

Fragmentology

A Journal for the Study of Medieval Manuscript Fragments

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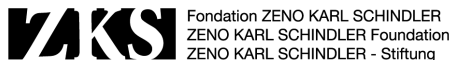
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Research Note

Two Fragments of Augustine's *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* from Lambach

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Abstract: This article identifies a bifolium purchased at auction in 2024 as a fragment of a copy of Augustine's treatise on the Gospel of John formerly held in Lambach Abbey and produced by the scribe Gottschalk of Lambach. On the basis of the discovery of this fragment and its comparison with the other known surviving leaf, held at the Beinecke Library (MS 481.93), a model is proposed for the structure and extent of the original volume.

Keywords: Lambach Abbey, Gottschalk of Lambach

In the second half of the twelfth century, the Benedictine abbey in Lambach, Austria, boasted an active and accomplished scriptorium, with dozens of extant manuscripts written and decorated by numerous scribes and artists. The most prolific is known as Gottschalk of Lambach, named for the inscription "Hic liber est Gottescalci de Lambach" written by the scribe/artist on folio 3r of a Lambach manuscript now in Berlin.¹ As the liturgical needs of the abbey changed and manuscripts were replaced by more up-to-date copies in the fifteenth century, many of the earlier manuscripts were dismembered for use as binding scrap, primarily pastedowns and free flyleaves in late manuscripts and incunables bound at the Abbey. In the first half

* With thanks to William Duba and the anonymous reader who provided several important clarifications and updates.

1 For support of the identification of 1) the scribe and artist being one and the same and 2) the inscription referring to the scribe/artist, see L.F. Davis, *The Gottschalk Antiphonary: Music and Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Lambach* (Cambridge Studies in Paleography and Codicology 8), Cambridge 2000, 17–26; for the inscription in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Theol. Lat. qu. 140, see the digitization available at: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001B8C600000000>, on f. 3r.

of the twentieth century, the Austrian scholar Kurt Holter published several articles identifying and describing some of these binding fragments in detail.² It was fortunate that he conducted this work, as the Abbey removed and sold hundreds of binding fragments in the 1920s and 1930s, and again in the 1950s, to raise money.³ Without Holter's detailed descriptions of the contents and measurements of these fragments, they might never have been able to be identified. As it turns out, most of the *ex situ* fragments were sold by the Abbey to a Swiss collector and priest named Franz-Josef Zinniker, likely in the 1950s, from whom they made their way to New York dealer Hans P. Kraus, who sold half of the collection to Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library in 1965 and donated the other half the next year.⁴ The fragment collections now comprise BRBL MS 481 and MS 482, catalogued and studied by then-curator Robert G. Babcock and two other scholars.⁵

Among the hundreds of fragments that comprise MS 481 and MS 482 are several written by Gottschalk of Lambach: seventeen fragments of the eponymous Gottschalk Antiphonal (MS 481.51) and a fragment of Augustine's *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* that had been reused as a bookcover (MS 481.93).⁶ The Gottschalk

2 In particular, see K. Holter, "Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln", in *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Gerichtsbezirkes Lambach. Mit Beiträgen von K. Holter und W. Luger* (Österreichische Kunsttopographie 34), ed. E. Hainisch, Vienna 1959, 13–270.

3 C. Egger, "Irrungen und Wirrungen. Wanderungen Lambacher Handschriften im 20. Jahrhundert", in *Dass die Codices finanziell unproduktiv im Archiv des Stiftes liegen. Bücherverkäufe österreichischer Klöster in der Zwischenkriegszeit* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 77), ed. K. Kaska and C. Egger, Vienna 2022, 161–203.

4 R.G. Babcock, *Reconstructing a Medieval Library: Fragments from Lambach*, New Haven 1993, 13.

5 R.G. Babcock, L.F. Davis, and P. Rusche, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, iv: MSS 481–485 (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 176), Tempe 2004.

6 For MS 481.51, see Babcock et al., *Catalogue*, 88–103; Davis, *The Gottschalk Antiphonary* [<https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2003631>]; [F-75ud]. For MS 481.93, see Babcock et al., *Catalogue*, 159 [<https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2003674>]; [F-mf5].

