

Fragmentology

A Journal for the Study of Medieval Manuscript Fragments

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Articles

Reconstructing a Ninth-Century Sacramentary-Lectionary from Saint-Victor 1–49

Laura Albiero

A Tenth-Century Fragment of the Metrical Calendar of Gambera from the Lake Constance Region 51–71

Farley P. Katz

Collections, Compilations, and Convolutes of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Fragments in North America before ca. 1900 73–139

Scott Gwara

Research Note

The Bull in the Book: A 1308 Witness to the Career of Francesco Caracciolo, Chancellor of Paris 141–148

William Duba

Reviews

Czagány Zsuzsa, éd., Antiphonale Varadinense s. XV, I. Proprium de tempore, II. Proprium de sanctis et commune sanctorum, III. Essays 149–154

Laura Albiero

Gaudenz Freuler (with contributions by Georgi Parpulov), The McCarthy Collection, Volume 1: Italian and Byzantine Miniatures 155–159

Nicholas Herman

Erik Kwakkel, Books Before Print 161–175

Scott Gwara

Kathryn M. Rudy, Image, Knife, and Gluepot: Early Assemblage in Manuscript and Print 177–182

Hanno Wijsman

Indices

Index of Manuscripts 183–189

A Tenth-Century Fragment of the Metrical Calendar of Gambera from the Lake Constance Region

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Abstract: The Gambera Missal is an illustrated missal written around 1500, now in the Archivio Capitolare at Casale Monferrato. The manuscript includes the text of a Latin metrical calendar (the “Metrical Calendar of Gambera” or MCG) which, based on the feasts included, was suggested to have been composed some 450 years earlier and had a connection to the Abbey of St. Gall. This article discusses a second witness to the MCG, a single leaf that was used as a binding for a seventeenth-century book. The fragment has metrical text and computistical data virtually identical to that in the Gambera manuscript, and a large Ottonian painted KL (for “Kalends”). Based on the handwriting and style of the initials, the fragment dates to the second-half of the tenth century, likely from the Lake Constance area.

Keywords: *metrical calendar, missals, Lake Constance, tenth century.*

In 2005, Elena Rampi drew attention to a verse calendar in a late-fifteenth-century missal currently held in the Archivio Capitolare at Casale Monferrato.¹ The missal is known as the Gambera Missal after its former owner, Casale Monferrato native Bernardino Gambera (1456–1506), who became bishop of Cavaillon (near

* I owe thanks to Elena Rampi, Immo Warntjes, Michael Lapidge, David Ganz, Fabrizio Crivello, P. Justinus Pagnamenta OSB, librarian of Einsiedeln Abbey, Manuela Meni, archivist of the Archivio Capitolare, Casale Monferrato, Vanessa Ramos, UTSA Library, and others unknown. Thanks also to my son, Farley T. Katz, for help on images. All translations here are the author’s.

1 E. Rampi, “Il martirologio in versi del messale gambera: un testo di provenienza sangallese nell’Archivio Capitolare di Casale Monferrato”, *Monferrato Arte e Storia* 17 (2005), 53–90, <http://www.artestoria.net/monfaesto/2005-001-120.pdf> (accessed June 2020).

Avignon). Gambera's nephew donated the manuscript to the cathedral in 1542.² The missal begins with a medieval verse calendar containing about 370 hexameters praising some 195 saints, giving their status (martyr, bishop, virgin, etc.), their place of veneration and method of martyrdom. The corresponding feast dates are indicated by an adjacent column of dates in Roman format. Additional lines (not included in the above count) provide introductions to each month (e.g., "Maius habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx"), *leitspruchen* or "mottoes" ("Maius maiorum pandat nunc festa suorum"), seasonal information ("Initium veris"), paschal dates and lunar calendar correlations ("Embolismus ogdoadis/Prima incensio lune paschalis"), hours of light and dark ("Nox horarum xvi, dies horarum viii"), and zodiac events ("Sol in Leonem") [Figure 1]. The leaves are foliated in a later hand, the calendar comprising ff. Ir–XIr, XIv being blank. The missal begins on f. 1r, the leaf following the calendar, with a half page miniature of the Last Supper, surrounded by a gilt border with decorations and figures in roundels and, at bottom, the arms of Bernardino Gambera (likely a later addition) [Figure 2]. The text of the missal is in the same hand as the calendar. Rampi found the calendar remarkable because, although it was written around 1500, it belonged to a genre of versified martyrologies attested in the ninth to eleventh centuries.³

The "Latin metrical calendar" has been described as "one of the most curious genres of medieval Latin poetry":

As its name perhaps implies, it was a composition consisting of a number of hexameter lines, each of which characteristically recorded the name of a saint and the day of the year (in Roman reckoning) on which the saint was commemorated. As such the metrical calendar was non-liturgical in function; rather, it appears to have been intended as a sort of poetic martyrology whose function may have been purely mnemonic: to commit such a poem to memory would provide a concise and ready record of the various feast days commemorated in the church where

2 E. Rampi, "Il Messale 'optime miniatum' dell'Archivio Capitolare di Casale Monferrato: notizie storiche ed artistiche", *Monferrato Arte e Storia* 10 (1998), 61–84, <http://www.artestoria.net/monfaesto/1998-001-136.pdf> (accessed June 2020). Rampi's article also summarizes the previous bibliography on the Gambera Missal.

