

Fragmentology

A Journal for the Study of Medieval Manuscript Fragments

Fragmentology is an international, peer-reviewed Open Access journal, dedicated to publishing scholarly articles and reviews concerning medieval manuscript fragments. *Fragmentology* welcomes submissions, both articles and research notes, on any aspect pertaining to Latin and Greek manuscript fragments in the Middle Ages.

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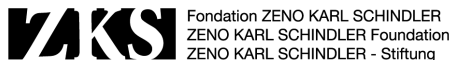
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Bringing Missing Links Together: How Fragmentology and Digital Humanities Can Restore Catalonia's Disturbed Cultural Memory

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Abstract: This essay opens up a panorama for the systematic exploration of the numerous manuscript fragments of medieval Catalonia. To this end, the current state of research and its structural shortcomings are first described. The development and use of the novel text and manuscript database *Carolingian Catalonia* (*CarCat*) now make it possible, for the first time, to compensate these shortcomings through the consistent electronic cataloguing of manuscripts and fragments not yet recorded by regional, national, and international research. This new technical setting of Catalan manuscript research enables numerous multidisciplinary research perspectives for the reconstruction of the medieval scriptoria and libraries, and ultimately, of the disturbed cultural memory of medieval Catalonia. The essay concludes with an initial orienting overview of the scope and profile of Catalonia's medieval fragments, using the particularly extensive and complex collection of the Cathedral and Diocese of Vic as a representative showcase.

Keywords: Catalonia, systematic fragment research, Digital Humanities

The General Situation and the Specific Case of Medieval Catalonia

The study of medieval manuscript fragments has all the allure of a detective mystery. Each newly identified and scientifically processed witness gives us a further clue, a small shard by which to rebuild what is otherwise an incomplete, if not utterly shattered, picture.¹

¹ Right from the start, I would like to point out that in the following I deliberately do not distinguish between (individual) 'fragments' and (multiple)

No matter how small a fragment might be, it still provides sufficient data on the codicology, script, and text of its full manuscript to make it possible to determine the place of origin, the time of production, and, with a sufficiently large amount of text preserved, even to place the witness within the vexing textual history of the surviving author or work. Under particularly fortunate circumstances, such fragments may contain a rare, if not unique, text, or at least the oldest-known witness to it.²

The study of medieval manuscript fragments in Catalonia has developed along the same general lines as in other regions of Europe.³ As a rule, individual studies have been published on textual

‘membra disiecta’ of a medieval copy, since, with the advances in national and international fragmentology, many ‘fragments’ previously claimed to be individual pieces are now turning out to be ‘membra disiecta’ of common-text witnesses. The abandonment of this unnecessary distinction is based on the hope of being able to at least partially reconstruct an increasing number of manuscripts. This promising research potential is present in many of the cases presented hereinafter.

- 2 Some basic orientation for the Iberian context: M.C. Díaz y Díaz, “Códices y fragmentos de códices”, in *Iglesia y cultura en las edades media y moderna*, ed. A. Hevia [y] Ballina, Oviedo 1992, 31–44; D. Andrés [y] Fernández and C. Martí [y] Martínez, “Fragmentos de códices litúrgico-musicales en España. Apuntes para una historiografía y una propuesta de descripción”, *Hispania Sacra* 69 (2017), 49–60; H. Bamford, *Cultures of the Fragment. Uses of the Iberian Manuscript, 1100–1600*, Toronto 2018; J. Antoni Iglesias i Fonseca, “‘Instruments inútils o no importants per lo monastir’. En los márgenes de la codicología, fragmentos y ‘membra disiecta’”, in *La producción del libro en la Edad Media. Una visión interdisciplinar*, ed. G. Avenzoza [i Vera], L. Fernández [y] Fernández, and M.L. Soriano [y] Robles, Madrid 2019, 247–91; M.E. Martín [y] López, “La investigación sobre fragmentos en España. Estado de la cuestión”, in *Frammenti di un discorso storico. Per una grammatica dell’aldilà del frammento*, ed. C. Tristano, Spoleto 2019, 405–26; J.A. Iglesias [i] Fonseca, “La investigación sobre fragmentos y ‘membra disiecta’ en Cataluña. Jirones de un ilustre patrimonio bibliográfico”, in *ibid.*, 481–506.
- 3 Groundbreaking essays on fragment research in Catalonia, which provide a general orientation on the tasks and possibilities, were written by Anscari Manuel Mundó i Marcet and his pupil Jesús Alturo i Perucho: A.M. Mundó [i Marcet], “Les colleccions de fragments de manuscrits a Catalunya”, *Faventia* 2:2 (1980), 115–23; *idem*, “Comment reconnaître la provenance de certains fragments de manuscrits détachés de reliures”, *Codices manuscripti* 11 (1985), 116–23; J. Alturo i Perucho, “Els estudis sobre fragments i ‘membra disiecta’ de còdexs a Catalunya. Breu estat de la qüestió”, *Revista catalana de teologia*

traditions from liturgy or exegesis, sometimes on spectacular finds, in a wide variety of fields of ancient, patristic, and medieval texts.⁴ However, these activities have remained limited to a small selection of the superficially most interesting pieces, and equally limited as to audience, as they have been mostly presented in the traditional essay format, often with poor illustrations, and written only in Catalan, or possibly Spanish. Making the fragments available on an internationally visible all-English platform has not yet been considered. In addition, initial, but only sporadic, attempts have been made to provide an overview of fragments according to genre, without, however, delving into substantial philological detail.⁵ Laudable though

13 (1988), 431–50 [Spanish version: “Los estudios sobre fragmentos y membra disiecta de códices en Cataluña. Breve estado de la cuestión”, in *Instituciones de enseñanza y archivos de la Iglesia*, ed. A. Hevia [y] Ballina, vol. 1, Oviedo 1998, 33–52]; idem, “La aportación del estudio de los fragmentos y ‘membra disiecta’ de códices a la historia del libro y de la cultura”, in idem, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*, Bellaterra 1999, 11–40; idem, “Les études sur les fragments de manuscrits en Espagne. Bilan et considérations diverses”, *Revista de história da sociedade e da cultura* 12 (2012), 79–112.

- 4 Some selected examples are mentioned later in the article when presenting the various possibilities of fragment research in Catalonia.
- 5 Of particular note here are the inventories of the mostly liturgical fragments by José Janini y Cuesta (twice with Xavier Ricomà i Vendrell) and the surveys of Vic fragments of liturgical, biblical, and hagiographic texts by him and the archivist and liturgy expert Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol: J. Janini [y Cuesta], “Los fragmentos de sacramentarios existentes en Vich”, *Hispania Sacra* 18 (1965), 385–409; idem and J. Ricomà [y Vendrell], “Fragmentos litúrgicos del Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Tarragona”, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 38 (1965), 217–30; idem, “Manuscritos latinos existentes en Poblet”, in *Miscellanea Populeтана*, Poblet 1966, 209–28; J. Janini [y Cuesta], “La colección de fragmentos litúrgicos de Vic”, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 48 (1975), 3–32; idem, “Fragmentos litúrgicos de Cataluña”, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 1 (1978), 69–88; idem, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de las bibliotecas de España 2: Aragón, Cataluña y Valencia*, Burgos 1980; M.S. Gros [i Pujol], “Fragments de biblias llatines del Museu Episcopal de Vic”, *Revista catalana de teologia* 3 (1978), 153–71; idem, “Cinc fragments de manuscrits de l’escriptori de la catedral de Vic”, *Ausa* 19 (2000), 61–72; idem, “Fragments de passoner i de leccionari del sanctoral de la Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic dels segles IX–XIII”, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 26 (2018), 97–145. For the case of the Catalan biblical traditions see below, n. 18 and 26. There are numerous other works by Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol and Jesús Alturo i Perucho, comprising individual studies on fragmentary liturgical texts and glossaries, patristic, and literary

such attempts are, they make visible only the tip of an iceberg, the enormous submerged extent of which can hardly be estimated. In contrast to other regions of Europe, medieval Catalonia has an abundance of handwritten fragments—indeed, it is perhaps one of the richest regions for these remains. There are several reasons for this.

The region's high degree of literacy following the so-called 'Carolingian Reform' of the ninth century is well known. This is apparent in the area of private charters and documents, whose records up to the year 1000 have now been largely processed and critically edited.⁶ However, this work has not yet been accomplished in the area of (early) medieval manuscript production, which can be defined as 'literary' literacy in the broadest sense.⁷ This research situation in Catalonia is due not least to the complexity of the records in the various archives and libraries and their virtually non-existent systematic indexing in inventories and catalogues, let alone any consistent digitisation or visualisation of the material in question.⁸ If the estimates are even remotely accurate, then in Catalonia we are

texts, respectively. Selected publications were republished or published for the first time in the latter's anthology of 1999: *Studia in codicum fragmenta*. A full grasp on the individual titles is now provided in the recent bibliographies of the two scholars: I.J. [i Ginestà] and A. Gudayol [i Torrelló], "Bibliografia del Dr. Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol", *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 31 (2023), 19–45; T. Alaix [i Gimbert] and A. Pons [i Serra], *Jesús Alturo i Perucho, filòleg, paleògraf, historiador de la cultura. Breu biobibliografia*, Barcelona 2024.

- 6 R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals et al. (eds.), *Catalunya Carolíngia* 8 vols., Barcelona 1926–2020 [<https://catcar.iec.cat/documents/edicio/llistaMan>].
- 7 A first impression of the richness of the Catalan manuscript landscape is provided by three monographs published more or less simultaneously, in which fragments are repeatedly mentioned: J. Alturo i Perucho, *El llibre manuscrit a Catalunya. Orígens i esplendor*, Barcelona 2000; idem, *Història del llibre manuscrit a Catalunya*, Barcelona 2003; M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IXe–XIIe siècle)*, 2 vols., Madrid 2003.
- 8 This is painfully evident in the fact that no serious attempt has ever been made to develop a manuscript census in Catalonia, let alone in Spain or Portugal. Given our rapidly growing knowledge of the globally scattered Iberian manuscript heritage, such a repertory can now only be conceived of as an electronic manuscript portal.

dealing with c. 7,000 fragments of c. 3,000 medieval manuscripts.⁹ However, given the estimated number of c. 2,600 intact medieval manuscripts from Catalonia,¹⁰ this is probably too low because the number of so far unreported pieces that have found their way into foreign, i.e. non-Iberian collections, has not been taken into account. Any precise determination of the number of surviving fragments is currently hampered by the lack of reliable estimates of the contents of both historical and modern Catalan, Spanish, and Portuguese collections as a whole.¹¹

The high level of diplomatic and literary writing in Catalonia has, however, been accompanied by an equally—and unusually—high level of destruction, especially of the region's medieval manuscripts, which may explain the exceptionally high proportion of manuscripts that have migrated abroad or that have remained only in a fragmented state in Catalonia itself. The fragmentation of multiple medieval libraries and manuscripts, which began for

9 Alturo i Perucho, “La aportación”, 16. Based on an estimation made end of November 1979, Anscari Manuel Mundó i Marcet spoke of 6,317 fragments of 2,693 medieval manuscripts: Mundó i Marcet, “Les colleccions”, 116 with n. 7.

10 Mundó i Marcet, “Les colleccions”, 115 with n. 1.

11 E. Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West. Explorations with a Global Database*, Leiden 2011, 110 mentions an estimated range of 61,543 to 82,128 medieval and premodern manuscripts of Iberia (Spain, Catalonia included, and Portugal), but he bases these extrapolated figures up to the year 1600 on an internal, thus not verifiable, database. C. Flüeler, “Ein europäisches Handschriftenportal. Ein Plan für das 21. Jahrhundert”, in *Die Bibliothek – The Library – La Bibliothèque*, ed. A. Speer and L. Reuke, Berlin 2020, 819–33, at 829 bases his statistically extrapolated number of ca. 9,000 medieval manuscripts in modern Spain (Catalonia included) on supposedly comparable parameters of interest in the same authors and works across Europe, as if one could assume more or less the same production and reception interests in all historical European societies. Given the permanently conflictual Iberian border societies and their different concerns, reading interests, and production conditions, this is at the very least questionable. Furthermore, both authors do not include systematic estimates of fragments, seemingly unaware of the publications by Mundó i Marcet and Alturo i Perucho. All figures presented so far regarding manuscripts and fragments of a present-day region or nation-state are also unreliable because, given the (medieval and modern) losses of their historical holdings and the (modern) acquisition of foreign items, they do not reflect the true conditions of either production or library holdings during the Middle Ages.

various reasons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, through numerous wars from the latter century onward, up to the Spanish Secularisation in the nineteenth century (esp. the *amortización* of 1835) and the Spanish Civil War 1936–39, have severely damaged Catalonia’s historical *and* modern manuscript collections.¹² A reliable history of the destruction of the region’s medieval libraries will only be possible once we have compiled a census, not only of the complete manuscripts that are still preserved and verifiable, but also of the books that have survived only in form of fragments.