Antiphonal was so named because the script and decoration are by the same hand as the Berlin manuscript—arguably both written and decorated by Gottschalk himself.⁷ The Augustine fragment, for its part, is also written in Gottschalk's hand and includes several very distinctive features such as the frequent use of a [us] ligature at word-end that is formed as a [v] with a suprascript [s], the [ct] bigraph with a curl at the top of the [t]-ascender, and other features [Figure 1].⁸ It is the Augustine fragment that is of interest for the present discussion.

A late twelfth-century title-list of texts in the Lambach library written on the final verso of Lambach, Benediktinerstift, Cml (*Codex membranaceus lambacensis*) XIX includes the item "Opera S. Augustini...Super Iohannem duo volumina." In his edition of the catalogue, Kurt Holter suggests that the first of these volumes is Cml L, which contains Tracts 1–45 on 226 leaves and was also written by Gottschalk.⁹ The second volume would have contained the remaining tracts, 46–124. MS 481.93 does indeed come from the missing second volume, preserving Tract 124.5, l. 110 "[ac]tio informata me passionis" – 124.7, l. 19 "et cetera de Christi".¹⁰ By calculating the amount of text missing between the end of the Beinecke leaf and

7 Babcock, *Reconstructing*, 15; Davis, *The Gottschalk Antiphony*, 17.

8 Davis, *The Gottschalk Antiphony*, 23–24.

9 K. Holter, "Zwei Lambacher Bibliotheksverzeichnisse des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 64 (1956), 262–276, at 273, n^{os} 68–9 and K. Holter, "Lambach" (section F), in *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, v: *Oberösterreich*, Vienna 1971, 49–58, at 57; Cml L is briefly described in Holter, "Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln", 240, where he gives the manuscript's measurements as 282 × 190 mm. An image from Cml L showing Gottschalk's hand is in Davis, *The Gottschalk Antiphony*, fig. 7. It is worth noting, as does David Wright in his supplementary handlist of manuscripts of the *Tractates on John*, that Cml L begins with a cancelled leaf written by Gottschalk that is identical in nearly every way to f. 139 (*Tractatus* 23:11–13). It is unclear why Gottschalk cancelled the leaf or why it was used as a flyleaf. See D. Wright, "[The Manuscripts of the 'Tractatus in Iohannem': A Supplementary List](#)", *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 16 (1981), 51–100, at 80. Wright was unaware of the leaves from Vol. 2 discussed here.

10 Line numbers are from Augustinus Hipponensis, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus cxxiv* (CCSL 36), ed. R. Willems, Turnhout 1954, 686 and 687.

