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Psalms and Psalters in the Manuscript Fragments Preserved in the Abbey Library of Sankt Gallen

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Abstract: This study focuses on three series of manuscript fragments dating from the seventh to the tenth century where passages of the Psalter were copied. Most of the fragments are currently preserved at the Library Abbey of Sankt Gallen, and their digital reproductions are available on Fragmentarium: Cod. Sang. 1395 II, pp. 336-361 [[F-4b10](#)]; Cod. Sang. 1395 III, pp. 368-391 [[F-j07w](#)]; and Cod. Sang. 1397 V, pp. 1-12, 37-42 [[F-i8qo](#)]. These fragments provide the basis for identification of the primary characteristics of their original codices as well as information on the texts they transmit: their content, the version of the Psalter used, marginal notes, and the use of the manuscripts after they were copied. Likewise, the subsequent reuse of these manuscripts, once transformed into fragmentary material, is reconstructed, specifically concerning their dispersal in several libraries, being bound in host volumes, evidence from offsets, and traces of missing fragments. This study leads to some basic methodological conclusions on how to deal with collections of fragments, emphasizing the vast and fruitful research opportunity presented by such collections, especially the collection of manuscript fragments at the Library Abbey of Sankt Gallen.

Keywords: Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Manuscript Fragments, Psalters, Cod. Sang. 1395, Cod. Sang. 1396, Cod. Sang. 1397, Cod. Sang. 1938

1. Introduction

“Colligite quae superaverunt fragmenta ne pereant” is the Latin Vulgate version of the words that, according to St. John the Evangelist, Jesus spoke to his disciples after the multiplication of the loaves (Jn 6,12). And his disciples filled twelve baskets with fragments of the five barley loaves. Five and a half centuries after John wrote these words, Isidore of Seville noted the following in his *Etymologiae*: “crusta superficies panis; ipsa et fragmenta, quia diuiditur, ut fracta” (*etym.* 20,1,18¹). Based on a quotation from the Gospels, and following a

* This article has been written within the framework of the research project “Psalms and Psalters in the Manuscript Fragments at the Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen” (2016 SNSF Grant ID 169600).

process of metonymy, *fragmentum* became a polysemic word in Isidore of Seville's early medieval Latin. *Fragmentum, fragmenta*: Bread and piece. When we consider this polysemy and the Gospel text, we should not be surprised that the Benedictine monk Alban Dold chose the motto "Colligere fragmenta ne pereant" to describe his endeavour to collect the highest possible number of fragments of ancient versions of the Latin Bible.²

The paths of those scholars that specialise in the study of the Latin Bible, the works of Isidore of Seville, and manuscript fragments all lead (sooner or later) to the Abbey Library of St. Gallen, because of its unique wealth of documents. Not only does it have one of the most valuable collections of biblical codices prior to the eleventh century and a huge amount of copies of Isidorian works, but its wealth of manuscript fragments also preserves pages of the Latin Bible written in the fifth century, as well as one of the oldest witnesses to the *Etymologiae* known to us: a fragment written in the mid seventh century.³

The case study presented here consisted in the codicological, palaeographical, critical and philological study of several manuscript fragments of Latin psalms and psalters preserved in the Abbey Library of St. Gallen. It originally involved

It was conceived and developed as a case study within the *Fragmentarium* project. I would like to thank all the people and institutions I have dealt with through this research, most specially the members of the *Fragmentarium* project: its director, Prof. Dr. Christoph Flüeler, as well as Dr. William Duba and Mag. Veronika Drescher, who kindly encouraged the development of this work; I should also very warmly thank all the library staff at St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek: Dr. Cornel Dora and Dr. Franziska Schnoor in the first place, but also Drs. Karl Schmuki and Philipp Lenz, Mag. Kathrin Hug and Ms. Prisca Brülisauer: they all helped me in very different ways while researching *in situ* and afterwards; and finally, I would also like to express my gratitude to the members of the Canton's Catholic administration at St. Gallen, whose care and support made my time both in the library itself and at St. Gallen a true pleasure.

- 1 Cf. *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, W.M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911.
- 2 See the series *Texte und Arbeiten*. "Colligere fragmenta" was also chosen by Bonifatius Fischer and Virgil Fiala as part of the title in the book offered to Dold by his disciples and colleagues in 1952: *Colligere fragmenta. Festschrift Alban Dold zum 70. Geburtstag am 7.7.1952*, ed. B. Fischer and V. Fiala, Beuron 1952.
- 3 A complete and useful summary about the biblical codices written or preserved at St. Gallen can be found in the exhibition catalogue *Im Anfang war das Wort. Die Bibel im Kloster St. Gallen*, St. Gallen 2012. The *Vetus Latina* fragments dating from the fifth century received a facsimile edition and commentary in 2012: R. Gamper, P. Lenz, A. Nievergelt, P. Erhard, and E. Schulz-Flügel, *Die Vetus Latina-Fragmente aus dem Kloster St. Gallen*, Dietikon-Zürich 2012. On the Isidorian fragment, see C. Dora, "Eine irische Handschriftenreliquie – Isidor-Fragment aus dem 7. Jahrhundert", in *Cimellia Sangallensia*, ed. K. Schmuki, P. Ochsenein, and C. Dora, St. Gallen 2000, 20–21, bibliographical references on pp. 214–215; and more recently P. Lenz, "Insulare Schriften" in *Im Paradies des Alphabets. Die Entwicklung der lateinischen Schrift*, ed. C. Dora, St. Gallen 2016, 32–41, at 34–35. Digital reproductions of most of these manuscripts can be found on "e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland" (<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch>).

Isidore of Seville's works and his hypothetical revision or 'edition' of the Latin Psalter.⁴ In fact, as a study that stems from an interest in determining whether or not Isidore of Seville prepared a revision of the Latin Psalter, this case study focused on the location, examination and description of some fragments of the Latin Psalter preserved in the Abbey Library of St. Gallen.

Before describing the case study itself and some of its results, we need to provide two brief introductions: we are going to devote a few lines to contextualising the Book of Psalms at the Abbey of St. Gallen during the Early Middle Ages, and briefly cover the history of the collection of fragments now housed in its library.

1.1 The Psalms at St. Gallen

We are all quite familiar with the basic uses of the Psalter in the Latin Early Middle Ages in Western Europe: firstly, it was an essential part of community liturgy; furthermore, it very soon became a basic text for individual or private worship; thirdly, its text played a key role as teaching material (simply consider Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis*), and last but not least, the study and analysis of the text and the actual meaning of the psalms were addressed in scholarly and exegetic studies.

The collection of the library at St. Gallen provides evidence of all these aspects of the Book of Psalms. Nevertheless, early medieval manuscripts attest above all to its liturgical and scholarly-exegetic use. An example of liturgical use involves the elaborate psalters held or copied in St. Gallen during the ninth century: the Folchart Psalter ([Cod. Sang. 23](#), written between 872 and 883), the Golden Psalter ([Cod. Sang. 22](#), written shortly before the end of the ninth century), another one now kept at the Vadiana Cantonal Library, written some decades prior to those two ([Sankt Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek St. Gallen, Vadianische Sammlung 292](#)). Concerning the study of the psalms and biblical texts in a community of scholars and theologians, today we find such diverse texts as the version of the Hebrew Psalter in the Hartmut Bible ([Cod. Sang. 19](#), s. IX^{2/2}), a bilingual Greek-Latin psalter with the Latin version interlinear in Insular minuscule script ([Basel, Universitätsbibliothek A VII 3](#), s. IX^{med.}), the four-part psalter (the famous Quadruplex Psalter) written in the time of Salomo III ([Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Msc. Bibl. 44](#) [A.I.14], 890–919), and myriad commentaries and notes in complete codices. Spanning the gap between liturgical use and study are the Glossed Psalter ([Cod. Sang. 27](#), ca. 850–860) and the early Carolingian Wolfcoz Psalter ([Cod. Sang. 20](#), written in the first decades of the ninth century).⁵

4 Basic references on Isidore of Seville and his work on the Bible can be found in M.A. Andrés Sanz, "Bibliothecam compilavit: la Bible d'Isidore de Séville", *Connaissance des Pères de l'Église* 142 (Juin 2016), 37–50, and eadem, "Isidoro de Sevilla y el texto de la Biblia latina: el estado de la cuestión", *Aemilianense* 4 (2016), 87–116.