3 Rampi, "Il martirologio", 55.

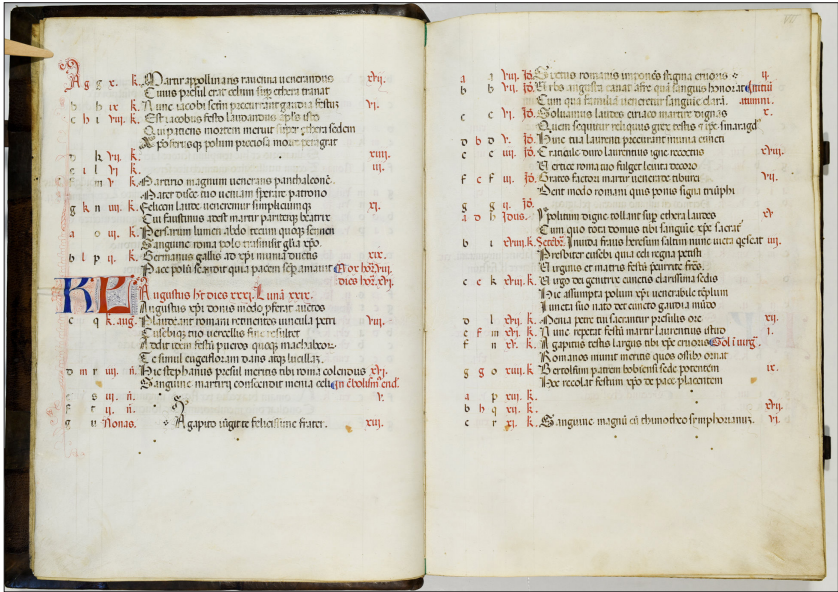


Figure 1: Metrical Calendar, The Gambera Missal, ff. VIv-VIIr (Casale Monferrato, Archivio Capitolare)

the poem was composed. It is also conceivable that the metrical calendar was regarded by its practitioners primarily as a sort of scholastic exercise whereby the would-be poet was taxed with the problems of fitting intractable expressions of date reckoning into the framework of the hexameter.⁴

The earliest known example is the Metrical Calendar of York, consisting of 82 lines, composed in the second half of the eighth century. In the following centuries, these calendars spread to the Continent (and back to England) and were revised, expanded and adapted to fit local veneration, and new ones were composed. As they increased in length, their mnemonic function became less apparent. While these calendars originally included the dates as part of the verse, in a second phase, portions were interpolated into liturgical calendars, with the dates in a column next to the text. Finally, liturgical calendars were composed entirely in verse,

4 M. Lapidge, "A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey", in *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066*, London, 1993 (reprinted from *Revue Bénédictine* 94 (1984), 326-369), at 343.



Figure 2: Incipit, The Gambera Missal, f. 1r (Casale Monferato, Archivio Capitolare)

as attested by the most recent witness, the metrical calendar of the Pembroke Psalter-Hours, produced, apparently in England, in the mid-fourteenth century.⁵ Although Lapidge cites redactions of

5 See M. Lapidge, “The Metrical Calendar in the ‘Pembroke Psalter Hours’”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 129 (2011), 325–387, especially 326, n. 10 and 343–347; P. Meyvaert, “A Metrical Calendar by Eugenius Vulgarius”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 84 (1966), 349–377. See also K. Karasawa, *The Old English Metrical Calendar (Menologium)*, Cambridge 2015, 18–21; P. McGurk, “The Metrical Calendar of Hampson, a New Edition”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986), 79–125; J. Hennig, “Studies in the Literary Tradition of the ‘Martyrologium Poeticum’”, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* 56 (1953/54), 197–226. Although several calendars have been published and

English metrical Latin calendars in France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Ireland, he states that the “genre of poem ... had been practiced above all (if not quite exclusively) by English authors”.⁶

The Metrical Calendar of Gambera text (henceforth MCG) belongs to the last category, a liturgical calendar composed in metrical form. Rampi concluded it had been composed not before the mid-eleventh century, based on the most recent dates of canonization of saints included. Specifically, since the most recent canonization was of Saint Wiborada in 1047, she reasoned that year was the *terminus post quem* for the calendar text. The scribe who wrote the Gambera Missal around 1500 would have thus copied a calendar originally written some 450 years before and, as a tool for liturgical practice, hopelessly out of date.⁷