Setting out For New Horizons

The following essay was prompted by the results of two joint projects that the author conducted together with his Austrian colleague Walter Pohl (Institute for Medieval Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna), from 2015 to 2019 and from 2020 to 2024. The first dealt with the transmission and use of the Bible in the Iberian Peninsula and led to an initial review of all Catalan biblical manuscripts and fragments that have been discovered to date, not only in regional archives and libraries, but also in national and international collections.¹³ The second project, using the same systematic approach, examined the new Carolingian text and manuscript culture of Septimania and Catalonia and documented it in the database *Carolingian Catalonia* (*CarCat*), which will go online in the near

12 M.M. Tischler, “From Disorder to Order. The Scientific Challenges of Early Medieval Catalonia for Twenty-First-Century Medieval Studies”, in *Disorder. Expressions of An Amorphous Phenomenon in Human History. Essays in Honour of Gert Melville*, ed. M. Breitenstein and J. Sonntag, Münster in Westfalen 2020, 93–140, at 97–103 provides some initial insights for the (pre)modern period. Based on the fascinating figure of the Catalan scholar Jaume Caresmar i Alemany (1717–91), P. Freedman, *The Splendor and Opulence of the Past. Studying the Middle Ages in Enlightenment Catalonia*, Ithaca (NY) 2023 develops an impressive panorama of the destruction of Catalan collections of documents and books during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

13 *Bible and Historiography in Transcultural Iberian Societies, 8th to 12th Centuries* (FWF project P 27804-G16): <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/research/historical-identity-research/projects/further-projects/bible-and-historiography>.

future.¹⁴ During the data processing, it became clear how extensive the proportion of fragments actually was, not only in the usually highly fragmented liturgical and exegetical manuscripts, but also in the biblical tradition (used as the reference text for Christians, Jews, and Muslims). Furthermore, the decision was made to include other sources in the database that attest to medieval manuscripts, such as medieval book lists (known and mostly published today, as they appear within endowments, donations, testaments, and, not least, inventories) and true library catalogues. All these sources attest to manuscripts that have only survived in the form of fragments.

The Development of the Text and Manuscript Database *Carolingian Catalonia* (CarCat)

Finally, in the interests of coverage and efficiency, it was decided to develop for each codicological unit, and also for each textual witness, an individual research bibliography, from which the current state of scholarship and digitisation can be seen.¹⁵ It goes without saying that such a regional database design, which can be expanded at any time to include additional neighbouring regions—e. g. for the purposes of comparison—will not only enable the integration of the extensive biblical and less extensive Carolingian textual culture of the wider Iberian Peninsula. It will also allow the full inclusion of the manuscript transmission of the ancient classical authors, the Church Fathers, the Hispano-Visigothic and Insular authors, the Graeco-Latin authors of central and southern Italy, the authors and works of the new reform epochs from early, central, and late Scholasticism, and last but not least, the new wave of authors and works of Italian and international Humanism. With this design, the *Corpus Codicum Manuscriptorum Aevi Postvisigotici*, which has

14 *Carolingian Culture in Septimania and Catalonia. The Transformation of a Multi-Ethnic Middle Ground of the Euro-Mediterranean World* (FWF project P 33080-G): <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/forschung/historische-identitaets-forschung/projekte/carolingian-culture-in-septimania-and-catalonia>. CarCat will be published at <https://webs.uab.cat/carolingian-catalonia/>.

15 For this reason and in order to reduce the size of the footnotes, the codicological measures will be omitted below; they can easily be taken from the literature documented in CarCat.

long been called for,¹⁶ can be gradually developed. This data pool will also lay the foundations for the complete integration of the numerous textual witnesses that are only available in fragments. These do not require a separate *Corpus fragmentorum*, since fragmentology is not a sub-discipline of codicology, as it serves many other disciplines that deal with manuscripts too (palaeography; art history; text history; ecdotics; book and library history; intellectual, economic, war, and cultural history, etc.).¹⁷ When trying to retrieve an imaginary library of the cultural memory of a distinctive society, a separate corpus of fragments makes no sense. Instead, its dynamics can best be visualised by using a comprehensive text and manuscript database.

As should be clear already, only a few of the individual fragment collections have been recorded in printed inventories or catalogues. Where attempts have been made to compile the fragments comprehensively, at least up to the central Middle Ages, there, as in the case of the Catalan Bible tradition, the fragments have been mixed with the full manuscripts in mere chronologically sorted lists of shelfmarks, without this being made clear to foreign researchers. And again, the fragments have not been examined in detail either for their codicological—let alone palaeographical—coherence, or philologically with regard to their biblical text.¹⁸

16 J. Alturo i Perucho, “Le corpus des manuscrits et des chartes en écriture wisigothique et caroline en Espagne”, *Revista de história da sociedade e da cultura* 19 (2019), 13–39. However, this study does not take into account the more comprehensive perspective on the ‘Spanish’ manuscript heritage of the Middle Ages developed in the late nineteenth century by the Austrian manuscript librarian Rudolf Beer, who not only compiled the state of knowledge on this subject at his time but already formulated a vision of a combined edition of the medieval library catalogues and other book lists of ‘Spain’: R. Beer, *Handschriftenschatze Spaniens. Bericht über eine in den Jahren 1886–1888 durchgeführte [!] Forschungsreise ...*, Wien 1894 [repr. Amsterdam 1970]; idem, “Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken Spaniens und ihr Bestand an nationaler Literatur”, *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, [26 October 1895](#), 1–4.

17 W. Duba and C. Flüeler, “Fragments and Fragmentology”, *Fragmentology* 1 (2018), 1–5.

18 J. Alturo i Perucho, “Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae. Códices, fragmentos, membra disiecta y referencias literarias. Una primera aproximación”, in *Biblia y archivos de la Iglesia*, ed. A. Hevia [y] Ballina, Oviedo 2013, 69–114, at 101–05 (witnesses of the eleventh and twelfth centuries). Does the

In general, the understandable desire to expand rather small medieval manuscript holdings by integrating modern fragment collections within an existing shelfmark system of the respective collections has led to the problem that only those familiar with specific collections can quickly identify such bundles of fragments—without, however, being able to easily determine the number of medieval manuscripts hidden behind any given shelfmark.¹⁹ In other words, this practice has made it, if not impossible, then at least considerably more difficult to accurately calculate the number of fragments currently separated from their medieval and (early) modern supports (manuscripts, archival materials, incunabula, and prints) and bound separately. In this context, it should be mentioned that researchers can consider themselves fortunate if the provenance of the separated fragment is recorded, including location and institution. More usually, the shelfmark of the former host volume (archival document, manuscript, or print) is not known, and thus valuable chronological, geographical, and content-related data for assessing the origin or use of the fragment have inevitably been lost, or can only be reconstructed with considerable difficulty.

unsatisfactory state of research in this publication have to do with the fact that it does not take into account (and may even be unaware of) a detailed and philologically much more sound study that was published ten years earlier, i.e., A. Puig i Tàrrach, “La Bíblia llatina en els països de llengua catalana fins al segle XIII”, *Revista catalana de teologia* 28 (2003), 103–34?

- 19 Such shelfmarks containing a bundle of various manuscript fragments can be found in many Catalan collections, e. g. Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Còdex 120, Còdex 178, and Còdex 185; Barcelona, Arxiu Diocesà, Carpeta 1, Carpeta 2, and Carpeta 3; Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, UAB Ms. 33, UAB Ms. 34, UAB Ms. 35, Ms. 193, Ms. 2323, Ms. 2541, Ms. 5067, Ms. Música 1408, Ms. Música 1409, Ms. Música 1451 and Ms. Música 1463; Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 1949 and Ms. 1952; Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 151; Girona, Arxiu Diocesà, Ms. 27; Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 756, Ms. 757, Ms. 761, Ms. 770, Ms. 790, Ms. 791, Ms. 792, Ms. 793, Ms. 794, Ms. 795, Ms. 799, Ms. 804, Ms. 1039, Ms. 1042, Ms. 1061, Ms. 1104, Ms. 1108, Ms. 1113, Ms. 1152 and Ms. 1255; Tarragona, Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesà, Ms. 18, Ms. 19, Ms. 20, Ms. 21 and Ms. 22; Tortosa, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 332, Ms. 333, Ms. 334, Ms. 335 and Ms. 336; (La Seu d')Urgell, Biblioteca Capitular, Ms. 180, Ms. 181, Ms. 182, Ms. 183, Ms. 184, Ms. 185 and Ms. 186; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 79, Ms. 122, Ms. 123 and Fragn. 1–XXIX.

Unknown Private Collections of Fragments in Catalonia

Other structural obstacles to research on fragments in Catalonia are the largely unpublished private collections, for which there are currently only internal inventories available, but almost no publications. The most prominent case is probably the manuscript and fragment collection of the Catalan palaeographer and historian Anscari Manuel Mundó i Marcet (1923–2012). Over the course of his monastic, then secular career, Mundó, a former monk of Montserrat, acquired codices, primarily fragments of medieval manuscripts. Most of these entered Montserrat's manuscript collection in 2010, where over fifteen years later they still await processing.²⁰ A largely unknown private collection of fragments is located close by, in Sant Vicenç de Castellet, at the foot of Montserrat Abbey. In the possession of Miquel de Fàbregas i Sabater, it is going to be catalogued and described by the author of this essay.²¹ From both these collections, only individual pieces have so far been 'picked out' for publication.²²

20 The archive of Montserrat Abbey maintains an internal typewritten inventory of this collection of manuscripts and fragments (Ms. 1494–1536), to which Bernhard Bischoff refers in his catalogue of ninth-century continental manuscripts still under the location 'Barcelona': B. Bischoff (†), *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)* 1: Aachen – Lambach, Wiesbaden 1998, 56. However, the collection contains among its shelfmarks only one fragment from late ninth-century Septimania or Catalonia, Ms. 1520, a leaf of Pseudo-Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos* 5.

21 For a first orientation on this largely unknown private archive: M. de Fàbregas i Sabater, "Els fons documentals i la seva conservació. Un exemple concret d'iniciativa social. L'Arxiu Patrimonial Fàbregas de Manresa (Segles XI–XX)", *Dovella* 79 (2003), 27–30.

22 In the case of Mundó's collection of fragments, Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 1526, the bifolium of a thirteenth/fourteenth-century Tropary: M.C. Gómez [y] Muntané, "El Ars Antiqua en Cataluña (Apéndice I)", *Revista de musicología* 3 (1980), 279–83, and a further fragment of Justus of Urgell's *Commentary on the Canticles*, Ms. 1515, which belongs to an already-known fragment of the same eleventh-century copy, today Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193/4: J. Alturo i Perucho, "Encara un nou testimoni de l'Explanatio in Cantica Canticorum' de sant Just d'Urgell. El Ms. 1515 de la Biblioteca del Monestir de Montserrat", *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 23 (2015), 21–35. In the case of de Fàbregas i Sabater's collection of fragments, Sant Vicenç de Castellet, Arxiu Històric Fàbregas, Fragment 10, a large-size leaf with

The Invisibility of Medieval Fragments in Catalonia

In general, it can be said that up to the present time almost no medieval fragments in Catalonia are freely accessible as digital copies.²³ The only archive that has made all its digitised fragments available is the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó in Barcelona, but even there the user has to overcome two crucial hurdles: the fragments are only verifiable in a brief on-site inventory, and most of them can only be viewed in person, using screens in the archive's reading room. All users, whether local or international researchers, must travel to the centre of Barcelona to consult them in situ.²⁴ To date, no other archives have made any digital copies available at all. This inadequate research situation, coupled with the dispersal of fragments across a wide variety of archives and libraries under ecclesiastical and public administrations,²⁵ represents a major obstacle to

an early thirteenth-century primitive crucifixion scene, which is accompanied (among other short texts) by the beginnings of the four Gospels used in the Narbonese liturgy of church consecration and interesting notarial forms from Manresa on Jews as creditors in money-lending transactions with Christians: A. Rubió i Serrat, "Vestigis de la tradició litúrgica narbonesa i de debitoris jueus en uns formularis medievals", *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 27 (2019), 349–67.

23 A notable exception is, e.g., the fragment collection Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193, digitised under: <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/manuscritBC/id/263694>.

24 Only four of the 441 digitised fragments are currently visible online, namely Fragm. 94, 209, 241 and 242: <https://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/contiene/3231872>. This stands in curious contrast to the accessibility of the digitised manuscripts from Santa Maria de Ripoll, Sant Cugat del Vallès, and "Varia": <https://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/1859467>, <https://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/232180>, and <https://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/4735924>. The same holds true for the digital copies of the fragments of the Arxiu Capítular and Arxiu Diocesà at Girona, which are only consultable on the archive's screens in the reading room. In the Arxiu Capítular at Lleida, only a selection of fragments is currently available for consultation in digital form, also only at the archive itself. The inventory list in Lleida, like in Barcelona, can only be used on site; in Girona, the corresponding inventories have at least been made available online in pdf: https://www.arxiuadg.org/images/sec_esp/ACG-Manuscrts.pdf; https://www.arxiuadg.org/images/sec_esp/ADG-Manuscrts.pdf.

25 Catholic Church: diocesan, capitular, and episcopal archives and libraries; monastic libraries and archives; parish archives not yet integrated into the

systematic and comparative access to this virtually unknown part of the manuscript heritage of Catalonia.

