

THE *SUMMA THEOLOGICA* OF ANTONINO PIEROZZI : A BOOK HISTORY

Melissa Morris

Chainy Folsom

Nathan Oyler

Jeff Rydberg-Cox

Virginia Blanton



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Summa theologica

Author

Concerned with instructing priests on preaching and their pastoral duties, the Dominican friar Antonino Pierozzi (1389-1459) wrote his *Summa theologica* over a period of fourteen years, 1440-1454.¹ During this period, Pierozzi, more commonly known as Antoninus, actively participated in the Italian church, serving as the prior of the Observants of San Marco (1436-1444), the Vicar General of the Observants in Italy (1436-1445), and Archbishop of Florence (1445/6-1459).²

In compiling a *summa*, which is a compendium of theology, philosophy, and canon law, Antoninus created a practical guide for the clergy, covering issues related to confession, sin, the Bible, and simony.³ Antoninus died shortly after finishing the *Summa theologica* on 2 May 1459.⁴ Since he was a beloved archbishop, efforts to canonize Antoninus began shortly after his death with the composition of a *vita* by Francesco da Castiglione in 1460.⁵ Adrian VI canonized Antoninus on 31 May 1523 as a result of the admiration he inspired and posthumous miracles he is said to have performed.⁶

Contents

A prolific writer during his lifetime Antoninus, penned a number of treatises, both for private and public audiences, on how to live a virtuous

¹ Peter Francis Howard, *Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop of Antoninus 1427-1459* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1995), 1, 30.

² Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 30.

³ Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482-1523* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 174.

⁴ Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 177.

⁵ Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 177. See also Sally J. Cornelison, *Art and Relic Cult of St. Antoninus in Renaissance Florence* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

⁶ Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 202.

life.⁷ He collated these tracts along with material from his sermons to form the *Summa theologica* as a pastoral manual.⁸ A *summa* is a compendium of theology, philosophy, and canon law. One of the most famous was produced by Thomas Aquinas between 1265 and 1274. Antoninus' version, which was produced specifically for Dominicans in the context of the fifteenth-century reforms, focused on how clergy were to aid their parishioners, even as it provided details of a good life for readers.⁹

Audiences

Writing at a time of reform and renewal within both the Dominicans and the Roman Catholic Church, Antoninus first aimed at creating a better educated clergy that could effectively lead their parishes, but he also wrote to edify the laity, especially women.¹⁰ Texts such as the *Regola di vita cristiana (Dello stato vedovile)*, written for Ginervra de' Cavalcanti in 1441, and the *Opera a ben vivere*, written for Dianora and Lucrezia Tornabuoni in 1455, did not circulate widely and as a result, only one or two manuscripts of these works survive.¹¹ Antoninus' smaller works designed to instruct laity on specific principles were prolific and appealed to a large audience. Antoninus incorporated these more popular tracts into the *Summa theologica*.¹² As a leader in Florence, Antoninus often found inspiration to write some pieces about particular situations. One such tract, the *Tractatus de ornatu mulierum*, addressed the case of a Franciscan who refused an artisan absolution because the man manufactured "frivolous accessories" for women.¹³ Although inspired by specific circumstances, Antoninus phrased these writings in more general

⁷ Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 5, 19.

⁸ Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 54, 71-72.

⁹ William A. Hinnebusch, O.P., "Renewal and Reform in the Fifteenth Century," Dominican Friars, Central Province. 1975, accessed March 3, 2014, <http://domcentral.org/blog/renewal-and-reform-in-the-fifteenth-century/>.

¹⁰ Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 54-55.

¹¹ Stefanie Solum, "Attributing Influence: The Problem of Female Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Florence," *The Art Bulletin* 90, no. 1 (2008): 91, and Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 20.

¹² Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 21.

¹³ Thomas M. Izbicki, "The Origins of the *De ornatu mulierum* of Antoninus of Florence," *MLN* 119, no. 1 (2004): S143.

terms, making them useful to Christian society at large. The instructions on how to live a virtuous life were practical in nature and appealed to the public for developing their personal devotion, telling individuals what to believe and how to behave.¹⁴ Since they addressed multiple audiences, both lay and clerical, female and male, the writings of Antoninus became popular for instruction and for self-edification in fifteenth-century Florence. The intent was to help mediate between the theology of the church and the lives of men and women as they lived in specific social, economic, and political contexts.¹⁵ This practical combination of theology and moral values, along with the advent of the printing press, enabled the *Summa theologica* to spread beyond its initial audience of Dominicans and the clergy to the larger public of Florence. In time, the manual spread widely to readers across Europe.

Antoninus and his *Summa theologica* influenced later religious philosophers as they penned treatises of their own. Records exist that suggest clergymen, governors, and private individuals requested copies of this *Summa theologica*. The Florentine Provincial Synod of 1517 even required that the clergy both possess and study a *summa*, or compendium of theology, philosophy, and canon law. This requirement increased demand for Antoninus' version.¹⁶ As a result, priests regularly utilized the *Summa theologica* as a pastoral manual as Antoninus originally intended. Later Franciscan and Dominican authors examined the writings of Antoninus and credit the *Summa theologica* as a foundational source. In one example, Silvester Mazolinus de Prierio, author of the *Summa summarum*, acknowledged the eminent position of the *Summa theologica* within the medieval summist tradition.¹⁷

Manuscripts & Editions

The advent of printing near the end of Antoninus's life encouraged the wide-scale circulation of his writings, although some handwritten manuscripts of the *Summa theologica* do survive. There exist three

¹⁴ Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 29.

¹⁵ Nicholas A. Eckstein, "The Widows' Might: Women's Identity and Devotion in the Brancacci Chapel," *Oxford Art Journal* 28, no. 1 (2005): 114.

¹⁶ Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 26.

¹⁷ Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 28.

manuscript sets that contain all four parts of the *Summa*, four copies that contain volumes I and II, and two sets with III and IV.¹⁸ The first printing of Antoninus' *Summa theologica* occurred simultaneously in Venice 1477-1480 and in Nuremberg 1477-1479.¹⁹ Printing of this text continued, with nine complete editions produced in the fifteenth century, and another nine during the sixteenth century.²⁰ Partial editions featuring specific treatises contained within the *Summa theologica* were printed separately.

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions of Antoninus' *Summa theologica*:²¹

1477-1480	Venice, Nicolaus Jenson [^]
1477-1479	Nuremberg, Anton Koberger
1480-1481	Venice, Leonardus Wild and Reynaldus de Novimagio
1485	Basel, Michael Wenssler
1486-1487	Nuremberg, Anton Koberger
1487-1488	Speyer, Peter Drach

¹⁸ Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 22.

