tracings; and by the fact that the pictures in **W** exist on vellum. The tracing paper copies of the pictures in the *alt exemplar* were later recopied onto the vellum folia that comprise the codex **W**.<sup>102</sup> The pictures on vellum in **W** are, therefore, indirect copies of those in the *alt exemplar*.

It is currently unknown how the tracing paper copies were recopied onto the vellum comprising the folia in **W** because there is no evidence that those tracings on paper were retraced onto the vellum in **W** using the customary procedures.<sup>103</sup> The pictures in the tracings can only have existed on one side (that is, on one page) of each transparent sheet of paper, whereas the pictures in **W** exist on both sides, or pages, of each sheet of vellum, which is not transparent. The codex **W** has no single sheet or folium attached to its spine; the codex consists entirely of bifolia (a bifolium is a single sheet that has been folded once across its centre so that its two sides comprise four plane surfaces or pages each bounded by three cut edges and by the fold along the inner spine) arranged in seven gatherings.

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person; these later references include *Hansen Maler*, 6.Sept.1538 (GLA 61/10934,p.777), *Hans Maler*, 26.Aug.1540 (GLA 10935,p.184) and *Hans Moler*, 5.Sept.1541 (GLA/10935,p.307).

<sup>100</sup> München, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Neuburger Akten Nr. 2690, foll.1r-28r (1r): *Inventarium vber meins gnedigisten hern Schreibstubl zu Neuburg, Anno 1557*. (2r): *In meins gnedigisten herrn Schreibstublen - Gemeel [...]* (2v): *Item die figuren auf olgetrenghkts Papir aus dem Buch Antoninij durchgezeichnet*.

<sup>101</sup> The the front cover has the inscription | *ITINERARIUM* | *ANTONINI* | above a portrait of Ottheinrich, subscripted with | *OTTHAINRICH VON G(ottes) G(naden)* | *PFALTZGRAVE BEY RHEIN* | *HERTZOG IN NIDERN VND* | *OBERN BAIRN* | and, below this, the date | *1551* |. The back cover has the inscription | *M(it) D(er) Z(eit)* | (the motto of Ottheinrich) above his armorial emblem, subscripted with the abbreviation: | *O(tt) H(einich) P(alzgraf)* |.

<sup>102</sup> foll.171-222 of the composite codex **M-W**, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 10291.

<sup>103</sup> This conclusion, based on my inspection of the composite codex **M-W**, was confirmed by Prof. Bernhard Bischoff who subsequently examined the codex again and wrote: *Planegg. 25-v-1969: [...] Ölgetränktes Papier, sog. Oleaten, sind bis ins XIX Jh. (seit wann?) zur Herstellung von Faksimiles (besonders für Vorlagen von Kupferstichen oder Steindruck - da sie durchsichtig sind, kann man sie umkehren) benützt worden, vor der Erfindung von Pergamentpapier, 'Glaspapier' u.ä; sie sind natürlich nur einseitig zu verwenden. Wollte man mit Hilfe einer Oleate eine Kopie herstellen, so konnte man das mittels Durchdrücken oder Durchstechen. Davon habe ich im Clm 10291 keine Spur gesehen*.

Third, the chapter minutes, and the prefatory note (cited below) in the composite codex **M-W**, indicate that, when the paper tracings were copied onto vellum by the artist of **W**, that artist simultaneously had access to **M** and there is evidence, described elsewhere,<sup>104</sup> that some drawing captions and drawing inscriptions were copied from **M** into **W**.

In the prefatory note to the composite codex **M-W**,<sup>105</sup> the first paragraph confirms that the codex **M** was the codex that was sent to Ottheinrich by the Speyer cathedral chapter after 2.Jun.1550. The remaining three paragraphs confirm that the codex **W** (*in fine libri*) was added to the codex **M** before these two codices - **M** and **W** - were bound together in their present, original covers dated 1551. This prefatory note states, firstly, that **M** and **W** were derived from a *verum atque archetypum exemplar*, or *vetus atque archetypum exemplar* or *verum ac primitivum exemplar* at Speyer, which was titled *Itinerarium antonini (hic liber cui titulus Itinerarium Antonini)*; and, secondly, that the pictures in **W** are an exact copy of those in the *archetypum exemplar*. But these claims did not originate in Speyer, since no part of this prefatory note was written there. This is apparent, firstly, from the end of the first paragraph, where the standard expression *decano atque capitulo* (or, as in many chapter minutes, *dechant und capittel*, in various phonetic spellings) has been represented with the incorrect formula *Decano atq(ue) Canonico*, which is unattested in any other available document;<sup>106</sup> and, secondly, from the fact that the note could not have been written before **W** was produced. The final paragraph states that arabic numbers were added to the pictures in **W** and **M** to facilitate the identification of corresponding pictures but, while the numbers were added in **W**, they were not added in **M**. It is probable that the sheet containing this prefatory note replaced an earlier one with other contents. The chapter minutes on 5.Dec.1549 state that the codex **M** was not produced for Ottheinrich, while those on 2.June.1550 note that it was sent to him unbound (*vngebunden zuschickt*). The codex **M** consists of 22 gatherings, each of which, except the first, consists of bifolia. The first gathering, however, which includes 3 bifolia (2|7, 3|6, 4|5), has two single folia (1, 8) of which the first contains the prefatory note, extending over both pages. This arrangement can only be explained by the fact that the original folium (1), which was part of an original bifolium (1|8), was removed and replaced with the existing folium (1). And the most obvious explanation for its replacement is that the original folium (1) could not be used to write the prefatory note because that sheet was not blank. One can speculate about its contents.

The pictures in the primary copies of the *Cnd* contain a few drawings - including especially, but not only, the drawings of decorated stands - that were ultimately derived by the *Cnd* from original drawings

<sup>104</sup> See *Commentary - §3: The copies of the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd)*.

