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.

Founded in 2018 as part of *Fragmentarium*, an international research project at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, and the Zeno-Karl-Schindler Foundation, Fragmentology is owned and published by Codices Electronici AG and controlled by the Editorial Board in service to the scholarly community. Authors of articles, research notes, and reviews published in *Fragmentology* retain copyright over their works and have agreed to publish them in open access under a Creative Commons Attribution license. Submissions are free, and *Fragmentology* does not require payment or membership from authors or institutions.

Instructions for Authors: Detailed instructions can be found at http://fragmentology.ms/submit-to-fragmentology/. Authors must agree to publish their work in Open Access.

Fragmentology is published annually at the University of Fribourg. For further information, inquiries may be addressed to *fragmentarium@unifr.ch*.

Volume II, 2019

Reviews

Index

Fragmentology 2

Editorial

Last year, we launched the journal *Fragmentology* with a defense of the neologism that its name carries, arguing that the study of physical fragments of written material deserves the status of a discipline in itself, traversing the barriers between libraries and archives, writing and print. This year's issue expands on that claim in terms of content. Six articles address fragments in a range of settings, from musicology to textual criticism, from pertaining to a single manuscript to being found in hundreds of libraries. In addition, this issue features a series of research notes, which are shorter, more specialized observations on aspects of fragment studies, and several book reviews. *Fragmentology* officially publishes content in English, French, German, and Italian, and we are pleased to report that this issue features content in three of the four languages.

Fragmentology remains an integral part of the *Fragmentarium* project. As with the first issue, the published articles and notes include results from case studies and collaborations with the *Fragmentarium* digital laboratory (https://fragmentarium.ms); these serve to provide a first analysis of the images and descriptions that *Fragmentarium* published. In addition, we are thrilled to note that several studies come from scholars for whom publishing in *Fragmentology* is their first contact with *Fragmentarium*. Their contributions help us fulfill our goal of serving as a resource for the fragment studies community.

Fragmentarium Phase II

This year, the *Fragmentarium* project received another round of funding from the Swiss National Science Foundation (*Fragmentarium Phase II*, Project Number 182173, 2019-2022), the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, and the Zeno-Karl-Schindler Foundation. In addition to guaranteeing the continuation of *Fragmentology* through 2022 existence, these grants will enable the project to expand the reach of *Fragmentarium*, making the platform available to an even greater number of other projects, scholars, librarians, archivists,

collectors, and enthusiasts. At the same time, we are developing the *Fragmentarium* web application to remain at the state of the art, with a particular focus on interoperability and sustainability.

Fragmentology as an e-Journal

Fragmentology is a double-blind, peer-reviewed electronic journal dedicated to the material remains of written culture. Compared to *Fragmentarium*, the current presentation of *Fragmentology* is rather conservative: an annual publication with pages organized like a traditional print journal. Each page of *Fragmentology* is laid out in A5 format, so those printing will find best results by printing two pages to a sheet. A computer screen can likewise display two pages side-by-side, while a smartphone should provide comfortable reading a single page at a time. But the content is fixed to a page that can be cited in the same way as an article in a print journal.

While the journal's appearance betrays a certain conservative skeuomorphism, we do take advantage of the strengths of digital publication. For the stability of scholarship, we are committed to maintaining the pagination and text of already-published articles; we must respect the finality of publication. Nevertheless, small mistakes, such as typographical errors, are silently corrected. In the current issue, moreover, we have several contributions that discuss fragments that will be published in *Fragmentarium*, but for reasons technical, academic, or bureaucratic, have not yet been published. In many instances, we can already provide the *Fragmentarium* Identifier for those items. In the near future, when those fragments are published on *Fragmentarium*, we will enrich these articles by activating the links.

As *Fragmentology* matures, we hope to further enhance the reading experience by integrating additional tools, such as usage metrics for individual articles, web-based features, and data on the movement of articles through the editorial process, such as how many articles were submitted, and how many were accepted for publication. Similarly, we hope to include complementary content on the journal's blog. Such plans, however, depend on the resources available.

Like the *Fragmentarium* platform, this journal aims to contribute to the community around medieval manuscript fragments. We are grateful to our readers for their interest, and to our contributors for their enthusiastic work that shows the promise of this exciting field.

William Duba
Editor of *Fragmentology 2* (2019)
fragmentarium@unifr.ch

4

Membra disiecta from a Transylvanian Antiphonal in Budapest and Cluj

Gabriella Gilányi,* Institute of Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Budapest
gilanyi.gabriella@btk.mta.hu
Adrian Papahagi,* Centre for Manuscript Studies (CODEX), Faculty of Letters, 'Babeş-Bolyai' University, Cluj
adrian.papahagi@lett.ubbcluj.ro

Abstract: This article discusses four fragments from a fifteenth-century antiphonal with Hungarian chant notation. Two of these *membra disiecta* are kept at the National Archives of Hungary, and at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, and are well-known to scholars of medieval music and liturgy. Two further fragments have recently been identified in the bindings of printed books at the Library of the Romanian Academy, in Cluj, and are studied here for the first time. The authors suggest that the original choir book was used in Transylvania and was possibly dismembered in the former Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

The most complete census of medieval musical manuscripts of Hungarian origin lists two fragments from a fifteenth-century antiphonal with Hungarian notation (F 34 and F 348), for which a Transylvanian origin is suggested.[1] F 34 (Budapest, Library of the

---

1   J. Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, Budapest 1981, F 34, F 348.

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, T 422/b[2] – hereafter A, Figure 3) was extracted from the binding of a printed book bearing the shelfmark Tört. F. 256, which had belonged to Count Ádám Teleki of Szék (d. 1792), administrator of Dăbâca (Hungarian: Doboka), Co. Cluj/Kolozs, and then to his heir, Countess Mária Teleki, according to a note on the front flyleaf.[3] The second fragment was detached from the binding of protocols from Cluj-Mănăștur/Kolozsmonostor (Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, F 15, Kolozsmonostor, *Protocollum maius I 1629-1638* – B, Figure 4), which proves its Transylvanian provenance.

This article identifies two further fragments belonging to the same medieval manuscript in the bindings of two printed books: Cluj, Romanian Academy Library, BVM C. 218 – C, Figure 5, and C. 55090 – D, Figure 6. These books can also be linked to the former Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăștur, which in the seventeenth century had become a Jesuit school (*gymnasium*) and was functioning as place of authentification (*locus credibilis*).[4] Furthermore, the history of the collections and of the books under scrutiny suggests that the antiphonal discussed in this article had been in use at some other religious institution in Transylvania before the Reformation.

A brief historical overview is necessary at this point. The royal Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăștur was established in the second

---

2   Not just 'T 422', as in the available literature, nor 'T 422/6' as written in pencil on the verso. T 422 consists of leaves from a printed book; the printed sheets of paper constituted the cardboard of the binding, and the parchment leaf provided its covering. Fragment T 422/b is kept in a separate envelope, together with two other large unrelated fragments (T 638 and T 995/b). The register of fragments at the Hungarian Academy Library (*Töredék registrum* I, 422) indicates Cluj/Kolozsvár as the provenance of the printed book fragments.

3   "Ex Bibliotheca Excellentissimi quondam Domini Comitis Adami Teleki de Szék primis Mensis Septembris diebus in Anno 1793 in tres partes divisa cessit in partem Illustrissimae Dominae Comitissae Mariae Teleki de Szék". The book's binding was restored in 1973, according to a label on the rear pastedown. The volume contains Sigmund of Herberstein's *De legatione Basilii magni principis Moscoviae liber…*, Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1551 [USTC 690718].

4   In medieval and early modern Hungary, chapters and abbeys functioned as places of authentification, following an old Byzantine model. Cf. L. Mezey, "Anfänge der Privaturkunde in Ungarn und der glaubwürdigen Orte", *Archiv für Diplomatik* 18 (1972), 290–302.

half of the eleventh century, a few miles away of Cluj, on the road leading to Oradea/Nagyvárad and Buda. It rose to prominence as Transylvania's secondmost important *locus credibilis*, after the chapter of the diocesan capital, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár. Its wealth and independence attracted the hostility of the bishops of Transylvania, who demolished it in the first decades of the thirteenth century.[5] In 1241, it was plundered by the Mongols and Tatars, who swept through the region. It flourished again in the late Middle Ages, producing a great number of documents.[6] Although the notarial activity was intense,[7] the scriptorium does not seem to have produced many books, and the abbey's library was relatively modest. An inventory drafted in 1427 mentions less than fifty titles: among them, items 23-24 are "duo antiphonalia unum de tempore et reliquum de sanctis".[8] Unfortunately, another inventory drafted in 1508 is too cursory, and mentions only one handwritten missal and "diversi libri vetusti multi".[9]

   The Reformation led to the suppression of the Catholic orders in Transylvania in 1556. Although the Benedictine abbey was dissolved in that year, its notarial activity restarted in 1575 with lay personnel (*requisitores*), and continued until 1874.[10] In 1579, the Catholic prince of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory invited the Jesuits to establish a college in Cluj. Until 1581, when they moved into the city, the Jesuits had their headquarters in the former Benedictine abbey. Their activity in Cluj was short-lived, though: they functioned only about

---

5   For the history of the abbey, cf. A.A. Rusu, ed., *Dicționarul mănăstirilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș*, Cluj 2000, 114–17; E. Benkő, "Mănăștur (Kolozsmonostor) bei Klausenburg", in *Europas Mitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, ed. A. Wieczorek and H.-M. Hinz, Stuttgart 2000, 597–599.

