

Fragmentology

A Journal for the Study of Medieval Manuscript Fragments

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

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Fragments and Fragmentology

Editorial



Manuscript fragments, that is, the physical objects of partially-surviving medieval manuscript material, have long attracted scholarly interest. Early philologists collected and studied them: Jacques Bongars (1554–1612) was one of many French humanists of the time who gathered not just manuscripts, but also fragments. Árni Magnússon (1663–1730) hunted for the oldest testimonies of Icelandic literature and found them in fragments. For the architects of paleography, such as Jean Mabillon (1632–1707), fragments held the oldest scripts. The founders of what is now the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Colbert and Baluze, collected not only books, but fragments of books.

Since the establishment of modern academic disciplines in the nineteenth century, fragments have been an integral part of many research fields. For instance, the liturgical texts that make up the majority of *in situ* fragments worldwide are a major interest for musicologists. Cuttings and leaves from books broken for antiquarian interests have attracted art historians, especially in North America. Historians working on regions where few medieval manuscripts remain, such as Scandinavia and Hungary, have been compelled to use fragments as the surviving pieces of the written record. The study of fragments extends beyond the Latin world; for Hebrew fragments, for example, the Cairo Genizah alone has spawned a century of research, publication, and analysis, culminating in several web-based projects.¹ Similarly, papyrus texts, almost all preserved in fragments, created in the late nineteenth century a new discipline, papyrology, that is still very active today, with a community of researchers served by its own web platforms.²

Collectors and researchers have worked with fragments for as long as they have used manuscript books, and thus they rarely even asked the question: “Do we need a separate discipline for fragment studies?” When the question did arise, it was dismissed immediately. Such is the case for the first mention of ‘Fragmentology’, made by Anscari Mundó in a 1985 article on identifying the provenance of detached fragments:

With these notes I do not pretend anything other than to systematize the codicological domain of manuscript studies. Far be it for me to turn it into a special branch that would be called

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- 1 See in particular the websites run by the Friedberg Jewish Manuscript Society (<https://fjms.genizah.org/>) and the Princeton Geniza Project (<https://geniza.princeton.edu/pgp/>). For Hebrew manuscript fragments *in situ* and detached from bindings, see the Books within Books project (<http://www.hebrewmanuscript.com>).
 - 2 See, for example, <http://papyri.info/>.

“Fragmentology”. In reality, it just concerns a concrete and fortuitous state of a dismembered manuscript, but which, by its writing, material, and state of conservation remains the formal object of paleography just as much as codicology.³

More recently, Elisabetta Caldelli has echoed this sentiment in her excellent study of the fragments from the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome. The book provides an unparalleled introduction to fragment studies, although the author follows Mundò, claiming that “one should shrink from the temptation to make this type of study into an independent discipline, ‘Fragmentology’, ... because otherwise, one would lose sight of the essential point of departure: the codex in its entirety.”⁴

By definition, fragments are fragments of *something*. The study of that *something*, therefore, must include fragments. When that *something* consists of manuscripts, then the methodology applied to fragments should be exactly the same as for other manuscripts. Insofar as fragments are considered from the perspective of the whole from which they came, there cannot be a separate field of Fragmentology. This, however, amounts to a reductionist view of fragments.

Fragments are not just fragments of an entire codex. Fragments cannot be the exclusive domain of codicology and paleography, because no discipline claims to include all fragments. Collections of fragments include not just fragments of books, but also of documentary material: charters, registers, and similar items; material that requires expertise in the field of diplomatics. Fragments break the barrier between libraries and archives: they are found in both, and they pertain to both.

Fragments not only relate to the whole they originally belonged to, but also to a whole that the history of fragmentation created. They can be found in the bindings of printed books, and thus book history must also come to terms with manuscript fragments.

By starting with fragments as such, shifting the focus from fragments as fragments of *something* to fragments as *fragments of*, we can investigate a range of historical phenomena beyond simply the entire codex from which (some) fragments were separated. We can explore phenomena of reuse, such as the binding of fragments into host volumes, the circumstances of a broken book, or

3 A.M. Mundò, “Comment reconnaître la provenance de certains fragments de manuscrits détachés de reliures”, *Codices manuscripti* 11(1985), 116–123, at 116: “Avec ces notes je ne prétends pas d’autre chose que de systématiser en quelque sorte le domaine codicologique des fragments de manuscrits. Loin de moi que d’en faire une branche spéciale qu’on dénommerait ‘fragmentologie’. En réalité il ne s’agit que d’un état concret et fortuit d’un manuscrit dépecé, mais qui par son écriture, sa matière et son état de conservation reste l’objet formel autant de la paléographie que de la codicologie.”

4 E. Caldelli, *I frammenti della Biblioteca Vallicelliana. Studio metodologico sulla catalogazione dei frammenti di codici medievali e sul fenomeno del loro riuso*, Rome 2012, 13: “si deve rifuggire dalla tentazione di fare di questo tipo di studio una disciplina a se stante, la ‘frammentologia’, ... perché altrimenti si perderebbe di vista il punto di partenza imprescindibile, il codice nella sua interezza.”

the interest that moved someone to excise an initial. We can thus move beyond looking at fragments as evidence of a prior whole, now scattered and lost, and start considering the fragment as an historical object in its own right, capable of serving as more than a second-class manuscript.

Fragmentology can never be wholly independent. Its transdisciplinary nature requires the collaboration of specialists trained in a range of fields, not just paleography, codicology, and diplomatics, but also the history of the printed book, the history of libraries, musicology, art history, intellectual history, digital humanities – in sum, most historical arts dealing with content on a page. Our hope is that this journal, *Fragmentology*, will serve as a place to bring together scholars from across the spectrum of the humanities to focus on the manuscript fragment as a subject of research in its own right.

The name ‘Fragmentology’ implies a field of study, with a subject matter and a methodology of its own. This journal, *Fragmentology*, aims to serve that field, and, through its publications, document how fragment studies fit in the humanities. Regardless of whether Fragmentology constitutes a discipline, we apply this neologism for a very practical reason. The act of giving a name to a scholarly undertaking endows it with an air of legitimacy. Applying this name to our field allows researchers to organize their study, recognize the connections between their work and that of others, and present the subject as a coherent field.

The Rise of Fragmentology

In 2014, Christoph Flüeler organized a Planning Meeting in Cologne, near Geneva, to plan *Fragmentarium*, a research project dedicated to building an online laboratory for scholars and students of medieval manuscript fragments. That meeting proposed for the first time (as far as we are aware) the study of ‘Fragmentology’. Since then, manuscript scholars have embraced the term wholeheartedly, notably through the tireless work of Lisa Fagin Davis.⁵ In his blog, Dr. David Rundle (University of Essex) announced, shortly after *Fragmentarium* started, the “Age of Fragmentology”.⁶ Publications around the world now herald Fragmentology as “the new manuscript studies”.⁷ Since 2015, the number of articles, books and conferences on Fragmentology has grown enormously.

⁵ <https://manuscriptroadtrip.wordpress.com>.

⁶ <https://bonaelitterae.wordpress.com/2015/07/26/age-of-fragmentology>. This movement echoes the saying (falsely) ascribed to Theodor Mommsen, that the twentieth century would be the “Century of Papyrology”. See A. Martin, “Das Jahrhundert der Papyrologie?”, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 46(2000), 1–2 (DOI: [10.1515/apf.2000.46.1.1](https://doi.org/10.1515/apf.2000.46.1.1)).

⁷ E.g., C. Steyn, “Fragmentologie, die nuwe manuscriptstudie – met verwysing na manuskrip-fragmente in Suid Afrika”, *LitNet Akademies* 13:2(2016).

This growing interest in what is in itself an old research topic finds a ready explanation. Digitization has not only revolutionized manuscript research, it has also made Fragmentology possible for the first time. With few exceptions, traditional fragment research has been characterized by chance finds. In terms of time, money, and methodology, it was hardly possible to conduct systematic research on extensive collections of fragments, especially in collections where a large part of their complete codices have been poorly researched. The identification of texts alone required an inordinate amount of time from persons with spectacular knowledge of a wide range of literature. Now, however, advances in digital tools and the Internet have greatly facilitated this task, and a student armed with an Internet browser can quickly achieve similar or better results.

Not just have search methods and research tools changed and improved, the entire approach to this complex research subject has changed, in some cases becoming possible for the first time. Databases facilitate a more efficient and accurate description and networking of research data. Digital photography makes it possible to visualize faded or damaged scripts. Digital tools for the recognition of page layouts and handwriting are making major advances, and, perhaps in the near future it even will be possible use them to identify medieval scribal hands consistently and reliably. Interoperable digital manuscript libraries permit the reuse of research data. For Fragmentology, Big Data is particularly attractive, as it has the potential to permit the systematic research – search, comparison, and reconstruction – not of hundreds, but of hundreds of thousands of fragments.

The pace of study is increasing, and fragments are becoming a major topic for research projects large and small, for teaching, and for individual study. To support this field, we have created this Open Access journal, *Fragmentology*.

A Journal for the Study of Medieval Fragments

The journal *Fragmentology* is founded as part of the Swiss National Science Foundation Project, *Fragmentarium*. *Fragmentology* is dedicated to publishing scholarly articles, research notes, guidelines and reviews concerning medieval manuscript fragments. It focuses on physical fragments as opposed to literary fragments, such as quotations of authors, or cases where a scribe only copied part of a work.

Many of the articles and research notes published in this volume pertain to research conducted via the *Fragmentarium* web application (<http://fragmentarium.ms>). *Fragmentology* aims not just to be the publication organ of the *Fragmentarium* project, but a double-blind peer-reviewed journal for medieval fragment studies. It welcomes submissions on a range of themes, such as:

- ❖ Detailed studies of individual fragments and collections

- ❖ The history of manuscript fragmentation
- ❖ Applying digital technologies to fragments
- ❖ Studies of bookbinding and early print, with respect to fragments
- ❖ Studies on methodology, scope and scholarly description, with respect to fragments
- ❖ Conservation issues, including how to handle fragments in restoration
- ❖ The legal and ethical aspects of fragmentation and the fragment trade
- ❖ Research notes, including the announcement of new discoveries
- ❖ Reviews of publications on manuscript fragments

We welcome submissions on these and related themes.

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Reconstructing Burnt Anglo-Saxon Fragments in the Cotton Collection at the British Library

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Abstract: The British Library conducted a *Fragmentarium* case study in 2017 to explore the possibilities for improving access to burnt fragments of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts from the Cotton Collection. Multispectral imaging and analysis undertaken by Dr Christina Duffy at the British Library Conservation Centre has revealed more details from the surviving fragments than are otherwise visible. The complexity of multispectral imaging presents challenges for online display and long-term storage that need to be addressed in future manuscript digitisation initiatives.

Keywords: multispectral imaging, Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, British Library

The burnt fragments of the Cotton manuscripts are among the most evocative artefacts of medieval culture, both for the tragedy of their destruction and the mystery of their contents. Many of the surviving leaves remain critical to scholarship, often containing unique texts or their earliest known copies, but have not been easy to read for centuries. In many cases, their state of conservation means that researchers can only consult them with curatorial permission. The creation of *Fragmentarium* presented an opportunity to make some of the most important surviving fragments accessible to readers in a digital form. This project digitised a selection of known Anglo-Saxon fragments using multispectral imaging (MSI) to create enhanced images that expose far more details than observable with the naked eye.

The Cotton collection and its conservation

The library assembled by Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) originally included manuscripts, state papers, printed books, coins and inscriptions. Cotton was famously in the vein of early modern antiquarians who were more collectors than historians, and happily rearranged the volumes they acquired. Although

this often obliterated historical evidence, the placement of the Cotton library in central London, with provisions for public access since the seventeenth century, has made it a common point of reference for generations of politicians, scholars and antiquarians.¹

Most of the Cotton manuscripts are now held at the British Library, including famous literary and historical treasures such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, the only surviving copies of *Beowulf* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and autograph papers from monarchs and other prominent figures. Exceptions include the Utrecht Psalter, borrowed from the library and never returned.² Robert's grandson, Sir John Cotton, negotiated for the Cotton library's transfer to the nation on his death in 1702. This donation was the first occasion in the British Isles that any library had passed into national ownership, bringing with it such treasures as the Magna Carta and the largest collection of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts assembled by any antiquary.

A fire broke out on 23 October 1731 that seriously damaged a large proportion of the collection; parts were completely destroyed. The collection had been placed in temporary storage at Ashburnham House, Westminster, along with the Royal manuscripts, having only recently been transferred from their previous home in Essex House, The Strand. Some manuscripts were said to be saved only by throwing them from the windows. Many were badly damaged. The conservation work began immediately — initially drying leaves in front of fires and hanging them up on lines — and has never ended.³

On the bright side of this disaster, most of the collection survived in some form, and the reaction to it formed part of the impetus for the creation of the British Museum in 1753. Miraculously, only thirteen manuscripts were completely destroyed, mostly from the Cotton Otho press. The Cotton library was famously organised in shelves headed by the busts of Roman emperors. Conservators and scientists working with the manuscripts have been prominent in developing and implementing new technologies for the preservation of fire-damaged artefacts. For most of the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, the conservation efforts were undertaken in the mindset of creating a working library rather than preserving historical artefacts. Hence, many of the damaged leaves of the Cotton

1 M. P. Brown, "Sir Robert Cotton, Collector and Connoisseur?", in *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters. Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse*, ed. M. P. Brown and S. McKendrick, London 1998, 281–98; J. Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England*, Chicago 2008, esp. chap. 4. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226781723.001.0001>.

2 B. Jaski, "The Oldest Datings of the Utrecht Psalter", *Quaerendo* 45(2015), 125–43. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700690-12341322>; K. Birkwood, "'Our Learned Primate' and That 'Rare Treasure': James Ussher's Use of Sir Robert Cotton's Manuscript Library, c. 1603–1655", *Library & Information History* 26(2010), 33–42. <https://doi.org/10.1179/175834909X12593371595824>.

3 A. Prescott, "'Their Present Miserable State of Cremation': The Restoration of the Cotton Library", in *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and His Legacy*, ed. C. J. Wright, London 1997, 391–454.

manuscripts were mounted on paper and bound into a new imitation Cotton binding with the idea of allowing everyday consultation and returning to a projection of what the book might have looked like — but many leaves were bound in the wrong order, mislabelled or inserted backwards. The restoration work itself did not go without incident. On 10 July 1865, a fire broke out at the British Museum bindery. Among the victims were several manuscripts, including Cotton MS Tiberius B XI, a ninth-century copy of King Alfred's translation of Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*. Cotton MS Otho A X, which had already been damaged in the Cotton fire, was further reduced, along with fragments from it labelled as Otho A XII.

The burnt Cotton manuscripts will always be at risk of deterioration if they are not stored correctly or are handled improperly. The British Library mitigates this risk by keeping these volumes in optimum storage conditions, by creating digital surrogates, and by ensuring that they are only consulted when absolutely necessary, in order to preserve them for future generations.⁴

Technology has been applied to improve the readability of the Cotton fragments for decades. In the early 1950s, ultraviolet photography was applied to Æthelweard's *Chronicle*, in Cotton MS Otho A X and Cotton MS Otho A XII, making new sense of a handful of pages.⁵ A similar process was used with Cotton MS Otho A I.⁶ These photographs did not achieve wide dissemination due to the limitations of publishing in print, and were limited to the detail that could be detected by taking a photo using light from a single spectrum. Occasional experiments have also been made of using transmitted light photography.⁷ More recently, the British Library Conservation Centre created a dedicated laboratory for imaging science, particularly after the applicability of multispectral imaging to detecting modifications to handwritten objects and restoring damaged texts became apparent. This approach is non-invasive.⁸

- 4 P. Porter and C. Fagan, "Manuscript Conservation in the British Library: Bridging the Gap Between Conservator and Curator", in *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts 12: Proceedings of the Twelfth International Seminar Held at the University of Copenhagen 14th-16th October 2009*, ed. M. J. Driscoll, Copenhagen 2011, 117–37.
- 5 E. E. Barker, "The Cottonian Fragments of Æthelweard's Chronicle", *Historical Research* 24(1951), 46–62. <https://doi.org/10.1017/j.1468-2281.1951.tb00348.x>.
- 6 S. Keynes, "King Athelstan's Books", in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, Cambridge 1985, 143–201.
- 7 Keynes, "King Athelstan's Books", includes an example with Cotton MS Otho B XI.
- 8 See the recent work described in M. McGillivray and C. Duffy, "New Light on the Sir Gawain and the Green Knight Manuscript: Multispectral Imaging and the Cotton Nero A. X Illustrations", *Speculum* 92(2017), 110–44. <https://doi.org/10.1086/693361>.

Manuscripts on *Fragmentarium*

The opportunity for the British Library to be a partner in the *Fragmentarium* project required a specific research question. The fragmentary manuscripts from pre-Conquest England immediately suggested themselves both for their significance and the relative ease of finding them, thanks to the catalogues of Gneuss and Lapidge and Ker.⁹ This dovetailed with the effort made by the Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts section to digitise as many of its early medieval manuscripts as possible in advance of the major *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* exhibition opening in 2018. This exhibition is the culmination of an ambitious five-year research programme to reassess the place of books in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and their neighbours, directed by Claire Breay. An initial survey of the fragments (see the Appendix) found that there were too many to digitise and catalogue the entire known collection for *Fragmentarium*.

The British Library multispectral imaging system from MegaVision integrates two previously disparate imaging capabilities: high-resolution photography and multispectral imaging. A multispectral image measures light in a series of spectral bands and captures image data within these specific wavelength ranges. The procedure can be time-consuming, requiring careful selection and setup of the subjects. All items also needed to be examined by a conservator. As a result, some of the most desirable items for digitisation had to be omitted. For example, Cotton MS Otho B X can only be consulted with special permission due to the extreme fragility of some sections; it requires conservation treatment before it can be photographed, and full multispectral imaging would require dedicated funding. Nonetheless, it was possible to include some leaves that had strayed from Cotton MS Otho B XI, having been inserted in the wrong volume during restoration. It was eventually decided to include the following manuscripts in the project:

- Cotton MS Otho A I + Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden B. 26, f. 34 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 346): Decrees of the Council of Clofesho 747, 8th century, 17 leaves, Latin [[F-28ac](#) + [F-yew3](#)]
- Cotton MS Otho A X + Otho A XII, ff. 1–7 + Otho B X, f. 66 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 349): Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, 11th century; 12 + 7 + 1 leaves, Latin [[F-ez1p](#) + [F-n4oa](#)]
- Cotton MS Otho A XVIII, f. 131 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 352): Ælfric, *Homily on St Laurence*, 11th century, 1 leaf, Old English [[F-2p30](#)]
- Cotton MS Otho B IX, f. 1v (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 354): inscription to the Gospels, 9th century, 1 leaf, Latin [[F-a4xm](#)]
- Cotton MS Otho B XI (multispectral imaging was only applied to pages that would benefit from it: ff. 2r–3v, 8r–9v, 11r–12v, 37r–40v, 45r–47v, 50r–v, 52r–53v; the rest was photographed with a standard camera) + Cotton MS Otho B X, ff. 55, 58, 62 + Add MS 34652, f. 2 (Gneuss

9 H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Toronto 2014; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford 1957.

and Lapidge 2014, no. 357): Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 13 + 3 + 1 leaves, Old English [F-cfmp + F-n4oa + F-yb4x]

This selection aimed to obtain multispectral images of these manuscripts as well as to showcase the capacity of *Fragmentarium* to reunify fragments contained under multiple shelfmarks and even at different institutions.

Case study: Æthelweard's *Chronicle*

Cotton MS Otho A X makes an ideal test case for measuring the effectiveness of multispectral imaging, as some historical imagery of the manuscript is also available. It once contained the only surviving medieval copy of the chronicle written by Ealdorman Æthelweard. Smith describes it as written “in most ancient and beautiful characters”, covering the period “from the beginning of the world to the time of King Edgar”:¹⁰

1. Fabii Quæstoris Æthelwerdi Chronicon ab initio mundi ad tempora R. Eadgari. Liber vetustus, & pulcherrime scriptus.
2. Historiæ gentis Langobardorum libri sex, characteribus antiquis & elegantissimis.
3. Concilium R. Æthelredi & Magnatum regni apud Wudustok de gubernatione regni, Saxonice scriptum. Solummodo duas paginas continent.

Smith's catalogue indicates that the volume also included a *Historia Langobardorum* in six books (presumably that of Paul the Deacon) and two pages of decrees issued by King Æthelred at a council at Woodstock (IX Æthelred) — the unique medieval witness to this text.

The burnt remnants are now spread across Cotton MSS Otho A X, Otho A XII and Otho B X. Such volumes were created in an attempt to reconstruct the Cotton collection, but often they have little resemblance to their pre-fire equivalents.¹¹ After the Cotton fire of 1731, the text of Æthelred's code was lost, although post-medieval copies had already been made. A single, burnt folio of Paul the Deacon's text survives. From Æthelweard's *Chronicle*, 18 charred fragments from the fourth book survive; 11 of those fragments, plus that from Paul the Deacon's text, were mounted on paper and rebound following the 1865 bindery fire, probably in December 1883, in the current Cotton MS Otho A X.¹² At the same time a few words that were visible on each folio were transcribed onto the corresponding paper frames. Seven further folios were bound in the current Cotton MS Otho A XII in error. Barker suggests that they were mistaken for Asser's *Vita Alfredi* since, judging from Smith's catalogue, that copy contained

10 T. Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecæ Cottonianæ*, Oxford 1696, 67. https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_uUAv2HzUGxgC.

11 See, for example, the exploration of Otho B X in S. D. Lee, “Two Fragments from Cotton MS. Otho B. X”, *The British Library Journal* 17(1991), 83–87. <https://jstor.org/stable/42554318>.

12 E. E. Barker, “The Cottonian Fragments of Æthelweard's *Chronicle*”, *Historical Research* 24(1951), 46–62, at 50. <https://doi.org/10.1017/j.1468-2281.1951.tb00348.x>.

similar Anglo-Caroline script to the copy of Æthelweard's *Chronicle*.¹³ The folios in Cotton MS Otho A XII were rebound in melinex sleeves in 1987.

Æthelweard's *Chronicle* is the only example of such a work written by a lay nobleman in England before the fourteenth century. The author, the leading *dux* or ealdorman in England in the 990s, wrote this history of events in the British Isles in Latin for his distant cousin and correspondent Matilda, an abbess in Essen, sometime in the fourth quarter of the tenth century, after the death of King Edgar (d. 975) and that of Æthelweard himself (around 998). According to the introductory letter, preserved in an early modern edition, Matilda had written to Æthelweard for further information on their common ancestors.¹⁴ His work not only reveals his construction of English history from the distant past to his own lifetime; its existence also illuminates lay literacy, links between England and the continent, and the role of women in commissioning and reading early medieval historical writing. It also sheds light on late tenth-century literary circles, since Æthelweard and his son were the patrons of Ælfric of Eynsham, the author of the most prolific surviving corpus of Old English texts.¹⁵

Cotton MS Otho A X (along with its leaves misbound elsewhere) is today the only known medieval copy of Æthelweard's *Chronicle*, but it is unclear whether this was always the case. It is available as a modern edition:¹⁶ the text survives because it was published in an early modern edition,¹⁷ but it is unknown whether this edition was made from this or another manuscript. John Joscelyn (d. 1603) used a copy in his notes on *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D*, and it is unknown if he had access to another manuscript, now lost. Barker suggested two medieval manuscripts of Æthelweard's *Chronicle* may have survived into the modern period, and that there may even have been an 'extended' edition of the chronicle in the medieval period.¹⁸ The text Barker uncovered from the fragments differed from that of Savile, although this in itself does not prove the existence of another manuscript, since sixteenth-century editors often modernized their texts. Savile also copied some errors, such as *tum* for *cum*, *uia* for *uita*, and so forth.¹⁹ More significantly, Savile did not include the table of contents for book 4 found in Cotton MS Otho A X, f. 1r. That table of contents includes chapters on the reigns

¹³ Barker, "The Cottonian Fragments", 49; cf. Cotton MS Otho A X, flyleaf.

¹⁴ The significance of this is discussed in E. van Houts, "Women and the Writing of History in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of Abbess Matilda of Essen and Aethelweard", *Early Medieval Europe* 1(1992), 53–68. <https://doi.org/10.1017/j.1468-0254.1992.tb00004.x>.

¹⁵ S. Ashley, "The Lay Intellectual in Anglo-Saxon England: Ealdorman Æthelweard and the Politics of History", in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. P. Wormald and J. L. Nelson, Cambridge 2007, 218–45.

¹⁶ *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. and trans. A. Campbell, London 1962.

¹⁷ *Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post Bedam praecipui*, ed. H. Savile, London 1596. https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_FV3ruCQJuFkC.

¹⁸ Barker, "The Cottonian Fragments", 46, 55.

¹⁹ Campbell, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, xi.

of Æthelred and Edward the Martyr that do not appear in Savile's text. This does not prove that these chapters existed: Smith's summary of Cotton MS Otho A X indicates that its text ended with the reign of Edgar.

The dating of Æthelweard's *Chronicle* has traditionally been set as between 975 and 988. In the text printed by Savile, Æthelweard stated no "fleet has remained here, having advanced against these shores, except under treaty with the English" since the Battle of *Brunanburh* in 937.²⁰ He speaks of Arnulf of Flanders, who died in 988, as still living. This suggests Æthelweard was either writing before 988 or omitting some major contemporary developments. The section on *Brunanburh* does not seem to survive from Cotton MS Otho A X, so there is no way to verify if that claim was repeated in this copy of the text. Those chapters could in theory have been written and been lost from the end of the manuscript by the time it was included in Cotton's library. Even if the chapter headings at the end reflect an aspiration to continue the text that was never achieved, Barker suggests that Æthelweard revised and updated or intended to revise and update his chronicle sometime between Æthelred's accession in 978 and Æthelweard's death around 998.²¹

Due to their importance, attempts to recover some of the contents of the burnt fragments have been undertaken at least twice. The first folio was photographed with ultraviolet fluorescence photography in 1950 (Figure 1), but the photographs are only available with the manuscript itself. Dr Christina Duffy conducted multispectral imaging of the burnt folios in the British Library Conservation Centre in 2017. The MegaVision camera with an E7 50-megapixel back was mounted directly over each folio, which was subsequently illuminated with narrow-band LEDs from both sides. Images were captured over twelve spectral bands from the near ultraviolet (365 nm) to the near infrared (1050 nm). MegaVision's Photoshoot digital image capture software controlled all aspects of capture as well as a colour wheel, allowing additional light modifications such as filtration to isolate fluorescence in concert with ultraviolet illumination. As in the 1950s, ultraviolet light revealed more text than other wavelengths.

The improved results of these images are immediately apparent. Duffy was able to create a composite image in colour, showing which text was originally rubricated (f. 1r, Figure 2). This provides a much sharper image of most of the rubricated text than the image from the 1950s: for example, some of the red line fillers look like smudges or damage on the image from 1950. In only a few places was the image from 1950 superior: around the edges, for example, at the end of the word 'capitula', there is now some smudging which makes the letter forms slightly less clear. Given that all the other letter forms seem clearer, this suggests

20 Ashley, "The Lay Intellectual in Anglo-Saxon England", 221, n. 12.

21 Barker, "The Cottonian Fragments", 53.

that minor deterioration has occurred between 1950 and the present, rather than that the imaging technology is deficient.

The value that can be obtained from multispectral imaging lies as much in our enhanced capacity to study its script and decoration as in its text. In particular, modern multispectral imaging allows us to generate colour images, enabling a clearer sense of decoration and script hierarchy. For example, the use of red in the 'table of contents' to Book IV of Æthelweard's *Chronicle* can now be recovered. Previous imaging attempts from the 1950s show neither the colour nor the detail in the coloured areas. The use of red line fillers suggests that this manuscript may in fact date from the 11th century, and not the late 10th century as Barker suggested.

Multispectral imaging also allows for some analysis of script. While the precise scribe or scriptorium is difficult to ascertain definitively from a burnt manuscript, and while some features of script are warped in the surviving fragments, some observations can be made. The new images suggest that the manuscript was produced by a well-equipped English scribe or scribes, working in the Anglo-Caroline tradition associated with the circle around Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (d. 984) and which spread to other major scriptoria in England by the early 11th century. The red and the use of capitals in the *Explicit* and *Incipit* of books shows that, while this was not necessarily among the most highly decorated manuscripts from this period, neither was it a plain manuscript and the scribe had laid out the pages with some thought to demarcating new sections of text. This, along with a potential new dating for this manuscript, has significant implications for the reception history of Æthelweard's *Chronicle*.

The traditional narrative holds that Æthelweard's *Chronicle* had a limited reception, since it was not quoted by later medieval writers. The one exception was William of Malmesbury, who conceded that Æthelweard was an 'illustrious' man but described his Latin as 'disgusting'. This relatively fine copy of Æthelweard's *Chronicle* might suggest that Æthelweard's immediate contemporaries held his work in more esteem, and were at least willing to copy and maybe even correct or gloss his work.

The importance of historical imagery

The history of the manuscript of Æthelweard's *Chronicle* also includes a relatively early example of the enhanced imaging of manuscripts. The earliest known example of ultraviolet fluorescence photography on an Anglo-Saxon manuscript dates to the early 1930s.²² At the front of Cotton MS Otho A X and Cotton MS Otho A XII, black and white, enhanced photographs of Cotton MS Otho A X,

22 K. S. Kiernan, "Old Manuscripts/New Technologies", in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. M. P. Richards, New York 1994, 37–54, at 42–43. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315799223>.

f. 1r and Cotton MS Otho A XII, f. 1r-v have been added. The image in Cotton MS Otho A X is dated 6 January 1950. A handwritten note on the flyleaf behind it states: “The photograph, by ultra-violet ray process, of folio 1 was inserted 21 March 1950.”

The photograph was produced for E. E. Barker’s 1951 edition of the fragments. Barker’s work demonstrated the usefulness of enhanced imaging for drawing new discoveries even from badly damaged folios. Nevertheless, advances in multispectral imaging and previous successful projects, including the imaging of the burnt Magna Carta and one obscured image in Leonardo da Vinci’s Arundel Codex,²³ suggested that Æthelweard’s *Chronicle* could benefit from further analysis.

Unlike the images of Cotton MS Otho A X and A XII from the 1950s, modern multispectral imaging allows us to generate colour images. The ultraviolet composite colour image is a false-colour image. It is a composite image of three captured in the sequence: ultraviolet light with a red, green and blue filter respectively. While it highlights and enhances areas where colour may not have been seen before, the colours are not a true representation of the original appearance. Nonetheless, this offers additional insight into the manuscript’s decoration. This is important for establishing the cost, status and possible origin of the manuscript. Secondly, digital technologies also make it easier to distribute and reproduce these images, thereby solving Barker’s complaint that scholars were not using either the fragments or the images of the fragments in their studies of the text. This problem has become more acute, since the manuscript can only be issued to the Reading Room with special curatorial permission.

While the multispectral imaging images revealed new features of the physicality of the manuscript, the process also helped to establish its limitations. The new images rarely contradict Barker’s readings, and in places it seems that Barker was able to read more text than can be recovered today. The clarity of the letters ‘cap’ in red (f. 1r, line 6) in the image from 1950 is greater than that in the current image, although, thanks to technological developments, most of the other letters are clearer in the image from 2017. This suggests that some of the red ink may have degraded over the past sixty years, especially around the edges of the parchment.

The experience of using multispectral imaging for this *Fragmentarium* case study demonstrated the potential value of this technology in allowing us to make delicate remnants of manuscripts more accessible than before. All this is not to suggest that multispectral imaging is perfect. Leaves must be placed flat, which is not always possible, either due to cockling of the parchment or a tight binding.

23 C. Duffy, “Hidden figure in Leonardo da Vinci notebook revealed”, *Collection Care Blog* (January 2016). <http://blogs.bl.uk/collectioncare/2016/01/fugitive-figure-in-leonardo-da-vinci-notebook-revealed.html>.

Both setup and processing is time-consuming. It does not cover light spectra beyond either side of 365–1050 nm, and our results are dependent on the sensitivity of the unfiltered monochrome sensor. Most obviously, if there is no ink to image, there is nothing any technology can do. *Fragmentarium* contributes a solution towards one of the problems with multispectral imaging, simply in providing a system that allows more than one image to be associated with a particular leaf, although there remain challenges to overcome in providing an interface that makes the full range of images usable, and in dealing efficiently with the enormous files that multispectral imaging creates. We anticipate that the data generated in this project will be of value in producing a new digital edition of *Æthelweard* and other texts, and in future analyses of these manuscripts.

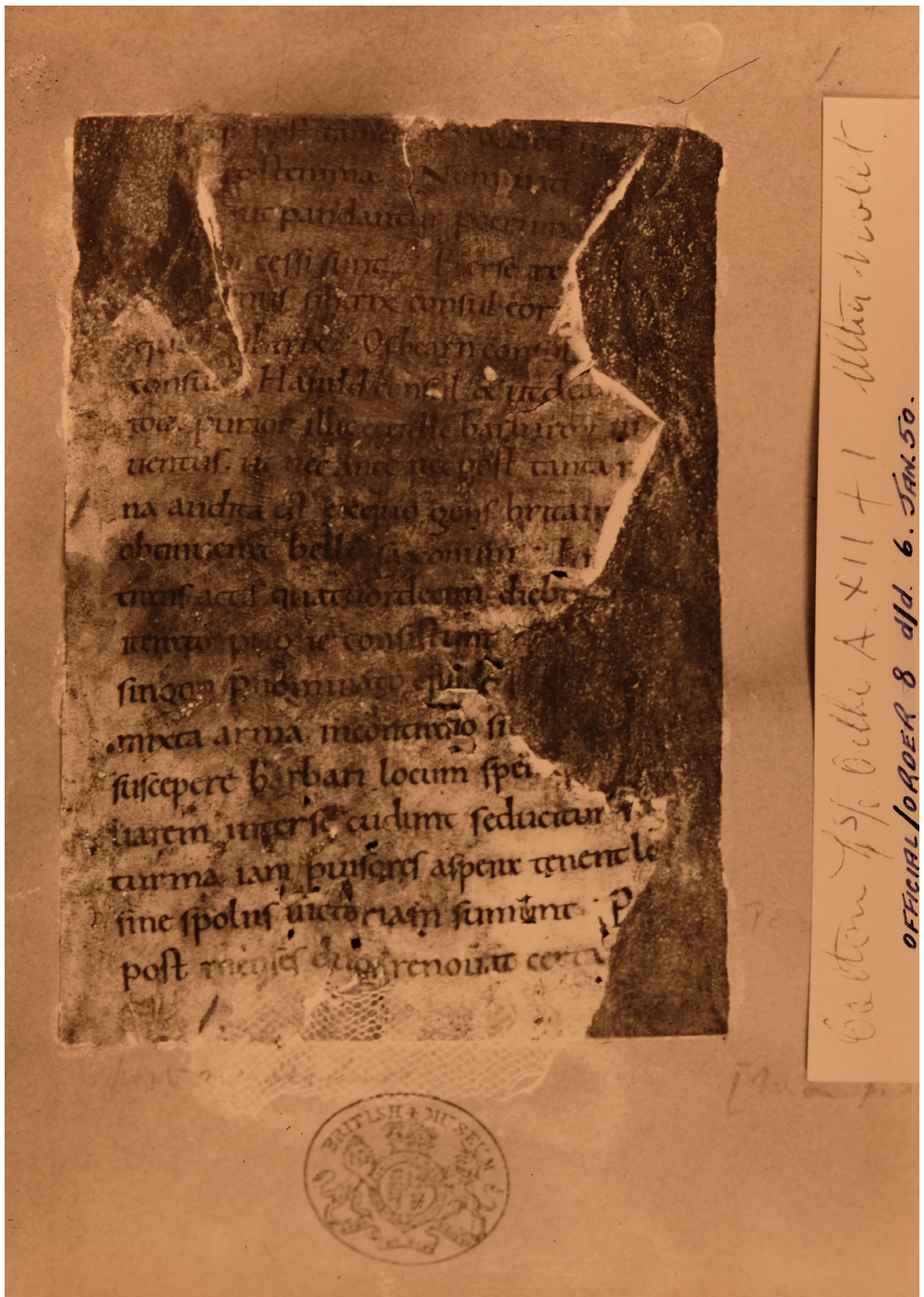


Figure 1: Cotton MS Otho A XII, f. 1r, 1950 ultraviolet fluorescence photograph

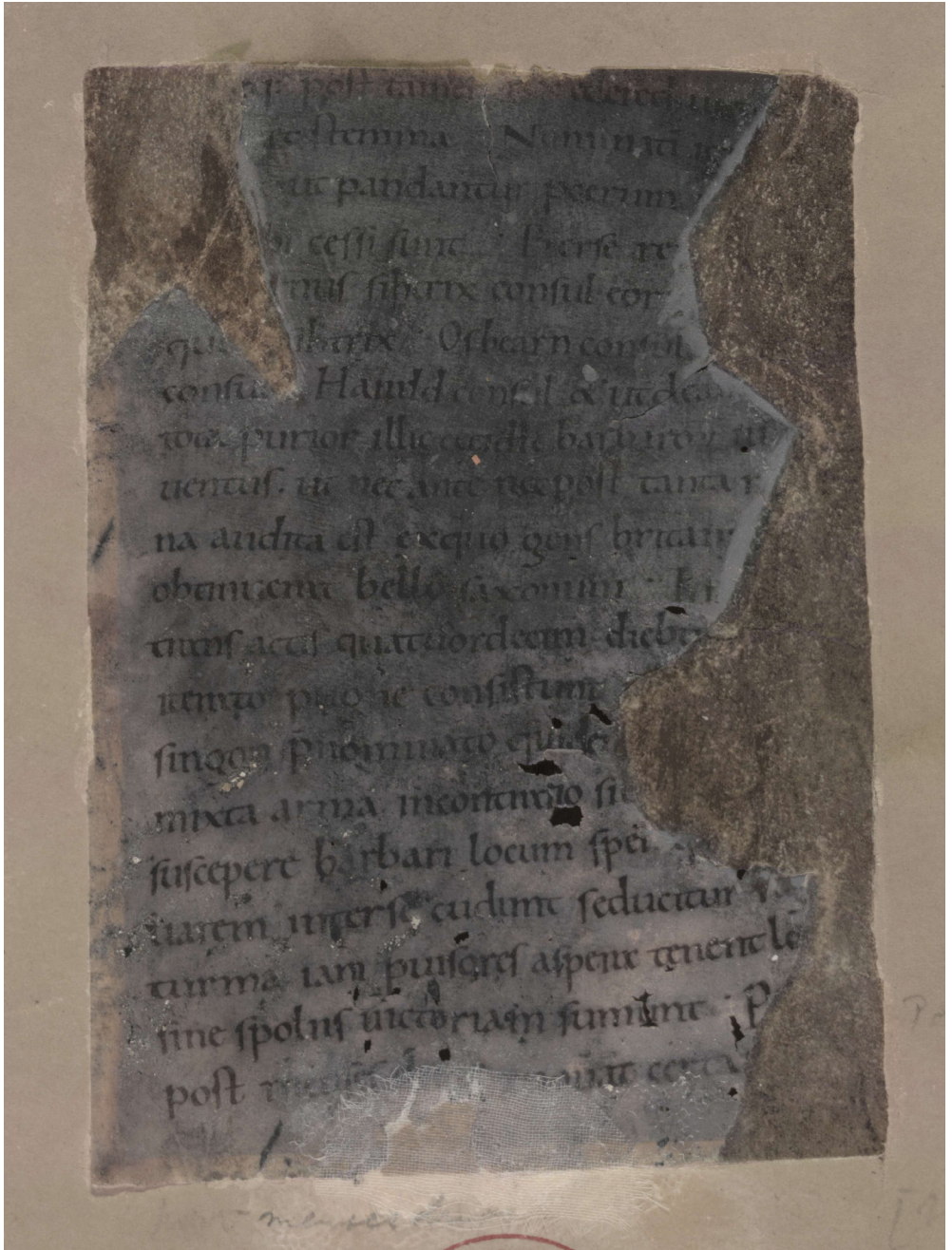


Figure 2: Cotton MS Otho A XII, f. 1r, 2017 composite multispectral image



Figure 3: Cotton MS Otho A XII, f. 1r, 2017 under standard lighting

Appendix: Fragments of manuscripts made or owned in England before 1066 at the British Library

This survey of Anglo-Saxon fragments was made for determining the most worthwhile approach for inclusion in *Fragmentarium*, using the catalogues of Gneuss and Lapidge (2014) and Ker (1957). The list is based on one begun by James Freeman in 2014. The vast majority of these leaves are in good condition, being quires, endleaves or singletons removed from other volumes. Only a relatively small number are fire-damaged and would benefit from multi-spectral imaging.