A Typology of Fragmentology

Based on the work of the two above-mentioned research projects, on the biblical and the Carolingian manuscript heritage respectively, the author of this article has taken the first steps towards systematically investigating and reuniting (mostly unknown) fragments in these different textual areas.²⁶ This work has produced a number of insights, which will be presented below in a kind of typology of fragmentology.

Bringing Missing Links Together from Various Collections

Beyond the study and edition of an individual fragment,²⁷ the ambition of fragment research is the reunification of at least

diocesan archives. Spanish State: Archives of the Crown of Aragón, public libraries, and notarial archives. Generalitat de Catalunya: county ('comarcal'), municipal, and historical archives. Private owners.

²⁶ Bible: M.M. Tischler, "The Biblical Tradition of the Iberian Peninsula from the Eighth to the Twelfth Centuries seen from a Typological Standpoint", *Lusitania Sacra* 34 (2016), 33–59; Homiliaries: idem, "From Fragments to Codices. The Reconstruction of Copies of Carolingian Homiliaries and the 'Homiliary of Luculentius', a Case Study of Twenty-First Century Fragmentology in Septimania and Catalonia", *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 14:2 (2022), 181–200; *Homiliary of Paulus Diaconus*: idem, "Das Homiliar des Paulus Diaconus an der südwesteuropäischen Peripherie des Karolingerreiches. Methodische Anmerkungen und inhaltliche Ergänzungen zu einer neuen Monographie", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 131 (2023), 1–20.

²⁷ Thanks to the information kindly supplied by the Vic archivist Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol in March 2024, who died shortly thereafter, the author succeeded in discovering and publishing the oldest existing witness to Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* written in early Visigothic minuscule, now Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xxv/27. The fragment probably belongs to a copy made in the Pyrenean region, possibly in Urgell, around 800: M.M. Tischler, "Eine in westgotischer Minuskel geschriebene Kopie der 'Enarrationes in Psalmos' des hl. Augustinus in Vic (Katalonien) und ihre Bedeutung für die frühmittelalterliche Überlieferungs- und Textgeschichte des Werkes", *Sacris Erudiri* 64 (2025) (forthcoming).

two fragments from the same or different collections. While the former has been achieved more frequently,²⁸ the reuniting of fragments—especially from at least three different archives—has so far been rather rare.²⁹ As our own cataloguing work progresses, the discovery of fragments of the same manuscript from several relatively or completely unknown public, ecclesiastical, and private collections have increased in the last years³⁰. But there are also more complex cases, such as that of fragments of a magnificent, probably

- 28 I quote here only three spectacular cases, two of which are fragments of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* in two copies written in ninth-century Visigothic minuscule, one last recorded in Tarragona, private collection of Joan Serra i Vilaró, and Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà, Fragn. 106: J. Serra i Vilaró, "11. De l'arxiu particular de Mossèn Serra i Vilaró", *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 6 (1930), 296–303, at 300–03; J. Alturo i Perucho, "Un nou fragment visigòtic dels 'Moralia in Iob' de Sant Gregori el Gran. El 106 de Solsona, Arxiu Catedralici", *Faventia* 6:2 (1984), 127–36 [repr. in idem, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*, 42–51]; the other in Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 2541/11 and Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 1104/v: A. Millares [y] Carlo (†), *Corpus de còdices visigòtics* 1–2, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 1999, 17 n° 10; the third case consists in the above-mentioned fragments of Justus of Urgell's *Commentary on the Canticles* in Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193/4 and Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 1515. Further examples in the area of the biblical and homiletic tradition can be found in Tischler, "The Biblical Tradition"; "From Fragments to Codices".
- 29 The most spectacular find in Catalonia in this case is clearly the discovery of fragments of a third Ripoll Bible from the early eleventh century (1012/1017), the so-called Bible of Fluvià: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 322: Jerome, *Epistola* LIII and *Prologus in Pentateuchum* (parts) (Stegmüller RB n° 285), Lv (parts) and Dt (parts); Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 821/IV: los (parts); Banyoles, Arxiu Comarcal del Pla de l'Estany, Col·lecció de manuscrits, 1: 11 Thess and 1 Tim (parts): A.M. Mundó [i Marcet], *Les Biblies de Ripoll. Estudi dels Mss. Vaticà, lat. 5729 i París, BnF, lat. 6*, Vatican City 2002, 57–59. Here and in the following, the Bible books are cited according to the internationally standardised *sigla* of the *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgata*.
- 30 Two leaves of an unknown late eleventh-century Bible pandect are Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 288: 1 Mcc 12, 53–13, 7, 1 Mcc 13, 22–32 and 45–51, and 1 Mcc 14, 9–18 [Figure 1], and Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà, Fragn. 82: Act 10, 7–12, 15 [Figure 2]; two immediately following bifolia of a small private Psalter from the first half of the thirteenth century, with the late medieval provenance from Santa Coloma de Centelles, are Sant Vicenç de Castellet, Arxiu Històric Fàbregas, Fragment 8: Ps 32, 1–33, 9 and Ps 37, 7–38, 7 [Figure 3], and Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XI/40: Ps 33, 9–34, 13 and Ps 36, 19–37, 7 [Figure 4].

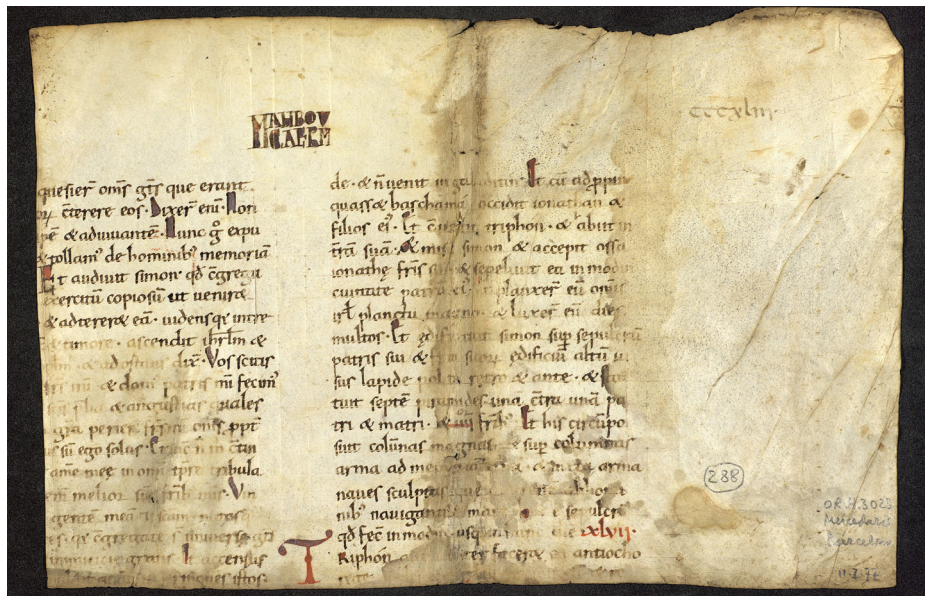


Figure 1: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragma. 288, recto

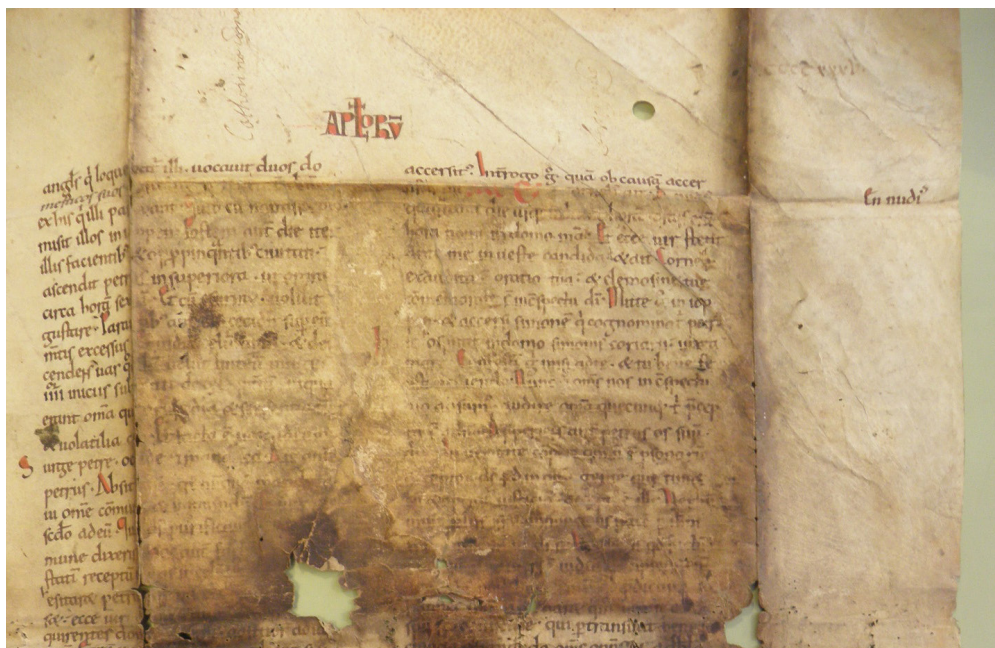


Figure 2: Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà, Fragma. 82, recto (upper part)

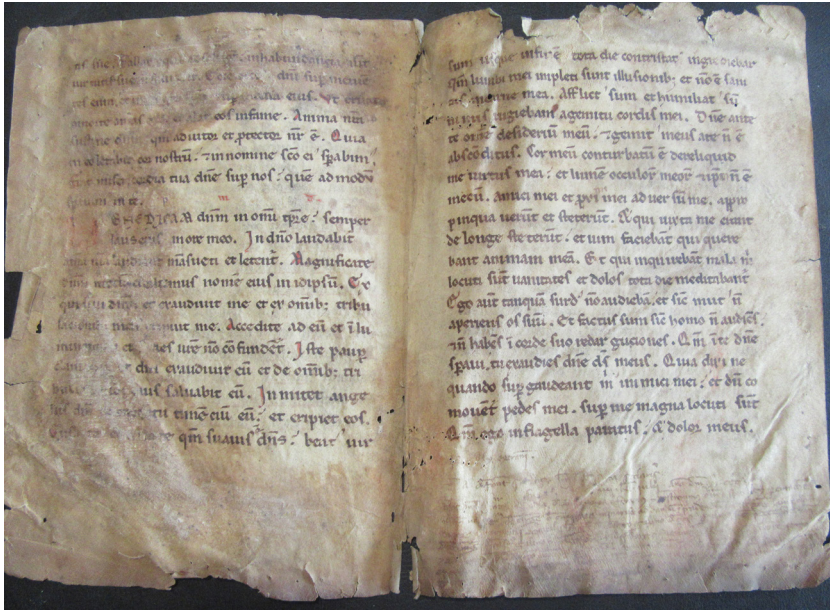


Figure 3: Sant Vicenç de Castellet, Arxiu Històric Fàbregas, Fragment 8, f. 1v/2r

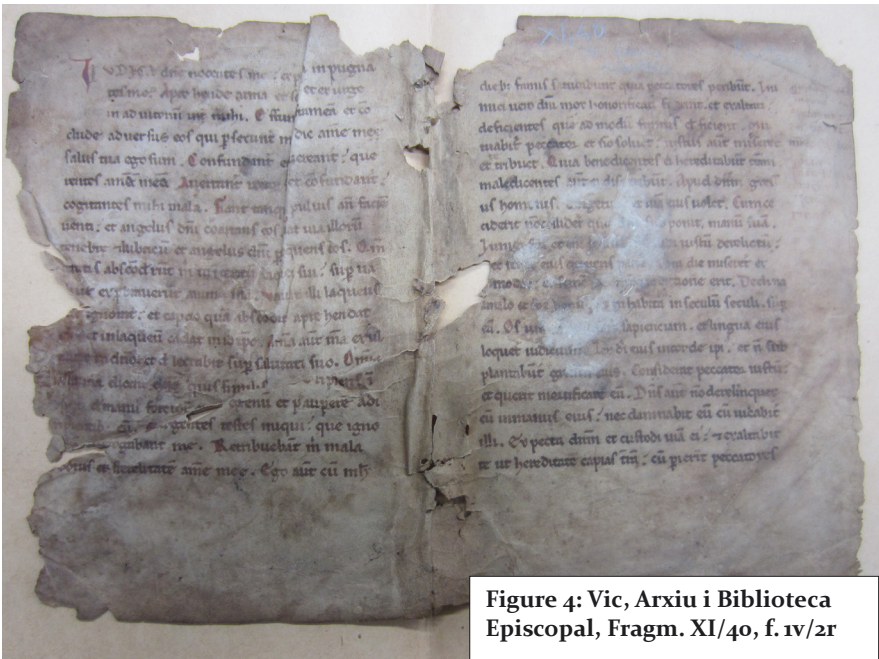


Figure 4: Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragam. XI/40, f. 1v/2r

late eleventh-century Bible from Sant Pere de Ripoll—the parish church of the famous Catalan Benedictine Abbey Santa Maria de Ripoll—which are scattered among at least three different archives, each under different administration today.³¹ An even more complex case involves a late twelfth-century copy of Peter Lombard's *Magna glossatura* to the Psalter, which was once housed in the Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria de Poblet (near Tarragona) and later cut up for binding material. Its many fragments are now scattered among at least three Catalan and two Spanish institutions, and further of the manuscript's fragments may yet emerge at new locations in the future.³² In all these instances, comparable codicological, palaeographical, and art-historical data were not the only factors that brought the fragments back together. Equally important and particularly revealing regarding the latest date of disassembly of the original codex and its reuse in new forms are the inscriptions on the limp bindings of archival documents in the form of titles, shelfmarks, or dates, especially when they are written by the same hand and reveal an origin from the same archival context. All of

31 The three currently-known fragments are Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XXII/5; Ex 14, 25–19, 15; Cardona, Arxiu Històric Municipal, Ms. 489: Rt 4, 5–22 and Hieronymus, *Prologus in Esr* (Stegmüller RB n° 330); Ripoll, Arxiu Comarcal del Ripollès, Fons Santa Maria de Ripoll, Ms. 1: Is 63, 2–66, 8, Ier 8, 21–9, 15, Ier 10, 22–11, 11, Ier 39, 5–14, Ier 40, 1–7, Ier 40, 10–16, Ier 41, 5–10, Ier 2, 17–29, Ier 3, 1–13, Ier 3, 14–21, *Prologus in Am* (Stegmüller RB n° 512), Am 1, 1–7, Am 9, 3–15, *Prologus in Abd* (Stegmüller RB n° 518), Abd 1–10, Abd 11–21, *Prologus in Ion* (Stegmüller RB n° 521) and Ion 1, 1–12: Tischler, “The Biblical Tradition”, 43 and 46–48.