6   Zs. Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, 2 vols., Budapest 1990.

7   5444 notarial acts drafted between 1289 and 1556, cf. *supra*.

8   National Archives of Hungary, DL 36403, pp. 1–26, edited by K. Tagányi, "Adatok a hazai középkori könyvtárak történetéhez", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 14 (1889), 88–98.

9   In 1508, a general inventory of Benedictine abbeys in Hungary was carried out: National Archives of Hungary, DL 21890, edited by D. Csánki, "Magyarországi benczések egy bibliographiai becsű inventariuma 1508-ból", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 6 (1881), 289–99.

10   Jakó, *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, 161, 166.

twenty-five years, not without interruptions, in the former Franciscan convent.[11] One of the significant episodes of hostility they had to endure occurred in 1603, when the Unitarian citizens sacked the college. Contemporary witnesses mention that books were thrown into the mud, trampled upon and destroyed.[12] In 1604, the Jesuits inventoried what was left of their library, placing ownership marks on the books, including C. 55090 (discussed below).

The Jesuits would soon be forced to end their activity in the city of Cluj, and in 1606 they were banished from Transylvania. Despite this decision, their presence was tolerated in Cluj-Mănăştur, and they appear to have transferred their library there. In 1618 they opened a lower-grade school (*gymnasium*), which functioned until the late eighteenth century, when it moved back into the city.[13] During the Habsburg rule, the Jesuit school was taken over by the Piarists, became a royal high-school (*lyceum regium*), and its library integrated the old holdings.[14] Under the communist rule, the book collections of the religious institutions of Cluj were nationalised and transferred to the local branch of the Romanian Academy; to the present day, books belonging to the *Lyceum* library are identified by call numbers bearing the prefix 'C' (Catholic).[15]

---

11   K. Jákó, Az *első kolozsvári egyetemi könyvtár története és állományának rekont-strukciója 1579-1604*, Szeged 1991; eadem, "History of the Library of Báthory University in Kolozsvár/Cluj from 1579 to 1607", *Philobiblon* 1 (1996), 63–89; J. Marton, "The History of Roman Catholic Theological Education in Transylvania", *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Theologia Catholica Latina* 52 (2007), 15–23; I. Costea, "Gli inizi della vita accademica a Cluj: il Collegio dei Gesuiti (1581)", in *Antonio Possevino. I Gesuiti e la loro eredità culturale in Transilvania: Atti della Giornata di studio, Cluj-Napoca, 4 dicembre 2007*, ed. A. Castaldini, Rome 2009, 105–119.

12   E. Veress, ed., *Giovanni Argenti jelentései magyar ügyekről 1603-1623*, Szeged 1983, 171.

13   J. Varga, *A kolozsvári Jezsuita Gimnázium és Akadémia hallgatósága: 1641-1773 (1784)*, Budapest 2007.

14   L. György, *A kolozsvári római katolikus Lyceum-könyvtár története*, Budapest 1994.

15   For a survey of the library's historical collections, see G. Sipos et al., *A kolozsvári Akadémiai Könyvtár régi magyar könyvtár-gyűjteményeinek katalógusa. Catalogul colecţiilor Biblioteca Maghiară Veche a Bibliotecii Academiei Cluj-Napoca*, Cluj 2004.

While the surviving medieval books from Cluj-Mănăștur were integrated into the local collections of the Jesuit and Piarist schools, and ended up in the Academy Library of Cluj, the notarial archive was trantsferred to the National Archives of Hungary, in Budapest. Since the parchment of discarded medieval books was reused for the binding of both printed volumes and handwritten protocols, *membra disiecta* from the same manuscript from Cluj-Mănăștur may be found in Cluj and in Budapest, apart from other places where books may have travelled.

One final remark must be made before proceeding to the investigation of the fragments under scrutiny: it can be demonstrated that the Jesuits had access to all the medieval collections from Cluj. The Catholic, or *Lyceum* sub-collection at the Academy Library includes books that once belonged to the medieval Dominican convent (e.g. Inc. C. 61), and to St Michael's parish church (e.g. C. 54660-62, C. 57795, MS C. 83, excised from the church's gradual, now Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library MS I.1).[16] Consequently, medieval fragments identified in the bindings of early modern printed books may come from any of these collections. Of course, since the overwhelming majority of printed books were imported, the parchment fragments used in their bindings may stem from foreign sources. In some cases, this is confirmed by owners' notes; for instance, the two volumes of U. 61808 were purchased in Venice and bound in Bratislava/Pozsony in 1634.

Nonetheless, we have every reason to argue for the local provenance of this antiphonal, as B stems from Protocols of Cluj-Mănăștur drafted in 1629-1638, while C was used in the binding of a book printed in Cluj, which has never left the area. This book is a copy of János Szilvási's *Antiquitas et perpetua duratio fidei catholicae*, printed in Cluj in 1597, on the press founded by Gáspár Heltai.[17] The

---

16   K. Szigeti, "Két középkori erdélyi Graduale eredetének kérdése", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 86 (1970), 165–172.

17   János Szilvási was born in Dej/Dés around 1570. He was brought up in Cluj in the Unitarian faith, but converted to Calvinism in his last schoolyear. In 1587 he became a student at Heidelberg. Back in Transylvania, he served as reformed archdeacon in Târgu-Mureș/Marosvásárhely and Orăștie/Szászváros. In 1595, he converted to Catholicism. *Antiquitas et perpetua duratio fidei catholicae...* is his third and last published work — the previous ones advocated Unitarian and

book's title page is missing, but the next page bears two ownership notes – "Soc<ietatis> JESV in Monostor" (s. XVII), "Biblioth<eca> Lycei R<egii> Claud<iopolitani> 1831" – and a modern stamp reading "A Kolozsvári Róm. Kath. Fögymnazium. Lyceumi könyvtára" (Figure 7).[18]

As was common in the sixteenth century, books were sold unbound, and owners provided them with the bindings they could afford. The catalogue of old Hungarian printed books identifies nineteen copies of Szilvási's Catholic treatise: twelve of them are still in Transylvania, and seven can be found in Bratislava, Budapest, Debrecen, Gyöngyös and Pannonhalma.[19] Eight copies are bound in medieval manuscript fragments: Cluj (Romanian Academy Library, BVM C. 218 and BVM C. 219), Sibiu (Brukenthal Library, Tr. XVI/150), Sighișoara/Segesvár ("Zaharia Boiu" Municipal Library, IV.361), Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda (Csíki Székely Múzeum, 1775 and 1897), Debrecen (University Library, 702065), and Pannonhalma (Abbey Library, 123b F 2), and two more have beautiful Renaissance bindings (Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum Library XIII.58a and 58b). The other extant copies were rebound in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All this suggests that the two copies owned by the Jesuits from Cluj, now at the Romanian Academy Library, were bound locally, with parchment extracted from available manuscripts.

Furthermore, D also belonged to the earliest book collection of the Jesuit College, which survived the 1603 plunders and was catalogued in 1604. The book is a copy of *Caius Julius Caesar, sive historiae imperatorum caesarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae liber primus. Accessit Caii Julii Caesaris vita et res gestae,* written, illustrated and printed by Hubert Goltz (Brugge, 1563; USTC 401143). The frontispiece has the ownership notes: "Collegii Soc<ieta>tis JESV Claudiop<olitani> 1604", "Bibliothecae

---

Calvinist positions. See J. Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon,* third edition., ed. S. Ladányi, Budapest 1977, s.v. 'Szilvási János'.

18 Former shelfmarks: 7 H 31 (handwritten label, spine, ink note on front pastedown, s. XVIII?); N 7 I 22 (red pencil, front flyleaf, and ink, dedicatory page (iir), s. XIX?); 113.d.32 (label s. XX, front pastedown); BVM II/218 (stamp, p. 116, 1962).