Rampi noted that the calendar had “strong affinities” to and may have been based on the Martyrologium of Usuard, with which it shared 163 feasts out of its total of 195. She also concluded the calendar had a “very strong connection” to the abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland. Many of the feasts in the MCG are typical of St. Gall and others reflect local “cults, widespread in the Swiss area”, which suggested that it may have been written in the abbey of St. Gall. Indeed, the most recent saint included, Wiborada, the patron saint of librarians, was martyred in St. Gall in 926. The presence, however, of saints revered in French locales such as Remiremont and even German saints from the Rhineland and Bavaria made Rampi feel the “hypothesis that the martyrology was produced in the mother house in St. Gall on Lake Constance [was] doubtful”. Peter Ochsenbein, librarian of St. Gall, agreed that the calendar had “undoubted” relevance to St. Gall, but ruled out the possibility that it was produced “within the walls of the Swiss monastery”.⁸

Rampi was unable to resolve the location of the calendar’s origin, but felt that the significant presence of German saints from the

analyzed, Lapidge describes them (“The Metrical Calendar in the ‘Pembroke Psalter Hours’”, 325, n. 2.) as “a seldom-studied medieval literary genre” and notes that “The history of the metrical calendar remains to be written”.

6 Lapidge, “The Metrical Calendar in the ‘Pembroke Psalter Hours’”, 344, n. 76.

7 Rampi, “Il martirologio in versi”, 59.

8 Ibid., 61.

Rhineland and Bavaria and especially French saints venerated “towards the present western border” of Switzerland, could be a “useful clue to direct the search” to the areas of Soissons and Remiremont in Northeastern France.⁹

Also unresolved is why the missal, written around 1500, included the text of a calendar nearly half a millenium old at that time. Rampi speculated that the antiquated calendar might have had a quaint charm or sophisticated appeal: “Its presence at the beginning of a missal produced at least four centuries later without fulfilling a precise liturgical function, is explained as a choice of cultural distinction and has the flavor of a cultivated and refined rediscovery, suitable for an intellectually elite environment”.¹⁰ Rampi did not find any other manuscript with the same text, although she did not conduct an exhaustive search.¹¹

The Fragment

In 2016, the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo in Philadelphia underwent a restructuring and downsizing following years of declining enrollment. To raise funds, the Seminary sold paintings by Thomas Eakins and some rare books from its library in auctions.¹² Better World Books, a company that disposes of libraries on eBay, sold a number of old books bearing the stamp of the Seminary’s library: BIBLIOTH. SEMIN. PHILAD. S. CAROLI BORR. From that sale, I acquired a book in its original binding of parchment over boards. The book is *Rosa de S. Maria Virgo Limensis, etc., Augustae [Augsburg], Simonis Utzichneider 1668*, a seventeenth-century German devotional work about Saint Rosa of Lima (1586–1617), the

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., at 62. Another example of the late copying of an outdated calendar, although less extreme, is the Latin metrical calendar that was copied into a late fifteenth century Pembroke Psalter-Hours, more than a hundred years after it was composed. See Lapidge, “The Metrical Calendar in the ‘Pembroke Psalter Hours’”, 325 n. 1.

11 Elena Rampi, personal communication (Mar. 1, 2017).

12 See S. Howard, “Rare Liturgical Books from Seminary Collection on Sale”, *Catholic News Live* (Oct. 20, 2016), online at <https://catholicnewslive.com/story/550799> (accessed May 28, 2019).