<sup>105</sup> (f.1r-v): *HIC LIBER, CVI TITVLVS, ITINERARIVM ANTONINI, | ad verum atq(ue) archetypum exemplar descriptus, Ill(ustriss)imo Principi ac d(omi)no, d(omi)no Othoni Henrico, Comiti Palatino Rhenj, vtriusq(ue) Bauari(a)e duci, (et)c(cetera) tanq(u)e antiquitatis amatori atq(ue) indagatori studiosissimo, a venerabilibus ac honestis Cathedralis Ecclesi(a)e Spirensis Decano atq(ue) Canonico Dono missus est.*

*CAETERVM quia eiusdem libri pictur(a)e, vt prim(um) erant informat(a)e, praesentis aetatis habitum, ac nouitatis forma(m) quandam pr(a)e se ferebant, veterisq(ue) atq(ue) archetypi exemplaris Schematibus ac lineamentis non ita exacte atq(ue) per omnia respondebant: Existimauit idem Ill(ustriss)imus Princeps totum hoc opus spectabile ac gratum magis futurum, si singulatim vera atq(ue) Germana omnium imago non solum scripto, sed & pictura reddita fuisset.*

*QVARE SINGVLORVM S<c>hematum atq(ue) figurarum & colorem eundem, & proportionem iuxta formam ac modum veri ac primitiui exemplaris, omnibus suis numeris ac punctis representandum denuo curauit.*

*QVOCVNQ(ue) IGITVR loco Veterem atq(ue) Germanam archetypi exemplaris delineationem atq(ue) Icona desiderabis, ibidem numerum iuxta adscriptum aspicias, eundemq(ue) in fine libri eiusdem generis figur(a)e aut Schemati additum requiras. Nam ut numero sibi quaeq(ue) respondent, ita & rei vnus eiusdemq(ue) exemplum atq(ue) imaginem referu(n)t.*

<sup>106</sup> The writer of the inventory in 1566 in which the composite codex **M-W** is described correctly referred to the *Dechant vnd Capittl zue Speyr* as having given the codex **M** to Ottheinrich. See note 128.

created no later than the 5thC/6thC.<sup>107</sup> This makes it probable that an unknown number of other drawings in the primary copies were also derived from drawings, probably in pictures, from the same period. There are still available several pictures and drawings which were created during the 5thC/6thC, including drawings and paintings (on papyrus, parchment and stone), carved reliefs (on ivory and stone), stamped or moulded reliefs (on coins) and engravings (on ivory, metal or glass). When these 5thC/6thC drawings and pictures are compared with the pictures and drawings in the primary copies of the *Cnd*, it is apparent that some of the drawings in **W** (especially those of forts representing places, and those of personifications of regions), and the arrangement of drawings in some pictures in **W** (generally as separated drawings randomly distributed without a shared or common perspective), represent the style that was conventional to late Roman art to a greater extent than do the corresponding drawings and pictures in the other primary copies of the *Cnd*. On the basis of this observation it can be concluded, therefore, that the *alt exemplar* whose pictures were traced onto transparent paper, and then recopied onto the vellum in **W**, can be identified as the codex **Σ**, which contained the *Cnd*.

It is important to emphasise, however, that this conclusion about the *style* of some of the drawings in **W**, and the *style* of the arrangement of drawings in some pictures, does not refer to the precise *form* of the drawings or the *details* of their decorations. This important distinction is based on the fact that, when the pictures in **W** are compared with those in the other primary copies of the *Cnd*, it is demonstrable that many drawings in **W** are inaccurate copies of those in **Σ**, and, moreover, that **W** does not have copies of several of the drawings that existed in **Σ**.<sup>108</sup> But the drawings in **W** also contain copies of details that existed on the corresponding drawings in the *Cnd* and were not copied into most, or all, of the other primary copies: in particular, the Greek alphabetic/numeric and Roman cursive alphabetic/ numeric or tachygraphic symbols existing as inscriptions on the drawings of 42 closed scrolls in **W** (the 3 inscriptions copied from *Cnd.117#15*, *117#16*, *142#2* in **W** are attested by more accurate copies of them in the fragmentary **C**, but copies of all 42 of these inscriptions are absent from **OPBVM**; **O** has an inscription of recognisable Greek alphabetic symbols on its copy of *Cnd.45#3* but this inscription is not attested by **W** or by **N** - which is the intended facsimile of 3 pages, now absent, from **C**).

The observed inaccuracies and deficiencies in **W** may explain why, after **W** was produced before the end of 1551, Ottheinrich continued to preserve the tracing paper copies in his room where, as indicated above, their existence is attested in the inventory compiled in 1557. Their retention may be even more significant if, as is generally believed, Ottheinrich acquired **Σ** itself in August 1552.<sup>109</sup>

#### *Conclusions about the codex Σ, and copies of it, between 1526 and 1550*

From the evidence contained in the minutes of the meetings of the Speyer cathedral chapter, supplemented by other evidence relevant to their interpretation, the following conclusions may be drawn.

(1) The minutes of the Speyer cathedral chapter for the period 1500-1550 appear to record only two titles from among those of books actually in the library when those titles were recorded in the minutes: one title is recorded once in 1502; the other title, *Itinerarium* or *Itinerarium antonini*, is mentioned twenty times (once as only a marginal title) in the period 1526-1550. This indicates that the chapter attached particular importance to the book or books with this title for a reason not stated in the minutes.

(2.a) The Speyer cathedral chapter consistently used the title *Itinerarium* or *Itinerarium antonini*, in various forms, during the period 1526-1550 to refer both to an *alt exemplar* with that title (*Itinerarium Anthonini...das alt exemplar* 26.Jan.1548, *itinerarius...den alten* 12.May.1537), and to any copy of it (*meiner hern geschrieben* 18.Nov.1542, *Itinerarius ...de Ithringen ...vf die neue handt gemalet* 2.Jun.1550, *itinerari(us) ... geschrieben* 5.Dec.1549, *geschrieben Itinerarius* 2.Jun.1550, *den Itinerarium...malen* 20.Mar.1550) in the chapter library.

<sup>107</sup> See *Appendix 5: The decorated stands in the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd)*.

<sup>108</sup> See *Commentary - §3: The copies of the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd)*.

<sup>109</sup> See below.

(2.b) The chapter minutes from 1548-1550, attest that this *alt exemplar* with the title *Itinerarium antonini* had been copied into the codex **M** before 1549 and this is confirmed by the prefatory note, not written at Speyer, to the composite codex **M-W**. But it is not stated whether **M** was a direct or an indirect copy of the *alt exemplar*.

(2.c) The chapter minutes of 19.Jun.1550, and the 1557 inventory of artwork in the writing room of Ottheinrich at Neuburg, attest that the pictures in the *alt exemplar* were traced onto transparent paper. These tracings on paper were then recopied onto the vellum pages comprising **W**, as confirmed in the prefatory note to the composite codex **M-W**.