¹⁹ Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 25.

²⁰ Howard, *Beyond the Written Word*, 25.

²¹ As listed in the British Library's *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*: <http://istc.bl.uk/search/search.html?operation=record&rsid=37175&q=136>. Surviving copies of the *Summa theologica* are listed on the website. Entries marked with an asterisk (*) are listed in H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600 in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). Entries marked with a caret (^) are listed in Frederick Richmond Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North American Collections* (Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1973), no. A875. For details on this edition, see also Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, vol. 1, part 1 (Berlin: Josef Altmann, 1925), no. 1246; Walter Arthur Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum* (London: Henry Southern, 1902), no. 518; and Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Statsbibliothek zu Berlin, <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/GWEN.xhtml>, no. 02189. The most complete list of editions of the *Summa theologica*, printed in whole and in part, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries can be found in P. Stefano Orlandi O. P., *Bibliografia Antoniniana: Descrizione dei manoscritti della Vita e delle Opere di S. Antonino O. P. Arcivescovo di Firenze, e degli Studi stampati che lo riguardano* (Città del Vaticano: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1961), 295-305.

1490	Strasbourg, Johann Reinhard Grüninger
1496	Strasbourg, Johann Reinhard Grüninger
1500	Lyons, Johannes Clein
1503	Venice, Lazaro de' Soardis
1506	Lyons, Johannes Clein*
1511	Basel, Johann Amerbach and Peter Froben*
1516	Lyons, Johannes Clein*
1521	Paris, André Bocard, for Jean Petit
1529-1530	Lyons, Jacobus Mareschal, for Vincenti de Portonarius, Melchior Trechsel, and Gaspar Trechsel*
1571	Venice, Juntam Bernardum et socios
1581-1582	Venice, Apud Juntas, edited by Fr. Ludovico Rubeo veneto Ss. Johannis et Pauli alumno*
1591	Venice, Apud Juntas

Codicology & Paleography

Catalogue Entry

Antoninus, *Summa theologica* in IV parts, with a *Tabula* (Volume V) by Johannes Molitoris. ISTC No. : ia00875000

Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, Volume I, 17 July 1486; Volume II, 28 August 1486; Volume III, 12 February 1487; Volume IV, 23 July 1486.

Brown calf over beechwood boards; original brass bosses on Volumes II, III, and IV. Indication of two pairs of clasps on fore-edge catching on upper cover on Volumes II, III, and IV. Volume I binding has been repaired and the brass bosses have been removed.

Volume I: 290 x 418 x 80 mm. Volume II: 290 x 415 x 65 mm.
Volume III: 290 x 410 x 85 mm. Volume IV: 285 x 414 x 72 mm.

Provenance: Engelberg Abbey, Engelberg, Switzerland (15C-early 16C);
Conception Abbey, Conception, Missouri, USA (after 1873).

Although Anton Koberger (1440-1513) printed Antoninus' *Summa theologica*, Johannes Molitoris (1436-1475) composed a *Tabula*, or Table of Contents, placed at the beginning of Volume I. Credited with authorship of the *Tabula* in a colophon, Molitoris became closely associated with this version of the *Summa theologica*.

Printer

One of the premiere printers in Europe in the fifteenth century, Anton Koberger (1440-1513) had a significant impact on the publishing world, and he printed the four volumes of the *Summa theologica* used in this project in Nuremberg in 1486-1487.²² The first of his family to become a printer, Koberger established his printing shop in Nuremberg in the early 1470s, taking on ambitious projects such as Boethius' *De consolation philosophiae* in 1473 and the Latin Bible.²³ Successful in his printing ventures, Koberger established a large workshop for printing, made up of three adjoining buildings, housing up to twenty-four presses and employing more than 100 journeymen.²⁴ The size of such a printing workshop meant that Koberger needed to expand his business beyond the walls of Nuremberg. Koberger established a publishing, printing, and bookselling business that became the largest in Europe, with agents established in France, England, Italy, and Spain.²⁵

Surviving evidence does not explain the totality of book production in Koberger's workshop, but it may have produced either unbound quires, bound incunabula, or a combination of both, depending on the printing and intended customer. At the beginning of the publication process, Koberger acquired a number of existing book manuscripts in order to choose the best version of the text.²⁶ Although it is unknown which manuscripts, or exemplars, that Koberger used to compile this edition of the *Summa theologica*, early printers routinely worked with monastic libraries to obtain manuscripts. While working on the publication of a seven-volume edition of the Bible with Hugo de Sancto Charo's

²² Christoph Reske, "The Printer Anton Koberger and his Printing Shop," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 76 (2001): 101.

²³ Reske, "The Printer Anton Koberger and his Printing Shop," 98.

²⁴ Reske, "The Printer Anton Koberger and his Printing Shop," 100.

²⁵ Adrian Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Amsterdam: A. Asher., 1976), 43, 177.

²⁶ Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*, 176.

commentary, Koberger wrote in 1497 to his collaborator Johann Amerbach of the manuscripts obtained from Maulbronn.²⁷ In a later letter, Koberger additionally wrote to Amerbach that the Abbot of Heilsbronn complained of the condition of the manuscripts returned by the two printers.²⁸ Such correspondence demonstrates that Koberger and Amerbach shared exemplars, at least on the projects that they printed together. Separate correspondence sent to Amerbach by Alexius Stab, the curator of the library of St. Blasien, suggests the willingness of the Benedictine abbey to lend manuscripts to the printer.²⁹

Koberger's printing empire, which made him one of the wealthiest men in Nuremberg, ended in 1504 when he closed the press.³⁰ During his operation, Koberger produced more than 220 titles, mostly in Latin, that focused on texts of history, philosophy, law, and theology.³¹ Printed in Latin and German editions in 1493, the *Nuremberg Chronicle* remains the most recognizable of Koberger's printed books today.³²

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, booksellers regularly marketed Antoninus' *Summa theologica*. Koberger armed traveling salesmen with a prospectus of books in stock that specifically praised the attributes of this text and urged laity to purchase it by insisting that "all men who value their salvation should have it in their house."³³ Similarly, other booksellers recognized the popularity of the *Summa theologica* and kept copies on their shelves, restocking when necessary. The printers' willingness to keep copies of Antoninus' compendium on hand, rather than printing on demand, is some indication of the work's popularity among buyers. That multiple editions of this *summa* appeared

²⁷ Barbara Halporn, "Libraries and Printers in the Fifteenth Century," *The Journal of Library History (1974-1987)* 16, no. 1 (1981): 138.

²⁸ Halporn, "Libraries and Printers in the Fifteenth Century," 138.

²⁹ Halporn, "Libraries and Printers in the Fifteenth Century," 136.

