

# Fragment of a Carolingian manuscript containing Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel's *Liber in partibus Donati* found in the University Library in Poznań

## Fragment karolińskiego rękopisu z tekstem *Liber in partibus Donati* Smaragdusa z Saint-Mihiel odnaleziony w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Poznaniu

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**Abstract.** In 2018, a fragment of a manuscript written in Carolingian minuscule was found during research on reused materials in bindings in the Early Printed Books Collection of the University Library in Poznań. The fragment had been used as the back endsheet in the binding of Hieronymus Dungresheim's *Conclusiones cum rationibus ad partes summe theologie* [...] *Thome Aquinatis*, Leipzig: W. Stöckel, 1516 (shelfmark SD 734 II). The manuscript contained the text of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel's *Liber in partibus Donati*. The fragment was given the shelfmark Rkp 8060. **Article's objectives:** to indicate this text's meaning within the manuscript tradition relating to *Liber in partibus Donati*, to provide a codicological and palaeographical description of the find, and to explain how the item found its way to Poznań. **Methods:** content analysis and collation of the text with a critical edition (*Smaragdus. Liber in partibus Donati*, eds. B. Löfsted, L. Holtz, A. Kibreŧ, CCCM, vol. 68, Turnhout 1986); codicological and palaeographical analyses of the manuscript fragment; tegumentological analysis of the binding of the volume in which the manuscript was reused; and research into the provenance of the volume. **Conclusions:** The text on the found fragment is closest to the tradition transmitted by the manuscript Paris BNF lat. 6400B. The parchment was arranged and prepared for inscription in insular style, but palaeographical analysis indicates that the fragment was inscribed in continental Carolingian minuscule, presumably in one of the centres for writing in the north-western part of the Frankish kingdom (Neustria, Orléans-Fleury region?). The manuscript can be dated to the mid-9th century. The binding of the volume in which the fragment was found was made in one of the bookbinding workshops in Erfurt around 1518.



Analysis of the provenance of the volume shows that the book was owned by the Carthusian library in Erfurt until 1810. After the dissolution of the monastery, it was transferred to the Erfurt University Library. In 1907, the book was transferred to the Königliche Bibliothek Berlin (shelfmark Cw 855). It was acquired by the University Library in Poznań after 1945.

**Keywords:** Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Latin grammar, manuscript, 9th century, fragmentology, bookbinding, palaeography, Carolingian minuscule, codicology, early printed books.

The study of reused materials in bookbindings has a relatively long history, but has clearly accelerated since the beginning of the 21st century.<sup>1</sup> Many scholarly institutions, in close collaboration with libraries and archives around the world, are implementing projects to systematically inventory such fragments and to publish research data online in open access.<sup>2</sup> Increasingly, modern techniques are being experimented with that allow non-invasive research of fragments “in situ.”<sup>3</sup> The term “fragmentology” has been adopted for this emerging sub-discipline.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the state of research and more important literature, see recently: K.K. Figaszewska, *Fragmenty rękopisów średniowiecznych – stan badań i perspektywy badawcze. Średniowieczne fragmenty zachowane w Archiwum Państwowym w Szczecinie*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze” 2019, no. 57, pp. 99–101. See also *Fragment und Makulatur. Überlieferungsstörungen und Forschungsbedarf bei Kulturgut in Archiven und Bibliotheken*, eds. H.P. Neuheuser, W. Schmitz, Wiesbaden 2015; A. Szulc, “Tegumina de chartis”. *Oprawy z kart pergaminowych rękopisów średniowiecznych w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Poznaniu*, in: *Zbiory polskie*, ed. A. Wagner, Toruń 2021, pp. 27–49. C. Sojer, *Fragmente – Fragmentkunde – Fragmentforschung*, “Bibliothek – Forschung und Praxis” 2021, no. 3, pp. 533–553; A. Kozak, J. Łukaszewski, *Fragmenty Reguły pasterskiej Grzegorza Wielkiego z przełomu XI i XII wieku odkryte w księdze ławniczej Krzywina z lat 1512–1580*, “Roczniki Historyczne” 2022, vol. 88, pp. 185–187; M. Opalińska, P. Pludra-Żuk, E. Chlebus, *The Eleventh-Century “N” Psalter from England: New Pieces of the Puzzle*, “Review of English Studies” 2023, 74, pp. 203–221; *Codices et fragmenta. Średniowieczny kodeks rękopiśmienny w aspekcie historycznego trwania*, eds. M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, M. Czyżak, Toruń 2024.

<sup>2</sup> Two example projects: “Fragmentarium. Laboratory for Medieval Manuscript Fragments <https://fragmentarium.ms/pages/about/digital-laboratory>” (accessed 25.05.2024); “Guide to Medieval Manuscripts in Polish Collections <https://manuscripta.pl/>” (accessed 24.05.2024) *ibid.* tab “Fragments” and a rapidly growing literature on the subject, updated on an ongoing basis.

<sup>3</sup> See K. Kwaśniewicz, *Rzecz o konserwacji archiwaliów w Polsce w XX i XXI wieku*, Warszawa 2022, p. 157; D. Jutrzenka-Supryn, J. Czuczko, *Digitalizacja zabytkowych księzek – nowe spojrzenie, nowe możliwości*, “Notes Conservatorski” 2023, no. 25, pp. 75–93; E. Chlebus, *Szersze spojrzenie na badania makulaturowe na przykładzie listu odpustowego Enocha Kobelau z 1488 roku*, in: *Książka w Prusach Królewskich*, Pelplin 2023, pp. 147–170.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. P. Pludra-Żuk, *Czy potrzebna nam fragmentologia? Na marginesie pierwszego numeru pisma “Fragmentology”*, “Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki” 2019, no. 4, pp. 173–82.

For several years now, at the University Library in Poznań (hereafter ULP), various types of “added elements”<sup>5</sup> in book bindings have been regularly recorded during the cataloguing of manuscripts, incunabula and early prints. These elements are then noted in the library’s online catalogue.<sup>6</sup> In 2018, during the course of such work, attention was drawn to an edition of Hieronymus Dungresheim’s *Conclusiones cum rationibus ad partes summe theologicæ doctoris sancti Thome Aquinatis*, Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel, 1516, 4° (shelfmark SD 734 II).<sup>7</sup> The protective back sheet, which was also the protective back endsheet of the binding board for this volume, was a parchment bifolium written in Carolingian minuscule.<sup>8</sup> The manuscript fragment was peeled off and incorporated into the ULP manuscript collection (now bearing the shelfmark Rkp 8060<sup>9</sup>). It turned out that the found manuscript contained the text of a Latin grammar based on Donatus’ *Ars Maior*, which we were able to identify as a fragment of *Liber in partibus Donati*<sup>10</sup> by Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel. The purpose of this article is to describe this find, placing this text within the manuscript tradition associated with it, carrying out codicological and palaeographical analyses of the manuscript fragment, and explaining how it became part of the ULP’s holdings.

<sup>5</sup> Definition after: E. Chlebus, *Elementy przybyszowe w oprawach późnogotyckich – formy, funkcje, terminologia*, “Roczniki Biblioteczne” 2017, vol. 61, 67–84.

<sup>6</sup> Currently (as of May 2024), the incunabula collection (445 items) and a few percent of the old and rare books collection (the total is over 75,000 volumes) have been almost fully surveyed. A total of 298 items with reused materials in the bindings were registered. The description is of course abbreviated – it includes reused material (manuscript / print), the medium (parchment / paper), the dating, the language and, if possible, the identification of the text or the topotypographic identification of the print. Finds are divided almost equally – half are fragments of manuscripts, half prints. Preliminary research on manuscript fragments at the ULP has recently been summarised by A. Szulc, op. cit.

<sup>7</sup> *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1–22, Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1983–1995: <https://www.vd16.de> (hereafter cited as VD16), no. T 1023.

<sup>8</sup> See E. Chlebus, *Elementy przybyszowe*, p. 76, diagram at Fig. 6a.

<sup>9</sup> For the careful separation, preservation of the bifolium as well as the conservation of the volume, I would like to thank Renata Kosiniec of the ULP Book Restoration Workshop.