19 G. Borsa et al., *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok 1473-1600,* Budapest 1971, 808.

R<egii> Lycei Claudiopol<itani> 1832", as well as an explanation of the woodcut engravings written by a seventeenth-century hand ("Musai. Mathem.<atica> Phys.<ica> Experi.<entia>") (Figure 8). The page also bears modern stamps of the Catholic Lyceum (as in C) and of the Academy Library.[20]

The four fragments in Cluj and Budapest stem from a large antiphonal, which measured around 500×345 mm (the size of Fragment A). At present, the four fragments have the following measurements: A (full leaf) – 500×345 mm; B (full leaf) – ca. 500×345 mm; C (the centre of a leaf) – ca. 315–330×190–200 mm (the size of the cover is ca. 190×150 mm); D (the top of a bifolium) – ca. 480–490×295–310 mm (the size of the cover is ca. 295×210 mm).

The order of the pages would be D, C, A, B, since the passages they transmit are the office of St Stephen the Protomartyr (26 December – D), the Feast of the Innocents (28 December – C), the office of St Vincent (22 January – A), and the office of St Gregory the Great (12 March – B).

The texts transmitted by the two hitherto unknown fragments from Cluj are:[21]

C. *Nativitas Innocentium*

[Regem] <re>gum dominum venite ad|<ore>mus quia ipse est coron<a> | <sancto>rum innocencium. *Ps.* |††††† *an.* Herodes uiden<s> | <qu>ia illusus esset a ma<gi>|s misit in bethleem e<t> | <occi>dit omnes pueros q<ui>…

D. *Officium S. Stephani protomartyris*

front cover:
[*An.* Lumine vultus tui do]mine insignitus prothomartyr | stephanus sacrificium iusticie | seipsum tibi sacrificium (!) ideo|que in leticia cordis in pace | <obdor>miens requiescit. *ps.* | .... *an.* B[enedictionis tue…]

back cover:
[Mortem enim quam salvator dignatus est pro omnibus pati] <ha>nc ille primus red|<didit sal>uatori. Ipsum. | <Gloria> patri et filio et | <spiritui> sancto. Ipsum. | <A>ue prothomartir…

---

20 Former shelfmarks: 30 B 6 (handwritten label, spine, ink note on front pastedown, s. XVIII?); 62 B 2 (ink note, front flyleaf); N 24 D 23 (red pencil, front pastedown, and ink, title page, s. XIX?); 113.d.32 (label s. XX, front pastedown); BVM II/218 (stamp, p. 116, 1962).

21 For the full identification, see Table 2, below.

On the surviving pages there is no illumination that would suggest that the antiphonal was a luxury book, although one may surmise that the first leaf and the openings of sections did display decorated initials or even miniatures. One finds the usual rubricated Lombard initials and highlighted cadels decorated with masks (human heads).

However, the text is written in a highly regular *textus praescissus*, a demanding calligraphic script "considered appropriate only for the most formal (usually liturgical) manuscripts".[22] The fact that no feet were applied to the minims (*sine pedibus*) involves supplementary calligraphic efforts, and adds to the script's mannerism.[23] Some scholars therefore consider that *textus praescissus* ranks highest in the hierarchy of Gothic book scripts.[24] The antiphonal from Cluj-Mănăștur was certainly a book of good quality, produced in a professional workshop in Transylvania, elsewhere in medieval Hungary, or in some foreign centre. (A.P.)

Musical-Paleographical, Liturgical and Melodical Analysis[25]

The musical script follows the common system of the main Hungarian plainchant codices: the notation is written in black ink over a set of four red horizontal lines[26] occupying the whole width of the writing space. The text lines are unusually short, but the text

---

22   A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 2003, 76.

23   M. Steinmann, "Textualis formata", *Archiv für Diplomatik* 25 (1979), 316–319. On the calligraphic execution of *textus praescissus*, see M. Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy: Its History and Technique*, New York 1980, 149–152 and D. Harris, *The Art of Calligraphy. A Practical Guide of the Skills and Techniques*, London 1995, 54–57.

24   M.P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*, London 1990, 80.

25   This part of the research was supported by the János Bolyai Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the NKFIH research project, nr K 120.643.

26   In central Hungarian scriptoria (in the Esztergom archdiocese) thicker lines were used in chant notation. At the same time, exactly these kind of thin staff lines can be observed in various Transylvanian fragments, such as Szendrei,

itself is large compared to the musical notation, which suggests that text and music are of unequal value in these musical fragments. The texts of the melodies are also written in black ink and separated by rubrics, which mark the genre of the items (e.g. *an.* – antiphon, *p.*, *psal.* – psalm, *Ma.* – Magnificat antiphon) and guide the readers. Initials written in red and blue ink appear at the beginning of each chant. Both the texts and the melodies appear to be carefully executed, but we believe that the style in which the chants were written is archaic and rather provincial, which also explains the unusually small neumes.

In Fragment D, there are six staves with melodies and their corresponding texts. Fragment C also contains six lines of text and music, but this is a smaller part of the original book, and thus offers restricted liturgical contents on the truncated lines and staves. However, due to the fact that the Budapest leaves (A and B) have conserved their original size, we are able to determine that each page contains seven staves. On the last music staff of fragments C and D some of the neumes are missing due to the way the leaf was cut. The tonality is determined at the beginning of each line by using the double keys of *c* and *f,* (and, in some cases, *f* and *b*) in a typical way for Hungarian plainchant notation.

The neume system represents a variant of calligraphic Hungarian/Esztergom musical notation.[27] The formulation of the main neumes corresponds to the central Hungarian style of medieval plainchant notation, which flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century in the scriptoria of the archdiocese of Esztergom, and was comprehensively documented by Janka Szendrei.[28] The writing direction of the neumes is typically Hungarian: ↗↓. Important provenance signs are the vertical *climacus* beginning with two points, the conjunct *pes, scandicus, torculus* and *porrectus* signs, and generally, the continuous and flexible neume combinations and ductus of writing. These elements suggest that the writing is

---

     A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai, F 325, 337, 361, 362, Cluj, Biblioteca Centrală Universitară MS 706, or the Güssing fragments (see below).

27   As a metropolitan archdiocese, Esztergom was the head of the Hungarian Catholic Church from 1001.

28   J. Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon*, Budapest 1999, 30–61.

relatively archaic for a fifteenth-century manuscript. As a matter of fact, by the middle of the century, this type of musical notation was outdated in musical manuscripts observing the main Esztergom tradition, which then was using a more modern mixed Gothic chant notation, suitable for writing high-grade, large choir books.[29]

Surprisingly, there are no *custodes* at the end of the musical lines. In Hungarian sources, the custos mark, which appears at the end of staves anticipating the first note of the next line, was introduced in the fourteenth century. Its absence may generally be considered a *terminus ante quem*. However, the neume structure, the style of writing and the size of the book lead us to believe that the fragments were produced in the first half of the fifteenth century, so that the lack of custos is just an archaism. Of course, the paleographical characteristics of this musical notation (the four-line staves, their remarkably thin lines, the relatively large distance between them, their unusual shortness, the archaic neume system, the ductus of the writing etc.) also apply to Janka Szendrei's fragments F 34 (A) and F 348 (B), which seem to stem from the same antiphonal.[30]

Despite its demonstrable Transylvanian provenance, we are unable to pinpoint the community for which the antiphonal was made; nevertheless, the connection of B with the Cluj-Mănăștur Benedictine abbey make its neighborhood the likeliest candidate. A comparative musical and liturgical analysis would perhaps be the best way to determine this.

Janka Szendrei regarded the two Budapest fragments as some of the strangest examples of Hungarian musical notation, and mentioned their similarities to the fourteenth-century Esztergom calligraphic style. She also identified peculiarities that would imply that these fragments' musical notation is more recent, thus creating a subtype of Hungarian/Esztergom notation. Szendrei named this 'peripheral notation' and considered that its place of origin was most

---

29 During Gothicisation, the earlier flexible character of the notation was lost, and the musical script became increasingly more loose and fragmented. See G. Gilányi, "Használatától a műremekig: a 15. századi hangjelzett esztergom-budai kódexek", in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2015–2016*, ed. G. Gilányi, Budapest 2016, 24–35.