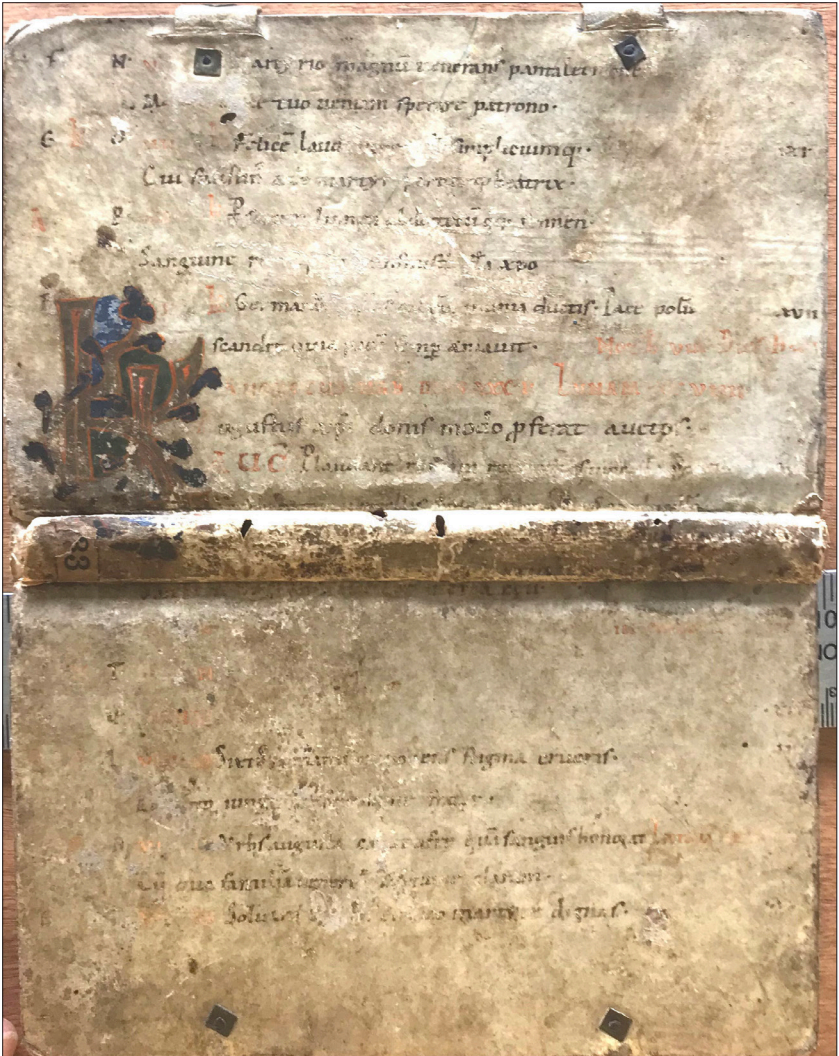


Figure 3: The KL Fragment

first person born in the New World to be canonized and the patron saint of the indigenous people of Latin America.¹³ The book is a

13 There are at least 12 copies of this work in OCLC, all in Germany except for singletons in Switzerland, Italy, New York, Mexico and Chile, the last two remote holdings for an obscure Augsburg imprint no doubt due to Saint Rosa's significance for Latin America.



Figure 4 (left): KL Detail

Figure 5 (above): KL Detail
(enhanced colors)

small octavo, with the covers measuring about 96 × 155 mm and held closed by parchment straps with metal snaps. It has an engraved portrait preceding the title, followed by 146 numbered and two unnumbered leaves.¹⁴ The Borrromeo Library collections date to 1832, the year in which the Seminary was founded,¹⁵ but there appears to be no record of the acquisition of this book.¹⁶ The only indications of provenance are the seminary's library stamp and a paper label with "33" on the spine.

The parchment binding was a reused manuscript leaf from a medieval calendar [Figure 3], with an original size of least 179 × 235 mm. Parts of the text are worn and soiled and writing on the spine and part of the rear cover has been effaced. On the middle left of the original manuscript page, there is a large KL, painted in gold and

14 A copy of the book is digitized at <https://books.google.com/books?id=jV-VRAAAAcAAJ> (accessed June 5, 2019).

15 See "About the Library", St. Charles Borrromeo Seminary, <https://www.scs.edu/library/about-library> (accessed May 28, 2019).

16 James Humble, librarian of the St. Charles Borrromeo Seminary, personal communication (May 24, 2019).

outlined in red orange which also forms a central line, with fields of blue and green behind [Figures 4 and 5].

The KL marks the Kalends or first day of the month, in this case August. There are about 17 lines of text, mostly now brown, with some parts in red. The text is in verse, each line beginning with a capital letter. To the left of the text are columns of letters and numbers representing the Dominical Letters (A–G), the Litterae Signorum (A–O) in red, the Lunar Letters (two series of A–U and one of A–T), and dates in Roman format (e.g., IIII kal.). At the far right is a column with a few Golden Numbers, most of which have entirely or partially worn off.

The fragment includes the dates corresponding to July 28–August 8 and, for the part visible, has text identical to that in the Gambera manuscript, with minimal orthographical variants.¹⁷

Transcription

() = expansion of abbreviation (*nomina sacra* are expanded silently)

[] = non-visible text interpolated (from the Gambera manuscript)

⟨⟩ = editorial addition

* = obscured by initial

= unknown

DL = Dominical Letters

LS = Litterae Signorum

LL = Lunar Letters

The Gambera Manuscript

DL	LS	LL	Roman Date	Verse	Lunar Numbers, etc.
f		m	v k(alendas)	Martirio magnum venerans panthaleone(m)	
				Mater disce tuo veniam sperare patrono	

¹⁷ Indeed, an internet search for the text of the fragment led me to the edition of the MCG in Rampi's article.

g	k	n	IIII k(alendas)	Felicem laude veneremur simpliciumq(ue)	XI
				Cui faustinus adest martir pariterq(ue) beatrix	
a		o	III k(alendas)	Persarum lumen abdo tecum quoq(ue) sennen	
				Sanguine roma polo tra(n)smisit gl(or)ia christo	
b	l	p	II k(alendas)	Germanus gallis ad christi munia ductis	XIX
				Pace polu(m) scandit quia pacem se(m)p(er) amavit	Nox hor(arum) VIII dies hor(arum) XVI
			K(a)L(endis)	Augustus h(abe)t dies XXXI Luna XXIX	
				Augustus christi donis modo p(ro)ferat auctos	
c		q	k(alendis) aug(usti)	Plaudant ¹⁸ romani retinentes vincula petri	VIII
				Eusebiq(ue) tuo vercellis fine resultet	
				Addit idem festu(m) pueros quoq(ue) mach- abeo(rum)	
				Te simul eugeifloram ¹⁹ dans atq(ue) lucilla(m)	
d	m	r	IIII n(onas)	Hic stephanus presul meritis tibi roma colendus	XVI
				Sanguine martirii conscendit menia celi	In ²⁰ e(m) bolism(us) end(ecadis)
e		s	III n(onas)		V

18 plaudant] plaudeant *cod. et Rampi sed corr. cod.*

19 Rampi states (“Il martirologio in versi”, 76, n. 109), “L’estensore del martirologio compie una fusione tra i due nomi di Eugenio e Flora scrivendo ‘Eugeifloram.’” (“The martyrology writer merges the two names of Eugene and Flora, writing ‘Eugeifloram.’”).