5 Anyone with an interest in further exploring the use of the psalms at St. Gallen in the Early Middle Ages will be rewarded by consulting T.N.S. Tibbets, *Uses of the Psalter in Carolingian*

1.2 The fragments of manuscripts at St. Gallen

As stated above, the Abbey Library of St. Gallen has a rich collection of fragments, including biblical texts that are almost contemporary to Jerome of Stridon. There are also surviving fragments of key texts in Virgil's writings and Irish miniatures that rival such treasures as the ones in the Book of Kells. Many of these fragments are directly related to the process of reviewing and renewing the library's collections over the centuries. The process was already under way during the first centuries of its existence, as evinced by the ancient catalogues that survive (e.g., [Cod. Sang. 728](#), pp. 4–21). Codices that were no longer of any use, or those damaged by repeated handling or by some physical accident were liable to become waste material, parchment that could and should be reused. With this in mind, it should not come as a surprise that a bookbinding campaign undertaken in the fifteenth century on the initiative of Abbot Ulrich Rösch used folios and pieces of parchment deemed to be of little or no value (probably taken from damaged codices, already fragmentary, or from ones no longer of use). Pages of the *Vetus Latina*, the *Vulgata*, the *Vergilius Sangallensis*, and some books of psalms thus became part of the bindings of other books housed in that library or in other nearby sites.⁶

Between 1774 and 1781, at a time when the interest of antiquarians throughout Europe began to be awoken in a thousand different ways, two young monks, Johann Nepomuk Hautinger (1756–1823) and Ildefons von Arx (1755–1833), set about looking for and collecting fragments of St. Gallen manuscripts used to bind other books in the library. They removed them and stored them in folders and boxes, without keeping a record of their findings or systematically logging where they had found the fragments.

Around 1820, Ildefons von Arx, then in his sixties, decided to present a gift to his friend Hautinger, who at the time was the librarian at the by then secularised Abbey of St. Gallen. The gift was none other than the volumes of St. Gallen fragments nowadays preserved under shelfmarks Cod. Sang. 214, 730 and 1394 to 1399: von Arx took fragments of manuscript pages they had both rescued and classified them into eight thematic volumes that he in turn presented to Hautinger on 16 October 1822. It is above all the information provided by von Arx and the consultation of those volumes that gave Gustav Scherrer the data for his 1875 catalogue.⁷

St. Gallen, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 2003.

6 Part of this process is now clear to us thanks to, among others, the studies conducted by Dr. Philipp Lenz (P. Lenz, *Reichsabtei und Klosterreform. Das Kloster St. Gallen unter dem Pfleger und Abt Ulrich Rösch 1457–1491*, St. Gallen 2014, 454–473 and idem, “Makulierung der Handschrift”, in *Die Vetus Latina-Fragmente*, 61–68).

7 G. Scherrer, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, Halle 1875.

In the early and middle part of the last century, the librarians of St. Gallen, together with Alban Dold and Bernhard Bischoff (among others), helped to increase the number of manuscript fragments known to be in the library or in codices that were once linked to it. The fragments preserved at St. Gallen were sometimes added to the volumes already assembled by von Arx, and sometimes they were kept separately. During the mandate of Stiftsbibliothekar Johannes Duft (1948–1981) some of the codicological units arranged by von Arx were rebound in separate fascicules. In 1952, Duft created volume 1399a, consisting of twelve fragments recovered after 1875, including the fragment of Isidore's *Ety-mologiae* mentioned in the introduction.

The next compilation of fragments was assembled in 1997: "codex" 1399b, created by Ian Holt with around 70 fragments that had been stored in boxes over the course of time.⁸ Fragments are still being occasionally unearthed even today during the restoration of damaged bindings, and there is an entire protocol in place for documenting these findings and their circumstances. Furthermore, since 2003 restoration work has been ongoing on the volumes of fragments compiled by von Arx. Finally, some fragments are still serving their function for which they were reused centuries ago: as part of the covers of printed books. They are still visible today on the library shelves.⁹

2 The fragments of Psalms at St. Gallen: location, choice, issues

The motivation for the study of fragments of Psalms came from previous studies that addressed the attribution to Isidore of Seville a revision or edition of the Latin Psalter. Locating copies of the psalter that had not been studied, or only summarily so, that could convey an unusual version of the text, with readings that do not correspond to those provided by the major traditions of the Gallican, Roman or even the *ex Hebraico* Psalter, could help to decide whether that revision took place. Northern Italy, St. Gallen and the Lake Constance region are important areas for studying the early transmission of Isidore's works, as well as their pre-Carolingian and Carolingian reception. This area is also the source of most of the psalters preserved at St. Gall. Moreover, Scherrer's catalogue of the St. Gallen fragments includes some non-specific references to biblical texts. Thus, a survey of these texts seemed interesting *a priori*.

8 I.D. Holt, *Supplement zu Codex Sangallensis 1399: Veterum Fragmentorum Tomus VIII (1399b)*, Sankt Gallen 1997 (unpublished document preserved at the Stiftsbibliothek).

9 For a more detailed account on the manuscript fragments now preserved at St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, see C. Dora, "Ruinen aus Pergament", in *Fragment und Makulatur. Überlieferungsstörungen und Forschungsbedarf bei Kulturgut in Archiven und Bibliotheken*, ed. H. Peter and W. Schmitz, Wiesbaden 2015, 51–77 and 407–426.

The first step involved locating and selecting the fragments of psalms to be studied. Among all the volumes of St. Gallen fragments, the catalogue provided only three unequivocal references to the transmission of psalms. According to Scherrer:

- St. Gallen codex 1395 II contains thirteen folios of a bilingual Latin-Greek psalter from the early tenth century.¹⁰
- St. Gallen codex 1395 III has several folios of the Roman version of the Psalter that Allgeier published in 1929. Zurich and Vienna have other folios from this same text, to which I shall be referring in due course.¹¹
- According to the catalogue, codex 1397 has six folios of psalms copied in the eleventh century, and two other vaguely-described fragments, one consisting of four folios, the other having eight.¹²

Scherrer's catalogue includes less precise descriptions, such as "Biblica", or "Texts". Therefore, once these three groups of fragments had been chosen, the second step in this case study involved a superficial study of all the fragments of codices 1397 to 1399. This examination revealed at first glance that fragments in different folders could be grouped together as (possibly) belonging to the same original codicological units.¹³ It also showed that surprising discoveries can still be made about groups of fragments that would not be *a priori* of special interest (e. g. a fragment of a *Vetus Latina* text "misplaced" among those of the *Vulgata* version).¹⁴ Thus, this case study underscores the need to perform a classification of the St. Gallen fragments preliminary to their systematic study and re-cataloguing. But let us turn again to the three series of psalter fragments that Scherrer already mentioned as such in his catalogue, since these were the focus of this case study and are the subject matter of this second section.

2.1 Cod. Sang. 1395 II, pp. 336–361 [F-4b10]

The fragments of the bilingual Latin-Greek Psalter comprise thirteen folios that in all probability were written between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century.¹⁵

¹⁰ Scherrer, *Verzeichnis*, 461–462.

¹¹ Scherrer, *Verzeichnis*, 462; A. Allgeier, "Bruchstücke eines altlateinischen Psalters aus St. Gallen in Codd. 1395 St. Gallen, C.184 Zürich und 587 Wien", *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 2(1928–1929), Heidelberg 1929, 62–141.

¹² Scherrer, *Verzeichnis*, 468.

¹³ E.g., Cod. Sang. 1397 IV, pp. 67–68 and 71–72; Cod. Sang. 1397 IV, pp. 65–66 and Cod. Sang. 1399 XXIV, p. 155; Cod. Sang. 1398a, pp. 16–17 and 1398b, pp. 126–174.

¹⁴ See *infra* Section 3 ("3. Other interesting fragments") and n. 39.

¹⁵ Cf. R. Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften. Manuscripts vieux latins*, v. 1/2B, Freiburg im Breisgau 2004, p. 93, no. 336, who places it at the beginning of the tenth century. Scherrer, *Verzeichnis*, 461 dates it to the tenth century.