32 Poblet, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Cod. 13 with 21 leaves: Ps 10–11, Ps 41, Ps 21–22, Ps 26, Ps 36–37, Ps 32, Ps 50, Ps 50, Ps 109–10, Ps 111–12, Ps 113, Ps 118, Ps 118, Ps 39, Ps 31, Ps 52–53, Ps 37, Ps 18, Ps 16, Ps 17 and Ps 105–06 [Figure 5]; Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 172 with 14 (five of them only partial) leaves: Ps 37, Ps 36, Ps 38–39, Ps 17, Ps 107–08, Ps 40–41, Ps 38, Ps 34–35, Ps 29, Ps 20, Ps 20–21, Ps 17, Ps 17 and Ps 56 [Figure 6]; Tarragona, Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesà, Ms. 18/6 with two leaves: Ps 39–40 and Ps 48 [Figure 7]. Further fragments of the same copy are pasted into book bindings of Poblet manuscripts that are preserved in various sections of the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid. Finally, there will be fragments at Salamanca as well: Tischler, “The Biblical Tradition”, 56 (mentioning only Poblet and Tarragona). A reconstruction of the manuscript needs also to rearrange the incorrectly bound (Poblet) or ordered (Barcelona) fragments.

Figure 5: Poblet, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Cod. 13, f. 10r

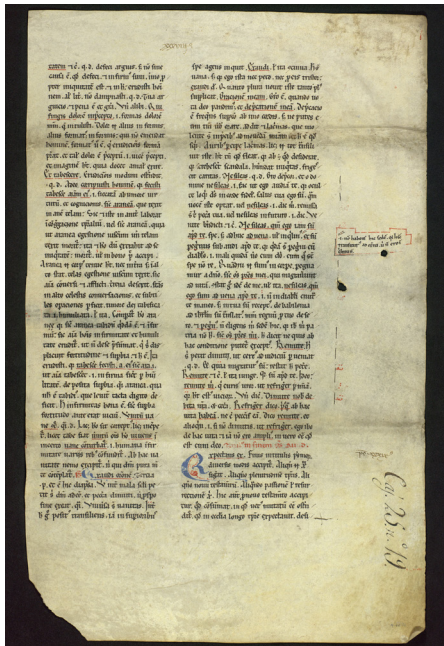
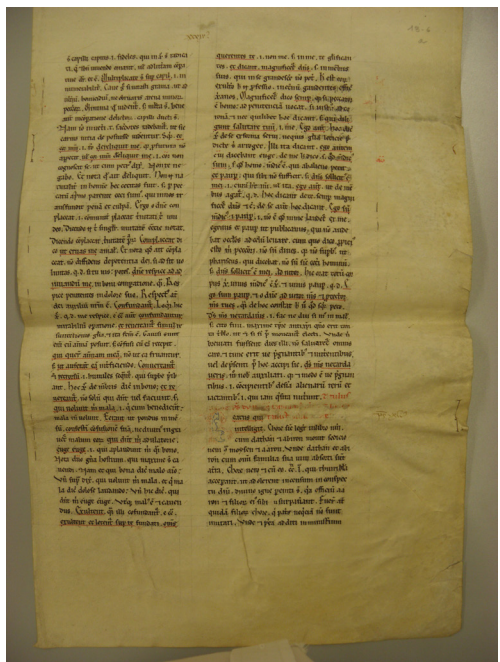
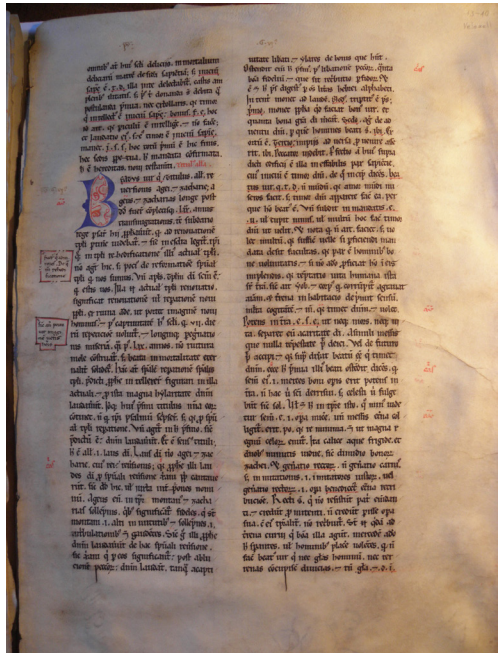
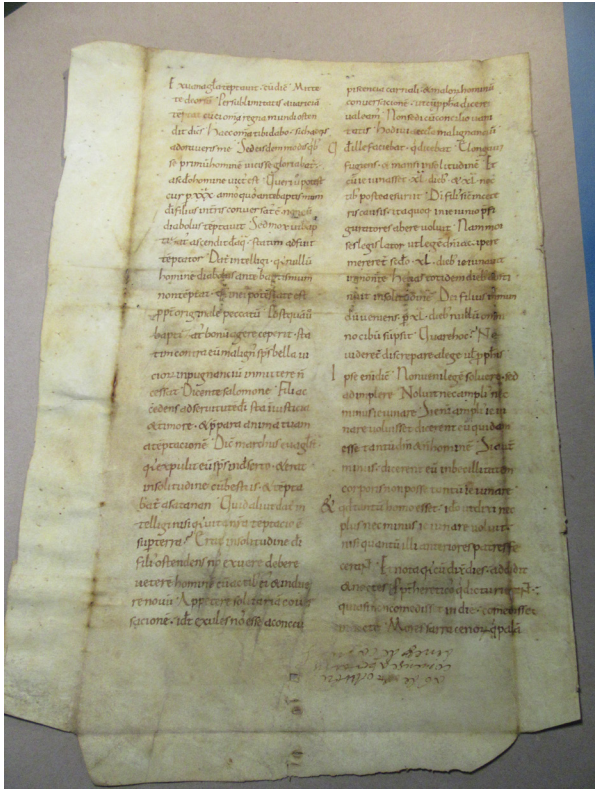


Figure 6: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 172, f. 3r

Figure 7: Tarragona, Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesà, Ms. 18-6, f. a, recto





**Figure 8: Sant
Vicenç de Castellet,
Arxiu Històric
Fàbregas, Fragment
22, verso**

these traces must be documented, as they are often the only clues to the place of reuse and, in the best-case scenario, even reveal the medieval provenance or origin of a manuscript.

Already at this point a fundamental remark must be made on the importance of bringing together fragments that at first glance seem exceedingly inconspicuous, such as scraps from Bibles, homiliaries, or lectionaries. The more fragments of one and the same manuscript can be reassembled, the greater the probability that we will be able to recognise the texts and their arrangement, and thus, for example, the type of Bible and its book order (canon), or the organising principles of a homiliary or lectionary. With this information, and in conjunction with the codicological and palaeographical data, we increase our chances of rediscovering models in their original, or at least copied form.

New Campaigns of Fragment Research and the Role of Auction Houses

The situation is different when fragments of a work originating in the region—and thus with a correspondingly wide local distribution—increasingly emerge, either from an already-known copy or from new copies from a variety of ownerships. The project undertaken by the author and his team preparing the critical edition of the late Carolingian *Homiliary* of Luculentius, a work probably written in Vic (or Ripoll) around 900,³³ has meanwhile sensitised national and international fragment research to this largely unedited work. Eleven further fragments of it have been accordingly brought to light, eight of which belong to previously unknown textual witnesses from Vic,³⁴ while the other three belong to two already recorded copies.³⁵ The latter pieces, from València and London (sold

33 <https://webs.uab.cat/luculentius/>

34 Caldes de Montbui, Arxiu municipal, s. n., first half of the eleventh century: *Homilia* 6 (part): J.A. Iglesias i Fonseca, in *Obres fragmentades i biblioteques disperses*, ed. J.A. Iglesias i Fonseca, and [M.]L. Soriano [y] Robles, Madrid 2026 (forthcoming); a short presentation and the illustration of f. 2r is published under: <https://www.caldesdemontbui.cat/actualitat/noticies/el-document-del-mes-de-maig-es-un-fragment-de-lhomiliari-de-luculentius-del-s-xi.html>; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, *Fragm.* xxv/28, Vic, first quarter of the tenth century: *Homiliae* 91 end – 92 beginning: M.M. Tischler, E. Pons i Vernet, “Un nou fragment d’una còpia primerenca de l’*Homiliari* de Luculenci procedent de Sant Mateu de Bages (Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, *Fragm.* xxv/28)”, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 33 (2025) 21–35; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, *Fragm.* xxv/14, Vic, first half of the tenth century: *Homiliae* 86 end – 87 beginning; Sant Vicenç de Castellet, Arxiu Històric Fàbregas, *Fragment* 9, Vic (?), last quarter of the tenth century: *Homiliae* 138 end – 139 beginning and 148 (part); Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, *Fragm.* xiv/67, Vic (?), last quarter of the tenth century: *Homilia* 23 (part); Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, *Fragm.* xxv/16, Vic, first quarter of the eleventh century: *Homilia* 103 (part); Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, *Fragm.* xiv/64, Vic (?), first half of the eleventh century: *Homiliae* 103 (part) and 106 (part); Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, *Fragm.* xxv/26: Vic, second half of the eleventh century: *Homilia* 112 (part).

35 València, Universitat, Biblioteca Històrica, FR/1, two late tenth-century fragments of a leaf with part of *Homilia* 12 bound into the spine of a book cover of a sixteenth-century print as strengthening: F.M. Gimeno [i] Blay, *Librorum fragmenta. Incunables i manuscrits reutilitzats en la Biblioteca Històrica* (exhibition catalogue), València 2023, 62–67 n° 10 with 6 figures (verso b, recto

at auction and now in Los Angeles), clearly highlight the manifold deficiencies in the research of medieval Catalan manuscripts and fragments. Since there is currently no authoritative description of the hallmarks of the Caroline minuscule of early to central medieval Catalonia, and since illustrations of it have received little international attention so far, these unknown fragments of a previously largely unknown text could only be identified, localised, or dated with difficulty. And since there are currently no digital copies of the Catalan fragments publicly accessible, the two manuscript experts in València and London were unable to determine the relationship between their fragments and other, already-known pieces, and therefore also had difficulty dating their own items more precisely. The fact, however, that all eleven fragments are copies from early medieval Catalonia reinforces the conclusion, already drawn from other considerations,³⁶ that we are dealing with a homiletic work from this region and that it circulated there both early and widely.

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- a, recto b, verso a, verso a/verso b and verso b, oblique view), 156 n° 10, and 230–31 with fig. 6 (opened book cover with verso, detail, oblique view). To them belongs Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de Protocols, Miscel·lània 1/8 (*olim* Fragn. 16; *olim* 3), a fragment with *Homiliae* 18 end – 19 beginning, used as a flexible book-cover of the “Manual de Montalegre” from 1625 (or: 1628)–1634 in the possession of the Barcelona notary Rafael Riera menor (AHPB, 588/77): F.X. Altés i Aguiló, “La tradició codicològica i litúrgica de l’homiliari carolingi de Luculentius a Catalunya. La recensió catalana. Inventari i homilies recuperades”, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 18 (2010), 71–241, at 142–43 n° 17. A large-size leaf with the beginning of *Homilia* 31 offered in London at Sotheby’s on 4–10 July 2025 (auction catalogue *Books, Manuscripts and Music from Medieval to Modern*, n° 9: <https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2025/books-manuscripts-and-music-from-medieval-to-modern-l25404/fragment-cloth-late-10th-century-fragment-of>), now Los Angeles, Collection of Gifford Combs, belongs to Tarragona, Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesa, Ms. 18/9 with *Homiliae* 53 and 54 (parts), Catalonia, first quarter of the eleventh century: Altés i Aguiló, “La tradició codicològica”, 164–65 n° 48. Sant Vicenç de Castellet, Arxiu Històric Fàbregas, Fragment 22, a leaf with *Homilia* 37 (part) [Figure 8], most probably belongs to Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 793/v, the lower part of a leaf with *Homiliae* 56 and 57 (parts), a copy from Santa Maria de Ripoll, 1010–1015: Altés i Aguiló, “La tradició codicològica”, 161 n° 41.
- 36 M.M. Tischler and E. Pons i Vernet, “An Untapped Treasure of Carolingian Text Culture. The Homiliary of Luculentius from the Spanish March (c. 900)”, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 115 (2020), 715–29 [revised Catalan version: idem, “L’Homiliari de Luculentius (marca hispànica catalana, ca. 900). Un tresor

Furthermore, the age of the newly discovered fragment preserved in Vic (Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. xxv/28) also shows us what early copies of this work made for daily use looked like. In view of our recent experiences with this work, it is likely that further fragments of the *Homiliary* of Luculentius will appear nationally and internationally in the near future—an expectation that can only be flexibly met in a permanently updatable text and manuscript database such as *CarCat*.