20 in] lege iii

f		t	II n(onas)		
g		u	Nonas	+	XIII
[f. VIIr]					
a		a	VIII id(us)	Sixtus romanis impone(n)s stigma cruoris	II
				Agapito iu(n)git te felicissime frater ²¹	XIII
b		b	VII id(us)	Urbs angusta canat afre qua(m) sanguis honorat	Initiu(m)
				Cum qua familia(m) veneretur sangui(n)e clara(m)	autumni
c		c	VI id(us)	Solvamus laudes ciriaco martire dignas	X

The Fragment

DL	LS	LL	Roman Date	Verse	Lunar Numbers, etc.
F		N•	v k(alendas)	[M]artyrio magno(m) venerans pantaleemone(m)	
				Ma[ter dis]ce tuo veniam sperare patrono	
G	k	O•	IIII k(alendas)	Felice(m) laud[e] vene[remur] simpliciumq(ue)	xi
				Cui faustin(us) ade(st) martyr par(i)terque beatrix	
A		P•	III k(alendas)	Persarum lumen abdo tecu(m) q(uo)q(ue) sennen	
				Sanguine r[oma] p[olo tr]ansmisit [gl](ori)a christo	
B	[L]*	#*	II k(alendas)	Germanus gallis ad christi munia ductis. Pace polu(m)	XVII[II]

²¹ sixtus...cruoris, agapito...frater] *inv. cod. et Rampi, sed corr. signis quattuor punctorum (+) cod.*

				scandit quia pace(m) semp(er) amavit	Nox h(orarum) VIII Dies h(orarum) XVI
			K(a)L(endis)	AUGUSTUS H(ABE) T DIES xxxi LUNAM xxviii	
				Augustus christi donis modo p(ro)ferat auctos	
[C]*		#		AUG(USTI) Plaudant r[oma]ni ret[inente]s vinc[u]l[a] petri	[VIII]
				[Eusebique tuo] vercellis [fine resultat]	
				[Addit idem festum pueros quoque mach- abeorum]	
				[Te simul eugeifloram dans atque lucillam]	
[D]	[M]	#	[III n(onas)]	[Hic stephanus presul meritis tibi roma colendus]	[xvi]
				San[guine martirii conscendit] menia celi	III embol(ismus) end(ecadis)
[E]		#	[III n(onas)]		
[F]	N	T•	II n(onas)		
[G]		U•	NONAS		XIII
A	O	•A	VIII id(us)	Sixtus romanis impone(n) s stigma cruoris	II
				Ag[ap]ito iungi[t te felici] ssime frater	
[B]	P	•B	VII id(us)	Urbs angusta canat afre qua(m) sanguis honorat	Initiu(m) autum[ni]
				Cu(m) qua familia(m) venere(tur) sanguine claram	
[C]		•C	VI id(us)	Solvam(us) l[au]des ciriaco martyre dignas	

Not only are the texts nearly identical, the computistical numbers and letters are in the same layout and color, except that the letters are in (rustic) capitals in the fragment, and the Lunar Numbers are in rubrics in the Gambera manuscript but black in the fragment.

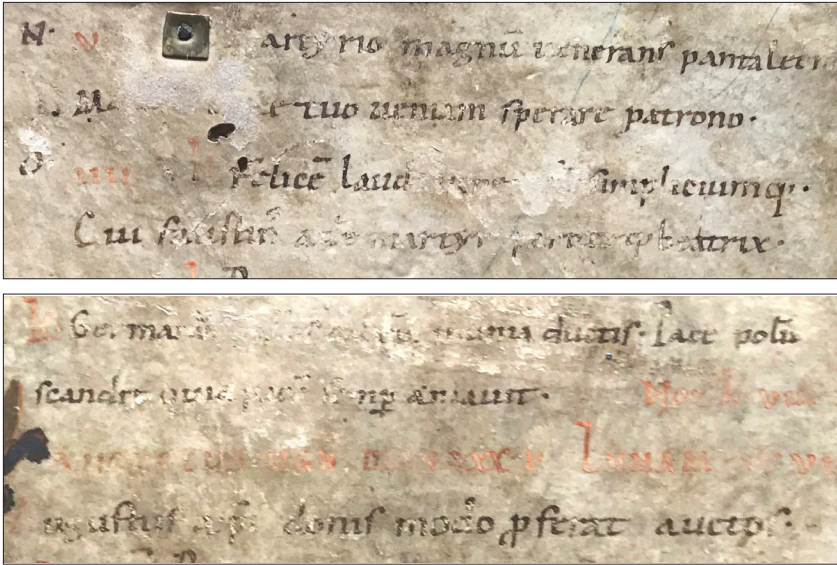


Figure 6, Figure 7: Fragment script (details).