30 Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, F 34 and F 348.

likely Transylvania, but she was cautious about offering a definition.[31]

The indisputable Transylvanian provenance of our four fragments confirms Szendrei's conclusions. Moreover, the musical notation contains many unique and peripheral elements, compared to the central Hungarian calligraphic style: the writing's layout is spacious, the neumes are lengthened horizontally, the musical notes nearly disappear on the four thinly drawn red staves. The size of note-heads does not grow with the greater space between staff lines. By and large, the notator tends to follow the refined central Esztergom style in a kind of rustic manner, with stumpy strokes, so that the notation does not display the predominantly delicate calligraphy of the main Hungarian style in the fourteenth century. Instead, thick ligatures stand in stark contrast with the thin lines of the staves. The change in Hungarian notations at the end of the fourteenth century was most likely inspired by Gothic script, which became popular in Central Europe. The early stages of this change of style is featured in our fragments, as the notator thickens, but does not enlarge and separate the elements of the neumes in the way of the late central Esztergom/Buda notation, or even of some peripheral Hungarian chant notation (e.g. the neume structure of the fourteenth-century Transylvanian antiphonal kept at Güssing/Németújvár).[32]

The basic syllabic sign used in the fragments is the *punctum*, which comes in two shapes: either a regular rhombic shape, or a mostly elongated rectangular form (for the neume shapes, see Table 1). Although there is no standard *punctum* form, these types are reminiscent of the rhomboid note-heads of the new style of Gothic notation, popular at the time in Central Europe. The elongated rhomboid forms could be placed onto the lines and spaces only

---

31   Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon*, 73.
32   On the notated fragments belonging to the fourteenth-century antiphonal kept in the library of the Franciscan convent in Güssing/Németújvár (shelfmarks 4/4, 4/30, 4/48, 4/49, 4/68, 4/80, 4/82, 4/116, 4/119, 4/124, 4/137, 4/142, 4/273, 19/40) see G. Gilányi, *Mosaics of the Plainchant Tradition of Transylvania. Interpreting the 14th-Century Antiphoner Fragments in Güssing*, forthcoming as the first volume of the new series Resonemus Pariter, published by the Early Music Department at the Institute for Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities, 2019, ed. Zs. Czagány.
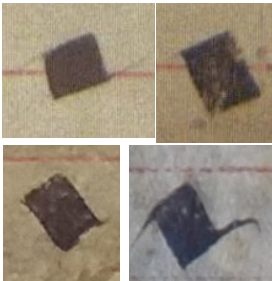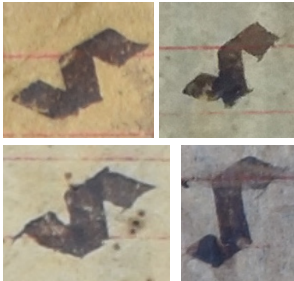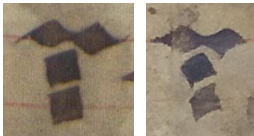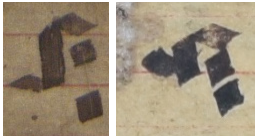
Punctum	Pes	Clivis

Torculus	Porrectus	Scandicus

Climacus	Cephalicus	Pes subbipunctis

Neume Combinations	Keys	Custos

Table 1: The Basic Signs of the Fragments' Chant Notation

Figure 1: Climacus *in our fragments (left) and in Pauline notation (right)*
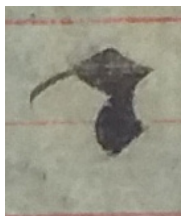
Figure 2: Hairlines and thick strokes of different neumes

irregularly: the sign is slanted to the right at a peculiar angle – a solution that has also been observed in other manuscripts that are considered East-Hungarian and Transylvanian.[33] Due to the special placement of the *punctum*, notes beneath one another in the descending *climacus* neume or a structure containing a *climacus* (see Table 1) are joined at their sides, not at their angles, so that they turn from a rhomboid form to a square shape. This is another significant feature of peripheral plainchant writing styles in fifteenth-century Hungary.

The fragments' notation shares some similarities with the contemporary musical script used by the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit. The Pauline style was also conservative in the fifteenth century. The notators used thick lines in conjunct ligatures, and a vertical *climacus* with double points, but they drew regular rhombic *puncta*, which were placed on the staff lines precisely across their angles (Figure 1).

Furthermore, in the downward series of notes, the rhombic elements always meet at their upper corner, creating a strict vertical note series. Based on these differences, the Pauline origins of the

---

33   Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, F 45, 143, 174, 325, 332, 337, 361, 362, 406 etc. Since then we have expanded the database, e.g. with the fragments found at the Eötvös Lóránd University Library in Budapest.

fragments can be ruled out (see also the results of the liturgical analysis below).

Other archaic characteristics, which may help us establish the fragments' origin, are the conjunct, linearly elongated neume shapes, and the emphasis on each neume's horizontal elements. This type of notation diverges from the rounded, flowing Esztergom style of the fourteenth century, and shows a more angular, linear and robust ductus, which was stylized in its own way.[34] The entry lines of the neumes are longer and more important, and there is a considerable contrast between the thick strokes and these hairlines. The extremely thin, delicate entry lines give the notation a more ornate look,[35] and thus the playful shift between thick and thin strokes is also a significant trait in the forms of *punctum*, *clivis*, *climacus* and *porrectus* (Figure 2).

Some neumes must be addressed separately as well. The upper part of the *climacus*, a 'hat', consists of two *puncta* stuck together (the second *punctum* is even more roughly executed than the first one). The note series underneath them meet at their sides and not at their angles. These notes are also slightly larger than the ones on top, so that, for lack of space, they tend to lean to the right. All in all, this '*climacus* with a hat' seems to be characteristic for medieval Eastern Hungarian musical notation.[36]

The *pes* also differs from the Esztergom-style flexible S-shape, and resembles an inverted Z: it is not a rounded line, but a more angular form. This *pes* is also a prominent feature, typical of medieval Eastern Hungary. The *pes* depicting a larger interval, e.g. a third, has

---

34   Similar examples: Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, F 174, 337, 586 etc.

35   The Hungarian adjective 'sallangos', meaning 'flashy, flourished' was used by Janka Szendrei to describe this style.

36   In similar cases (Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, F 337) the two top *puncta* melt together into a horizontal *virga*. See also Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon*, 63. The same *climacus* type was found in the Güssing fragments and in five other fifteenth-century Transylvanian antiphonal fragments covering Franciscan books. See G. Gilányi, "15. századi erdélyi antifonále-töredékek és ferences hordozókönyveik...", in *Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve* XIII–XIV (2017-2018), 95-110, and eadem, *Mosaics from the Plainchant Tradition*.

a more archaic conjunct form: the two notes at each end of this sign are not even full *puncta*, and are linked with a thicker line.

The *clivis* also has a dumpy look, as it is based on two short and thick strokes – only the refined entry line lends it a more fluent character.

The *scandicus* also has an old conjunct form; the thick line is interrupted in the middle, but the scribe tries to keep the two parts together. This is not yet the separated *scandicus* from the end of the fourteenth century found in the Güssing fragment, but appears to be more archaic.

In the *torculus*, the unity of the inverted Z-shaped *pes* and a thick vertical stroke can be observed: the notator breaks the long, wavy horizontal element with a bold, thick vertical stroke at the end. The *torculus*, with this wavy element and the firm vertical ending can be linked to fragments of probable Transylvanian origin.

The *porrectus* sign generally begins with a thin entry line, and it is a combination of a *clivis* and a *pes*. Perhaps this sign best preserves the plasticity of earlier Esztergom-style calligraphy.

A conservative feature of the fragment is the use of the so-called *cephalicus* neume, which is a variant of the *punctum* used to mark voiced consonants in the melody. Its rounded *9*-shape is characteristic of earlier Hungarian notation: it disappears from the modern mixed Gothic chant notation of the fifteenth century.

We found one ligature that may be considered a modern neume structure: the *pes subbipunctis* found in Fragment D is not only separated into points and line elements, but the vertical series of the notes is also shifted to the right,[37] in the fashion of more modern mixed Gothic chant notation, which replaced the earlier Esztergom notation over the course of the fifteenth century. The change of the traditional writing direction above is one of the main differences between the modern and the old plainchant notations in Hungary. In this fragment, the *pes subbipunctis* appears in the older style as well.[38] In the case of the third or fourth interval, the formation of the

---

37   The change of direction in the writing of the *pes subbipunctis* neume: from ↗↓ to ↗↘. See Table 1.

38   Archaic combination of conjunct *pes* and vertical points in the case of the third interval: ↗↓. See Table 1.

Frag-ment	Feast	Liturgical Hour	Chant	CANTUS ID
D	Saint Stephen protomar-tyr – 26 December	1st Vespers	Responsory. *Lapides torrentis illi* (only the *repetenda* is visible: *Ipsum) Verse. *Mortem enim quam* Verse. *Gloria patri* Magnificat Antiphon. *Ave protomartyr Stephane*	007075 007075a a00504
D	Saint Stephen protomar-tyr – 26 December	Matins, 2nd Nocturn	1st Antiphon. *Lumine vultus tui* 2nd Antiphon. *Benedictionis tuae*	003646 001713
C	Innocents – 28 December	Matins, 1st Nocturn	Invitatory Antiphon. *Regem regum Dominum* 1st Antiphon. *Herodes videns*	001146.2 003035
A	Saint Vincent martyr – 22 January	Matins, 3rd Nocturn, Lauds	2nd Responsory. *Miles Christi pretiosus* (only the *repetenda* is visible: *Cuius) 3rd Responsory. Gloriosus *Dei amicus* Versus. *Felici commercio* Laudes, 1st Antiphon. *Assumptus ex eculeo*	006277 006785 006785a 001504
B	Saint Gregory the Great – 12 March	Matins, 1st Nocturn	2nd Antiphon. *Lineam sui generis* 3rd Antiphon. *Adhaerebat moralibus* 1st Responsory. *Fulgebat in venerando* Versus. *Beatus vir qui*	003629 001270 006752

Table 2: The Chants in Liturgical Order

neume follows the conservative way: a combination of a conjunct *pes* and a strictly vertical post-point.