(2.d) At least some of the drawings in the primary copy **W**, and the spatial arrangement of the drawings in some of its pictures, represent the style that was conventional to late Roman art more closely than do the corresponding drawings and arrangements in the other primary copies of the *Cnd* in the codex **Σ**, so that it can be concluded that the *alt exemplar* whose pictures were traced onto paper, and then recopied onto the vellum in **W**, can be identified as the codex **Σ**, which contained the *Cnd*.

(3.a) The tracings were produced at Speyer because Ottheinrich was never permitted to borrow **Σ**. It may be speculated that, had he ever been permitted to borrow **Σ**, he would not have returned the codex so that there would have been no need to produce the copy in the codex **W**. But if, as is generally believed, Ottheinrich acquired **Σ** in August 1552, the possibility that its pictures were then copied directly into the codex **W** after that date, is negated by the fact that there is no evidence that the composite codex **M-W** has been rebound at any time after its present covers were produced before the end of 1551.

(3.b) The pictures in the codex **W** are not direct copies of the pictures in **Σ**, and they are not tracings of them. The pictures in **W** are indirect copies of the pictures in **Σ** because the pictures in the codex **W** are copies on vellum, of tracings on transparent paper, of the pictures in **Σ**. And there is no evidence that the tracings on paper were retraced onto the vellum in the codex **W**.

(3.c) The tracings were begun after 19 June 1550, and the copy of them in the codex **W** was completed, before the codices **M** and **W** were bound together their current original cover dated 1551.

(3.d) The artist of **W** had simultaneous access to **M** and copied some of its drawing captions and inscriptions into **W**. This means that pictures in **W** are not only an indirect copy of those in **Σ**, they are also not entirely an independent copy.

(4) A book with the title *Itinerarium* or *Itinerarium antonini* is recorded in the chapter minutes as having been borrowed at least four times:

- in 1526 (in January, for four months, by Neuenahr);
- in 1537 (in January, by one of its canons, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg);
- sometime after 12.May.1537 until some time before 18.Jul.1539 (by the artist Caspar in Heidelberg);
- sometime after 9.Dec.1542 (by the cathedral provost, Johann von Erenberg).

Three loans refer to books taken out of Speyer (1526 to Köln, 1537-39 to Heidelberg, and 1542 to Mainz) and one loan was specifically made on the condition that the borrower did not show the book to anyone else (*nulli alieno communicando*). The codex **Σ** was probably absent from the chapter library at various times, but definitely from around 12.May.1537 until after 18.Jul.1539 (at Heidelberg), and again for some time after 9.Dec.1542 (at Mainz).

A book with the title *Anthoninus* was borrowed in 1533 (in October, for two to four weeks, by one of the sons of Konrad Peutinger)

(5) A book with the title *Itinerarium* or *Itinerarium antonini* is recorded in the chapter minutes as having been copied, either wholly or partly, at least seven times:

- in mid-1534 (a parchment copy, by Martin Rutenberg von Frissach, and almost completed by 24.Jul.;
- sometime in 1535 (for Matthäus Lang, who received it before 19.Jan.1536);
- sometime before 12.May.1537, and later illustrated by Caspar in Heidelberg some time before 18.Jul.1539;
- sometime in 1542 for the cathedral chapter - possibly the codex **M**);

- sometime before 9.Dec.1542 (for cathedral provost, Johann von Erenberg), and later illustrated for him at Mainz after that date;
- sometime after 3.Feb.1548 and before 5.Dec.1549 (by the vicar Benedict Tymeneck and intended for Ottheinrich);
- a copy (the tracings, on transparent paper) of the pictures in **Σ** some time after 19.Jun.1550 and before the end of 1551 (when the copies on vellum were bound with the codex **M** in the composite codex **M-W**).

Only the fourth of these copies (1542) has been tentatively identified (as **M**), and it is not generally known whether any of the other copies, or fragments of them, still exist.

A book with the title *Anthoninus* was borrowed in 1533 (in October, for two to four weeks) to be copied for one of the sons of Konrad Peutinger.

(6) A book with the title *Itinerarium* or *Itinerarium antonini* was copied perhaps more often than is recorded in the chapter minutes,<sup>110</sup> since there are indications that the minutes did not record every copy **Σ**, or excerpt from it, that is known to have been made at Speyer in the period 1526-1550.

In his edition of the *Autores historiae ecclesiasticae*, published by Froben at Basel in August-September 1523, Rhenanus included previously unpublished excerpts from a copy of the *Cnd* which, he stated, he had recently obtained from a library in Speyer (*qui nuper ex Spirensi bibliotheca accepimus*).<sup>111</sup> The chapter minutes do not indicate that the *Itinerarium* was either borrowed or copied around this time.

Similarly, the chapter minutes do not refer to the copy made for Bernardo Clesio (1484-1539), bishop of Trento (1514-1539) and chancellor of Ferdinand I (1503-1564: archduke of Austria, etc., and Holy Roman emperor from 1558). In a note at the beginning of the copy of **Σ** in the codex **t1360**, Clesio stated that this copy had been made from an 'antique exemplar' that he found in the library of the Speyer cathedral chapter in 1529,<sup>112</sup> presumably while he attended the Reichstag held between 15.Mar.-22.Apr. The chapter minutes again do not mention that the *Itinerarium* was borrowed or copied around this time, even though they record the presence of Clesio at the Reichstag, and refer to negotiations between him and the chapter.<sup>113</sup>

(7) The library of the cathedral chapter had, at various times, copies of a book with the title *Itinerarium* or *Itinerarium antonini*.

Codex **t1360** is not a direct copy of an 'antique exemplar'; it is demonstrably a transcript of the codex **T**;<sup>114</sup> both codices have, as their last line, the item *Anno domini 1484*, suggesting that the exemplar of **T** may have been produced in that year. The copy of the *Cnd* in the unillustrated codex **T** has the same peculiar arrangement of the list items, and of the spaces for pictures, that exists in the fragmentary illustrated codex **F**.<sup>115</sup> This peculiar arrangement makes it certain, either that **T** is a copy of **F**, or that **F** and **T** are

<sup>110</sup> The following paragraph repeats conclusions from *Commentary - §3: The copies of the Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd)*

<sup>111</sup> *Autores historiae ecclesiasticae. [...] Basileae apud Io. Frobenium, Mense Augusto An.M.D.XXIII*, p.175. Two other references to this copy of the *Cnd* occur on pp. 191 and 221. <copy used: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 32.N.18>

<sup>112</sup> Trento, Biblioteca del Castello Buonconsiglio, ms.1360: *Libru(m) hunc satis incorrectu(m) in correcte ecia(m) est Jussu nostro transcriptu(m) ex antiquo exemplari reperto in Bybliothea capitul[a]ri spiren(si) dum ibi essemus cu(m) S(erenissi)mo rege fernando etc. in conuentu imperiali anno. 1529.*

<sup>113</sup> Clesio is referred to as royal chancellor in the minutes GLA 61/10932,f.310r (13.Apr.1529) - Krebs, *op.cit.* no.7659, vol.2.p.258.