³⁰ Reske, "The Printer Anton Koberger and his Printing Shop," 101, 103.

³¹ Reske, "The Printer Anton Koberger and his Printing Shop," 101.

³² Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*, 9, 175.

³³ Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*, 178.

throughout the later fifteenth and early sixteenth century confirm its attraction to buyers and readers.

Alexius Stab, the librarian at St. Blasien, which is associated with Conception Abbey's mother house, Engelberg, eagerly worked with Johann Amerbach in supplying manuscripts for printing; in return for their generosity librarians typically desired to receive a complimentary copy of the incunable which their manuscript helped to create.³⁴ St. Blasien and Engelberg Abbey possess an intertwined history and maintained a working relationship throughout the Middle Ages.³⁵ This relationship may have facilitated the exchange of manuscripts, and later incunabula, between the two monasteries.

Colophons

Colophons at the end of the *Tabula* and each of the four volumes identify Antoninus as author and Anton Koberger as printer, as well as Johannes Molitoris as the compiler of the *Tabula*. Since the whole work was printed over a period of eight months, individual colophons document the date each volume was completed. As is typical, the colophons are located at the end of each volume, with the exception of the colophon for the *Tabula* in Volume I. This colophon follows the text of the *Tabula*, signifying its end before the work commences; a second colophon ends Volume I. Transcriptions of these colophons appear below.

Summa theologica, Tabula, Colophon, 98v.

Tabula quintuplex totius Summe venerabilis domini Antonini compilata per dominum Johannes molitoris fratrem ordinis predicatorum conuentus coloniensis. Impressa ac iterum atque iterum a nouo emendata in officina sagacis viri Anthonii koberger Nurembergensis Anno legis gratie Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo sexto. die vero. x. kalendas Augusti.

Laus deo.

³⁴ Halporn, "Libraries and Printers in the Fifteenth Century," 136-140.

³⁵ Blaise Turck, O.S.B., *Founding the Monasteries of Rheinau, St. Blasien, Muri, and Engelberg* (St. Benedict, OR: Mt. Angel Abbey, 2001), 49.

Summa theologica, Volume I, Colophon, 285v.

hic prime partis Summe Antonini. ordinis predicatorum fratris clarissimi : archipresulis florentini finis extat. solerti cura emendate. opera ac impensis Anthonii koberger Nuremberg impresse: Millesimo quadringentisimo³⁶ octuagesimo sexto currente natiuitatis dominice anno. xvi. *vero kalendas* Augusti. *unum* deo omnium donanti. *gratiarum* infinitas (iuxta modulus nostrum) referimus actonnes.

Obiit idem sacre scripture interpres. Anno legi gratie: Millesimo quadringentesimo³⁷ quinquagesimo nono. vi. nonas Maii . cuius epithaphium sepulture hoc est affixum.

Hic est ille tuus pastor florentia : pro quo

Non cessas mesto spargere rore genas.

Patribus haud priscis. pietate Antoninus.

Impar: qui scripsit quicquid³⁸ litera sacra docet.

Summa theologica, Volume II, Colophon, 237v.

Anno incarnationis dominice. Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimosexto. Septembris *vero kalendas*. v. Pars summe secunda Antonini Archiepiscopi florentini. ordinis predicatorum eruditissimi Nurenberge per Anthonius koberger oppidi præfatii incolam quam diligentissime impressa. finit feliciter.

Summa theologica, Volume III, Colophon, 315r.

Pars summe tercia incltyti Antonini. florentini archiepiscopi sacre pagine interpretis eximii. Accuratissime per Anthonius koberger Nurembergensis. incolam his ereis figuris impressa. Anno salutis. M. cccclxxxvi. mensis *vero* decembris. *kalendas*. xiiii. finit feliciter.

³⁶ The correct spelling of this word should be “quadringentesimo.” Here in this colophon, it is printed incorrectly as “quadringentisimo.”

³⁷ Here the spelling of the word is correct.

³⁸ The correct spelling of this word should be “quidquid.” Here in this colophon, it is printed incorrectly as “quicquid.”

Summa theologica, Volume IV, Colophon, 255v.

Obiit ipse Antoninus vir *consiliorum* clarissimus romane urbis olim auditor *causarum* : tunc archipresul florentinus. ordinis *predicatorum* obseruantialis professor. Anno dominice incarnatonis Millesimoquadringentesimoquingiesimono. in vigilia ascensionis. ii. maii: miraculis clarens. Cuius preconia indies augentur ex salutari eius doctrina. summatim in epithauio suo congesta videlicet.

Hic est ille tuus pastor florentia : pro quo.

Non cessas mesto. spargere rore genas.

Patribus haud priscis. pietate Antonini impar.

Qui scripsit quicquid³⁹ litera sacra docet.

Quarta pars summe. excellentissimi. diuinissimi. seraphicique Antonini : florentinenis. quondam archiepiscopi. *sacrarum literarum* interpretis fidelissimi. miris modulis variis in punctis auspiciasime emendata quad possibile humanis solertiis extiterat: rursusque disertissime perspecta. Expensis attamen operaque laboriosa. Nec non singulari peruigilique cura spectabilis viri Anthonii kobergers Nurenbergensis. incole atque conciuus. In singulare perconium sancte & indiuidue trinitatis. totiusque celestis curie laudem. Presertim atque in maius presidium orthodoxe immarcescibilisque fidei catholice. his eneis characteribus effigiata. consummata & perfecta Anno salutis Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimoseptimo Idus vero. ii. mense Februarii.

Collation

Koberger printed the four volumes of the *Summa theologica* in a uniform manner, creating a cohesive set. All four of the volumes possess a combination of signatures that are 6 folios and 8 folios in length. Volume I contains 44 signatures total, which vary in length between 6 and 8 folios. The Tabula, often referred to as Volume IV in the scholarship on this edition of the *Summa theologica* but which is bound with Volume I of our set, begins and ends with signatures that contain 8 folios. The text of Volume I also begins and ends with signatures that contain 8 folios. Volume II consists of 39 signatures, and like Volume I and the Tabula,

³⁹ The correct spelling of this word should be "quidquid." Here in this colophon, it is printed incorrectly as "quicquid."

opens and closes with signatures that are 8 folios in length. All of the interior folios in Volume II have 6 folios. Volume III contains the most signatures of the set with 53 signatures. All of the signatures in Volume III are 6 folios in length, except for the final signature which has 8 folios. Volume IV consists of 42 signatures and returns to the pattern established in the first two volumes, opening and closing with signatures that are 8 folios in length. The interior folios of Volume IV all contain 6 folios.