<sup>10</sup> *Smaragdus. Liber in partibus Donati*, eds. B. Löfsted, L. Holtz, A. Kibre†, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, vol. 68, Turnhout 1986; cf. also A. Kibre, *Prolegomena to the unpublished text of Smaragdus’ Commentary on Donatus De partibus orationis*, Chicago 1930; L. Holtz, P.–Y. Lambert, *La tradition ancienne du Liber in partibus Donati de Smaragde de Saint-Mihiel (avec une note additionnelle de Pierre-Yves Lambert: Les gloses en vieux-breton à la grammaire de Smaragde)*, “Revue d’Histoire des Textes” 1986, no. 16, pp. 171–195.

It is worth beginning with a few words about the figure of Smaragdus himself (latter half of 8th c.–ca. 830). This learned monk, although closely associated with the court of Charlemagne and Louis I the Pious, is not as well-known as such figures as Alcuin or Rabanus (or Hrabanus) Maurus. His origins were on the Iberian Peninsula or Septimania, and he most likely had Visigothic roots.<sup>11</sup> Around 812 he became abbot of the monastery of Saint-Mihiel on the river Meuse, near Verdun. He took an active part in implementing the rulings of the Synods of Aachen (816–819), which reformed and standardised monastic life in the Frankish Kingdom according to the Benedictine Rule.<sup>12</sup>

Smaragdus left behind several written works. It is believed that the earliest was the above-mentioned commentary on Donatus' grammar, written around 805. He also commented on the books of the Psalms (*Expositio Psalmorum*) and on the Gospels and Apostolic Epistles (the so-called *Expositio Libri Comitit* – a work that was very popular at the time<sup>13</sup>). He was likewise the author of extensive and popular treatises intended for monks, including a commentary on the Benedictine Rule (*Expositio in Regulam s. Benedicti*)<sup>14</sup> and *Diadema Monachorum* (a compilation of edifying excerpts from the works of such authors as Isidore of Seville, Bede the Venerable and Saint Gregory the Great, intended for evening reading in a monastic chapter-house). He also wrote what is believed to be Europe's first prince's mirror (*specula principum*), entitled *Via regia*. The work contained moral and spiritual advice for Louis the Pious, then King of Aquitaine.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> To date, the most important study on the life and works of Smaragdus remains that of Fidel Rädle, *Studien zu Smaragd von Saint Mihiel*, München 1974 (the most important older literature is collected here). See also <https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/autor/4813> (accessed 23.05.2024).

<sup>12</sup> M. Ponesse, *Smaragdus of St Mihiel and the Carolignian Monastic Reform*, "Revue Bénédictine" 2006, no. 116, pp. 367–392.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. D. Ganz, *The Study of Caroline Minuscule 1953–2004*, "Archiv für Diplomatik Schriftgeschichte Siegel- und Wappenkunde" 2004, vol. 50, p. 392.

<sup>14</sup> *Smaragdi abbatis Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti*, eds. A. Spannagel, P. Engelbert, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 8, Siegburg 1974, pp. XXII–XXIX; A. Dubreucq, *Smaragde de Saint-Mihiel et son temps: enseignement et bibliothèques à l'époque carolingienne*, "Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne" 1986, no. 7, pp. 7–36; T. Kardong, *The Earliest Commentator on RB: Smaragdus on Benedict's Prologue*, "American Benedictin Review" 2004, no. 55, pp. 171–193; M. Ponesse, *Editorial practice in Smaragdus of St Mihiel's commentary on the Rule of St Benedict*, "Early Medieval Europe" 2010, 18 (1), pp. 72–78; idem, *Standing Distant from the Fathers: Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel and the Reception of Early Medieval Learning*, "Traditio" 2012, 67, pp. 71–99.

<sup>15</sup> F. Rädle, op. cit., pp. 62–68.

Louis Holtz has pointed out that Latin was for Smaragdus the language of salvation, and therefore, to achieve salvation, this language had to be learned.<sup>16</sup> This was the purpose behind the writing of *Liber in partibus Donati*. Smaragdus' text is a comprehensive commentary on an extremely popular textbook written by the Roman grammarian Aelius Donatus, who lived in the 4th century: his so-called *Ars Grammatica* – or more precisely, its second part, titled *Ars Maior*<sup>17</sup> – addressed to students who had already acquired the basics of declension and conjugation. In compiling his textbook, Smaragdus drew profusely on earlier ones, notably Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae* (5th/6th century) and Pompeius Grammaticus' *Commentarium Artis Donati* (5th century).<sup>18</sup>

Smaragdus's textbook includes a preface and 15 unevenly sized treatises (*Tractatus*), each preceded by a rhymed preface (*Praefatio*) and an enumeration of the chapters (*Capitula*)<sup>19</sup> contained in each treatise. As many as seven treatises deal with nouns (qualification, gradation, genus, number, shape, case), while in the remaining eight Smaragdus discusses the remaining parts of speech (pronouns, verbs, inflected verbs, adverbs, participles, conjunctions, prepositions and exclamations).

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<sup>16</sup> L. Holtz, *Nouveaux prolégomènes à l'édition du "Liber in partibus Donati" de Smaragde de Saint-Mihiel*, "Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France" 1983, pp. 157–170, here p. 165.

<sup>17</sup> Traditionally, *Ars Grammatica* was divided into two parts *Ars Minor* and *Ars Maior*. The text of the first part was composed in the form of a dialogue – questions and answers (the famous incipit: *Partes orationis quot sunt? Octo.*). An extremely popular text both in the Middle Ages and in modern times, it has been the subject of many commentaries and adaptations, see *Donati Ars Grammatica*, ed. by H. Keil, Lipsiae 1864, pp. 353–402; L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical. Etude sur l'Ars de Donat et sa diffusion (IVe–IXe siècle) et édition critique*, Paris 1981. On early modern Latin grammars, including the "Donats", see the project *Handbuch frühneuzeitlicher Grammatiken. Handbook of Early Modern Grammars* eds. A. Kärnä, A. Luhtala, J. Malinen, L. Marjamäki, T. Schaßan, Helsinki-Wolfenbüttel 2013: <https://diglib.hab.de/ebooks/ed000171/start.htm> (accessed 12.11.2022).

<sup>18</sup> L. Holtz, *Pédagogie et doctrine: Smaragdus et ses Avctores*, in: *Smaragdus. Liber in partibus Donati*, p. XLI.

<sup>19</sup> Only the short treatise no. 6, *De Figura Nominum*, was not divided into *capitulae*.

## The place of the “Poznań” fragment within the manuscript tradition of Smaragdus’ *Liber in partibus Donati*

The bifolium found contains fragments of three treatises on nouns: *De Genere* (marked in the critical edition as 4T), *De Numero* (5T), and the beginning of the versified preface to the treatise *De Figura* (6P). The text preserved on folio 1r begins with the words: *[car]mine delectabatur luctuoso, haec enim tragoediae intelligitur ... ruricola, celicola [.].ola homicida [...]* (4T footnote to lines 61–65 and pp. XXV–4T 94 [due to the way the sheet was cut, the last three words are missing]); the text on folio 1v begins with the words: *habemus & promiscua ut talpa damma – et in praeruptis silicibus* (4T 95–130/131, [due to the way the sheet was cut, part of verse 4T 131 is missing]). On folio 2r: *et mella, hordea, auctoritas [correction = auctores] – argentum, uinum, flumentum, oleum, fumus* (5T 23–55); f. 2v: *finus, limus, fames, pix – facere licuit aut licebit* (5T 55–80); *Incipit Praefatio In Figura. Ordine bifario quadripertita figura – Ut bene conpositus postulat ordo suus* (6P 1–9). The estimated loss of text (based on the critical edition) appears to indicate that the surviving bifolium constituted the outer sheet of the quaternion.

There are presently 20 manuscripts known to contain the text of Smaragdus’ *Liber in partibus Donati*.<sup>20</sup> The editors have divided them into two types of testimony: primary and secondary. There are nine manuscripts in the first group,<sup>21</sup> eight of which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter BNF) in Paris. These manuscripts have the following signatures: lat. 7551 (marked by the editors with the siglum **A**, dated mid-9th century), lat. 13029 (**B**, mid-9th c.), lat. 11275 (**C**, last quarter of the 9th c.), lat. 7533 (**D**, early 10th c.), lat. 6400B (**F**, first third of 9th c.), nouv. acq. lat. 1832 (**G**, first third of 9th c.), lat. 18520 (**H**, second quarter of the 9th c.), lat. 14089 (**P**, late 9th c.). Also included in this group is a manuscript (burnt in 1944) from the Bibliothèque Municipale at Chartres, 70 (54) marked with the siglum **E** (second quarter of the 9th c.).