<sup>114</sup> Trento, Biblioteca comunale, ms.W 3103

<sup>115</sup> F (Frankfurt): fragments of a manuscript book, dismembered in Frankfurt by one or more bookbinders, about 1630; the fragments so far identified are a bifolium (Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, ms.BPL 2869) and a folium (Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, ms. lat. qu.76).

both derived independently from a common exemplar which had the peculiar spatial arrangement of the contents that exists in both **F** and **T**. This means:

- firstly, that the direct exemplar of **T** (whether this be **F** or a common exemplar of **F/T**) cannot have been the exemplar of any other primary copy of the *Cnd*; and, therefore,
- secondly, that the direct exemplar of **T** was not **Σ**; so that,
- thirdly, **T** is an indirect copy of **Σ**; and, therefore,
- fourthly, that in 1529 the library of the cathedral chapter had both **Σ** and at least one copy of it, which was the direct exemplar of **T**; and,
- finally, that when a copy of the antique exemplar was produced for Clesio in 1529, it was actually directly derived from a copy of the 'antique exemplar' to which he referred.

Moreover, if the date 1484 in **T** indicates the year when its direct exemplar was produced, that exemplar apparently coexisted with **Σ** in the chapter library between 1484-1529 (and for an unknown period thereafter).

In addition to the direct exemplar of **T** (mentioned above), a copy of **Σ** was produced for the chapter towards the end of 1542 - probably the codex **M** which and remained in the library until it was given to Ottheinrich in 1550. Another copy was produced by Tymeneck, sometime after 3.Feb.1548 and before 5.Dec.1549, and this copy, still unillustrated in June 1550, remained with the chapter after **M** was given to Ottheinrich. It is known, therefore, that:

- in 1529, the chapter simultaneously had both **Σ** and the direct exemplar of **T** (possibly there since 1484 and for an unknown period of time after 1529);
- between the end of 1542 and the middle of 1550, it had both **Σ** and **M** (and possibly the direct exemplar of **T**);
- from some time in 1548/49 until the middle of 1550, it had **Σ**, **M**, and the unillustrated Tymeneck copy (and possibly the direct exemplar of **T**).

Moreover, the chapter minutes do not indicate whether the copy written in 1534 (by Rutenberg), or the copy illustrated between 1537-1539 (by Caspar) were made for the chapter, and remained in its library, or whether each was made for some other recipient.

This evidence means that any reference in a copy of any part of **Σ**, identifying the direct exemplar of that copy as a codex in the Speyer cathedral chapter library, is not necessarily a reference to the codex **Σ**.

(8) The *alt exemplar*, which we have identified with the codex **Σ**, appears to be mentioned in the chapter minutes only in connection with the production of copies of its pictures:

- it is mentioned on 12 May 1537, when the chapter authorised the transfer of the old exemplar (*den alten*) to Heidelberg so that Caspar could illustrate a written copy (*der Itinerarius abgeschrieben und noch zu illuminieren*);
- it is mentioned on 18.Nov.1542, as the exemplar whose pictures were to be used to illustrate two copies of the text: one belonging to the chapter itself (*meiner hern geschrieben*), and another belonging to its provost, Erenberg (*Itinerarium zu leyhen, den zu Meintz abzumalen lassen*). Although the exemplar is not referred to as the *alt exemplar* in this minute, or in the other minute (9.Dec.1549) related to the Erenberg copy, the exemplar borrowed and used by Erenberg was specifically identified by Ottheinrich as the *alt exemplar* in the two minutes 24-26.Jan.1548 recording his first request to borrow it.
- it is mentioned, especially in the two minutes 2+19 Jun.1550, as the exemplar whose *alte figuren* or pictures *vf die alt handt* were to be traced onto transparent paper.

The fact that the 1537/9 copy was illustrated by an artist at Heidelberg, and that the chapter was allegedly unable to find an artist to illustrate the copy made in 1548/9 by Tymeneck, suggests that the cathedral workshop did not have artists to illustrate any copy of **Σ**.

The chapter commissioned a copy of **Σ** to be made for itself in 1542 (probably the codex **M**), and it also intended to keep this copy, since it was not offered to Ottheinrich for nearly two years following his initial request, during which time the chapter instructed Tymeneck to produce another copy. It is not stated whether the copy of the text made by Tymeneck after 3.Feb.1548 and before 5.Dec.1549, was illustrated after the codex **M** was given to Ottheinrich.

It may be speculated that, given the importance of  $\Sigma$  to the chapter, the illustrated copy produced for the chapter in 1542 was intended to provide an alternative to  $\Sigma$ , for those who wanted to consult it, in order to prevent damage to  $\Sigma$  caused by repeated borrowings. It may be that the chapter also had one or more unillustrated copies that could be used by anyone who was only interested in the text of  $\Sigma$ , or by anyone who needed a copy to be produced quickly, requiring the gatherings of the exemplar to be removed and distributed for simultaneous copying by several scribes before being rebound.

### *The codex $\Sigma$ after 1550*

While the title *Itinerarium* or *Itinerarium antonini*, in various forms, was mentioned twenty times in the minutes of the meetings of the cathedral chapter between 22.Jan.1526 and 19.Jun.1550, I can find no reference to this title, or any form of it, after that date in any of the minutes which I have consulted for the period to the end of 1600.<sup>116</sup>

The existence of  $\Sigma$  in the library of the cathedral chapter was widely known, as indicated by the loans and copies recorded in the earlier chapter minutes, by the letters of several writers during the first half of the 16thC, by the reference to a Speyer library in the codex  $\mathbf{O}$  produced in 1436, and in several copies of that codex, and by the first published reference, by Rhenanus in 1523, to a library at Speyer as the place from which he had recently received a copy of the *Cnd*. The importance of  $\Sigma$  cannot have been less after 1550 than before, as indicated particularly by the determination of the chapter not to lend it to Ottheinrich. And there is no apparent change in the nature of the minutes after 19.Jun.1550, or in the known practices of the chapter, that would account for the absence of references to  $\Sigma$  in the minutes after 19.Jun.1550. It would be expected, therefore, that requests to borrow or to copy  $\Sigma$  would have been made during that period, and that such requests would have been recorded in the minutes, as they were before that date. The fact that they are not recorded may be explained by any one of five possible reasons.