Add MS 15350, ff. 1, 121 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 281): s. vii-viii

Origin: probably Italy

Provenance: Winchester Old Minster

Latin; Uncial; Small rough initials

2 leaves, Each a bifolium opened up to form a pastedown; Pasted side rubbed and scuffed.

Add MS 21213, ff. 2–25 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 281.5): s. viii^{ex}

Origin: probably England

Latin; Anglo-Saxon square minuscule?

24 leaves, Writing very faint

Add MS 23211 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 282): ca. 871x899

Origin: Wessex

Latin and Old English; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Small coloured initials

2 leaves, Two leaves, trimmed and incomplete

Add MS 32246 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 775): s. xiⁱ

Origin: probably Abingdon (or Continent?)

Provenance: Additions made at Abingdon

Latin and Old English; Caroline minuscule; Medium coloured initials; Doodle on f. 24v

23 leaves, Single leaf, three quires (6, 8, 8); Leaves whole except at front and back

Part of Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS M.16.2

Add MS 34652, f. 2 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 357): s. x^{med}, xiⁱ

Origin: Winchester

Provenance: Southwick (Augustinian canons)

Old English; Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Medium initials in ink

1 leaf, Stained around upper edges

Part of BL, Cotton MS Otho B XI (with Otho B X, ff. 55, 58, 62)

Add MS 34652, f. 3 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 288): s. xi²

Latin, with Old English (prose/glossary); Small upright Anglo-Saxon minuscule;
Small coloured initials and chapter numbers in ink

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete

Add MS 34652, f. 6 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 289): s. xi/xii

Latin; Protothotic book-script; Small coloured initials

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete

Add MS 37518, ff. 116–117 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 292): s. viii¹

Uncial; Four different hands? (Ker); Small dotted initials

2 leaves, Bifolium

Add MS 38651, ff. 57, 58 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 294): s. xiⁱⁿ (before 1023)

Origin: Worcester or York

Old English; Small fluent and skilled hand

2 leaves

Hand apparently the same as in Cotton MS Nero A I, ff. 70–177 – maybe Archbishop Wulfstan?

Add MS 40165 A, ff. 1–5 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 297): s. iv^{ex}

Origin: North Africa? (Carthage?)

Latin; Uncial

3 leaves, Three very fragmentary single leaves, mounted on guards, trimmed and incomplete

Used as flyleaves for a 12th-century Latin manuscript, now Add MS 40165B

Add MS 40165 A, ff. 6–7 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 298): s. ix^{ex} or ix/x

Origin: S-W England?

Old English; Small pointed Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Plain red/black initials

Adjacent leaves, formerly central bifolium of a quire; Trimmed and incomplete

Used as flyleaves for a 12th-century Latin manuscript, now Add MS 40165B

Add MS 43405, ff. i, v (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 299.5): s. xi¹

Provenance: Muchelney?

Caroline minuscule; Rustic caps; Coloured initials, with infill

2 leaves, Single leaves

Add MS 45025 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 293): s. vii^{ex} or s. viiiⁱⁿ

Origin: Wearmouth-Jarrow

Provenance: Worcester?

Latin; Uncial

11 leaf; ff. 1–4 largely intact, losses at edges; ff. 5–6 trimmed and incomplete; ff. 7–9, 11 trimmed but complete; ff. 8–9 a former pastedown; ff. 10a–c, 3 small fragments

Add MS 46204 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 344.5): s. xi^{ex}

Origin: Worcester

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Small red initials

1 leaf and two strips of parchment, Framed

Nero E I, vol. 2, ff. 181–184 is part of this manuscript. Since s. xi, part of Add MS 37777?

Add MS 50483 K (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 857): s. ixⁱⁿ or s. viii^{ex}?

Latin, with Old English glosses (s. x²); Square Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Elaborate initial in ink at beginning of both pages

1 leaf, Verso scrubbed though mostly legible

With Yale, Beinecke Library, MS 401 (fully digitised) and six other fragments: Add MS 71687, Cambridge, University Library, Add MS 3330, Oslo/London, Schøyen Collection, MS 197, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch.A.f.131 (pr. bk), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. d. 24, ff. 1, 2, Philadelphia, Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection, ET 121 (fully digitised)

Add MS 56488, ff. i–iii, 1–5 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 301.5): s. xiⁱ

Provenance: Muchelney?

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Neumes; Small coloured initials

6 leaves, Quire of six leaves; First leaf a former pastedown

Add MS 61735 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 302.2): 1007–1025

Origin: Ely

Latin and Old English; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Sketch of Christ's head

1 leaf in three strips of parchment, Framed

Add MS 62104 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 524): s. xi^{med}

Origin: Exeter

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Neumes; Coloured initial

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete

With three other fragments: Harley MS 5977, no. 59, Lincoln, Cathedral Library, V.5.11 (pr. bk), flyleaves, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. e. 38, ff. 7, 8, 13, 14

Add MS 63143 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 302.3): s. x/xi

Latin; Caroline minuscule

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Stained on verso; Hinged on upper edge

Add MS 63651 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 302.4): s. xiⁱⁿ

Latin; Caroline minuscule

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Stained; Hinged, with verso visible

Add MS 71687 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 857): s. x²

Latin, with Old English glosses (s. x²); Square Anglo-minuscule; Initial in ink

1 leaf, Flattened bifolium; Verso heavily scrubbed though mostly legible

With Yale, Beinecke Library, MS 401 (fully digitised) and six other fragments:

Add MS 50483K, Cambridge, University Library, Add MS 3330, Oslo/London,

Schøyen Collection, MS 197, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch.A.f.131 (pr. bk), Ox-

ford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. d. 24, ff. 1, 2, Philadelphia, Free Library, John

Frederick Lewis Collection, ET 121 (fully digitised)

Burney MS 277, f. 42 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 307): s. xi²

Origin: S-E. England

Old English; Rough ill-formed hand (Ker); Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Simple black/red initials

1 leaf, Flattened bifolium; Very stained and partly illegible

Burney MS 277, ff. 69–72 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 307.2): s. xiⁱⁿ or s. xi¹

Origin: Christ Church, Canterbury

Provenance: Exeter

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Neumes; Coloured initials

4 leaves, 69–70: bifolium, 69 a strip, 71–72: bifolium, trimmed at top

With Stowe MS 1061, f. 125.

Cotton MS Caligula A VIII, ff. 121–128 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 308.2): s. xi/xii or s. xiiⁱⁿ

Origin: Winchester Old Minster

Provenance: Ely

Latin; Caroline minuscule; 121r: very large zoomorphic historiated initial; Rustic capitals in colours at opening; Coloured initials

8 leaves; Two quires

Cotton MS Claudius A III, ff. 2–7, 9* (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 362): s. xi¹-xiiⁱⁿ; s. ix/x or xⁱⁿ

Origin: Lobbes

Provenance: England (royal court) before 939; Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x¹

Latin and Old English; Caroline minuscule; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Initials in ink; Coloured initials on ff. 7 and 9*; ff. 4r–6r, s. xi¹ hand, similar to Royal MS 1

D IX, f. 44v

7 leaves; ff. 2–7: imperfect quire; f. 9*, single leaf, folded around fore-edge and lower edge (all intact)

Part of Cotton MS Tiberius A II, with Faustina B VI, vol. i, ff. 95, 98–100

Cotton MS Claudius B V, f. 134 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 316.1): c. 800

Origin: Court of Charlemagne

Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Miniature pasted onto leaf

1 leaf, A little cracked and worn, but colourful and clear

Cotton MS Cleopatra A III* (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 320): s. viii²

Origin: Northumbria?, S-E. England (Kent)?

Provenance: St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. x?

Latin; Anglo-Saxon pointed minuscule; Doodle on f. 1v

2?, Dark and stained, but mostly legible; Reinforced at edges; Both leaves trimmed and incomplete; Formerly wrappers/pastedowns?

Cotton MS Domitian A IX, ff. 2–7 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 329): s. xiⁱⁿ or s. x¹

Origin: Christ Church, Canterbury

Latin, with Old English glosses on ff. 4 and 7; Caroline minuscule; Old English glosses in same script and by same hand as Latin; Coloured initials

6 leaves, Quire of six, intact

Cotton MS Domitian A IX, f. 8 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 329.5): s. viii²

Origin: possibly England

Latin; Uncial?

1 leaf, Trimmed at edges a little

Cotton MS Domitian A IX, f. 9 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 329.9 [22?]): s. xi²

Origin: Worcester

Old English; Anglo-Saxon minuscule

1 leaf, Mounted on guard

With Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.3.18? (fully digitised)

Cotton MS Domitian A IX, f. 11 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 330): s. ix^{ex} (after 883) or s. xiⁱⁿ (with s. xi/xii additions)

Origin: S-E. England?, London, St Paul's?

Old English; Runic alphabet; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Coloured and dotted initials

1 leaf, Mounted on guard.

Cotton MS Faustina A V, ff. 99–102 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 330.5): s. xi/xii or s. xiiⁱⁿ

Latin; Caroline minuscule

4 leaves

Cotton MS Faustina B VI, ff. 95, 98–100 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 362): s. xi¹- s. xiiⁱⁿ; s. ix/x or xⁱⁿ; s. x¹

Origin: Lobbes

Provenance: England (royal court) before 939; Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x¹

Latin and Old English

4 leaves

Part of Cotton MS Tiberius A II, with Claudius A III, ff. 2–7, 9*

Cotton MS Nero A II, ff. 3–13 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 342): s. xi^{2/4}

Origin: Winchester?

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule

11 leaf, Quire of 10 plus single leaf

Part of Cotton MS Galba A XIV?

Cotton MS Nero A VII, f. 40 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 342.3): s. xi/xii

Latin; Caroline minuscule

1 leaf, Upper half cut away

Cotton MS Nero C IX, ff. 19–21 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 342.8): s. xi/xii (probably in or after 1093)

Origin: Christ Church, Canterbury

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Coloured initials

3 leaves

With London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 430, flyleaves

Cotton MS Nero E I/2, ff. 181–184 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 344.5): s. xi^{ex}

Origin: Worcester

Latin and Old English; Caroline minuscule; Coloured initials

4 leaves, Slight warping at upper fore-edges

With Add MS 46204 [since s. xi part of Add MS 37777?]

Cotton MS Nero E I/2, ff. 185–186 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 345): s. xi¹ or s. xi^{med} or s. xi²

Provenance: all Worcester?

Old English; Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule

2 leaves, Two leaves probably cut from start and end of manuscript

Cotton MS Otho A I (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 346): s. viii²

Origin: Mercia or Canterbury?

Latin; Uncial?; Dotted initials

1?, Very poor; Severely burnt, blackened and barely legible

With Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Selden MS B. 26 (partly digitised)

Cotton MS Otho A XII, ff. 1–7 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 349): s. xiⁱⁿ

Latin; Caroline minuscule

7 leaves, Burnt; Very fragile, blackened and barely legible

Part of Cotton MS Otho A X

Cotton MS Otho A XII, ff. 8–12, 14–16, 18–19 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 350): s. xi^{3/4} or s. xi²

Latin; Caroline minuscule

10 leaves, Burnt; Very fragile, blackened and barely legible

Cotton MS Otho A XVIII, f. 131 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 352): s. xi¹

Old English; Round Anglo-Saxon minuscule

1 leaf, Burnt; Very fragile, blackened and barely legible

Cotton MS Otho B IX (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 354): s. ix² or s. ix^{4/4}, s. x adds

Origin: Brittany

Provenance: English royal court, s. x¹; Chester-le-Street, probably 934; Durham, s. x^{ex}

Latin and Old English; Caroline minuscule and rustic capitals

1 leaf, Burnt; Very fragile, blackened and barely legible

Cotton MS Otho B X, ff. 29 and 30 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 356): s. xi^{med}

Provenance: Worcester

Old English; Round Anglo-Saxon minuscule

2 leaves, Extremely fragile and not to be handled

Glosses in tremulous hand, ff. 29, 30 only – originally part of independent manuscript

Cotton MS Otho B X, f. 51 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 358): s. xi^{med}

Origin: Malmesbury?

Old English

1 leaf

Part of Cotton MS Otho C I

Cotton MS Otho B X, ff. 55, 58, 62 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 357): s. x^{med}; s. x¹

Origin: Winchester

Provenance: Southwick (Augustinian canons)

Old English and Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule, hand very similar (probably same) as Royal MS 12 D XVII and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173, ff. 1–56 (fully digitised) (chronicle for 925–55) (Ker)

3 leaves, Badly burnt

Part of Cotton MS Otho B XI with Add MS 34652

Cotton MS Otho B X, ff. 61, 63, 64 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 353): s. x² or s. x/xi

Origin: S-E. England, possibly London

Old English; Rough hand (Ker); Initials with black outline, sometimes dotted, filled with colours

3 leaves, Leaves mounted separately

Part of Cotton MS Otho B II

Cotton MS Otho B X, f. 66 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 348): s. xi^{4/4}; s. xi^{1/4}

Origin: St Augustine's?, Canterbury

Latin and Old English; Square Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Rustic capitals
1 leaf

Part of Cotton MS Otho A VIII

Cotton MS Tiberius A III, ff. 174–177 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 332): s. xi/xii or s. xii¹; s. xi^{med}

Origin: Christ Church, Canterbury

Latin and Old English; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Coloured initials

4 leaves, Top edge a little damaged

Part of Cotton MS Faustina B III (f. 177 follows f. 198 of Faustina)

Cotton MS Tiberius A III, f. 178 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 364): s. x^{3/4} (probably 977x979); s. xi/xii

Origin: probably Abingdon

Provenance: Canterbury, probably Christ Church, s. xi²

Old English; Latin additions; Fluent Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Initials in ink
1 leaf

Part of Cotton MS Tiberius A VI (same hand, ff. 1–34)

Cotton MS Tiberius A III, f. 179 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 363.2): s. x^{ex}

Old English; Latin; Square Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Initials in ink and in colours
1 leaf, Top edge a little damaged

Cotton MS Tiberius A VII, ff. 165–166 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 365):**s. xi^{3/4}; s. xi¹**

Origin: W. France

Latin with Old English gloss of s. xi¹; Caroline minuscule?

2 leaves, Once conjoined, now separate; Slight fire damage

Cotton MS Tiberius A XV, f. 174 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 368.2): s. x;**s. xi**

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule

1 leaf, Burnt; Edges cracked, warped

Cotton MS Tiberius A XV, ff. 175–180 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 369):**s. vii/viii**

Origin: probably S. England

Provenance: Malmesbury?

Latin; Pointed Anglo-Saxon minuscule

6 leaves, Burnt; Edges lost, blackened, fragile

Cotton MS Tiberius B IV, f. 87 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 521): s. ix²; s. xi¹

Origin: probably Armagh

Provenance: Christ Church, Canterbury by 924x939

Old English; Anglo-Saxon minuscule

1 leaf

Part of London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1370 (same hand, f. 114v)

Cotton MS Tiberius B V, ff. 74, 76 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 21): s. viii;**s. x², x/xi**

Origin: probably Northumbria

Provenance: Ely in s. x

Half uncial

2 leaves

Part of Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.1.24 (fully digitised) with Sloane MS 1044, f. 2

Cotton MS Tiberius B V, f. 75 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 374): s. viii; s.**x¹, x^{med}, xi¹**

Origin: probably Northumbria

Provenance: Exeter by s. x¹

Latin and Old English; Square Anglo-Saxon minuscule

1 leaf

Cotton MS Tiberius B XI (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 375): 890x897

Origin: Winchester?

Provenance: Old English; Small pointed Anglo-Saxon minuscule

1 leaf, Burnt

With Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek, 4^o MS theol. 131

Cotton MS Tiberius D IV/2, ff. 158–166 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 759):

s. x/xi or xiⁱⁿ

Provenance: Winchester

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Coloured initials

9 leaves, Burnt; Edges lost and cracked, warped; Parts blackened and heavily worn

Part of Winchester, Cathedral Library, MS 1

Cotton MS Titus C XV, f. 1 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 379.3): TAQN

592/593

Origin: Rome?

Provenance: St Augustine's?, Canterbury

Latin; Half uncial

1 leaf, Small papyrus fragment, mounted, verso visible

Cotton MS Vespasian B VI, ff. 104–109 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 385):

805x814

Origin: Mercia

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Coloured and dotted initials

6 leaves, 3 bifolia, stained – framed

Cotton MS Vespasian D XV, ff. 102–122 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 394):

s. x/xi

Origin: W. England (Worcester?)

Latin; Caroline minuscule, ff. 122r–122v: Anglo-Saxon minuscule, f. 122v: Anglo-Saxon square minuscule; Coloured initials

21 leaves, Some loss at bottom, trimming

Cotton MS Vespasian D XX, ff. 87–93 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 395.5):

s. x¹ (c. 910xc. 930); s. xi²

Old English; Latin and Old English; Large Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Lat: Caroline minuscule

7 leaves, Complete leaves, quire of 8 (lacking 8th)

Cotton MS Vespasian D XXI, ff. 18–40 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 657):**s. xi^{3/4} or s. xi²**

Old English; Round Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Coloured initials

23 leaves, Quires plus single leaf

Part of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 509 (partially digitised)

Cotton MS Vitellius C VIII, ff. 22–25 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 404):**s. xiⁱ**

Old English; Round Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Initials in ink

4 leaves, Slightly burnt

Cotton MS Vitellius C VIII, ff. 86–90 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 173):**s. viiiⁱ**

Origin: probably Northumbria

Provanance: Durham

Latin and Old English glosses; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Initials in ink

5 leaves, f. 90v: stained and scrubbed, largely illegible; Some edge damage, especially at top

Part of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.10.5 (fully digitised)

Egerton MS 267, f. 37 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 408): s. x^{ex}

Origin: probably Abingdon

Latin; Caroline minuscule

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete

Egerton MS 3278 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 410.5): s. xiⁱⁿ

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Some coloured initials

1 leaf

Harley MS 55, ff. 1–4 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 412): s. xiⁱ

Origin: probably York, or Worcester?

Provenance: Worcester by s. xiiiⁱⁿ

Old English; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Initials in ink

4 leaves, 4 half sheets

Harley MS 110, ff. 1, 56 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 416): s. xi^{med}

Origin: Winchester Old Minster?

Latin and Old English glosses; Caroline minuscule; Neumes; Coloured initials

2 leaves, Trimmed; Losses at gutter

Harley MS 271, ff. 1, 45 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 418.3): s. xi² or s. xi^{ex}

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Coloured initials

2 leaves, Single leaves, trimmed and incomplete

Harley MS 491, ff. 1–2 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 418.6): s. xi^{med}

Origin: probably Lotharingia

Provenance: probably Durham before 1100

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule

2 leaves, Single leaves, trimmed and incomplete

Harley MS 521, f. 2 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 418.8): s. x/xi

Origin: St. Augustine's, Canterbury

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Rustic capitals?; Coloured initials

1 leaf

Harley MS 648, f. 207 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 423.3): s. xi

Origin: Continent?

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Neumes

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete

Harley MS 652, ff. 1–4 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 423.9): s. ix^{med}

Origin: probably N. France

Provenance: St Augustine's, Canterbury

Latin; Rustic capitals; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Elaborate pen initials, ff. 1* and 4*

4 leaves, 2 bifolia: 1st leaf of 1st bifolia, former pastedown, rust and friction holes

Harley MS 683, f. 1 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 424.5): s. xi

Origin: England?

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Neumes; Outline of large pen initial, f.1r

1 leaf, Stained and rather dark

Harley MS 2110, ff. 4, 5 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 428): s. xiⁱ

Provenance: Castle Acre?, Norfolk

Old English; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Rustic capitals; Black capitals filled with red

2 leaves, A central bifolium

Used since at least end of Middle Ages as binding sheet to Castle Acre cartulary

Harley MS 3020, f. 35 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 433.1): s. xiⁱⁿ

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Neumes; Coloured initials

1 leaf, Scraped almost clean; Part of bifolium

Harley MS 3405, f. 4 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 277): s. xi^{med}

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Neumes; Coloured initials

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete

Part of Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 298C

Harley MS 5228, f. 140 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 439.6): s. ix

Origin: probably Wales

Provenance: Worcester

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule

1 leaf, Flattened bifolium, trimmed and incomplete; Mounted on guards as single leaf

Harley MS 5915, f. 2 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 440.5): s. xi^{med}

Latin; Caroline minuscule

1 leaf

Harley MS 5915, ff. 8, 9 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 441): s. xiⁱ

Latin, with Old English glossary/cont. interlinear gloss; Round Anglo-Saxon minuscule

2 leaves, Bifolium, trimmed; Former pastedown

With Bloomington, Indiana, Lilly Library, Add MS 1000

Harley MS 5915, f. 10 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 441.1): s. viii^{med}

Origin: probably Northumbria

Latin; Pointed Anglo-Saxon minuscule

1 leaf, Darkened and stained

With Weinheim, Sammlung E. Fischer, s.n. (lost)

Harley MS 5915, f. 13 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 442): s. xiⁱⁿ

Old English; Square Anglo-Saxon minuscule

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete

With Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2981(16)

Harley MS 5977, no. 59 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 524): s. xi^{med}

Origin: Exeter

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Coloured initials

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Stained on verso; Affixed at edge and may be difficult to photograph

With London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS 36, nos. 17–19 and the following: Add MS 62104, Lincoln Cathedral Library, V.5.11 (printed book), flyleaves, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. MS e.38, ff. 7, 8, 13, 14

Harley MS 5977, no. 62 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 442.3): s. x/xi or s. xiⁱⁿ

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Some coloured initials

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Pasted down and verso inaccessible

Harley MS 5977, nos. 64, 71 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 442.4): s. x/xi or s. xi

Origin: Continent?

Provenance: in England before 1100?

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Small initials in ink

2 leaves, Single leaf, trimmed; No. 64 affixed at upper edge, may be difficult to photograph; No. 71 pasted down, verso inaccessible

Harley MS 7653 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 443): s. viii/ix or s. xi

Origin: Mercia (Worcester?)

Latin, with Old English gloss; Round Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Initials in ink, filled with colours

1 leaf, Incomplete quire, staining

Old English glosses perhaps in same hand as glosses in Royal MS 2 A XX

Royal MS 1 E VI (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 448): s. ix¹ or s. ix^{2/4} or s. ix^{med}

Origin: S. England

Provenance: St. Augustine's, Canterbury

Latin

1 leaf

With Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Add MS 16 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. bib. b.2(P) (partly digitised)

Royal MS 4 A XIV, ff. 1, 2 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 454): s. ix^{ex}

Origin: Continent (France?; Italy? s. ix/x)

Provenance: In England (Worcester?) from s. ix/x?

Latin; Rustic capitals; Caroline minuscule; Coloured and filled initials

2 leaves, Bifolium; Writing faint on ff. 1r and 2v; Former pastedown

Royal MS 4 A XIV, ff. 107, 108 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 456): s. viii/ix or s. ixⁱⁿ or s. ix¹

Origin: S. England (Winchester?) or Mercia

Provenance: Worcester

Latin; Pointed Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Small filled initials

2 leaves, Bifolium, former pastedown; f. 108v strained and scuffed.

Royal MS 5 A XII, ff. iii–iv (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 456.2): s. xi^{med} or s. xi²

Origin: Worcester

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Rustic capitals; Neumes; Coloured initials

2 leaves, Two flattened bifolia, trimmed and incomplete

Royal MS 5 B XV, ff. 57–64 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 457): s. xi^{ex}

Origin: St. Augustine's, Canterbury

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Rustic capitals; Coloured initials

8 leaves, Quire of 8.

Royal MS 5 E VII, f. i (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 457.6): s. xiⁱ

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Neumes; Coloured initials

1 leaf, Mounted on guard; Trimmed, with losses on lower edge.

Royal MS 5 F XVIII, ff. 29v–32 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 463.5): s. xi^{ex}

Origin: Salisbury

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Small initials in silver

4 leaves, Four single leaves, perhaps once a quire of 4

Royal MS 6 A VII, f. 1 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 464.9): s. xi^{ex}; s. xi/xii

Origin: Worcester

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Neumes

1 leaf, Damaged, holes and tears

Royal MS 6 B XII, f. 38 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 468): s. xi²

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Coloured initials

1 leaf, Formerly a bifolium; Trimmed and incomplete

Royal MS 7 C XII, ff. 2, 3 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 471/[63]): s. vii/viii or s. viiiⁱⁿ

Origin: Northumbria (probably Lindisfarne)

Provenance: S. England (St Augustine's, Canterbury?), s. viii²/ixⁱⁿ

Latin; Square capitals; Half uncial; Coloured initials/letters

2 leaves, Two leaves

Part of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 197B (fully digitised), with Cotton MS Otho C V

Royal MS 8 B XIV, ff. 154–156 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 474.6): s. xi^{ex}

Origin: Salisbury

Latin; Caroline minuscule/early protogothic?

3 leaves, Three single leaves mounted on guards

Royal MS 8 C VII, ff. 1, 2 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 476): s. xiⁱⁿ

Old English; Anglo-Saxon minuscule (late)

2 leaves, Part of a bifolium, probably the outside sheet of a quire; Were used in binding.

Royal MS 8 F XIV, ff. 3, 4 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 477): s. xiⁱⁿ

Origin: probably Continent

Provenance: Bury St Edmunds

Latin; Caroline minuscule

2 leaves, Bifolium, trimmed on lower edge but no obvious losses; Quite badly scuffed, with lifting of ink onto facing pages

Royal MS 12 F XIV, ff. 1–2, 135 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 666): s. xiⁱ (s. xi^{ex?})

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Neumes; Silver and gold? letters, rubrics and initials in silver

3 leaves, ff. 1–2: bifolium (?central). f. 135: single leaf mounted on guard

Part of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 36*, with MS Selden Supra 36, ff. 73, 74

Royal MS 12 G XII, ff. 2–9 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, 480): s. xi^{med}

Latin, with prose in Old English or Latin; Old English glossary

ff. 7–8/2–6, 9: two large round hands, Old English and Latin carefully distinguished

8 leaves, ff. 2–5: 2nd and 3rd sheets of quire of 10; ff. 7–8: central bifolium of a quire; ff. 6–9: bifolium

With Oxford, All Souls, MS 38, ff. I–VI and i–vi

Royal MS 17 C XVII, ff. 2, 3, 163–166 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 498): s. x^{ex} or s. xiⁱ

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Small initials in colours and silver

6 leaves, All single leaves, mounted on guards; ff. 163–166: losses at edges

Sloane MS 280, ff. 1, 286 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 498.0): s. x?

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule; Initials in silver

2 leaves, Single leaves, trimmed, with losses to lower edge

Sloane MS 1044, f. 2 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 21): s. viii; s. x², x/xi

Origin: probably Northumbria

Provenance: Ely, s. x

Latin and Old English; Half uncial; Dotted initials with silver surround

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Hinged, verso visible

Part of Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.I.24 (fully digitised) with Cotton MS Tiberius B V, ff. 74, 76

Sloane MS 1044, f. 6 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 648): s. ix^{2/3}

Origin: W. France

Provenance: England by s. x^{ex}

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Small initials in silver

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Hinged, verso visible

Part of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. class MS C.2, f. 18, with the following:
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, EP-0-6 (pr. bk, binding fragment), Deene
Park Library, MS L.2.21, Oxford, All Souls College, MS 330, nos 54, 55

Sloane MS 1044, f. 16 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 498.2): s. xi

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Initial in silver

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Mounted, verso visible; Browned and stained
with loss of text

Sloane MS 1044, f. 21 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 498.3): s. xi² or s. xi^{ex}

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Initial in silver

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Mounted, verso visible; Stained, with loss of text

Sloane MS 1086, f. 45 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 498.4): s. xi²

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule (square?)

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Hinged, but verso not easily visible

Sloane MS 1086, f. 109 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 498.5): s. xi²

Latin; Anglo-Saxon minuscule (round?)

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Hinged, but verso not easily visible; Stained,
verso very dark

Sloane MS 1086, f. 112 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 498.6): s. x/xi or s. xiⁱⁿ

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Coloured initials

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Hinged, but verso not easily visible

Sloane MS 1086, f. 119 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 124): s. viii²

Latin; Half-uncial?; Dotted initials filled with colours

1 leaf, Trimmed and incomplete; Hinged, but verso not easily visible

Part of Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 2981(2)

Sloane MS 1619, f. 2 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 498.8): s. x or s. xi

Origin: England?

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Coloured initial, scuffed

1 leaf, Folded within the volume

Stowe MS 1061, f. 125 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 307.2): s. xiⁱⁿ or s. xi¹

Origin: Christ Church, Canterbury

Provenance: Exeter?

Latin; Caroline minuscule; Neumes; Large coloured initial, coloured rubrics

1 leaf, Hinged; Both sides easily visible

Part of Burney MS 277, ff. 69–72

Loan MS 11 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 501): c. 1020

Origin: Christ Church, Canterbury or Peterborough?

Provenance: Windsor, St George's Chapel

Latin

Loan MS 81 (Gneuss and Lapidge 2014, no. 501.3): s. vii/viii

Origin: Wearmouth-Jarrow

Probably from the same book as Add MS 37777

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-jo7w](#)]; 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

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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 siue 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

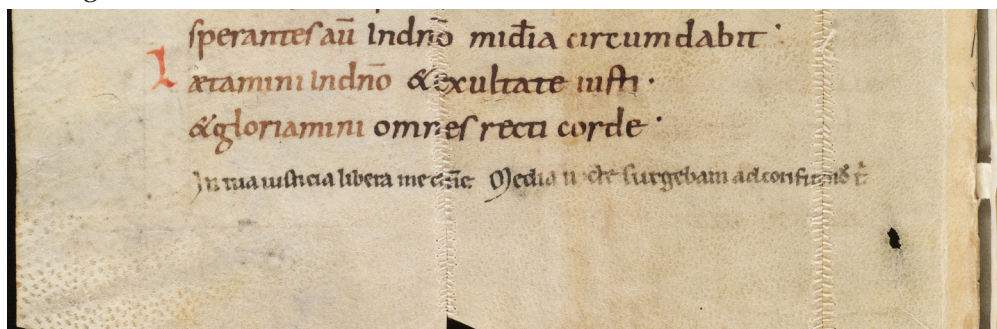


Figure 1: Cod. Sang. 1395 II, p. 337. Gothic initial and marginal note (Ps. 30,2 « In tua iusticia libera me, Domine » and Ps. 188,62 « Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi » : Antiphon for Diebus dominicis in II nocte), according to Harker's *Antiphonar* I,90

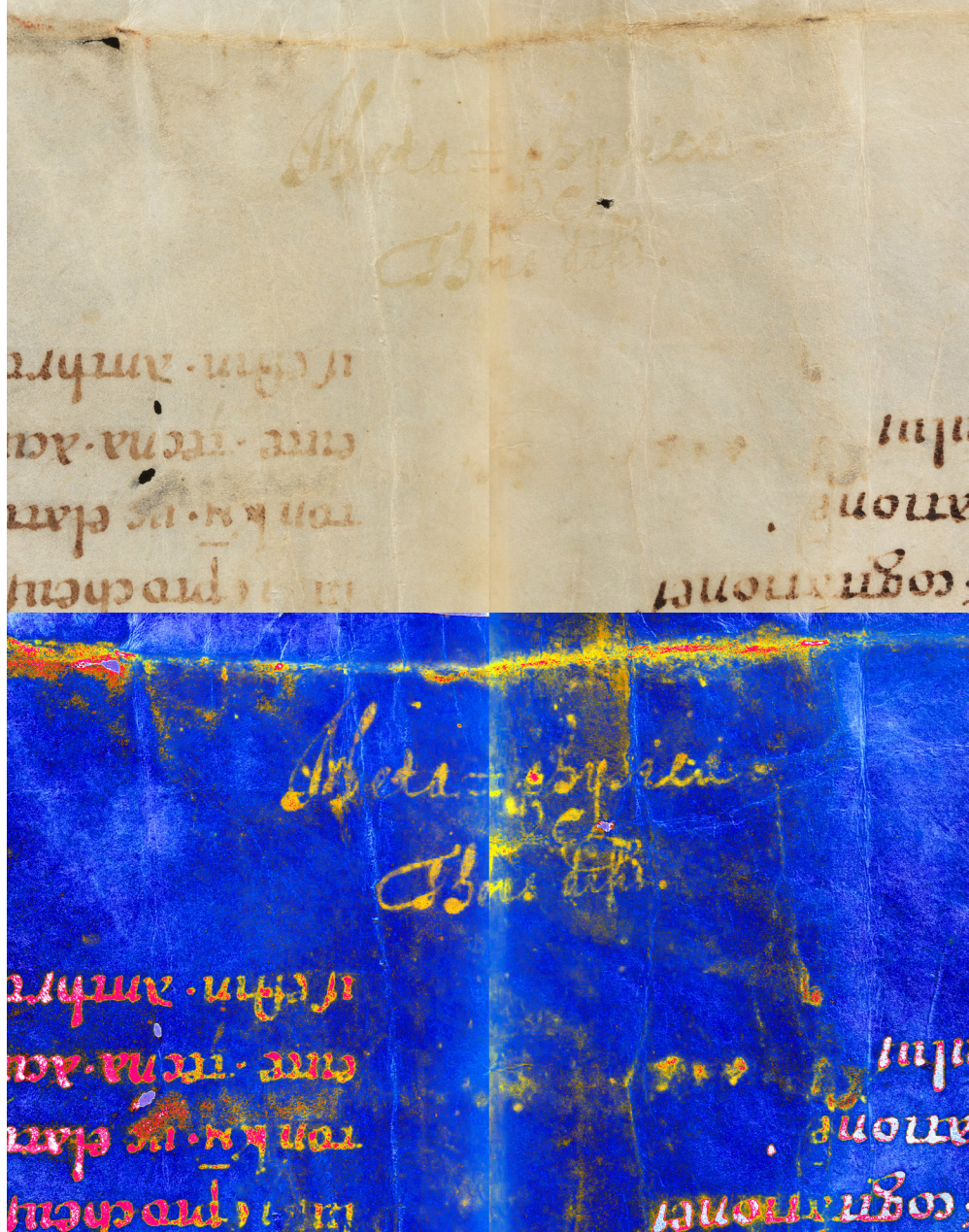
Another significant finding is that, although the copying of the text must have been left unfinished at a very early stage, the psalter was used extensively for

¹⁶ A. Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*, in *Septuaginta Studien* 2, Göttingen 1907.