Secondary transmissions<sup>22</sup> include manuscripts from Avranches (Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 229, marked with the siglum **a**, early 10th c.), Bern – Burgerbibliothek, A92 (**b**, fragment from 12th/13th c.), Universitätsbibliothek

<sup>20</sup> For a codicological description of the Smaragdus text manuscripts and their contents, see: L. Holtz, P.-Y. Lambert, op. cit.; L. Holtz, *Les Témoins du texte*, in: *Smaragdus. Liber in partibus Donati*, pp. XIV–XXIV. *Mirabile Archivio digitale della cultura medievale / Digital Archives for Medieval Culture* database gives 11 manuscripts <https://www.mirabileweb.it/title/liber-in-partibus-donati-title/5463> (accessed 23.05.2024).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. XIV–XX.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. XX–XXIV.

in Erlangen (c, 7th/8th c.), Firenze – Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. XVI, 5 (f, 12th c.), Karlsruhe Badische Landesbibliothek Ms. Aug. Perg. CCXLI (K, late 9th c.), two manuscripts from the British Library in London: Harley 2637 (L, second third of the 9th c.) and Harley 3685 (I, 15th/16th c.), Metz Bibliothèque Municipale: Ms. 292 (M, second third of the 9th c., the volume burned during the Second World War), Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek: fg. 1004/3; present shelfmark Fragment I.1.9<sup>23</sup> (r, second quarter of 9th c.<sup>24</sup>), Venezia Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana: Z 497 (1811) (v, 11th c.), Zwettl Stiftsbibliothek: 268 (z, 13th/14th c.).

Adele Kibre has distinguished two “families” of manuscript transmission means, labelled as  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , based on their archetypes.<sup>25</sup> The editors distinguished additional differences between these families, pointing in particular to the twofold lesson provided by the passage from the *De Genere* treatise (4T, 61–65). The text in family  $\beta$  (primary means of transmission are manuscripts **E, A and H**) is characterised by the longer lesson rendered in the critical edition. The manuscripts in family  $\alpha$  (**B, F and P**) contain an abbreviated but more correct version (they do not contain the text of 4T, 61–65; instead we find the lesson: *Similiter “Orestes tragoedia” qui carmine delectabatur luctuoso. Hoc enim tragoedia intelligitur*).<sup>26</sup>

The text on the “Poznań” bifolium begins with the words: “[...] *mine delectabatur luctuoso, haec enim tragoediae intellegitur*”; disregarding minor letter variations, it is consistent with the means of transmission found in family  $\alpha$ . Moreover, it is distinguished by an omission (4T, 98–100: *Horatius – dammae*), which is also common to the three main manuscripts in family  $\alpha$ : **B, F and P**. A closer comparison of the text from the bifolium with the critical edition brings more detailed information as to its relationship to the three manuscripts. In the examples of Germanic (Visigothic) male names with a feminine genitive ending, the “Poznań” manuscript conveys a lesson identical to **F and P**: (4T, 91–92: *Egica Vuitza Vuamba Ega Froia Froila Liubila [...]*). Unlike **P**, but in line with **F**, it has a complete lesson *ut pascha – ut Pelagius* (4T, 104–108).

<sup>23</sup> I would like to thank Dr Raymond Dittrich (Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Regensburg, Proskesche Musikabteilung) for sending a scan of this extract.

<sup>24</sup> B. Bischoff dated this manuscript to the 9th/10th or early 10th century: B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Teil III: *Padua-Zwickau*, aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von B. Ebersperger, Wiesbaden 2014, no. 5228.

<sup>25</sup> A. Kibre, op. cit., pp. 81–85.

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the differences between the transmissions, see L. Holtz, *Relations entre les Témoins*, in *Smaragdus. Liber in partibus Donati*, pp. XXV–XXXI, especially pp. XXV–XXVI.

The second folio of the bifolium, as mentioned above, contains a fragment of the treatise *De Numero* – preserved, according to the critical edition, from the words *et mella* (5T 23) to the end – and the beginning of the treatise *De Figura* (6P 1–9). And here it shows a convergence with **F** and **P**, and differences with **B**, evident especially in the surviving lessons of *diuitiae* [...] *inimicitiae* (5T 57–58), *primitiae*, *induitiae* (5T 59), *castra* (5T, 59–60), *exta praecordia* (5T 60), which **B**'s transmission omits.

In two places the text from the “Poznań” fragment deviates from the critical edition. It has, due to the truncation of the bottom of the sheet, an addition (unfortunately unclear) – f. 1r, l. 28: *celicola* [.]*jola homicida* (4T 94, *caelicola*, *homicida*) and a different lesson not listed in the critical edition – f. 2r, l. 28: *uinum*, *flumentum* (5T 54, *uinum*, *frumentum*), which, however, may be the result of an improper reading of the source. Of course, in the cognate fragment we find other problems as well, resulting from improper readings during copying, especially on: f. 1v, l. 23: *de rubore* (4T 126: *de subere*), f. 2r, l. 7: *omnia una* (5T 30: *anima una* [but the lesson was later corrected]). There is also one inversion: f. 1v, l. 18: *pampinus*, *pinus* (4T 120–121: *pinus*, *pampinus*). The omissions and some errors were corrected by a contemporary or slightly younger hand. A summary of the textual differences between the “Poznań” fragment and the critical edition is given below in Appendix 2.

## Parchment, writing, dating, provenance

The manuscript fragment found at the ULP is a sheet of parchment measuring 300 × 208–210 mm forming a bifolium, the size of the sheets being: f. 1: 208 × 149 mm, f. 2: 210 × 151 mm.<sup>27</sup> The parchment was arranged and prepared for inscription in the insular manner.<sup>28</sup> The sheet is stiff and relatively thick, with the flesh and hair sides being difficult to distinguish. It is worth noting that there is a cyst on the page, on which there is no writing. Small punctures have been made every 6–7 mm along the right and left margins

<sup>27</sup> Originally, the sheets were slightly wider and longer, but when they were bound they were trimmed at the outer margin and at the bottom – resulting in a slight loss of manuscript text (parts of the last verse were lost).

<sup>28</sup> L.W. Jones, *Where are the Prickings?*, Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 1944, no. 75, pp. 71–86, especially p. 81; the way the prickings are placed is presented in a diagram in that work, cf. p. 72, Fig. 1, EE–II. On insular parchment and lineation see, for example, B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Berlin 1979, pp. 36–37; D.A. Sikorski, *Anglosasi i wpływy anglosaskie w skryptoriach karolińskich do końca IX wieku (Studium paleograficzno-kodykologiczne)*, Poznań 2004, pp. 31 ff.



(the punctures were probably made with the tip of a knife), and across these, horizontal lines bounded by double vertical margin lines have been dry-etched with a stylus (lined on the folded page). The area to be written upon thus covers one column 185 × 120 mm, with 28 lines prepared for writing (Fig. 1–2).