First, it is possible that the chapter had decided that  $\Sigma$  would never be lent out again and, accordingly, that no requests needed to be recorded in the minutes. The chapter noted, on 26.Jan.1548, that the decision never to lend out  $\Sigma$  again (*nit mher auss zuleyhen*) had been made some years previously (*die alten herren es...beschlossen*). This decision was the reason - or the excuse - for denying the request by Ottheinrich to borrow it, but this reason did not prevent those requests from being recorded in the minutes in 1548-1550. Moreover, the decision did not deny access to the book within the library, or the production of copies of it there, even to the extent of permitting the pictures in  $\Sigma$  to be overlaid with paper made transparent with oil - and, therefore, potentially damaging to those pictures - in order to produce tracings.

Second, it is possible that  $\Sigma$  was lent out after 19.Jun.1550 and was subsequently not returned. There is no evidence in the minutes that the decision, made before 1548, not to lend  $\Sigma$  out again, was later rescinded; and the earlier minutes indicate that it is improbable either that such a loan, or the failure to return the lent book, would not have been recorded in the minutes.

Third, it is possible that interest in  $\Sigma$ , particularly in the illustrated *Cnd* which occupied 164 of its pages, declined completely after the publication, early in 1552 in Basel, of a printed copy of most of the illustrated parts of  $\Sigma$  by Hieronymus Froben (1501–1563). This printed copy,  $\mathbf{B}$ , which was edited by Rhenanus, was derived from the Froben codex *Bf* (which is not now known to exist) to which Rhenanus referred in his printed reference in 1523, noting that it had recently been received from Speyer. Whether the publication of  $\mathbf{B}$  in 1552 explains the absence of references to borrow or copy  $\Sigma$  after that date, is open to speculation.

But, as noted above, when Peter Drach requested on 6.Nov.1502 to borrow the Albertus Magnus manuscript to have it copied and then printed, the chapter did not consider the request until it was first determined that the text was not already available in any other manuscript or printed copy (*gefragt, ob ...*

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<sup>116</sup> The minutes of the meetings of the Speyer cathedral chapter exist for the period 1500-1802 (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv, Abteilung 61: Protokolle, volumes 10929-11094). There may be some additional references to the title *Itinerarium antonini* in the minutes after 1600.

*solch buch anderswoe geschriben oder gedruckt gesehen*). There is no statement in the minutes that a request to borrow **Σ** was refused because a copy of most of its illustrated parts had been published in 1552.

There remain, then, two obvious possible explanations for the absence of any reference to **Σ** in the chapter minutes after 19.Jun.1550. The fourth possibility is that **Σ** was destroyed when the cathedral was plundered in 1552 and an unknown number of its books were burnt. The fifth possibility is that **Σ** was removed from the library without the knowledge or permission of the cathedral chapter. The circumstantial evidence tends to support the last possibility.

In August 1552, the collection of books in the library of the cathedral chapter was damaged, to an extent which cannot be determined now from the available documents, when the troops of Albrecht 'Alcibiades' (1522-1557: *Markgraf von Brandenburg-Kulmbach und Bayreuth*), invaded and occupied the town of Speyer from 21-24.Aug.1552.

The untitled cathedral chronicle, now known as the *Chronik des Hochstifts Speier bis 1570*,<sup>117</sup> records that, on Sunday 21.Aug., the troops of Albrecht began plundering the cathedral and the buildings of the chapter.<sup>118</sup> The clerics, on hearing of his approach, had fled on 15.Aug. taking some ornaments, treasures

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<sup>117</sup> GLA 65/625. A copy of this document was printed at Freiburg in 1608, under the title: *Historische Beschreibung aller Bischöffen zu Speyr, so viel deren von Anfang biss auff diese Zeit, wess Stammens und Names sie gewesen, wie lang sie gelebt und regiert, und was sich bey derselben Leben und Regierung fürnemblich zugetragen. Darbey ist auch ein Specification aller Altarien und Pfründen, in der Thumbkirchen, dessgleichen der Neben Stifft, aller Pfarren, Clöster, Convent, Biguten Häuser, und Capellen zu Speyr. Sampt angehengtem Register der Bischöffen. Durch den ehrenvesten hochgelehrten Herren, Philippum Simonis, eines ehrwürdigen Thumb Capitels daselbst gewesenenen Secretarium, mit allem fleiss zusammen getragen. Jetzund aber auss der Bibliotheca, und mit bewilligung des hochwürdigen edlen, hochgelehrten Herren Ioannis Pistorij, SS. Theol. Doct. Pöpstl. Heil. Praelati Domestici, Thumbprobsten zu Presslau, Röm. Keis. Maiest. Rhat &c in Truck verfertigt. Mit Römischer Keiserlicher Majestät Freyheit. In Freyburg im Preissgaw, durch Iosephum Langium. MDCVIII.* (Freiburg i.B., Joseph Langius, 1608). Philipp Simonis or Symonis (1532-1587) Philipp Simonis (Symonis) was appointed notary to the chapter on 07.Dec.1553 (GLA 61/10938, p.157), but he was not the author of the *Chronik* whose initial text, down to 1529, already existed at that time. It was then expanded by contemporaries down to the year 1584. <copies used: Trier, Stadtbibliothek: F/4/802; Konstanz-Wessenbergbibliothek: 6755/ Kirch.6, Fol.675, Fo.XIIIb. 80.2>.