The Reconstruction of a Set of Manuscripts: The Private Library of a Prominent Tenth-Century Bishop of Girona

Fragment research opens up a different perspective when the discovery, analysis, and classification of one or more fragments enable the completion of a collection of related texts consisting of surviving manuscripts, or even permits the reconstruction of such a collection. An interesting situation arises when known, but incorrectly—or at least imprecisely—dated and located manuscripts are suddenly joined by fragments of further codices by the same scribe, who can then not only be identified by means of documents, but whose work can also be located and dated. This is the case where the discovery of a charter allowed a collection of fragments and books to be assigned to Girona in the 970s and 980s. Previously, in 1994, Anscari Manuel Mundó i Marcet observed that a prominent copy of the *Collectio Hispanica*,³⁷ wrongly dated to the ninth or eleventh century, was written in the same hand as a Barcelona manuscript³⁸ of a collection of canon law, patristic, and Carolingian texts for the instruction and examination of priests and laypeople, which was also dated to the eleventh century and assigned to either northern

amagat de la cultura textual carolíngia”, *Miscehània litúrgica catalana* 28 (2020), 67–95].

37 Girona, Arxiu Capítular, Ms. 4: M.M. Tischler, “Carolingian Canon Law Collections in Early Medieval Catalonia. Complementing or Replacing the Hispano-Visigothic Legal Tradition?”, in *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam. An Arabic Canon Collection from al-Andalus and its Transcultural Contexts*, ed. M. Maser, J. Lorenzo [y] Jiménez and G.K. Martin, Turnhout 2024, 87–125, at 88, n. 5.

38 Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 228: <https://bipadi.ub.edu/digital/collection/manuscripts/id/55626>.

Italy or southern France. To these already-described manuscripts, Mundó i Marcet added a fragment of the Bible in Girona and a Barcelona copy of Gregory the Great's *Dialogorum libri iv*.³⁹ Only with his discovery of the same hand in a charter from Girona, dated 14 June 983, in which the scribe names himself (Atto), was it possible to bring all these manuscripts together as products from Girona of the last quarter of the tenth century. It seems most likely that these manuscripts represent a new set of key works that a newly elected and consecrated bishop of Girona had commissioned for his private use, that bishop very probably being Miró Bonfill (970–84).

Mapping the Manuscript Landscape of Catalonia

This prominent case is instructive in many further respects. Firstly, because it was common in Catalonia for scribes to write both documents and books, the region's rich and unrivalled tradition of 'private' charters and documents, which are mostly written in cursive but also calligraphic book minuscules, offers a unique opportunity to precisely determine the date and origin of numerous previously undatable and not localisable literary manuscripts. These opportunities have been repeatedly pointed out.⁴⁰ It goes without saying that this potential—especially as regards Catalonia's oldest Latin textual witnesses up to the end of the eighth and ninth centuries, many of which are fragments—will have consequences for updating the repertoires of Elias Avery Lowe, Bernhard Bischoff, and Agustín Millares y Carlo. Not only will the discoveries from the

39 Girona, Arxiu Capítular, Ms. 151, Fragm. 7 (with parts of I–II Tim) and Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 487: A.M. Mundó [i Marcet], "La cultura artística escrita", in *Catalunya romànica 1: Introducció a l'estudi de l'art romànic català. Fons d'Art romànic català del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, Barcelona 1994, 133–62 [repr. under the title "La cultura escrita dels segles IX al XII a Catalunya", in idem, *Obres completes 1: Catalunya 1: De la romanitat a la sobirania*, Barcelona 1998, 484–582], at 142 with n. 84 and 86, 159 n. 64, and 160 n. 84 and 86. The Barcelona copy is digitised: <https://bipadi.ub.edu/digital/collection/manuscrpts/id/70070>.

40 Especially by J. Alturo i Peruchó, "L'apporto delle carte alla storia della scrittura e del codice", in *Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, ed. E. Condello and G. De Gregorio, Spoleto 1995, 289–300 [repr. in idem, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*, 266–78].

last decades have to be integrated, but also most recent and future discoveries will provide further additions to the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*,⁴¹ the *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*,⁴² and the *Corpus de códices visigóticos*.⁴³

Secondly, as this particular case illustrates, with each new piece by an identifiable scribe, his profile as a copyist becomes clearer—for example, when it becomes apparent that he was an ‘all-rounder’ because of his writing capacities, but also specialised in the dissemination of certain contemporary literary works.⁴⁴

41 E.A. Lowe [and B. Bischoff], *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century* 1–11 and Supplement, Oxford 1934–71; B. Bischoff and V. Brown, “Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*”, *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985), 317–66; idem and J.J. John, “Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (II)”, *Mediaeval Studies* 54 (1992), 286–307; V. Brown, “New ‘C.L.A.’ Membra Disiecta in Naples and Rome”, *Mediaeval Studies* 58 (1996), 291–303. The repertory, now available in electronic form at <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/>, also needs an updated bibliography for each item. From Catalonia can now be added the bifolium of a Hispanic Psalter, Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 259, and the above-mentioned (n. 27) Vic fragment of Augustine’s *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.

42 B. Bischoff (†), *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)* 1–4, Wiesbaden 1998–2017. Richard W. Pollard (Montréal) has now converted this repertory into an electronic version, which should be supplemented in the near future with an expanded and updated bibliography for each item. From ten Catalan collections can be added at least 25 witnesses of Septimanian Caroline minuscule and of Catalan handwriting in transition between Visigothic and Caroline minuscule, among them the fragment of Mundó’s former private collection at Barcelona, now at Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 1520 (above, n. 20), the hitherto unknown fragment of a large-format Septimanian copy of Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae* (v 39 and vi 1), now Manresa, Arxiu de la Seu, Fragments de còdexs, s. n., and the bifolium of a Narbonne copy of Walahfrid Strabo’s *Expositio in Psalmos* (In Ps 9, 4–24 and Ps 11, 3–13, 2), now Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xxv/2.

43 See above, nn. 27–28.

44 This is the case of Bonsom, obviously from Vic, who besides documents also wrote the late tenth-century Sant Cugat Bible, a leaf of which (with iv Rg 4, 34–7, 5) is Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Fragm. 250, the *Homiliary* of Luculentius, fragments of which (with parts of *Homiliae* 16 and 77) are Vilafranca del Penedès, Arxiu Comarcal de l’Alt Penedès, Comunitat de Preveres de Vilafranca, 17: G-8-79 and G-10-99 and Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Fragm. 249, and the full copy of the so-called *Liber iudicum popularis*, today

Thirdly, with every new textual witness, even if only preserved as fragments, the picture of the transmission of specific authors and works in a region becomes increasingly dense. Layering new chronological, spatial, religious and social information, these discoveries thus deliver evidence by which we can stratify the transmission of texts, providing new arguments for their initial presence, their duration, and their popularity (or the contrary). Each new piece of the puzzle tells us a new micro-story, either further clarifying and confirming previously identified general trends in text transmission, or telling new stories of individual and targeted acquisitions of copies. Hence, it is quite possible that otherwise domestic authors or works become domestic again through new foreign copies, made because they were apparently no longer available in their own libraries.⁴⁵

Finally, advancing fragmentology makes it possible to determine with increasing precision the proportions of the various text genres within the complete manuscript tradition and its fragments, which is of great importance for assessing the architecture of a manuscript and textual culture and its gradual transformations. For all these and many other reasons, consolidating the overall picture of a clearly defined regional landscape of historical manuscript collections through systematic fragment research is of utmost importance.

The Reconstruction of Collections of Glossed Bible Manuscripts in Catalan Cathedrals

Our second example of reconstructed sets of manuscripts are more or less complete collections of glossed Bibles from the central Middle Ages.⁴⁶ The first point to note is the relatively complete

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Ms. Z. II. 2., a work of which we still have traces of other contemporary copies, e.g. Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xv/3; A.M. Mundó [i Marcet], "El jutge Bonsom de Barcelona, calligraf i copista del 979 al 1024", in *Scribi e colofoni*, 269–88 and plates I–VI [repr. in idem, *Obres completes* 1, 587–610]; Tischler, "From Fragments to Codices", 194.

45 This seems to be the case for the eleventh-century Italian copy of Justus of Urgell, *Explanatio in Cantica Canticorum* from Tortosa, which possibly had an older Catalan owner who still needs to be determined; see above, nn. 22 and 28.

46 On this phenomenon, which can be observed throughout Europe: M.M. Tischler, "Die glossierten Bibeln des Bamberger Doms im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert", *Archäologische Fragmentologie VIII* (2025)

collection of such Bible manuscripts from the Cathedral of Girona, which was acquired by the University Library of Barcelona during the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, researchers did not note that, as regards the Pentateuch, the book of Leviticus, containing the Jewish legal regulations, is missing. The reason for this was simply its fragmentation, and a fragment of this glossed Bible is indeed preserved in Girona itself.⁴⁸ More significant for the importance of fragmentology is the case of Urgell Cathedral. Like all other contemporary episcopal churches of the central and late Middle Ages, the cathedral began acquiring the innovative northern French Bible editions with the so-called *Glossa ordinaria*. However, curiously, only three (or four) such Bible manuscripts seemed to have survived in Urgell,⁴⁹ which is similar to the situation at Barcelona Cathedral, for

Verbi 1 (2004), 91–118 (Bamberg); idem, “Dekonstruktion eines Mythos. Saint-Victor und die ältesten Sammlungen glossierter Bibelhandschriften im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert”, in *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris. Form und Funktion eines Grundtextes im europäischen Rahmen*, ed. R. Berndt, Münster in Westfalen 2009, 35–68 (Saint-Victor de Paris and Europe); idem, “Zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie. Die Umgestaltung der Bildungslandschaft im Bistum Hildesheim durch fröhscholastische Bücher aus Nordfrankreich im 12. Jahrhundert”, in *Schätze im Himmel – Bücher auf Erden. Mittelalterliche Handschriften aus Hildesheim*, ed. M.E. Müller, Wolfenbüttel 2010, 237–52 (Hildesheim and other Saxon institutions); idem, “The Biblical Tradition”, 51–56 (Catalonia and Aragón); idem, “Saint-Victor de Paris. Spiritualité et érudition des chanoines réguliers, XII^e et XIII^e siècles”, in ‘*Secundum Evangelium Christi et vitam apostolicam*’. *I Canonici Regolari dal Medioevo ai nostri giorni*, ed. B. Ardura and G. Melville, Vatican City 2023, 233–64, at 250–56 (East Saxony).

47 Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 491–Ms. 497, Ms. 829, Ms. 498–Ms. 500, Ms. 1754, Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 51, and Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 501: K. Reinhardt, “La presencia de la ‘Glosa ordinaria’ (‘In Bibliam’) en la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo”, in *Creer y entender. Homenaje a Ramón González Ruiz*, vol. 1, Toledo 2014, 65–74, at 70 (with lacunae); Tischler, “The Biblical Tradition”, 53.

48 Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 151, Fragm. 5.

49 The three completely preserved glossed Bible manuscripts are Ms. 2002: Is and Ier, Italy, second half of the twelfth century; Ms. 2001: Ps, Northern France, second half of the thirteenth century; Ms. 2004: Rm ... Hbr (Peter Lombard), Northern France, twelfth century: M. Bertram, G. Fransen, A. García y García, D. Maffei, P. Maffei, B. Marquès [i] Sala, and A. Pérez [y] Martín, *Catálogo de los manuscritos jurídicos de la Biblioteca Capitular de la Seu d’Urgell*, La Seu d’Urgell 2009, 405–06 and 408, however not mentioned by Reinhardt, “La

which we currently only know three complete and two fragmented manuscripts of this type.⁵⁰ During a research stay at the Biblioteca Capítular of Urgell at the end of July 2019, however, the author was fortunate enough to discover 20 leaves of varying sizes belonging to several further thirteenth-century glossed Bible manuscripts of varying provenance. These fragments show text passages from several books of the Old and New Testaments, of which 14 pieces have so far been identified.⁵¹ These fragments have therefore suddenly revealed that Urgell Cathedral, like Vic⁵² and all other Catalan episcopal sees,⁵³ also possessed a large collection of glossed Bibles, and that their heterogeneous composition pointed to the various foreign study locations of the canons of this episcopal see in the Pyrenees.