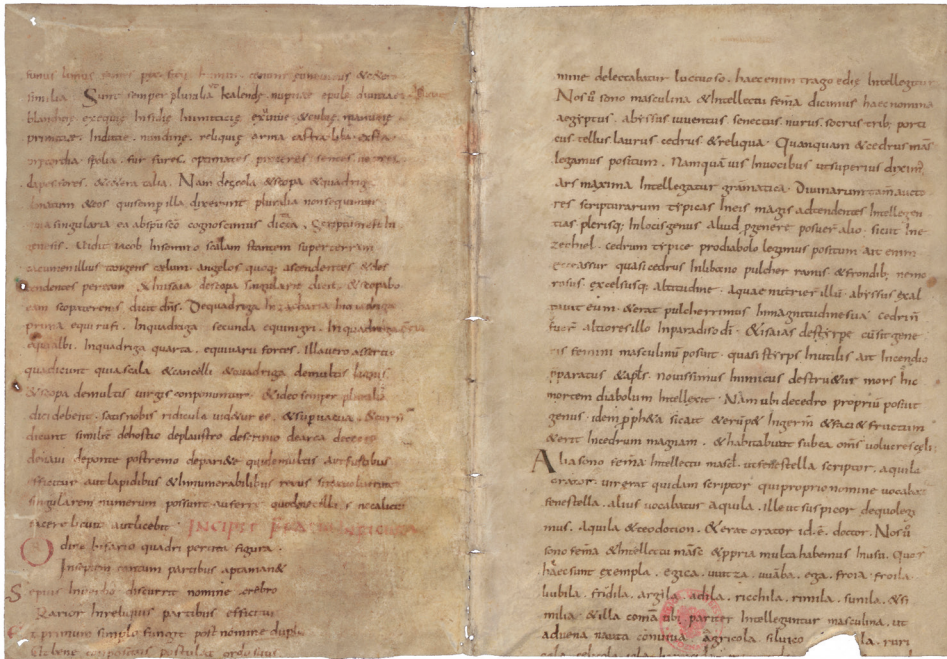


Fig. 1. ULP Rkp 8060, fol. 1r (from right)–2v (from left)

Photo: Krzysztof Skibniewski.

What we have here is a curiosity, as both the parchment and the pages for the inscription were prepared in an “insular” manner. However, they are written in one hand, in fine Carolingian minuscule<sup>29</sup> *longis lineis*, without any clear (graphic) insular influences, although the copyist did divide the words fairly well by “squeezing” two or three words together (this may indicate an “insular” influence<sup>30</sup>). The handwriting is quite neat and straight (although with a tendency to slant to the right). The ductus is characterised by the short minims of the letters: simple *s*, *f* and *r*, which do not extend beyond the horizontal

<sup>29</sup> Cf. e.g. B. Bischoff, *Paläographie*, p. 143 ff.; A. Gieysztor, *Zarys dziejów pisma łacińskiego*, Warszawa 2009, p. 112 ff.; W. Semkowicz, *Paleografia łacińska*, Kraków 2011, p. 243 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. P. Saenger, *Space Between Words. The Origins of Silent Reading*, Stanford 1997, p. 34 ff.

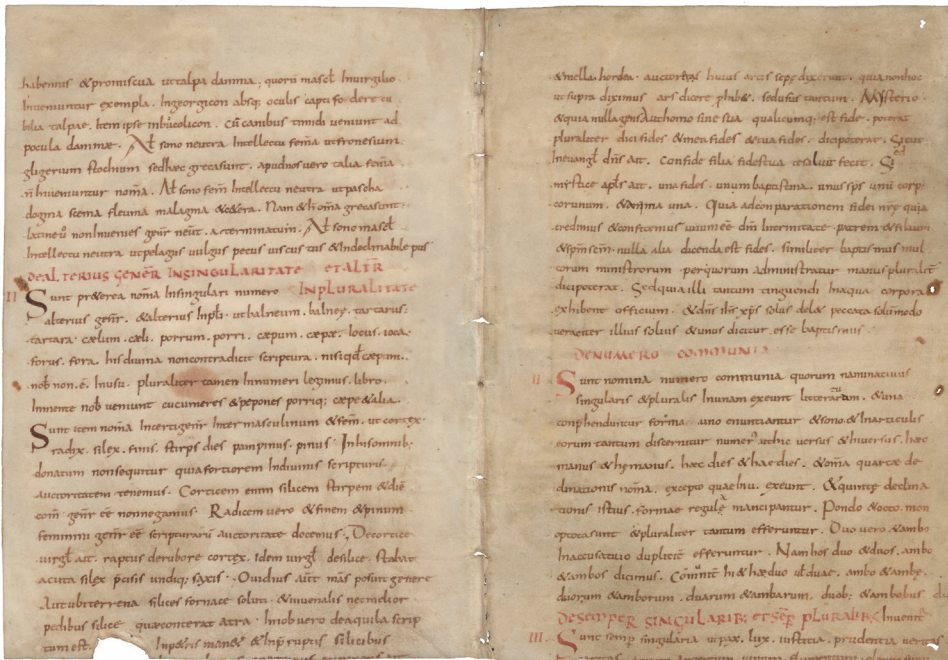


Fig. 2. ULP Rkp 8060, fol. 1v (from left)–2r (from right)

Photo: Krzysztof Skibniewski.

lines of the writing scheme. The minuscule letter *a* occurs in uncial form, with two exceptions, when it was used in the archaizing form *cc*–*a* (f. 1r, l. 10: *libano*; f. 2r, l. 5: *salua(m)*). Minuscule *d* occurs only in a simple form, *g* is in an open form. The letter *y* is short, always rendered with a dot between the arms. The letters *k* and *z* occur.<sup>31</sup> The copyist wrote the ligature *ae* interchangeably with *e* (with a characteristic small rounded loop, seen also in the shape of the numeral 6). It is worth noting that in the majuscule layer the scribe used allographs of the letter “A”: uncial (f. 1v, l. 4: *Alia* and 8; f. 2r, l. 3: *aut*) and with capitals (f. 1v, l. 6: *Alia*). It may also have been customary to use the majuscule *I* at the beginning of words placed in the middle of sentences (e.g. f. 1r, l. 1: *Intellegitur*, l. 2: *& Intellectu*, etc.).

The more important abbreviations are: *autem* = *aüt*, *est*, *esse* = *-ē*, *-ēē*, *haec* = *h* (f. 1v, l. 7), *nobis* = *nob*, *nob*, *non* = *n̄*, *quod* = *qđ*, *vero* = *ù*, *ihs xps* = *Ihesus Christus*, *apostolus* = *apls*; for *per*, *prae*, *pro* these abbreviations are the usual form. The scribe often marked suspensions with a horizontal

<sup>31</sup> The way they are written is “standard”, so does not allow for speculation, cf. M. Ziemer, *Datierung und Lokalisierung nach den Schreibformen von k und z im Althochdeutschen*, Breslau 1933.

dash, e.g.  $t = -ter$ ,  $\bar{u} = -um$ , also for  $-unt$ : e.g.  $fuerunt = fuer$ . Other abbreviations include  $-us = ^9$  or  $-bus = b$ ,  $-pus = p$ , and  $-rum = r^2$ . This system can thus be regarded as typical of “continental” Carolingian minuscule (with the possible exception of  $haec = h$  f. 1v, l. 7).<sup>32</sup> Punctuation is poor, reduced to a single full stop (placed to indicate a short pause or before a capital letter) and *punctus versus*.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the chapter titles (*capitula*) written in rubra have been rendered by the copyist in uncial. One letter (“R”) is inscribed inside the initial “O”: *O(r)dine*, f. 2r, l. 23). Given the typically scholarly, utilitarian nature of the text, the small amount of decoration is not surprising.

The fragment shows little sign of later use (reading). The marginal insertions are merely corrections, additions to visual errors, made by a contemporary hand, possibly by the scribe of the main text himself. Only on f. 2v in the first verse are there traces of corrections to the letters of successive words, which do not seem to be very accurate.<sup>34</sup>

The general appearance of the script and the scribal habits indicate that the analysed manuscript fragment was copied in the 9th century. A review of the available catalogues of dated manuscripts and digitised monuments has made it possible to put forward some hypotheses as to the place (of course, this always remains debatable, given the potential mobility of the scribe) and time of the fragment’s composition. Despite the “insular” parchment, I am inclined to assume that the scribe did not harken from the German territories where Anglo-Saxon influences were strong.<sup>35</sup> The same notation (*ductus*),

<sup>32</sup> W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae. An Account of Abbreviation in Latin Mss. of the Early Minuscule Period (c. 750–850)*, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 2000; on the abbreviation of *haec*, see *ibidem*, p. 98 ff.

<sup>33</sup> On punctuation marks see B. Bischoff, *Paläographie*, pp. 214–215; J. Vezin, *La punctuation du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, Paris 1990, pp. 439–442; M.B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect. An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, Aldershot 1992, p. 307; P. Saenger, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ff.

<sup>34</sup> In the upper margin of folio 1r there is at least one (perhaps two) notations, probably written in a contemporary hand, in small type: *a mu [...]* or *a min [...]*. Unfortunately, it has been obliterated. The equipment available at the ULP did not allow for a more detailed analysis of these additions (thanks to R. Kosinić of the ULP Book Restoration Workshop for his efforts in trying to make the notes visible).