The in-depth analysis of the musical notation leads us to believe that the antiphonal was copied in a peripheral scriptorium of medieval Hungary, most likely in Transylvania. This is proved by the conservative neume structures, in spite of the relatively late age of

the antiphonal, by the angular but conjunct forms, by the robust writing style etc.

Liturgical analysis may offer more clues about the fragments' provenance. Fragment D contains parts of chants from the office of Saint Stephen the protomartyr.[39] The cover turn-in is also readable, and discloses a verse belonging to a great responsory (*Mortem enim quam salvator*), and at the end, there is an abbreviation, *Ipsum*, a *repetenda* that allows the identification of the responsory itself: the *Lapides torrentis illi dulces fuerunt ipsum sequuntur omnes animae justae* could be the antecedent. So the fragment prescribes its partial repetition (*Ipsum*) after the verse. It is followed by the doxology (*Gloria patri*), which lends the responsory a more solemn character, and then ends with the same repetenda (*Ipsum*) again.

The responsory and *Gloria* pair could refer to two liturgical positions: it could either be the last (ninth in diocesan rites) ornate *responsorium prolixum* of the Matins, or secondary, in the Vespers as a borrowing from the Matins. A very particular choice of chant allows the identification of the liturgical hour. The *Ave protomartyr Stephane* antiphon[40] is a rare item: it is only present in the liturgical sources of the Esztergom diocese, in the office of Saint Stephen protomartyr. The choice also defines the chant's function: it is used as a Magnificat antiphon, so it is clear that the fragment contains part of the Vespers, and namely the opening of the feast day. This may also help us establish the antiphonal's origin, because the *Ave protomartyr Stephane* cannot be found in musical sources elsewhere in Europe, nor in traditions subordinate to the main Hungarian use. In liturgical uses and sources that developed more independently, like the *ritus Varadiensis*, the use of Zagreb, or in the so-called Istanbul

---

39   Our liturgical research was aided by the CAO-ECE project and related publications by the Department of Early Music at the Institute for Musicology, Research Centre of Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences: *V/A Esztergom/Strigonium (Temporale), V/B Esztergom/Strigonium (Sanctorale), VI/A Kalocsa-Zagreb (Temporale), VI/B Kalocsa-Zagreb (Sanctorale), VII/A Transylvania-Várad (Temporale), VII/A Transylvania-Várad (Sanctorale)* and the *Cantus Index* (see n. 39).

40   Full text: "Ave protomartyr [Stephane signifer aeterni regis invicte prece quaesumus continua dominum pro nobis exora ut ipso inspirante in suo servitio persistamus devoti et a cunctis hostibus te propiciante conservemur illaesi]."

Antiphonal, the item *Ave senior Stephane* appears instead of the *Magnificat* antiphon, while the Codex Albensis and the sources of the Szepes area contain the *Stephanus autem plenus* assignation. It is remarkable that the fragment contains a very special antiphon, only known in the narrow Esztergom region. Among the Hungarian rite variants, the same *Magnificat* antiphon is chosen in manuscripts for the use of the Pauline Order, but their Vespers differ from the above solution, in that Pauline sources only prescribe half of the Vespers, and therefore do not give a responsory. Thus, the Pauline origins of the fragment may be excluded not only on account of differences in the musical notation, but also due to this kind of liturgical differences: our fragments offer full Vespers, and there is no hymn in the Matins.

As for the other legible parts of Fragment D, we are able to recognize the first and second antiphons of the Matins' second Nocturn, beginning with *Lumine vultus tui* and *Benedictionis tuae*. We are certain that the last item on the folio is indeed the *Benedictionis tuae*, not only because of the traditional Esztergom order it follows, but also because of the distinct upper part of the trimmed capital B. The presence of this chant is also proven musically: there is the usual *pes* neume over the 'o' syllable in *Benedictionis*.

Fragment C was cropped from the antiphonal only a few pages later, and belongs to the Christmas period. We can see the very beginning of the Matins of the feast of Innocents, the invitatory antiphon (*Regem regum Dominum*), followed by the first antiphon of the first Nocturn (*Herodes videns*). The invitatory text seems to be the usual *Omnium Sanctorum* item. This is characteristic only of Central European sources, but barely enough to allow one to speculate on the fragments' exact origin.

Fragments A and B may offer more significant information about the liturgical contents. Fragment A contains parts of the office for Saint Vincent, on 22 January. The *repetenda* (*Cujus*) in the Matins' third Nocturn refers to the common *Miles Christi* responsory which appears in the liturgy of the Esztergom rite. The third responsory is the *Gloriosus Dei amicus*, accompanied by the *Felici commercio* verse. This is followed by the first antiphon of Lauds, A*ssumptus ex eculeo*. The *Breviarium Varadiense* (RISM: I-Rvat Vat. lat. 8247) is

the only source that documents the complete Saint Vincent office and that belongs to the East-Hungarian tradition, but the order of the chants in our fragment does not agree with it. In the *Breviarum Varadiense*, the Matins' last two responsories are not *Miles Christi*, but *Agnosce o Vincenti*, followed by *Gloriosus Dei athleta*. Surprisingly, the fragment's use follows the Esztergom tradition, as opposed to the solution of the geographically closer *ritus Varadiensis*.

Fragment B contains a part of the office of Saint Gregory. This feast has a fixed chant selection and order throughout Europe, and the Hungarian sources are also homogeneous.[41] The second and third antiphons of the Matins' first Nocturn can be seen (a2. *Lineam sui generis*, a3. *Adhaerebat moralibus*), then the first responsory (*Fulgebat in venerando*) and its verse (*Beatus vir qui*) follow. This arrangement is common, so it does not offer any clues about the fragment's origin.

Thus, liturgical analysis leads us to a puzzling conclusion. At two points, the examination has detected a close connection between the Cluj-Mănăștur/Kolozsmonostor fragments and the main Hungarian (Esztergom) use, instead of the seemingly more logical Transylvania-Oradea/Várad relationship.

Finally, let us examine the fragments from a melodical point of view, by comparing all the melodic segments to other instances of plainchant sources from medieval Hungary.[42] The melodies confirm our earlier findings, in that they also adhere to the Esztergom tradition. Unfortunately, the only relevant Eastern source that survives, the so-called *Antiphonale Varadiense* (or Zalka Antiphonal) is also fragmentary,[43] and the liturgical places available in our fragment are missing from the antiphonal, so that we cannot perform a comparative examination. Previous research has shown, however, that the

---

41   Manuscripts observing the *ritus Varadiensis* assign a unique Lauds antiphon series to Saint Gregory's office, but our fragments do not contain these items.

42   For musical comparison we used the great editions of the Hungarian antiphon and responsory repertories, J. Szendrei and L. Dobszay, *Antiphonen* (*Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* V/1-3), Kassel 1999; iidem, *Responsories*, vols. 1–2, Budapest 2013.

43   Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, C 53. The antiphonal's main body can be found under the call number H-Gc s. in the Diocesan Library and Treasury of Győr.

melodies in the *Antiphonale Varadiense* diverge from the Esztergom tradition and also from the melodical content of other Transylvanian fragments.[44] Conversely, our fragments' melodies follow the central Hungarian tradition to such an extent that the connection to the *ritus Varadiensis* may be safely excluded. So, what church may have used this antiphonal?

Melodic comparison reveals that, with one or two exceptions, the musical formulas diverging from the Esztergom rite usually agree with the variants documented by the Istanbul Antiphonal, a manuscript of uncertain origin.[45] What is more, of all known Hungarian sources, our fragments' melodical versions stand in the closest relationship with the Istanbul Antiphonal.[46] The musical examples in the Appendix illustrate the similarities. An interesting tonal tendency is also discernible: like the Istanbul Antiphonal, the melodies found in the fragments occasionally use diatonic melodies, while the Esztergom sources mainly have pentatonic versions.[47]

The Istanbul Antiphonal, which resurfaced and was scientifically analyzed in the 1990s, has still not been localized with certainty, but it most likely represents some peripheral Hungarian liturgical tradition.[48] It would be daring to say that the fragments and the antiphonal came from the same place. Unfortunately, there is not enough musical content in the fragments to support such a claim.