Volume V (Tabula): 100 Bl. [a⁸b-p⁶q⁸]

Volume I: 186 Bl. [a-g⁸h⁶i⁸k-zA-D⁶E⁸]

Volume II: 240 Bl. [a⁸b-zA-M⁶N⁸O-P⁶Q⁸]

Volume III: 320 Bl. [a-zA-Zaa-ff⁶gg⁸]

Volume IV: 256 Bl. [a⁸b-zA-S⁶T⁸]

Type

Koberger is well known for creating his own fonts, and for the *Summa theologica* he utilized a rotunda font, identified as Koberger Type number 16 by Christoph Reske.⁴⁰

The print block consists of two columns on each page, measuring in total 186 x 293 mm. Individual columns measure 85 x 293 mm, with 17 mm between the two. Situated at the top of the page between the two columns, larger font headings signify the section of text included on individual pages. Twenty lines of text measures 83 mm.

Script

Marginalia, or handwritten notes, comments, and glosses, appear in each of the four volumes, marking a section of text that a reader believed was important. Underlining of text occurs in a few instances, and is largely accompanied by notes in the margin.

⁴⁰ Christoph Reske, "Eine neue Entdeckung zur Druckgeschichte der Schedelschen Weltchronik: Eine Analyse," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 72 (1997): 96.

Illustration & Decoration

Materials utilized in the illumination of letters indicate the status or wealth of the intended owner. The four volumes contain nine, large illuminated letters spread throughout. Red, blue, green, mauve, and gold leaf dominate in the ink colors used in decorating these letters. The illuminated letters are written in a Lombard script. Hand flourishes and drawings accompany three of these illuminated letters in the margins.

In addition to these large illuminated letters, smaller Lombard letters handwritten in red or blue mark the beginning of paragraphs throughout the four volumes. Capital letters throughout are lined in red. Specifics of each volume are detailed here.

The *Tabula* of Volume I begins on fol. 2r with an illumination of the letter O in the word “odia.” The letter is located inside of a square, colored on two sides by red and the top and bottom are colored in green. The letter itself is colored in blue ink and is surrounded by gold leaf in the interior of the square. The size of the illumination measures 34 x 32 mm, or eight lines of text. A hand-drawn flourish of a vine in red and green decorates the bottom left corner of the illuminated letter.

The main part of the *Summa theologica* opens with “Prohemium in hoc opus,” and the illuminated letter O begins the text “Odam magnificata” on fol. 102r. This illuminated letter is similar to the one in the *Tabula*. Located in a square colored in green on two sides and red on the top and bottom, the letter is colored in blue with a leaf design in white. The letter is surrounded by gold leaf. The illuminated square measures 33 x 41 mm, or ten lines of text. A flourish in blue and red ink decorates the lower left side of the square. Likewise, the first chapter is distinguished by an illuminated U on 104r. This illuminated letter begins the “Titulus primus,” with “Uenite audiet et narrabo.” The letter is placed within a square colored in blue on two sides and green on the top and bottom. The letter is colored with gold foil and surrounded by mauve. Within the U is an elaborate drawing of swirled white lines with blue leaves. The size of the illumination measures 84 x 82 mm, or twenty lines of text.

Volume II contains two illuminations. The first appears in the “Prologus secunde partis” at 2r. The letter U begins the phrase “Ud contribulasti.”

The letter is placed within a square colored on two sides in red, with the top and bottom in blue. The letter, which is painted on gold leaf, is dark green with a lighter green leaf pattern inside. The illumination measures 41 x 41 mm, or ten lines of text. The second illuminated letter appears on 5v, which opens the first chapter. The letter F begins the phrase "*Filius hominum usque quo graui corde ut quod diligitis.*" The letter is located within a square colored on two sides by red ink and on the top and bottom with green ink. The F is penned in dark blue ink and a light blue leaf pattern decorates the letter. The letter is surrounded by gold leaf inside the square. The illumination measures 83 x 81 mm, or twenty lines of text.

Illuminations in Volume III are similarly placed as those in Volume II: on the first page of the Prologue, on fol. 2r, and the first page of the first section, on fol. 7r. In the "Prologus tercię partis Summe," the letter A begins the phrase "Astitit regina a dextris." The letter is located within a square colored on two sides by green and the top and bottom by blue. The letter itself is colored in mauve, with a leaf pattern that has largely faded although some traces of the design remain. The letter is surrounded by gold leaf. The illumination measures 43 x 39 mm, or nine lines of text. The second illumination is located on "Titulus I." The letter B begins the phrase "Beatus es et bene tibi erit." The letter is located within a square colored by green on two sides and red on the top and bottom. The letter is dark blue with a grey leaf decoration. As with previous illuminations, the letter is surrounded by gold leaf. The interior of the letter is decorated with gold leaf that has faded to grey, with a pattern of diamonds and flowers. The illumination measures 83 x 82 mm, or twenty lines of text.

An illuminated B in "Benedictionem" begins the Prologue of Volume IV on fol. 2r. The B is enclosed within a box colored on all four sides with gold and two shades of green. The B itself is colored with mauve, and inside the box, the letter is surrounded by gold leaf. The illumination measures 42 x 46 mm, or eleven lines of text. Next to the illuminated letter appears a hand drawn flourish in green. The flourish measures 22 x 143 mm. Capital letters are lined with red throughout the text, with occasional red markings to signify the start of a new paragraph in the text. On the "Titulus primus," fol. 4r, an illuminated letter begins the main content of Volume IV. The letter C is illuminated in a large square colored in a block pattern on all four sides with two shades of red, two shades of green, and gold. The letter is colored in two shades of blue,

with floral drawings within the letter done in the lighter shade. Gold leaf surrounds the letter inside the square. The illumination measures 87 x 74 mm, or eighteen lines of text. To the left of the illuminated letter is a very elaborate drawing of vines and three suns along the margin. The vines are colored in mauve, green, blue, yellow, and white. The suns are colored in gold with small flourishes in green surrounding each. The drawing measures 35 x 230 mm. Large four-line initials throughout divide the text into sections. The markers alternate between red and blue, and measure 18 x 15 mm.