<sup>35</sup> Quoted by D.A. Sikorski, p. 82. The writing does not seem to show clear influences from Fulda, Lorsch, South German, Sankt-Gallen, or Mainz, Reichenau, etc., or from East Frankish scriptoria. The literature was consulted for comparative purposes, see, for example, H. Spilling, *Die Frühe Phase Karolingischer Minuskel in Fulda*, in: *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, ed. G. Schimpf, Frankfurt am Main 1996, pp. 249–284; B. Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, Teil 1, Die Bayerischen Diözesen. Mit 32 Schriftproben*, Wiesbaden 1974; B. Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und*

abbreviations used, punctuation and allographs are found in the Paris BNF lat. 5543 (cf. especially f. 81r). According to the data in the BNF catalogue of dated manuscripts, it may have been written down in 847.<sup>36</sup> The manuscript was written in France, presumably at Fleury (Abbey of St Benedict), and certainly belonged to the book collection of this monastery.<sup>37</sup> Bernhard Bischoff also dated this relic to the middle of the 9th century.<sup>38</sup> Similar writing, especially the consistent, distinctive notation of the majuscule “A”, can be found in manuscripts associated with the activities of the scriptorium of the monastery of St. Maximin in Micy (Diocese of Orléans), e.g. in the codex of the Burgerbibliothek Bern, Cod. 224 (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, dated to the first third of the 9th century<sup>39</sup>) (Fig. 3). There is another possible indication in favour of possibly “locating” this fragment in the Fleury-Orlean area: a clear textual coincidence with the aforementioned codex BN lat. 6400B (designated F by the editors). Dating from the first third of the 9th century, it shares the same provenance: the above-mentioned monastery of Fleury. Perhaps both Rkp 8060 and BN lat. 6400B shared a local source. Thus, the “Poznań” fragment can also, albeit cautiously, be dated to the mid-9th century. The codex from which the fragment survives presumably came from the hand of a scribe

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*Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit. Teil 2, Die vorwiegend Österreichischen Diözesen. Mit 25 Schriftproben*, Wiesbaden 1980; D. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Sigmaringen 1990. Databases such as [https://www.bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/de/kloster/bibliothek\\_skriptorium.html](https://www.bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/de/kloster/bibliothek_skriptorium.html) (accessed 25.05.2024) were also used; numerous digital libraries were reviewed (I list the most important ones): <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/Handschriften/topic/view/20950> (accessed 24.05.2024), <https://dnh.thulb.uni-jena.de/> (accessed 25.05.2024), <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch> (accessed 26.05.2024), <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de> (accessed 26.05.2024), <https://digi.vatlib.it/> (accessed 26.05.2024), until the hacking attack on the British Library (October/November 2023) I also used <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/fr/content/accueil-fr?mode=desktop> (accessed 26.05.2024).

<sup>36</sup> C. Samaran, R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. II: *Bibliothèque nationale. Fonds latin (Nos. 1–8000)*, Paris 1962, p. 275. An essential text in the codex is *Miscellanea: Tabula cyclorum decennovennalium (532–1063); Opera Bedae; versus de mensibus et zodiaci signis. Isidori Hispalensis*. Online digital reproductions of the manuscript are available: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10502052p> (accessed 25.05.2024) and digitised catalogue fiche with noted mentions of the codex in the literature: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc64506m> (accessed 25.05.2024).

<sup>37</sup> C. Samaran, R. Marichal, op. cit.

<sup>38</sup> B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, Teil III, no. 4367.

<sup>39</sup> Comprehensive catalogue description with digital reproduction of the manuscript: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/bbb/0224/Mittenhuber> (accessed 23.05.2024); see also B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, Teil I, no. 557.

bilia talpae. Item ipse in bucolicon. Cū canibus timidi ueniunt ad  
 pocula damnae. **N**t sono neutra intellectu fema utronesium  
 gligerium stoichium sed hae greca sunt. apud nos uero talia fema  
 n̄ inueniuntur nom̄a. At sono fem̄ intellectu neutra ut pascha  
 dogma scema fleuma malagma & cetera. Nam & h̄ om̄a greca sunt  
 latine ū non inuenies gen̄r neut̄. a terminatum. **A**t sono maset

**A**marus a sapore inens latum piomen habet  
 est enim insuauius peccouit quemquam ad con  
 sortium suum aliquam uitate dulcedine.  
**A**dultor uiolator maritalis pudoris eo quod  
 alterius torum polluat.  
**A**niceps huc & illuc fluctuans ac dubius. istud

statutis diebus orisq. sub terra. neccam enim cum superna estiant  
 iq. cerni. Aliquando ppter nubila saepius globo terrae obstant  
 uisitatibus mundi & lunae defectu. Aliquando quinto mense apr  
 i solis uero septimo. eundem bis in xxx diebus super terras occultant  
 debet huc cerni quondam in quindecim diebus utrumq. sidus defertur

Fig. 3. From top: ULP Rkp 8060, fol. 1v (l. 3–7, detail); Burgerbibliothek Bern, Cod. 224, fol. 76v (Column left l. 26–31, detail); Paris BNF lat. 5543 (fol. 81r, l. 8–12, detail)

Photo: prepared by Author.

originating from one of the scribal centres in the north-western part of the Frankish kingdom (in southern Neustria). It was created in an environment (scriptorium) where insular influences were strong (the preparation of the parchment and sheets for inscription described above<sup>40</sup>).

<sup>40</sup> Several manuscripts from this region written in Carolingian minuscule but on “insular” parchment have been indicated by Rosamond McKitterick, *The Diffusion of Insular Culture in Neustria between 650 and 850: The Implications of the Manuscript Evidence*, in: *La Neustrie, les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850: Colloque Historique International*, vol. 2, ed. H. Atsma, Sigmaringen 1989, pp. 398–399; see also D.A. Sikorski, op. cit. p. 31 ff.

## Erfurt, Berlin, Poznań

It is impossible to answer whether Smaragdus' text itself originally constituted a single codicological unit, or whether it was one of several related texts purposely copied at the same time (e.g. Donatus' grammars, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, etc.<sup>41</sup>), or perhaps it was part of a heterogeneous "sammelband" of texts. These questions are probably not possible to answer. Nor do we know the later fate of this hypothetical "complete" codex. We can only guess that after a few centuries, the volume, probably often read and damaged, and certainly containing texts that were already out of date, was destined for waste book-binding. What was left of it found its way to Erfurt (the question remains as to whether this codex had previously belonged to one of the libraries there or whether it had already found its way in fragments to the Erfurt bookbinders<sup>42</sup>). It was there, around 1518, that a remnant – a bifolium – was used to reinforce the binding of the original sammelband containing the aforementioned treatise by Jerome Dungersheym (currently ULP shelfmark SD 734 II) and two other works, which were detached from the block at an unspecified time. This is evidenced by several clues. A clear loss in the book block, indicating that parts of it had been torn away. Above all, however, on the recto side of the front endsheet of the volume is a provenance notation from around 1518, which indicates that the book belonged to the library of the Carthusians of Erfurt.<sup>43</sup> This notation is expanded to include information about the initial contents of the entire sammelband (volume): *Liber iste e[st] fr[atru]m Cartusie[n]siu[m] prope Erffordia[m] Cui[us] contenta su[n]t 1. Conclusio[n]es cu[m] r[at]io[n]ib[us] p[ar]ciu[m] Su[m]me b[eati] Tho[m]e. 2. confessio[n]e M[agistri] Judoci Winshemij. 3. cautele se[r]va[n]de i[n] absoluc[i]o[n]e sac[ra]me[n]tali* (Fig. 4–5). The original volume thus consisted of three printed books in 4<sup>o</sup> format. The first is extant and requires no comment. The other two were, in my opinion, prints in Erfurt. I identify below the texts that constitute the original complete contents of the block:

1: Hieronymus Dungersheim, *Conclusiones cum rationibus ad partes summe theologicæ doctoris sancti Thome Aquinatis*, Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel, 1516, (ULP shelfmark SD 734 II).

<sup>41</sup> See L. Holtz, *Les Témoins du texte*, pp. XIV et seq.