In addition, the fragment gives the incorrect Lunar Letters for July (N, O, P, and [Q]*, instead of M, N, O, P, as in the Gambera manuscript).²²

Dating and localizing the fragment

The writing on the fragment is Carolingian Minuscule. The letters are small, their cue-height (the height of letters ignoring ascenders and descenders) averaging about 1.5 mm. Letters with ascenders or descenders, such as *l*, *q* or *p*, are up to 3.5 mm. tall. The lower-case letters lean to the right, although *l* and *d* are usually upright, and there is little distinction between thick and thin parts. Long *s* ends on the baseline and *r* just below it. There is little clubbing of ascenders and the shaft of *a* is sloped. The writing is neat and level, but not entirely uniform in shape or size. Letters are spaced in the words and the words form discrete units, clearly separated from each other.

²² I thank Immo Warntjes for this observation.

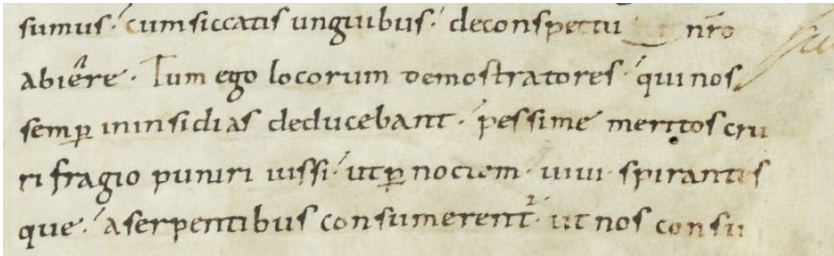


Figure 8: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 323(1065), p. 17, detail

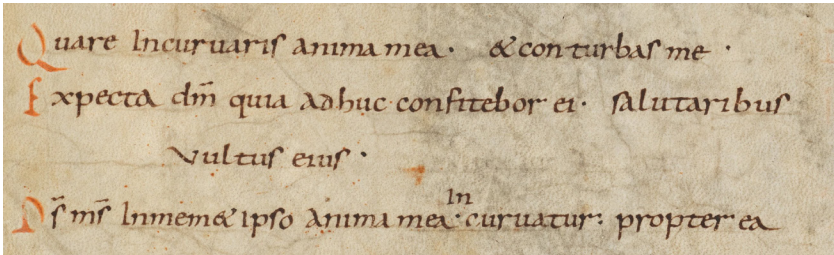


Figure 9: Urnäsch, Gemeindearchiv Urnäsch, Fragment, detail

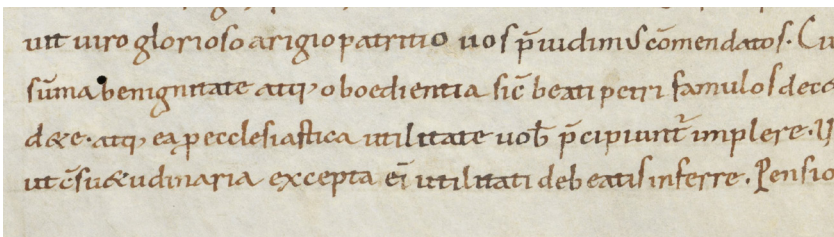


Figure 10: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 179(482), p. 9, detail

The script appears to be from the second half of the tenth century [Figures 6 and 7], and “around 1000” has been suggested.²³ Similar scripts have been attributed to Switzerland and Southern Germany. Compare, for example Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 323(1065), p. 17 (St. Gall or Southern Germany, first third tenth century) [Figure 8]; Urnäsch, Gemeindearchiv Urnäsch, Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos (St. Gall, tenth century) [[F-monc](#)] [Figure 9]; and Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, [Codex 179\(482\)](#) (Einsiedeln, second half tenth century) [Figure 10].

The large *KL* initial provides information for dating and localizing the fragment [Figures 4, 5 and 11]. The letters *K* and *L* are

23 David Ganz, personal communication (May 4, 2020).

interlinked, although the bottom arm of the *L* is largely worn away. The shafts and arms of the letters are painted gold, not gilded. They are outlined in a thin red-orange line and have a central line of the same color. A jagged branch of the same dull gold color twists around and behind the *KL*. The branch has a number of blue-grey buds or leaves and ends in a trefoil of the same color. Similar blue-grey buds/leaves emerge from part of the *KL* itself. The branch, buds and leaves are all outlined in a thin red-orange line. Behind the *KL* are two amorphous fields of color, blue above and green below.

The *KL* is in Ottonian style. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, several large abbeys in Northeastern Switzerland and Southern Germany had scriptoria producing sumptuous missals and other liturgical manuscripts with miniatures and initial letters in the Ottonian style. These included St. Gall and Einsiedeln in Switzerland and Reichenau in Germany.²⁴ Ottonian decorative initial letters in liturgical manuscripts are commonly filled with curving or intertwining strapwork, often stylized vines bearing leaves, sprouts and ending in trefoils or finials. The letters may be uncolored or they may be gold, outlined and filled with colors such as blue and green.