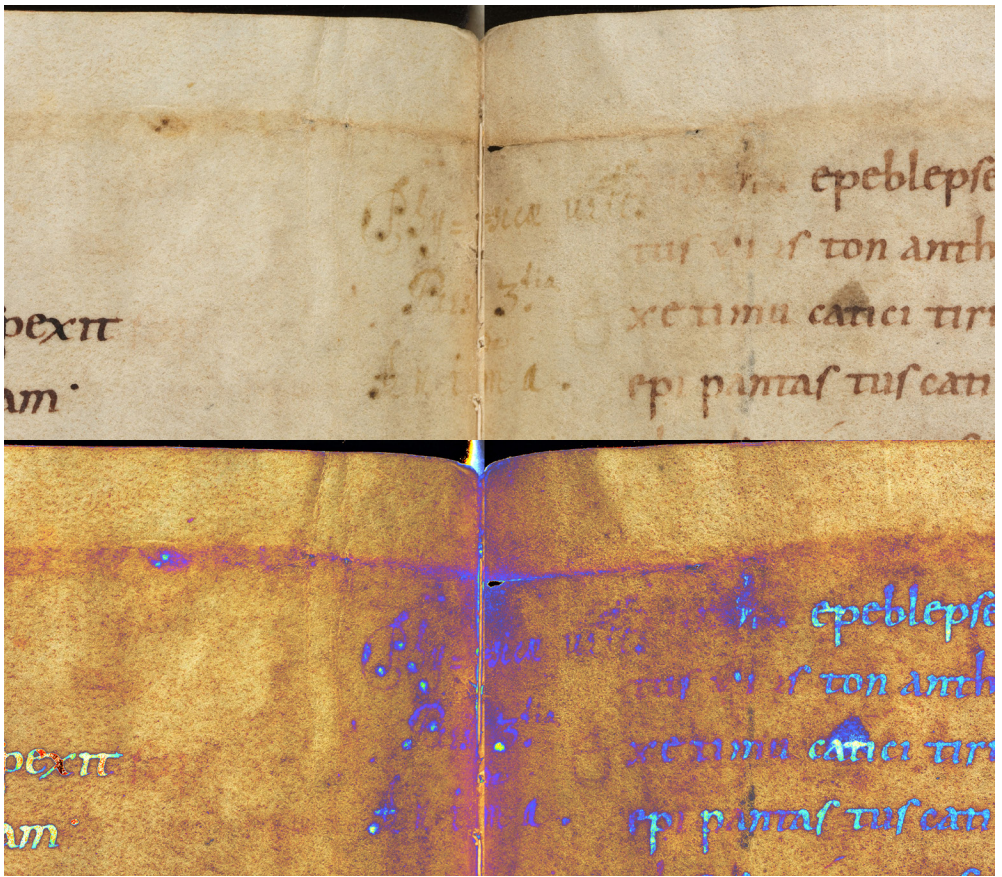
¹⁷ W. Berschin, "Griechisches in der Klosterschule des alten St. Gallen", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84–85 (1991–1992), 329–340; idem, "Neun Psalteria quadrupartita Salomons III. von Konstanz, Abt von Sankt Gallen 890–920", in *Margarita amicorum. Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*, ed. 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–

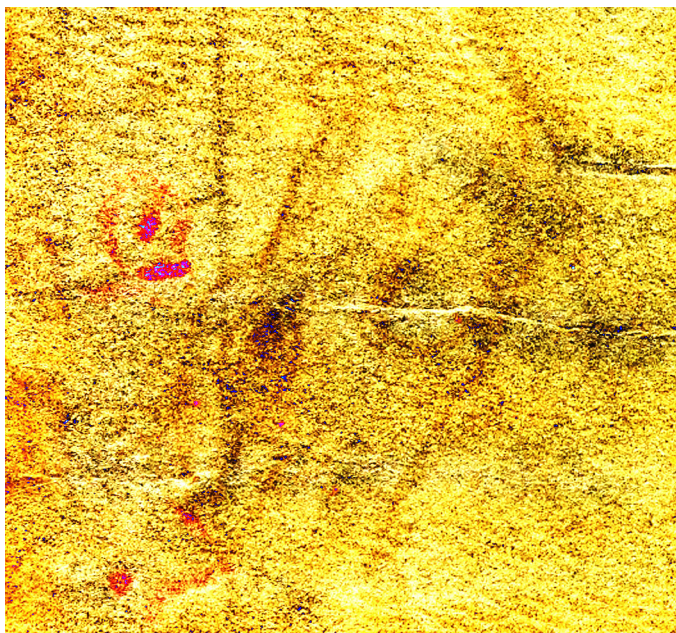


Figure 5: Cod. Sang. 1395 II, p. 364: animal head etched in margin (detail)

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-j07w]

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

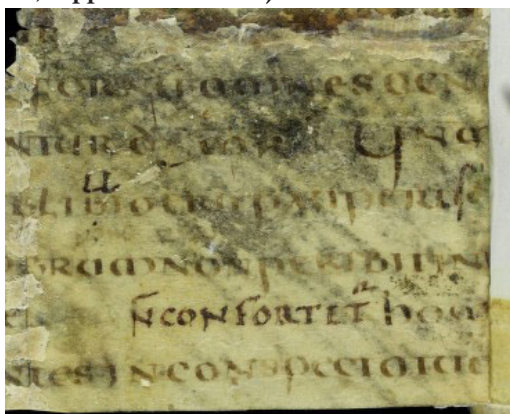


Figure 8: Cod. Sang. 1395 III, p. 368a (detail): fragment used in Cod. Sang. 965 binding

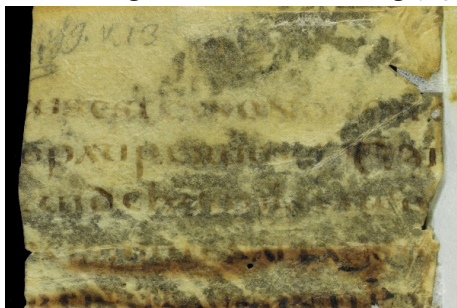


Figure 9a: Cod. Sang. 965, Front pastedown (enhanced, detail) and Cod. Sang. 1395 III, p. 368a (detail): offset of a lost fragment that belonged to the same leaf as p. 368a

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."

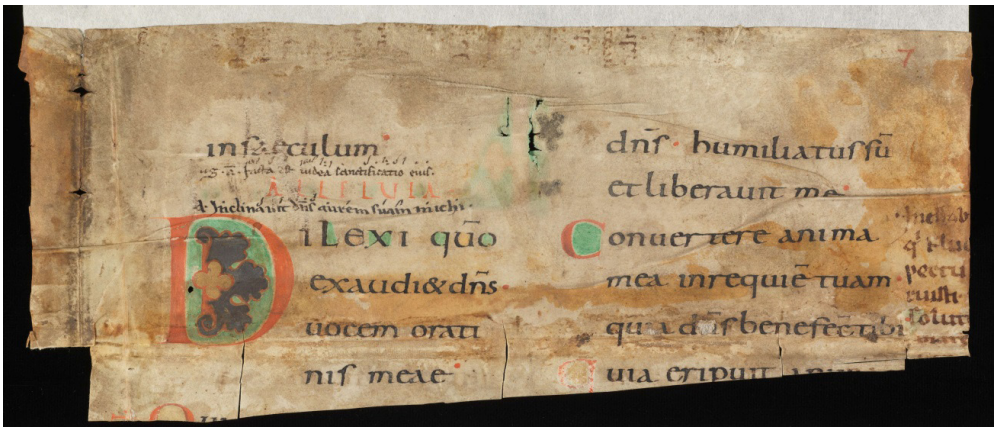


Figure 10: Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 7 (Later interlinear and marginal notes: antiphons, musical notation, collects)

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.

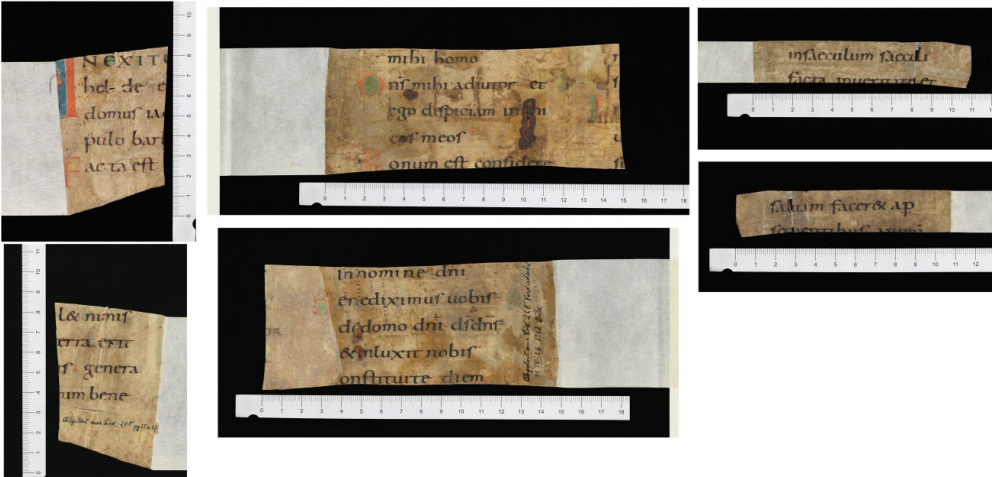


Figure 11: Cod. Sang. 1397 V, pp. 37-38, 39-40, and 41-42

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

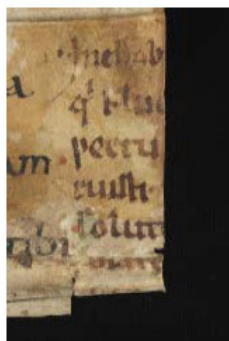
³⁰ Cf. the critical edition of the psalter in *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, R. Gryson, B. Fischer, I. Gribomont, H.F.D. Sparks, W. Thiele, and H.I. Frede, Stuttgart 1994.

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

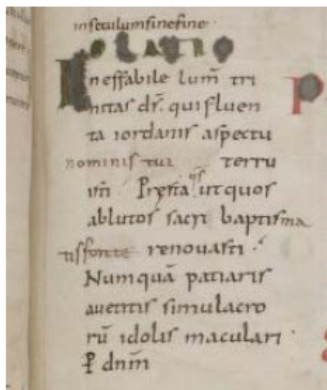
d.2) Mise en page and decoration. Concerning the *mise en page*, palaeography, and decoration, an approximate idea could be gained of the size of the original pages, and of the text block. The page layout is relatively similar to the one in Folchart's psalter ([Cod. Sang. 23](#)), but not identical in 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[/ 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.

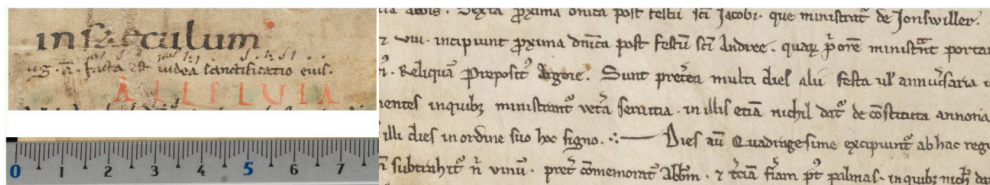


Figure 13: Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 7a, interlinear script (left) compared (to scale) with Cod. Sang. 453, p. 239 (right)

- [p. 7](#) “wg . ā. Facta est ludea 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 ludea 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.

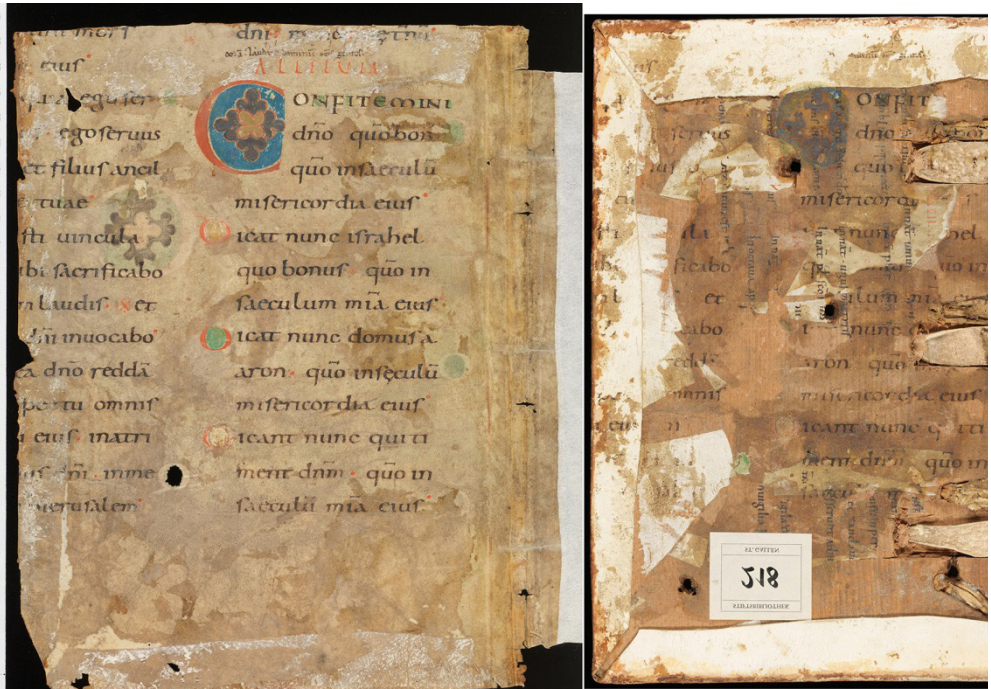


Figure 14: Cod. Sang. 1397 V, p. 4 and Cod. Sang. 218 front pastedown (reversed)



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 beigegefügt: 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.

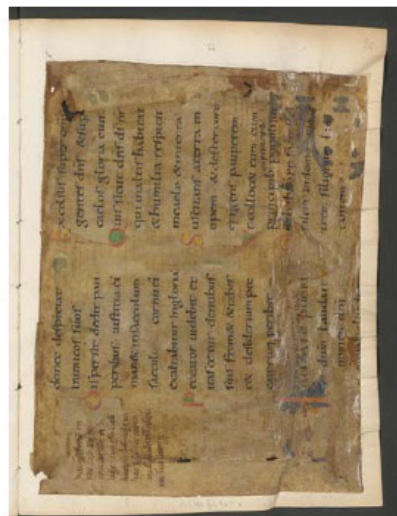


Figure 16: Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 43, front pastedown (now at St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek) and Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 184 (XX)

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, *Altlateinische 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" (*ecl.* 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!).

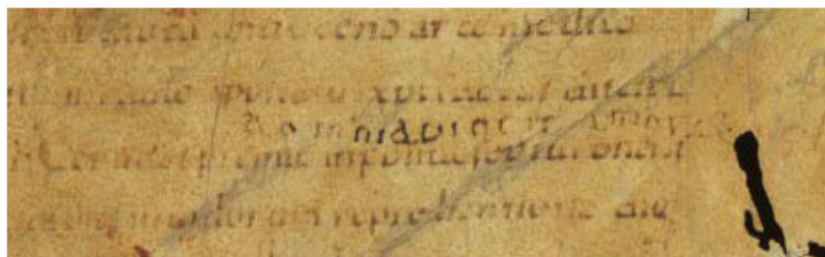


Figure 17: Cod. Sang. 1398a I, p. 239 (Prol. to Act.), inter ll. 14–15 (part of Verg. *ecl.* 10,69 written as an antiphon: «ā omnia uincit amor et nos»)

A Seventeenth-Century Treasure Hunter in the Rubble of a Ninth-Century Library

Gathering Fragments and the History of Libraries

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Abstract: Among the few major Carolingian libraries that are rather well preserved, Lyon's Cathedral Chapter Library presents a specific challenge: its fragmentation and dispersion have long hindered studies on its constituent manuscripts, because they were scattered across distant libraries. Nowadays, digitization lifts the greater part of the material obstacles, and virtual reconstructions make it possible to study damaged manuscripts almost as if their scattered fragments were still preserved together. While accompanying a few such reconstructions on display on *Fragmentarium*, this paper intends to highlight the importance of an individual XVIIth century collector, Étienne Baluze, in the salvaging of fragments from the Lyon library. Through this example is shown how the very preservation status of fragments within larger ensembles can reveal information on the librarians, collectors, collections, and libraries to whom they belonged, and their own history.

Keywords: Lyon, Cathedral; Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale; Étienne Baluze; library history; Carolingian era; Codices Latini Antiquiores

With some 150 preserved codices, the Carolingian library of the cathedral chapter of Lyon counts among the best preserved ninth-century libraries.¹ While more famous examples either remain in their original location, such as is the case with the libraries of Saint Gall and Verona, or were transferred in their entirety, as with Corbie and Lorsch, Lyon's situation falls between the two extremes. About 50 of its Carolingian and codices *antiquiores* remained in Lyon to this day (making the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lyon the richest in provincial France),

* This paper represents the first results of a research project for *Fragmentarium* funded by the Zeno-Karl-Schindler Foundation over the year 2016–2017.

1 In his seminal study, C. Charlier inventoried exactly 100 codices that “were in Lyon in Florus's times”. Some items may have to be removed from the list, but many more have to be added to it. C. Charlier, “Les manuscrits personnels de Florus de Lyon et son activité littéraire”, *Mélanges Emmanuel Podechard*, Lyon 1945, 71–84. Reprint in *Revue bénédictine* 119/2(2009), 252–269. DOI [10.1484/J.RB.5.100492](https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.5.100492)

and the rest have been dispersed across Europe and are now mainly in Paris's National Library, with some in Rome and the Vatican, Berlin, Wolfenbüttel, Firenze, Geneva, Saint-Petersburg, and so on.

Because of this situation, it went unnoticed for a long time that the library was fairly well preserved, and to this day, the library remains less famous and less investigated than its peers; in order to notice that the library was relatively intact, and then to study its contents, one needs to travel back and forth between several distant libraries. — Or one needed to.

In 1926 André Wilmart stated that Lyon's intellectual life in Carolingian era simply couldn't be studied "without publishing of a whole set of facsimiles. This is the only truly scientific means that could be used."² Facsimiles of more than a hundred manuscripts in 1926 were nothing but a dream — but no more. Digitization now makes it possible to study these scattered manuscripts side by side, as if they were all within arm's reach. For the first time in centuries, databases and digital tools such as *Fragmentarium* make it possible not only to reunite several codices that have been separated, but also to reconstruct single codices that have been fragmented and scattered.

Lyon's Carolingian library today comprises a number of scattered fragments. One set of scattered Lyonnais codices, for example, was the result of the machinations of an infamous XIXth century thief, Guglielmo Libri Carucci dalla Sommaja. After Léopold Delisle uncovered the looting, the dismantled parts were recovered by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, but never returned to their rightful owner and physical origin, the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lyon.³ These parts are:

- Paris, BNF, n.a.l. 446 taken from Lyon, BM, 600 (517), Jerome's epistles, Southern France (?), s. VII–VIII: Lowe *CLA*, t. 6, no. 781.

2 "Notons donc bien ceci. L'histoire des relations littéraires de Florus [de Lyon] et de Mannon [de Saint-Oyen] et la connaissance de leurs manuscrits ne seront certaines que grâce à une publication complète de facsimilés. C'est le seul moyen vraiment scientifique qu'on puisse employer." A. Wilmart, "Note sur Florus et Mannon à propos d'un travail récent", *Revue bénédictine* 38(1926), 214–216, at 216. DOI [10.1484/J.RB.4.01890](https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.4.01890)

3 See L. Delisle, "Les Manuscrits du comte d'Ashburnham. Rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 44(1883), 202–224. DOI [10.3406/bec.1883.447169](https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1883.447169). Lyon's unique second-half of sixth-century *Heptateuch* also was one of Libri's victims, but this was the first of his thefts that Delisle uncovered: the 69 leaves (!) were gracefully offered by Lord Ashburnham back to Lyon's City Library, which reunited them with their original codex, Lyon, BM, 403 (329). A few years later, 88 more leaves of the very same codex were rediscovered in the sale of a private collection and acquired by the City Library, they are now the MS Lyon, BM, 1964. See E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century*. v. 6, Oxford 1953, no. 771. In the same private collection was a fragment of s. VII^{1/2} MS Lyon, BM, 468 (397) which was acquired by the National Library: it is now Paris, BNF, n.a.l. 602; see Lowe *CLA*, v. 6, no. 776.

- Paris, BNF, n.a.l. 1585 taken from Lyon, BM, 425 (351), Mixed Psalter, Rome, s. V-VI: Lowe *CLA*, t. 6, no. 772.
- Paris, BNF, n.a.l. 1591 taken from Lyon, BM, 443 (372), Origen on the Pentateuch, Lyon (?), s. VII: Lowe *CLA*, t. 6, no. 774a.
- Paris, BNF, n.a.l. 1593 taken from Lyon, BM, 452 (381), Hilary of Poitiers on Psalms, Italy or Lyon, s. V^{ex}: Lowe *CLA*, t. 6, 775.
- Paris, BNF, n.a.l. 1594 taken from Lyon, BM, 604 (521), Augustine, so-called *Collectio Lugdunensis*, Lyon (?), s. VIIⁱⁿ: Lowe *CLA*, t. 6, no. 783.
- Paris, BNF, n.a.l. 1629 ff. 7–14 taken from Lyon, BM, 426 (352), a *sui generis* version of Augustine on Psalms, Lyon (?), s. VI–VII: Lowe *CLA*, t. 6, no. 773a.

This well-known case not only shows how materially difficult it can be to investigate Lyonnais codices, it also illustrates the crucial role of individual collectors and librarians in both the scattering and the salvaging of manuscript fragments.

Indeed, a collection of codices, or even a single codex, is a rather ‘big’ object and easy to identify, for such things are the ‘canonical’ pieces of our cultural history. By contrast, fragments are modest and humble; it is often difficult to figure them out, or to make something meaningful out of them; their very material aspect makes them look lost, and, in fact, when a fragment first comes into one’s hands, it is impossible to know *a priori* if it actually belongs to a fuller codex that is preserved somewhere, or if it is truly, completely orphaned. And thus it is much easier for a thief to steal and sell only parts of an object than a whole codex. More generally, once fragments are separated from their original codices, they become very vulnerable to being lost, or, simply thrown away out of ignorance. It takes a modern collector or librarian to gather “useless” medieval leaves simply because they’re medieval leaves. This paper will address how some librarians have dealt with Lyonnais fragments in the past, and their approach is expressed today in the very preservation status of these fragments.

The task of identifying scattered fragments of one and the same given codex, figuring out their original arrangement, and finally piecing them together in an artificial reconstruction is often painstaking. Undertaking such a work isn’t only a philologist’s duty towards each material document, insofar as philologists can be seen fundamentally as ‘textual archaeologists’; it also makes more sources accessible to scientific research. Although history has wounded, cut, and scattered some documents, such accidents don’t make them *a priori* lesser witnesses than their undamaged neighbours — but their very scattering hinders study. Reconstruction allows them to take back their rightful place in philological and historical research. But moreover, as this paper will try and show, studying scattered fragments takes us back in the history of their scattering and gathering, uncovering unexpected information regarding events, developments, and actors in the history of libraries; which in turn provides us with new ways of tracing back and identifying even more relevant documents.

Lyon, BM, 788 (706): a changing “manuscript”

The Bibliothèque Municipale of Lyon has, within the oldest core of its collections, a “manuscript” numbered 788 (706), which actually is not an actual codex, but rather a box of unbound fragments — not unlike an archival box. This conservation status itself has had an influence on the collection and, ultimately, calls into question the very purpose of shelfmarks.

At some point during the nineteenth century, the 16 fragments in the box were foliated continuously as they stood, from 1 to 101. But in 1881, a Lyonnais legal historian, Exupère Caillemer, noticed that several of those fragments materially belonged to codices that are preserved in the same library.⁴ Librarians contemporary to Caillemer took these conclusions into account: twenty years later, the *Catalogue général des manuscrits (CGM)* explains that these fragments were taken out of MS. 788 and put back in their original volumes — where they still are today.⁵ To make things easier (!), some of these relocated fragments were also refoliated according to their new location — but not all of them, and, it seems, not with much care for consistency:

- Lyon 788, ff. 35–40 continue from the last folio of Lyon 602 (f. 142). Therefore they were refoliated as Lyon 602 ff. 143–149.⁶
- Lyon 788, ff. 49–58 have to be read before the first folio of Lyon 604 (f. 1). They were placed at the head of the codex, and, therefore, they were not refoliated.⁷
- Lyon 788, ff. 75–76 have to be read before Lyon 336 (f. 1). They were placed, however, at the end of the codex and not refoliated.⁸
- Lyon 788, ff. 77–82 should be read before Lyon 483 (f. 1). They were placed, however, at the end of the codex and refoliated as ff. 319–324.⁹

The 1901 *CGM* records these changes and is the most recent catalogue of the manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, but the story of these codices does not stop there. André Wilmart, who worked extensively on Lyon’s Carolingian manuscripts with Elias Avery Lowe in the 1920s, noticed that another fragment of Lyon 788, its ff. 67–74, belonged to yet another codex, Lyon 603; and again in 1928, the curator Henry Joly took this quire out of Lyon 788 and put it back in its original body. Lyon 603 contains a collection of sermons by Augustine.

4 See E. Caillemer, “Notices et extraits de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lyon”, *Mémoires de l’Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Lyon, Classe des Lettres* 20(1881–82), 39–88.

https://archive.org/details/Caillemer_1881_Manuscrits_de_Lyon

5 A. Molinier and F. Desvernay, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements, tome XXX: Lyon, v. 1*, Paris 1901, 215–217. <https://archive.org/stream/cataloguegnr30on190ofran>

6 Jerome, *Contra Iovinianum*, France, s. VII^{ex}: Lowe *CLA*, v. 6, no. 782b.

7 This is the Augustinian *Collectio Lugdunensis* parts of which Libri stole, see above the fragment Paris n.a.l. 1594.

8 On this MS see the Appendix.

9 Origen on Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, Italy, then Verona, then Lyon, s. V–VI: Lowe *CLA*, v. 6, no. 779.

This early ninth-century manuscript was extensively used and annotated by Florus of Lyon (floruit ca. 825–855), as well as by other anonymous Lyonais scholars of the time.¹⁰ The fragment's text immediately precedes Lyon 603 f. 1; the leaves were relocated at the head of the codex, without being refoiled.

Then, on July 10th, 1969, an unidentified librarian decided that Lyon 788 ff. 89–90, an isolated bifolium from a fourteenth-century missal, should be taken out of the box and given its own shelfmark: it became MS Lyon 6207.¹¹

Thus, 6 out of the original 16 fragments have been taken out of Lyon 788, leaving voids in its foliation. This is Lyon 788's situation now. But it could very well evolve again, since Bernhard Bischoff suggested that another of its fragments, namely the ff. 98–99, originally belongs to Lyon 601.¹²

As can be expected, these relocations and not-so-logical refoiliations get in the way of clearly and securely identifying the documents. A shelfmark is supposed to work as an address. If I write that something can be seen in MS Lyon, BM, 484, f. 99v, a reader should be able to find this very thing again by following step-by-step these general-to-specific coordinates; the terms are not only logical, but they also refer to physical, if not geographical, locations. Relocated fragments challenge this method. I could now refer to Lyon 602 f. 145r without stating that it was also Lyon 788, f. 37r — but wouldn't it be problematic no longer to see any reference to Lyon 788, ff. 35–40, as if it had been lost, when it actually hasn't? Non-refoiled folia pose another issue. If I refer to Lyon 788, f. 52, I need to specify and the reader needs to remember that, in spite of such a citation, it is actually part of Lyon 604.

More importantly, this volatile conservation status has made it difficult for the City Library's curators themselves to know exactly what was really supposed to be inside their "MS 788" box. A 1928 handwritten note bears witness of this problem within the box itself. Henry Joly tried to assess the situation, as he took himself the ff. 67–74 out of the box in order to reunite the quire with the codex 603 (see Figure 1).

But Joly himself did not remember that ff. 77–82 had also been reunited with their original codex, even though the fact is mentioned in the *CGM*; he wrote *desunt* ("they are missing"), as though these leaves were simply lost. Only later

10 B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, v. 2, Wiesbaden 2004, no. 2572, p. 143.

11 The actual curator of Lyon's MSS, M. Jérôme Sirdey, notices in an e-mail written to me on Feb. 24, 2018, that both MSS 6206 and 6208 (I translate) "also are fragments of liturgical manuscripts, both retrieved from bindings. (...) This fact doesn't provide an actual explanation, but it appears that one took the opportunity of these retrieved fragments being integrated in the general MSS collection to give the *olim* Lyon 788 ff. 89–90 a proper shelfmark."

12 Jerome's epistles, Lyon, s. IX^{2/4}: Bischoff *KFH*, v. 2, no. 2569, p. 142.

annotations in another hand set the record straight, seemingly when the new development of 1969 was also added.¹³

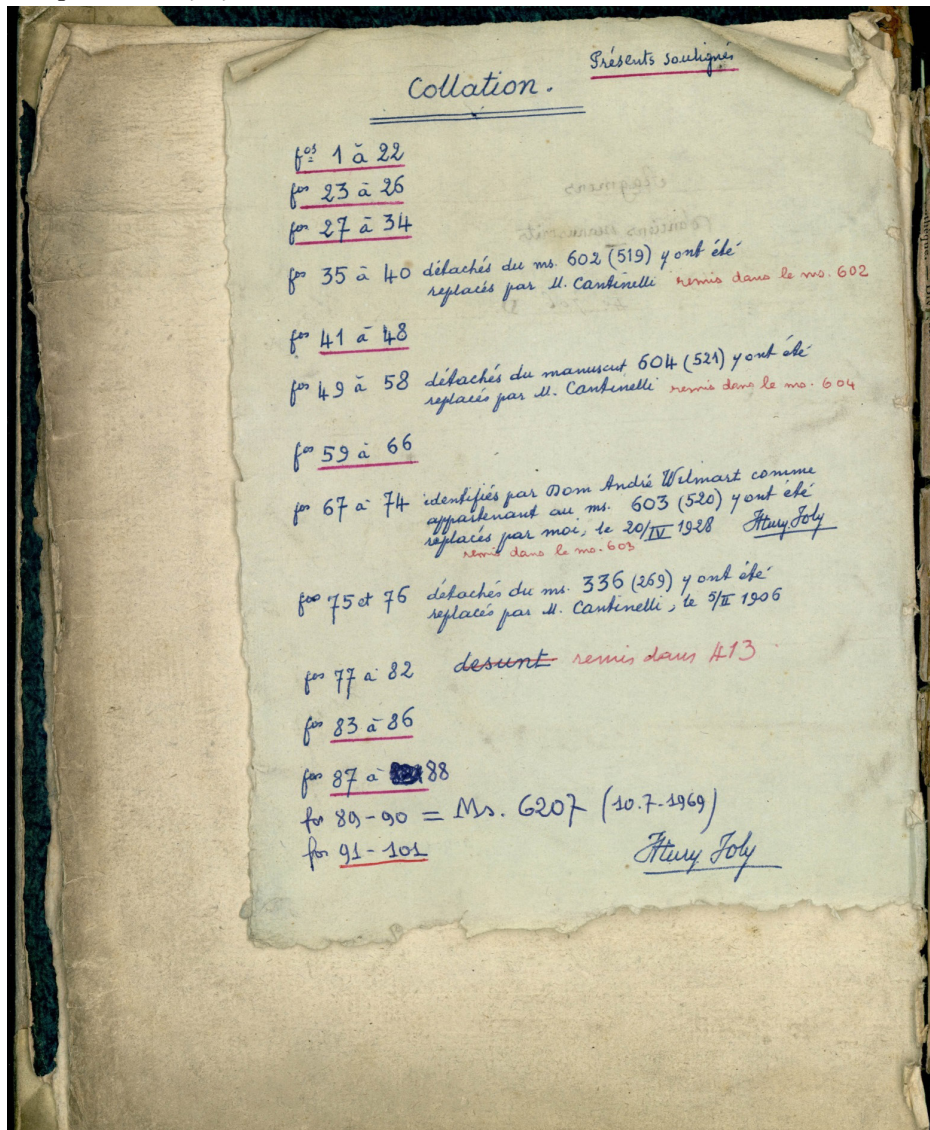


Figure 1: Henry Joly's notes, in the box with Lyon, BM 788. A later, unidentified librarian added four notes in red ink.

¹³ I must also point out the mysterious last entry among Lyon BM's MSS in Bischoff KFH, v. 2, no. 2591: "Fragm. s.n. (teste R. Étaix). Hieronymus, *In Hieremiam prophetam* (lib. 2, 3). 1 Bl., 32x20,5 cm <25,5x17,8 cm>; 30 Z. Min.; auch rundes d; Kzg.: -us : -m^s; -ur : -t² (2 sehr lang). Unz. Init. — IX. Jh., ca. 3. Viertel." Lyon BM's librarians were as surprised as I was by this entry, and they could not identify the document.

Lyon's manuscripts and Baluze's fragments

After studying Lyon Carolingian and *antiquiores* MSS in the 1920s, André Wilmart noticed a curious correlation between Lyon 788 and Paris, BNF, Baluze 270. Baluze 270 binds together a remarkable series of 26 fragments, of which 11 are Carolingian, and 3 are *antiquiores*.

One bifolium, ff. 72^{bis}–73, originally belonged to a famous Carolingian Lyonnais codex: the original MS of Florus of Lyon's masterpiece, the Augustinian *Expositio epistolarum beati Pauli apostoli*. This bifolium goes at the end of the codex and thus completes the whole second half of this priceless witness to Carolingian erudition.¹⁴

Two other leaves of Baluze 270, its ff. 74–75, also belong to another Lyon codex, Lyon 336, in which Lyon 788 ff. 75–76 have been relocated.¹⁵

Alongside these fragments that can be matched to their original 'bodies', we also find 'orphaned' fragments: they are the last remains of codices otherwise lost. Here again, Baluze 270 and Lyon 788 complete one another in a number of occasions — all of these have been virtually reconstructed on *Fragmentarium*, and I have used *Fragmentarium*'s tools to provide more extensive notices that the reader can find on the platform.

E-73yy: When pieced together, two non-adjacent fragments of Baluze 270, its ff. 105–106 and 112–113, along with two (originally) non-adjacent fragments of Lyon 788, its ff. 41–48 and 59–66, preserve a continuous portion of a Commentary on the Psalms.¹⁶

E-v2mv: Two non-adjacent fragments of Baluze 270, ff. 107–108 and 132–158, and an isolated bifolium of Lyon 788, ff. 87–88, preserve a good portion of an early-ninth-century exemplar of Bede's *De templo salomonis*. Judging by their hands, the copyists may not have been from Lyon, but the fruit of their labour was used by Florus of Lyon later in the same century.¹⁷

E-oikc: Two isolated bifolia, Baluze 270 f. 177–178 and Lyon 788 f. 100–101, preserve parts of a rare epitome of the *Hispana* collection of canons.¹⁸ This epitome, a topic-oriented table of contents of the *Hispana*, played a crucial role in the making of the *Hispana systematica* — which, in turn, has a special place in Carolingian Lyon and its overall contribution to mediaeval culture. It is all the more interesting to see this exemplar of the Epitome copied by some of the

¹⁴ See esp. A. Wilmart, "L'Exemplaire lyonnais de l'Exposition de Florus sur les Épîtres et ses derniers feuillets", *Revue bénédictine* 42(1930), 73–76. DOI [10.1484/J.RB.4.04786](https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.4.04786) and L. Holtz, "Le manuscrit Lyon, B.M. 484 (414) et la méthode de travail de Florus", *Revue bénédictine* 119(2009), 270–315. DOI [10.1484/J.RB.5.100493](https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.5.100493).

¹⁵ A. Wilmart, "Fragments carolingiens du fonds Baluze", *Revue bénédictine* 43(1931), 106–115, at 107–108. DOI [10.1484/J.RB.4.02323](https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.4.02323). On this MS see the Appendix.

¹⁶ Wilmart, "L'Exemplaire Lyonnais", 108–109.

¹⁷ Wilmart, "Fragments carolingiens du fonds Baluze", 110–111.

¹⁸ Wilmart, "Fragments carolingiens du fonds Baluze", 112–113.

same scribes who also copied the Lyon exemplar of the *Hispana systematica*, mentioned above, Lyon 336 + Lyon 788 ff. 75–76 + Paris Baluze 270 ff. 74–75.¹⁹

This series of connections between Paris Baluze 270 and Lyonnais codices does not now seem coincidental. In order to have so many scattered parts in common, the collection at Lyon and Paris Baluze 270 must have had some sort of historical relationship.

In truth, it is somewhat strange that a gathering of mediaeval fragments ended up in the National Library's 'Baluze' collection.

Étienne Baluze was not only an immense scholar, he was also Colbert's librarian from 1667 on. Colbert was keen on collecting ancient and rare manuscripts of all sorts, and his librarian had a wonderful budget for upkeep and acquisitions. Over the course of Colbert's career, in service to the state, and finally as secretary of state, his personal collection became something like a national treasure; so much that after he died in 1683, it was bought as a whole by the Royal Library. But Baluze also knew how to take advantage of his position as Colbert's librarian; his own library grew and it kept growing until he died in 1718. By then, his collection also had become one of the richest there was in France; and once again, after the owner's death, the Bibliothèque Royale bought it as a whole.