---

44   The musical analysis of the Güssing antiphonal fragments allows one to conclude that the plainchant variants of the *Antiphonale Varadiense* differ from the melodic versions found in medieval sources from the dioceses of Esztergom and Transylvania. Consequently, the Gregorian chant in Oradea and Transylvania could not be the same. See Gilányi, *Mosaics from the Plainchant Tradition*.

45   See TR-Itks 42 (Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi, Deissmann 42). Facsimile edition: J. Szendrei ed., *The Istanbul Antiphonal: about 1360*, Budapest 1999. Surprisingly, the Istanbul melodies often overlap with the musical formulas of the Güssing fragments as well.

46   We discovered the same thing through the melodic analysis of the Transylvanian fragments of the Franciscan convent of Güssing.

47   Pentatonic melodic versions use fewer semitone steps, but more minor thirds; this is a general characteristic of the Central European plainchant style.

48   László Dobszay believes that the codex was most likely used in the Titel collegiate chapter in the middle of the fourteenth century; the Ottoman armies took the book to Istanbul in the sixteenth century. See L. Dobszay, "A kódex eredete és sorsa", in J. Szendrei ed., *The Istanbul Antiphonal: about 1360*, 48.

Moreover, the liturgical order is significantly different; for instance, for Saint Stephen protomartyr's office, the Istanbul Antiphonal does not prescribe the *Lumine vultus* and *Benedictionis tuae* antiphons during the Matins, as our fragments do. According to the musical details, however, the fragments are rather close to the unknown peripheral tradition represented by the Istanbul Antiphonal.

With regard to the origins of the Cluj-Mănăștur/Kolozsmonostor antiphonal fragments, we are certain only about what we can safely rule out. In his article on the Cluj Gradual,[49] Kilián Szigeti also mentions Fragment A, which he calls the 'Cluj-Mănăștur Antiphonal' ('Kolozsmonostori Antifonále'), assumes that it preserves the medieval office liturgy of the Benedictines, and on the basis of unknown criteria claims that it is contemporary to the sixteenth-century Cluj Gradual.[50]

In our opinion, it is highly unlikely that the antiphonal was produced in the scriptorium of Cluj-Mănăștur/Kolozsmonostor, although the Benedictine abbey certainly functioned as a prolific place of authentication and manuscript production throughout the medieval period. Since the Benedictines used square plainchant notation all over Europe, it is safe to assume that they did not change it to a local, Hungarian style. The Benedictine origin of the antiphonal can also be excluded on liturgical grounds. The Matins' arrangement suggests that it was planned for secular use, as three instead of four antiphons of monastic Matins appear in the Nocturns. The order of the antiphons corresponds exactly to the central Esztergom tradition. Furthermore, the antiphonal cannot be dated in the sixteenth century; although the notation found in our fragments is antiquated, based on our examination and experience,

---

49 See K. Szigeti, "Két középkori Erdélyi Graduale eredetének kérdése", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 3 (1970), 165–172. The main body of this manuscript is Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár, Batthyaneum Library, MS I.1. Szigeti identified two fragments from this manuscript in the bindings of books from the Academy Library in Cluj; one further fragment has recently been identified in the same collection by Adrian Papahagi. These three fragments can be found in the bindings of Cluj, Romanian Academy Library, C. 54660–62, C. 57795 and MS C. 83. See A. Papahagi, A.C. Dincă, with A. Mârza, *Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România. Census*, Iași 2018, nr 1.

50 K. Szigeti, "Két középkori Erdélyi Graduále eredetének kérdése", 168.

we can say that the manuscript was copied in the first half of the fifteenth century. Such an archaic notation style could not survive into the sixteenth century – not even on the periphery of medieval Hungary. (G.G.)

Conclusion

To conclude, our fragments may have been produced for an affluent Transylvanian parish church in the first half of the fifteenth century. This church had closer ties to the Esztergom rite than to the fifteenth-century *ritus Varadiensis*. We do not know much about the origin of the manuscript, and about its liturgical use during the Middle Ages. On account of the musical and liturgical content, it may have come to the Jesuit library of Cluj-Mănăştur/Kolozsmonostor from another Transylvanian parish church in the early modern period.

In the absence of fully notated office books from medieval Transylvania, we know very little about this plainchant tradition. Only one disputed source is available today: the *Codex Albensis* (Graz, University Library, MS 211, copied in the early twelfth century).[51] However, at that time the liturgical practice of the Transylvanian diocese was still at an early stage, so that this antiphonal is not entirely relevant for comparison; moreover, the *Codex Albensis* cannot be compared musically, because it was notated in German neumes. We must therefore rely almost exclusively on manuscript fragments and retrospective chant sources to reveal the medieval Transylvanian plainchant tradition. In this respect, research has just begun to put

---

51 László Mezey considered that the manuscript was copied in the chapter school of Székesfehérvár (Alba Regalis). This conclusion was based mainly on a letter draft mentioning the place name 'Alba' (fol. 58v). The subsequent liturgical examination by László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei linked the book to a Transylvanian church, and considered that 'Alba' could stand for Alba Iulia. See L. Mezey, Z. Falvy, *Codex Albensis: Ein Antiphonar aus dem 12. Jahrhundert (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. nr. 211)*, Budapest 1963, 24, 28; and the refutation in J. Szendrei, *A "Mos patriae" kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében*, Budapest 2005, 104–109.

together the pieces of *membra disiecta,* in the hope to reconstruct the larger puzzle whenever possible. (G.G./A.P.)

Appendix: Musical Examples

Musical formulas in the Istanbul Antiphonal and in fragments A-D, compared to the Esztergom melody (after the arrow). For the musical analysis, we used Dobszay and Szendrei, *Antiphonen*.

Ant.   / *Assumptus ex eculeo*
Vincent.m./L/a1 MMMAe 1394

le - vi - ta Vin-cen - ti - us   le - vi - ta Vin-cen - ti - us
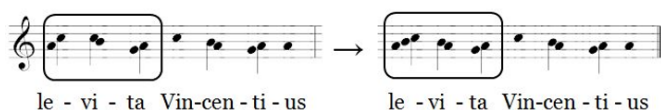
Resp.   / *Fulgebat in venerando*
Greg. cf./N1/R1 *Responsories,* 1187

Gre - go - ri - o   Gre - go -ri - o   ge - nus   ge - nus
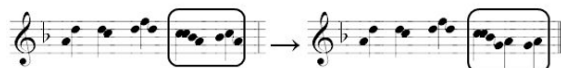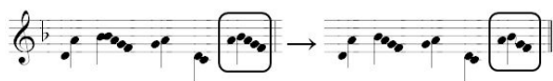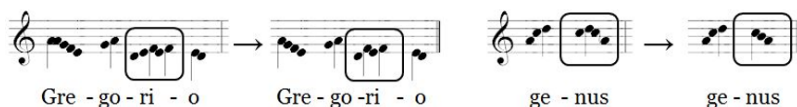
Resp.   / *Gloriosus Dei amicus*
Vincent.m./N3/R3 *Responsories,* 1121