Similar initials and flourishes appear in other books printed by Koberger, suggesting an on-going partnership with a local painter or an in-house production.⁴¹

Paper & Watermarks

Paper and print began in China before spreading to Europe, with the first book being printed on paper in China by 868.⁴² Watermarks developed later, invented in the late thirteenth century at one of the Fabriano Mills in Tuscany.⁴³ The Fabriano Mills produced paper of superior quality, and the watermark was likely developed as a sign of that quality.⁴⁴ Inspired by the process of papermaking at the Fabriano Mills, a German merchant brought the skill to Nuremberg in 1392.⁴⁵

Individual leaves in Koberger's 1486-1487 edition of the *Summa theologica* measure 285 x 396 mm, though a number of shorter pages are found in Volumes I, III, and IV. This indicates each sheet is 570 x 396 mm. On average, the pages are 0.05 mm thick and were made of linen. Concerned with quality, Anton Koberger consistently worked to create

⁴¹ Karl-Georg Pfändtner, "Ein Buchmaler für Anton Koberger?" *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 84 (2009): 251-268.

⁴² George Mandl, "Paper Chase: A Millennium in the Production and Use of Paper," in *A Millennium of the Book: Production, Design & Illustration in Manuscript and Print 900-1900*, ed. Robin Meyers & Michael Harris (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1994), 181.

⁴³ Mandl, "Paper Chase," 181.

⁴⁴ Mandl, "Paper Chase," 182.

⁴⁵ Abdul Ahad Hannawi, "The Role of the Arabs in the Introduction of Paper into Europe," *MELA Notes*, 85 (2012): 28.

visually appealing books printed on well-made paper. Koberger contracted with the Amerbach printing family in Basel on several large projects during this time.⁴⁶ In a letter addressed to Hans Amerbach on 20 September 1499, Koberger advised his associate to contact Friedrich Brechter in Strasbourg to obtain quality paper.⁴⁷ Additionally, Koberger informed Amerbach that he should not print on paper that appeared to be of inferior quality. Shortly after, in a second letter addressed to Hans Amerbach on 8 November 1499, Koberger noted that Conrad Meyr and Friedrich Brechter, Strasbourg area paper dealers, sent Amerbach thirty-six bales of paper from Strasbourg.⁴⁸ A bale of paper at the close of the fifteenth century was made up of approximately five thousand sheets of paper. Koberger's 1499 shipment of thirty-six bales would be 180,000 sheets. To print ten copies of the 1486-1487 edition of the *Summa theologica* would require more than a bale of paper.⁴⁹

Papermakers often fashioned a design from wire to mark their paper. These wire designs were affixed directly to a mesh screen that formed the paper mold. During the paper making process the paper emulsion thinned around the designs forming a watermark in the sheet of paper. Researchers use watermarks to identify individual sheets of paper used in print production. In some instances watermarks can assist in the identification of papermakers. The papermaking mold, screens fashioned from thin wire, left discernable traces that assist researchers in identifying sheets used in making incunables. It is often possible to discern the impression of the chain lines, made from slightly thicker wire, used to support the thinner more numerous laid lines in the sheets of paper produced in the mold.

Watermarks found in the 1486-1487 edition of the *Summa theologica* indicate that Koberger utilized paper in bulk from a number of mills purchased from paper dealers such as Meyr and Brechter. The Conception Abbey *Summa* has 276 watermarks among its over one

⁴⁶ Barbara C. Halporn, *The Correspondence of Johann Amerbach: Early Printing in Its Social Context* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 5.

⁴⁷ Halporn, *The Correspondence of Johann Amerbach*, 227.

⁴⁸ Curt F. Buhler, "Last Words on Watermarks," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 67 (Spring 1973): 14.

⁴⁹ Halporn, *The Correspondence of Johann Amerbach*, 227.

thousand pages and pastedowns. More than a dozen different images are represented in the *Summa's* collection of watermarks.

A flower motif is utilized most often in the watermarks. Ninety-six of the marks are a six-petal flower that measures approximately 40 mm in diameter.⁵⁰ All of the six-petal flowers appear to be of common origin and very similar to Charles-Moise Briquet's image 6502, a watermark he notes found in the Anton Koberger's 1486 edition of Durandus' *Speculum judiciale*.⁵¹ Six-petal flower watermarks are found in all four volumes of the *Summa* and the *Tabula*. The watermark is the most common mark in Volume I (seven of twenty marks), Volume III (forty-two of sixty marks), Volume IV (thirty of eighty marks), and the *Tabula* (six of thirteen marks).

Watermarks with an eight-petal flower make the second largest collection of marks. Flowers with eight petals constitute a group of watermarks not a single design. While almost all the "eights" appear similar to one another in shape and size, approximately 60 mm in diameter, there are several different centers. Most "eights" have empty centers, but some feature crossed centers, single line centers, and centers with an offset "T" shape.⁵² Briquet states that paper with watermarks similar to image 6602, a plain eight, and 6605, an eight with a crossed center, are found in other works printed by Koberger.⁵³ Flowers with eight petals are found in Volumes II, III, IV, and the *Tabula*, but not in Volume I.

Another flower mark found in Conception Abbey's *Summa* is not found in Briquet's *Les filigraines*, a serrated six-petal flower with an offset "T" in its center. These are approximately 50 mm in diameter. A total of

⁵⁰ For an introduction to flowers in watermarks see Charles-Moise Briquet, *Les filigraines: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Mansfield Centre, CT: Maurizio Martino, reprint of 1923 Leipzig second edition), "Fleur-Fleuron," vol. 3 at 362-3. See Briquet, vol. 2, 369-372 for descriptions of six-petal flowers ("Fleur a six petales"), images 6469-6551.

⁵¹ Briquet, *Les filigraines*, 370.

⁵² A general description of eight-petal flower marks is found in Briquet, *Les filigraines*, ("Fleur a 8 petales"), vol. 2 at 373-5, images 6584-6616.

⁵³ Briquet, *Les filigraines*, 374.

eighteen serrated six-petal flowers are found in Volumes I, II, and the *Tabula*. At least one each of a seven-petal flower (Volume II),⁵⁴ and a nine-petal flower (Volume III)⁵⁵ are among the bouquet of watermark flowers found in the Conception Abbey's *Summa*. These watermarks are similar in size to eight-petal flower marks. Other flower marks, barely discernable under the print, petals uncounted, and centers obscured by text, have not been identified.

A transitional image found in Conception Abbey's *Summa*, a gothic capital "R" spouting a five-petal flower, is found in Volumes III and IV. Nineteen of the twenty-one "R"s are found in Volume III, the remaining two in Volume IV. The "R" is approximately 30 mm wide and 60 mm from its base to the top most petal. These "R"s are nearly identical and presumed to be the mark of a single papermaking shop. Nothing approximating the gothic "R" let alone a capital "R" with a flower is found in Briquet's compendium.⁵⁶

There are twenty-one sheets with a hand or glove mark, with seven each appearing in Volumes II, III, and IV, approximately 35 mm wide by 50 mm tall. Briquet notes that Koberger used paper with a "hand" mark in 1486. However, Briquet's image, however, is not quite the same as found in Conception Abbey's *Summa*.⁵⁷ This could be attributed to the inexactness of Briquet's method for recording watermarks or it might very well be a different mark altogether.