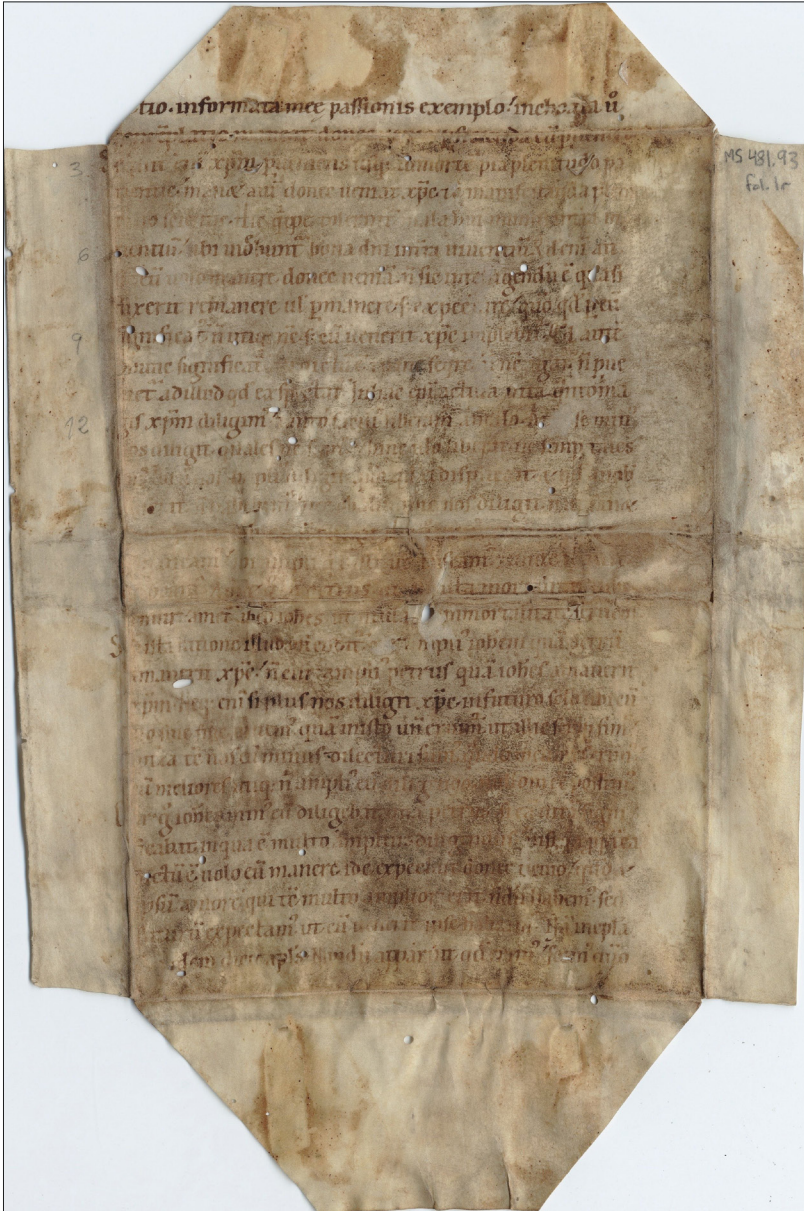


Figure 1: Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS 481, f. 93r

the end of the final tract, it can be shown that MS 481.93 was likely the penultimate leaf of the second volume.¹¹

At some point in the early modern period, Volume 2 was dismembered for use as binding scrap. MS 481.93 was rotated 90 degrees to cover an octavo volume measuring approximately 135 × 93 mm. The corners were cropped to create tabs on each edge that were folded over the boards to be adhered to the inner surfaces. There is no indication of the title of the covered book. The fragment was removed from its host volume by the Abbey and sold to Zinniker (likely in the 1950s), in whose collection it was number 171 (see pencil number in lower margin of the verso). Along with other Lambach/Zinniker fragments, MS 481.93 was acquired by H. P. Kraus in the early 1960s and was sold to Yale in 1965.

In April 2024, the present author recognized and later purchased a related bifolium from Volume 2 of the Lambach *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* [Figure 2]; it now has the shelfmark LFD 1 (Boston, Massachusetts). The script, text, and measurements confirm the identification: written by Gottschalk, each leaf is 290 × 206 mm (210 × 130 mm) with thirty-one lines per page, consistent with the layout of BRBL 481.93. The text on the bifolium is as follows: f. 1: Tract 109.1, l. 24 “ad posterios, quicumque, ubicumque postea” – 109.5, l. 7 “ipsis est primitus ac precipue predicatum.”; f. 2, l. 36: Tract 111.1, l. 35 “nos cum illo simus” – 111.3, l. 4 “et ipsi sint mecum.” Each leaf records around 3,720 characters. A comparison with a digital version of the *Patrologia Latina*¹² edition, with all punctuation and metatext removed, reveals that the leaves correspond to 4,811 and 4,746 characters, respectively, in the edition (for an average of 4,788 characters per leaf and an abbreviation ratio of 78%). That same edition has 18,311 characters between IV and 2r. Therefore, there were likely originally four leaves, or two bifolia, intervening between the two conjoint leaves (and allowing us to adjust our average to 4,645 PL characters per leaf for the six leaves). A comparison to the *Corpus Christianorum* edition confirms this, with each leaf corresponding

¹¹ Babcock et al., *Catalogue*, 159.