But Baluze's manuscripts, as Colbert's before them, were then inserted into the general collections of the Royal Library according to their languages; his French, Italian, Greek, Spanish, and Latin manuscripts blended into the 'French', 'Italian', 'Greek', 'Spanish', and 'Latin' collections. Thus, the Bibliothèque Nationale's collection that is named after Étienne Baluze is actually composed of what was then considered not the "actual" library, but rather Baluze's personal papers. So the gatherings of Latin mediaeval fragments whose shelfmarks are now 'Baluze 270' and '271' are not typical; Baluze's Latin mediaeval MSS are actually to be found in the regular 'Latin' collection.

An important fragment volume in the Latin collection has already been noticed for its ties with the Lyonnais library: MS latin 152, *olim* Baluze's MS 545. Among its 18 fragments, 3 come from Lyonnais Carolingian codices:

- Paris, latin 152, ff. 17–20 complete Lyon 466, ff. 1–93;
- Paris, latin 152, ff. 21–25 complete Lyon 466, ff. 94–336;
- Paris, latin 152, ff. 26–29 complete Lyon 448, ff. 11–49.

19 On this MS and the importance of the *Hispana systematica*, see the details in Appendix. The similarity of hands between these MSS has been pointed out by Wilmart "Fragments carolingiens du fonds Baluze", 112 as well as Bischoff *KFH*, v. 2, no. 2546, p. 136, and no. 2587, p. 146.

Additionally, Paris, latin 152, ff. 9–16 is an orphaned fragment, but we know it was in Lyon in the Carolingian era because it was annotated by Florus.²⁰ These fragments do not match those in Lyon 788; but the Lyon box can still lead us to some more Parisian fragments.

Lyon 788, ff. 23–26 have been identified as parts of Paris, BnF, latin 7536, a tenth/eleventh-century Beneventan copy of Donatus and Priscian, which happens to be *olim* Baluze's MS 542.²¹

F-c4lg: Elias Avery Lowe also suggested that Lyon 788, ff. 27–34 matches Paris latin 5288, ff. 1–12,²² and Célestin Charlier later noticed²³ that these also match Baluze 270, ff. 167–174, a fragment that Wilmart had used in an edition without noticing its relationship with Lyon 788.²⁴

F-s74n: As it happens, Paris, latin 5288 is yet another one of Baluze's fragment volumes: *olim* Baluze's MS 439 — and I noticed that Paris, latin 5288, ff. 34–41 constitute the first quire of a Carolingian codex whose second quire is now Baluze 270, ff. 124–131.

Starting with a box of fragments in Lyon, we have now gathered together a good number of fragmented Carolingian and *antiquiores* manuscripts that in the middle ages belonged to Lyon. Étienne Baluze's role in their survival is crucial. This simple action of his, gathering fragments, represents a more discreet, more understated, contribution to cultural history that does his scholarly work, but it is no less important.

The state of collections and their history

The very conservation status of a collection can preserve information about its origins and ultimately the circumstances of previous dispersions. The mere fact that Lyon's box of fragments exists, for example, is noteworthy. When one has a book in hands and a leaf or a quire falls out, one picks it up and put it back in the codex: the worst that could happen would be not to put it exactly in the same place. Here, however, we have a box containing several fragments, as if its gatherer did not know where else to put them, even though they actually

20 See now M. Milhau, "Hilaire de Poitiers dans la Collection de Douze Pères de Florus de Lyon", in *Les douze compilations pauliniennes de Florus de Lyon*, ed. P. Chambert-Protat, F. Dolveck and C. Gerzaguët, Rome 2016, 85–94. DOI [10.4000/books.efr.3099](https://doi.org/10.4000/books.efr.3099).

21 L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical. Étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV^e–IX^e siècle) et édition critique*, Paris 1981, 407.

22 Lowe *CLA*, v. 5, no. 561, and v. 6, no. 785.

23 Charlier, "Alcuin, Florus et l'Apocryphe hiéronymien *Cogitis me* sur l'Assomption", *Studia Patristica* v. 1. *Papers presented to the Second International conference on patristic studies held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1955*, ed. K. Aland and F. L. Cross, Berlin 1955, 70–81, at p. 76 n. 4.

24 A. Wilmart, *Analecta Regimensia. Extraits des manuscrits latins de la reine Christine conservés au Vatican*, Vatican City 1933, no. XX, 322–362.

belonged to codices preserved in the same library. It suggests that these several books were damaged at the same time: their bindings were weakened all at once, and detached leaves were shuffled together. Some violent episode may have happened to this library, an event that damaged codices unevenly: some remained pretty much untouched, but some disappeared completely; some lost only small parts, and some were almost completely destroyed, surviving only in small fragments. After the event, the pieces that were substantially still codices were carefully gathered, but the detached leaves and quires that had fallen out could not be easily sorted; no-one could know at first sight which fragments belonged to which codex, or even if their codex was even preserved. Thus the fragments were put together in waiting, in what later became the MS Lyon 788.

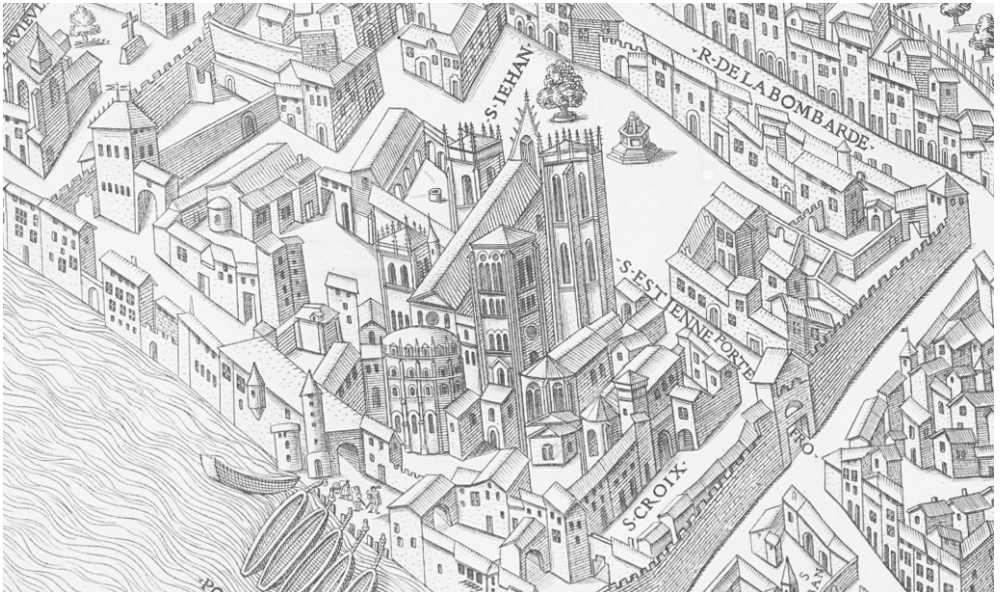


Figure 2: Lyon, Cathedral Quarter, detail from *Le Plan Scénographique de Lyon*, ca. 1550

This violent event can be identified. Lyon's map from about 1550 shows us the cathedral's fortified quarter, a few years before the Wars of Religion broke it open.²⁵

At the end of April 1562, over one night, the Protestants took over the city without a blow. In the cathedral quarter, the canons dug in, but since the Protestants had seized the city's weapons, all resistance was soon crushed. Then, expecting the royal army's counteroffensive, the Protestants called on help from the infamous Baron des Adrets, remembered to this day for the vandalism and

²⁵ The map can be explored at <http://www.renlyon.org/>. On the 1562 events here summarized, see E. Sarles, "Une capitale protestante. Coup de force, grands travaux, crise et reflux", in *Lyon 1562, capitale protestante. Une histoire religieuse de Lyon à la Renaissance*, ed. Yves Krumenacker, Lyon 2009, 155–205.

massacres he committed in the region of Lyon. Over the weeks of military occupation, Lyon's cathedral and the chapter's buildings suffered from accidental or deliberate destruction.

Although some of these events are well documented by sources of the time, there is not a clear report of what happened to the chapter library. Evidence of what happened must be gleaned from the surviving witnesses of the event, the manuscripts themselves, and the history of their conservation. Thus, a number of ancient manuscripts from Lyon, presumably or certainly held at the cathedral during the Middle Ages, "miraculously" reappear in private collections, away from Lyon, in the decades that follow the 1562 event. Such is, for example, the case of the *Codex Bezae*, an atypical Late-Antique Greek and Latin New Testament, which was already famous at the time; it still belonged to Lyon around 1550, but sometime between 1565 and 1576 it suddenly resurfaces in the hands of Calvin's successor, Theodore Beza, who in 1581 offered it to Cambridge's University Library, where it still is today.²⁶ Two early-ninth-century manuscripts were brought to Rome by Jean du Bois (or Dubois, †1626), "Célestin de Lyon", in 1605; in handwritten notes, du Bois explains that both books were "bought from a heretic" after they were "taken from Lyon's library burned by heretics."²⁷ The whole library was not burned, obviously, since more than a hundred ninth-century or *antiquiores* manuscripts survive; but it is true that several of the preserved codices, such as Lyon, BM, 475, show fire damage.

The number of fragmented manuscripts and the way these fragments were scattered add to this body of evidence, conjuring up images of a fire and vandalism, followed by plain and simple looting. More than a century after the violent event of spring 1562, Étienne Baluze must have stumbled upon a batch of fragments from Lyon's cathedral library. How? where? when? Through whom exactly did he find them? Did he know their origin? It is impossible to say for now; but maybe more information could be found in Baluze's personal papers, the 'Baluze' collection in Paris' Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

I should also emphasize that this paper only investigated fragments from the ninth century or prior, whereas their fragmentation and dispersion actually happened in the early modern period. Obviously, Lyon's library had grown in the

²⁶ J. R. Harris, *Codex Bezae. A Study of the so-called Western Text of the New Testament*, Cambridge 1891, 36. <https://archive.org/details/codexbezaeooharruoft>.

²⁷ "Ex Bibliotheca Lugdunensi ab hereticis combusta exemptus ab heretico codex venditusque, emptus est a Joanne a Bosco Celestino" reads the note on MS Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, E 26, f. 1r. An almost identical note can be found on MS C 3, f. 1r. See D. Paniagua, "Sul MS. Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, E 26 e sulla trasmissione manoscritta di Polemo Silvio: un nuovo testimone (poziore) per due sezioni del *Laterculus*," *Revue d'histoire des textes* N.S. 11(2016), 163–180, at 7071. DOI [10.1484/J.RHT.5.110489](https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RHT.5.110489) the author's inference, "Quindi, il codice fu sottratto dalla biblioteca di Saint-Martin de l'Île Barbe", needs to be corrected in favour of the cathedral's library.

meantime, and obviously the 1562 events affected manuscripts young and old. Given how the gatherings of older fragments match and complete one another, and given the fact that these very volumes also preserve younger fragments, one can safely assume that a lot of the post-ninth-century fragments from Baluze's collection also come from Lyon's cathedral library and have not been identified as such yet. Thus, conservation status becomes — not a proof, of course — but an indication, and possibly a strong one, of the provenance of a given fragment. In this regard, studying fragments together, with dedicated tools adapted to their specific features, as *Fragmentarium* does, opens the way to new perspectives, new questions and new answers regarding book history and the history of libraries; our very cultural history.

Appendix

Lyon 336 is an example of the very rare collection of canons called *Hispana systematica*. This collection has the same contents as the much more common *Hispana*, but rearranged following a logical, thematical plan. Only three Latin witnesses are known: our Lyon 336, a *recentior* Paris, BNF, lat. 1565 (tenth or eleventh century, Southern France, maybe Lyon), and the oldest and most important, Paris, BNF, lat. 11709, a late-eighth/early-ninth century Visigothic copy that Leidrat, a friend of Alcuin's and the bishop of Lyon from 798 to the death of Charlemagne, very probably brought back from his diplomatic missions in Septimania.

Moreover, the *Hispana systematica* forms the basis of the so-called *Dacheriana*, a compendium and “best-seller” of canon law compiled by Lyonnais jurists contemporary to Leidrat, using the thematic plan and some of the material from the *Hispana systematica*, as well as material from the *Dionysio-Hadriana* that they regarded as more authoritative.²⁸ Thus, material and textual evidence seem to indicate that, in the Carolingian world, only Lyon knew and used the *Hispana systematica*. The testimony of a Lyon manuscript produced in the first quarter of the ninth century, such as Lyon 336, is invaluable in this regard. But the current material condition of Lyon 336 also reflects the violent history of Lyon's cathedral manuscripts; as described above, two scattered fragments have been matched to the main body Lyon 336: Lyon 788, ff. 75–76, and Paris, Baluze 270, ff. 74–75. The first one was identified by Exupère Caillemier in 1881 and was placed in Lyon 336 before 1901. The bifolium was inserted at the end of the codex, where it still is (and still has not been refoiled), although Caillemier had shown that the text pertains to Book I of the *Hispana systematica*. André Wilmart identified the other fragment in 1931 and it remains in Paris, isolated from rest of the codex.

²⁸ See G. Haenni, “Notes sur les sources de la Dacheriana”, *Studia Gratiana* 11(1967), 1–22.

Judging by their contents, these bifolia are all what remains of, respectively, the first and the second quire of the original codex.

These scattered fragments aside, the very constituents identified as ‘Lyon 336’ also show the traces of a troubled history. Caillemer has shown that Lyon 336 ff. 1–6 are the three inner bifolia of the third quire, a quaternion whose outer bifolium is lost. In today’s condition, 28 extant quires follow, with signatures from IV to XVIII, then from A to M (obviously without J), plus one (<N>) without signature; except for quire XVIII, they are all quaternions. The last quire(s) of the original codex is lost.

The rediscovery of Lyon 788 ff. 75–76 is not Caillemer’s only contribution to Lyon 336’s current condition. He also rediscovered another fragment, the whole of quire V, which was also relocated inside Lyon 336 before 1901. Once again, this fragment’s history takes us back to the preservation history of the whole Lyon collection.

Throughout his paper, Caillemer identifies the MSS he is studying with a bizarre series of “new” numbers that do not match either of the two numerical series used in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lyon. The first series of shelfmarks in the contemporary history of this collection goes back to Antoine-François Delandine’s disastrous 1812 catalogue. Delandine himself admits that he undertook his catalogue without having the first knowledge of manuscripts: he had to learn anything and everything on the job as he was going along through the collection; and when he could finally consider himself experienced and competent, his task was fulfilled and his new knowledge became useless.²⁹ New studies begun by Léopold Delisle in the 1880s quickly showed that Delandine was right about his proficiency, and, therefore, wrong about almost everything he had written about the manuscripts.³⁰ In the meantime, the grand project of the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* had started. These circumstances led Lyon librarians and scholars in the late nineteenth century to make a new catalogue, which was finally published in

29 “... je me suis engagé dans une route pénible et sans fleur. Il m’a fallu bien des jours pour apprendre à lire ces écritures des divers siècles, et fixer dans mon souvenir leurs traits et leurs abréviations, changeant de génération en génération. Souvent tel manuscrit, qui n’a obtenu [i.e. dans mon catalogue] que l’indication d’une ligne, a exigé une semaine d’examen. Lorsque l’expérience m’a rendu plus habile, lorsque j’ai commencé à connaître, à la simple inspection des pages, dans quel temps elles avoient été tracées, ce savoir m’est devenu inutile, puisque les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lyon étoient épuisés et qu’à cet égard ma tâche étoit finie.” A.-F. Delandine, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lyon*, v. 1, Lyon 1812, 106. <http://books.google.be/books?vid=GENT900000029972>

30 In Delandine’s catalogue “l’âge des écritures est, pour ainsi dire, indiqué au hasard”, writes L. Delisle, “Notice sur plusieurs anciens manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Lyon”, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 29, 2(1880), 363–403. Delandine’s catalogue is “sans valeur pour tout ce qui est antérieur au XVI^e siècle”, according to Georges Guigue in the introduction to *CGM* 30, v. 1, xlvii.

1901, Desvernay and Molinier's *CGM* t. 30, in 2 volumes. The *CGM* introduced a new numerical series, which since then have been considered the authoritative shelfmarks of the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lyon. These manuscripts are frequently described as, e.g., 'Lyon, BM, 788 (706)' or 'Lyon, BM, 484 (414)', where 788 and 484 are the *CGM* numbers, and 706 and 414 are Delandine's numbers. Using Delandine's numbers is a mere tradition, whose relevance, two centuries later, is simply and quickly fading; but these numbers can also be misleading, as we will see.

Caillemer seems to consider his numbers as definitive, although they are neither those of Delandine nor of the *CGM*. For example, the manuscript "described in Delandine's catalogue under the number 706 now bears the number 1190"³¹ — following the *CGM*, actually is our Lyon 788. In fact, Caillemer worked at a time when Delandine's inaccuracies had been pointed out, but the *CGM* would not be published for another twenty years. He probably used a list that was thought to be final at the time, but was later discarded for some reason and replaced by the actual list.

Reporting on his quest for the lost quire V of our Lyon 336 (Delandine 269, Caillemer 383), Caillemer explains that, according to Waitz, this quire was in another volume, "number 189 (a. 179)" — but "the volume that bears the number 189 [i.e. in Caillemer's list] and the one that previously bore the number 179 [in Delandine's list] do not contain anything like a fragment of a ninth-century MS."³² He finally found the lost quire "in the manuscript now numbered 68, which is formed by joining the previous 398 and 377". This description matches the manuscript numbered 448 in the *CGM*: Lyon 448, ff. 1–149, *olim* Delandine 398, is a mid-ninth-century copy of Jerome's Commentary on Jeremiah; Lyon 448, ff. 150–178, *olim* Delandine 377, is a late-ninth-century copy of Isidore's Questions on the Old Testament (CPL 1194).³³ Caillemer recommends relocating the quire to its original place when the manuscript is restored.

This operation was indeed carried out after Caillemer's study and before the *CGM* was released, but only after the manuscripts were foliated. In Lyon 336, since it had to be relocated after quire IV, which ended on f. 14, quire V was foliated from 14² to 14⁹. But it also still has its previous folio numbers, from 179 to 186, which continue those of Lyon 448 in its current condition. Moreover, when

³¹ Caillemer, "Notices et extraits", p. 43, n. 1.

³² Caillemer, "Notices et extraits", 51.

³³ Lyon 448, ff. 150–178 actually are only the first quires of this copy: the rest of it is now Lyon 447, ff. 1–105. It is bound together with an originally different ninth-century codex, Lyon 447, ff. 106–152, the only known copy of an exegetical work titled *Interrogationes vel responsiones tam de veteri quam novi testamenti* (B. Bischoff, "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter", *Sacris Erudiri* 6(1954), 189–281, at 224). But unlike Lyon 448, both elements were together before Delandine; he describes this manuscript, under no. 376, as a "circa 300-page volume."

Delandine describes his number 377, he states that it is a “circa 80-page volume”: an approximation that is not very compatible with a 29-folia volume (= Lyon 448 ff. 150–178), but much more compatible with a volume consisting of 37 folia (Lyon 448 ff. 150–178 + Lyon 336’s quire V, a quaternion). As a result, ‘Caillemer 68’ corresponds to an intermediate preservation state where Delandine 398 and 377 are already reunited but still contain, as their very last element, Lyon 336’s quire V, which was part of Delandine 377. The MSS were probably not foliated at the time, because Caillemer never mentions or uses folio numbers, and not for lack of opportunity. Therefore, both the numbering of folia and the relocation of quire V were carried out, in that order, between Caillemer’s examination in 1881 and the release of the CGM in 1901.

Finally, in Lyon 336’s current series of 28 extant quires, one is misplaced. As Caillemer noticed, quire VI is bound between quire B and C and thus foliated as ff. 133–140. Many mediaeval MSS present such mislocated quires, or traces that one of their quire was mislocated and subsequently relocated. However, this particular mislocation is significant to our story, not only because it counts as one more trauma in a long-suffering codex, but also because we can date it. Indeed, f. 133r’s top margin contains an entry, “Canonum Collectio”, by the same eighteenth-century hand that wrote similar content entries on the first page of every manuscript in the Lyon collection. In other words, f. 133r was the first page of the codex when this modern librarian went through the entire collection. Before it was wrongly relocated (!) between quire B and C, quire VI was already mislocated: it was on top of the rest of the codex, presumably before today’s ff. 1–6.

The manuscript was still that way when Delandine described it for his 1812 catalogue: his no. 269 is described as a “Canonum collectio” whose “first leaf and last leaf are missing” and which “begins with a canon from the Council of Antioch and another from the Council of Ancyra.” The description clearly fits today’s f. 133r, not f. 1r. Given what we know of Delandine’s proficiency in the analysis of manuscripts, it is clear that, in his mind, today’s f. 133r was the first page of the codex, and he obviously saw no reason to question the information it provided. Caillemer, on the contrary, states that quire VI needs to be searched “where the binder put it”, and this location matches today’s mislocation. Therefore, the binding, and erroneous relocation of quire VI, happened between Delandine’s and Caillemer’s examinations of the MS.

Delandine (1812)	Caillemer (1881)	CGM (1901)
MS. 269 no quire V quire VI on top	MS. 383 quire V in MS. 68 quire VI between quire B and C	MS. 336 quire V (ff. 14 ² -14 ⁹) after quire IV quire VI (ff. 133-140) between Band C
MS. 398: ca. 300 pages	MS. 68 = Delandine 398 + 377; actually contains MS. 383's quire V	MS. 448 ff. 11-49 = Delandine 398
MS. 377: ca. 80 pages		MS. 448 ff. 150-178 = Delandine 377 minus MS. 336's relocated quire V

Delandine inherited a situation where our Lyon 336 was even more damaged, disordered and scattered than it is. The mislocation of quire VI on top of the codex, the mislocation of quire V into a completely different codex, the loss of the first and last quires, except for isolated bifolia who were themselves scattered away, portray once again a violent situation in which the manuscript was badly damaged: so badly that even recovered parts could not be immediately identified and stored with their original body.

Evidence reveals that, between Delandine and Caillemer, poorly documented operations were carried out through the collection, in what seems to have been an attempt to resolve some of its fragmentations. But this attempt often proves ill-advised and misguided. Let's go back, for a minute, into the mindset of these nineteenth-century librarians, and be of the opinion that preserving manuscripts implies rebuilding them, whenever possible, in their original state — which, to be absolutely clear, I think is a *very* bad idea. Then, assuming we knew with certainty everything about our collection, we would have placed Lyon 788, ff. 75-76 first in the *Canonum collectio*; we would have extracted quire V from Delandine 377 and put it back in its place; and we would have placed quire VI right after it, rather than consigning it to a random location in the codex, between quires B and C. But we would also never have united Delandine 398 and 377: instead, we'd have reconciled Delandine 377 (minus the *Canonum collectio*'s quire V, obviously) and Delandine 376. This would have offered us a much simpler series of shelfmarks than what we have to deal with:

- Fake shelfmark 1 (238 ff.) = Delandine 706, ff. 75-76 + Delandine 269, ff. 9-22 + Delandine 377 ff. 30-37 + Delandine 269, ff. 1-8 + Delandine 269, ff. 23-228
- Fake shelfmark 2 (149 ff.) = Delandine 398
- Fake shelfmark 3 (181 ff.) = Delandine 377, ff. 1-29 + Delandine 376

But this would only have been possible with a full and absolutely certain knowledge of the whole collection, which nobody could have; and that is why such an attempt, even if it could have been better carried out than it was, could only make everything messier... And it did.

To summarize, here's how one should read, today, this copy of the *Hispana systematica*:

Lyon 788 ff. 75–76; Paris, Baluze 270, ff. 74–75; Lyon 336, ff. 1–6; Lyon 336, ff. 7–14, 14²–14⁹, 133–140, 15–132, 141–185, 187–229

or, more precisely:

- [missing pages]
- Lyon 788, ff. 75–76 (preserved with Lyon 336, at the end of the codex): book I, part of title 1 without head or tail (Caillemer 1881, p. 65): inner bifolium of quire I?
- [missing pages]
- Paris, Baluze 270, f. 74: book I, part of title 13 without head or tail
- [missing pages]
- Paris, Baluze 270, f. 75: book I, from the end of title 15 to the beginning of title 17 (Wilmart 1931, pp. 107–108): with f. 74, probably a bifolium of quire II
- [missing pages]
- Lyon 336, ff. 1–6: book I, from the end of title 26 to the beginning of title 32 (Caillemer 1881, p. 50): three inner bifolia of quire III
- [missing pages]
- Lyon 336, ff. 7–14: extant quire IV: book I, from the end of title 34 to the beginning of title 37 (Caillemer 1881, p. 50–51)
- Lyon 336, ff. 14²–14⁹ (*olim* Lyon 448, ff. 179–186): extant quire V: book I, the rest of title 37 and what follows until the beginning of title 42 (Caillemer 1881, p. 51)
- Lyon 336, ff. 133–140: extant quire VI: book I, the rest of title 42 and what follows until the beginning of title 50
- Lyon 336, ff. 15–132: extant quires VII^{15–22}, VIII^{23–30}, VIII^{31–38}, X^{39–46}, XI^{47–54}, XII^{55–62}, XIII^{63–70}, XIII^{71–78}, XV^{79–86}, XVI^{87–94}, XVII^{95–102}, XVIII^{103–110}, XVIII^{111–116}¹, A^{117–124}, B^{125–132}: the rest of book I until the end (f. 39v), book II (ff. 39v–54v), book III (ff. 55r–somewhere in quire XVIII, the exact location is not marked), beginning of book IV (Caillemer 1881, p. 52–53)
- Lyon 336, ff. 141–185, 187–229 (#186 was forgotten!): extant quires C^{141–148}, D^{149–156}, E^{157–164}, F^{165–172}, G^{173–180}, H^{181–185, 187–189}, I^{190–197}, K^{198–205}, L^{206–213}, M^{214–221}, <N>^{222–229}: the rest of book IV until the end (f. 142v), book V (ff. 142v–152r), book VI (ff. 152r–156r), book VII (ff. 156r–174r), book VIII (ff. 174r–208r), book IX (ff. 208r–222v), and the beginning of book X (f. 222v) until the beginning of title 4
- [missing pages]

Manuscript Fragments in the University Library, Leipzig

Types and Cataloguing Patterns

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Abstract: Fragments constitute a major part of the holdings of the the University Library of Leipzig (UBL), with some 800 loose fragments, at least 600 fragments in situ in incunabula, and an unknown number bound in manuscript volumes and sixteenth-eighteenth century prints. Over a series of projects working with detached and in situ fragments, the Leipzig Manuscript Centre developed a description scheme for manuscript fragments in its collection. A *Fragmentarium* case study provided the opportunity to test this scheme for its efficiency in producing useful information for specialists. As a result, in 2017 the case study published on *Fragmentarium* over 250 fragments with description, including some scholarly significant finds that are already having an impact.

Keywords: cataloguing, inventory, manuscript descriptions, mortuary rolls, textbooks, medical texts, legal texts, liturgica, library history

The University Library in Leipzig (henceforth UBL) has a collection of loose medieval fragments, nearly 800 in number, constituting a significant portion of its general manuscript holdings, which number altogether over 3,000 codices and fragments. These 800 fragment shelfmarks represent, however, only a portion of the total number of medieval manuscript fragments in the UBL's special collections, since both its manuscripts and early prints consist mainly of books with original late-medieval or early-modern bindings, which undoubtedly contain *in situ* fragments.

For an estimate of how many manuscript fragments remain in bindings, one can use the incunabula collection of the UBL, recently catalogued by Thibault Döring, numbering approximately 2,860 volumes.¹ Before being rebound in the

* We would like to thank warmly William Duba for his help and assistance with the English version of the text.

1 The project "Katalogisierung und exemplarische Beschreibung der Inkunabeln und Blockbücher" ran for three years at the UBL with the generous funding of the Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung,

nineteenth century, many of these books were sammelbände, bringing together two or several separate works in one book. Today about 1,000 incunabula volumes with original bindings are preserved in the collection. As part of the project to catalogue these incunabula, the staff of the Leipzig Manuscript Centre examined their bindings and discovered that about 500 of these volumes contain in total about 600 *in situ* manuscript fragments. If the UBL's 2,200 manuscript codices have fragments at a similar rate, then we should expect over a 1,000 *in situ* fragments. Still completely unknown is the amount of *in situ* fragments in the collection of printed books from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. But it is obvious that the total number of fragments in the UBL is likely much higher than the number of entire manuscripts.

History of the fragment collection in the UBL²

The development of the fragment collection in the UBL can be traced back to the second quarter of the nineteenth century. With Romanticism and the rediscovery of the Middle Ages, scholars and librarians paid attention to book-binding waste, searching for previously unknown Latin and vernacular texts, charters and historical documents. In the UBL, Hermann Leyser (1811–1843) was a pioneer in this activity. Initially as a student, and later as a librarian, Leyser had a particular interest in old German literature, Latin poetry and regional history. He explored the manuscript collection for such witnesses and published several discoveries.³ In this early period, fragments considered worthy of research were almost always detached from their host volumes.⁴ This practice made it easier to study fragments and read the text, which might otherwise remain hidden in the binding. The host volume is, however, the immediate context for a fragment;

cf. <https://www.ub.uni-leipzig.de/forschungsbibliothek/projekte/projekte-chronologisch-alle/inkunabelkatalog/>. The results are published in four volumes: *Die Inkunabeln und Blockdrucke der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig sowie der Deposita Stadtbibliothek Leipzig, der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Nikolai in Leipzig und der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Thomas in Leipzig (UBL-Ink)* described by T. T. Döring, T. Fuchs, C. Mackert, A. Märker, K. Sturm and F.-J. Stewing, Wiesbaden 2014 and are also available online in the Inkubelkatalog INKA (<http://www.inka.uni-tuebingen.de/>).

- 2 For a detailed history of the collection see C. Mackert, "Zur Fragmentsammlung der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek", in *Das Buch in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Sonderbestände der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig*, ed. T. Fuchs, C. Mackert, and R. Scholl, Wiesbaden 2012, 91–120. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:15-qucosa-201863>
- 3 For list of his publications see Schletter, "Nekrolog Dr. Hermann Leysers", *Bericht vom Jahre 1844 an die Mitglieder der Deutschen Gesellschaft zu Erforschung vaterländischer Sprache und Alterthümer in Leipzig* (1844), 66–70. <http://dlib.gnm.de/item/8G317-20/70>
- 4 For an insight into conservation treatments of fragments in the past and today see U. Schlüter, "Fragmentfunde in der restauratorischen Praxis", in *Katalog der frühmittelalterlichen Fragmente der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf: vom beginnenden achten bis zum ausgehenden neunten Jahrhundert*, ed. K. Zechiel-Eckes, Wiesbaden 2003, 9–12.

fragment and host volume have the same provenance, and an attentive study of the binding often reveals the previous owners and may suggest when and where the bookbinder used these fragments as binding waste. All this information was in many cases lost when the librarian did not document the host volume from which the fragment came.⁵

After Leyser's early death, Ernst Gotthelf Gersdorf, the librarian from 1833–1874, took the initiative to store detached fragments together in paperback fascicles, which are still present today and have the shelfmarks Ms 1607 to Ms 1614.⁶ Shortly afterwards or perhaps even parallel to this practice, librarians began to store fragments as loose leaves, probably placing them in boxes. The collection grew, thanks not only to the specialized interests of librarians and historians but also due to new bookbinding initiatives, during the process of which binding waste was removed and stored separately.

The first evidence of a specialized fragment collection comes from the year 1894, when Joseph Förstemann, a historian and UBL librarian, included some fragments in his collection of charters relating to the city and monasteries in Leipzig, making clear that at the time there was already some sort of a list (*verzeichnis*) and probably a separate collection of fragments.⁷

In spite of the continued interest in fragments, the growing number of detached fragments in the UBL collection remained uncatalogued. There are no quantitative or qualitative records of them. Fragments were stacked one above the other in cardboard boxes, in a marvellous disorder where medieval fragments were mixed with early modern ones, Latin with vernacular, parchment fragments with pieces of paper, and manuscript fragments with printed ones.

Nevertheless, the collection was not entirely unknown to the scientific community. Already during the Cold War, researchers such as Bernhard Bischoff and Hartmut Hoffmann came to Leipzig and examined the boxes of fragments. Librarians and scholars repeatedly attempted to give some order to the fragment collection, each time employing different criteria, such as material (parchment vs. paper), text type (as for instance juridical or medical manuscripts), or document type (book fragments vs. charters). All these attempts were never completed, not the least because they try to reconcile two fundamentally opposed

5 Leyser is, however, a notable exception. On many occasions, he noted in black ink the manuscript from which the fragment was taken. See for example the upper margin of *Fragm. lat.* 199 (F-yfgp) with the note “Ex cod. 283”, which made it possible to establish the host volume and to enrich the history of this fragment, discussed below.

6 For descriptions, see: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de>. Ms 1607 collects fragments from classical authors; Mss 1608 to 1613 are ordered according to date of origin; Ms 1614 is a collection of German-language fragments.

7 J. Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Leipzig*, v. 3, Leipzig 1894, esp. XI. http://codex.isgv.de/codex.php?band=cds2_10. See also J. Förstermann, “Vermischte Beiträge aus Handschriften und Urkunden der Leipziger Universitäts-Bibliothek”, *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 18(1897), 126–58.

ordering systems, one a formal list of items, and another based on the items' content.

During this period, the collection was never closed but was continually enriched with new additions coming from restoration interventions and donations.⁸ In this way, every attempted inventory was quickly rendered obsolete. As a consequence of these multiple examinations and constant reordering of the collection, the citation of fragments in scientific literature was doomed at the outset to inaccuracy.⁹ The only chance to find a fragment cited in the literature was to go through all the boxes, causing new chaos in the collection. An inventory, registry, or something similar was badly needed.

Inventory of detached fragments

The first steps towards a fragment catalogue were made in 2008, with the undertaking to inventory both detached and *in situ* fragments. This initiative was divided into several stages. The initial goal was to make a sustainable record of the collection that enabled unambiguous reference to all single items and would thus be indispensable for any further examination of the fragments. We abandoned the idea of grouping fragments according to content, and proceeded through the boxes with fragments, placing a stamp and a shelfmark according to the scheme "Fragm. lat. + *numerus currens*". Vernacular fragments and those coming from early modern manuscripts and prints have separate shelfmark groups.¹⁰ Within these groups, we listed all fragments irrespective of their content, thus also incorporating charters and archival documents. In addition, we took measures to store the fragments in a way that met modern requirements: each fragment was placed in an acid-free envelope and every group of ten such envelopes was separated with a cardboard layer to facilitate the handling and to create stability within the piles of envelopes in the cardboard boxes.

8 One of the latest acquisitions to the manuscript collection, donated to the library from an old family property and now stored under shelfmark [Ms 1751](#), is a bundle of six fragments – predominantly cuttings from manuscript leaves – a type of fragments that is otherwise a rarity in our holdings; see C. Mackert, "Mittelalterliche Handschriftenblätter aus altem Mühlhäuser Familienbesitz. Zur Fragmentsammlung Bühner in der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig", *Mühlhäuser Beiträge* 40(2017), 89–102. In June 2012, Stefan Feyerabend donated to the UBL a paper bifolium from the middle of the fifteenth century stemming from a *Brevilogus* manuscript (now Fragg. lat. 627).

9 In Bernhard Bischoff's *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, published in 2004, one finds, for example, the citation to a fragment "Fragment, Box 6, 1" (vol. 2, p. 72, no. 2284). However, in 2009, this fragment was no longer the first in box number 6, but rather was in another box entirely. Today, its shelfmark is Fragg. lat. 131 ([E-4ret](#)).

10 Altogether there are six general groups of fragments: Latin (Fragg. lat.), German (Deutsche Fragmente), Hebrew (Fragg. hebr.), other vernacular (Fragg. non lat.), fragments from early modern manuscripts (Fragg. rec.), and fragments from early prints (Fragg. impress.).

Student assistants formally ordered the fragments and completed a basic inventory.¹¹ At this initial stage, the inventory consisted of a list with shelfmarks and a few optional fields: material, extent,¹² measurements of the now existing object, language, dating, localization, content, host volume, special features. Measuring and stating the material and language of the fragments presented no difficulty for the assistants. Information about date and place of origin and content was in few cases already available or else provided by a senior researcher. Reference to the host volume was sometimes marked on the fragment in the form of a shelfmark notice.

After three years we accomplished a survey of the collection's range and composition. We also produced a very rudimentary reference tool that allowed us to register new acquisitions and to add new information to individual fragments. We also made some extraordinary findings. Fragm. lat. 430 ([F-8oy6](#)), for instance, was recognized as the oldest Occidental manuscript in the UBL – two bifolia from a manuscript written in the first quarter of the eighth century with early High German ink glosses dating probably from the late eighth century.¹³

It soon became clear that this scheme was too imprecise even for a basic description of fragments. One of the main shortcomings was the lack of separate entries for the current physical appearance of the fragment (randomly cut and trimmed by bookbinders) and the dimensions of the original manuscript. A quick look at printed catalogues of fragments in other institutions reveals that this is a general problem in cataloguing fragments. In many cases it is unclear whether the given measures are those of the current fragment or of the original leaves; in other cases the cataloguer gives up any attempt at recording the original dimensions, arguing that since one cannot deduce exact measures, any records would have little value.¹⁴ Yet, together with the palaeographical description, the original size and layout are the essential clues that a researcher can use to get an impression of the original manuscript and thus to identify dispersed fragments from the same manuscript. Even if the original condition cannot be reconstructed with certainty, one can almost always record an 'at least' value – an option supported by the *Fragmentarium* database.