The Reconstruction of a Hybrid Manuscript Culture

However, fragmentology systematically applied in a region rich in manuscripts, such as Catalonia, opens up still further dimensions, which will be illustrated in the following by way of a few examples. First, it becomes clear that the region was a transitional zone between various written cultures, as it initially belonged

presencia de la 'Glosa ordinaria' ('In Bibliam')", 71. A later southern French or Catalan, thus autochthonous, product of the first half of the fourteenth century is Ms. 1998, a New Testament, prepared for interlinear and marginal glossing, which was, however, only accomplished at the beginning in Mt (ff. 1r–34r) and Lc (ff. 54v–90r), whereas the rest remained without glosses. The Bible text is written in the middle column in the style of an old twelfth- to thirteenth-century glossed Bible manuscript: Bertram et al., *Catálogo*, 404.

50 Barcelona, Arxiu Capítular, Còdex 3: Ex; Còdex 94: Ps (Peter Lombard); Còdex 183, 2: Ecl; Còdex 183, 1: Mt; Còdex 8: Rm ... Hbr (Peter Lombard). Other glossed Bibles belonging to the Cathedral of Barcelona (and other institutional and individual owners of the city) are likely to be found among the fragments preserved at the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona and the Arxiu Històric de Protocols in Barcelona.

51 La Seu d'Urgell, Biblioteca Capítular, Ms. 186, 4: Nm [Figure 9], Idc, Ios, Ps, Rm and 11 Cor [Figure 10]. A special study on these fragments, six of which are very difficult to identify due to their small size, is in preparation.

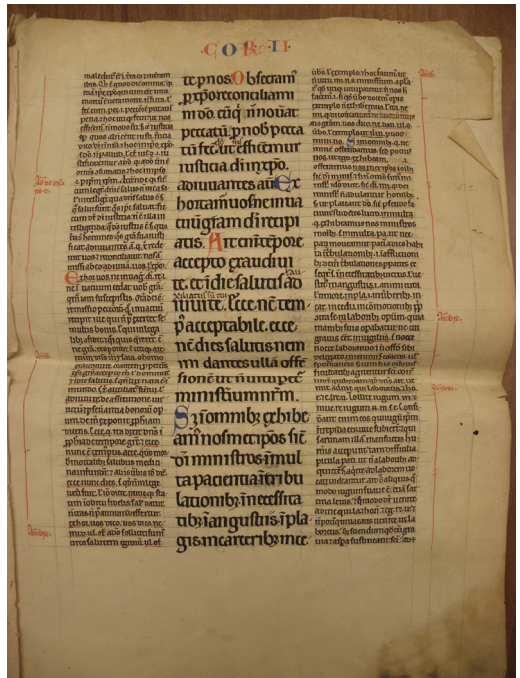
52 M.S. Gros i Pujol, "A propòsit de la biblioteca particular de Guillem de Tavertet, bisbe de Vic", *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 22 (2003), 103–36; Tischler, "The Biblical Tradition", 53.

53 Tortosa and Tarragona: Tischler, "The Biblical Tradition", 54. Only the situation at Lleida currently remains obscure.



Figure 9: La Seu d'Urgell, Biblioteca Capítular, Ms. 186. 4, here Nm 12-13

Figure 10: La Seu d'Urgell, Biblioteca Capítular, Ms. 186. 4, here II Cor 5-6



to the post-Visigothic text and manuscript culture dominated by Visigothic minuscule. From the ninth century, this was—depending on the subregion—sooner (Septimania) or later (Catalonia) replaced by the Frankish text and manuscript culture with its new Caroline minuscule. Therefore, in addition to manuscripts and fragments in hybrid scripts, there are also those in more or less pure Visigothic and Caroline minuscule.⁵⁴ However, we also find representatives of other foreign text cultures and corresponding book types in Catalonia, among which manuscripts imported from Italy played a significant role and demonstrate the close cultural exchange between the Apennine Peninsula and the north-eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁵ The fragments of manuscripts written in Beneventana known at the time were presented, described, and classified by Jesús Alturo i Perucho nearly 40 years ago.⁵⁶ Furthermore, there are also a number of other manuscripts and fragments written in the typically central Italian Romanesque minuscule that must be placed in the overall panorama. Prominent among the several imported Italian manuscripts that have not yet been documented and contextualised in a comprehensive study are fragments of four still largely unknown Italian Giant Bibles from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵⁷

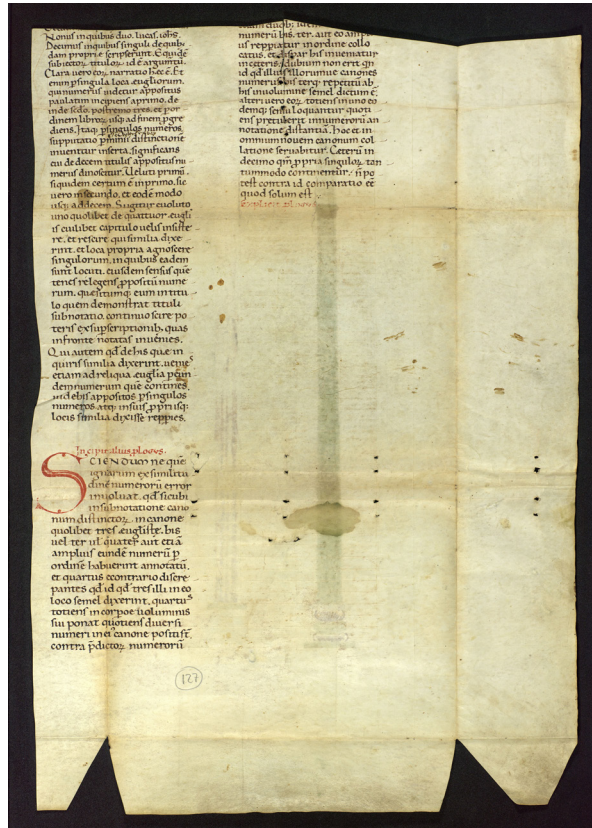
54 For fragments from Septimania and Catalonia written in Visigothic minuscule, one can consult the repertory by Millares y Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, as well as the individual studies, especially by Jesús Alturo i Perucho, some of which were reprinted *Studia in codicum fragmenta*.

55 A monographic study on the widely ignored presence of Italian manuscripts and fragments in Catalan medieval collections (which the author of this essay has been collecting for years), remains to be written.

56 J. Alturo [i Perucho], “Manuscris i documents en escriptura beneventana conservats a Catalunya”, *Studi Medievali* III 28 (1987), 349–80 [repr. in idem, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*, 60–101]. A new fragment of Augustine, *Sermo* CXCVII and Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia* XXVII, written in twelfth-century Beneventana, now València, Universitat, Biblioteca Històrica, FR/2, has been most recently discovered and published by Gimeno i Blay, *Librorum fragmenta*, 68–73 n° 11 with 6 figures (recto and verso in different views).

57 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragm. 127, central Italy, twelfth century: Prologues to the Gospels and Canons of Eusebios (parts) [Figure 11]; Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 3932, northern Italy, eleventh century: Iob and Psalter (parts): <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/manuscritBC/id/239282> [Figure 12]; Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 821/1, central Italy, eleventh century: Psalter (part) [Figure 13]; Montserrat, Arxiu i

Figure 11: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 127, recto



New Facets of Catalan Book Illumination

Fragments of these Bibles of the so-called ‘Gregorian Reform’, often decorated with elaborate initial letters, illustrate something further: their study contributes to the intensified research on the illumination techniques used, and thus to the history of entangled

Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 821/vI, central Italy, twelfth century: Dn (part) [Figure 14]. All these witnesses, which require precise palaeographical and art-historical classification, are not mentioned in *Le Bibbie atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione* (exhibition catalogue), ed. M. Maniaci and G. Orofino, Milano 2000; *Les Bibles atlantiques. Le manuscrit biblique à l'époque de la réforme de l'Église du XIe siècle*, ed. N. Togni, Firenze 2016.

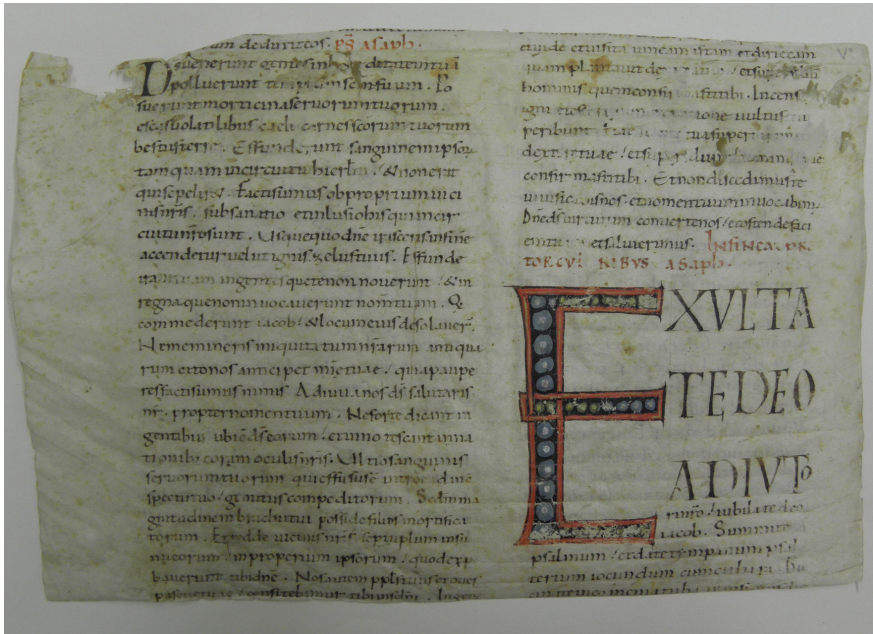


Figure 13: Montserrat,
Arxiu i Biblioteca del
Monestir, Ms. 821/I, f. 2v



Figure 14: Montserrat,
Arxiu i Biblioteca del
Monestir, Ms. 821/vi,
f. 1r and 2r

book illumination in an intermediating region like Catalonia.⁵⁸ That the rage of fragmentation visited upon manuscripts has affected not only commonplace items but also masterpieces of art history is shown by an example from the Biblioteca de Catalunya: a leaf of exquisitely illuminated canon tables of the Gospels from a large-size twelfth-century Catalan Romanesque Bible that has survived the centuries.⁵⁹ This precious piece requires closer examination, as its provenance from Santa Maria de Verdú suggests that it is somehow related to the diocese of Vic, of which Verdú was a parish during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, before coming into the possession of the nearby Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria de Poblet in 1227.

Visualising Manuscripts Thought to be Lost

A final point concerning fragment research still needs to be addressed: the possibility of making visible manuscripts that were previously unseen but attested from other medieval (and modern) sources. This becomes particularly exciting when, for example, a manuscript so far attested only in medieval catalogues, inventories, lists, endowments, and wills can be identified through suddenly emerging fragments and thus, so to speak, is materialised again, i.e., made tangible. Attempts at identification have not yet been systematically undertaken in the rich tradition of such additional sources in Catalonia, but with all due caution, the possibilities

58 The standard repertories and monographs are still J. Domínguez [y] Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas. Notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols., Madrid 1933; P. Bohigas [y Balaguer], *La ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña*, 3 vols., Barcelona 1960–67, esp. “Inventario de códices miniaturados o iluminados de procedencia catalana o existentes en bibliotecas catalanas”, *ibid.* vol. 3, 145–223 [repr. Barcelona 2000]. The special articles on manuscripts of individual Catalan scriptoria in the volumes of the series *Catalunya romànica* 1–27, Barcelona 1984–98 and in *Del romà al romànic. Història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrània entre els segles IV y X*, ed. P. de Palol i Salellas and A. Pladevall i Font, Barcelona 1999 [also: <https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romànica>] provide excellent illustrated overviews.

59 Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193/12 (= f. 16r/v) [Figure 15]: <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/manuscritBC/id/263626>; <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/manuscritBC/id/263627>.