The work undertaken with these folios has above all involved their description, and not so much the study of their textual characteristics, which Alfred Rahlfs already thoroughly addressed 1907.¹⁶ We already knew that they transmit fragments of a bilingual psalter in Latin and transliterated Greek. We also know that the Latin psalms transmit basically the Gallican text, and that it can be linked to two other psalters mentioned above (section 1.1): the four-part psalter of Salomo III (Bishop of Constance and Abbot of St. Gallen from 890 to 919) and the Basel manuscript copied at the same time. These fragments fall into the third of the three periods of interest in Greek described by Walter Berschin for the Abbey of St. Gallen.¹⁷

Although these fragments have already been extensively studied, our examination produced a few surprises. The first is that they transmit more psalms than previously recorded. The preceding literature (Tischendorf, Rahlfs, Gryson) only attests to these folios containing passages from Psalms 30–34, 39–40 and 43–47. In fact, they also transmit parts of Psalms 117 and 118. This error that perpetuated through the literature undoubtedly stems from the fact that Tischendorf's edition recorded only part of the text and information conveyed in Scherrer's catalogue.¹⁸

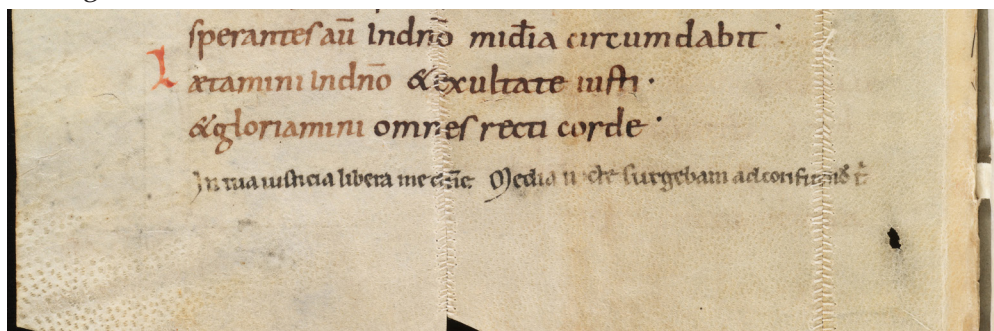
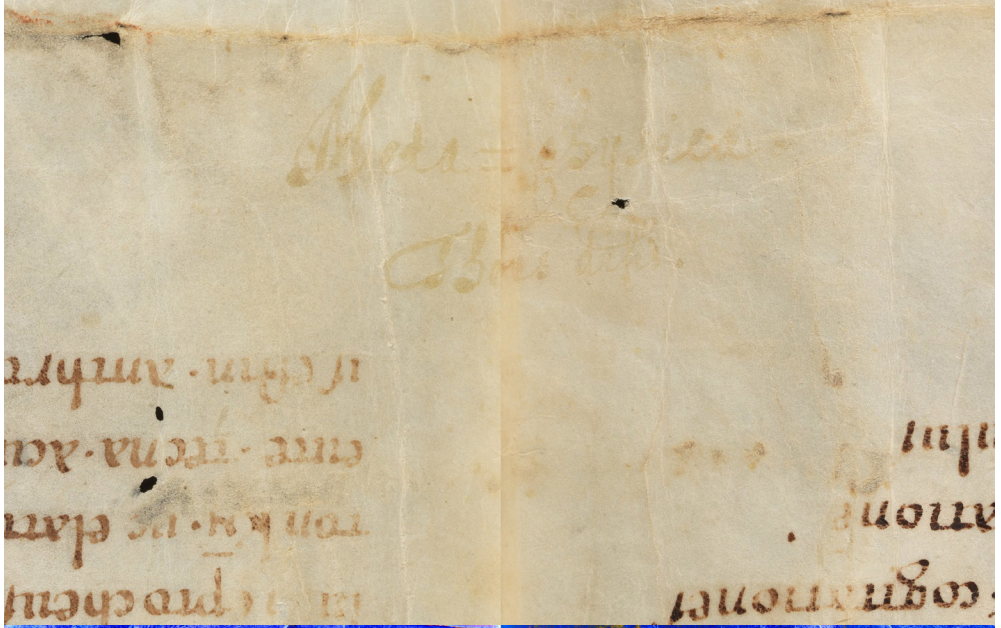


Figure 1: Cod. Sang. 1395 II, p. 337. Gothic initial and marginal note (Ps. 30,2 « In tua iusticia libera me, Domine » and Ps. 188,62 « Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi » : Antiphon for Diebus dominicis in II nocte), according to Harker's *Antiphonar* I,90

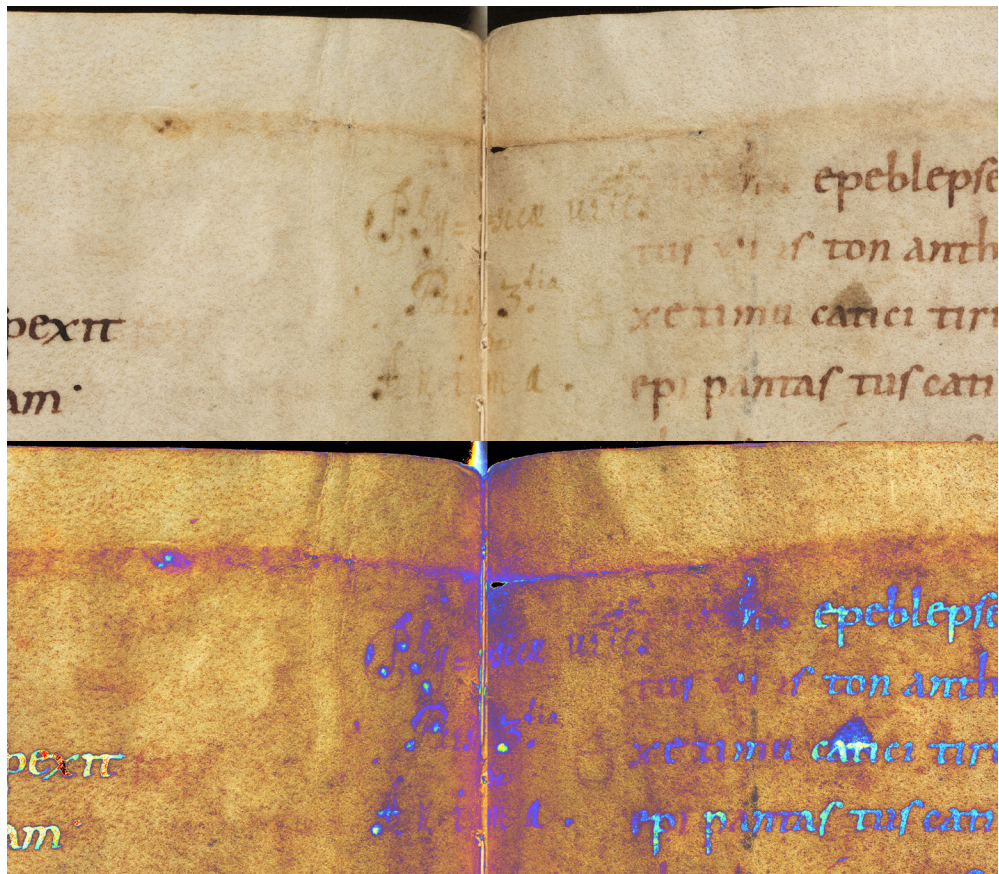
Another significant finding is that, although the copying of the text must have been left unfinished at a very early stage, the psalter was used extensively for

- 16 A. Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, in *Septuaginta Studien* 2, Göttingen 1907.
- 17 W. Berschin, "Griechisches in der Klosterschule des alten St. Gallen", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84–85 (1991–1992), 329–340; idem, "Neun Psalteria quadrupartita Salomons III. von Konstanz, Abt von Sankt Gallen 890–920", in *Margarita amicorum. Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*, ed. F. Former, C.M. Monti, and P.G. Schmidt, Milano 2005, 159–169.
- 18 Cf. C. Tischendorf, *Anecdota sacra et profana ex Oriente et Occidente allata...*, Leipzig 1861, 235–237, who transcribes and comments upon the Greek text of Ps. 30:22–31.11, having clearly stated in the index that only "Excerpta exhibentur"; Scherrer, *Verzeichnis*, 462: "Vorhanden sind Ps. 30–34, 39–40, 43–47, ganz oder teilweise"; Rahlfs, *Der Text*, 13: "Inhalt: 30–34. 39f. 43–47"; Gryson, *Allateinische Handschriften*, 93: Ps. 30–47.

centuries afterwards. The previous literature merely focused on the unfinished nature of the text, based on the fact that the verses lack contemporary initials. Yet the verses on the pages not only have Gothic initials, but also features that



Figures 2a, 2b: Cod. Sang. 1395 II, p. 344 (left) and 339 (right), titles written on the parchment when used as a bookcover: «Meta-physica / Thoïs [?] defis»



Figures 3a, 3b: Cod. Sang. 1395 II, p. 341 and 342. Title on bookcover: «Physicae urit [?] / Pars Tertia / de/ Anima»

reveal its (para-?) liturgical use (e.g., annotations such as those on page 337, see Figure 1).