Thirty "lamb" marks are found in the *Summa* under examination. These are approximately 45 mm from tip of lamb's tail to outer ring of lamb's halo and 45 mm from bottom of lamb's hoof to top of the lamb's staff.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Briquet, *Les filigraines*, ("Fleur a 7 petales"), vol. 2, 372-3, images 6552-6583. Briquet states that the watermark image 6562 is found in a work printed by Koberger.

⁵⁵ Briquet, *Les filigraines*, ("Fleur a 9 petales"), vol. 2, 375, images 6617-6627. The watermark image 6622 is found in Koberger's work.

⁵⁶ Briquet, *Les filigraines*, ("Lettre R."), vol. 3 at 476-480.

⁵⁷ Briquet, *Les filigraines*, ("I. Main ouverte, les cinq doights ecartes."), vol. 3 at 544-562, images 10630-11079. See image 10653 seen in 1486 edition of Durandus' *Speculum judiciale*.

⁵⁸ Briquet, *Les filigraines*, ("Agneau pascal"), vol. 1, 18-22, images 1-63. None of the images in Briquet exactly match the "lamb" encountered in the Abbey's *Summa*.

This mark is found on paper used in Volumes III and IV. Of particular interest, this mark is always found on paper with a rough uncut unfinished bottom edge 9-15 mm shorter than all other paper used in Conception Abbey's *Summa*. These sheets are scattered at irregular intervals in Volume III. In Volume IV sheets with the "lamb" watermark make up the center bi-folio in each and every signature from signature y to T. The sheets featuring the paschal lamb are not only different in size but also different in color and texture from other sheets found in the *Summa*.

There are other watermarks found in Conception Abbey's *Summa*: a wonderful radiant eleven-point sun,⁵⁹ a single simple wheel with six spokes,⁶⁰ and an odd mark tagged "the curly cue." Several pages appear to have markings of some sort and have been flagged by the CODICES team as potential watermarks requiring further study and examination.

The paper with a bull's head watermark found on the front pastedown of Volume I⁶¹ and the eagle watermark found on the pastedowns of Volume IV⁶² are reused from previous Koberger printings.

Briquet mentions that the mark in image 24 was found in works printed in Nuremberg in the 1480s but he does not mention works printed by Koberger. Image 14 is the closest approximation of the image found in the *Summa* under examination but lacks the detail and fineness found in the mark at hand.

⁵⁹ Briquet, *Les filigraines*, ("Soleil"), vol. 4, 685-9, images 13903-13988. There are three "sun" marks found in Volume III (two) and the *Tabula*. None of Briquet's images resemble the images found in the *Summa* at hand. Each of the suns in Conception Abbey's *Summa* has two crossed curved lines inscribed in its center. A CODICES member named this feature the "basketball." Resolution of the detail of the center requires further examination.

⁶⁰ Briquet, *Les filigraines*, ("Roue"), vol. 4, 655-7, images 13221-13234. Images 13221-2 are a near match for the wheel but predate Conception Abbey's *Summa* by nearly a century.

⁶¹ Briquet, *Les filigraines*, ("Tete de Bouef"), vol. 4, 715-776, images 14096-15486. Bull's heads must constitute one of the largest groups of images in Briquet's dictionary. The images most like the bull's head of the *Summa*'s pastedown are found in 15152-15185 with image 15164 the closest match in the dictionary.

⁶² Briquet, *Les filigraines*, ("Aigle"), vol. 1, 22-35, images 64-340. "Eagles" are another large number of images described in the dictionary. Briquet states that Koberger used paper bearing an "eagle" mark similar to image 72 in 1474. This image bears no

The watermarks found in Conception Abbey's copy of the *Summa theologica* indicate that Anton Koberger used paper from a number of different papermakers. Unfortunately none of these papermakers are identified in either primary or secondary sources and the location of their workshops remain unknown. Briquet suggests many of these papermakers could be located in northern Italy or southwest France. Though Strasbourg and Nuremberg were centers of papermaking in the late fifteenth century none of the watermarks are known to originate from either location. The correspondence between Anton Koberger and Hans Amerbach tell us that Koberger obtained paper from dealers that acted as wholesalers, purchasing supplies from papermakers and selling large quantities of paper to printers.

Members of the CODICES project are currently searching watermark catalogs, in an effort to identify papermakers used by Koberger. The team is cataloging each sheet of paper used in the Abbey's *Summa* with particular attention paid to the spacing of chain and laid lines, and the location of watermarks in relation to these lines. Such measurements are necessary to identify the individual molds used in the making a sheet of paper. Most sheets used in the *Summa* bear no watermark. If these unmarked sheets were part of a larger sheet made in a mold with a watermark it is possible to match the chain and laid lines to those of a marked sheet. The chain and laid lines formula will serve as an identifier if the unmarked sheets cannot be matched to a marked sheet.

Assembly & Binding

The faster production of books following the introduction of the printing press greatly increased the number of texts that needed covers. To keep up with the demand, fifteenth-century binders compromised on the quality of their work, creating inferior quality 'publisher's bindings.'⁶³ Binders in Nuremberg specifically utilized publisher's bindings in their

resemblance to the pastedown in Volume IV of the *Summa*. Similar images, but no clear match, are found in the images 81-92.

⁶³ Nicholas Pickwood, "Onward and Downward: How Binders Coped with the Printing Press Before 1600," in *A Millennium of the Book: Production, Design, & Illustration in Manuscript & Print 900-1900*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1994), 62.

work beginning in the 1480s as a direct result of the voluminous production of Koberger's presses.⁶⁴ Yet clients still demanded luxury in the bindings of books, forcing binders to create a solution between quick production and quality work. Bindings affixed during the second half of the fifteenth century demonstrate the variety of bindings, ranging from simple, cheap bindings to the wooden-board bindings associated with gothic bindings.⁶⁵ These four volumes of the *Summa theologica* possess wooden-board covers in the style of the gothic bindings.

The physical characteristics of the binding of these books suggest a sort of early mass production. The size of the boards and the cover appear to have been made in a large quantity, with measurements based on one sample edition of each volume.⁶⁶ Since the binder created the cover, also known as a case, separately from the book, the process is known as "case binding."⁶⁷ In general, "a case binding (sometimes called a casing) is a hollow back binding with a visible joint, or French groove."⁶⁸ Binders created these bindings based on a standard size, not accounting for a variation in paper thickness or swell. As a result, in these volumes the bindings are incredibly tight and prone to cracking. After the completion of the text and the case, the book is affixed "by hinges or pasted-down board papers and pressed between brass-bound boards."⁶⁹ The use of such a binding process enabled artisans to more quickly produce cases for the rising number of books produced in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

Conception Abbey's four volumes of the *Summa theologica* were bound as a unified set, possibly by an Augustinian workshop.⁷⁰ The cover of each

⁶⁴ J. A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 173.