¹² J.-P. Migne and A.-G. Hamman, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina* 35: *S. Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, Paris 1864, 1379–1976 [https://www.augustinus.it/latino/commento_vsg/index2.htm].

nos cui illo sim? Nec potest nisi fieri quod omnipotens pater se uelle
 dixit omnipotens fuit. Ibi est enim et spiritus sanctus pater enim pater deus spiritus uni-
 dux et substantia uoluntati ambobus. Illud quod diximus legitur
 propinquo passione uerum quod ego uolo si quod tu uis pater qui aha
 pater alia filii sit uoluntate aut fuerit soni est in se infirmitas
 quoniam si dicitur quia ipse caput nostrum in se signauit quid est per
 eam quod potest adit. Ipsi uero est pater et filii uoluntate quod est in se
 unum est quod adiuncto cognoscimus unitatem et intelligit uis per unitatem
 infirmitas credat pater. Si quod quod promiserit quod firma sit
 ipsa promissio per sermonis breuitatem id dicitur hoc ipsum quod unum
 ualens quod sit quod dignat est promittere in dam? Quod dicitur in magis uolo
 ut ubi ego sum ipsi sunt mecum. Quoniam attine ad eam in qua
 factum est ex semine dauid secundum carnem nec ipse adhuc erat ubi fuerat
 erat secundum carnem potuit ubi ego sum quod adgerem quod cito fuerat
 ascensus in celum ut id in se diceret. Itaque magis fuerat
 potuit in illo in quo antea dixerat loqui ad nichodemum. Hec non
 ascendit in celum nisi de celo descendit filii hominis qui de celo. Illa ubi non
 dixerat se per unitatem persone in quo deus homo est et homo deus. In celo quod non
 factus est promissus. Illo enim forma secundum leuata est quoniam super sit exur-
 gunt et ad patris dexteram collocata. Ipse spiritus tanti huius boni
 et aptus aut deus aut quod diues est in misericordia propter multam dilectionem quod
 dilexit nos et cum enim mortui peccati euersificauit nos in christo
 cui gratia sumus saluati et simul creataur et simul sebre fecit et
 testis in christo ubi. Hoc quod potest intelligi dixisse dominum ut ubi
 ego sum illi sunt mecum. Ipse quod deus dixit quod ubi est dominus
 aut uelle se dixit ut enim ubi cum illo nisi quod in eum ostendit apostolus
 aut quod deus uelle se dixit ut fieret itaque factum fuerit et locum
 ubi enim creataur et nos et in celestibus sebre factum se ex eam
 et sebre in celestibus fecit quod non inuenit si fidem id dicitur factum quod
 factum uero non dubitat. Quod uero attine ad formam dei in quo egredere pater
 si secundum eam uel in intelligere quod uictum uolo ut ubi ego sum et

Figure 2: Private Collection, Boston, Massachusetts, LFD 1, inward side

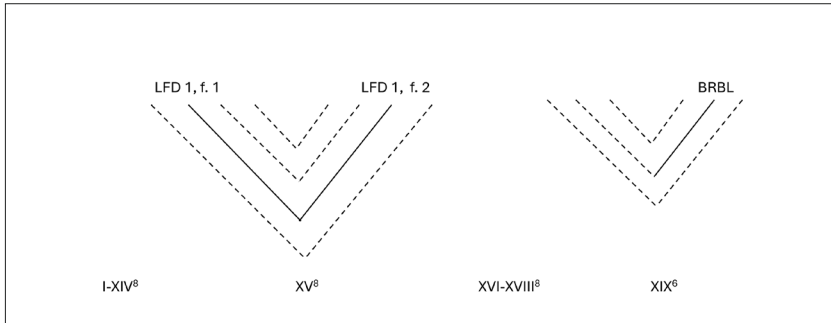


Figure 3: Hypothetical Quire Structure of Vol. 2

to 84 lines, and 327 lines intervening. Given that the standard practice at Lambach in the twelfth century was to construct quires with four nested bifolia, this bifolium would have represented the second and seventh leaves of its quire.

Knowing the approximate number of characters per leaf, we can also calculate the number of leaves between the end of LFD 1 f. 2v and BRBL 481.93r: 128,817 intervening characters divided by 4,645 characters/leaf yields 27.7 leaves. Yet BRBL 481.93 was the second-to-last leaf to contain Augustine's text; after it, there remain just 2,552 characters in the PL edition. Moreover, BRBL 481.93 is considerably less abbreviated: the text on the leaf corresponds to only 3,674 characters in the PL edition, less than 80% of the density in the LFD leaves. This implies that Gottschalk was expanding the text to cover the final quire. The most logical structure for these intervening leaves would be as follows: one leaf after LFD 1 f. 2 to complete the quire, three quires of eight, and then the final quire, where at least three leaves preceded BRBL 481.93 and one followed. This final quire may have been smaller, such as a ternion, to complete the text.