The third and most interesting finding involved the establishment of the fragments' physical structure. We have thirteen folios, but we now know that six of them form three bifolia. This is no trivial matter, as we shall see forthwith. Indeed, the major contribution the study of this text makes has been to identify for what two of the pages (if not all of them) were reused.

Pages 344 and 339, as well as 341 and 342 still retain the handwritten titles of the books for which they provided the bindings; they seem to be part of a series of philosophy lessons in the same style as some that survive within the scope of the St. Gallen paradigm at that time (see Figures 2a, 2b, 3a and 3b).

In addition, the bifolium formed by pp. 352–355 seems to have been used unfolded and perpendicular to the sense of its writing to reinforce the cover of a book whose dimensions exceeded those of each single page of these fragments.



Figure 4: Cod. Sang. 1395 II, p. 353 (enhanced): vertical offsets of (probably) 3 Reg. 3,19–

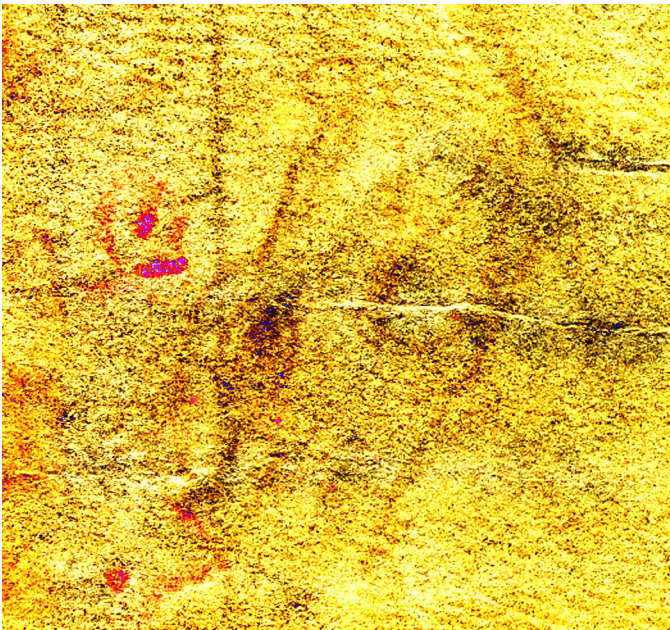


Figure 5: Cod. Sang. 1395 II, p. 364: animal head etched in margin (detail)

What is curious in this case is that there are offsets on p. 353 and 354 from other fragments that were used for the same binding (Figure 4, p. 353: probably III Reg 3:19-)¹⁹. The script on at least one of them seems to be compatible with that on a series of fragments of prophetic books (some of them VL) that are preserved in codex 1398b, most of which were published by Dold in 1923 and 1940.²⁰

Finally, these folios attest to manuscript illumination and the interaction of readers and copyists at St. Gallen; although it cannot be seen clearly, there is the head of an animal etched on p. 346 of a similar design to the ones we are used to admire on St. Gallen's elegant and elaborate psalters and bibles (Figure 5).²¹

2.2 Cod. Sang. 1395 III, pp. 368–391 [E-jo7w]

The fascicule with the shelfmark 1395 III contains the remnants of thirteen folios of a psalter written in uncial, dating from the seventh century. On account of its early date, it has long attracted scholarly attention. Arthur Allgeier edited the text of these fragments in 1929, along with others from the same codex that are preserved in Zurich and Vienna.²² Allgeier contended that they basically transmit the Roman version of the Psalter, albeit sharing readings with the Mozarabic Psalter. Allgeier also noted that several hands made numerous corrections, many of which redirected the text toward the Gallican translation.

The next specific study of the codex was published in 1956, with the inventory of the Swiss manuscripts of the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. This study largely corroborated the observations made by Scherrer and Allgeier.²³

So, what new information has the study of this series of fragments provided? Firstly, Ildefons von Arx wrote that some of its folios were removed from codices Cod. Sang. 962 and 963. Based on the information provided by von Arx, we tried to locate codices of a similar size to 962 and 963 that could have acted as host volumes for these folios. And, indeed, we found that at least one of its folios (p. 368a) was used to reinforce the binding of Cod. Sang. 965 (Figures 6–8). In fact, Cod. Sang. 965 also shows the offsets of a fragment (three partial verses of Ps. 9,14) that has not been preserved in the St. Gallen collection but matches part of Cod. Sang. 1395 III, p. 368a. From the offsets and written text (see Figures 6 [left] and 9a–b), we read:

19 I would like to thank Dr. W. Duba for helping me with the reading of these offsets by enhancing their image.

20 A. Dold, "Anhang. Die vorhieronymianischen Prophetentexte der Fragmenta Sangallensia (=FrS)", in *Konstanzer altlateinische Propheten- und Evangelien-Bruchstücke mit Glossen nebst zugehörigen Prophetentexten aus Zürich und St. Gallen*, Beuron 1923 (= *Texte und Arbeiten* 7–9), 225–278; idem, *Neue St. Gallen vorhieronymianische Propheten-Fragmente der St. Galler Sammelhandschrift 1398b zugehörig*, Beuron 1940 (= *Texte und Arbeiten* 31), 24–75. On these fragments, see also *supra* n. 14 and *infra* n. 39.

21 Compare, e.g., to the animal head in [Cod. Sang. 83, p. 128](#) (Hartmut's Bible).

22 *supra* n. 11.

23 *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (=CLA), v. 7, Oxford 1956, no. 985, pp. 41–42.



Figure 6: Cod. Sang. 965, Front pastedown. Offsets of part of Cod. Sang. 1395 III, p. 368a (middle), and of a fragment not preserved



Figure 7: Figure 6, above, flipped and with adjusted contrast to reveal the offset

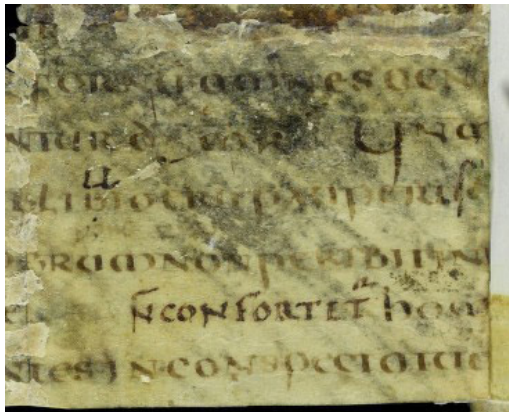


Figure 8: Cod. Sang. 1395 III, p. 368a (detail): fragment used in Cod. Sang. 965 binding

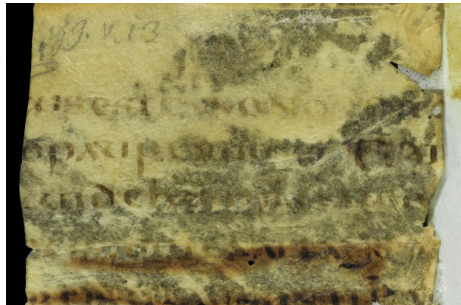


Figure 9a: Cod. Sang. 965, Front pastedown (enhanced, detail) and Cod. Sang. 1395 III, p. 368a (detail): offset of a lost fragment that belonged to the same leaf as p. 368a

Cod. Sang. 965, Front pastedown (part) (offset of a lost fragment)	Cod. Sang. 1395 III, p. 368a, ll. 1-3 (preserved text)
Recorda clamore mei Domine	tus est non est ob<litus> m pauperum miserere vide

Although an organised and methodical search might turn up further host volumes, in some cases, untangling certain problems may lead on to others. For example, two of the pages of these fragments contain two old shelfmarks written in a darker ink: on p. 380, we read “D. n. 321”, and on p. 387 something that at first glance could be understood as “D. n. 498”. According to the eighteenth-century record made by Kolb,²⁴ “D. n. 321” might correspond to codex 1074, but there is no codex “D. n. 498”.²⁵ And so, scholars dealing with the history of the library at St. Gallen Abbey have here a new little puzzle to keep them amused: should we read “D. n. 458” (i. e. codex 1012) or “S. n. 498” (i. e. codex 550) instead of “D. n. 498” or is there any other possibility we have not thought of concerning this strange shelfmark reference and the host volume of the fragment that shows it?