⁶⁵ Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, 173.

⁶⁶ Special thanks to Dr. Linda E. Mitchell and her expertise in bookbinding for providing analysis of the binding and covers of each of these four volumes.

⁶⁷ Laura S. Young, *Bookbinding & Conservation by Hand: A Working Guide* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2006), 6.

⁶⁸ Young, *Bookbinding & Conservation by Hand*, 5.

⁶⁹ Young, *Bookbinding & Conservation by Hand*, 6.

⁷⁰ Scott Husby, "Contemporary/Gothic Bookbindings Made in Germany (with Austria, Switzerland, and Strassburg)," in *Bookbindings on Incunables in American Library*

volume is made of brown calf over beechwood boards.⁷¹ The binding of Volume I measures 290 x 418 x 80 cm; Volume II measures 290 x 415 x 65 cm; Volume III measures 290 x 410 x 85 cm; and Volume IV measures 285 x 414 x 72 cm. Volumes II, III, and IV each have the original brass bosses and the remains of two clasps on the fore-edge. The original binding on Volume I has been inexpertly repaired and the original brass clasps were removed. Paper labels identifying each volume were added to the covers at an unknown date, possibly at the rebinding of Volume I. Two monks reorganized the holdings of the library at Engelberg in the seventeenth century, the librarian P. Adelhelm Knoll (d. 1629) and Abbot Placidus Knüttel (1630-1658).⁷² Wulf Arlt and Mathias Stauffacher suggest that another fifteenth-century manuscript held in the library, Engelberg Codex 314, was rebound under the guidance of one of these two men.⁷³ A paper label affixed to its cover for classification purposes likely accompanied this rebinding process.⁷⁴ It is possible that the librarian or the abbot added the paper labels to each of the four volumes of the *Summa theologica* during the seventeenth century as a part of the reorganization of Engelberg's library.

Stamps and images decorate the covers of each of the four volumes of the *Summa theologica*. Artisans utilized blind tooling to create these images in the leather covers.⁷⁵ A diamond shaped stamp, decorated in the interior of an edged rhombus by a heraldic double eagle with a crown above, lines the left and right edges of the cover. The online database of stamps, the Einbanddatenbank, notes that Kyriass connected this stamp to Nuremberg, specifically to the Nuremberg Charterhouse 1 Group.⁷⁶

Collections: A Selection,
http://www.bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Husby/Huntington/HEHL%20A-722/HEHL_A-722.html.

⁷¹ Information for the catalogue entry for this four volume set can be found in: P. Sigisbert Beck, ed., *Katalog der Inkunabeln in der Stiftsbibliothek Engelberg* (St. Ottilien: EOS-Verl., 1985), 45.

⁷² Wulf Arlt and Mathias Stauffacher, *Engelberg Stiftsbibliothek Codex 314* (Switzerland: Amadeus, 1986), 78.

⁷³ Arlt and Stauffacher, *Engelberg Stiftsbibliothek Codex 314*, 78.

⁷⁴ Arlt and Stauffacher, *Engelberg Stiftsbibliothek Codex 314*, 78.

⁷⁵ Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, 243.

⁷⁶ "Einbanddatenbank," Bibliotheken bei der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, <http://www.hist-einband.de/recherche/ebwerkz.php?rwz=b&id=103809s>.

Artisans used this stamp between 1464 and 1499, although the stamp has not been connected to an individual patron or symbol. A row of flower stamps of varying shapes and characters borders these stamps. A design of vines and plants surrounding a diamond brass boss decorates the center of each of the covers.

Similarities between book bindings of Koberger's printed works suggest that he used certain binderies. It is also possible some binderies operated within the Koberger workshop. Some scholars believe that the binder Franz Staindorffer worked in the Koberger shop, as he bound a number of Koberger texts between 1474 and 1486.⁷⁷ The covers of the four volumes of the *Summa theologica* used in this study resemble the cover of a Bible Koberger printed and Staindorffer bound in 1483.⁷⁸ The bosses, clasps, and some of the leather stamps are identical. The elaborate covers and bindings of books associated with Staindorffer suggest that these texts were intended for public display or for a wealthier audience.

Provenance

On fol. 2r of Volume I, centered over the text block "Monasterii Engelbergensis" is hand written in gold, signifying the book's original ownership. Later ownership stamps are included on fol. 1r. One stamp in black ink consists of a circle surrounding the words "Bibliotheka Engelberg." The second stamp in black ink is ovoid containing the phrase "Bibliotheca Conception" with a cross inside.

Engelberg Abbey, Engelberg, Switzerland, <http://www.kloster-engelberg.ch/>

Conrad, Count of Seldenburg founded the Benedictine abbey of Engelberg in 1082, and in the twelfth century, a community of nuns was

⁷⁷ Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, with David S. Areford, Richard S. Field, and Peter Schmidt, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 68.

⁷⁸ Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking*, 68. An image of the cover of the Bible can be found on page 69.

added, making Engelberg a double house.⁷⁹ Led by Adelhelm (abbot 1122-1131), the initial group of monks came from the Abbey of St. Blasien in the Black Forest.⁸⁰ Under the guidance of Frowin (abbot 1143-1178), Engelberg expanded and added a large scriptorium, and it is clear from surviving evidence that both the female and male communities had scriptoria.⁸¹ Abbot Frowin intentionally developed Engelberg's school within the context of the twelfth-century reform movement.⁸² Frowin's tenure coincided with the rise of urban schools throughout Europe, and he created an abbey school that utilized the pagan classics to teach the liberal arts.⁸³ The high quality of books produced in Engelberg's male scriptorium led to its school of writing being celebrated throughout Europe during the twelfth century.⁸⁴ The copying of texts built up the quantity of manuscripts available to the monks, while creating an atmosphere in which to train scribes. Frowin himself contributed to the production of the scriptorium, copying parts of texts while personally composing two works, *De laude liberi arbitrii* and *Explanatio dominicae orationis*.⁸⁵ Abbot Frowin passed his commitment to the scriptorium on to two of his successors who continued to oversee the production of illuminated manuscripts at Engelberg. Berchtold (abbot 1178-1197) and Heinrich (abbot 1197-1223) encouraged the production of instruction manuals that indicated how the monks were to live.⁸⁶ The scriptorium at Engelberg thrived under the guidance of these three abbots, stagnating in production following the death of Abbot Heinrich.