We can also use this information to calculate the approximate size of the missing second volume, knowing that each leaf corresponds to around 4,645 characters in the *Patrologia Latina* edition. In total, Tracts 46–124 comprise 671,787 characters in the PL edition, 508,876 of which precede the LFD section. If Gottschalk copied at the same density as in the LFD section, he would need at least 110 leaves for the text; given the Lambach practice of using quaternions

and the scribes ability to copy less densely, there were likely 14 quaternions and 112 leaves before the LFD quaternion, and our minimum estimate volume length would be around 149 leaves, most likely 152.¹³ There are no quiremarks or catchwords in Cml L, and so it is unlikely that the second volume included such markers. The collation of the second volume must therefore remain uncertain, but we can hypothesize that the 149-152 leaves could logically have comprised eighteen quires of eight leaves with a final ternion or quaternion (I-XVIII⁸, XIX⁶ or I-XIX⁸). In this scenario, the bifolium would have been the second and seventh leaves of Quire XV (i.e. ff. 114/119), and the Beinecke leaf would have been towards the end of the final gathering (i.e., between f. 148 and f. 151) [Figure 3].

The bifolium was later used as a binding wrapper of the same style as MS 481.93. In this case, the bifolium was oriented correctly and trimmed to create a wrapper for a quarto-sized volume measuring around 220 × 165 mm, with a spine width of 37 mm. The title is written on what would have been the spine of the bound book: *Historia/ S Beati/ co[n]cionatoris in/ Helvetia (The story of the preacher St. Beatus in Switzerland)*.¹⁴ The only recorded early-modern monograph devoted to the life of St. Beatus of Switzerland is Daniel Agricola's *Almi Co[n]fessoris et Anachoret[a]e Beati: Helueciorum primi Eua[n]gelist[a]e et Apostoli: a sancto Petro missi vita: iam pridem exarata* (Basel, 1511, [VD16 M 5078](#)).¹⁵ That imprint measures 20 cm in height, making it a good match for the size of the book bound by the bifolium. At only 40 pp., however, the Agricola volume by itself is likely too narrow, leaving this identification uncertain. It is certainly possible that the fragment was covering an early-modern manuscript of the *Vita* instead. There is also a modern typescript offset in the outer margins of ff. 1v and 2r preserving unidentified newsprint in German, indicating that the fragment was likely still in

13 Even though the second volume would have included 78 tracts to the first volume's 45, the second volume would in fact have been shorter than the first, because Tracts 55-124 are shorter on average than Tracts 1-45, which total 939,596 characters in the PL edition.

14 With thanks to Robert Babcock for his help in interpreting the inscription.

15 The Bavarian State Library has digitized their copy: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00006210>; Worldcat records its measurements: <https://search.worldcat.org/title/604333017>.

Austria when it was repurposed. The bifolium does not have a Ziniker number and so cannot be identified with the sale of Lambach fragments in the 1950s. It may have left the Abbey at an earlier date, perhaps as a stowaway on the bound book. The fragment was sold by Maggs Brothers to collector Marvin L. Colker (Charlottesville, Virginia) in 1965, in whose collection it was MLC 117. It was not part of the Colker sale at Christie's in 2022, and it is not known how or when Colker or his estate de-accessioned the fragment.¹⁶ It surfaced at a Bassenge Kunst-, Buch-, und Fotoauktionen sale on 17 April 2024 (lot 2808), where it was recognized by the present author.¹⁷ It was acquired by the present owner in July 2025.

Both fragments have now been catalogued in *Fragmentarium* and combined into a *Fragmentarium* reconstruction [F-7eun]. Between them, these fragments represent three of approximately 151 leaves, about 2% of the total. It is to be hoped that more leaves will come to light in time, but even if these remain the only known leaves of this volume, they represent an important record of the now-lost second volume of the Lambach copy of Augustine's *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*.

16 *The Collection of Marvin L. Colker* (Christie's 28 November – 12 December 2022, online) [<https://onlineonly.christies.com/s/collection-marvin-l-colker/lots/2184>]. A search of the Colker archive at the University of Virginia yielded no mention of this fragment.

17 Bassenge, *Mille Annos Manu-Scriptum* (17 April 2024), lot 2808 [<https://bassenge.com/lots/123/28080>].