Other circumstances that enable us to delve further into the history of these fragments, and which will also require a more detailed assessment in the future, concern the version of the text transmitted. An examination of the readings they provide in the light of the editions of the Latin psalters published after 1929 raises doubts over its simple attribution as “Roman Psalter”. Indeed Allgeier only indicated a fraction of the readings it shares with codices transmitting versions of the Mozarabic Psalter; there are many more. Specifically, a careful, although not yet exhaustive, examination reveals that many of its choices are shared with the El Escorial codex in the library of the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, A.III.15 (M^{B35} in the Ayuso editions).²⁶ This codex belongs to the subfamily with which the citations of the Latin Psalter recorded in the works of Isidore of Seville most closely coincide. This finding provides some confirmation of one of the premises behind this case study, namely that these fragments could attest to a major Hispanic influence on seventh- and eighth-century Northern Italian manuscript codices.

24 Cod. Sang. 1400-1401 (written between 1755 and 1759).

25 Cod. Sang. 1400, p. 596: “D. n. 321” = <Cod. Sang.> 1074, “D. n. 458” = <Cod. Sang.> 1012. There is no “D. n. 498”, but we find on p. 600: “S. n. 498” = <Cod. Sang.> 550.

26 The texts compared to the one in Cod. Sang. 1395 III, pp. 368-391 are those edited by R. Weber, *Le psautier Romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*, Vatican City 1953 (= CBL 10); H. De Sainte-Marie, *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, Vatican City 1954 (= CBL 11); T. Ayuso Marazuela, *Biblia Poliglotta Matritensia 7.21: Psalterium Visigothicum Mozarabicum*, Madrid 1957; idem, *Biblia Poliglotta Matritensia VIII.21: Psalterium S. Hieronymi de Hebraica ueritate interpretatum*, Madrid 1960; idem, *La Vetus Latina Hispana V.1-3: El salterio*, Madrid 1962. I am working on a register of all these readings, in order to assess the shared readings between these fragments’ version of the Psalter and those versions in the editions above.

The text of these fragments has been corrected at different times and by different hands. Indeed, our census of the emendations reveals far more than those noted by Allgeier in 1929, and in some cases the emendations are significant. To be precise, we have identified up to thirty amendments that were not signaled in Allgeier's edition. In several cases, they are minor corrections, with no way of knowing who made them or when, although it is safe to assume that some of them are contemporary to the copy. Other emendations are made in a pre-Carolingian hand that could be of Romansch origin. Yet the most interesting corrections or emendations for the history of the psalms and psalters at St. Gallen are those made by one or more Carolingian scribes that correct several passages, since some of them resemble those of Notker himself (e. g. [Cod. Sang. 1395. p. 370](#), l. 13 or [p. 371](#), l. 19, and *infra* Figure 12).²⁷

2.3 Cod. Sang. 1397 V, pp. 1–12, 37–42 [F-i8qo]

Scherrer's description presents six folios of "strong" parchment from an eleventh-century psalter with large letters and coloured initials.²⁸ As they are currently arranged, these six pages occupy the first section of Cod. Sang. 1397 V, Heft ("Folder") 22. *A priori*, this fragment seems less interesting than the previous ones. Perhaps this is why, as far as we know, no one has specifically studied it. Nonetheless, its study has produced many surprises and given several practical examples of the challenges to working systematically with manuscript fragments: inaccurate or incomplete data in existing catalogues (a); the existence of material that has yet to be catalogued or inventoried (b); and differences in usage and/or preservation that hinder the proper identification and grouping of fragments from the same original codex (c). These circumstances will be treated prior to discussing the content, decoration and provenance of Cod. Sang. 1397 V, pp. 1–12, 37–42 (d).

a) Inaccurate or incomplete data in existing catalogues

Firstly, the "six eleventh-century folios with polychrome initials" turned out to be richly decorated fragments, with what could be an eleventh-century script, although it could also have been written in the ninth century. Furthermore, the folios contained marginal and interlinear annotations from several eras, and even musical notation. All these features can be observed in Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 7 (Figure 10).

27 I am currently working on a revision of Allgeier's edition, taking into account these emendations.

28 Scherrer, *Verzeichnis*, 468: "V. Psalterium. – 6 Foliobl. Auf starkem Pergament aus einem Psalterium des XI. Jh mit grosser Schrift und bunten Anfangsbuchstaben."



Figure 10: Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 7 (Later interlinear and marginal notes: antiphons, musical notation, collects)

b) The existence of material that has yet to be catalogued or inventoried

Secondly, a summary examination of the contents of Cod. Sang. 1397 V enabled us to locate three small fragments from the same psalter that had yet to be inventoried or paginated. Currently in Heft 23, they were originally placed at the end of a series of psalms paginated by von Arx and catalogued by Scherrer as Cod. Sang. 1397 V, pp. 20–36, i.e., the last entry of codicological unit V in Scherrer’s catalogue: “8 Bll. gothisch, ebenfalls Psalmen”.²⁹ Therefore, these fragments were found after 1875. Thus we needed to name the fragments and to examine other folders with the aim of locating more fragments. To name the fragments, in consultation with the library staff, after ensuring that they had not been inventoried or catalogued in any way, we assigned them pagination. As those fragments were not included in the pagination applied to the folios in Heft 23, which corresponds to Cod. Sang. 1397 V, pp. 20–36, the three small fragments were given a consecutive identifying shelfmark of p. 36, so they now constitute the fragments identified as St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1397 V, pp. 37–38, 39–40 and 41–42 (Figure 11).

c) The physical state of the fragments

Those working with fragments must confront the difficulties in identifying several pieces as part of a single and unique original codex. The first six folios of this group look very different from each other: some are [very dark](#), others [very light](#), some had been [significantly trimmed](#), while others were [almost intact](#). Some had numerous [marginal annotations](#), others [none at all](#). In this case, as in others, we have to consider the possibility that some fragments that seem to come from the same codex may in fact belong to several (and vice versa). This requires considering numerous variables: script types and sizes, the use of

²⁹ Scherrer, *Verzeichnis*, 468.