<sup>118</sup> GLA 65/625, f.485v: *anno fünffzig zwey <=1552>*  
f.487v[7]-488r[19]: [...] *Marggraue Albrechten [...], streiff er das Landt am Reinstrom hinauff, nam Meintz ein, [...]. Volgendts erhub er <Albrecht Alcibiades> naher Speyr, name dieselb inn, vnd vf den einvndzweintzigsten Augusti, plündert er eintheils die Stifft, doch waren die geistlichen vast alle, mit den besten cleinottern vnd kirchen gezierden aussgewichen. Die schlagglocken lies er von dem Münster Turm herab werffen, was fur geld im gewelb der dhombkirchen, {dessen nit wenig von wegen empfangenem schreckens, vnd dass solicher überzahl vnuorsehenlich gescheen, plieben} wurde hinweg genommen, etliche brieff, Büch(er) vnd anders, so mann nit verführen khönden, auss de behälttern, in den garten der ietzigen Dhomb dechanej, so ahm dhorment ligt, geworffen, vnd verbrant, die Liberej {deren Hertzog Ott Heinrich Pfaltzgraf begert} in das Teutschhaus getragen, alda eingepackht, aber weil die Röm(ische) Kay(serliche) May(es)t(ät) mit einem grossen Kriegs Volckh vorhanden, vnd kürzte halb der zeit stehen plieben, vnd nit verführt worden. Dann ein forcht in dass Marggreuisch Kriegs Volckh khommen, das sie auch ettlich schiff mit fruchten, die sie von dar Stifft Speuher geladen, verbrent vnd im Wasser versenckht. [...] f.491v[2-11] Wie nun zeitung gehn Speyr khommen, das die Röm(ische) Kay(serliche) May(es)t(ät) mit einem mercklichen grossen Kriegs Volckh [...] schon bey Vllm seie [...] ist das Marggrauisch Kriegs Volckh so zue Speyr vnd aussershalb der Statt gelegen, den vier vnd zweintzigsten Augusti vfgebrochen, vnd vf die Neuwenstatt ahn der hardt [...] gezogen [...].*

and archival documents with them, but most of this material remained. The troops ruined, or burnt, archival documents and books and transported the books from the chapter library to the *Deutschordenshaus*<sup>119</sup> which was located south of the cathedral. There the books were packed into containers. Albrecht apparently intended to give these books to his step-father,<sup>120</sup> as explicitly stated in the *Chronik*,<sup>121</sup> and Ottheinrich was apparently in the camp of Albrecht near Speyer.<sup>122</sup> But the containers with the books were apparently not removed when the troops hurriedly withdrew from Speyer on Wednesday 24 August, on account of the nearby presence of approaching imperial forces.

Apart from the days Sunday to Wednesday, 21-24 August, when Albrecht had access to the library books, the available documents do not indicate what happened to the library between 15 July, when the members of the chapter left Speyer, and the time when they returned, which was at some time between 6 September, when they were still at Udenheim, and 22 September, when bishop Philipp II, who had died on 14.Aug.1552 at Zabern (Saverne, Fr.), was buried at the Speyer cathedral.<sup>123</sup>

The documents also do not indicate whether all the books which had been transported from the chapter library to the *Deutschordenshaus* were recovered and returned, nor do they record when this was done. The books had apparently not been returned by 10.Sept.1552 when the chapter ordered that all the locks which had been destroyed in its buildings by the occupying troops be repaired.<sup>124</sup>

The *Chronik* and the minutes both state that some archival material had been removed in anticipation of the cathedral being plundered,<sup>125</sup> and the minutes indicate that the chapter later attempted to obtain, from

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<sup>119</sup> the house belonging to the *Deutschordenskomturei Speyer*. The *Deutsche Orden* was a German order of crusader knights and hospitalers. Röttger, B.H., *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Pfalz. III: Stadt und Bezirksamt Speyer*. (München, 1934), pp.513-516.

<sup>120</sup> Albrecht was the son of Kasimir (1481-1527: markgraf von Brandenburg-Kulmbach) and Susanna von Bayern (1502-1543) who, after being widowed, married Ottheinrich on 16.Oct.1529.

<sup>121</sup> *die Liberej (deren Hertzog Ott Heinrich Pfaltzgraf begert)* (see note 118).

<sup>122</sup> Remling, F.X., *Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer*. (2 vols.) (Mainz, 1852-1854), v.2, p.323, n.997; Lehmann, *op.cit.* p.31.

<sup>123</sup> The minutes, GLA 61/10937,p.356 (Friday, 15.Jul.1552), noting the departure of the canons from Speyer: *Diser Zeit Jars hab(en) sich meine hern d(em) Marggrauischen vfrur halb(en) enteussert, also d(as)s mitler weil nichtzit gehandelt worden.*, are immediately followed, p.356 (Tuesday, 6.Sep.1552) by the minutes of the meeting held on: *Dienstag den sechst(en) Septembr(is) Anno. (etc)Lij. Seind die [...] verordnete vom Rhat zu Speir bej meim Ehrwurdig Dhom Capittel zu Vdenhaim ankomen [...]*.

GLA 67 (Kopialbücher) 363, 61 folia., containing copies of the documents, mainly letters, relating to the negotiations between Philipp II, bishop of Speyer, and Friedrich II, kurfürst v.d. Pfalz, concerning (f.1r): [...] *allerhandt Kriegssempörung, durch Margraue Albrecht(en) von Brandenburg (et)c vnd seine anhangende [...]*, indicates that, following the death of bishop Philipp II on 14 August (f.21v), negotiations were then directed to the dean at Offenburg on 22 August (f.53r), followed by meetings of the dean and chapter at Udenheim on 1 September and 5 September (f.61r). The next bishop, Rudolf von Frankenstein (c.1524-1560) was elected on 3.Oct.1552 (GLA 61/10938,p.365).

<sup>124</sup> GLA 61/10937,p.359 (Saturday 10.Sept.1552): *Den Fabrickmeist(er) ist beuolch gebenn alle schlösser Im stift so durch das Kriegsvolcks zerschlag(en) wiederumb zumach(en) damit all ding wieder beschlossen möge werden.*

<sup>125</sup> The prior removal of archival material is referred to in both the *Chronik* (*etliche brieff, Büch(er) vnd anders, so mann nit verfüreren khönden* see note 118) and in the minutes, such as GLA 61/10938,p.66], (19.May.1553) mentioning [...] *die brief(en) ausser Magdenburg dem schloss geen Mentz hinab gefuert In d(er) Marggrauische(en) vfrur [...] dieselb durch Inen erretten vnd vor dem brannd verfür worden, [...]*. The Schloss Madenburg, near Eschbach (PLZ.76831), had been bought

elsewhere, copies of items which had been destroyed.<sup>126</sup> The minutes contain no similar statements about any prior removal of library books, or any subsequent attempts to obviate deficiencies in the collection. And there is no record that a mandate was issued commanding the return of books, as had been previously been done and recorded in minutes on other occasions when books had been removed or borrowed and not returned.