con-fes -   con-fes   cae - los   cae - los
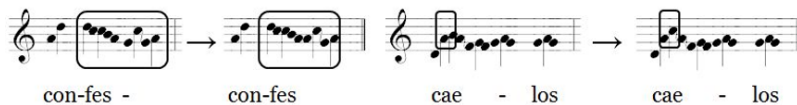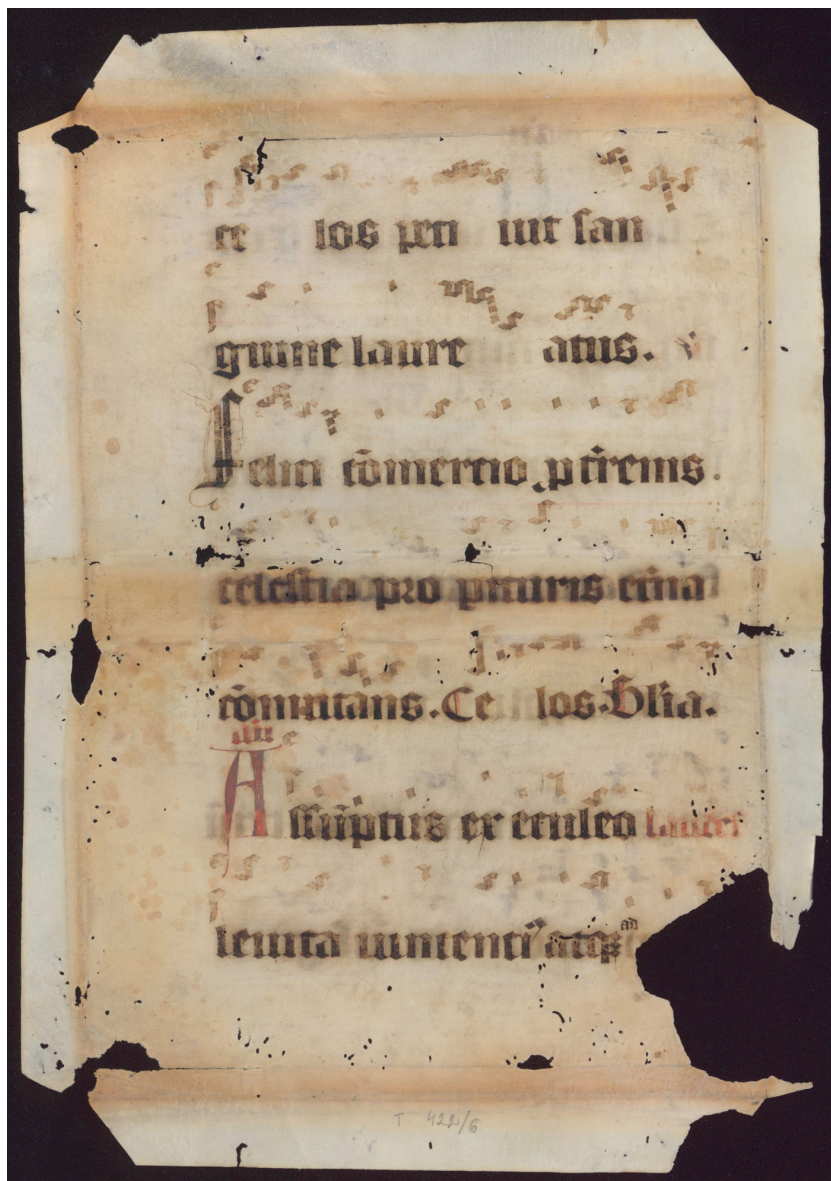
Figure 3: Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár/Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, T 422/b, verso
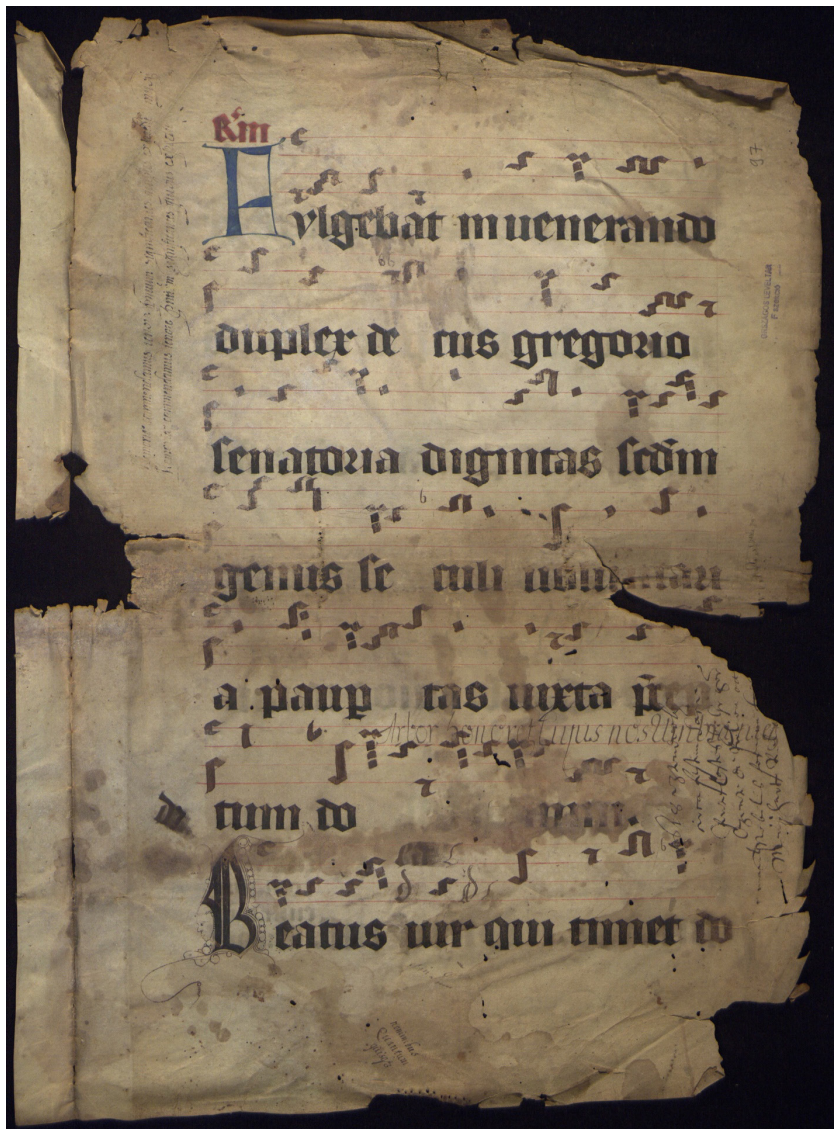
Figure 4: Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára/National Archives of Hungary, F 15 – Protocollum maius I 1629-1638, verso

Figure 5: Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române/Romanian Academy Library, BVM C. 218, cover
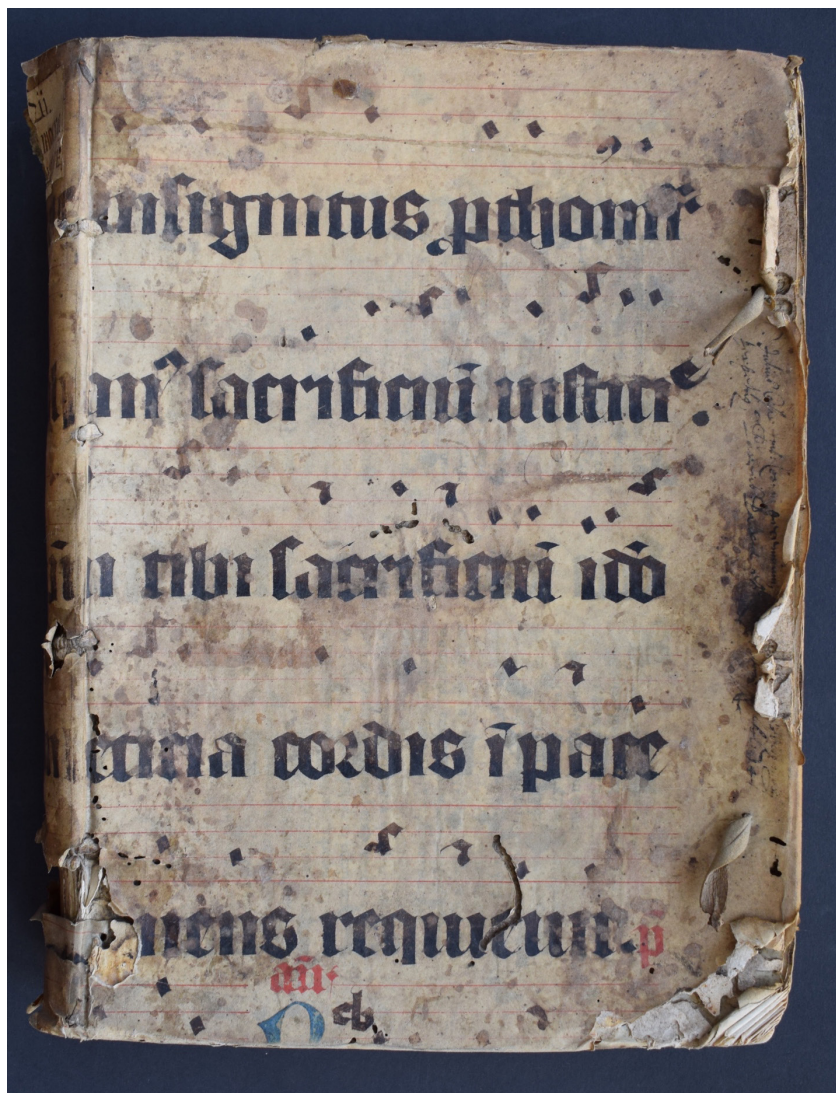
Figure 6: Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române/Romanian Academy Library, C. 55090, front cover

SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI
AC DOMINO, D. SIGISMVNDO,
TRANSYLVANIAE, MOLDAVIAE,
VALACHIAE TRANSALPINAE, ET SACRI
ROMANI IMPERII PRINCIPI, PARTIVM
VNGARIAE DOMINO, ET SICVLORVM
COMKTI, DOMINO AC ME-
CAENATI SVO CLEMEN-
TISSIMO.