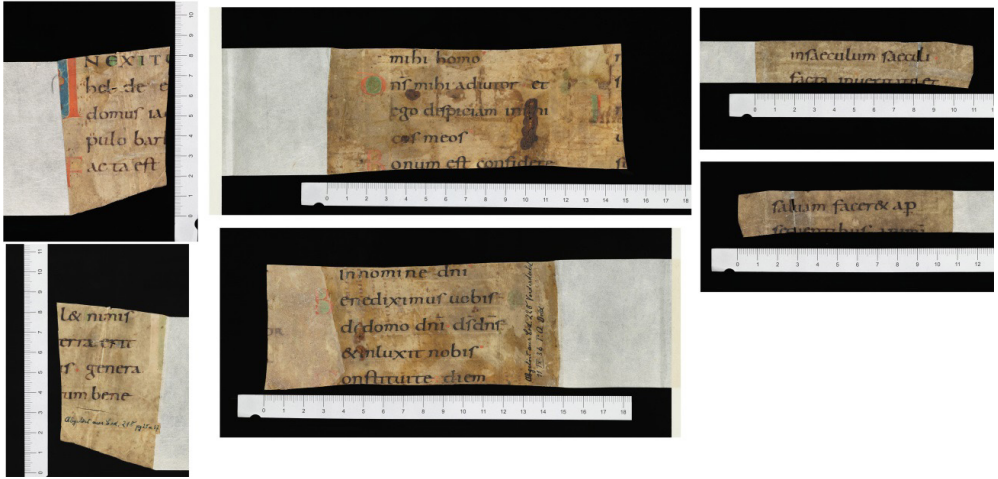


Figure 11: Cod. Sang. 1397 V, pp. 37–38, 39–40, and 41–42

miniscules and capitals, line spacing, patterns of decoration, the recurrence of marginal notes, and so on. At the same time, it is worth remembering that when we are dealing with a codex that might have been written by different hands and at different times; it may have received marginal annotations or comments only up to a certain page; it may even have suffered serious material damage whereby some of its pages were replaced by others in a different handwriting. When we can inspect a complete codex, such phenomena are readily apparent. With an array of fragments, however, major discrepancies such as the ones I have just described may lead us to conclude that we are dealing with fragments from several codices, when this is not the case.

d) The content, decoration and provenance of Cod. Sang. 1397 V, pp. 1–12, 37–42

d.1) Content. These fragments transmit part of Psalms 106–117 and 145–147. Most evidently, their current arrangement does not correspond to the logical sequence of the order of their contents. As we can see below, these nine fragments are not the remnants of nine different folios, because several of the surviving fragments were originally part of the same folios (the two parallel columns reveal the difference between their physical structure and their content):

Cod. Sang. 1397 V, pp. 1–12, 37–42

(Different colours point to gaps in the physical structure)

Physical Structure

Content Structure

1397 V S. 1	a Ps. 146,8–147,13 b Ps. 147,14–19
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1397 V S. 11	a Ps. 106,6–10 b Ps. 106,10–14
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1397 V S. 2	a Ps.145,7-146,1 b Ps. 146,2-8
1397 V S. 3	a Ps. 114,2-6 b Ps. 114,8-115,12
1397 V S. 4	a Ps. 115,15-19 b Ps. 116,2-117,4
1397 V S. 5	a Ps. 117,21-23 b Ps. 117,27-28
1397 V S. 6	a Ps. 117,8-12 b Ps. 117,14-16
1397 V S. 7	a Ps. 114,1 b Ps. 114,6-8
1397 V S. 8	a Ps. 115,12-14 b Ps. 116,1-2
1397 V S. 9	a Ps. 106,24-28 b Ps. 106,28-32
1397 V S. 10	a Ps. 106,33-37 b Ps. 106,37-42
1397 V S. 11	a Ps. 106,6-10 b Ps. 106,10-14
1397 V S. 12	a Ps. 106,14-19 b Ps. 106,19-23
1397 V S. 37	a/b? Ps. 113,1-2
1397 V S. 38	a/b? Ps.111,1-2
1397 V S. 39	a Ps. 117,6-8 b ¿Ps. 117,13-14?
1397 V S. 40	a empty b Ps. 117,26-27
1397 V S. 41	a/b? Ps. 110,8
1397 V S. 42	a/b? Ps. 108,31

1397 V S. 12	a Ps. 106,14-19 b Ps. 106,19-23
1397 V S. 9	a Ps. 106,24-28 b Ps. 106,28-32
1397 V S. 10	a Ps. 106,33-37 b Ps. 106,37-42
1397 V S. 42	a/b? Ps. 108,31
1397 V S. 41	a/b? Ps. 110,8
1397 V S. 38	a/b? Ps.111,1-2
1397 V S. 37	a/b? Ps. 113,1-2
1397 V S. 7	a Ps. 114,1 b Ps. 114,6-8
1397 V S. 3	a Ps. 114,2-6 b Ps. 114,8-115,12
1397 V S. 8	a Ps. 115,12-14 b Ps. 116,1-2
1397 V S. 4	a Ps. 115,15-19 b Ps. 116,2-117,4
1397 V S. 39	a Ps. 117,6-8 b ¿Ps. 117,13-14?
1397 V S. 6	a Ps. 117,8-11 b Ps. 117,14-16
1397 V S. 40	a empty b Ps. 117,26-27
1397 V S. 5	a Ps. 117,21-23 b Ps. 117,27-28
1397 V S. 2	a Ps.145,7-146,1 b Ps. 146,2-8
1397 V S. 1	a Ps. 146,8-147,13 b Ps. 147,14-19

Furthermore, a systematic comparison between their texts, on the one hand, and those of the Gallican Psalter in Weber's edition and with the surviving St. Gallen psalters written between the eighth and eleventh centuries, on the other, reveals that the fragments' text is close to Cod. Sang. 20, the so-called Wolfcoz Psalter, dating from the early ninth century (*S* in Weber's edition).³⁰ This is a

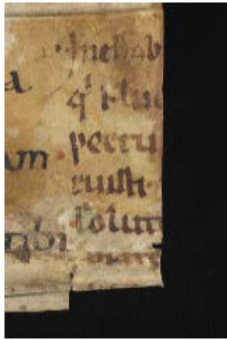
³⁰ Cf. the critical edition of the psalter in *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, R. Gryson, B. Fischer, I. Gribomont, H.F.D. Sparks, W. Thiele, and H.I. Frede, Stuttgart 1994.

somewhat surprising finding, as, in its formal aspect, the fragment seems closer to other psalters from the middle and end of the ninth century, none of whose versions (mostly Gallican) is as close to *S* as this.³¹

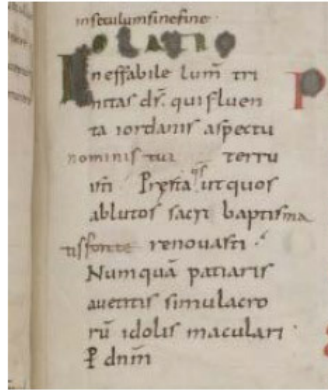
d.2) Mise en page and decoration. Concerning the *mise en page*, palaeography, and decoration, an approximate idea could be gained of the size of the original pages, and of the text block. The page layout is relatively similar to the one in Folchart's psalter ([Cod. Sang. 23](#)), but not identical in any case: the page layout of [Cod. Sang. 23](#) (21 lines, two columns, ca. 12 mm/line) coincides with that on [Cod. Sang. 1397 V](#), pp. 3–8, but not with that on pp. 9–12 (with only 19 lines). The decoration of the Psalm initials (e.g., [p. 3](#)) also harks back to the Golden Age of decoration at St. Gallen and closely resembles that in Folchart's psalter, (e.g., [p. 341](#)). Also the initials of verses tend to be of a comparable size to those in Folchart's psalter (between 10 and 20 mm), but their polychromatic patterns differ: in our fragments they do not alternate gold and silver, but are always red, filled or surrounded by other colours. The initials of verses on pp. [9–10](#) and [11–12](#) have the same alternating polychromatic pattern (column a: blue and yellow; column b: green and blue), while the pattern that can be seen in what little remains of the other pages seems to use only two colours (green and yellow), and this alternation is similar to the one we find in another psalter now preserved as [Sankt Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung 292](#) (e.g. Ps. 117: [Vadianische Sammlung 292, f. 124r](#) and [Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 6](#)). Finally, regarding the size of the letters and their arrangement into, under or above the text block, the closest affinities of these fragments are with the Glossed Psalter ([Cod. Sang. 27](#), e.g., [p. 43](#)). This comparison, then, produces nothing conclusive, except that the Gallican Psalter has similarities with the late-ninth- and early-tenth-century St. Gallen psalters.

d.3) Marginal and interlinear notes. As tends to be the case with fragments, sometimes the most interesting aspect is not to be found in the original primary text, but in subsequent annotations in the codex itself, either before or after it was fragmented. In this case, the annotations of interest belong to the former group. They include several Roman collects written by a scribe in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. In spite of the fragment's condition, these collects can be identified and almost entirely deciphered. In contrast to the Carolingian psalters written in St. Gallen that transmit them ([Cod. Sang. 20, 22, 27](#)), the collects do not appear to depend directly on any group of collects prior to the eleventh century; they resemble the ones in [Cod. Sang. 15](#) (another Carolingian psalter, probably not written in St. Gallen, but in northern France); and they are not similar to the ones in the Wolfcoz Psalter ([Cod. Sang. 20](#)), which were added after the creation

31 E.g. [Cod. Sang. 20](#) and [1397 V](#), pp. 1–12 are the only ones (together with St. Gallen, [Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung 292](#)) to offer some of the critical signs typical of this Jeronimian version, most of them in the same places.