There are some tenth-century manuscripts from St. Gall that contain initial letters similar to the *KL* with curved bands painted dark green or blue from which sprout leaves and trefoils, more overtly representing vines. But those letters are more ornate and intricate than the *KL*. See, e.g., St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 562 (890–900), [p.3](#). Closer to the *KL*, however, are some tenth-century letters appearing in manuscripts from Reichenau and Einsiedeln. A group from Reichenau is similar, the letters smaller and simpler than the St. Gall initials, with dark vines sprouting leaves and trefoils curving organically within and beyond the letter outlines. See Solothurn, Domschatz der St.-Ursen-Kathedrale, Cod. U 1 (Reichenau, before 983), [f.39v](#). The bodies of those letters, however, include decorative partitions unlike the *KL*.

The closest initials to the *KL* I have found, however, are in the tenth-century “Einsiedeln Graduale”, Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 121(1151), pp. 1–428 (=EG). The EG forms a volume with the

24 See E. T. DeWald, “The Art of the Scriptorium of Einsiedeln”, *The Art Bulletin* 7 (Mar. 1925), at 79–90.



Figure 11: KL Outline



Figure 12: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 121(1151) (=EG), p. 14, detail



Figure 13: EG, p. 195, detail



Figure 14: EG, p. 177, detail

well-known Sequences of Notker of St. Gall (pp. 429–599), the oldest complete surviving neumed mass antiphony, dated to around 960–970.²⁵

The EG abounds in Ottonian initial letters that are close to the *KL* in design, colors, materials and overall feel. Although most initials in the EG are elaborate with the letter bodies made of two

²⁵ Although it was thought that Codex 121(1151) originated from St. Gall, Anton von Euw concluded, based on a comparison of the decorative initials and handwriting in other manuscripts, that it was in fact produced in the Einsiedeln Abbey between 960 and 980, see A. von Euw, “Beschaffenheit und künstlerische Ausstattung der Handschrift”, in *Die Handschrift 121 der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln. Kommentarband*, ed. O. Lang, Berlin 2015, 1–68, at 9–13, 16–17. See also O. Lang, *Der Mönch und das Buch, Die Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln. Deutung und Geschichte* (Einsiedeln: Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln 2010), 84. In 2009, Odo Lang published on e-codices a description of the manuscript in which he provided the date of the manuscript as “10. Jh. (um 960–970)” (<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/sbe/0121/>).

bands, one of which extends to form knots at top, bottom or middle, “there are also simple letter bodies without side offshoots” [Figures 12–14].²⁶ The bodies of the *KL* and the letters in the EG both are colored with “shell gold” or paint made of gold powder and gum.²⁷ Both are outlined in orange-red and have central lines in the same color and backgrounds of blue and green. Curving around the EG’s simple letters and extending beyond them are a few vines with buds and ending in trefoils or pointed leaves. The vines, in oxidized silver ink, are wide and wind irregularly around the letters.²⁸ The *KL* fragment buds might also be silver ink (they are now very dark); in any event, both inks show a similar pattern of feathering. In both the EG and the fragment, the letters themselves are distinct and stand out clearly from the vines as compared to some Ottonian letters, which can be lost in intertwining bands. In contrast to the elegant and precise St. Gall letters, the EG’s simple initials are more rustic and vigorous and more like the *KL*.

The EG initials are not identical to the fragment’s *KL*. Their vines are entirely grey, whereas the *KL* branch (perhaps not really a “vine”) is painted gold and only the buds and leaves are blue-grey. The *KL* branch is also angular, unlike the organically curved EG vines. The background blue and green colors differ somewhat from those in the *KL* and are more opaque. The *KL* also is somewhat more carefully painted as can be seen by comparing the orange red outlines. The decoration can also be dated to the last third of the 10th century and shows forms that developed in the area of Lake Constance in the early Ottonian age.²⁹

A mid-tenth century date is also suggested by comparison of the computistical data and layout in the fragment to that in the calendar in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, [Cod. Sang. 459](#), pp. 32–56, which has

26 Von Euw, “Beschaffenheit und künstlerische Ausstattung der Handschrift”, 10.

27 See R. Clemens and T. Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, Ithaca NY 2007, 33, painted gold “was applied to the page only after the other colors”. As seen in the EG initial *M*, for example [Figure 14], there is an unpainted space between the red center lines and the gold, showing the gold was painted last. In the *KL* fragment the red lines are painted over the gold, but the gold is not gold leaf.

28 Von Euw, “Beschaffenheit und künstlerische Ausstattung der Handschrift”, 10.

29 Fabrizio Crivello, personal communication (May 4 and August 30, 2020).

All this evidence places the KL manuscript in the second half of the tenth century, between 960 and the turn of the eleventh century. But what do we make of the fact that Rampi dated the text copied in the Gambera manuscript to 1047 or later? Although we have only one page of the KL calendar, and that has lost text, what remains is very close to the Gambera manuscript, with minor textual variants, differently colored Lunar Numbers, and a minor error in the Lunar Letters on the fragment.