Figure 15: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193/12 (= f. 16r/v), recto

seem promising where the evidence is sufficiently dense.⁶⁰ At the

60 Only two examples will be mentioned here. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 402 and Fragn. 21, two pieces of an early tenth-century copy of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel's *Expositio libri comitis* with later provenance Ripoll, can perhaps be identified with the "Collectarum i.", mentioned in the Ripoll catalogue of 1047: Tischler, "From Fragments to Codices", 187 with n. 36. In 1050, the church Sant Julià de Vilatorrada (near Vic) receives on the occasion of its dedication a donation of 17 biblical and liturgical books from the priest

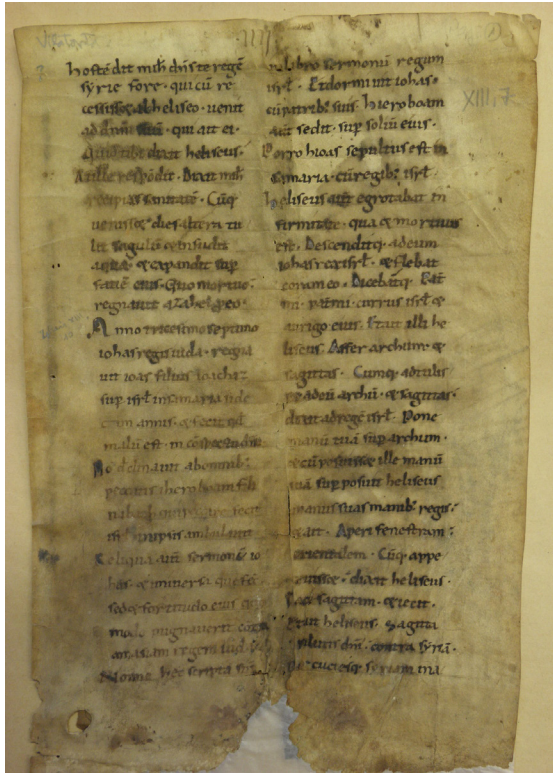
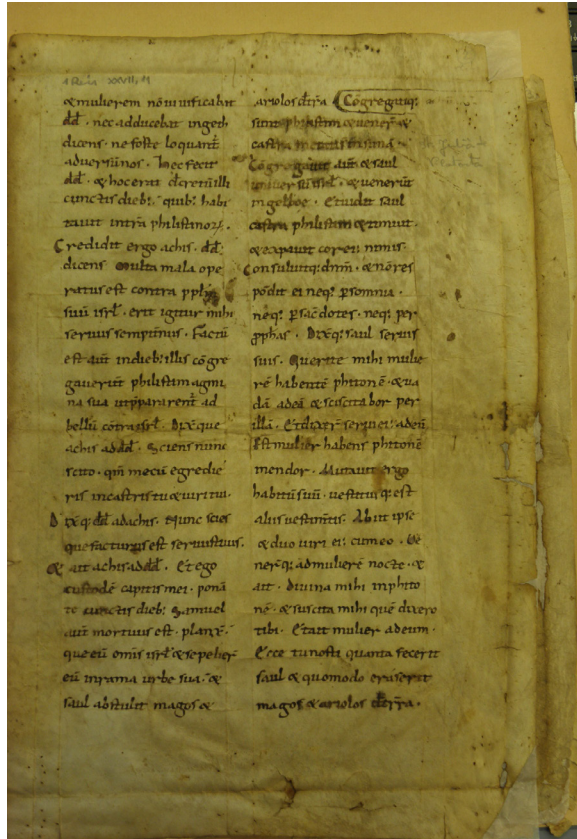


Figure 16: Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XIII/2, f. 2r

moment a fragment appears, the age, place of origin, size, quality

Bonfill. Among them are the Letters of St. Paul together with the Prophets, Genesis (probably the whole Pentateuch) with the Books of Kings and the Proverbs, a copy of the two books of Maccabees and also two Psalters and a liturgical Psalter: “Et sub hac excommunicationis pena ego Bonusfilius, sacerdos supradictus, dono in hac dedicatione Domino Deo et seniori meo, karissimo sancto Juliano, omnes libros meos quos abeo: nominatim dono ei ... et epistolas Pauli cum aliquibus libris Prophetarum et librum Genesis cum libro Regum et parabolas Salomonis cum libris Macchabeorum ... saletos duos ... et psalterium ... ut semper in iure ipsius ecclesie maneant, et clerici tenentes eam in eis legant, maxime illi clerici quos ego docui et nutrivit”: ed. R. Ordeig i Mata, *Les dotalles de les esglésies de Catalunya (segles IX–XII)*, vol. 2, p. 1, Vic 1996, 151–52 n° 188 B, at 152. The eleventh-century fragments of Ex, I Sm, Dn, IV Rg and Is with the same provenance, now Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XIII/2 [Figure 16] and Fragn. XIII/7 [Figure 17], are perhaps remaining pieces of this manuscript endowment.

Figure 17: Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XIII/7, f. 1r



and function of the originating manuscript become visible, giving us new precise data that do not appear in the usually cryptic references in book lists. Suddenly this information makes it clear whether the larger manuscript was an import or an original product of the local scriptorium or library. Of course, this research can only be carried out effectively if these book lists, their numerous editions, the widely scattered studies of them, and the often-contradictory opinions on their individual contents are systematically recorded and evaluated, a preparatory work that has already been done in the case of *CarCat*.

Fragmentology offers the potential for even more dramatic breakthroughs: the rediscovery of a previously invisible library or

even scriptorium.⁶¹ This previously under-recognised dimension of fragment research provides initial insights into a region's supposedly lost world of medieval books.⁶² Consistent study of as many fragments as possible will surely yield further insights in the future—for example, if the same book designs, handwriting, illumination practices, or even shelfmark systems are discovered.

Some Thoughts on the Epistemic Potential of Fragmentology

This overview of fragmentology's research possibilities has been concerned only with its potential for this particular field. However, it should be clear by now that the study of fragments significantly refines our picture of the written book culture of a region with a decidedly independent profile, both in detail and in general. Above all, it provides the means to bridge many gaps, making it possible to pose fundamental questions that in other, less affected regions of European heritage have already been asked. Each additional fragment found and classified allows us to visualise the dynamics of cultural transfer and the resulting transformation of a society with increasing precision, because each of these gives us a dateable and localisable piece of the puzzle. The overall picture we are trying to put together is of the body of knowledge that a specific society once held. By fitting each new piece that comes to hand, we are able to stratify and map old and new knowledge components in terms of time and place, and thus for the first time we are in a position to make reliable comparisons with the transmission conditions in other societies and regions of Europe. Fragmentology is therefore

61 Such a 'door-opening' find for Sant Pere de Rodes, with a fragment of Augustine's *Tractatus in Iohannem* from the middle of the twelfth century, now Barcelona, Arxiu Diocesà, Carpeta 1, Fragm. 19, has been made by J. Alturo [i Perucho], "Un manuscrit du 'scriptorium' de Sant Pere de Rodes (Catalogne). Le 'Tractatus in Iohannem' de saint Augustin", *Revue d'études augustiniennes* 39 (1993), 155–60 [reprinted in idem, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*, 132–39].

62 A first hint at the mostly lost late medieval library of the Charterhouse of Montalegre (near Barcelona), primarily through fragments of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, has been given by A.M. Mundó [i Marcet], "Sobre los códices de Beato", in *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liébana*, vol. 1, Madrid 1978, 107–16, at 111.

understood here in a comprehensive sense, no longer solely concerned with the fragments of manuscripts themselves, and no longer understood as just a measure for the philological reconstruction of previously missing textual witnesses in the *stemma codicum* of an author or work. Instead, we see fragmentology as being concerned also with the libraries of which the fragmented manuscripts once formed a part and from which they were removed to be literally destroyed. We can thus conceptualise fragments of libraries in multiple ways—namely, as fragments of a text, work, or book that was, on the one hand, part of a concrete library, but, on the other hand, also part of an imaginary larger library in the network of knowledge of a society in transformation, and thus of its emerging collective cultural memory. In this respect, fragmentology is a sound measure to restore this impaired memory.

Fragments as ‘missing links’ of an imaginary ‘library’ stands as a metaphor for the cultural ‘memory’ stored in a knowledge network, and can be implemented in a literacy-intensive society such as that of medieval Catalonia. This region not only offers a sufficiently large number of fragments, but above all offers a critical mass of cases in which fragments can be put together in a variety of ways, be it as scraps of a single manuscript, or as parts of a set of codices or even a larger collection of medieval books.

The path to the best possible reconstruction of this library in its widest sense is still long and fraught with obstacles, not only because the abundance of already-known and previously unprocessed fragments is overwhelming. Consequently, we need to initially confine ourselves to dealing with central bodies of knowledge such as the Bible, patristic tradition, or hagiography, but across as many collections as possible. A greater challenge will certainly be overcoming the purely technical and administrative barriers between the individual archives and libraries, and the mental barriers to granting access to digital copies (of sufficient quality) without legal restrictions, since without this, a substantial improvement in the research of a society’s written heritage and identity will not be possible. Having to repeatedly revisit the collections to answer newly arising questions in consultation with the originals is a waste of financial and time resources. It is also damaging in terms of the

environment (energy-wise and emissions) and the conservation of the original manuscripts. It is therefore imperative for all these reasons, and additionally for reasons of regional culture and identity, that the written heritage belonging to society as a whole is made accessible in digital form to all. It will certainly require some work to convince the various owners of fragment collections in Catalonia of the need for such an open-source text and manuscript database, which would allow for the integration of the Catalan fragments on the platform *Fragmentarium*. However, the resulting benefits will likely lead to a long-term rethinking of the currently restrictive usage policies of most of the holding institutions. Making these treasures open access is a profoundly democratic act, ensuring our common culture is accessible to all citizens.

A first step towards overcoming the fragmentation of fragments—dispersed as they are between the various ecclesiastical, state, and private libraries and archives of the region—should also be a stimulus to begin systematically searching them out from where they are inadvertently hidden: that is, amidst the bindings of manuscripts, incunabula, and early prints from the fifteenth and sixteenth century onward. Doing so would place fragment research in Catalonia on a coordinated basis. The problem here is how to professionally retrieve the fragments and smaller pieces still glued in as cover plates or spine reinforcements, thus enabling the identification of the previously hidden pages. In the interest of preserving the fragments, the librarians and archivists must decide in each case whether the fragments, once prepared, should remain *in situ* or be stored separately. Documenting the retrieval and restoration of each individual case is now an international standard and therefore essential.

A Concluding Remark on the Proportions of Fragment Transmission in Catalonia

A final point about the proportions of fragment types needs still to be made. Our work has found that in many cases, completely different types of fragmented Bible manuscripts repeatedly came into play. Is this pure coincidence or does it hinge on the author's initial focus on the Bible tradition that an apparently high proportion

of Bible fragments can be found amongst the broader tradition of currently known fragments in Catalonia's collections? As a suitable starting point for our further observations and considerations regarding the relative proportions of fragments of different book types and text genres in medieval Catalonia, we present here the numbers of the extensive and complex collection of medieval fragments stored at the *Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic*. Our choice of this collection is not only due to its relatively large size and the fact that it has been continuously built up over decades, but also because the fragments it contains reflect the entire history of scribal activities at the seat of the bishopric of Vic (Osona), which was re-established towards the end of the ninth century (c. 886), as well as in the diocese itself. The figures given should therefore be representative.

The Bible as an object of reading and study, including its aids, is by no means as prominently in the foreground as one might think. With fragments comprising less than 5% of the total surviving fragment transmission (4.81–4.99%), the Bible appears rather modest compared to the liturgically used biblical text in epistolaries and evangeliaries (3.05%), lectionaries (8.30%), and breviaries (incl. liturgical psalters: 7.40–8.21%), which together account for 18.75–19.56%. As expected, the lion's share consists of liturgical books and texts used for the celebration of the Mass and the monastic and clerical offices, comprising 37.50–39.54%, distributed among sacramentaries (6.24%), missals (5.41–6.02%), and mass lectionaries (4.86–5.25%), as well as the complete set of liturgical 'song books' such as graduals, prosaries, antiphonaries, and responsories (20.99–22.03%). Further liturgical-exegetical reading and study books include the rich patristic and younger textual tradition of the so-called 'Carolingian Reform', containing, among others, homiletic texts (6.63–6.80%), homiliaries (4.39–4.44%), and passionaries (3.88%). The proportion of book types and texts genres used for liturgical purposes in the widest sense is therefore a substantial 71.15–74.22%. In contrast, scholastic medieval exegesis and theology are strikingly underrepresented (2.37–2.80%), while medieval civil and canon law occupy a prominent place, although the exact percentage of the total surviving material cannot yet be determined due to the lack of reconstruction of the fragments (11.48–15.14%).

All in all, however, this panorama likely reflects the religious and intellectual profile of a Catalan diocese in the Middle Ages.

Where do these numbers come from? Some of the detached fragments were first bound into three manuscript volumes, now Ms. 79, Ms. 122, and Ms. 123, the vast majority of them, however, are grouped thematically (with some exceptions) into 29 folders (I–XXIX). In a few cases, when there were enough fragments from the same original codex, they were bound as separate manuscripts among Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 232–Ms. 290; the former Vic archivist Dr. Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol also gathered together two folders of not yet counted fragments. These last two groups are not part of the current study.

Underlying our numbers from Vic (see below the Appendix)—and indeed every quantitative account of fragments from other collections in Catalonia—is a dynamic environment where fragments seem to appear and disappear, consolidate and divide. The fragments in the Vic folders are grouped into subfolders according to original manuscripts, and their state reflects the considerable movement of fragments. Several subfolders are missing, others have been consolidated, and some have been given the same number. Undoubtedly, further consolidations could be made, so our survey overestimates the total numbers of manuscripts represented in 1137 subfolders or codicological subunits. Furthermore, several of the fragments from the same original are small enough that they might come from the same leaf, and we have reflected this by indicating the number of leaves as a range so that we end up with a total of 2,239–2,423 leaves.