Ineffab[/
qui flue[/
pectu[/
ruisti [/
solut[/
sacri /
mare[



Ineffabile lumen tri-
nitas deus qui fluen-
ta iordanis aspectu-
nominis tui terru-
isti presta ^{suos} ut quos /
ablutos sacri =
baptisma-
tis fonte renouasti /
Numquam patiaris /
a uetitis simulacro-
rum idolis maculari /
Per dominum

Figure 12: Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 7b ext. mg. (left) and Cod. Sang. 27, p. 483 (right). *Collecta* [images and transcriptions]. Differences between texts in bold. Notker's corrections (right) are underlined.

of the codex (probably in the fourteenth century). They have their own readings that are not matched in the other St. Gallen psalters consulted. For example: in Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 7b (outside margin) we can still read: “Ineffab[/ qui flue[/ pectu[/ ruisti [/ solut[/ sacri / mare[” (Figure 12, left).³² Similar but not identical texts appear in [Cod. Sang. 27, p. 483](#) (inside margin, with Notker's corrections, Figure 12, right³³), in [Cod. Sang. 20, p. 261](#) (upper margin) and [Cod. Sang. 22, p. 275](#). A slightly different Roman version if this collect was copied in [Cod. Sang. 15, p. 204](#). When comparing them, we can see that the last part of the collect text in Cod. Sang. 1397 V does not coincide with the collects as they appear in Cod. Sang. 15, 20, 22 and 27. Some of the readings, though, may be linked to those in the Glossed Psalter (Cod. Sang. 27), although the reading “solut[” is unique. The text may have originally read “solutos” or “absolutos” (“absolutos” is the reading in Cod. Sang. 15, where we read “absolutos sacre baptesmatę renouasti”).

d.4) Antiphons and musical notation. At least two, possibly three later hands added several antiphons with musical notation. One hand writes “Deo nostro iocunda sit laudatio”, on [p. 1](#), and another hand or other hands write the following:

- [p. 1](#) “H Benedixit”
- [p. 2](#) “<Laudabo Dominum> in uita mea” (?)
- [p. 3](#) “oc Laudate”
- [p. 4](#) “oc Laudate dominum omnes gentes”

³² This is Collect 113 in the “Romana series” [Ps. 3:5–12]; cf. A. Wilmart and L. Brou, *The Psalter collects from V–VI Century sources (three collections)*, London 1949.

³³ On Notker's hand see S. Rankin, “Ego itaque Notker scripsi”, *Revue Bénédictine* 101 (1991), 268–298. I would like to thank Prof. Rankin, who kindly examined several of these fragments' lines that could be considered to bear witness to Notker's hand.

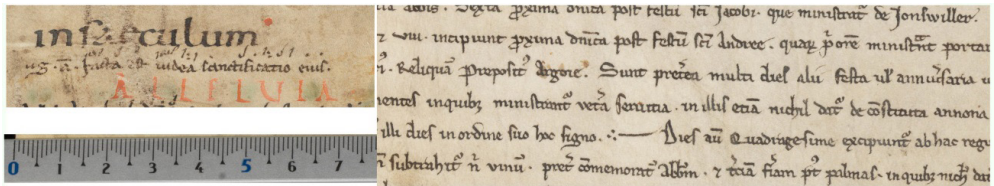


Figure 13: Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 7a, interlinear script (left) compared (to scale) with Cod. Sang. 453, p. 239 (right)

- [p.7](#) “wg . ā. Facta est Iudea sanctificatio eius”

Most of these verses and their notation coincide with the so-called Hartker’s Antiphonary, a ninth- to tenth-century compilation. Taking this into account, the sequence in which they should be presented is p. 7, 3–4, 2, 1.³⁴ Furthermore, the truly noteworthy aspect of this series of antiphonies is to be found in a feature that can be seen on page 7: “Facta est Iudea sanctificatio eius” (= Hartker’s Antiphonary, [Cod. Sang. 390, p. 94](#), l. 3), since the shapes of these letters recall the handwriting of a copyist and scholar to whom Beat von Scarpatetti dedicated several pages, identifying him as a prolific and intelligent annotator of liturgical codices during the thirteenth century (Figure 13).³⁵

d.5) Subsequent reuse and recovery of the fragments. Provenance of the fragments. Thanks to the notes on pages [38](#) and [40](#), we know that these small fragments were used for the bindings on codices [218](#) and [220](#), and we know they were recovered in the twentieth century (at least one of them by Alban Dold in 1936, see pp. 39–40 on Figure 11). An examination of the codices first confirmed that the information on the recovery of the fragments had also been recorded in their host volumes, but not systematically. In the case of [Cod. Sang. 218](#), we are even given information on where the different fragments were removed, and everything points to the fact this strip was used to reinforce a quaternion. Moreover, a logical pattern was detected in the process of reusing the fragments: the small strip formed by pp. 37–38 was not the only fragment from this psalter that was used for the binding on codex 218. Indeed, the back cover of this codex has the marks of other fragments preserved here: pp. 3–4 were pasted onto the inside back cover (offsets of p. 4 are still identifiable), and pp. 7–8 were part of the outside back cover (Figure 14). As far as fragment 220 is concerned, the specular trace of the *mihi* on l. 1 of p. 39 is still visible on the cover’s lower right-hand side (Figure 15). This, together with the signs of rusting caused by the upper staple

34 Cf. *Monumenta Palaeographica Gregoriana. Band 4/I. Die Handschrift St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 390. Antiphonarium Hartkeri Tomus I*, Münsterschwarzach [s.a.]. I deeply thank Franziska Schnoor for her generous and competent help in reading and deciphering the musical notation transmitted in these fragments.

35 B. von Scarpatetti, “Das St. Gallen Scriptorium”, in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter*, ed. P. Ochsenbein, Darmstadt 1999, 31–67, esp. 65–66.



Figure 14: Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 4 and Cod. Sang. 218 front pastedown (reversed)



Figure 15: Cod. Sang. 220 front pastedown (reversed). Compare offset to p. 39, Figure 11, above

that is still in place, tells us both the fragment's direction and its original position on the binding. There are another two rust marks caused by the lower ends of a staple placed on the outside of the wooden cover, which are now covered by the outer skin.

But this was not the last of our discoveries: the location of other marks in codices 218 and 220 led the team at *Fragmentarium* to the identification of a similar mark on a codex in Zurich, namely Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 43. And in fact, the offset in Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 43, front pastedown most probably belonged to the same psalter, but it does not correspond to any of the fragments located and preserved in St. Gallen. In fact, it partially matches the text of Ps. 111,8 to 112,9, a text found in the collection of manuscripts at Zurich, namely Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 184 (XX) (Figure 16).³⁶ Thus, we have almost certainly recovered some words and offsets of a dozen more verses of the series of fragments that are preserved as Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 1–12 and 37–42 thanks to the work of the community of fragmentologists. The fact that codex Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 43 is part of the same group of codices that belonged once to St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek makes it reasonable to assume that other fragments or offsets of this same psalter may be preserved in Zurich or even in Vienna.³⁷

In short, a study of what Scherrer's catalogue proclaimed to be six folios of a relatively late Gallican psalter (11th c.) has uncovered nine St. Gallen fragments (in addition to other remnants now preserved in Zurich); it has provided new testimonies of codices that were used in the fifteenth-century restoration campaign (Cod. Sang. 218, 220, 965); it has revealed to us a richly illuminated psalter that reproduced a type of text that did not appear in any of the psalters from the Late Golden Age; and it has provided us with a new sample of the work of an as-yet unidentified thirteenth-century scribe. In spite of all this, we still cannot say why and for whom this psalter was produced, or why its pages were discarded.