¹¹ Matthias Peisker, Sabine Zinsmeyer, and Katrin Sturm, all graduate students at the time and supervised by Christoph Mackert.

¹² This category (in German *umfang*) soon proved to be too vague, due to the lack of uniform terminology for parts of folios, stripes or other pieces.

¹³ See C. Mackert and H.U. Schmid, "Ein spätmerowingisches Handschriftenfragment mit frühen althochdeutschen Glossen. Zum Fragmentum latinum 430 der UB Leipzig", in *Raum und Sprache*, ed. A. Nievergelt and L. Rübekeil (forthcoming, 2019); Mackert, "Zur Fragmentsammlung", 111–113.

¹⁴ So, for example, argued K. Zechiel-Eckes in *Katalog der frühmittelalterlichen Fragmente der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf: vom beginnenden achten bis zum ausgehenden neunten Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 2003, 18–19.

Fragments in incunabula

With the start of the project devoted to the cataloguing of incunabula in 2009 at the UBL, we in the Manuscript Centre took upon ourselves to record and describe the fragments within the host volumes.

We wanted to use this chance to achieve two goals. First, we intended to improve upon the practice used in other incunabula catalogues, where in most cases fragments are described in a very superficial way, to the point of being unrecognizable. Second, we wanted to improve our inventory of detached fragments and establish a more appropriate description scheme. The information we collected was arranged in the following categories with several subsections:

- Type of bookbinding waste (where within the binding is the fragment used and in which function)
- Material
- Measurements that can be deduced about the original manuscript: size of the leaf and of the written space, number of columns, number of lines, height of the ruled lines
- Type of script and dating
- Rough localization
- Decoration
- Content¹⁵

The swiftness with which we are nowadays able to identify the content of fragments illustrates to what an extent digital methods facilitate and enhance humanities scholarship. While in the past the identification of texts cost days of hard work and was often not really successful, today we have at hand full-text databases and search engines, which help us obtain substantial results usually within less than an hour – and sometimes within minutes. When we were nevertheless unable to identify the exact text, we designated as far as possible its technical and thematic orientation (if the theme is theological, philosophical, historical, liturgical etc.) and provided text snippets from readable passages, in order to help future identification.

When it comes to liturgical manuscripts, which – hardly surprising – constitute the majority of all fragments, we tried to determine at least the liturgical book type (gradual, antiphonal, missal, breviary, lectionary, etc.) and when possible to give the feast day(s) to which the preserved text section corresponded. Of course, we recorded if there was any music notation and classified it roughly (neumes with or without staves, Hufnagel notation, square notation). For an example, see the description in Figure 1.

¹⁵ All these points have been adopted and further refined in *Fragmentarium*, making us confident that in the near future the description of fragments in incunabula can be to a large part semi-automatically imported into the new online database.

The screenshot shows the INKA (Incunabelkatalog) online catalogue interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with a search bar containing the URL 'www.inka.uni-tuebingen.de/?inka=43000074'. The main header features the 'INKA' logo and the 'EBERHARD KARLS UNIVERSITÄT TÜBINGEN' logo. Below the header, there are two tabs: 'Beschreibung und Benutzungshinweise' (selected) and 'Statistik/Neuigkeiten'. The main content area displays the search results for 'INKA Recherche-Ergebnis: 1 Ausgabe(n), 1 Exemplarnachweis(e)'. A link 'Zum Seitenende | Neue Suche' is provided. The entry for '1. Albertus <de Gandino>: De maleficiis.' is shown, including the date 'Venedig: Bernardino Stagnino, 18. November und 26. November 1491. 2^o.', the ISTC number 'ISTC ig00067000. GW 10539. Günther 3709', and the title description 'Titelbeschreibung: GW 10539'. A list of fragments is provided, including 'UB Leipzig : INKA.43000074' and a detailed description of the fragments: '(1) Stück eines Sammelbandes. (2) U-21; (3) U-23; (4) C-100; (5) C-5; (6) U-9; (7) B-434. Einschließlich der nachgebundenen Drucke fortlaufend foliert. - Merkzeichen und Marginalien von Peter Freitag, (Bl. a1v:) Register für den gesamten Band - Provenienz: (1) Peter Freitag. (2) Wahrscheinlich 1522 Ratsbibliothek Leipzig. (3) Schöppenstuhl Leipzig. (4) 1835 UBL - Einband: Spätgotischer Halbledereinband. Schweinsleder auf Holz. Leipzig: Laubstaf frei I, Valentin Bormann (EBDB w000107). Als Ansetzfalz vorne und hinten Makulatur aus wohl zwei Pergamenths.: (1) ein Streifen eines Doppelblatts sowie zwei Streifen von Einzelblättern, Blattbreite 15,5 cm, Schriftbreite 10 cm, Zeilenhöhe 0,8 cm, frühgotische Minuskel, 1. Viertel 13. Jh., rote Satzlobbarden, Inhalt: Psalterium, Textstellen u.a. aus Ps 49,3-7; (2) ein Streifen von einem Doppelblatt, Blattbreite 15 cm, Schriftbreite 10,7 cm, Reste von Silhouetteninitialen in Rot und Blau mit Dekor in der Gegenfarbe, nur Reste von Beschriftung sichtbar, Inhalt nicht bestimmbar. (SO-) Bal[du]s circa materiam statutor[um] Alber[tus] de Gandi[no] de mal[eficiis] diversi tractatuli, ebenso SV und SU'. The entry is signed 'Angebunden: U-21 : U-23 : C-100 : C-5 : U-9 : B-434' and 'Signatur: Jus. crim.16-i'. A link 'Zum Seitenanfang | Neue Suche' is at the bottom.

Figure 1: Entry in the online catalogue INKA showing the description of two fragments found within the binding of the incunabulum of Albertus de Gandino, *De maleficiis* (Leipzig, UB, Jus.crim.16-i)

The description of fragments in the incunabula project was instructive for us in many ways: it taught us how important it is to distinguish information in our entries concerning the original manuscript and its later, secondary use; it proved how much knowledge can be gained when we describe attentively the codicological characteristics of a fragment. In numerous cases, it was possible to identify related fragments in different host volumes. The process showed us also that in the digital age one can relatively swiftly describe fragments on a basic level – we needed on an average one to two hours for one fragment.

Since there are no specific guidelines for the description of fragments supplied by the German Research Foundation (DFG), we devised in the meantime a description standard to serve this purpose. Our experience from the incunabula project convinced us to proceed similarly in our diverse manuscript-related projects at the Manuscript Centre and to treat fragments – detached or *in situ* – much more systematically and consistently.¹⁶

¹⁶ Within the framework of the DFG project *Erschließung von Kleinsammlungen mittelalterlicher Handschriften in Sachsen und dem Leipziger Umland*, for instance, Matthias Eifler discovered one of the earliest text witness of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*. The fragment, now Naumburg, Domstiftsbibliothek, Fragm. 64, was used as a sewing port in the middle of several quires of one manuscript from Naumburg. See M. Eifler, C. Mackert and M. Stolz, "Leipziger Handschriftenfunde I. Ein neu aufgefundenes Fragment von Wolframs 'Parzival'"

***Fragmentarium* case study**

With this experience, the Leipzig Manuscript Centre next turned its attention to the collection of detached fragments. In order to make it known and accessible to the scientific community, we envisaged a pilot project that would be one of the first six *Fragmentarium* case studies. The project came to life thanks to the generous support of the Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach foundation and lasted for thirteen and a half months (from May 2016 to June 2017). As a *Fragmentarium* case study, the project aimed specifically to test the systematic description and indexing of a large collection of fragments using the new database. The expected number to be processed was 250 fragments by a part-time (50%) junior research assistant.

One of the major issues that we wanted to address was time management and workflow. Many large fragment collections worldwide remain to this day uncatalogued not because there is no understanding of the scholarly and cultural value of the material, but rather because fragments are thought to be difficult and extremely time-consuming, i.e. expensive, to catalogue.¹⁷ As mentioned above our experience with *in situ* fragments in incunabula proved that scholars in the twenty-first century had sufficient digital tools to accelerate the work on fragments. Our aim was to test further how time-consuming the work on detached fragments is (and consequently how detailed a description ought to be) and to establish the best possible workflow for the digitization and cataloguing of fragments.

Since the project started with the initial development of the *Fragmentarium* web application, it was our task also to evaluate the cataloguing schema and to suggest further criteria if needed. Knowing from the start that our descriptions would be integrated into a database, it was important to avoid the usual descriptive character and instead divide the information into categories in a tabular format, to stay consistent, to use regulated vocabulary and integrated authority files (from the [Gemeinsame Normdatei - GND](#)) to allow searches and statistical analysis.

The backbone for the spreadsheet we used was based on the model used for the fragments *in situ* in incunabula and manuscripts. It included:

aus Naumburg", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 143(2014), 306–332 (https://boris.unibe.ch/59188/1/ZfdA_2014_3_306-332_Eifler_Mackert_Stolz.pdf).

¹⁷ See, for example, H. Butzmann, "Gedanken und Erfahrungen bei der Katalogisierung von Handschriftenfragmenten", in *Varia Codicologica: Essays presented to G.I. Lieftinck*, 1, ed. J. P. Gumbert and M. J. M. Haan, Amsterdam 1972, 87–98. <http://www.mgh-bibliothek.de/dokumente/a/a147232.pdf>. The conviction that fragments are hard to catalogue is also the reason for the previous reluctance of the German Research Foundation (DFG) to support projects devoted to fragment collections.

- Information about the host volume, its shelfmark; information about the bookbinding workshop and previous owners; where and how the fragment was used within the binding and what its function was; its current size.
- Codicological measurements of the original manuscript (usually data already gathered by the incunabula project).
- Date and place of origin usually based on the palaeographical study of the script.
- Remarks about decoration including rubrics, initials, and any more elaborate ornamentation.
- Language and text identification. When the content is unidentified, there are text snippets given. When we are able to identify authors and works, we gave their normalized names and titles according to the GND and in the form of URLs. In separate columns we added general information about music notation, glosses or later additions.
- Further remarks.

In light of the particularities of detached fragments and the desired compatibility with *Fragmentarium*, there were a few additional fields and subdivisions to the main fields. Still, our Excel scheme could never reach the sophistication of a specialized database, even if we had made significant progress since our first attempt at an inventory of fragments in 2008, and even with constant improvements to our scheme, for example by using drop-down menus for terminological consistency.

Sorting fragments

The first step was to select the 250 fragments we wanted to catalogue for the project. This also included relocating some items, regarded as fragments by previous librarians, back to the manuscript collection (in the case when the fragment reached the size of a quire) or to their original host volume. In a fit of enthusiasm to collect as many fragments as possible, librarians previously used to detach also pastedowns or flyleaves with tables of contents or notes relating to the texts in the host volume. These pieces were not fragments of destroyed manuscripts, but simple leaves belonging to the host volume. In some cases, it was possible to reunite such leaves with their manuscripts by comparing their contents.

So-called discarded or cancelled leaves provide a more intriguing case. When a scribe made a mistake in copying a text, the parchment leaf was not simply thrown away but often used as a pastedown in the very same book, since the format perfectly suited the size of the book. It is not always easy to distinguish a discarded leaf from a fragment properly speaking. One clue is the missing rubrication and initials since these were executed usually only after the scribe had finished copying the text. Although there are plenty of medieval manuscripts

that never received their planned rubrication, the empty spaces left allow us at least to suggest that we are dealing with a discarded leaf, as for instance Fragg. lat. 42 ([F-linb](#)).¹⁸ With Fragg. lat. 115 ([F-x8gr](#)) there is less doubt, since not only are the initials and rubrication missing but also one side of the bifolium was left blank.¹⁹ Detaching such cancelled leaves from their host volume certainly deprived both manuscript and bookbinding waste of a part of their joint history of production. In the course of our project, we searched for matching manuscripts in the UBL manuscript collection. One of the successful reunited ones is a discarded leaf of Hugutio Pisanus' *Liber derivationum* belonging to [Ms 1239](#).²⁰ The former Fragg. lat. 238 was used as a pastedown on the interior of the left board and is now sewn back as a flyleaf; another cancelled leaf, which curiously remained *in situ*, serves as a pastedown on the interior of the right board (see Figures 2-5).²¹

Some other 'orphan' folia still have to find their host volume, as, for instance, a single leaf from Eberhard Schleusinger's *De cometis*, which is for the time being kept in the fragment collection as Fragg. lat. 165 ([F-zevw](#)). The leaf shows no signs that it was ever used as bookbinding waste - the margins seem to be in their original size, there are no glue or leather marks. Moreover, the foliation "265" in pencil in the upper right corner, written by Hermann Leyser, would suggest the leaf slipped out of an until-now unidentified manuscript of the UBL.

Foliation

Before we digitized the selected fragments, we needed to foliate the leaves. Most fragments are single leaves or strips, so the foliation took the form of a mere "1" written in pencil usually in the top right corner of the recto. This otherwise straightforward practice is inapplicable to some fragments, which consist of two or more sheets pasted together, as for instance Fragg. lat. 10 ([F-c83c](#)) with fragments from Eberhardus Bethuniensis' *Graecismus*. This fragment was used probably as a flyleaf in [Ms 897](#). Curiously, instead of using a whole bifolium, the

¹⁸ Note here also the ample margins, which are hardly (if at all) trimmed.

¹⁹ See also Fragg. lat. 112 ([F-lpb6](#)), where the empty half was already ruled for the same layout as the written side. The latter fragment exhibits yet another characteristic feature of cancelled leaves: the lack of holes in the spine of the bifolium – a sign that it was never sewn in a quire. The way this bifolium was cut, however, suggest that this cancelled leaf was used as a book-binding waste in another, textually unrelated manuscript.

²⁰ Manuscript description available at: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31569935>.

²¹ The two leaves correspond to folios 43 and 44 respectively, which are written by slightly different hands. For an example how fruitful a comparison between such canceled and rewritten pages might be, see M. Gullick, "A Scribe at Work: Fragments as Witnesses to Changes in Style", in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books: Proceedings of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, 1998*, ed. L. L. Brownrigg and M. M. Smith, Los Altos Hills 2000, 205–209.

bookbinder glued together two single leaves, so that now the reader sees vv. 37–69 and vv. 168–200 on one side, and vv. 70–101 and vv. 201–233 on the other. In this case, we refrained from foliating the fragment altogether but supplied additional images of the two leaves entitled 1r, 1v, and 2r, 2v, respectively, which correspond to the content description.

Digitization

Such cases made us aware that it is often essential to supply several images of one object so that the online user can make sense of the material both as a fragment from an original manuscript and as bookbinding waste. In the case of *Fragm. lat. 115* ([F-x8gr](#)), for instance, we present four separate images of the two folios of a bifolium (labelled 1r, 1v and 2r, 2v) to simplify the textual reference in the content description, and two images of the bifolium (labelled accordingly as the front and back sides of the bifolium). The latter are especially important for binding historians, for whom, to quote J.M. Sheppard, there is no such thing as a blank binding fragment.²² Scholars looking at this fragment on the computer screen would be facilitated in their search for physical evidence by examining the leaf as a whole with its glue residues, the marks from rusty chains and bosses. Thanks to the *Fragmentarium* viewer one can further rotate and mirror the image to see the faded offset from an unidentified theological text.

In the past, librarians rarely documented the host volume of detached fragments, but still, there are some cases where we find non-manuscript binding fragments stored together with manuscript ones. Convinced that the two shared a history together, we digitized them all, hoping that a bookbinding historian could localize binding practice and thus add to the provenance of the fragment (for instance by looking at the endbands of *Fragm. lat. 412* ([F-cu4k](#))).²³ Vice versa, one could also use fragments to date bindings (as a *terminus post quem*) and help further document the history and development of book structure. Supplying digital images provides a way to bring the disciplines of fragmentology and studies on bookbinding together without shifting the focus of *Fragmentarium* from being a platform for the study of fragments or expecting cataloguers and research fellows to have the necessary experience to describe sufficiently bindings or binding impressions on detached fragments.²⁴

²² J.M. Sheppard, “Medieval Binding Structures: Potential Evidence from Fragments”, in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books: Proceedings of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500*, Oxford, 1998, ed. L. L. Brownrigg and M. M. Smith, Los Altos Hills 2000, 166–176.

²³ For the value of such evidence, see Sheppard, “Medieval Binding Structures”, 171–172.

²⁴ On the benefits and shortcomings of digital facsimiles and “the real thing” see for instance E. Pierazzo, *Digital scholarly editing: Theories, models and methods*, Aldershot 2015, esp. chapter 4 (<http://hal.univ-grenoble-alpes.fr/hal-0182162/document>).

Enos q^d dicitur lat^r fuit hoc genus ibi q^d i
est crion? hⁱ gena ne i loco laetia et t^et^e
el color e p^ati uide q^{uo}d est m^agillat^r sⁱ au
t^e dicta q^{uo}d ibi nuchae et geni uariar g
eas p^a palpebra agena he geni med^a m^angi
let p^a genus sit amilliones femoz et cruz die

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<http://fragmentology.ms/issues/1-2018/leipzig-fragments/>

This method of recording and analyzing all binding waste, including fragments from early prints, bore concrete fruits. For example, it added information about the whereabouts of Fragm. lat. 169a ([F-od7u](#)). This Carolingian fragment of (Ps.-)Augustinus' *De scriptura sacra speculum* was found together with a paper fragment from a print (Fragm. lat. 169b) that could easily be identified as eight pages from an edition of *Testimonium Flavianum* printed 1661 in Nuremberg.²⁵ The leaves are uncut, which would suggest that we are dealing here with press proofs given as binding waste from the printer's shop to a bookbinder, most probably in the same town and soon after the book was printed. We can then suppose that our Carolingian fragment, sharing the same provenance as the print fragments, was in Nuremberg in or shortly after 1661.

Description

When describing our fragments, we attempted to address the interests of a wide range of researchers and to supply sufficient information for them to conduct further detailed studies. For manuscript specialists interested in the physicality of the fragments, there should be enough information about the material, size (of the original manuscript and of the current fragment), format, quire structure, watermarks, text layout, script, scribal hands, rubrication, illumination and binding. Users of *Fragmentarium* should be able to check and, if needed, replicate our measurements with the help of images of fragments with colour and size reference cards. We also recorded all characteristics that relate to the history of the fragment, from its place and time of production (almost exclusively determined by palaeographical features) to its provenance and fragmentation. Content is one of the central points of descriptions especially for historians, philologists, theologians, historians of law and so on. At a minimum, we identified the author and work or named the type of liturgical text, adding the beginning and endings of the fragmented passages and, when possible, references to specialized databases.

With respect to project management, it was tremendously helpful to know how much and what kind of information is useful for specialists, particularly in the field of medieval liturgy and music, as the lion's share of our fragments comes from liturgical texts. During the *Fragmentarium* Workshop in Wolfenbüttel in 2017,²⁶ it became clear that simple labelling, such as "Fragment from an antiphonary", is insufficient; one would prefer to have all the chants listed with

25 The fragment preserves the complete pp. 315/316 and sections from pp. 317/318, 331/332, and 333/334. See the entry in the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* (VD 17): [VD17 14:053951A](#). Facsimile available from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at: http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10236507_00001.html.

26 See the [archived program](#) archived at: https://fragmentarium.ms/about/events_archive.

their incipit and a reference to the respective CAO or Cantus Index number,²⁷ feast day and office. This is possible for smaller fragments, but becomes cumbersome with larger fragments of several leaves, particularly when one records also all the lessons, capitula and prayers that are found alongside chants in breviaries and missals. Unlike a liturgical specialist, who could perhaps focus on only a few features, characteristic for a specific order, location or period, a less-experienced cataloguer would need significantly more time. Our compromise concerning liturgical texts was to give the liturgical genre (i.e. antiphonarium, missale etc.), to identify the liturgical occasion, and to record as many chants as possible (making a rather uneducated guess as to which are important and which less-so). In the cases when a congruence with the ritus of the major orders could be established, as for instance by Fragn. lat. 174 ([F-ml8n](#)) - a Missal from a Benedictine monastery - we recorded only if there were deviations from the ritus.²⁸

Especially challenging are the identification of theological and philosophical commentaries and treatises, which could not be identified in any database based on text snippets preserved on the fragments. In these cases, we described the fragments by genre or more closely as a commentary on a particular text (if there were recognizable quotations of the commented text) and added citations to facilitate future researchers, who might identify the texts.²⁹ However, with the exception of a few fragments, for which we were able to state only the genre, we were able to provide the proper title and author's name. Due to time limits, however, it was rarely possible to go beyond references to edition and research the textual tradition and establish possible parallel transmission.

27 R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols., Rome 1963–1979; <http://cantusindex.org/>. For the history and explanation of the CAO and Cantus ID Numbers see <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/page/637811>.

28 For comparing the Benedictine rite see S. J. P. van Dijk, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents (1243–1307)*, Leiden 1963; the Dominican rite is discussed by F.-M. Guerrini, *Ordinarium Juxta Ritum Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. L. Theissling, Rome 1921; and the Cistercian in D. Choisselet and P. Vernet, *Ecclesiastica officia: Gebräuchebuch der Zisterzienser aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, trans. H. M. Herzog, Langwaden 2003; and F. Huot, “L’antiphonaire Cistercien au XIIe siècle d’après les manuscrits de la Maigrange”, *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 65(1971), 302–414.

29 We were delighted to receive a kind suggestion by Ed van der Vlist from the National Library of the Netherlands concerning Fragn. lat. 176 ([F-kt3y](#)), the content of which matches Paris, BnF, lat. 14886, ff. 34v and was thus identified as a witness of the still unedited *Summa* of Simon Tornacensis.

Scholarly value of the collection of fragments in the UBL

Liturgical practices

In terms of text genres, the largest group of fragments is *liturgica*. Of the *in situ* fragments in incunabula catalogued, fifty percent were liturgical texts. Due to the Reformation, which started in Eastern Germany in the early sixteenth century, and the dissolution of monastic houses that followed soon thereafter, there are almost no completely preserved liturgical manuscripts. Liturgical fragments are therefore indispensable for the research on medieval religious rites and music in this region. The Reformation was essential not only for the introduction of new liturgical texts but also for the increasing use of German language in the Mass. One of the earliest witnesses of this trend is again a fragment, namely Deutsche Fragmente 82 ([F-02go](#)) a bifolium from a large-sized choral manuscript, which, to judge by its appearance, was used as a wrapper for archival material. Textual, linguistic and palaeographical analysis suggest that the book with at least 130 leaves was used at Wittenberg around the year 1530.³⁰

Another liturgical genre that attracts the interest of scholars is the ritual, which often reveals local diversity or connections between monastic houses. Helen Gittos has recently noted that, contrary to the common opinion, medieval rites were 'living' texts that were regularly tinkered with.³¹ Fragm. lat. 182 ([F-1glp](#)) is a partial bifolium of a ritual detached from a psalter belonging to the Benedictine monastery in Pegau³² which suggests that the fragment itself belonged with high probability to Pegau. A detailed and comparative research would be needed to elucidate the value of the fragment as historical evidence, perhaps

30 See C. Mackert, "Ein neues Zeugnis deutschsprachigen Kirchengesangs aus der Zeit der Reformation: Das Chorhandschrift-Doppelblatt Deutsche Fragmente 82 der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig", in *Sprachwandel im Deutschen. Festschrift für Hans Ulrich Schmid*, ed. L. Czajkowski, S. Ulbrich-Bösch, and C. Waldvogel, Berlin 2018, 441–458. One should also note the DFG project directed by Stefan Morent at the University of Tübingen focusing on musical medieval culture of monasteries in Württemberg prior to Reformation. About 2000 *in situ* musical fragments from the holdings of the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart will be catalogued and made available online.

31 H. Gittos, "Researching the History of Rites", in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. H. Gittos and S. Hamilton, Ashgate 2016, 13–37. <https://kar.kent.ac.uk/41972/> For the great diversity in books of rites, especially before the invention of the printing press see also the introduction in G. Hürlimann, *Das Rheinauer Rituale* (Zürich Rh 114, Anfang 12. Jh.), Freiburg 1959.

32 The fragment was once used as a pastedown on the inner side of the front cover as can be deduced from the damages caused by worms, the paste residue on the one side and the fold on the upper side, where the bifolium was connected to the book block. Note also the later psalm verse added in the free space between the two columns: "Domine non est exaltatum cor meum". Next to it a librarian wrote down "57" which refers to the shelfmark of the host volume, namely Leipzig, UB, Ms 57 with a manuscript description available at: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31560311>.

in comparison with the tradition in the Benedictine monastery in Chemnitz Sanctae Mariae Virginis, a daughter house of Pegau.³³

The localization of a liturgical fragment is sometimes possible by the text itself as in the case of Fragn. lat. 46 ([F-6x4w](#)). This partial bifolium belonged once to a fifteenth-century lectionary for the office. One of the readings is an excerpt from the *De vita et operibus beatissimi Ottonis* probably read a week after the feast of *Translatio Ottonis* on the 7th of October. Otto of Bamberg was celebrated mainly but not exclusively in Bavaria. In the Saxon monastery of Pegau, for instance, the saint's relics were venerated from the late twelfth century onwards. A further clue for the origin can be found in another reading designated as *lectio sexta*. This reading is an excerpt from a bull of Pope Leo IX, who presented Hartwig, the third bishop of Bamberg, with the *pallium*, which the latter could wear on the feast of the Ascension, on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul and on the feast of Saint Dionysius. This text is of strictly local Bamberg importance, leaving almost no doubt that the lectionary was used in the diocese of Bamberg.

Schoolbooks

Another important text group within the fragments we encountered was that of school texts, such as the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei or Donatus' *Ars minor*. Although the texts are well-known and have a rich textual tradition, fragments remain indispensable for the research on medieval school libraries and on books for teaching grammar. The simple reason is that school books are scarce. Donatus' Grammar, for instance, has come down to us almost exclusively in fragments, handwritten and printed. One of the reasons for this phenomenon is that teaching materials were extensively used, their pages were well-thumbed, worn off or damaged and replaced by a new (print) copy. Another explanation why such texts ended up as binding waste was the critical judgment of humanistic scholars, who regarded these medieval grammar bestsellers as unsuitable for teaching.³⁴ As a consequence, there is a lack of source material pertaining to medieval teaching in one of the oldest schools in Saxony, the famous school of Thomas in Leipzig (*Schola Thomana Lipsiensis*).³⁵ The same is true also for the

33 For the history of Pegau and connection with other monastic houses in Saxony see T. Vogtherr, "Pegau", in *Die Mönchsklöster der Benediktiner in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen und Sachsen, Germania Benedictina*, v. X, ed. M. Lücke and C. Römer, St. Ottilien 2012, 1195–1224.

34 For succinct discussions of the grammatical book in the Middle Ages and further references see A. Luthala, "Pedagogical Grammars Before the Eighteenth Century", in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics*, ed. K. Allan, Oxford 2013, 341–358.

35 Cf. C. Mackert "Bücher, Buchbesitz und Bibliotheken", in *Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig, Vol. 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Reformation*, ed. E. Bünz, Leipzig 2015, 593–610, at 598.

important Dominican studium that was established in the Leipzig convent of the order.³⁶

Even the smallest fragments may provide information not only of the existence of a dismembered grammar book but also illustrate the layout, script and rubrication, which were probably the norm for such school books. Fragm. lat. 63 ([F-itxr](#)) and 95 ([F-m8sq](#)), provide even more insights. These two fragments are strips from two subsequent bifolia. Fragm. 63 preserves on f. 1r the opening of Donatus' *Ars minor* and one of the last paragraphs with the conjugation of the verb *doceo*.³⁷ Fragm. 95 forms the second and penultimate leaves in the same quire, to judge by the text with section *De pronomine* and the conjugation of the verb *amo*. A rough calculation how much text fitted one page (based on the last words of one recto and the verso) reveals that the page was originally three times higher than the current fragment, with about 30 lines per page. *Ars minor* is a short work and in this case, it probably filled out exactly one quarto quire, which might have been used as an unbound fascicle.³⁸

A rare witness of the school in the Benedictine abbey of Pegau is offered by a group of fragments transmitting the work of Alexander de Villa Dei in Fragm. lat. 337 ([F-uekp](#)), 363 ([F-a66j](#)) and 384 ([F-hlmf](#)). The original manuscript was copied in the first half of the fourteenth century (probably about 1310–1330), to judge by the script, and used as binding waste in several manuscripts that belonged to the monastic library.³⁹ The question whether the *Doctrinale* itself was copied in Pegau must remain open, pending a palaeographical study on the monastic scriptorium, which could confirm if the hand of our fragments exhibit similar features or not.

A discussion of grammar textbooks can hardly leave out Eberhard of Béthune's *Graecismus*. Fragm. lat. 353 ([F-vm4n](#)) consists of a strip of one bifolium bearing a northern textualis script dating from the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The interlinear and marginal glosses are exceptionally noteworthy, as they

36 C. Mackert, "Bücher, Buchbesitz und Bibliotheken", 602. During the cataloguing of *in situ* fragments in incunabula and particularly in bindings at the Dominican library, we identified a huge bundle of fragments taken from monastic school books, most probably in Leipzig, which were given for recycling. They provide a unique insight into the teaching plan and the level of monastic education.

37 *Die Donat- und Kalender-Type*, ed. P. Schwenke, Mainz 1903; Fragm. lat. 63: p. 37 (f. 1); p. 45 (f. 2); Fragm. lat. 95: p. 39 (f. 1); pp. 42–43 (f. 2); The critical edition of the *Ars minor* does not have the paradigms of the verbs that accrued to them in the Middle Ages; cf. L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical. Étude et édition critique*, Paris 1981.

38 The early prints of Donatus had apparently a similar format as discussed in *Die Donat- und Kalender-Type*, ed. P.I. Schwenke, Main 1903, 6–24.

39 Fragm. lat. 363 and 384 both have the ownership note "Iste liber monasterii sancti iacobi apostoli in pegauia" written after the leaves were used as pastedowns. For the monastic library see A. Märker, "Die Bibliothek des Benediktinerklosters Pegau: Sachsens älteste Bibliothek", in *Zur Erforschung mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken. Chancen – Entwicklungen – Perspektiven*, ed. A. Rapp and M. Embach, Frankfurt 2009, 275–290.

illustrate the problems that teachers and students had with this verse grammar and its unusual vocabulary.⁴⁰ The characteristic folds and marks from glueing suggest that the fragment was used as a guard connecting the cover and the first or last quire of the bookblock. The note “Cic. 35” helps us recognize its former host volume – an incunabulum with the works of Cicero (Leipzig, UB, Coll.Cic.35), which belonged to the Dominican monastery in Leipzig. The study of the stamps on the leather binding reveals, however, that it is a product of a binding workshop located in Southern Germany, which rather suggests that the fragment did not belong to a grammar book used at the Dominican monastery in Leipzig.⁴¹ Still, this narrow horizontal strip reveals a tradition in the layout used for the *Graecismus*, where the commentary is placed in the margin and in between groups of verses.

As part of the school curriculum could be regarded also the two bifolia of Baebius Italicus’ *Ilias Latina* in Fragm. lat. 402 (F-qiwt), written in a non-German Praegothica from the first half of the twelfth century. Although the fragment is not one of the earliest witnesses of the work, it is worthy of palaeographers’ attention because of the interchanging hands, the less experienced belonging probably to students learning to imitate the samples written by their teachers. It is perhaps also possible to differentiate between old-fashioned hands as the one responsible for vv. 37–107 on f. 1 (the feet of the *f*, *r* and long *s* reaching slightly below baseline, the lower lobe of the *g* remains wide open); and more modern hands in the remaining folia (the shaft of the *a* becomes upright, the lower lobe of the *g* is closed, and the feet on the second minim of the *m* is turned to the right). Worthy of mention are also the interlinear scholia, providing the reader with synonyms for rare Latin words or eponyms (e.g. “friges id est troiani”).

Medical and canon law fragments

Cataloguing fragments of less standard medical texts or series of medical recipes is likely to pose some challenges, if there is no reference to the author, title or incipit.⁴² We hope, however, to have supplied enough information for future scholars by dating the fragments and supplying extensive citations. Particular difficulties arise with compilations of several (otherwise standard) works, as in

40 The text of the *Graecismus* mentions for example the word ‘draconem’ a creature, which was apparently not well known and a gloss in the margin supplied the necessary explanation: “Dracones sunt vie subterraneae per quos olim sacerdotes intrabant templa clam.” It is our hope that scholars interested in the reception of the *Graecismus* can further compare commentary traditions and offer more insight to the history of this fragment.

41 See the description in *Die Inkunabeln und Blockdrucke* (as in n.1, above), vol. I, p. 367 Nr. C-176 and also in the online Inkunabelkatalog INKA (<http://www.inka.uni-tuebingen.de/?inka=43001000>). One should note, however, that clients would often provide the binding waste, thus lowering the price for a bookbinding.

42 Of course there are some lucky chances where one has the beginning of an edited work, as in Fragm. lat. 123 (F-hts2), Joannitus (Hunain Ibn-Ishāq), *Isagogae ad technē Galieni*.

the case of *Fragm. lat.* 31 ([F-ifrn](#)) and 134 ([F-tjw2](#)) transmitting an interpolated version of Celsus' *De medicina* with additions from Isaac ben Salomon Israeli's *Viaticum* and further recipes.⁴³

Some fragments attract attention not because of the main text but the commentary. *Fragm. lat.* 268 ([F-4in7](#)) is a trimmed single leaf of the well-known work of canon law, the *Decretum Gratiani*, probably copied in Italy or Southern France, surrounded in the margins by an unidentified commentary. While any further studies of the commentary tradition are left for canon law specialists, the peculiar use of the script cannot remain unnoticed. Contrary to the usual practice, the textualis of the commentary is significantly larger than that of the commented text and would suggest that it was written slightly later and in another place (probably in Germany in the first quarter of the fourteenth century). A difference can also be noticed in the attempt by the scribe of the commentary to imitate the fleuronné initials in the main text.

Even when the text transmitted in a fragment is known and long edited, the fragment might be of interest for palaeographers as a witness for the script used in a particular place and time. Sometimes the place might be deduced based on the particular text selection, as it is in the case of a half leaf from a cartulary, collecting charters pertaining to rights and land possession of the cathedral in Naumburg (*Fragm. lat.* 341 – [F-8hqt](#)). This allows scholars to use the fragment as a nice example of the Northern Textualis used in Naumburg in the second third of the thirteenth century.⁴⁴

Monastic and local history

Charters often offered more possibilities to be recycled, since one side of the document was originally left blank and could be re-used for notes, as was the case with *Fragm. lat.* 180 ([F-vdgs](#)). The charter was issued by the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Buch, Bernardus (abbot 1234–1250), regarding the leasing of land to Heinricus of Meißen. With the death of the latter, the parchment lost its importance as a document and was used to make financial notes about the construction of a hospital in Meißen in 1296, naming patrons who gave money

⁴³ Special thanks is due for the kind help of Iolanda Ventura, who not only indicated to us which reference works and secondary literature might be of help, but herself compared several manuscripts against the tradition.

⁴⁴ The fragment transmits three charters. The first two pertain to land properties around Naumburg (the towns Grimma and Oschatz given by King Heinrich IV to the cathedral in Naumburg, edited in MGH, DD H IV, 183–184; the settlement Kizerin given by King Heinrich III to his loyal supporter Diemar, edited in MGH, DD H III, 12), while, in the third charter, King Heinrich (VII) of Germany (1220–1235) confirmed 1231 the right of the cathedral of Naumburg to appoint a bishop. For an overview of the history and archive of Naumburg see M. Ludwig, “Naumburg, St. Georg”, in *Die Mönchsklöster der Benediktiner in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen und Sachsen*, ed. M. Lücke and C. Römer, St. Ottilien 2012, 993–1031, esp. 1029–1030.

and stonemasons who were responsible for the construction of the building. In the end, the piece of parchment was used as binding waste in [Ms 1531](#) a book belonging already in the first half of the fourteenth century to the Cistercian monastery of Altzelle and probably produced there.⁴⁵

A peculiar witness to medieval monasteries' rich and broad connections is a partial single leaf detached from the binding of [Ms 283](#) and preserved now as *Fragm. lat. 199* ([F-yfgp](#)). This manuscript belonged to the Benedictine monastery of Pegau;⁴⁶ the fragment, however, seems to have travelled a long way before reaching Saxony. The leaf reports of a three-week travel made from the second (*Dominica reminiscere*) to the fifth week (*Dominica iudica*) of Lent, and covering the distance from Mainz to Maastricht and Gladbach, making many stops at monasteries on the way.⁴⁷ The text mentions the term '*rotulus*' and '*titulus*', which could suggest that we are dealing with a mortuary roll. Although referred to as '*rotulus*' it probably did not have the form of a roll, since the text at the bottom of the recto continues with no extensive gap on the verso. It seems probable that our leaf was preceded by one or more leaves, stating the occasion upon which the message was sent. Puzzling are also the formulas entered by the houses. In most entries, the leaf "talks" in the first person singular, naming the place and date where it is, but not the names of the deceased, a manner which does not reflect the usual custom with mortuary rolls.⁴⁸ For example, the roll reads:

45 The binding was restored in 2002, and the fragments from the pastedowns were detached and transferred to the fragment collection. It is unclear if the fragment was for some reason brought to Altzelle, or if it was collected as binding waste by a binder in Meißen, who was ordered to bind the Altzelle manuscripts. See the manuscript description and digital facsimile at: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31580839>.