How can these numbers be satisfactorily interpreted?⁶³ They cannot be explained solely by the increasing use of paper as a new—and initially by no means cheaper—writing material from the fourteenth century, or the general importance of the printed book even before 1500, nor the professional bookbinding industry in Catalonia during the sixteenth century, or the urgent need for parchment as

63 The reasons listed here for the extensive and intensive fragmentation of medieval manuscripts in Catalonia round off the considerations that were put forward some years ago by Iglesias i Fonseca, “La investigación sobre fragmentos”, 494–99.

binding for new archival material, since all these phenomena were also relevant in other parts of Europe. Among the reasons for the mass fragmentation of medieval parchment manuscripts is the role of the particularly well-developed Catalan notarial system, almost legendary in its productivity and its documentation of absolutely everything. Added to this is the early establishment of functioning protocol archives—all factors that necessitated a particularly high demand for parchment for the binding of archival materials. Therefore, one cannot explain everything through the biblical and liturgical reforms of the Council of Trent—indeed, compared to Germany or France, the Reformation and religious conflicts played only a minor role in Catalonia, and yet even magnificently decorated Bibles, which we would describe as bibliophilic, were fragmented there. Thus, the tendency toward a pragmatic approach to larger parts of the medieval manuscript heritage considered obsolete outweighed the aesthetic sense of its preservation. Or, alternatively, was this ‘Catalan addiction to parchment’ simply due to the sheer shortage of a still indispensable basic material of pre-modern archives and bookkeeping? The increasingly refined results of systematic fragment research in Catalonia and other regions of Europe, in the context of the great progress in the worldwide cataloguing of manuscripts and fragments, will provide an answer to the question of whether the conditions in Catalonia are unique or rather correspond to those we can observe elsewhere.

Appendix: The Loose Fragment Collection at Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal

Folder I

Content: Sacramentaries

Subfolders: 1–60

Total leaves: 143 (subfolder 55 has four pieces perhaps of one leaf)

Folder II

Content: Missals

Subfolders: 1–39 and 41–47 (subfolder 40 is now in subfolder 14)

Total leaves: 112–126 (subfolder 34 counts 18 fragments, among them also bifolia and half leaves and smaller pieces)

Folder III

Content: Epistolaries and Evangeliaries

Subfolders: 1–37 (subfolders 36 and 37 contain Mass lectionaries and belong therefore to folder IV)

Total leaves: 71

Folder IV

Content: Mass Lectionaries

Subfolders: 1–38 and 44–45 (subfolders 39 and 44 are now in subfolder 5 and a new subfolder 44 does also exist; subfolders 36 and 37 from folder III are counted here as well)

Total leaves: 113–122 (subfolders 42 and 43 count eight and three pieces respectively)

Folder V

Content: Graduals and Prosaries

Subfolders: 1–45, 47–55, and 60–64 (subfolders 46 and 56–59 are missing)

Total leaves: 116–124 (subfolders 34 and 64 count six and four further pieces respectively)

Folder VI

Content: Antiphonaries

Subfolders: 1–75 (a subfolder 74 has been counted twice)

Total leaves: 125–127 (subfolders 15 and 74 count five or six and one or two leaves respectively, and subfolder 25 has one leaf and a further piece; the four leaves in the second subfolder 74 are declared as stemming from a breviary)

Folder VII

Content: Responsories

Subfolders: 1–29

Total leaves: 50

Folder VIII

Content: Office Lectionaries

Subfolders: 1–13, 15–31 and 33–43 (subfolders 14 and 32 are now in subfolder XXV/17 and subfolder 24 is now in subfolder 19; however, a new subfolder 24 has been created)

Total leaves: 88

Folder IX

Content: Homiliaries

Subfolders: 1–18, 20–21, 23–27, and 29–34 (subfolder 19 is now in subfolder VIII/14, subfolder 22 in subfolder XXIII/20, and subfolder 28 in subfolder XXIII/10)

Total leaves: 52

Folder x

Content: Passionaries

Subfolders: 1, 3–6, 8–27, and 29–37 (subfolders 2 and 7 are now in subfolder 3 and subfolder 28 is now in subfolder 27)

Total leaves: 62

Folder xi

Content: Breviaries (Psalters)

Subfolders: 1–89 (besides subfolder 86, there is another one with the same shelfmark, which contains two small pieces of a different, more recent manuscript)

Total leaves: 163–182 (subfolder 64 has four small pieces, subfolder 70 has two pieces, subfolder 72 has four pieces, subfolder 73 has four pieces, subfolder 77 has one strip of a bifolium and four pieces, and subfolder 85 has three strips)

Folder xii

Content: Costumaries and Rituals (labeled ‘Consuetes - Rituals’, this folder also contains a pontifical (subfolder 5), calendars (subfolders 11, 12, and 17), martyrologies (subfolders 13 and 17), a Mass commentary (subfolder 14) and a hymnary (subfolder 20))

Subfolders: 1–31

Total leaves: 60–64 (subfolder 16 has two pieces, subfolder 24 has one bifolium, lower parts of four leaves, and the upper part of a leaf, which perhaps belongs to one of the lower parts, and subfolder 28 has three pieces)

Folder xiii

Content: Bibles (labeled ‘Bibles’, this folder also contains commentaries on the Gospels (subfolders 37 and 38), an unspecified book of the Bible (subfolder 56), a Bible concordance (subfolder 42), and a Bible index (subfolder 54), while subfolder 39 has a commentary on Aristotle, excluded here from the number of counted leaves)

Subfolders: 2–16, 18–20bis, 30–55bis and 56–58 (subfolders 1 and 21–29 are missing, subfolder 17 is now in Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 1–4 (XXII–XXV), the Vic Bible of 1268, and there are also subfolders 20bis and 55bis)

Total leaves: 94–98 (subfolder 53 has two strips and subfolder 55bis has four strips)

Folder xiv

Content: Church Fathers and Carolingian Reform (labeled ‘Textos patrísticos’, this folder also contains fragments of authors and works of the so-called ‘Carolingian Reform’; furthermore, subfolder 73 has two strips of one or two leaves, and subfolder 76 has two pieces of one or two leaves, both perhaps with biblical texts, and are therefore excluded from the number of counted leaves)

Subfolders: 1–60 and 62–78 (subfolder 61 is now in subfolder XXV/17)

Total leaves: 105–109

Folder xv (divided into two parts)

Content: Sermons, Exegesis and Theology, Civil and Church Law, Metaphysics, Medicine, Natural Sciences, Computus, Vocabularies, Grammar, Metric, and Classics, Hagiography, Historiography, Calligraphy, and Unidentified

Subfolders: first part: 1–70; second part: 67 [!]-117, 140–141, and 150–170, according to content 5, 32, 99, 2, 4, 1, 1, 11, 7, 4, 3, and 1

Total leaves: 277–370, according to content 13, 50–60 (subfolder 68 has two bifolia and three pieces, subfolder 69 has two pieces of a leaf and three pieces, subfolder 88 has two halves of a leaf and two pieces, subfolder 89 has two strips, and subfolder 107 likely has the upper and lower parts of the same bifolium and one piece), 151–220 (subfolder 41 has six pieces, subfolder 46 has three strips, subfolder 48 has five pieces, subfolder 52 has one leaf and two strips, subfolder 57 has two strips, subfolder 58 has seven strips of the upper part of bifolia, five strips of the lower part of bifolia, and one strip of the middle part of a bifolium, subfolder 91 has nine pieces, subfolder

92 has three pieces, subfolder 110 has two bifolia and fifteen pieces, subfolder 112 has two halves of one or two leaves, subfolder 170 has ten pieces, subfolder 177 has two pieces, subfolder 184 has two strips of a bifolium, one of them of the lower part, and three pieces, subfolder 185 has two pieces of one (?) leaf, subfolder 186 has two pieces of one (?) leaf, and subfolder 189 has two strips of likely one bifolium and three pieces), 4, 5–7 (subfolder 194 has four pieces, two of them certainly from one leaf), 1, 2, 23, 15–20 (subfolder 105 has four strips of a bifolium, two of them from two different bifolia, and five pieces), 9, 3, and 1–3 (subfolder 77 has two strips and one piece)

Folder xvi

Content: Graduals

Subfolders: 1–31

Total leaves: 60–61 (subfolder 24 has two pieces of one or two leaves, subfolder 28 has two pieces probably from one leaf, and subfolder 31 has half a leaf and two pieces from the same leaf)

Folder xvii

Content: Antiphonaries (Office)

Subfolders: 1–7 and 9–37 (subfolder 8 is now in subfolder xvii/4 and a subfolder 35 is counted twice)

Total leaves: 65–77 (subfolder 22 has one bifolium and three pieces and subfolder 35 has two pieces of probably two leaves and ten pieces)

Folder xviii

Content: Responsories

Subfolders: 1–18

Total leaves: 35–36 (subfolder 11 has one leaf, one piece of another leaf, and one piece)

Folder XIX

Content: Office Lectionary of Vic Cathedral

Subfolders: 1

Total leaves: 17

Folder XX

Content: Office Lectionaries

Subfolders: 1–25 (subfolder 24 has the fifth leaf from another manuscript)

Total leaves: 50

Folder XXI

Content: Office Lectionaries

Subfolders: 1–9, 11–17, and 19 (subfolders 10 and 18 are now in subfolder 2 and subfolder 19 probably belongs to the same fragmented manuscript)

Total leaves: 32

Folder XXII

Content: Bibles

Subfolders: 1–13

Total leaves: 18

Folder XXIII

Content: Homiliaries

Subfolders: 1–17, 19–23, and 25–27 (subfolder 18 is now in subfolder 12, subfolder 24 is in subfolder 23, and subfolder 28 is in subfolder 25)

Total leaves: 50–51 (subfolder 6 has two fragments that likely form the same leaf and subfolder 9 has one leaf and three strips likely from another leaf)

Folder xxiv

Content: Passionaries

Subfolders: 1–17

Total leaves: 28

Folder xxv

Content: Church Fathers and Carolingian Reform (labeled ‘Textos patrísticos’, this folder also contains fragments of authors and works of the so-called ‘Carolingian Reform’)

Subfolders: 1–28

Total leaves: 49

Folder xxvi

Content: Breviaries and Hymnaries, Grammar, and Unidentified

Subfolders: 1–8, according to content 6, 1, and 1

Total leaves: 10–11, according to content 6, 3–4 (subfolder 5 has one bifolium, one horizontal strip of the lower part of a leaf, and one vertical strip of this or another leaf), and 1

Folder xxvii

Content: Civil and Church Law, Theology, and Responsory (?)

Subfolders: 1–48, according to content 46 (subfolder 19 has besides two leaves also a small unidentified fragment of an older manuscript from the twelfth century, not counted here), 1, and 1

Total leaves: 112–128, according to content 110–126 (subfolder 4 has eight bifolia, one leaf, one piece at the third bifolium, likely a part of it, and one strip at the fifth bifolium, likely a part of it, subfolder 5 has two bifolia and one piece, likely part of the second fragmented bifolium, subfolder 26 has nine strips of the inner and outer parts of up to five leaves, subfolder 27 has four leaves and five pieces, subfolder 28 has one strip of a bifolium and one vertical strip of the marginal gloss of this or another bifolium, subfolder 31 has two

strips of a bifolium and two strips, subfolder 35 has one fragmented leaf and two pieces, subfolder 39 has the upper part of a leaf and the lower part of the same or another leaf, subfolder 40 has one strip of a bifolium, one strip of a leaf, two pieces, and one piece of another manuscript, subfolder 43 has one mutilated bifolium, one leaf, and six pieces likely belonging to the bifolium, and subfolder 47 has two leaves and two strips of likely one leaf, but from another manuscript), 1, and 1

Folder xxviii

Content: Graduals, Antiphonary, Lectionaries, Exegesis and Theology, Philosophy, Civil and Church Law, Charter, Medicine, Computus, Poetry, Hagiography, Calligraphy, and Unidentified

Subfolders: 18, according to content 2, 1, 2, 2, 1, 3, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, and 1

Total leaves: 24, according to content 2, 1, 5 (subfolder 11 has four horizontal strips of probably one leaf and subfolder 14 has two bifolia), 4, 1, 3 (subfolder 8 has two halves of a leaf and subfolder 11 has two vertical strips of a leaf and two vertical strips of the leaf of another manuscript), 1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 1, and 1

Folder xxix

This folder consists of four separate-bound volumes, the so-called 'dipòsit' of fragments formed by the former Vic archivist Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol, containing the subfolders 1–8, 9, 10, and 11

Content: Missal, Graduals and Antiphonaries, Lectionary, Breviary, Civil and Church Law, Poetry, and Calligraphy

Subfolders: 12, according to content 1, 5, 1, 1, 1, 1 (only a photocopy of the Visigothic fragment of the *Lex Visigothorum*, now Ripoll, Arxiu Comarcal del Ripollès, s. n., is located in the pertaining subfolder 11), 1, and 1

Total leaves: 15, according to content 1, 6, 1, 2, 3, 1, and 1

Ms. 79

Content: Sacramentary and Missals

Codicological Subunits: 3, according to content 1 and 2

Total leaves: 2 and 12

Ms. 122

Content: Missal, Graduals and Antiphonaries (Office), and Breviary

Codicological Subunits: 9, according to content 1, 7, and 1

Total leaves: 16, according to content 1, 14, and 1

Ms. 123

Content: Graduals and Antiphonaries (Office)

Codicological Subunits: 9

Total leaves: 13