As mentioned above, Ottheinrich had a long and considerable interest in the codex  $\Sigma$ . He clearly had a motive in seeking to obtain  $\Sigma$  and, in August 1552, he had the opportunity, when he was with his stepson Albrecht, who had the books transported from the library to the *Deutschordenshaus* where they were packed in containers for Ottheinrich. Although these containers were abandoned soon afterwards, when Albrecht hurriedly evacuated Speyer, it is probable that Ottheinrich had some access to the books being packed for him. And this may explain the entries found in inventories made in 1556 and 1566.

Following the death of his uncle Friedrich II (1482-1556: *Kurfürst von der Pfalz* from 1544), on 26 February 1556, Ottheinrich succeeded to the position as *Kurfürst* and moved from Neuburg to Heidelberg. Sometime thereafter, but in the same year, some of the contents of his chamber library at Neuburg were transferred to Heidelberg, where an inventory was made of the items which arrived from Neuburg. This inventory records two books with the title *Itinerarium Antonini*.<sup>127</sup> As noted above, the tracings on transparent paper, of the pictures in  $\Sigma$ , remained at Neuburg, where they were recorded in an inventory in 1557.

On the death of the childless Ottheinrich, on 12 February 1559, the *Schloss Neuburg* was included among the inheritance that was willed to his friend Wolfgang (1526-1569), (*Pfalzgraf und Herzog von der Pfalz-Zweibrücken* from 1532), whereupon most of the items which had been sent from Neuburg to Heidelberg ten years earlier, were sent back to Neuburg and, on 1.Dec.1566, an inventory was made of the items received at Neuburg from Heidelberg. This inventory also records the same two books with the title *Itinerarium Antonini*, but in more detail.<sup>128</sup>

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by bishop Georg in 1516 and was the administrative seat of the bishopric and the main repository of its archives.

<sup>126</sup> For example, the chapter at Strasbourg was asked to send copies of letters which had been destroyed at Speyer: GLA 61/10938,p.28 (18.Mar.1553): *andern der Stifftz brieffen durch die Marggrauische entwert worden.*

<sup>127</sup> München, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Neuburger Akten Nr. 2388, foll.63-93. (f.63r): *Hernach volgen die Büecher so zu meins gnedigsten herrn stuben vnd Camer vnd von Neuburg kommen seind, [...]* (f.67r): *It(em) ain pirmentin buech, mit dem wappen vnd Conterfet. Itinerarium Antonini. Item ain gar allt pirmentin buech Lateinisch. Itinerarium Antonini. [...]* (f.93r) *Otthainrich Curfurst s(sub)s(cr)i(psi)t.*

<sup>128</sup> München, Allgemeines Staatsarchiv, Pfalz-Neuburg Akten Nr. 165, foll.1-36. (f.1r): *Inuentarium vber weilend Pfaltzgraf Otthainrichs Churfurstens, e(t)c hochloblichster gedechnus Camerlibrorey, Souil von derselben Meim gnedigen fursten vnd herren, hertzog Wolfgang Pfaltzgrauen, e(t)c, zu Haidelberg, zu tail, Vnd gein Neuburg gefurt worden ist. Anno. Von neuem beschriben, .I. Xbris. A(nn)o. 1566. [...]* (f.2r): *Vertzaichnuss der buecher, Schriften vnnd antiquiteten, so meim genedigen fursten vnnd herrn, Hertzog Wolffgangen Pfaltzgrauen e(t)c von Hertzog Otthainrichs Pfaltzgrauens Churfurstens e(t)c hochlöblichster gedechnus, verlassung, zue Haydelberg zugestellet, vnnd herauf gehn Newburg gefüert worden seindt A(nn)o /*

In the inventory, the books are first divided into the four categories *Theologica*, *Philosophica*, *Astronomie buecher*, *Historien* and, within each of these, into bound (*Gebunden*) and unbound (*Ungebunden*) and, within each of these, in categories of size: *Folio*, *Quarto*, *Octavo*, *Decimo Sexto*.

(f.20v): *Historien. Erstlich was gebunden ist. in folijs.*

1. *Itinerarius Antonini pij, das allt recht Exemplar, vff Pirgament geschriben, mit allten Illumminierten figuren, gebunden, in bretter, mit weissen leder vberzogen.*

The two books entitled *Itinerarius Antonini* in the inventory of 1566 are the same two books as those entitled *Itinerarium Antonini* in the inventory of 1556, not least because in both instances they were listed together and, therefore, were apparently shelved together. The book described in 1556 as *mit dem wappen* is the book recorded in 1566 as the *Itinerarius ...new abgeschrieben ...durch dechant vnd Capittl zue Speyr Pfalzgraf Otthainrichen verehrt*, and is demonstrably the composite codex **M-W** (the summary statement in the inventory misleadingly implies that the entire codex was presented by the dean and chapter instead of only the codex **M**).

The inventories of 1556 and 1566 provide some incidental information about the second book, described in 1556 as the *gar allt buech* and in 1566 as the *allt recht exemplar*:

- First, it was a folio-size book, of approximately the same size as the codex **M-W**, since it is listed beside the latter among the books *in folijs* in the 1566 inventory where books are listed according to their size;
- Second, it had wooden covers covered in white leather or parchment;
- Third, its contents were written on parchment folia;
- Fourth, it was described as old and having old illuminated pictures
- Fifth, it had the title *Itinerarium antonini* (1556) or *Itinerarius antonini pij* (1566).