⁷⁹ Turck, *Founding the Monasteries of Rheinau, St. Blasien, Muri, and Engelberg*, 48-49, and Susan Marti, "Engelberg," in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John M. Jeep (New York: Garland, 2001), 204.

⁸⁰ Turck, *Founding the Monasteries of Rheinau, St. Blasien, Muri, and Engelberg*, 53.

⁸¹ Marti, "Engelberg," 204, and Judith Raeber, "Illuminierte Psalterien aus den Innerschweizer Doppelklöstern Muri und Engelberg vom 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert," *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*, ed. F. O. Büttner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 223-238, plates 204-219.

⁸² Hugh Feiss, O.S.B., "Frowin of Engelberg: His Monastery, His Scriptorium and His Books: Part I," *The American Benedictine Review* 56 (2005): 70.

⁸³ Feiss, "Frowin of Engelberg: Part I," 79.

⁸⁴ Turck, *Founding the Monasteries of Rheinau, St. Blasien, Muri, and Engelberg*, 62.

⁸⁵ Hugh Feiss, O.S.B., "Frowin of Engelberg: His Monastery, His Scriptorium and His Books: Part II," *The American Benedictine Review* 56 (2005): 194-212, at 194, and Martin Steinmann, "Die Bücher des Abtes Frowin, Ein Scriptorium in Engelberg?" *Scriptorium* 54, no. 1 (2000): 9-13.

⁸⁶ Feiss, "Frowin of Engelberg: Part I," 84.

The library, archives, and treasury of the male community survived a fire in 1729 that destroyed almost all of the abbey buildings,⁸⁷ but was later looted by French soldiers in 1798.⁸⁸ The nuns had moved to nearby Sarnen in 1615, which is why some of their books have survived.⁸⁹ While some of the male library's medieval manuscripts have been identified by their marks, others are known only through a list compiled by Abbot Frowin.⁹⁰ The library has since been reconstituted and now houses some 300 medieval manuscripts and 300 incunabula.⁹¹ Around forty of the manuscripts produced under the guidance of Abbot Frowin survive today in the Engelberg Abbey library.⁹² The E-Codices project digitized these forty codices in 2011-2012, making "Frowin's Library" digitally available.⁹³ This collection contains works written by the early Church fathers and also contemporary twelfth-century theological writings.

It is believed that the four volumes of Antoninus' *Summa theologica* were added to the Engelberg library soon after they were printed in 1486-1487, as the ownership inscription is in a fifteenth-century hand.

Koberger advertised his edition of Antoninus' *Summa theologica* via a broadside and the appearance of this book in several monastic libraries suggests it was a regular purchase for monastic communities.⁹⁴ One copy

⁸⁷ Urban Hodel and Rolf De Kegel, "Engelberg (Kloster)." *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D8557.php>.

⁸⁸ Alston, George Cyprian. "Abbey of Engelberg." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 5 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1909), accessed November 26, 2013, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05429b.htm>.

⁸⁹ Raeber, 224-225.

⁹⁰ Martin Steinmann, "Abt Frowin von Engelberg (1143-1178) und seine Handschriften," *Der Geschichtsfreund: Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins der fünf Orte Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden ob und nid dem Wald und Zug* 146 (1993): 7-36.

⁹¹ Kloster Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, <http://www.kloster-engelberg.ch/kloster/stiftsbibliothek/>.

⁹² Marti, "Engelberg," 204.

⁹³ E-Codices, Sub-project: Frowin's Library, http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/subproject/frowins_library/.

⁹⁴ Christie's sale catalogue, 28 June 1995, Sale 5424, lot 33. This copy's hand-written ownership inscription has been erased but it was owned by a monastery. Christie's Auction House, <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/antoninus-florentinus-summa-theologica-partes-i-iv-265760->

was owned by the Augustinian Canons of Rebdorf in Eichstätt and another by a monastery at Chiemsee, likely that of the Augustinian Canons.⁹⁵

Conception Abbey, Conception, Missouri, USA,

<http://www.conceptionabbey.org/>

The Rare Book Room at Conception Abbey in Conception, Missouri, currently houses the four volumes of the *Summa theologica* used in this project. The volumes arrived at Conception Abbey at its foundation in 1873. Invited by Bishop Hogan from St. Joseph, Missouri, Abbot Anselm Villiger decided to help found a Benedictine foundation in America in 1872.⁹⁶ Political unrest throughout Europe affected Switzerland after the French Revolution, encouraging the foundation of a monastery in the United States as a possible haven for the monks.⁹⁷ Two missionaries, Father Frowin Conrad and Father Aldhelm Odermatt, departed Engelberg Abbey on 27 April 1873.⁹⁸ In Missouri, Abbot Martin Marty served as the patron of the foundation to be built at Conception, who pushed for extensive monetary support from Engelberg.⁹⁹ Aware of the declining situation in Switzerland, Father Frowin pressed for further support. Recognizing that oppression of the Swiss monasteries could destroy the priceless valuables housed there, Father Frowin suggested that Engelberg Abbey send the valuable items in the library to Conception in order to save them from confiscation.¹⁰⁰ A number of items, including the *Summa*

[details.aspx?from=salesummary&intObjectID=265760&sid=c75cd26e-2335-4194-9775-309785c9b729](http://www.conceptionabbey.org/details.aspx?from=salesummary&intObjectID=265760&sid=c75cd26e-2335-4194-9775-309785c9b729).

⁹⁵ For the Rebdorf copy, see the entry in Ilona Hubay, *Incunabula Eichstätter Bibliotheken* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1968), 18. The copy from Chiemsee is available online at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, [http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set\[mets\]=http%3A%2F%2Fdaten.digital-sammlungen.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00040835_mets.xml](http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set[mets]=http%3A%2F%2Fdaten.digital-sammlungen.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00040835_mets.xml).

⁹⁶ Edward E. Malone, O.S.B., *Conception: A History of the First Century of the Conception Colony, 1858-1958; A History of the First Century of Conception Abbey, 1873-1973; A History of New Engelberg College, Conception College, and the Immaculate Conception Seminary, 1886-1971* (Omaha: Interstate Printing, 1971), 47.

⁹⁷ Malone, *Conception*, 47.

⁹⁸ Malone, *Conception*, 49.

⁹⁹ Malone, *Conception*, 50, 52.

¹⁰⁰ Malone, *Conception*, 52.

theologica and other incunabula, which arrived at Conception were the result of this request.

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