Rampi's dating of the composition of the MCG to 1047 or later is problematic in that she assumed that Wiborada would not have been included before her formal papal canonization in 1047. In fact, papal canonization only dates to the end of the tenth century and did not become the rule until the twelfth century.³² Prior to that, martyrs were commonly recognized by bishops and venerated locally. Thus, Munding's study of twenty-one St. Gall calendars cites Wiborada as appearing in thirteen calendars produced before 1040.³³ The earliest of these is "Turic. 176" (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. Car. C 176, ff. 153r-172r), which he dates to ca. 926-950. The next oldest is St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, [Cod. Sang. 339](#), which Munding dates to between 997 and 1011, and in which (p. 14) Wiborada is denoted as "virgin" and "martyr."³⁴ On Munding's account, the remaining calendars range in date from 1022 to 1039.

Wiborada's presence in the MCG thus indicates a *terminus post quem* of 926 for a text that includes her entry. Most calendars including her, however, are dated to the end of the tenth century or early eleventh century. But there is another saint we must consider, St. Ulrich, who appears on July 4. Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg died in 973 and was canonized by Pope John XV in 993, the first saint

von St. Gallen. Aus XXI Handschriften neuntes bis elftes Jahrhundert, Beuron 1948, 4 and 10, who dates it to ca. 960/961. Thanks to Immo Warntjes for his help in researching this parallel.

32 See E. W. Kemp, "Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints: The Alexander Prize Essay", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (1945), 13-28, at 14 ("the first event which can properly be called a papal canonization does not occur until 993 when John XV canonized St. Ulric of Augsburg at a council held in the Lateran palace.").

33 Munding, *Die Kalendarien von St. Gallen*, 2, 9.

34 Ibid.

proclaimed by a pope. Like Wiborada, however, he was venerated in St. Gall before papal canonization.³⁵ The *terminus post quem* for a text including Ulrich's entry thus is 973.

Unfortunately, since we have only a single leaf, we do not know whether Wiborada or Ulrich were included in the complete manuscript of the fragment. Given that the KL text is virtually identical to the Gambera manuscript text, it is likely that much of the MCG dates to the second half of the tenth century.

To summarize the assessment of the fragment's origins, the decoration of the KL initials is closest to the initials in the Einsiedeln Graduale, dating to ca. 960–970; the presentation and coloring of the computistical data are identical to a St. Gall calendar from ca. 960. The text it carries is identical to part of the Gambera manuscript. Unfortunately, we have only a tiny fragment of what once was a complete book – perhaps a sacramentary or a psalter – a single leaf, the back of which is not visible, and a single painted KL, and further precision on its origin is not yet available. Yet the available art-historical, paleographical, and textual evidence all point to the fragment's origins in the Lake Constance area in Switzerland or Southern Germany.³⁶

As noted above, a number of early metrical calendars have received scholarly attention. The MCG, however, along with Rampi's article, deserve attention in this context. The calendar appears to be unique in a number of respects. Unlike other Latin metrical calendars, it seems to lack any obvious connection with the English calendars or their Continental redactions, and may be an independent product of the Lake Constance area. In addition, since the MCG dates to the later tenth century, it may be the earliest known

35 Munding, *Die Kalendarien von St. Gallen*, p. 75

36 As noted above, based on the presence of certain French saints from Remiremont and German saints from the Rhineland and Bavaria, Rampi suggested a possible origin in Northeastern France. Without going into that analysis, which is beyond my limited expertise, I note only that DeWald ("The Art of the Scriptorium of Einsiedeln", 81, n. 1) attributed a late-eleventh century misal to Einsiedeln "beyond the pale of doubt", based primarily on comparison of the decorative initials and the presence of numerous saints venerated at Einsiedeln, notwithstanding the inclusion of "many saints ... from places in Bavaria, along the Rhine, and elsewhere in Alsace".

metrical calendar created in liturgical form. The *leitspruchen* or mottoes at the head of each month appear to be unique; none is recorded by Borst.³⁷ Finally, the text, focusing on martyrs' method of martyrdom and location of veneration, may be a unique approach to constructing the verse. Although the fragment is only a single leaf, it is strong evidence that the Gambera copy of about 1500 is an accurate, although not perfect, record of the lost original.

Conclusion

The fragment corroborates Rampi's conclusion that the Gambera Missal copied the text of a metrical calendar half a millennium old, based on her analysis of the saints included. However, her conclusion, based on the inclusion of St. Wiborada, that the MCG was composed after 1047 was faulty; Wiborada could have been included as early as 926 and the mention of St. Ulrich gives a *terminus post quem* of 973. The text of the fragment is nearly identical to that of the Gambera manuscript, although we do not know if the full manuscript included Wiborada and Ulrich. The writing is consistent with being produced in the second half of the tenth century in the Lake Constance area. Although the leaf is worn and darkened, it demonstrates the valuable information a single fragment can provide.³⁸

³⁷ Borst, *Der Karolingische Reichskalender*.

³⁸ I am donating the copy of *Rosa de S. Maria Virgo Limensis* with the binding fragment to the St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, where it may be examined.