46 See the manuscript description and digital facsimile at: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31562137>.

47 Identified are the following stops: in Mainz: the Teutonic Knights, the monastery of St. Alban, St. Viktor, St. Jacob, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, Weißfrauenkloster; the Cistercians in Eberbach; monasteries in Gottesthal, Tiefenthal, and Johannisberg; the Benedictine monastery St. Georg; in Bingen, the Abbey Rupertsberg; the Franciscans in Hirzenach and in Oberwesel; in Boppard, the monastery Marienberg and the Carmelites; the monastery Peternach; in Koblenz, the monastery St. Beatusberg, the Dominicans and the Franciscans; Abbey Rommersdorf; the monastery Wülfersberg; the Franciscans and the Dominicans in Andernach; the monastery St. Martin in Remagen; Nonnenwerth; Heistenbach; St. Walburgis; Leubsdorf; Schweinheim; Züllich; Düren; Wena near Düren; the Abbey Kornelimünster; the Abbey Burtscheid; in Aachen, the Franciscans, the Augustinians and the Cistercians; Vaals; in Liège, the Collège Saint-Martin, the Collégiale Saint-Pierre and the Abbey of Val-des-écoliers; the Augustinians in Maastricht; and Gladbach.

48 In the most common form a mortuary roll consisted of strips of parchment, sometimes of prodigious length, at the head of which was entered the notification of the death of a particular person deceased or sometimes of a group of such persons. The roll was then carried by a special messenger from monastery to monastery, and at each an entry was made attesting the fact that the notice had been received and that the requisite suffrages would be said. Often in addition one added a list of deceased members of the visited community for which in return one should make prayers. A similar *rotulus* also re-used in a binding is a leaf in a collection

Sabbato fui apud fratres minores in Andernaco (Andernach). Ipso die fui apud dominicanos intra muros.

Later entries, however, attest that the communities receiving the titulus were part of a confraternity and that prayers for the dead would be made. The names of the deceased members (note the plural form *eorum*), listed perhaps in now lost part of the *rotulus*, would have been entered in the necrologies of the receiving communities for constant commemoration.

Titulus sancti petri Leodicum (Lüttich) anime eorum et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum per dei misericordiam requiescant in pace. Oramus pro vestris orate pro nostris. feria secunda post letare iherusalem fuit iste rotulus apud nos.

Since there is no particular year mentioned for the journey, one way of dating the fragment is to look for textual references for religious houses and use the year of their foundation as terminus post quem. There are two entries from monasteries in Aachen and in Maastricht named specifically as belonging to the Order of Saint Augustine, founded in 1256.⁴⁹ The palaeographical features of the fragment (including a single-compartment *a*, the lower lobe of the *g* short but still going under the baseline and swinging off to the left-hand side) suggest a date of origin in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

The first day mentioned on the fragment is *Dominica reminiscere*, and the last is *Dominica die iudica*, which means that we have the itinerary from the second to the beginning of the fifth week of Lent. We can narrow down the date by establishing when Easter fell that year, thereby determining what possible

of fragments MS Paris BnF lat. 11411, f. 71 (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84386681/f53.item>). There is a significant amount of literature on mortuary rolls, a short selection: L. Delisle, *Rouleaux des morts du IX au XV siècle*, Paris 1866; J. Dufour, "Les rouleaux des morts," *Codicologica* 3(1980), 96–102; idem, "Brefs et Rouleaux Mortuaires", in *Naissance et Fonctionnement des Réseaux Monastiques et Canoniaux*, Saint-Etienne 1991, 483–94; J. Dorner, "Die Raitenhaslacher Totenrotel vom Jahr 1499. Oder Zisterzienserbruder geht auf Reisen", *Oettinger Land* 17(1997), 106–13; G. Signori, "Hochmittelalterliche Memorialpraktiken in spätmittelalterlichen Reformklöstern", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 60(2004), 517–47; L. Rollason, "Medieval Mortuary Rolls: Prayers for the Dead and Travel in Medieval England", *Northern History* 48(2011), 187–223; E. Krausen, "Totenrotel-Sammlungen Bayerischer Klöster und Stifte", *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 60, no. 1(1964), 11–36; J. Leinweber, "Zwei unbekannte Fuldaer Totenroteln: Zur Totensorge des Klosters Fulda im Spätmittelalter", *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 52(1992), 273–81.

- 49 *Titulus fratrum ordinis beati Augustini in Aquis and Conventus fratrum ordinis Sancti Augustini in Traiecto*. For the hermits of St. Augustine, which settled in Maastricht 1254 or shortly after, see *Handbook of Dutch Church History*, ed. H. J. Selderhuis, Göttingen 2014, 121 and *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek der Nederlanden*, ed. A. J. van der Aa, vol. 1, Gorinchem 1839, 383–384. According to Nicolaus Crusenius' *Monasticon augustinianum* (1623), 137 the Augustinian monastery in Aachen was built 1275 by monks coming from Maastricht. From the same text, however, becomes clear that there was a smaller monastic property: *Aquisgrani etiam admissi Religiosi Augustiniani Traiecto descendentes, hoc anno [1275] aedificant coenobium iuxta forum urbis, exiquoque adhuc sacello contenti aliquandiu ibi vixerunt*.

years might be involved.⁵⁰ This can be done by correlating the references to fixed calendrical dates with days of the week, e.g., deducing which day of the week was March 4. This is possible since dates in the *rotulus* are recorded in one of three ways: the day of the week (e.g. *feria sexta* for Friday or *Dominica reminiscere* for the Sunday of the second week of Lent), feast days (e.g. *in die sancti Gregorii* celebrated on the March 12) and the Roman dates using nones and ides (e.g. *septimo idus marcii* for March 9).

There are a couple places in the text that permit the dates for Easter to be reduced to two options. One case appears in the table below, listing the entries in order for Koblenz, Rommersdorf, and Andernach. From the travel logs, it becomes clear that the 7 *idus marcii* (March 9), positioned chronologically between *feria 6* (Friday) and *sabbato* (Saturday), must fall either on Friday or Saturday. Hence, the following Sunday, the third Sunday of Lent, is either March 10 or 11, and, four weeks after that, Easter Sunday, April 7 or April 8. In the period after 1256, Easter on April 7 occurred in 1303, 1314 and 1325. Easter on April 8 occurred in 1257, 1268, 1319, 1330. On the base of the above-mentioned palaeographical, analysis the years 1257 and 1268 are the most likely ones.⁵¹

Text	Date	Easter April 7	Easter April 8
Feria sexta qua cantatur "Ego autem" fui apud fratres predicatorum in Confluentia	Feria 6 (Friday) in the 2nd week of Lent	March 8	March 9
Septimo idus marcii fui in romerstorph	7 Idus Marcii (= March 9)	March 9	
Sabbato fui apud fratres minores in Andernaco	Sabbato (Saturday) in the 2nd week of Lent		March 10

Apart from being a valuable material for the study of palaeography in the Rhine valley, the document is also an important witness of the parallel use of

⁵⁰ We are greatly indebted to William Duba for sharing with us his analysis and conclusions about the possible dating of the fragment. The following paragraph draws heavily on his work. For transcription and full list of the two dating version see the attached file in the *Fragmentarium* entry for this document ([E-yfgp](#)).

⁵¹ Further evidence comes from the close reading of the journey logs. The first version (with Easter on April 7) assumes four "idle days" - 4 March (Monday), 10 March (Sunday), 19 March (Tuesday), and 23 March (Saturday) - where no journey was made or at least none recorded. The second version (with Easter on April 8) assumes just 22 March (Thursday) as a single idle day. The first version would also suggest that the *rotulus* covered the distance of over 80 km between Schweinheim near Bonn to Aachen within one day, on March 13. According to the second dating (with Easter on April 8) the travelers made a stop in between.

early cursive and more calligraphic scripts. Furthermore, the text is also a nice example of distant monastic networks and the speed of travel across them.

Fragments and the aesthetics of bookbinding

Bookbinding waste can also reveal the bookbinder's attitude towards recycled parchment through an analysis of the way it was cut and tailored. As a cheaper alternative to leather binding, parchment was often used to wrap a book. Adding a paper lining was a way to make the cover more solid. There are several examples in our collection. The care and attention paid to some of them demonstrate that the parchment was meant not only to cover the boards but also to illuminate the cover. Fragm. lat. 412 ([F-cu4k](#)), a leaf from the opening of (Ps.-) Albertus Magnus' *Mariale* (France, ca. 1276–1325), is a rare example of the tailoring of bookbinding waste. Although the paint and gold of the miniature and the decorated initial were later partly rubbed off and the parchment got torn by the edges of the book it once covered, it can still be admired as a marvellous work of art, unworthy to be pasted on a board in just any way. An attentive examination of the fragment reveals that it consists of four parts, which once made one single leaf written in two columns. Before cutting and pasting it the front/left cover was originally the right column (A), the back/right cover was originally the right column (B). The two fold-ins (C and D) are two strips cut horizontally from the bottom of the page. Cutting a parchment leaf meant to serve as a book cover might seem illogical at first since it certainly did no benefit to its endurance. Yet only by such cutting and pasting could this miniature be admired by the reader taking this book in hand; otherwise, it would be condemned to the back cover.⁵²

Of course, there are also examples to the contrary. Fragm. lat. 405 ([F-skij](#)), which was used to cover a now unknown host volume,⁵³ is a single leaf from a richly illuminated gradual produced most probably in the second half of the fifteenth century in Northern France, Flanders or the Netherlands. The large size of the original manuscript (at least 475 x 330 mm) suggests that the book was meant for the choir. When used as bookbinding waste, the leaf was folded in such a way that the elegant blue initial in gold background and the painted

52 A similar bookbinding initiative is discussed in R. McKitterick and N. Pickwoad, "A Carolingian Manuscript Fragment from the Ninth Century in Amsterdam University Library, Used as the Binding for 'Band 1 E 22'", *Quaerendo* 43 (2013), 185–213. [DOI:10.1163/15700690-12341273](https://doi.org/10.1163/15700690-12341273)

53 When this leaf became part of the Fragment collection is unclear. The two stamps on its recto ("1946r. P.AKT.No.ИС 258/21" and "Гос<ударственная> публичная библиотека в Ленинграде") testify that it belonged to a group of fragments taken as booty by the Soviet army at the end of WWII and for some time stored in the State Public Library in former Leningrad, namely Fragm. lat. 206, 217, 236, 405, 406, 423–429, 431–436 and Deutsche Fragmente 82. Some years later, probably in 1958, these fragments were returned to the UBL. For further information see T.T. Döring, "Die Auslagerung der Bestände der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig während des Zweiten Weltkrieges und ihre Rückführung", *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte* 20(2011/2012), 271–306.

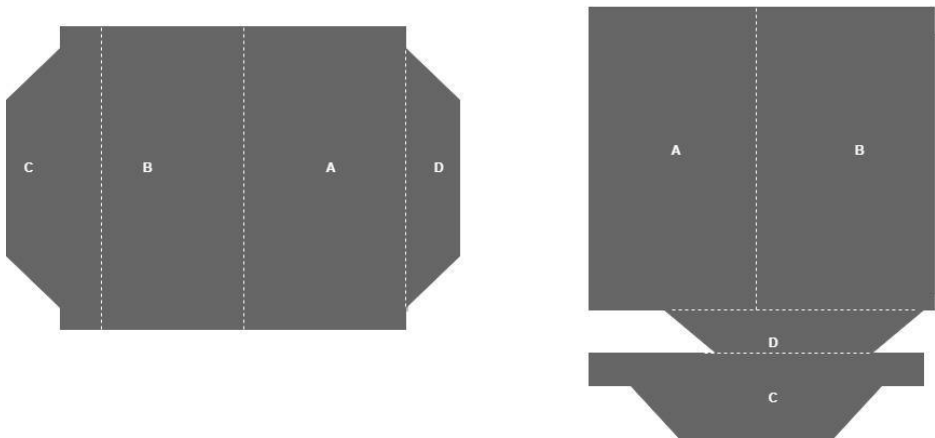


Figure 6: Fragm. lat. 412, current state (left) and reconstructed original form (right)

border composed of foliate decoration were hidden in the inside of the back cover and concealed by the paper lining meant to strengthen the binding.

The UBL possesses also examples of another bookbinding practice, which has been noted by N. Pickwood by examining German manuscripts, where the bookbinder disguises the secondhand origin of the cover by dyeing the parchment to hide the original text.⁵⁴ Fragm. lat. 389 ([E-gnwo](#)) underwent a similar treatment. To judge from its oblong format, the triangle cutting at the edges, this fragment was also used to cover a half-bound leather book. The blue-green paint was added only after the parchment was placed on the board since the corners, covered probably by leather, have remained unpainted. A half-leather binding was widely used, since it saved on leather. The practice of using fragments dyed in a dark colour (such as black, green, dark blue) for half-bound leather books can be observed in many bookbindings preserved in the UBL. Books showing this kind of binding usually contain printed texts of the later sixteenth and the early seventeenth century and their places of printing or their provenances are often closely connected to the Leipzig region. Many of them once belonged to the juridical library of the Leipzig law court, the *Bibliotheca Scabinatus Lipsiensis*, which was given to the University Library in 1835.⁵⁵ It is very likely that these bindings are the product of a hitherto unknown bookbinder's workshop in

54 N. Pickwood, "The Use of Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts in Bindings", in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, ed. L. Brownrigg and M. Smith, Los Altos Hills 2000, 9–10.

55 For example: Jus. feud. 17 (containing prints of the year 1589 from Cologne), Tract. var. jur. 162 (containing two Venetian prints of the years 1597 and 1601) or Jus. feud. 67 (containing a juridical text printed in Wittenberg 1609). Regarding the *Bibliotheca Scabinatus Lipsiensis* see E. Boehm, "Der Schöppenstuhl zu Leipzig und der sächsische Inquisitionsprozeß im Barockzeitalter. Wichtige rechtskundliche Quellen in der Leipziger Universitäts-Bibliothek", *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft* 59(1939), 371–410, as well as the online summary at the UBL website: <https://www.ub.uni-leipzig.de/ueber-uns/geschichte/zweite-periode-1833-1932>.

Leipzig or the Leipzig region (Wittenberg?) in the last decades of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁵⁶

Conclusion

Our project was planned as a case study with clearly-defined objectives. Our aim was to examine a large number of fragments within a strict time-limit, and to produce descriptions that were just sufficiently sophisticated so that specialists could find the material and study it in depth. With the launch of *Fragmentarium* on 1 September 2017, we were happy to see some of the UBL fragments become popular in social media and thereby attract the attention of scholars. We received numerous hints on unidentified texts and notes highlighting the significance of single pieces. Some of these, we understand, will shortly be published in prestigious journals. We are confident that the search capabilities, viewing options, and overall visibility provided by *Fragmentarium* will help other fragments enjoy the same attention.

⁵⁶ Cf. also the manuscript description of the fragmentary manuscript Leipzig, Bundesverwaltungsgericht, MS nov. 1 by Matthias Eifler at: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31602895>. The above discussed Fragm. lat. 341 (F-8hqt) exhibits similar overpainting on one side, which suggests that it was removed from another volume of this bookbinding atelier.

In situ *Manuscript Fragments in the Incunables* of the Bodleian Library, Oxford

A *Fragmentarium* Case Study

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Abstract: This paper discusses the objectives, methodology, and outcomes of the *Fragmentarium* case study to catalogue *in situ* manuscript fragments in the incunables of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Drawing on summary information provided within the 2005 incunable catalogue, *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library*, the descriptions produced consider these fragments within their functional contexts. Here, the author argues that considering *in situ* fragments as constituent parts of their host volumes offers meaningful contribution to the material study of the book.

Keywords: *in situ* fragments, incunables, early printed books, book history, materiality, cataloguing, Bodleian Library, bookbinding

This paper is concerned with *in situ* fragments, those pieces of broken up manuscripts that find new purpose in the binding material of other books. It is born out of a project to describe *in situ* fragments in the Bodleian Library's collection of incunables (books printed in the fifteenth century) for online presentation on both the *Fragmentarium* platform, and in the Bodleian Library's online catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries.¹ At present, the project team includes Nigel F. Palmer as supervisor, Franziska Schnoor working

* Many people have kindly given their time and expertise to this project. From *Fragmentarium*, Christoph Flüeler, Veronika Drescher, and William O. Duba provided unparalleled support and guidance in this project. Rafael Schwemmer of text & bytes worked hard to implement the ever-growing demands of the *Fragmentarium* Fellows. In turn, the Fellows provided collegial and productive conversation at two *Fragmentarium* meetings. At the Bodleian, Martin Kaufmann and Alan Coates supported this research from the beginning; Matthew Holford prepared the Bodleian's online catalogue for receiving our fragment descriptions; Andrew Honey willingly lent his expert advice on issues of conservation, bindings, and digitisation; and David Howell helped us to produce hyperspectral data for several fragments in the collection. As well as his exemplary supervision, Nigel F. Palmer generously read and commented on several versions of this paper. Amy Brown, Lily Dessau, and Kaylin O'Dell also offered comments and corrections. I alone remain responsible for any errors. Finally, this *Fragmentarium* case study would not have been possible without the generous support of the Zeno Karl Schindler Foundation.

on fragments from a late fifteenth-century missal from Würzburg, and myself as *Fragmentarium* Fellow.² Our catalogue entries combine information on the host volume (that book in which the fragments are now found), and the *codex discissus* (the manuscript that was once ‘cut up’, from which the fragments originate). The objective of our project is not to prepare a summary catalogue of *in situ* fragments, nor to select fragments according to scholarly value or textual content, but rather to present in-depth descriptions, which consider fragments as constituent parts of their host volumes. In this paper, I elaborate several examples of fragments and their host volumes to illustrate our approach and present our results. In doing so, I address issues central to the cataloguing of fragments generally, and argue that, when it comes to those *in situ*, placing the fragment in dialogue with its host – as both a codicological unit and a material object – dramatically informs our discussion of both.

Manuscript fragments are frequently employed in bindings to serve a variety of protective and supportive functions that take advantage of the strength and versatility of parchment. For example, the provision of pastedowns hooked and sewn around the first or last quire helps to hold the boards to the bookblock, and front and back endleaves protect the textblock of the host volume.³ The functionality of *in situ* fragments also meant that their employment was widespread, both in time and place, with the reuse of manuscript material common across continental Europe and Britain during the period of late medieval and early modern printing, and beyond.⁴ Having a practical purpose also meant, and still means, that fragments are vulnerable to damage and loss. Pastedowns are lost in the rebinding of books, for example, and text can be rubbed away from exposed manuscript covers through repeated touching. Yet, by virtue of the various uses which they have been put to strengthen, reinforce, or protect, these fragments contribute to our understanding of *codices discissi*, the treatment of manuscript

1 For the Bodleian Library’s new catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries see <https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>. All links were controlled and accessed on 08/05/2018.

2 For details of my case study, see *Fragmentarium*, “Case Studies”, https://fragmentarium.ms/about/case_studies#1.

3 The bookblock being all leaves bound in a single volume, whereas the term textblock is used to refer to the bookblock not including any endleaves. For definitions of this terminology, see Ligatus, ‘Bookblock’ <http://www.ligatus.org.uk/lob/concept/1227>.

4 Nicholas Pickwood writes: “The extensive use of such waste by binders in almost every part of Europe until the beginning of the seventeenth century, and in some parts of Europe, notably the German-speaking areas, for much longer than that, raises the interesting question of where and how these manuscripts were stored over such a long period”, in “The Use of Medieval Manuscript Fragments in Bindings” in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, ed. L.L. Brownrigg and M.M. Smith, Los Altos Hills 2000, 3. The use of manuscript fragments as covering material for pasteboard bindings by a nineteenth-century German bookbinder is well represented through a series of blue/black dyed volumes, many of which are found in the Bodleian. See our description of Bodleian Library, Auct. P 4.1, [F-10ax](#).

material through time, the work of bookbinders and printers, and the reception of early printed books.

The cataloguing of such fragments can seem like a daunting and impossibly big task: *in situ* fragments probably exist in their thousands in the Bodleian alone, and many are damaged, illegible, or hidden from view in tight bindings or behind spines. Furthermore, the Bodleian's collection of incunables is considerable: in 2005, Alan Coates counted, "5,600 incunable editions in [the Bodleian's] holdings, some in multiple copies, with the total number of incunabula in excess of 7,000".⁵ Yet, such a large collection offers huge potential for the manuscript scholar and has several other advantages as a starting point for the study of *in situ* fragments. Not only is this collection discrete, it also is the subject of a thorough six-volume catalogue, *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (hereafter, Bod-Inc.), published in 2005.⁶ The goal of the editors of Bod-Inc. was to "provide descriptions of all the Bodleian's incunabula [...] to the same standard expected for medieval manuscripts".⁷ For the purposes of our project, it is fortunate that this standard included identifying the presence of manuscript fragments, as well as providing brief comments on their content and dating. As such, Bod-Inc. incorporates a list of fragments in the incunable bindings, which alerts readers to the presence of visible manuscript fragments. Our project consequently uses this resource to work through the survey incorporated into Bod-Inc., beginning with 'A'. By undertaking such descriptions as a *Fragmentarium* case study, it is not our immediate aim to reach 'Z', but instead to establish the full range of data necessary to provide detailed catalogue entries for *in situ* fragments and their host volumes. This data in turn allows us to observe the connections and discoveries offered by an in-depth approach to cataloguing fragments, and helps challenge the databases themselves to develop techniques for handling *in situ* fragments.

Creating in-depth descriptions which consider fragments together with their host volumes led to unexpected discoveries in our cataloguing effort. Attention to binding information, for example, brought together three leaves deriving from the same *codex discissus*, one of which now serves as a pastedown to the upper

5 A. Coates, "The Bodleian Library and its Incunabula", in *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, ed. A. Coates et al., v. 1, Oxford 2005, 1.

6 A. Coates et al., *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, Oxford 2005 (Bod-Inc.). This catalogue has been available online since 2013, see Bod-Inc. Online <http://incunables.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>. It is important to note that the only qualifying feature needed for a volume to be included in the Bodleian collection of books printed in the fifteenth century is that it contain at least one incunable edition. This means that the bindings could come from the fifteenth century, or the twentieth, and that the volumes could contain one incunable amongst other sixteenth-century material, or five incunables bound together.

7 A. Coates, "The Bodleian Library and its Incunabula", 19.

board of a Bodleian Sammelband, A 2.8 Art. Seld. [F-6et3].⁸ Bod-Inc. identifies this volume as employing an ornamental roll from an Oxford binder on the covers (Ker's Roll 1), "first used between 1515 and 1520 (and not attested after 1523)", and states that it contains a medieval leaf from the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*.⁹ While neither Ker nor Pearson had previously associated A 2.8 Art. Seld. with Roll I, Ker lists another early printed Sammelband held in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, as employing Roll I and containing two leaves from a manuscript of the *Liber Sextus*.¹⁰ An inspection of the volume in question – Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MSS 5.2.13, a 1515 Venetian edition of Ptolemy's *Almagest* bound together with two other early printed books – revealed that the two manuscript fragments serving as pastedowns were in the same hand, with the same page layout, and thus almost certainly from the same *codex discissus* as the leaf in the Bodleian Library. In this case, it was information from the host volume, rather than the fragment itself, that made it possible to establish the connection between these disparate leaves, both redeployed by the same bookbinder.

The virtual reconstruction of *codices discissi*, while not our primary objective, is a potential outcome of our in-depth approach, which examines the shared material history of incunable and fragment. In the case of Bodleian Library, Auct. 2Q 5.19 [F-8fo3], a Sammelband made up of two incunables, one printed in Louvain between 1477–83 (Bod-Inc. B-613) and one printed in Gouda between 1481–82 (Bod-Inc. A-301[2]), our approach to the fragments uncovered information about the early history of the bound volume. The undecorated binding of calfskin on wooden boards gives away little concerning the volume's provenance, yet the *in situ* fragments supporting this binding reveal clues that shed light on the construction and early use of this Sammelband. The fragments consist of a bifolium, reused to serve as a pastedown (which is now raised) and conjugate endleaf. The script is identifiable as a Northern Textualis from England or Northern France and is datable to the fourteenth century. As with Bodleian Library, A 2.8 Art. Seld., the *in situ* fragments in this volume are from the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*. These examples provide testament to the well-known fact that it is not uncommon to find fragments of the *Liber Sextus* repurposed in the bindings of early printed books. Following the first printing in 1465, in a practice that seems to have been particularly prevalent among university bookbinders with easy access to manuscripts of canon law, large numbers of *Liber Sextus* manuscripts were dismembered and reused in bindings. In addition to the manuscript

8 The term 'Sammelband' refers to a collection of textblocks bound as a single item. Cf. *Ligatus*, Language of Bindings, "Composite Textblocks", <http://www.ligatus.org.uk/lob/concept/1257>.

9 Bod-Inc., A-037, v. 1, 65.

10 N.R. Ker, *Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings: with a Survey of Oxford Binding c. 1515–1620*, Oxford, 2004, 7–9; D. Pearson, *Oxford Bookbinding 1500–1640: Including a Supplement to Neil Ker's Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings*, Oxford 2000, 155–56.

leaves, there are twenty sewing guards found throughout both incunables, used for strengthening at the centre of every quire. Unlike the *Liber Sextus* fragments, these are clearly identifiable as from English manuscripts. While the strips are narrow, there is enough text surviving to identify four unique scripts: three sets are copied in English Secretary hands of the late fifteenth century, and one is an English Northern Textualis script of the fifteenth century. This evidence is enough for us to say with some confidence that both incunables were bound with the fragments in England.

We can gather more evidence of English provenance from the inscriptions on sig. aiv of the first incunable – the name ‘Frater Johannes Maxsey’ and inscription ‘Monachus de Thorney’ (crossed out) help us to identify the earliest known user of the bound Sammelband as John Maxsey, a monk of the Benedictine Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire who died before 1540.¹¹ From the evidence of the entire material object – the name of an early English owner, sewing guards indicating an English binding, and the repurposing of the *Liber Sextus* fragments – we might suggest an origin for this Sammelband within the English university context of the 1480s. As we can see from this example, in which the sewing guards provide more definitive provenance information than the two almost-whole leaves, the size or quality of each fragment is not necessarily the marker of most significance in the cataloguing of *in situ* fragments. It is not easy or even possible to predict the ways in which the fragments will inform the study of the host volume, or vice versa, and therefore our in-depth cataloguing approach allows for a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the entire book object. To demonstrate the depth of research associated with our fragment descriptions, and to show how such fragment research contributes to codicological scholarship more generally, I spend the rest of this paper detailing one particular example.

Bodleian Library, 4° I 1 Th. Seld. [F-iogq] is a Sammelband containing two incunable editions – one a devotional miscellany associated with the Rosary printed in Gouda between 1483 and 1484 (Bod-Inc. F-095 [2]), and the other a pseudo-Albertine treatise on the medicinal properties of plants printed in London in ca. 1485 (Bod-Inc. A-116). The entry for Bod-Inc. A-116 (the second item in the Selden Sammelband) notes that there are, “[t]hree parchment leaves from a thirteenth/fourteenth-century manuscript containing a French translation of III Rg 11”.¹² This information is enough to alert the reader to the presence of the French leaves, but does not provide a detailed account of their content, or employment in the host volume. In fact, the leaves come from a manuscript of the *Bible française du XIII^e siècle*, the earliest French translation of the entire Bible, and contain passages from the second book of Samuel and the first book of Kings

¹¹ See Bod-Inc., v. 6, 2892.

¹² Bod-Inc., A-116, v. 1, 97.

(II Rg 19-20 and III Rg 11-12).¹³ While there are three folios of an endleaf-quire *in situ*, our description identifies two imperfect leaves from the *codex discissus*.¹⁴ The *codex discissus* was originally twice the size of the Sammelband, which contains incunables printed in quarto.¹⁵ The fragments have been folded in order to be used as an endleaf-quire at the front of the volume, positioned so that the text of the fragments reads sideways in relation to their host. The endleaf-quire would have once been a binio of four leaves, but the third leaf has been torn out and lost, leaving just a stub conjugate with the second folio.

As is often the case when parchment material is reemployed in bindings, the order of the leaves from the *codex discissus* is disturbed. The difficulties in presenting the fragments lie in their differing functions – as an *in situ* endleaf-quire consisting of three leaves (ff. 1-3), and as two incomplete leaves from the *codex discissus* (Fragm. I and II). *Fragmentarium* makes provision for presenting images in multiple orders by allowing the cataloguer to develop unlimited ‘ranges’ for each description. For the Old French fragments, I have formulated two image ranges: one for ‘physical order’ (that is, the extant position of the *in situ* fragments in relation to the host volume), and one for ‘content order’ (the original order in the *codex discissus*). These two different organisational structures represent independent moments in the history of these leaves – as they were read in the *codex discissus*, and as they are now presented in the Sammelband. As the host volume and the fragments are orientated sideways to each other, the image rotation function of the *Fragmentarium* database also allows readers to view images of the fragment according to the host volume, or according to the Old French text.

As well as constituting the final leaf of the endleaf-quire, the fragment closest to the textblock (f. 3), has another function in the host volume as a palimpsest. The Old French Bible text has been partly erased and, in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, written over with a table of contents listing the items contained in the Sammelband. A woodcut, cut out from sig. air of the first incunable and depicting the sacred heart, the crown of thorns, a rosary with flowers for the five wounds, and two manicules, has been pasted in below the text on

13 We have compared the text of our fragments to that of a thirteenth-century manuscript in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 899, and found it corresponds closely. A reproduction of this manuscript is available online on Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1bg0068265>. We are grateful to Clive Sneddon for identifying the text and providing further advice.

14 My definition of ‘endleaf-quire’ is equivalent to Ligatus’ definition of an ‘endleaf unit’: “[t]he individually-sewn groups of leaves which make up the endleaves at either end of a bookblock”; see <http://www.ligatus.org.uk/lob/concept/2887>. I choose here to refer to a ‘quire’, because I believe it gives a more explanatory description of the collection of leaves bound adjacent to the bookblock.

15 The cropped leaves measure 280 x 207 mm, with the two-column written area measuring approximately 227 x 159 mm.

this page. The manuscript addition on f. 3v provides eight headings, from three different incunables. The first seven correspond to the texts contained in the two incunables, but the eighth heading, ‘liber sermonum de quatuor nouissimis’, refers to a third item, now missing. It probably denotes either a copy of Gerardus van Vliederhoven, *Cordiale de quattuor novissimis*, or, more likely, the *Sermones quattuor novissimorum* (frequently printed from ca. 1482–83 in Paris and the Netherlands, cf. ISTC ib00944100; GW 4804). The late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century table of contents predates the current seventeenth-century binding (blind-tooled calfskin on wooden boards, probably commissioned by John Selden).¹⁶ Wormhole damage to f. 1 of the endleaf-quire, which does not correspond to the current binding, shows that this three-incunable assembly was bound in boards as a Sammelband, along with our endleaf-quire, prior to the current binding.¹⁷ This third incunable must have been lost prior to, or perhaps during, the book’s rebinding in the seventeenth century. While we might expect a volume bound with an endleaf-quire at the front to contain one also at the back, there is no evidence to indicate how the lower board of the earlier binding was attached.¹⁸

The script of the two fragments, a Northern Textualis Libraria displaying the full range of fusions typical of the later gothic period, is datable to the middle or second half of the fourteenth century and is more likely from Northern France than the Anglo-Norman world. The provenance and binding of this book is otherwise only associated with England, and the two incunables preserved in the Sammelband were printed in Gouda, the Netherlands, and London, England. We know that the volume, as a Sammelband bound in boards, was in England shortly after the books were printed due to the glossing of the incunables in late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century English hands. While most of the glosses are in Latin, one reader of the second incunable has glossed the text in Middle English. There are at least three hands, which appear throughout *both* incunable items, showing not only that the incunables were brought together shortly after printing, but also that the Sammelband was studied by multiple readers. It is difficult to speculate on this evidence alone exactly what stage the fragments were

¹⁶ The Sammelband was later donated to the Bodleian Library as part of Selden’s library in 1659.

¹⁷ Nicholas Pickwoad refers to bindings in boards as ‘inboard bindings’, see N. Pickwoad, “The Interpretation of Bookbinding Structure An Examination of Sixteenth-Century Bindings in the Ramey Collection in the Pierpont Morgan Library”, *The Library* 6-17:3 (1 September 1995), 209–49. See also the entry for ‘inboard bindings’ on Ligatus Language of Bindings, <http://www.ligatus.org.uk/lob/concept/1395>, which describes them as “[b]indings in which the boards are attached to the bookblock by whatever means before the book was covered”. I find the term ‘bound in boards’, however, to be more explanatory.

¹⁸ We may never know whether an endleaf-quire to the lower board was lost with the third incunable.

used in a binding for these incunables, but we can say that the fragments were an integral part of the host volume from a very early stage in the book's history.¹⁹

The glosses and table of contents are not the only marks of English readership within the host volume. The blank verso at the end of the first item (sig. d6v) begins with a popular verse prayer to the Holy Name ('Jesu for Thy holy name/ And for Thy bitter Passion') in an early sixteenth-century English hand. The *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* (DIMEV) identifies twenty-two manuscripts with these lines, one inscription, and three print witnesses, but does not record this copy.²⁰ Every witness listed in the DIMEV contains between four and six short lines, and although the poem is supposed to contain exactly thirty-three words to represent Christ's mortal years, several are incomplete. The version in the Selden Sammelband contains six short lines and thirty words (three are missing):

Jhesu for thy holy name / 7 for thy bytter passion
 Saue vs from synne / 7 from endeles dampnacion
 And bring to the blysse which neuer shal mysse swet ihesu amen.

The verse prayer is immediately proceeded by a response in prose:

In this forsayd prayer be conteyned .xxxiiij. wordes | iustly representing the xxxiiij. yers of the age of | our lord ihesu crist. The pardon therof in the me- | moryal of al his woundes grete and smalle is | v.m.cccc.lxxv yers. And here is to be noted | that the first whyt bede stone betokenyth that | name of ihesu / and the red bede stone the passion | of ihesu / the first blak the synne of man / the. | secunde black the paynes of helle / and the last whyt | bede synfyeth euerlastynge ioie and | blysse. Amen. |

The wondes that our lord suffered for vs. | ben v.m.cccclxxv. and so many eres | of pardon be graunted to al them that . say | deuoutly this forsayd prayer.

These lines designate symbolic beads to assist meditation on the first five subjects of the prayer – a white bead is associated with the Holy Name, a red bead with the Passion, a black bead with the sin of man, another black bead with the pain of hell, and another white bead with the joy of heaven.²¹ The choice of this prayer and indulgence is likely in direct response to the content of the first incunable in the Sammelband, a devotional collection on the rosary, and shows an early user providing additions that relate to the content of the host volume.

The meditation using five coloured beads corresponding to the Middle English prayer has a well-attested connection to Syon Abbey (the Bridgettine double house on the Thames in Isleworth), and Jan Rhodes identifies at least five manuscripts witnessing an explicit link between the prayer, the beads, and

19 Possibilities might include a bookseller in France or the Low Countries collecting three incunables and binding them with an endleaf-quire before sending them across the Channel or, perhaps more likely, an English bookbinder using an Old French Bible as manuscript waste.

20 Digital Index of Middle English Verse, 2840, <http://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=2840>.

21 There are five beads, most likely a reference to the five wounds. The five wounds are also illustrated in the woodcut taken from sig. air of the first incunable and pasted onto f. 3v of the endleaf-quire.

Syon.²² This association is evident in our volume too. On the initial blank recto of the second incunable (sig. air), the same hand has copied indulgences of the 'bedes of Syon' and 'Shene the charterhows' (the Carthusian monastery of Sheen, across the river from Syon). The indulgences, supposedly granted by Popes Julius II (1503-13) and Leo X (1513-21), are as follows:

Here foloweth the pardon of the bedes of Syon | for euery pater noster, Aue maria and Crede cccc daies of pardon And so for the hole ladys saliter lxvij.m. yeres of pardon. | Here foloweth the pardon of the bedes of Shene the charterhows for euery pater noster, Aue maria and Credo xxx yers of pardon. | Secundum annorum xiiij.m.cccc.xl | Also the olde pardon of shene the charterhous for euery worde on the pater noster, Aue maria and crede lxxx of pardon. | Secundum annorum cclxxvij.m.cccclxxxiiij days. | Also for the .x. salutations of our lady whiche is graunted by pope Julius and Leo for the x Aues x.m. days And for the pater noster x.m.yers. Amen.

While the beads are associated with Syon, their appearance in multiple sources means that we cannot assume a direct connection of this volume to Syon or Sheen. It is possible, however, that the name of Syon and Sheen lent prestige to these devotions, and that this made them popular among other English institutions in the sixteenth century. The content of the first incunable, a devotional treatise on the rosary, and the thrust of the English indulgences, prayers, and glosses, as well as the woodcut with the five wounds pasted to f. 3v, might suggest a Carthusian or Carthusian-influenced context. The Middle English additions were copied by the same person at approximately the same time, and across both incunables. As the indulgences on sig. air claim to be granted by Pope Leo X (1513-21), we know the addition cannot be dated prior to 1513, and the script suggests a date in the first half of the sixteenth century.