<sup>42</sup> Little is known about the trade in waste paper, C. Sojer points out that it is generally assumed that such materials were obtained from the regional market, C. Sojer, *Fragmente*, p. 543 (references to further literature are found here); see also the comments in A. Kozak, J. Łukaszewski, *Fragmenty*, p. 196 and related footnote.

<sup>43</sup> See the project to, among other things, reconstruct part of the medieval book collection of the Erfurt Cartause, where there is also a comprehensive bibliography: *Mystische Bücher in der Bibliothek der Kartause Erfurt* <https://making-mysticism.org/> (accessed 24.05.2024).

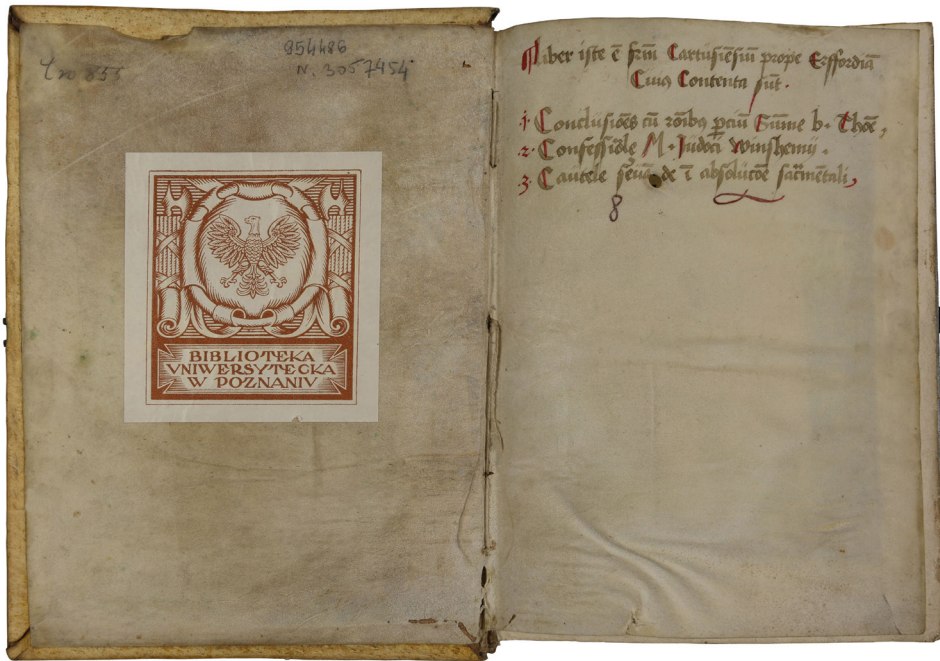


Fig. 4. ULP SD 743 II. The front endsheet of the volume with provenance entry of the Carthusian monastery in Erfurt and list of the original contents of the Sammelband

Photo: Renata Kosiniec.

2: Jodocus Textor, *Christiani poenitentis confessio latina*, Erfurt: Matthaues Maler, 1518 (lost).<sup>44</sup>

3: Johannes de Paltz, *De cautelis in absolutione sacramentali servandis*, [Erfurt: Typographus Bollani, ca 1486/90] (lost).<sup>45</sup>

The binding for this sammelband was certainly also made in one of the local bookbinding workshops in or shortly after 1518, as indicated by the characteristic ornamentation of the cover as well as, due to its shape, the partially preserved metal clasp, referred to in the literature as “Erfurter Lilienschließe” (Fig. 6).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> VD16 T 638.

<sup>45</sup> *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. VI, Leipzig 1934, pp. 332–333, no. 6395; see also <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW06395.htm> (accessed 13.07.2024).

<sup>46</sup> The volume was bound in beechwood boards, covered with pigskin, decorated with an imprint of a strychule and tools; identification of the decorations on the base: *Die Schwenke-Sammlung gotischer Stempel- und Einbanddurchreibungen nach Motiven geordnet und nach Werkstätte bestimmt und beschrieben*, vol. I, *Einzelstempel*, von I. Schunke, Berlin 1979: Herz 47 (Erfurt, Wolfgang Herolt), Lilie (most similar: 187, Erfurt, Johannes



Fig. 5. ULP SD 743 II. Title page: H. Dungsresheim, *Conclusiones cum rationibus ad partes summe theologicę* [...] Thome Aquinatis, Leipzig: W. Stöckel, 1516

Photo: Renata Kosiniec.

Fogel, Kartause), Rosette 501 (Erfurt, Johannes Fogel; Kartause), Rosette 663 (Erfurt, Wolfgang Herolt); cf. also: *Die Schwenke-Sammlung gotischer Stempel- und Einbanddurchreibungen nach Motiven geordnet und nach Werkstatt bestimmt und beschrieben*, vol. II, *Werkstätten*, von I. Schunke†, fortgeführt von K. von Rabenau, Berlin 1996, pp. 80–83, 89. On the fastenings see A. Lang-Edwards, *Gerüstet zum Schutz der Gebete. Erfurter Bucheinbände von Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*, "Imprimatur. Ein Jahrbuch für Buchfreunde" 1994, vol. XV, p. 210, Abb. 3; see also G. Adler, *Handbuch Buchverschluss und Buchbeschlag. Terminologie und Geschichte im deutschsprachigen Raum, in den Niederlanden und Italien vom Frühen Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart. Mit Zeichnungen von J. Krauskopf*, Wiesbaden 2010, p. 87, Abb. 5–16.



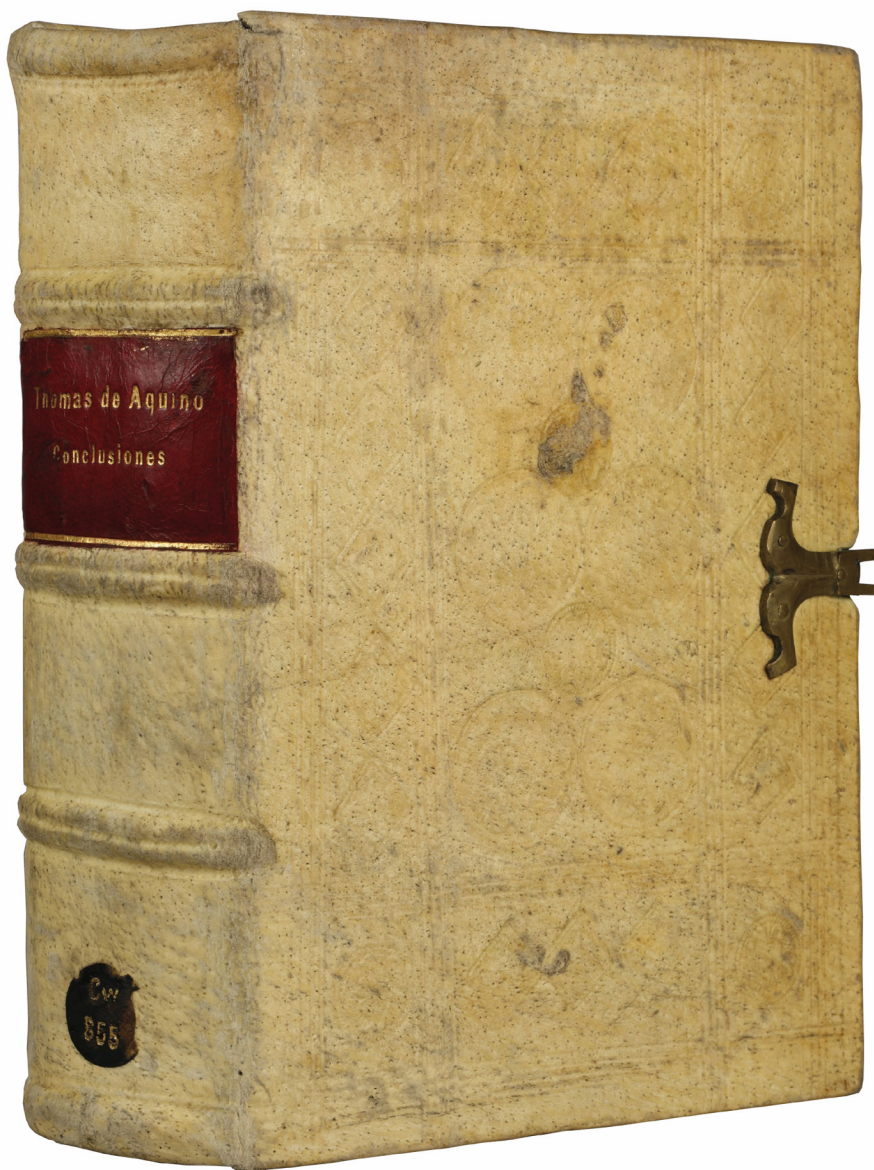


Fig. 6. ULP SD 743 II. Binding

Photo: Renata Kosiniec.