36 Mohlberg was already aware of the relationship between this fragment and the ones preserved at St. Gallen, but did not seem to know that some offsets of it were also preserved in Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 43; L. C. Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich I. Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, Zürich 1932, 79–83, at 81: "(Bl. 21).^{*} 9./10. Jahrh. 23,0 x 29,3 cm. Psalterbruchstück : (1r) *vit in aeternum testamentum* ~ (2v) *matrem filiorum laetantem* (= Ps. 110, 9–112, 9). In großer karolingischer Minuskel. (1r) ein goldsilberrotes *BEATUS*. Rote Initialen mit abwechselnd grüner oder gelber Füllung. Ein Drittel der ursprünglichen Glosse ist abgeschnitten. Später beigefügt: zwischen den Zeilen Antiphonen mit Neumen; am Rande Orationen. Gehört wahrscheinlich zu der Hs: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1397, Fragm. V."

37 Cf. *supra* n. 11 and Allgeiers's work on fragments of the same codex (also a psalter) now scattered across St. Gallen, Zurich and Vienna.

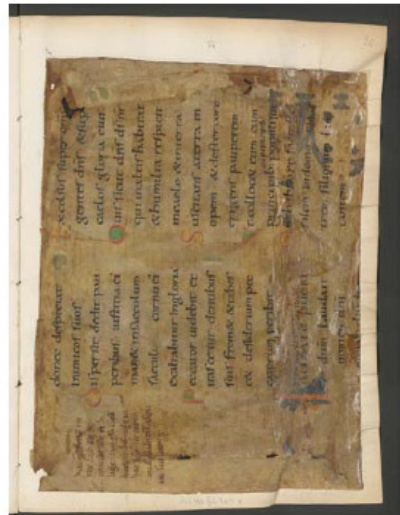


Figure 16: Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 43, front pastedown (now at St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek) and Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 184 (XX)

3. Other interesting fragments (i.e. almost “casual” findings).

Before moving on to the conclusions, I should like to draw attention to the vast treasure trove that is this collection of fragments, and the surprises that may lie in store for us through surveying, cataloguing, and studying them. Three findings that are the byproduct of this work on psalms and psalters are particularly relevant.

As noted above, this study included a survey of all the folders catalogued as “Biblica” to check for other fragments of psalters in the compendia that did not have a detailed record of their content (either in Scherrer’s catalogue or in the library’s internal registers). This “superficial” examination brought to light the following: several fragments of Patristic works contained on folios that Scherrer’s catalogue ascribes to biblical texts, e.g.: a para-biblical text (a prologue to Revelations) not recorded with that use in the repertoires of Berger and De Bruyne (Cod. Sang. 1398a, pp. 238–239), some so far unidentified exegetical texts (Cod. Sang. 1398a, pp. 250–255), and, what is more, a fragment of the Book of Daniel in a *Vetus Latina* version “hidden” among some fragments of a *Vulgata* text (Cod. Sang. 1398a I, pp. 16–17: Dn 13, 39–50 and 53–61).³⁸ We already know that the

³⁸ Scherrer reported that pp. 1–21 in this codex were a *Vulgata* (*Verzeichnis*, 468: “S. 1–21 und 230–255: Bruchstücke aus dem alten Testament, nach der Vulgata, und aus der Apostelgeschichte.”).

bible to which this fragment belonged was written in Italy in the early ninth century. Some of its other fragments were edited by Dold in 1923 and 1940 and can be found in Cod. Sang. 1398b, pp. 126–175.³⁹ Nevertheless, this fragment of the same *Vetus Latina* version, probably mislaid in codex 1398a during the process of recovery of the St. Gallen fragments, had hitherto neither been identified nor inventoried as being of the *Vetus Latina*, and has yet to be published.⁴⁰

4 Conclusions

The study of just three groups of biblical fragments from the library at St. Gallen, involving only thirty-three pieces of parchment from its vast holding, has led to the following conclusions:

1. Cod. Sang. 1395 III has a version of the psalter that is not such a clear reflection of its Roman version as we hitherto thought. It has shown us that we need to revise and update some of our most firmly ingrained theories on the so-called “mixed” versions of the Latin Psalter.
2. Cod. Sang. 1395 II is a representative of a stellar period in the history of St. Gallen, which produced many of the most important four-part psalters that survive.
3. The fragments of Cod. Sang. 1397 V come from the Golden Age of illumination in the *scriptorium*, and they provide us with new evidence of the work of a prolific and anonymous thirteenth-century annotator who was also a consummate liturgist.
4. Finally, the research into a small and apparently closed corpus of fragments has produced new findings, expanded our fields of research, and underscored the methodological challenges involving these kinds of materials, including the following: first of all, the need to study how an organic and interrelated whole is formed by the diverse groups of individual fragments already collected; secondly, the need to inventory those fragments that are still *in situ* (and should continue to be); and finally, the need for a thorough cataloguing of all the fragments in a library, however insignificant or uninteresting they may seem *a priori*.

We are coming to the end of these pages. The path begun with the Gospel of St. John, the *Etymologiae*, and the polysemy of the word *fragmentum* shall now

39 The fragments edited by Dold were inventoried as no. 176 in R. Gryson, *Atlanteinische Handschriften. Manuscrits vieux latins* v. 1, Freiburg im Breisgau 1999, 270–271. Above, in the discussion of a bifolium of the bilingual psalter (*supra* 2.1 and n. 20), I mention some offsets that might contain lines of a page from the same bible.

40 M.A. Andrés Sanz, “A new *Vetus Latina* testimony for Dn 13, 39–50 and 53–61: the fragment Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 1398a I, pp. 16–17”, *Revue Bénédictine* 129 (2019), forthcoming.

finish with the Psalms and Virgil's works, since fragments of Virgil's works and of the Psalms are the St. Gallen texts that launched the library's presence on the *Fragmentarium* platform.

The fragments of the Bible and of Virgil's works have nurtured our culture both intellectually and spiritually for centuries. There is no need to explain how appropriate it is then that the texts of the Bible and the *Vergilius Sangallensis* should be some of this digital repository's first fragments. But there is more: it was a delightful coincidence that when looking for fragments of psalters in the folders of manuscript fragments at St. Gallen, I should stumble across one of those notes that reminds us as researchers that we are working not (only) with texts or codices but (also) with examples of a cultural tradition that we are part of, with the work of people whose hearts begin to beat again and enter our own when so many centuries later we look upon something that has gone unnoticed for years: on p. 239 of codex 1398a, between two lines of a fragmentary preface to the Acts, someone wrote "ā omnia uincit amor et nos", that is, the beginning, in the manner of a "pagan" antiphony, of a verse from Virgil's tenth eclogue, dedicated to his friend Gallus: "Love conquers all. Let us" (*eccl.* 10, 69) (Figure 17). An antiphon, the song of the psalms, the Bible and Virgil's *Eclogues*: music, fragments and bread. A fitting way to end this paper is by completing (by singing?) Virgil's hexameter reconverted into an antiphon: "Omnia uincit Amor et nos cedamus Amori!", "Love conquers all. Let us, too, yield to Love" (...for manuscript fragments!).

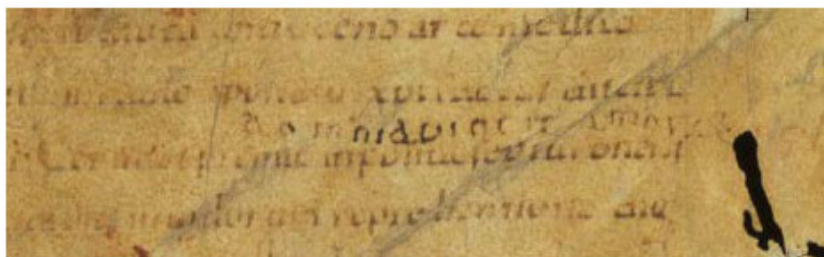


Figure 17: Cod. Sang. 1398a I, p. 239 (Prol. to Act.), inter ll. 14–15 (part of Verg. *eccl.* 10,69 written as an antiphon: «ā omnia uincit amor et nos»)