When we gather all this information together, it is evident that between 1513 and ca. 1550, an early English reader had access to both incunables as a bound *Sammelband*. By this time, the Old French fragments had joined the volume where they remain to this day. We also find notes in multiple contemporaneous hands throughout both incunables and a late fifteenth-/ early sixteenth-century table of contents. This, along with the fact that the second incunable was printed in London, all supports a claim of early English institutional ownership. The fact that fragments of a continental French manuscript are integrated into a volume whose provenance history, insofar as it can be established, is otherwise entirely English prompts the question of what it means that parchment scrap from such an extensive, large-format manuscript in French was available in England at the end of the fifteenth century. While the information we have uncovered does not

22 J.T. Rhodes, "Syon Abbey and Its Religious Publications in the Sixteenth Century", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993), 11-25, at 12-13, n. 9. Rhodes does not imply this list is exhaustive, and identifies the following manuscripts as 'examples': "Bodleian Library, MSS Gough liturg. 19, fo. 21v; MS Douce 54, fo. 35v; MS Laud misc. 19, fo. 31v; BL, MS Harley 541, fo. 228v; 494, fo. 106".

provide a definite answer, it is more plausible to suppose that the French Bible manuscript once formed part of an English collection than to speculate that parchment waste was exported from the continent to England. Through our in-depth approach of combining information from the host volume and fragment, we flesh out a picture of the Selden Sammelband's early provenance, and learn more about the context of, and responses to, *in situ* fragments as binding material through time.

Medieval manuscript fragments are scattered around the world, and they exist in uncountable numbers. The development of online platforms such as *Fragmentarium* makes these fragments more visible as a valuable scholarly resource and enables us to widen our fragment-related research questions. My case study has considered a range of *in situ* fragments, from tiny sewing guards to consecutive leaves, within multiple host volumes, yet I have interrogated a central issue – how the combined evidence of host volume and fragment informs our understanding of the material book. I have shown that these *in situ* fragments, which sometimes seem so insignificant, can nevertheless offer valuable contributions to the study of codicology, manuscript studies, and book history. Our descriptions on *Fragmentarium* present the analysis of host volume and fragment together. This means that users can learn about the content and function of *in situ* fragments alongside information such as the provenance of host volumes, the construction methods employed by bookbinders, and the treatment of medieval manuscripts by later users. Ultimately, this case study demonstrates that the in-depth cataloguing of *in situ* manuscript fragments gives us the chance to gather material evidence on both *codices discissi* and their host incunables, and this in turn informs discussions on the history of the book.

Fragments and Fakes

The *Arbor consanguinitatis* of the Fondation Martin Bodmer and a Contemporary Forgery

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Abstract: A tree of consanguinity (*arbor consanguinitatis*) contained in a manuscript published on e-codices (Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 28), served as the model for a new class of forgery. An analysis of the Bodmer leaf in the context of other *arbores consanguinitatis* shows how the leaf relates to tradition; an examination of the leaf's history and provenance reveals that the leaf was mutilated, probably in the mid-twentieth century. The forgery is proven to be such through a paleographical and content analysis of the script, and through an examination of the leaf's method of composition. A second forgery is examined, a fragment of Jerome's Epistle 53, fabricated from the first folio of another e-codices manuscript, Aarau, Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek MsWettF 11. The forgeries and their circulation provides the opportunity for an assessment of the changing role of manuscript fragments and fakes in the twenty-first century.

Keywords: *arbor consanguinitatis*, forgery, Bodmer, e-codices, Digital Humanities, manuscript culture

The Fondation Martin Bodmer owns a thirteenth-century Latin Bible (Cod. Bodmer 28)¹, likely produced in northern France, which contains 80 artfully historiated initials. At the front, the book presents an isolated first leaf written in another hand, which was added at an as-yet undetermined date and which, on the recto, contains a depiction of an *Arbor consanguinitatis* (F-w318). This leaf, presumably also produced in Northern France in the late thirteenth century, serves as the point of departure for our investigation, which shows how the rise of digital libraries has enabled a new class of forged manuscript leaves and fragments.

¹ Latin Bible, Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 28 (<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/fmb/cb-0028>).

The Bodmer leaf and *Arbores consanguinitatis*

By the time of the composition of the *Decretum Gratiani* in the twelfth century, early-medieval papal decrees barring marriage within seven degrees of consanguinity were interpreted such that each degree represents a generation, and, consequently, intermarriage between sixth-cousins (without papal dispensation) was forbidden. In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council reduced to four the number of prohibited degrees, and the new regulations became part of the *Liber extra* compiled by Raymond of Peñafort in 1234 and promulgated by Pope Gregory IX.

A visual depiction of a family tree was developed to illustrate the impediments to marriage. The subject-person (“ego”) was situated in the middle, above him were depicted his ancestors or ascendants (*pater*, *avus*, *proavus*, and *abavus*), below him, his progeny or descendants (*filius*, *nepos*, *pronepos*, and *abnepos*), and, to the sides, collateral relatives to the fourth degree. In this way, legitimate marriages could be easily distinguished from those within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. The subject was not allowed to marry a relative who appeared in one of the degrees on the table.

More than 255 depictions survive, dating from the late thirteenth century to the end of the fourteenth century,² and over 70 of these belong to the French tradition, including our leaf, a member of the sub-group known as the “Scepter Type”.³ On the whole, the depictions from the French tradition have a large internal unity, and Hermann Schadt describes the mass production of such depictions in workshops of the time, “usually with only slight variation in the motifs”.⁴

While images of only a small number of these depictions are available in print,⁵ today, thanks to the ongoing revolution in information technology, many more are now accessible in some form on the internet. We have thus compiled (in Appendix A) a catalog of those images from Schadt’s Scepter Type *arbores* that were available on the internet at the time of the writing of this article (July 2018), as well as three depictions not in Schadt’s catalogue.

The Bodmer *Arbor* in comparison

There are numerous and varied similarities between the individual representations, and the Bodmer *arbor* in particular relates to many of the other *arbores*

² H. Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis und der Arbores Affinitatis, Bildschemata in juristischen Handschriften*, Tübingen 1982, 234–306.

³ Schadt, *Die Darstellungen*, 235–246.

⁴ Schadt, *Die Darstellungen*, 124.

⁵ For researchers, obtaining images used to be a major undertaking, and high printing costs further limited the selection. For university publications, the quality of the images was often quite poor. Schadt, *Die Darstellungen*, XXX, summarizes: “of the following 63 pairs [of *arbores consanguinitatis et affinitatis*] and 8 single leaves [of *arbores*], only 9 pairs and 12 single examples have been published.”

available online. Nearly all the pictures (except #7, #12, #14; numbers refer to the Appendix) depict a king, who in most of the cases is crowned with a fleur-de-lys crown (particularly similar crowns in #4, #9, #11, #16, #17, #18, #19, #20, #22, #24, #30). In the Bodmer *arbor* as in a few other pictures (#2, #8, #9, #13, #14, #22, #26, #30, #32), the king is gazing rigidly straight ahead, and the eyes are close together; we find the whole face similar to #2, #3, #17, #20, #23, #32. The posture of the arms varies considerably; those of the Bodmer *arbor* rest on and embrace the table, and the outstretched fingers are just holding, but not grasping, the scepter (similar to #3, #11, #18, #19, #23, #34, #35, especially clear in the examples without a scepter, that is, #4, #6, #7, #20). The ermine coat is not recognizable as such in the Bodmer *arbor* (as opposed to #2, #3, #6, #8, #16, #17, #22, #30, #34), and is held together with a fine chain (as in #5, #8, #11, #13, #17, #18, #24, #25, #30; without a broach, as in #19, #20, #21, #22, #23). Even the position and shape of the feet, as well as the pattern of the shoes find similarities in other representations (#3, #4, #6, #8, #9, #10, #13, #17, #19, #21, #23, #24, #30, #32, #33). To attest to his power, our king stands on two animals, in his case, two dogs (as in #12, #24), not on lions (#2, #8, #16, #18, #32, #33), dragons, other mythical beasts (#4, #9, #10, #11, #17, #20, #30), pheasants (#13), or hybrid creatures (#3, 37). Both scepters bloom into a vine motif (similar to #11, #13, #15, #16, #17, #18, #24, #30, #31, #32, #33). The background is pale red speckled with a repeating motif of three white points arranged in a triangle, similar to the simple decoration of ceramics (similar to #5, #16, #23, #24, #30, #34). Gold is used in the crown, the collar, the hem of the robe, the crown in the “ego” medallion, in the vines, and the pedestals on which the dogs are sitting. In spite of all the similarities, there is such a variety of applied motives that the Bodmer *arbor* cannot be assigned to any sub-group.

The closest *arbor* is certainly the *arbor* in Frankfurt, Stadtbibliothek Praed. 90 (#17). The face and hair of the King is similar, and the cloak and the shoes have the same shape. The Frankfurt *arbor*’s background is mostly blue, while the Bodmer’s one is vermillion, but in both cases they have been decorated with the same three white dots. Even more noticeable, however, the dog that appears as decoration in the Frankfurt scepter-tree bears a striking resemblance to the two dogs in the Bodmer leaf. These numerous similarities are certainly no accident. The two *arbores* could come from the same workshop; at the very least, the two depictions must have been produced at roughly the same time and in roughly the same place. Nevertheless, there are numerous differences as well. In the Frankfurt leaf, the King is standing on a monster with four hind legs (similar to #4, #10), his ermine cloak is clearly visible, he is holding his hands in a different way, the *arbor* fills the square frame, and the face in the *ego* is looking to the right. Above all, the predominantly blue background is more richly decorated, and in the scepter-tree, in addition to a dog, two birds and a hare appear. Overall, the Frankfurt tree is more artful and more natural. While the king is tall, he is

not unnaturally stretched lengthwise, as with the Bodmer *arbor* (or #2, #9, #15, #32), and the face and nose are indicated in detail, while in the Bodmer leaf a half-circle hints at the nose. Such a comparison shows how even, in very similar drawings, motifs vary considerably.

The mutilated accompanying text, *Quia tractare intendimus*, in the Bodmer *Arbor*

The trees from the French area are usually found in the context of legal manuscripts, for example, the *Lectura super arboris consanguinitatis* of Johannes Andreae (#1, #15), Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis) (#2, #3, #14, #22, #25, #31, #33, #34), or Gaufredus de Trani (#7, #17, #18), but most frequently with the short treatise of Raymond (of Peñafort?) that begins *Quia tractare intendimus* (#4, #5, #6, #9, #11, #12, #19, #20, #21, #24, #26, #27, #28, #29, #32, #35, #36, 37).

The Bodmer *arbor* was probably created as a single leaf; on the verso, the text of *Quia tractare* ends after 43 lines. A comparison with Worby's 2010 edition reveals that the ending of the text corresponds to the end of the first half, which concerns the *arbor consanguinitatis*; the second, and missing, part concerns the *arbor affinitatis*.⁶ Since, as in other manuscript witnesses, the text here ends with "Raymundus", thus naming the author, it can be assumed that the writer did not intend to continue with the second half, but rather considered his work finished.

In addition to several textual variants, the Bodmer text has three extensive gaps:

1. *contrahere cum aliquo... ad sedem quod enim* (150 words; Worby, §11–13, pp. 150–51).
2. *sobrinus tertio... Hic est re(collende)* (153 words; Worby, §30–33, p. 154).
3. *Item cum fit computatio... trunco in tercio* (37 words; Worby, §46, p. 156).

The third case appears to be a common scribal error. It involves an omission by homoioteleuton, where the scribe skipped an entire sentence and continued with the next one, which also began with "*Item cum*".

The two other gaps, however, arose long after the scribe had copied the text. On the picture (Figure 1, above, and Figures 2 and 3, below) – and even clearer on the original – a break in the parchment is visible between the 78th and 79th lines on the page.

An investigation shows that the leaf was carefully cut in half between these two lines. Then the first eight lines of the lower part were cut off, and the rest of the lower part glued back to the upper part. The section of the lower part glued underneath the upper part is two lines long (Figure 4), but with image enhancement, the lines can be made visible again (Figure 5). The question naturally arises: who shortened this leaf and for what reason?

6 S. Worby, *Law and Kinship in Thirteenth-Century England*, Rochester 2010, edition on 148–162; the section covered by the Bodmer leaf is §1–49, pp. 148–157, and the missing section is §50–74, pp. 157–162.

A leaf in the wrong place

As noted above, the *arbor* was a single leaf, and probably was conceived as a single leaf. Since this leaf, originally ca. 400 x 250 mm, was simply too large to fit in the slightly smaller Bible manuscript (357 x 250 mm), the leaf had to be shortened by some 35 mm.

The addition of the leaf in a volume where it certainly never belonged occurred most probably in modern times, that is, at a time when there was little interest in the text, but considerable value in a full-page miniature. This clearly points to the nineteenth or twentieth century,⁷ with the rise of bibliophiles interested in book decoration. What is now known as the Bodmer *arbor* was inserted into a Bible manuscript, and for aesthetic reasons, the leaf was mutilated.

We know that the volume was bound in London by “Rivière and Son” between 1880 and 1920.⁸ We also know that Martin Bodmer purchased the manuscript in July 1956 from the Parisian book dealer Lardanchet.⁹ Bodmer’s typewritten catalogue entry mentions “at the beginning a leaf from an older manuscript with a large central miniature (genealogical representation).”¹⁰ The entries in Bodmer’s catalogue were usually made shortly after the manuscript was purchased.¹¹ The entry in Lardanchet’s sales catalogue, however, reveals that, at the moment of printing (May 1956), this leaf was not yet part of the codex. It is highly unlikely that the seller would simply forget to mention an attractive leaf bound at the very beginning of the codex; it is impossible, moreover, that, if the *arbor* were already bound with the codex, whether by Rivière or someone else, that the numerous sales catalogues that appear to mention this codex never discuss the tree.

The Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts includes manuscripts offered for sale in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since we know the dimensions (35.6 x 25.4 cm), the number of leaves (415), columns (2) and lines (52), the manuscript was easy to identify, and it apparently changed hands several times

7 One can see how a pre-modern binder inserted an excessively long leaf into a smaller volume in *arbor* 9 (Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 980, f. 4v). The bottom part was simply folded in.

8 Robert Rivière (1808–1882) was a London bookbinder with French roots. See the description by E. Pellegrin, *Manuscrits latins de la Bodmeriana*, Cologne-Genève 1982, 51–61 (<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/fmb/cb-0028/>). The usage of the embossed “Bound by Rivière & Son” dates the binding to the period 1880–1939, see: M. Rivière, “The Huguenot Family of Rivière in England”, *Proceedings of the Royal Huguenot Society in London* 21(1970), 95–156. When the book appears for sale in 1920, the Rivière binding is explicitly mentioned in the auction catalogue *Catalogue of very important illuminated & other manuscripts, the property of the Lort Mostyn, Mostyn Hall, Mostyn, Cheshire... on Tuesday, the 13th of July, 1920*, London: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge 1920, Lot 8.

9 *Catalogue de beaux livres anciens et modernes*, no. 50, Paris: Paul Lardanchet, 1956, p. 93, no. 3784, color plate of f. 4v.

10 Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Catalogue of the Bodmer Collection, “Zu Beginn ein Blatt aus einem älteren Manuskript mit grosser zentraler Miniatur (genealogische Darstellung).”

11 Information kindly provided by Nicolas Ducimetière of the Fondation Martin Bodmer.

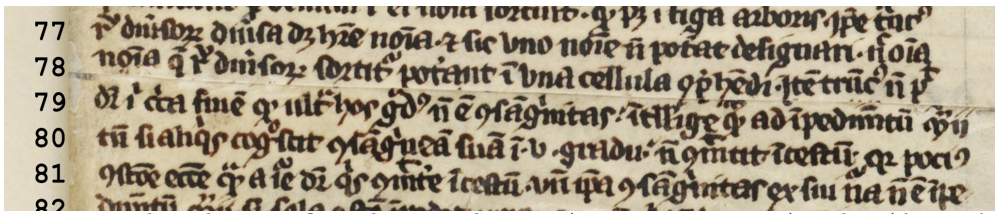


Figure 2: Cod. Bodmer 28, f. 1ra, between lines 78 (*nomina que respectu*) and 79 (*dicitur ibi circa*) a break is visible.

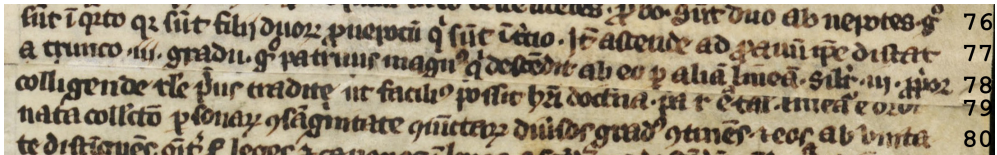


Figure 3: Cod. Bodmer 28, f. 1rb, the break is visible at the same place on the right column; at the right edge, line 78 slightly covers line 79.



Figure 4: Bodmer 28, f. 1va. On the verso the glue work is more clearly visible. The lower part was pasted to the back of the upper part.

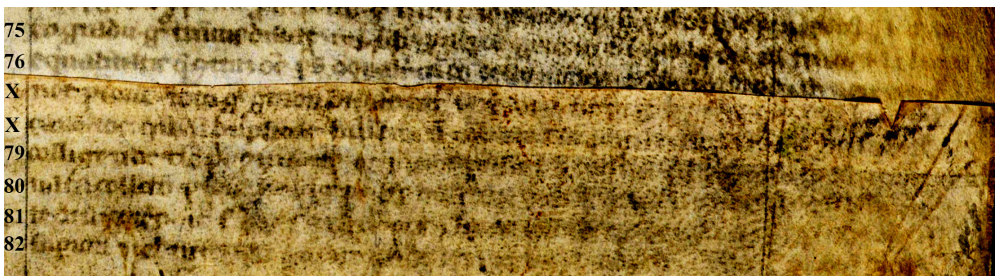


Figure 5: The image of Figure 4, enhanced and mirrored, making the covered text partially visible. The first covered line begins: "<ma>nent persone toto ergo gradu" and the second "canonicos quandoque? non? duplicant nisi..." Line 79 begins "<re>colligende..."

over the last two centuries.¹² Checking these data against the original catalogues available to us, the first unequivocal mention of this codex is a 1920 catalogue entry, which, as noted above, was used to establish the *terminus ante quem* of the Rivière binding.¹³ Interestingly, the extent in 1920 is given as 415 leaves, which

¹² Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts, SDBM_MS_3031 (<https://sdbm.library.upenn.edu/manuscripts/3031>).

¹³ See n. 8, above. The earlier records for the manuscript in the Schoenberg Database, covering 1826-1857, are uncertain. In February 1826 it seems to have belonged to Payne & Foss, where apparently it remained in stock, being offered several times for sale (May 1827, February 1830,

suggests that the *arbor* had not yet been added as the 416th leaf. Ten years later, in 1931, Bernard Quaritch sold this *Biblia Sacra Latina*, which in the description refers to 70 ornamental initials, mostly historiated. But he was unable to immediately sell it (see the sales catalogues of 1935, 1941, and 1945).¹⁴ In 1954, finally, Lardanchet offered it, and again – as we have seen – in 1956, when the codex was finally incorporated into the Bodmer collection.

It thus seems that the Bodmer *arbor* must be linked directly to the purchase of the codex by Martin Bodmer. What the particular circumstances that led to this remain unclear. In any case, given the leaf's mutilation to fit in the codex, commercial reasons probably played a greater role than conservational ones.

The Anonymous *Arbor consanguinitatis*

In March 2014, the e-codices team received an enquiry from a private collector regarding the Bodmer *arbor*. The collector had recently purchased from the same seller two fragments of approximately the same size, one of which was an *arbor consanguinitatis* (AAC), the other the first page of Jerome's Epistle 53, *Ad Paulinum presbyterum* (AAP). The collector noticed several similarities between his *arbor* and that of Bodmer, as well as the script accompanying them, and wanted to know if they could have been produced by the same workshop and possibly scribe. After a cursory inspection, one of the authors of the present article replied

1835, 1837, 1845, 1848). Yet the last entry (*A Catalogue of Books in Various Languages on sale by Payne and Foss*, London: Payne and Foss 1848) describes the manuscript: "676 – Biblia, Vetus et Novum Testamentum, cum Prologis et Argumentis Sancti Hieronymi. Saeculi XIV. Fine MS, upon vellum, containing 830 pages in double columns. On the first page is a Miniature Portrait of St. Jerome, and in the body of the work are many coloured Initials. At the end of the Book of Job is the date of MCCC., in the original binding, with clasps, 8l. 8s. fol." Although the number of pages and the content match, our manuscript is not dated. The 1857 catalogue (see SDBM_65366, <https://sdbm.library.upenn.edu/entries/65366>) unfortunately could not be found.

- 14 Our manuscript is mentioned in the 1945 catalogue (*Rare and imported illuminated manuscripts incunabula... works on bibliography and palaeography*, no. 629, London: Bernard Quaritch 1945): "Biblia sacra latina. Versio Vulgata, cum prologis S. Hieronymi et interpretationibus nominum Hebraicorum. Folio (14 x 10 ins.), illuminated manuscript of Anglo-French execution of fine uterine vellum, ff. 415, written in clear Gothic characters, double columns, 52 lines to a column; rubricated throughout, with page titles and chapter numbers in red and blue; with an exceptionally fine strap initial at the beginning of Genesis, containing 8 small miniatures representing the Creation and the Crucifixion, in ovals, on diapered grounds of red and blue, also 70 ornamental initials mostly historiated and containing miniatures executed in the best style of the period, that at the beginning of Matthew containing a "Jesse tree"; numerous capitals in red and blue with pen-work marginal decoration also in red and blue extending the full length of the page; bound in brown morocco, blind-tooled, gilt edges, by Rivière, in a cloth clip-on case. About 1280 - £ 1,000 - \$4,000.00 (A very fine example of calligraphy and decoration, complete and in splendid condition throughout)."

that the two leaves are so closely related that in modern terms one of them we would call a fake.

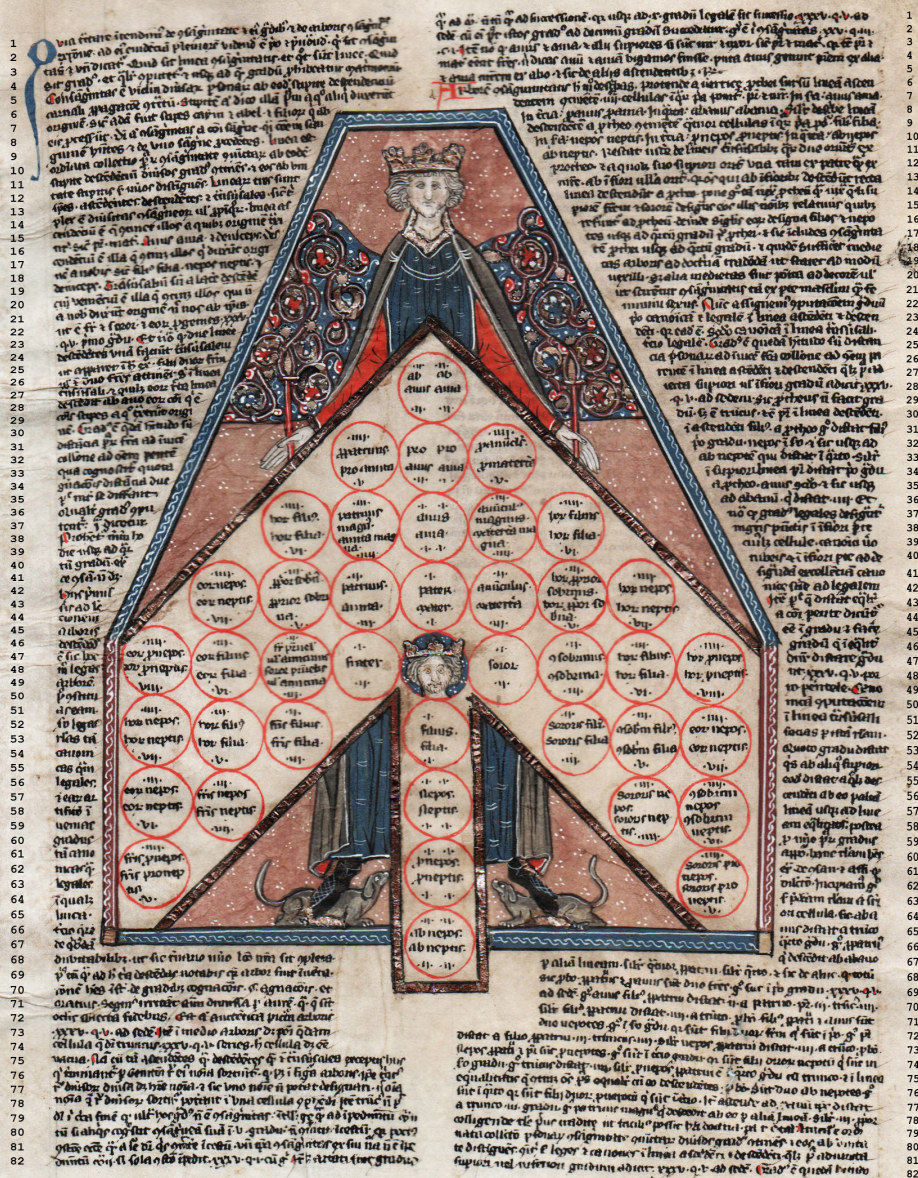


Figure 6: AAC recto, with line numbers added

The AAC surfaced again in September 2016, for sale in Switzerland in a catalogue of a highly-reputed dealer of medieval manuscripts and early printed books. The leaf was unmistakably the same, although the parchment appeared to have undergone restoration. In May 2018, upon noticing that the AAC was for sale, we informed the dealer immediately, and the leaf was removed from the website. While the web page contained no information on provenance, we learned from conversations with the staff that it had been obtained from an auction house. Unfortunately, the dealer could not meet us to discuss the matter further.

The manner of fabrication, continued presence, and circulation of this twenty-first-century simulation of a medieval manuscript raises a number of questions concerning the changing role and value of manuscript fragments in society, the impact of digital libraries, the competing and shared interests in the community of manuscript scholars, collectors, and dealers, and those who would exploit them.

Material Description of the AAC (from digital photographs)

Parchment, ca. 195 x 145 mm.

Recto: two columns, 183 mm long; left: 54 mm wide, right: 67 mm wide.

Verso: ruled for two columns, only left column has text, 94 mm long, 54 mm wide, 43 lines.

82 lines, line height: ca. 2.2 mm, intercolumn: 6.3 mm

Authenticity

A comparison of the AAC with the Bodmer *arbor* concludes that the AAC was produced between November 2009, the date when the Bodmer *arbor* was published on e-codices, and March 2014, when the collector contacted e-codices for the first time. The two trees of consanguinity have exactly the same line breaks across the two copies, an unprecedented phenomenon for prose works. The text of the AAC follows the Bodmer leaf precisely, including the eight-line omission caused by the physical mutilation of the Bodmer leaf. The script is precisely the same, even copying the same errors and corrections.

Identical Line Breaks and Identical Text

Medieval scribes only copy line breaks from their exemplars when there is a good reason to do so, such as a poetic work, or a diagram. Given the difference in script types, manuscript sizes, and the choices of abbreviations, practically the only cases where a pre-modern manuscript is found having the same line breaks as another manuscript is when that other manuscript is a modern facsimile. This feature alone calls the authenticity of the AAC into question.

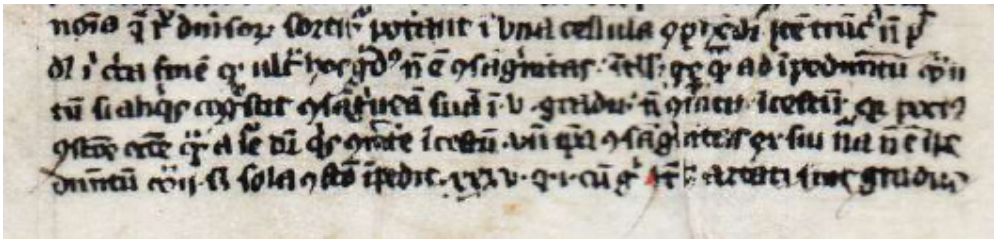


Figure 8: AAC, recto, column a, bottom five lines (78–82), showing the same lacuna as in the Bodmer leaf, Figure 3

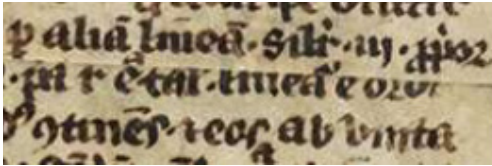


Figure 9: Bodmer arbor, f. 1rb, ll. 78–80

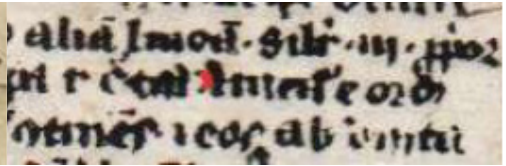


Figure 10: AAC recto, column b, ll. 78–80

The AAC and the Bodmer leaf have the same text. The Bodmer leaf, as noted above, is a fragment via mutilation. The AAC has the exact same lacunae (compare Figure 8, below, to Figure 2, above).

Identical Script

In spite of being much smaller than the Bodmer leaf, the script of AAC is identical to the point of showing the same errors and corrections of them. For example, both the Bodmer leaf and AAC have the same expunction of *descendencium* on lines 19–20. Indeed, AAC follows the Bodmer leaf even where the mutilation at the bottom of the page superimposes the upper part. Specifically, in the right column of the Bodmer leaf, the photo shows a juxtaposition omitting needed abbreviation marks and adding other ones (Figures 9–10).

The line partially submerged by the cut reads: *prima regula est talis: linea est ordi<nata>*. The vertical stroke over the *p* (*prima*), the *a* over the *r* (*regula*), and the lines over the two *es* (*est*) are covered by the upper leaf, along with the top of the *l*. On the other hand, what looks like a superscript *a* appears over the *e* (*est talis*) and a *-ur* abbreviation over the *a* in *linea*.¹⁵ These phenomena all appear in AAC.

In addition, the *l*'s (*linea*) shaft has been restored, but bending to the left, and the punctuation dot following *talis* has, along with the top part of the crossing stroke of the *l*, been suffused into the letter, with a dot of rubric making it a nonsensical *Ainea*². Likewise, the *d* of *ordi-nata* seems to have been “repaired” by continuing the stroke of the *pro* in *proprio* above. A similar repair can be seen in

15 The missing passage from the mutilated Bodmer leaf began: *sobriano tertio, filius eius secum est in tertio in linea equali. Deinde pro numero personarum adicitur gradus*. The Bodmer scribe consistently uses a closed *a* above a *per* for *persona*, so it is likely the *a* and the *-ur* are the visible abbreviations for *personarum adicitur*.

the left column, at the right edge, where, on the Bodmer leaf, the bottom part of a *quod* abbreviation is visible directly next to the open *a* of the abbreviation for *m(atrimon)ii* (Figure 2); on AAC, the two abbreviations for the previous word, *impedimentum*, are connected with a single stroke and joined to the bottom of the *quod* abbreviation (Figure 8).

AAC follows the Bodmer *arbor* slavishly, but not perfectly. As can be seen in the examples above, AAC is missing some of the fine lines in the Bodmer leaf, and has other fine strokes instead. Many of these appear at the end of lines, possibly intending to simulate words that continue across line-breaks or scribal flourishes. Even cursory inspection, however, reveals that neither option is viable. For example, on the left column of the recto, line 10 ends with *eodem* written *eodē*; the word is complete, and therefore not in need of a continuation dash, and on the Bodmer leaf, a flourish is already present; the scribe has drawn out the final stroke of the *e*. Yet the AAC adds another stroke, at the bottom of the *e*, as if the scribe finished writing the letter *twice*. Elsewhere, where fine pen work should be present, it is missing. For example, AAC draws the blue capital *Q* of the *incipit* in a different way than Bodmer's copy of *Quia tractare*.

The capital *Q* of the Bodmer leaf cuts across the descender of the *x* in *expositione*, and a bit of rubric highlights the *e* of the same word. AAC's capital *Q* has a descender that escapes the text block, but the *expositione* is missing exactly the bits of the *ex* that were written over with red- and blue-colored ink.

These examples could be multiplied without even leaving the first column. The Bodmer leaf's line 10, *personarum* has a fine sweeping descender on the *-rum* abbreviation that AAC completely loses. Lines 19–20 see *descendencium* written and expunged with a series of dots, which AAC connects.

In short, while the artisan who fashioned AAC was capable of fine strokes, such strokes do not appear where they should, and rather appear where they should not.

The Two *Arbores* Compared

The comparison of the scripts between the AAC and the Bodmer leaf is sufficient to show that the AAC is a modern copy. The miniatures – traditionally the focus of authentication efforts – are here of secondary concern. Nevertheless, a few observations should be made. The AAC miniature of the *arbor* is clearly related to the Bodmer *arbor*, but, just as clearly, does not copy the illumination as faithfully as it copies the text. This is most evident when the text and drawing mix, in the medallions of the tree.

Indeed, the circles of the Bodmer *arbor* appear to have been drawn with a compass and all have the same shape and size (Figures 13, 15). Only after the circles were drawn was the text added, as can be seen in the only case in the Bodmer leaf where the text exceeds the bounds of the medallion.

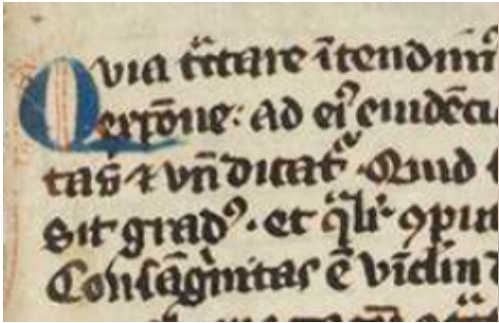


Figure 11: Bodmer leaf, f. 1ra, incipit

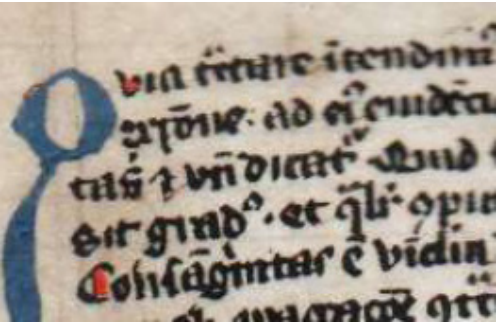
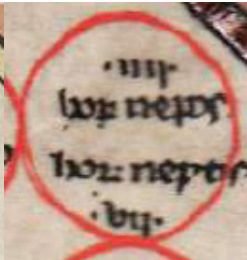
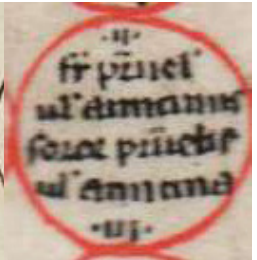


Figure 12: AAC, column a, incipit

Figure 13, 14: Bodmer *arbor*, f. 1r medallion and corresponding AAC medallion: "III / horum nepos / horum neptis / VII"Figure 15, 16: Bodmer *arbor*, f. 1r medallion and corresponding AAC medallion: "II / frater patruelis / vel amitinus / soror patruelis / vel amitina."

The top of the *s* of *amitinus* escapes the circle, in spite of the scribe's efforts to keep it in (Figure 15). On the other hand, AAC's circles are hand-drawn in rubric after the text (Figure 14, 16).

The practice universally followed by authentic *arbores* is to draw the medallions first and then fill in the text; the Bodmer *arbor* is done this way, and none of the 38 *arbores* in the appendix was made by drawing circles around text. Indeed, in numerous cases, the circles were drawn, but the text was never added (#21, #22, #24, #25, #30, #31).

Moreover, the page decorations in AAC and the Bodmer leaf are extremely close. Above, we observed the close stylistic similarities between the Bodmer *arbor* and the Frankfurt, Praed. 90 *arbor* (#17), and also noted that, even in similar cases, significant variation occurs. In that case, moreover, the Bodmer leaf is significantly larger than the Frankfurt *arbor* (357 x 250 mm as opposed to 234 x 159 mm), and the space available undoubtedly affected the depiction as well. The AAC, on the other hand, copies closely the motifs of the Bodmer *arbor*, and this in spite of being even smaller than the Frankfurt *arbor* (200 x 150 mm). Indeed, a good measure of the size of the genealogical trees is the diameter of the medallions, which, in the images contained in the appendix, varies from 10 mm (#19) to 23 mm (#3). The Bodmer *arbor* is one of the larger ones, with the medallions measuring 20 mm across; the AAC is one of the smaller ones,

measuring just 11 mm across. Yet the layout of the page and the use of motifs is closer between these two than between any other two trees in the whole series.¹⁶

The Ad Paulinum Leaf

As noted above, when the collector contacted us in March 2014, the discussion turned on two images purchased at the same time from the same dealer, the other being the first leaf of the *Epistula ad Paulinum*. After closer examination, it became apparent that this leaf too was a fake, produced in the same way and apparently by the same forger.

The collector asked whether it was common to place an *arbor consanguinitatis* at the beginning of a medieval Bible (as discussed above, it was not; the Bodmer leaf is the only case that we know of, and that was done in the twentieth century) and noted that both the *arbor* leaf and the *Ad Paulinum* one had damage in a similar place. Specifically, when viewed from the recto, on the lower-right side there are two holes in both pieces of parchment, roughly the same shape and 6.5–6.7 mm apart from each other (Figures 18 and 19).