The book was probably kept in the library of the Carthusians of Erfurt until 1810, when, after the dissolution of the monastery, it was transferred to the local University Library.<sup>47</sup> Another ownership mark dates from the turn of the 20th century. It is the rectangular stamp of the *Koenigliche Bibliothek Berlin*, stamped in red ink on the title page. It is most likely, therefore, that in 1907<sup>48</sup> the volume found its way to the Berlin Royal Library, as can also be seen from an accession note in pencil on the title page of the print: *Erf. 4267*. The book was signed “Cw 855” in Berlin (visible on the spine sticker and written in pencil on the front-paper).

How did the volume find its way to Poznań? It is known that for several years after the establishment of the Kaiser Wilhelm Bibliothek in Posen (1902), books (duplicates) were transferred to this institution from many libraries in the Reich, mainly from the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin. The volume could therefore have come to Poznań via this route.<sup>49</sup> However, the book does not bear the distinctive donation ex-libris or the former shelfmark of the Kaiser Wilhelm Bibliothek. Instead, the shelfmark of the Berlin Royal Library (“Cw 855”) can be seen. The volume is now listed in the online catalogue of this library as a war loss: “Kriegsverlust”.<sup>50</sup> Thanks to the research of Werner Schochow and Ewa Syska, we know that the books from the “Ca–Cw” shelfmark-section (as well as the “F–Fi”, “V–Vz” sections) were evacuated from Berlin to the repository at the palace in Fürsteneich, (now Zabór, Zielona Góra County, Lubuskie Province).<sup>51</sup> From there, some of the books were taken to the Soviet Union in 1945, and after the palace was taken over by the Polish authorities (August 1946), the remaining volumes were to be sent mainly to the University

<sup>47</sup> F. Marwinski, S. Müller, *Erfurt 1. Stadt -und Regionalbibliothek*, in: *Handbuch der Historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland*, vol. 19, *Thüringen A–G*, eds. F. Krause, F. Marwinski, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 1998, p. 189, pt. 2.63.

<sup>48</sup> At that time, the Royal Library in Berlin acquired more than 200 manuscripts, 645 incunabula and 5070 prints (published up to 1599) from the Erfurt bookshop, cf. *ibidem*, p. 180, para. 1.30.

<sup>49</sup> J. Łukaszewski, R. Wójcik, *Największe zasoby proveniencyjne sprzed 1939 r. w kolekcji starych druków Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Poznaniu*, in: *Książka dawna i jej właściciele*, vol. 1, eds. D. Sidorowicz-Mulak, A. Franczyk-Cegła, Wrocław 2017, p. 104.

<sup>50</sup> <https://lbsbb.gbv.de/DB=1/SET=4/TTL=1/CMD?ACT=SRCHA&IKT=2140&SRT=YOP&TRM=%22Cw+855%22> (accessed: 29.05.2024).

<sup>51</sup> W. Schochow, *Bücherschicksale. Die Verlagerungsgeschichte der Preußischen Staatsbibliothek*, Berlin–New York 2003, p. 79; E. Syska, *Marian Swinarski (1902–1965). Poznański antykwariusz i bibliofil*, Poznań 2014, pp. 180–181; E. Syska, *Co skrywają powojenne nabytki polskich biblioteki, czyli o metodach pozbawiania się niechcianych proveniencji ze starych druków na przykładzie działalności poznańskiego antykwariusza Mariana Swinarskiego (1902–1965)*, in: *Książka dawna i jej właściciele*, vol. 2, eds. D. Sidorowicz-Mulak, A. Franczyk-Cegła, Wrocław 2017, pp. 301–307.

Library in Łódź.<sup>52</sup> E. Syska has proven, however, that some individual books were transported from the repository in Zabór to libraries in Wielkopolska (among others, to the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences and to the Raczyński Library in Poznań<sup>53</sup>). Thus, everything points to the fact that the relic in question found its way to the University Library in Poznań from the repository in Zabór shortly after the end of the Second World War.

## Conclusions

The text of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel's *Liber in partibus Donati* found in the ULP, when collated with the critical edition, should clearly be assigned to family  $\alpha$ . It is closest to the textual tradition handed down by manuscript F (Paris, BNF lat. 6400B, but is not directly derived from it). Moreover, it contains an addition and one lesson unknown to the editors (see Appendix 2). The fragment itself is the remains of a 9th-century manuscript, probably mid-century, produced in one of the writing centres from the north-west of the Frankish kingdom (in the southern part of Neustria, Orléans-Fleury region?). However, further palaeographical research is necessary. However, it was undoubtedly written in a scriptorium where insular influences were strong, as evidenced by the way in which the parchment and sheets were prepared for inscription. The fragment enriches our knowledge of the textual tradition of *Liber in partibus Donati*, as well as the reception of this work in the Frankish kingdom. Finally, the "Poznań" fragment is currently the oldest manuscript in the Polish collections containing a work by the Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (previously it was a codex with a copy of the *Commentary on Benedictine Rule* from the collection of the Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences; that work was created in France in the second half of the 10th century<sup>54</sup>). Both of these manu-

<sup>52</sup> E. Syska, Marian Swinarski, p. 180–181; *Unbekannte Schätze. Germanica des 16. Jahrhunderts in der Universitätsbibliothek Łódź. Nieznane skarby. Germanika XVI-wieczne w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego*, eds. C. Dietl, M. Kubisiak, Łódź 2018.

<sup>53</sup> E. Syska, Marian Swinarski, pp. 180–181.

<sup>54</sup> Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, shelfmark BK 124, see Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Najstarszy rękopis Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, "Przegląd Biblioteczny" 1929, no. 3, pp. 496–509; J. Zathey, *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, Wrocław 1963, pp. 319–322 (these researchers erroneously dated the manuscript to the end of the 9th c.), it is currently dated to the second half of the 10th century, cf. B. Bischoff, *Katalog der Festländischen Handschriften des Neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, vol. 1, Aachen – Lambach, Wiesbaden 1998, p. 415; see also A. Spannagel and P. Engelbert in the preface to *Smaragdi abbatis Expositio*, p. XVI. This codex was in the collection of Prince Wilhelm Radziwiłł (1797–1870) until 1818, see R. Marciniak, J. Wiesiołowski, *Rękopisy Biblioteki Kórnickiej warsztatem pracy naukowej (1826–1976)*,

scripts with works by Smaragdus found their way into Polish book collections relatively late: *Commentary* after 1818,<sup>55</sup> while the fragment of *Liber in partibus Donati* found its way into the ULP after 1945.

## Annex 1

### Catalogue description of the find

Poznań, University Library, ULP shelfmark Rkp 8060.

Smaragdus: *Liber in partibus Donati*. Latin Fragment.

France (Orleans-Fleury area?). Mid 9th c.

Insular parchment. Bifolium with dimensions of 300 × 208–210 mm.

2 folios numbered in pencil with dimensions of 208 × 149 mm (fol. 1) and 210 × 151 mm (fol. 2).

1 column of text: 185 × 120 mm. 28 lines of text. Punctures (prickings) along both the right and left margins of the page.

Writing: one hand, minuscule Carolingian *longis lineis* (with corrections and additions made by a contemporary hand). Uncial chapter headings (*capitula*) – in red ink (*rubrum*).

Text from critical edition: *Smaragdus. Liber in partibus Donati*, eds. B. Löfsted, L. Holtz, A. Kibre†, CCCM, vol. 68, Turnhout 1986.