There is no statement in the 1566 inventory that this *allt* book came from Speyer, and the absence of such a statement contrasts, not only with the statement about the origin of the second *Itinerarium* (understandably if Ottheinrich acquired **Σ** dishonestly), but also with statements in the 1566 inventory identifying the origin of other books.<sup>129</sup>

There is no statement in the chapter minutes that the codex **Σ** had been destroyed. The minutes certainly do not indicate that the chapter either knew, or suspected, that Ottheinrich had acquired it; they record no request for its return, either during his lifetime or after his death; and they contain no indication that Ottheinrich was, after 1552, anything other than an important and honoured guest of the chapter.<sup>130</sup> But no conclusions can be drawn from the absence of such evidence in the chapter minutes. If the chapter knew that Ottheinrich had, in fact, acquired **Σ**, it would have realised that it was futile to ask for its return and that to do so would, perhaps, also have been and politically unwise, since Ottheinrich was the nominal protector (*Schirmherr*) of Speyer and its cathedral - potentially before 1556, as heir to the

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2. *Bemellter Itinerarius Antonini vff Pircament new abgeschrieben, vnnd Illuminiert, durch Dechant vnd Capittl zue Speyr Pfalzgraf Otthainrichen verehrt, in bretter gebunden, mit goldtfarbem leder vberzogen, vf dem schnit vnd leder vergullt, vnd mit messen Spangen beschlagen.*

<sup>129</sup> München, Allgemeines Staatsarchiv, Pfalz-Neuburg Akten Nr. 165. For example:  
 (f.3r]-3v): *XXII Libri Theologorum [...] kombt Hertzog Otthainrichen Pfaltzgrauen aus dem Carmeliter Closter zue Speyr.*  
 (f.6v[5-10]): *Hippolyti pont. Ro: [...] durch Frobenium zue Basel, Pfaltzgraf Otthainrichen pro Antiquitate geschenckt, [...];*  
 (f.21v): *Siben vnnd achtzig Colationes pro instructione praedicatoris [...] kombt Hertzog Otthainrichen aus dem Closter, Carmelitter ordens zue Speyr.*  
 (f.23r): *Historia captiuitatis Hierusalem [...] kombt Hertzog Otthainrichen Pfaltzgrauen aus dem Carmelitter Closter zue Speyr [...].*

<sup>130</sup> After Ottheinrich succeeded to the position of *Kurfürst* on 26.Feb.1556, the chapter honoured him with a significant gift on the occasion of his attendance at the *Reichskammergericht* at Speyer: GLA 61/10939, p.183, (30.Apr.1556): *Jouis vltima Aprilis. In Conuocatio(n)e der neben Stiff. Ist bedacht, dieweil d(er) new Churfurst hertzog Ott Heinrich persönlich vf vorsteende visitation der Ca(m)mergerichtz alher ko(m)men wurd, das Ir Churf(urstliche)n g(nade)n als Schirm hern I. fuder wein vnd xxx. m(a)l(te)r habern von wegen d(er) Clerisei zu shenck(en) vnd damitt zuuerehren. This gift of I. fuder wein vnd xxx. malter habern was more than the gift of I. fuder of wine and XX malter of oats given by the chapter to king Maximilian II (1527-1576) two months later (GLA 61/10939,p.201, (30.Jun.1556).*

*Kurfürst*, and when he succeeded to that position after that date. Under such circumstances, a statement about the loss of  $\Sigma$  is unlikely to have been recorded in the chapter minutes.

Despite the absence of such evidence in the chapter minutes, there is circumstantial evidence which makes it almost certain that this *allt* book was  $\Sigma$ .

- First, in both inventories it was listed as shelved beside the codex **M-W** which Ottheinrich received as a gift from Speyer in June 1550.
  - Second, its title was *Itinerarium antonini*, which is the title given in the minutes of the cathedral chapter both to the old exemplar and to any copy of it mentioned in those minutes.
  - Third, its description in the two inventories as the *allt recht exemplar* or *gar allt buech* is virtually identical to the term *alt exemplar* recorded in the minutes of the chapter meetings and to the terms *vetus atque archetypum exemplar* and *verum ac primitivum exemplar* in the prefatory note to **M-W**.
  - Fourth, the 1566 inventory describes the old exemplar as being bound in white leather. This was apparently regularly used for the covers of books in the cathedral chapter library in the 16thC, as is apparent from the covers in which the earliest books containing the chapter minutes themselves are still bound today, and from the description of another book, in the chapter library since 1502,<sup>131</sup> as being bound *corio albo*.<sup>132</sup>
  - Fifth, Ottheinrich had both the motive and opportunity to obtain this old exemplar on 21-24.Aug.1552 when the books of the chapter library were temporarily in the possession of his stepson in a location to which Ottheinrich had privileged access.
- Sixth, there is no reference to a book with the title *Itinerarium antonini*, or similar, in the chapter minutes after 19.Jun.1550.

It is almost certain, therefore, that in Aug.1552 Ottheinrich obtained the book described in the chapter minutes as the *alt exemplar* which we have identified as the codex  $\Sigma$  and that this book is attested as being in the castle at Neuburg in the inventory dated 1.Dec.1566.

The *Schloss Neuburg* subsequently passed into the possession of Philipp Ludwig (1547-1614), (*Pfalzgraf und Herzog von der Pfalz-Neuburg* from 1569), and Wolfgang Wilhelm (1578-1653), (*Pfalzgraf und Herzog von der Pfalz-Neuburg* from 1614), who resided at Düsseldorf from 1636 and had books transferred there from Neuburg. Under his successor, Philipp Wilhem (1615-1690), (*Pfalzgraf und Herzog von der Pfalz-Neuburg* 1653-1690, *Kurfürst von der Pfalz* 1685-1690), an inventory of the books at Düsseldorf was made in 1664,<sup>133</sup> which listed only the second *Itinerarium Antonini* recorded in 1566 - that is, the composite codex **M-W**. There was no mention of the first *Itinerarium*.

After 1.Dec.1566 there are no references, in any available document, to the codex  $\Sigma$  and this codex is not known to exist now. The belief that a fragment of this old exemplar exists today in Augsburg<sup>134</sup> is discussed elsewhere.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> See note 37.

<sup>132</sup> See note 38.

<sup>133</sup> München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Cbm.Cat.555: (f.III): *Inventarium. Aller, vndt ieder Buecher, welche in der furstlichen Bibliotheca sich befinden, vndt in Neun Sprachen, als Hebraisch: Griechisch, Latein, Italian(isch): Spanisch: Französisch: Hochdeutsch: Niederländisch: Vndt Pollnischer Sprach begriffen seindt. In Ordnung gestellt, vndt zuesammen geschriben, dem 29(ten) Monaths tage Julij. Anno 1664 à me, Joanne Casparo Silbermanno.* (p.65): *Itinerarium Antonini, in folio, rothvergolt leder, mit vergolten schnitt, auf Pergament, mit figuren, krepfen, vnd beschlägen.*

This library and inventory are described in Kellner, S. & Spethmann, A., *Historische Kataloge der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, München. Münchner Hofbibliothek und andere Provenienzen* (Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis Tomus XI) (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1996), pp.191-192.

<sup>134</sup> Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. I. 2, 2°, 37, (formerly Oettingen-Wallerstein, Schloss Harburg).

<sup>135</sup> See *Appendix 2*.