Like AAC, the *Ad Paulinum* leaf (=AAP) is 200 mm long, but, unlike it, it is only ca. 139 mm wide, or roughly 10 mm narrower than AAC. Its text, too, is a direct copy of a manuscript available on e-codices, [Aarau, Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek, MsWettF 11, f. 1r](#). The manuscript in Aarau comes from the abbey of Wettingen and was originally produced in a German-speaking area in the thirteenth century.¹⁷ It measures 315 x 225 mm.

Again, it is unheard of for a medieval manuscript to be a line-by-line copy of another manuscript, and for such a copy of a German manuscript (in this case, the Wettingen Bible) to appear together with a similar copy of a French manuscript (the Bodmer *arbor*), is in itself sufficient proof of forgery. There are several other indicators. The artisan had the same issues producing AAP as with AAC: corrections are copied, but only if they are in the same ink color as the text, and attempts are made to correct shortcomings in the manuscript. Thus, on lines 10–11 of the Wettingen Bible, *novos adivisse* shows two peculiarities. First, a hole in the parchment makes the *v* ambiguous; second, *adivisse* has been corrected from *audivisse* by erasure (Figure 20). AAP tries to fix *novos* but ends up with an unconvincing *nonos*, and the space for the deletion is visible, but not the letter that was deleted (Figure 21). These examples suffice to show that AAP's text is a

¹⁶ For a comparison of the two *arbores*, see also the interactive feature: http://fragmentology.ms/issues/1-2018/duba-and-flueeler_fragments-and-fakes/image-comparisons/. For a printable PDF with the two images to scale, see <http://fragmentology.ms/documents/Arbores%20to%20scale.pdf>.

¹⁷ C. Bretscher-Gisiger and R. Gamper, *Katalog der mittelalterlichebn Handschriften des Klosters Wettingen*, Dietikon-Zürich 2009, 112–115 (<https://www.e-codices.ch/en/description/kba/WettFoou/>).



Figure 18: mirror image of AAC, verso, holes in parchment

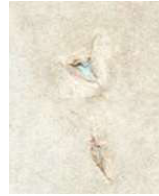


Figure 19: Ad Paulinum leaf, recto, holes in parchment

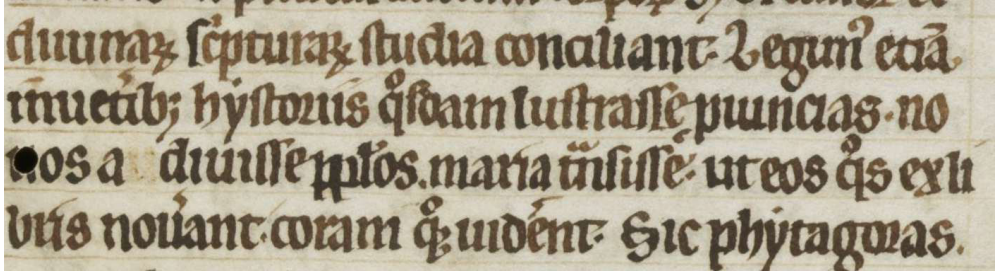


Figure 20: Wettingen Bible, f. 1ra, detail showing hole in parchment (*novos*)

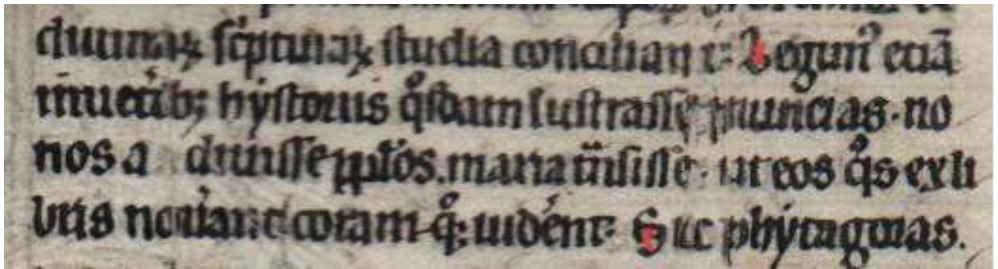


Figure 21: AAP, detail showing crude correction of hole in parchment (*nonos*).

modern copy of the Wettingen Bible; the reader is invited to compare the texts further.

AAP's Miniatures

The illuminations, however, are different from their sources. While elements of the AAP clearly derive from the Wettingen Bible, others, such as the vine motif, seem closer to the Bodmer manuscript.¹⁸ At its heart, however, the AAP illumination is nonsense. The *incipit* to the *Epistula ad Paulinum* is *Frater*, and practically every historiated initial to this text is also an *F*. When that *F* is a historiated initial, it features Saint Jerome writing the letter. So it is with the *Epistula* in the [Bodmer manuscript](#) and with the Wettingen Bible. The other nine copies of *Ad Paulinum* available on e-codices and containing the incipit all feature capital *F*s

¹⁸ e.g., f. 141v.

(1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9).¹⁹ AAP's initial, on the other hand, rises from the line as if it were an *F*, but at the top changes design, incorporating some sort of angled roof, and thus destroying the top bar of the *F*. Perhaps this is because the *I* of incipit was written in rubric in the Wettingen Bible and does not appear in AAP, so the artisan tried to transform the capital *F* into an *I*. Moreover, the saint writing at the writing table in the initial seems to be wearing the brown of a Franciscan's habit.

Summary: The Anonymous Leaves were produced between 2009 and 2014.

The forger behind AAC and AAP procured two pieces of blank or mostly blank²⁰ parchment, probably from the same source. He or she then copied in an extremely detailed and precise manner the text from Bodmer 28, f. 1r–v onto the AAC leaf. The text of AAC is so close to the Bodmer leaf, that, correcting for the distortion of the parchment, the two can be [lined up precisely](#). While the text is practically identical, all elements using color are not, suggesting a different process.

Bodmer 28 is unique in that it is the only known case of a medieval *arbor consanguinitatis* added before a Bible manuscript, an addition most probably made in 1956. For the second leaf, the forger chose to make the beginning of Jerome's *Epistula 53 ad Paulinum*, a copy of which is found on f. 2r–v of Bodmer 28. Rather than copy Bodmer 28 again, the artisan copied the text from another manuscript found on e-codices, Aarau, Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek, MsWettF 11. After copying the text precisely, the forger added to both AAC and AAP (in a seemingly random manner) light pen strokes at the end of lines, occasionally between words (on AAP), and elsewhere to conceal places where the parchment of his sources was defective. Then the forger added the colored elements by hand: rubrics, circles, illuminations and the rest.

Bodmer 28 has documented provenance back to July 1920, and the *arbor* to 1956; MsWettF 11 can be traced through the sixteenth century. AAP and AAC have no provenance and first came to our attention in March 2014. Such a precise duplication of the text of the two manuscripts could not have been made without a high-quality reproduction. Given the fact that the AAP and AAC leaves each have less than half the surface area of the leaves in the Bodmer and Aarau

19 These are Aarau, Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek, [MsWettF #1](#), f. 1r; Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, [Cod. Bodmer 187](#), f. 33r; Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, [Cod. 3](#), f. 2v; Lausanne, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire de Lausanne, [U 964](#), f. 1r; Porrentruy, Bibliothèque cantonale jurassienne, [Ms. 6a](#), f. 1r; Sion, Archives du Chapitre, [Ms. 15](#), f. 1v; Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, [Cod. S 438](#), f. 1r; St. Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, [VadSlg Ms. 332](#), f. 2r; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, [Cod. Sang. 913](#), p. 5.

20 On AAC, recto, bottom left-hand corner there appears to be signs of a *probatio pennae*.

manuscripts, such a reproduction would have to be scalable. Since the forger chose two manuscripts freely available on e-codices, and the text of the leaves matches precisely the photographs, it stands to reason that the e-codices images were the source for the documents. The Bodmer manuscript was published on e-codices on December 21, 2009,²¹ and the Aarau codex on November 4, 2010; therefore AAC and AAP were made after these respective dates and before March 2014, when the e-codices team was first contacted with images of the fakes.

Forgeries in Contemporary Manuscript Culture

The case of these two simulated medieval manuscript leaves, their fabrication, circulation on the international market, and discovery provides the occasion for numerous observations on the role of fragments and loose leaves in contemporary society, the relationships between researchers, collectors, and dealers, and the cultural impact of digital libraries.

In the wake of the debate concerning the so-called Jesus' Wife Papyrus, Christopher Jones has proposed a syntax of forgery, which he describes as "the various components, from the intellectual and social situation into which the forgery is introduced, through the forger himself (I have not discovered an example of a woman forger), his motives and materials, the reception that his product receives, both positive and negative, down to the aftermath of continued debate."²² Alongside this syntax, Jones identifies "an often-repeated sequence of deception, acceptance and rejection."

The present article proposes a rejection of the two leaves, AAC and AAP. We believe that a fraud has been perpetrated, but our purpose in publishing this study is not to denounce a crime. The forger is unknown to us. Among the victims, those who paid money on the belief that the documents were genuine would, were they named, suffer the added injustice of having their reputation tarnished merely because they failed to recognize a new method of faking manuscripts. Those institutions who suffered the misappropriation of resources they published for a public good, including two libraries and e-codices, have no hope of recovering damages.

On the other hand, remaining silent would do disservice to the medieval manuscript community. This case involves a method of faking manuscripts that met with some success, a method that, until recently, was unfeasible, and this study details ways such fakes may be detected. Moreover, the fabricator took

21 A low-quality image of the Bodmer *arbor* was published in E. Pellegrin, *Manuscrits latins de la Bodmeriana*, Cologny-Genève 1982, plate 2. The photo, as printed, furthermore truncates the *a* in *linea*, on line 75, right hand side, a feature that the AAC maintains.

22 C. Jones, "The Jesus' Wife Papyrus in the History of Forgery", *New Testament Studies* 61(2015), 369.

advantage of the advent of digital libraries publishing scientific photographs of fragments, and in particular, of e-codices, which one of this article's authors founded in 2005 and has directed ever since. Silence on the existence of these fakes and the techniques to make them only benefits the forgers.

The Forger's Motivation

In discussing how forgeries need a favorable environment in order to succeed, Jones observed that "a forger may have a particular person or group of persons in mind, either because he considers him or them an easy 'mark' or, as has happened with other forgers, because he nourishes a secret grudge against the establishment... Forgers also forge to make money, though this is probably less true with forgeries of manuscripts than of art-works, where the potential returns are so much higher."²³ Fifty years ago, when single leaves of medieval manuscripts were sold for modest amounts of money, this might have been the case.²⁴ Moreover, as we saw in the first section, *arbores consanguinitatis* circulated on individual leaves or bifolia, and so, unlike most single-leaf sales, a single-leaf *arbor* could be a complete manuscript and not a fragment (although, as we saw above, mutilation made the Bodmer leaf a fragment). Given the prices we have seen for *arbores consanguinitatis*, such as the 2016 published price for AAC of over 50,000, the potential returns are quite impressive.²⁵

Indeed, whoever made AAC and AAP had very low material costs: a few old pieces of parchment, such as flyleaves from broken books, a small amount of ink, some silver, and maybe some gold. Unlike a painting, a miniature does not need to be exceptionally well executed to be valuable; a semi-competent drawing still qualifies. Combined with the high selling prices, the market in manuscript leaves has become ripe for exploitation by forgers and frauds.

Certainly, an academic who endorses what later turns out to be a forgery or a dealer who sells one as genuine can, after the discovery, suffer a loss of face so great that it might explain the motivation of the forger. Yet in this case, it seems almost certain that the motivation was purely monetary.

Production of AAC and AAP: Projection or Computer Printer?

With the raw materials in hand, how did the artisan go about producing these leaves? Based on an analysis of the photographs alone, our answer to this question must be tentative. First, as we saw, the script was produced, and then

²³ Jones, "Jesus' Wife Papyrus in the History of Forgery", 372.

²⁴ C. de Hamel, "Selling Manuscript Fragments in the 1960s", in *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books. Proceedings of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500*, ed. L.L. Brownrigg and M.M. Smith, London 2000, 47–56, at 49.

²⁵ For a comparable (but genuine) example of a bifolium containing both an *arbor consanguinitatis* and an *arbor affinitatis*, see Appendix I, #35, estimated to sell at auction for between 30,000 and 50,000 GBP (~35,000–55,000 Euro).

the illuminations were added. The artisan began with images downloaded from the e-codices website, images offered by the Fondation Martin Bodmer and the Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek, respectively, then under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial #3.0 license](#). As we showed above, not just the text, but the very shape of the letters and abbreviations came from images available on e-codices. We have two hypotheses how this occurred.

First, the artisan could have used a high resolution digital image projector and projected the e-codices images onto the blank pieces of parchment. Then the artisan traced carefully the script that was visible. The second, more plausible hypothesis is that the forger downloaded the e-codices images and used photo enhancement software to mask out all elements except for the script, resulting in the loss of some of the fine details, corrections, and similar phenomena. Then the forger used a monochromatic printer to print the script onto the parchment. Additional brush strokes were added to cover physical defects in the e-codices manuscripts, to compensate for some of the fine detail loss, and to make it look like a manuscript. We cannot determine conclusively what method was used, but it is certain that the technique involved advanced technology and digital images. After the script was copied, the illuminations and anything in a color other than black were added by hand.

Acceptance as Genuine, Detection, and Rejection

As noted above, we do not have information on how the AAC, at least, managed to convince professionals in the medieval manuscript trade of its authenticity. The fact that the Bodmer leaf does not appear in Schadt's catalogue of *arbores* undoubtedly helped it evade detection. Moreover, most of our observations on authenticity concern the script, while much of the market value of thirteenth-century manuscripts comes from the miniatures.

In fact, it was the similarity of AAC's illumination to that of the Bodmer *arbor* that drew our attention to AAC's existence.²⁶ The collector then in possession of AAC had seen the Bodmer *arbor* as part of one of e-codices' social media campaigns²⁷, and wrote to inquire about the similarity of the miniatures; the fact that the text was identical was not mentioned. As noted above, this paleographical oddity was in itself sufficient to call into question the authenticity of the manuscript, but not to stop its circulation.

Our determination that the AAC is inauthentic is primarily based on paleographical criteria. Based on palaeography alone, it is a twenty-first century forgery. Other material and circumstantial evidence corroborates this determination.

²⁶ The similarity can even be detected by image-matching software, such as Pinterest. <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/420312577716485852/visual-search/?x=#16&y=#16&w=530&h=671> (Accessed 13 July 2018), where the first similarity the AAC returns is to Bodmer 28.

²⁷ An image of the leaf was published on Flickr: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/e-codices/albums/72157629853043183>.

Fragments and Fakes

In the world of manuscript studies, fragments have been a particular target for forgery. The most famous manuscript fakes are generally forged fragments, and thus research into fakes and forgeries belongs to the discipline of Fragmentology. The motivation is not always financial. In the nineteenth century, the Königinhofer and Grünberger manuscripts were forged by Václav Hanka out of a mix of romanticism, patriotism, and the desire for recognition, and the Königinhofer manuscript, at least, played a fundamental role for Czech nationalism²⁸ Other fakes were made not with the intention of deceiving, but in clear agreement with the owner, to bring damaged manuscripts back to beautiful state, additional illuminations were added by gifted and somewhat less-gifted artists.²⁹ The “Spanish Master” certainly had artistic ambitions as well, and he fooled the nascent fragment trade with his forged artworks; and yet today his works are appreciated as a witness to the reception of the Middle Ages.³⁰

A history of manuscript forgeries has yet to be written.³¹ It would show that forgeries are phenomena that spring from contemporary perspectives and interests and seek to influence them. The recently awoken research interest in manuscript fragments will certainly have an effect on the public perception of such fragments, and ultimately influence the market. Forgeries follow as the shadows of these developments. The forgery of the *arbor* is a sign of this; the forger used the most modern technical tools and knew the current interests, structural weaknesses and vanities of the art trade.

28 M. Ivanov, *Tajemství Rukopisů Královédvorského a Zelenohorského* (= *The Secret of the Königinhofer and Grüneberger Manuscripts*), Třebíč 2000; see the German review by O. Květoňová, “Romantische Handschriftenfälschungen. Miroslav Ivano, *Tajemství RKZ* (Das Geheimnis der Königinhofer und Grüneberger Handschriften)”, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 54(1972), 168–173.

29 See, for example, the addition of thirteen miniatures by Caleb William Wing (1801–1875) into a book of hours owned by John Boykett Jarman, apparently with his permission; B. Roux, “Le goût d’imiter: parcours d’un livre d’heures florentin”, in *Il più dolce lavorare che sia. Mélanges en l’honneur de Mauro Natale*, ed. F. Elsig, N. Etienne, G. Extermann, Milan 2009, 471–475.

30 See above all W. Voelkle and R.S. Wieck, *The Spanish Forger*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1978; Also useful is R.S. Wieck, “Folia Fugitiva. The Pursuit of the Illuminated Manuscript Leaf”, *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54(1996), 233–254.

31 In addition to the works cited above (notes 28–30), further notes can be found above all in B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. D.O. Crónin and D. Ganz, Cambridge 1990, 46–47; other cases can be found, for example, in S. Hindman, *Manuscript illumination in the modern age. Recovery and Reconstruction*, Ann Arbor, 2001; A.N.L. Munby, *Connoisseurs and medieval miniatures, 1750–1850*, Oxford 1972; on the genesis of the Vinland Map and particularly the marketing strategies used, see K.A. Seaver, *Maps, Myths, and Men: The Story of the Vinland Map*. Stanford 2004. For histories of forgeries in neighboring disciplines, see, on literary forgeries, A. Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship*, Princeton 1990; on art forgeries, H. Keazor, *Täuschend Echt! Eine Geschichte der Kunstfälschung*, Darmstadt 2015.

The rise of digital libraries made the AAC and AAP forgeries possible. Publishing in high-quality images on the internet in open access has revolutionized contemporary manuscript culture. AAC and AAP are an unfortunate byproduct of this growth. The same high-resolution, scientific images that make online manuscript libraries a prime example of digital humanities' contribution to scholarship also makes them ideal for illicit use in an increasingly profitable market, itself expanded and fragmented through the internet.

These fakes have claimed at least six victims: not just the collector who first brought this to our attention, the auction house that allegedly sold it, and the dealer who most recently put it for sale, but also the two institutions who possessed the originals and allowed them to be published (under a non-commercial license), as well as the publisher, e-codices.

Medieval manuscripts are unique. No two pages are exactly alike, and each fragment, no matter how insignificant it may seem, witnesses an irreproducible and irreplaceable part of our human cultural heritage. For this reason, we value them beyond what can be assigned a monetary value, and the falsification of such manuscripts amounts to a fraud committed upon human culture. This value, we hope, is shared by many members of the manuscript community, and, the defense of it compels us to bring this manner of falsification to the attention of the community. This seems a cheap fake, made by an ignorant forger, but it's a cheap fake that fooled more than one expert; it came to our attention because of the engagement of a collector. And if this is a "cheap" fake, how many fakes are out there?

Appendix: Catalogue of French-style *arbores consanguinitatis* accessible on the Internet (July 2018)

In support of the study of the Bodmer leaf, and as a concrete expression of the current state of manuscript research on the internet, we provide here a catalogue of some 37 “French style” scepter-type *arbores consanguinitatis* that can be found on the internet. The majority of these images were found by using Schadt’s catalogue; of the 71 *arbores* that he lists, 34 have some image on the open internet in 2018.

In the catalogue below, we give the following information:

Context: the text in which the *arbor* appears, and, if applicable, the texts in the manuscript surrounding the *arbor*.

Dimensions of page: length x width, as is standard for manuscripts, in millimeters; the source is either the online description, the print description in a catalogue, or “photogrammetry”, that is, using the reference images and measuring the photograph.

Diameter of ego: Since the medallions are all the same size, a good idea of the size of the *arbor* itself can be had by measuring the diameter of the center medallion, “ego”.

Image address: address of principal image; additional images are those that include details, are hosted on other websites, or are a different method of photography.

Image type: the two types found are digital photograph and scan of microfilm. Some of the additional photos appear to be scans of printed photographs.

Resolution: width x length, as is standard for images, in pixels. If available, the ratio of pixels to millimeters is given. If the ratio can be calculated from a reference image or from a description of the page’s dimensions (“via photogrammetry”).

Image Rights: when possible, we give the image rights published with the document. Unclear rights are indicated with a question mark (?). The abbreviations used (CC) refer to Creative Commons licenses.

1. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale 359, f. 356v

Context: Johannes Andreae, *Tractatus de consanguinitate*; in *Decretales Gregorii IX*

Dimensions of page: 430 x 261 mm, from photogrammetry; 430 x 270 mm, from print description³²

Diameter of ego: 17 mm

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=18686&VUE_ID=1599093

Image type: scan of microfilm

³² E. Coyecque, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, tome XIX: Amiens*, Paris 1893, 164–165.

Resolution: 2268 x 1864, 3.9 pixels/mm (100 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC

2. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale 360, f. 264v

Context: Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis), *Summa*

Dimensions of page: 452 x 286 mm, from photogrammetry, 446 x 305 mm, from printed description³³

Diameter of ego: 21 mm

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=15275&VUE_ID=1390688

Additional images: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=15275&VUE_ID=1390689

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 1984 x 2936, 5.8 pixels/mm (150 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC

3. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale 361, f. 293r

Context: Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis), *Summa*

Dimensions of page: 412 x 247 mm, from photogrammetry; 420 x 256 mm, from printed description³⁴

Diameter of ego: 23 mm

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=15276&VUE_ID=1390751

Additional images: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=15276&VUE_ID=1390750 http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=15276&VUE_ID=1390749 http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=15276&VUE_ID=1390748

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 1960 x 2928, 6.4 pixels/mm (163 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC

4. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. fol. 2, f. 263v

Context: *Quia tractare* in Gratianus, *Decretum*

Dimensions of page: unknown

Diameter of ego: unknown

Date of origin: 1280–1300

Image address: <http://www2.oberlin.edu/images/Art315/17974.JPG>

Image type: digital photograph of detail

Resolution: 948 x 643

Image rights: Unknown

5. Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale 398, f. 23v

Context: *Quia tractare*, before *Decretales Gregorii IX*

Dimensions of page: 392 x 246 mm, from photogrammetry; 413 x 247 mm, from printed description³⁵

³³ Coyecque, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques*, 165–166.

³⁴ Coyecque, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques*, 166–167.

³⁵ C. Couderc, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements*, t. XXIII, Paris 1894, 212–213.

Diameter of ego: 13 mm

Date of origin: 1267–1300

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=3663&VUE_ID=857933

Image type: scan of microfilm

Resolution: 5440 x 4410, 9.7 pixels/mm (246 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC

6. Brügge, Openbare Bibliotheek, 365, f. 2v

Context: *Quia tractare*, before *Liber Extra* with glosses

Dimensions of page: 370 x 250 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 15 mm

Date of origin: 1280–1300

Image address: <http://cabrio.bibliotheek.brugge.be/browse/webgalleries/MS365/index.html>

Additional images: <https://bibliotheekbrugge.wordpress.com/2014/05/#23/de-boom-van-bloed-verwantschap/> <http://www.flandrica.be/items/show/1048/>

Image type: digital photograph in Flash viewer

Resolution: 800 x 1200 (flandrica.be image), no reference images, ca. 2.8 px/mm (72 ppi)

Image rights: All Rights Reserved

7. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna v Brně, A 60, f. 142v

Context: Gaufredus de Trani, *Summa super titulos Decretalium*

Dimensions of page: 235 x 170 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 13 mm

Date of origin: 1240–1260

Image address: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=MZ-K_-MZKB_A_60_1QWZ5X1-xx

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 2665 x 3656, no reference images, ca. 15.0 px/mm (380 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC-SA

8. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 262, f. 4v

Context: *Decretum Gratiani* with *Glossa ordinaria* of Bartholomaeus of Brescia

Dimensions of page: 436 x 290 mm, from printed description³⁶

Diameter of ego: 13 mm

Place of origin: France or England

Date of origin: 1300–1310

Image address: <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/law/page1.html>

Image type: digital photograph in online exhibition

Resolution: 567 x 800, 1.7 px/mm (from photogrammetry) (44 ppi)

Image rights: All Rights Reserved

9. Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (B.A.V.), Reg. lat. 980, f. 4v

Context: *Quia tractare* in a miscellany (fragments and loose leaves bound together)

Dimensions of page: 400 x 262, from photogrammetry

³⁶ F. Wormald and P.M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum Acquired between 1895 and 1979 (Excluding the McClean Collection)*, v. 1, Cambridge 1982, 196–198.

Diameter of ego: 13 mm

Date of origin: 1280–1300

Image address: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.g80

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 2352 x 3540, 7.8 px/mm (200 ppi)

Image rights: All Rights Reserved

10. Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 1382, f. 299v

Context: *Hoc modo legas in Liber Extra*

Dimensions of page: 395 x 265 mm, from photogrammetry

Diameter of ego: 12 mm

Date of origin: 1267–1300

Image address: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1382

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 2419 x 3741, 7.4 px/mm (188 ppi)

Image rights: All Rights Reserved

11. Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 1383, f. 3v

Context: *Quia tractare*, preceded by Johannes Andreae, *Circa lecturam arboris...*, followed by Bernardus Bottoni, *Glossa ordinaria in Decretalium Gregorii PP. IX libros I-V cum glossulis*.

On 3r is a table of contents (the *arbor* is a separate codicological unit).

Dimensions of page: 432 x 262 mm, from photogrammetry

Diameter of ego: 14 mm

Place of origin: Italy

Date of origin: Before 1295³⁷

Image address: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1383

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 2465 x 3843, 7.7 px/mm (196 ppi)

Image rights: All Rights Reserved

12. Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 1390, f. 211r

Context: *Quia tractare* inserted between books 3 and 4 of the Decretals

Dimensions of page: 463 x 202 mm, from photogrammetry

Diameter of ego: 13 mm-diameter medallions (no ego)

Place of origin: Spain

Date of origin: 1360–1370

Image address: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1390

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 2727 x 4116, 7.8 px/mm (200 ppi)

Image rights: All Rights Reserved

37 Schadt, *Die Darstellungen*, p. XXX!, assigns this codex to Germany and the first third of the fourteenth century. On f. 3r, there are autobiographical notes in two hands, added after the main text. Hand A: “Curente anno domini Millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo quinto, indictione octava, die xi januarii habui primam tonsuram a venerabili patre domino O dei gratia episcopo Parmensi, et Conradus de Altemanis Parmensis fecit instrumentum clericalitatus.” Hand B: “Anno domini M.CCC XIX die sexto mensis augusti factus fui prepositus. Item M. CCC XXVII die xix magii factus fui beneficiatus.”

13. Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, J.H. Wade Fund, 1954.1 (fragment)

Context: Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis), *Summa*

Dimensions of page: 442 x 275 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 17 mm

Place of origin: Paris

Date of origin: ca. 1280

Image address: <http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1954.#1>

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 2307 x 3659, 8.2 px/mm (208 ppi)

Image rights: "personal, non-commercial use"

14. Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, 502 (85), f. 265r

Context: Gaufredus de Trani, *Summa Aurea*

Dimensions of page: 385 x 275 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 14 mm

Date of origin: 1301–1400

Image address: <http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/17323/canvas/canvas-1427417/view>

Additional images: <http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/17323/canvas/canvas-1427418/view> (detail)

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 4872 x 6496, 16.7 px/mm, from photogrammetry

Image rights: CC BY-NC

15. Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 602, f. 3v

Context: *Decretales Gregorii IX*, Johannes Andreae, *In liber Extra*

Dimensions of page: 425 x 256 mm, from photogrammetry; 440 x 270 mm, from printed description³⁸

Diameter of ego: 14 mm

Date of origin: 1234–1266

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=11194&VUE_ID=1308526

Additional images: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=11194&VUE_ID=1308527 (detail) http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=11194&VUE_ID=1308528 (reference)

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: (reference image) 4608 x 3664, 8.1 px/mm (206 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC

16. Frankfurt, Stadtbibliothek, Barth 12, f. 3v

Context: Johannes de Deo, *Declarationes arboris consanguinitatis et affinitatis*, followed by Bernardus Bottoni, *Glossa ordinaria in Decretalium Gregorii PP. IX libros I-V cum glossulis*

Dimensions of page: 440 x 273 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 17 mm

Place of origin: France

Date of origin: 1301–1333

Image address: <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/msma/content/pageview/4598847>

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: download limited to 800 x 1337, 2.5 px/mm (64 ppi)

³⁸ C. Dehaisnes, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, t. VI: Douai*, Paris 1878, 369–370.

Image rights: All Rights Reserved?

17. Frankfurt, Stadtbibliothek, Praed. 90 (1547), f. 170v

Context: Gaufredus de Trani, *Summa aurea*

Dimensions of page: 234 x 159 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 12 mm

Place of origin: France

Date of origin: 1276–1300

Image address: <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/msma/content/pageview/401084>

Additional images: <http://www2.oberlin.edu/images/Art315/82972.JPG>

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: download limited to 1504 x 2403, 8.0 px/mm (203 ppi)

Image rights: All Rights Reserved?

18. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 41, f. 186v

Context: *Quia tractare in Decretales Gregorii IX*, between books III and IV

Dimensions of page: 370 x 229 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 13 mm

Date of origin: 1280–1300

Image address: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/3487604>

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: download limited to 1400 x 1801, 4.4 px/mm (112 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-SA

19. Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 46, f. 89v

Context: Gaufredus de Trani, *Summa super titulis decretalium*

Dimensions of page: 357 x 229 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 10 mm

Date of origin: 1301–1400

Image address: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/4405601>

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: download limited to 1400 x 1955, 4.9 px/mm (124 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-SA

20. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Ms 965, f. 1v

Context: *Quia tractare in Decretales Greg. IX* with *Glossa ordinaria*

Dimensions of page: 390 x 260 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 13 mm

Place of origin: France?

Date of origin: 1343

Image address: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31565214>

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 675 x 1080, 2.2 px/mm (from photogrammetry) (56 ppi)

Image rights: Public Domain

21. London, British Library, Royal 10 D VII, f. 257v

Context: *Quia tractare in Decretales Greg. IX* with *Glossa ordinaria* of Bernard of Parma

Dimensions of page: 435 x 370 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 14 mm

Place of origin: France

Date of origin: 1281–1300

Image address: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=32806>

Additional images: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=47665> (detail) https://www.europeana.eu/portal/de/record/9200397/BibliographicResource_3000126285678.html (aggregator)

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 1052 x 1500, 3.31 px/mm (from photogrammetry) (84 ppi)

Image rights: Public Domain

22. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 28160, f. 320r

Context: Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis), *Summa*

Dimensions of page: 410 x 260 mm, from photogrammetry; 410 x 275 mm, from printed description³⁹

Diameter of ego: 15 mm

Place of origin: France

Date of origin: 1301–1325

Image address: http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00105795/image_643

Additional images: <https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj00013764?part=#4>

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 3322 x 5013, 12.0 px/mm (304 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC-SA

23. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 28218, f. 213v

Context: In a legal miscellany, after *Hoc modo legas arborem*, and before *Capitula decretalium*.

Dimensions of page: 240 x 165 mm, from photogrammetry; 255 x 170 mm, from printed description⁴⁰

Diameter of ego: 12 mm

Place of origin: France

Date of origin: 1276–1300

Image address: http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00105797/image_430

Additional images: <https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj00013768?part=#4>

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 2625 x 3799, 15.4 px/mm (391 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC-SA

24. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1295, f. 193v

Context: *Quia tractare in Decretales Gregorii IX*, between books four and five

Dimensions of page: 380 x 250 mm, from printed description⁴¹

Date of origin: 1319

Image address: <http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=14551&VUEID=1378252>

39 H. Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 28111–28254*, (Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis 4, pars 7), Wiesbaden 1986, 75–76.

40 Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 28111–28254*, 182–184.

41 A. Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, v. 2, Paris 1886, 57.

Image type: digital photograph of detail
Resolution: 528 x 794, no reference image
Image rights: CC BY-NC

25. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 329, f. 244v

Context: Henricus de Segusio (Hostiensis), *Summa*
Dimensions of page: 410 x 280 mm, from printed description⁴²
Diameter of ego: 15 mm
Date of origin: 1289
Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?VUE_ID=1353431
Additional images: http://bvmm.irht.cnr.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=13262&VUE_ID=1353429 https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=13262&VUE_ID=1353430 (details)

Image type: digital photograph
Resolution: 2624 x 1792, 4.1 px/mm (from photogrammetry) (100 ppi)
Image rights: CC BY-NC

26. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 3950A, f. 3v

Context: *Quia tractare*
Date of origin: 1251–1300
Image address: <http://picssr.com/photos/iuscanonicum/interesting/page4?nsid=31648496>
Additional images: <https://flic.kr/p/5wjVW>
Image type: digital photograph
Resolution: 2448 x 3264, no reference images
Image rights: All Rights Reserved

27. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 12883, f. 33v

Context: *Quia tractare in Coutume de Normandie*
Dimensions of page: 324 x 217 mm, from photogrammetry
Diameter of ego: 13 mm
Date of origin: ca. 1300
Image address: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10720812j/f38.image>
Image type: scan of microfilm
Resolution: 1407 x 1054, 3.8 px/mm (97 ppi)
Image rights: Public Domain

28. Paris, Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris, LDUT 0095, f. 30v

Context: *Grand Coutumier de Normandie*
Dimensions of page: 310 x 210 mm, from online description
Diameter of ego: 13 mm
Date of origin: 1334–1366
Image address: <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/19014/manifest>
Image type: digital photograph
Resolution: 5436 x 4080, 12.2 px/mm (310 ppi)
Image rights: CC BY-NC

42 C. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, Paris 1893, 198–199.

29. Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 696, f. 2v

Context: *Quia tractare*, followed by *Decretales Gregorii IX* with *glossa ordinaria*.

Dimensions of page: 365 x 238 mm, from photogrammetry; 372 x 248 mm, from printed description⁴³

Diameter of ego: 12 mm

Date of origin: 1301–1333

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=2402&VUE_ID=624565

Image type: scan of microfilm

Resolution: 3776 x 2844, 7.1 px/mm (180 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC

30. Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 697, f. 1v

Context: Before *Decretales Gregorii IX*, with *glossa ordinaria* (Bernard of Compostella junior)

Dimensions of page: 442 x 266 mm, from printed description.⁴⁴

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=9606&VUE_ID=1282157

Additional images: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=9606&VUE_ID=1282158 (detail)

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 3150 x 2100 detail, no reference image

Image rights: CC BY-NC

31. Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 713, f. 231r

Context: Hostiensis

Dimensions of page: 450 x 291 mm, from photogrammetry; 454 x 288 mm, from printed description⁴⁵

Diameter of ego: 15 mm

Date of origin: ca. 1320–1330

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?VUE_ID=678951

Image type: scan of microfilm

Resolution: 3561 x 2776, 5.5 px/mm (140 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC

32. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 97, f. 273v

Context: Hostiensis

Date of origin: ca. 1320–1330

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=6665&VUE_ID=1240991

Additional images: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=6665&VUE_ID=1240992 (detail)

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 2491 x 3014, no reference image

Image rights: CC BY-NC

43 H. Loriquet, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, t. XXXIX*, Paris 1904, 45–47.

44 Loriquet, *Catalogue générale... t. XXXIX*, 47–48.

45 Loriquet, *Catalogue générale... t. XXXIX*, 62–63.

33. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 99, f. 250r

Context: Hostiensis

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?VUE_ID=1241026Additional images: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?VUE_ID=1241027

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 2483 x 3014, no reference image

Image rights: CC BY-NC

34. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1244, f. 2vContext: *Quia tractare*, followed by *Liber extra*

Date of origin: ca. 1280–1320

Image address: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=7011&VUE_ID=1244229Additional images: http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=7011&VUE_ID=1244230 (detail)

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 2489 x 3014, no reference image

Image rights: CC BY-NC

Arbores* not in Schadt's catalogue*35. Christie's, "Script and Illumination Leaves from Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts", online sale, 24 Nov.–3 Dec. (2017?), Lot 11**Context: *Quia tractare* as a separate bifolium

Dimensions of page: 340 x 230 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 11 mm

Place of origin: Paris

Date of origin: 1235–1266

Image address: <https://onlineonly.christies.com/s/script-illumination-leaves-medieval-renaissance-manuscripts/ramond-penyafort-1175-1275-quia-tractare-intendimus-paris-mid-13th-c-#11/22918>

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 3200 x 2444, 6.6 px/mm (from photogrammetry) (168 ppi)

Image rights: All Rights Reserved

36. Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Codex Bodmer 28, f. 1rContext: *Quia tractare* bound in Bible

Dimensions of page: 357 x 250 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 20 mm

Place of origin: Northern France

Date of origin: 1267–1300

Image address: <http://e-codices.ch/en/fmb/cb-0028/1r>Additional images: <https://fragmentarium.ms/view/page/F-w3l8/1135/15979> (multishot with offset flash)

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 4872 x 6496, 17.1 px/mm (436 ppi)

Image rights: CC BY-NC

37. Tournai, Grand Seminaire, BE 006, f. 1v

Context: Followed by *Decretum* with Bartholomaeus Brixiensis' commentary

Dimensions of page: 425 x 260 mm, from online description

Diameter of ego: 15 mm

Image address: <http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/codex/13661/14299>

Image type: digital photograph

Resolution: 5436 x 4080, 9.0 px/mm (230 ppi)

Image rights: All Rights Reserved?



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