Fol. 1r [recto]: [*car*]mine delectabatur luctuoso, haec enim tragoedię intelligitur ... ruricola, celicola [...]ola homicida [...] (4T footnote to verses 61–65 and pp. XXV – 4T 94. Fol. 1v [verso]: *habemus & promiscua ut talpa damma – et in praeruptis silicibus* (4T 95 – 130–131). Fol. 2r: *et mella, hordea, auctoritas* [correction = *auctores*] – *argentum, uinum, flumentum, oleum, fumus* (5T 23–55). Fol. 2v: *fimur, limus, fames, pix – facere licuit aut licebit* (5T 55–80); *Incipit Praefatio In Figura. Ordine bifario quadripertita figura – Ut bene conpositus postulat ordo suus* (6P 1–9). Consistent with Paris BNF lat. 6400B. For variants see Appendix 2.

Remarks: Until 2018, the bifolium was the back paste down of the binding of the early print: Hieronymus Dungresheim, *Conclusiones cum rationibus ad partes summe theologicę* [...] *Thome Aquinatis*, Leipzig: W. Stöckel, 1516, 4<sup>o</sup> (ULP shelfmark SD 734 II). Ibid. prov. 1. Carthusians, Erfurt; 2. Königliche Bibliothek Berlin (shelfmark Cw 855); 3. ULP (from 1945).

“Pamiętniki Biblioteki Kórnickiej” 1977, no. 13, p. 22, note 11; R. Marciniak, J. Wiesiołowski, *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Kórnickiej. Zeszyt IV, sign. 11008–12000*, Kórnik 1983, p. 76.

<sup>55</sup> See footnote 54, especially R. Marciniak, J. Wiesiołowski, op. cit.

## Annex 2

### Comparison of textual variations within the critical edition (*Smaragdus. Liber in partibus Donati*, eds. B. Löfsted, L. Holtz, A. Kibre†, CCCM, vol. 68, Turnhout 1986) and the ULP manuscript shelfmark Rkp 8060

Critical Edition / ULP shelfmark Rkp 8060.

4T 69–70: *quamquam et cedrum* / f. 1r, l. 4: *quanquam et cedrus*.

4T 70: *ars maxime intelligatur* / f. 1r, l. 6: *ars maxima intellegatur*.

4T 72: *intelligentias* / f. 1r, l. 7–8: *intellegentias*.

4T 78: *generis feminini* / f. 1r, l. 14: *generis femini*.

4T 93: *pariter intelliguntur* / f. 1r, l. 26: *pariter intelleguntur*.

4T 94: *caelicola, homicida* / f. 1r, l. 28: *caelicola, [,]ola, homicida*.

4T 97: *fodere* / f. 1v, l. 2: *foedere* [correction, letter *e* erased = *fodere*].

4T 97: *in Bucolicon* / f. 1v, l. 3: *in Būcolicon* [correction by later hand by overwriting an <sup>o</sup>].

4T 106: *genus* / f. 1v, l. 8: *gener*.

4T 114: *cepvm, cepae* / f. 1v, l. 13: *caepum, caepae*.

4T 116: *cepum* / f. 1v, l. 14: *caepum*.

4T 120–121: *pinus, pampinus* / f. 1v, l. 18: *pampinus, pinus*.

4T 121: *sequimur* / f. 1v, l. 19: *sequitur*.

4T 126: *de subere* / f. 1v, l. 23: *de rubore*.

4T 128: *genus* / f. 1v, l. 24: *genere*.

5T 23–24: *et mella et ordea auctores* / f. 2r, l. 1: *et mella, hordea, acutoritas* [in the word *auctoritas* a correction by a later hand, by dotting redundant letters and overwriting the letter *e* = *auctores*].

5T 26: *Mysterio* / f. 2r, l. 2: *Mysterio* [correction by a later hand = *Mysterio*].

5T 29: *Sed* / f. 2r, l. 5: *Si* [correction, by a different but contemporary (?) hand, by dotting the letter *i* and overwriting the correct ending = *Sed*].

5T 30: *baptisma* / f. 2r, l. 6: *baptistma* [!].

5T 30: *anima una* / f. 2r, l. 7: *omnia una* [correction by a later hand = *anima una*].

5T 31: *qua* / f. 2r, l. 7: *quia* [correction by dotting the letter *i* = *qua*].

5T 32: *confitemur* / f. 2r, l. 8: *confitemus* [correction by a later hand = *confitemur*].

5T 37: *unius* / f. 2r, l. 13: *unus* [but yes **E, F, G, H, P**].

5T 40–41: *nominatiuus* / f. 2r, l. 15: *naminatiuus* [!].

5T 41: *litteraturam* / f. 2r, l. 16: *litterarum* [correction by different but contemporary (?) hand = *litteraturam*].

5T 42: *unoque* / f. 2r, l. 17: *uno*.

5T 46: *regula* / f. 2r, l. 21: *regule* [correction by a later hand = *regule*; later correction by dotting the letter *ε* and overwriting the letter *a* = *regula*].

5T 51: *duabus et ambabus* / f. 2r, l. 25: (homoiteleton) text originally omitted, added by another hand in the margin: *du* [...]; correction incomplete due to trimming of page.

5T 54: *frumentum* / f. 2r, l. 28: *flumentum*.

5T 57: *ut* / f. 2v, l. 2: fragment originally omitted, overwritten by a later hand = *vt*.

5T 58: *deliciae* / f. 2v, l. 2: word originally omitted, added by a later hand in the margin.

5T 62: *Scala* / f. 2v, l. 6: *Scola*.

5T 64: *dictata* / f. 2v, l. 8: *dicta* [so **B, E**], correction by another but contemporary (?) hand = *dictata*].

5T 70: *tertia* / f. 2v, l. 13: word originally omitted, added in the margin.

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### **Fragment karolińskiego rękopisu z tekstem *Liber in partibus Donati* Smaragdusa z Saint-Mihiel odnaleziony w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Poznaniu**

**Streszczenie.** W 2018 roku w trakcie badań makulatury introligatorskiej w kolekcji starych druków Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Poznaniu odnaleziono fragment rękopisu zapisanego minuskułą karolińską. Fragment wzmacniał oprawę dzieła Hieronima Dungresheima pt. *Conclusiones cum rationibus ad partes summe theologicę [...] Thome Aquinatis*, Leipzig: W. Stöckel, 1516 (sygn. SD 734 II). Rękopis zawiera tekst *Liber in partibus Donati* Smaragdusa z Saint-Mihiel. Wyjęty fragment otrzymał sygnaturę Rkp 8060. **Cele artykułu:** umieszczenie przekazu w tradycji rękopiśmiennej *Liber in partibus Donati*, kodykologiczny i paleograficzny opis znaleziska i wyjaśnienie, w jaki sposób zabytek trafił do Poznania. **Metody:** analiza treści i kolacjonowanie tekstu z edycją krytyczną (*Smaragdus. Liber in partibus Donati*, red. B. Löfsted, L. Holtz, A. Kibre†, CCCM, t. 68, Turnhout 1986); analizy kodykologiczna i paleograficzna fragmentu rękopisu; analiza tegumentologiczna oprawy woluminu, w której wtórnie wykorzystano rękopis oraz badanie proveniencji tego woluminu. **Wnioski.** Tekst na odnalezionym fragmencie jest najbardziej zbliżony do tradycji przekazanej przez rękopis Paris BNF lat. 6400B. Pergamin wyprawiono i przygotowano pod zapis sposobem insularnym, jednak analiza paleograficzna wskazuje, że fragment zapisano kontynentalną minuskułą karolińską, przypuszczalnie w jednym z ośrodków pisarskich w północno-zachodniej części królestwa Franków (Neustria, rejon Orlean-Fleury?). Rękopis można datować na połowę IX wieku. Oprawę woluminu, w której odnaleziono fragment, wykonano w jednym z warsztatów introligatorskich w Erfurcie ok. 1518 roku. Analiza proveniencji woluminu wykazała, że księga była własnością biblioteki Kartuzów w Erfurcie do 1810 roku. Po kasacie klasztoru księgę tę przeniesiono do erfurckiej Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej. W 1907 roku trafiła do Königliche Bibliothek Berlin (sygn. Cw 855), a do Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Poznaniu – po 1945 roku.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Smaragdus z Saint-Mihiel, gramatyka łacińska, rękopis, IX wiek, fragmentologia, oprawy książkowe, paleografia, minuskuła karolińska, kodykologia, stare druki.

Tekst wpłynął do Redakcji 30 maja 2024 roku.

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