Felicitatē & in terris diuturnā, & in cœlis æternā precatur.

Vas superioribus diebus collegi
Seren: Princeps, & Domine Cle-
mentissime, ex Sacris litteris, San-
ctorumq́; Patrum scriptis, testi-
moniorum tabulas, in testimo-
nium antiquitatis, veritatis, per-
petuæq́; durationis & successionis fidei Catholicæ, quam
S. Rom: tuetur Ecclesia : eas sub nomine & patrocinio
Serenitatis vestræ, in manus hominum emittere volui.
Quanquam enim scio magna illa esse debere, quæ ma-
gnitudini nominis tui respondeant : perspectum tamen
illud habemus omnes, nihil esse tam paruum (dummo-
do ad Diuini cultus restaurationem aliquid faciat, aut
pertineat) quod pietas tua in Deum, & in homines, præ-
(ij) sertim

Figure 7: Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române/Romanian Academy Library, BVM C. 218, fol. 2r
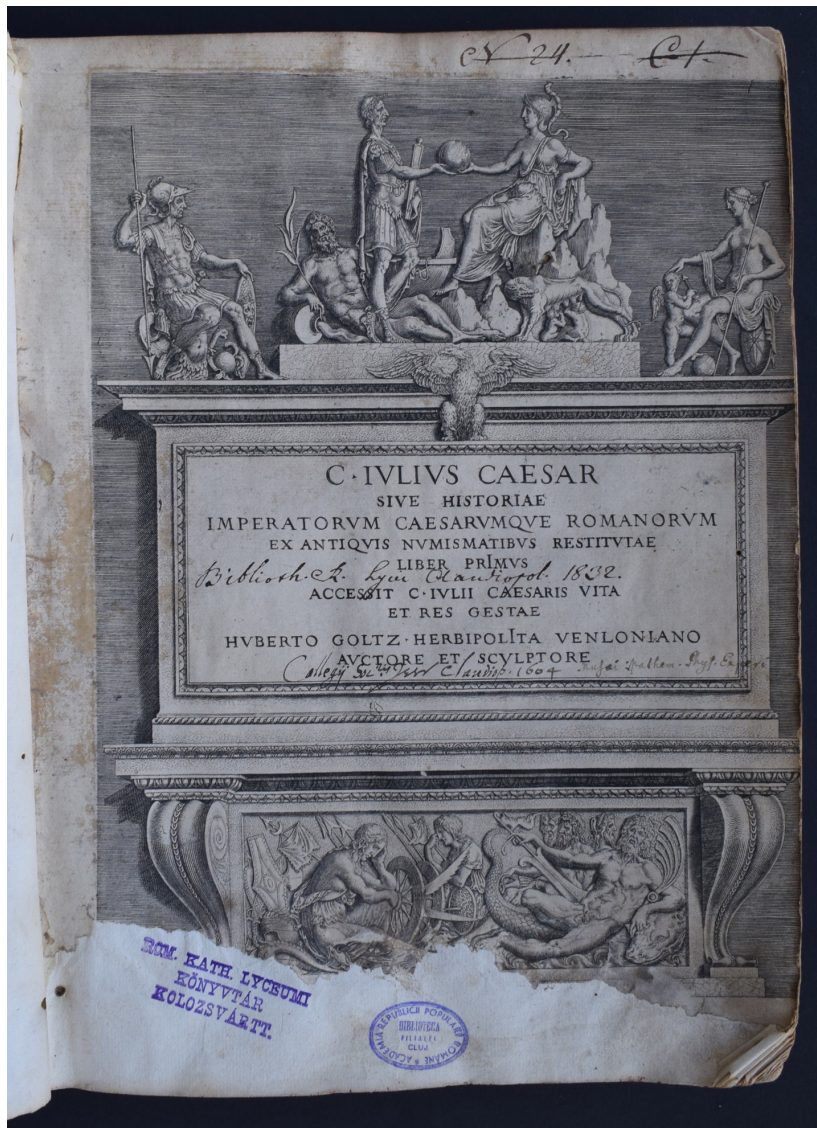
Figure 8: Cluj, Biblioteca Academiei Române/Romanian Academy Library, C. 55090, frontispiece

Reading Monastic History in Bookbinding Waste

Collecting, digitizing and interpreting fragments from Mondsee Abbey

Ivana Dobcheva, Austrian National Library
ivana.dob@gmail.com

Abstract: Shortly after its foundation in 748, the Benedictine monastery of Mondsee became an important centre for book production in Upper Austria. The librarians renewed their holdings over several phases of increased activity. In the fifteenth century, old and outdated books fell into the hands of the monastic binders, who cut up and reused them as binding waste for new manuscripts, incunabula or archival materials. These fragments often offer the only clues we have for the existence of specific texts in the monastic library and should be regarded as important sources for the study of the liturgical, scholarly and everyday life of Mondsee. This paper summarises the challenges to gathering, identifying, describing, and digitizing the material, the approach taken to achieve these ends, and an initial evaluation of Mondsee fragments used as binding waste.

Keywords: Mondsee Abbey, in situ fragments, incunables, binding waste, digitization, library history

Introduction

The Austrian Academy of Sciences (Go!Digital 2.0) funded a two-year project to study the medieval fragments from the Abbey of Mondsee, and to publish them on *Fragmentarium*.[1] The project had the specific aim of studying the use of medieval fragments for bookbinding in a particular monastic centre over a period of time.

---

[1] The project was hosted at the Austrian National Library in Vienna and ran in close collaboration with the State Library of Upper Austria, the State Archive of Upper Austria and the Institute of Austrian Historical Research. The team included Andreas Fingernagel (advisor), Katharina Kaska (project management), Ivana Dobcheva and Larissa Rasinger (researchers), and Veronika Wöber (photographer).

Some of the questions with which we started the project included: How many fragments, both detached and in situ, are to be found? How many original books did the Mondsee bookbinder(s) recycle? How did they use bits and pieces from one manuscript as binding waste and in how many host volumes did they re-use them? What were the reasons why certain books were deemed 'useless' for the monastic community and hence sent for recycling?

The Benedictine Abbey of Mondsee and its library presents itself as an excellent case study for several reasons. First, the monastery had a long-lasting scholarly activity starting in the late eighth century, producing hundreds of manuscripts, many of which survive. Second, there was a binding workshop within the monastery, where most of the manuscripts and incunabula were rebound, using (mostly) local binding waste. Third, almost all manuscripts, many incunables and part of the archive are kept today in three modern institutions in Vienna and Linz, a fact that significantly facilitates the access to and the virtual reunification of the fragments. Thanks to the good cooperation between the institutions it was possible to present the material in Open Access documents on the *Fragmentarium* web application, where researchers can examine and compare the fragments in one virtual collection and thus study the monastic book and fragment production in its entirety.

Many fragments are still in situ, pasted on the inner boards, over the spine or sewn in the middle of quires. The close cooperation between researchers, restorers and photographers made it possible to develop best practices for digitizing the fragments without causing damage to the binding and at the same time presenting the online user with easy-to-interpret and study images of the objects. The team paid particular attention to sewing guards, which are one of the most challenging fragments to work with. In the framework of the project, we tested a new method to photograph them without detaching them from the host volume, namely by using an acrylic prism.

The library of St. Michael in Mondsee (ca. 748-1791)

The Abbey of St. Michael in Mondsee was founded in the second quarter of the eighth century supposedly by the Duke of Bavaria Odilo from the house of the Agilofinger.[2] The family had control over the abbey until the deposition of the last Duke Tassilo III in 787. Mondsee then became an imperial abbey and in the following decades acquired extensive real estate holdings and established a busy scriptorium. In 831, however, King Louis the Pious placed the abbey under the control of the Bishop of Regensburg. This subordination, together with Hungarian raids, had a detrimental effect on scholarly activities at Mondsee. Book production started to thrive again in the second half of the eleventh and twelfth centuries when Mondsee implemented the Hirsau reform and needed new liturgical books. Fires and devastation marked the next two centuries, from which the abbey recovered only in the fifteenth century thanks to the reform movement initiated by the abbey of Melk, as well as the close connections with the University of Vienna. Due to this new monastic reform,[3] the old books containing the Hirsau liturgical texts went out of use. Many of them served as bookbinding waste

---

2 The year of foundation is not recorded, but the year 748 serves as the *terminus ante quem*, as it marked the death of the Duke Odilo, who donated lands to the monastery. For a detailed history of the abbey, see G. Heilingsetzer, "Mondsee", in *Germania Benedictina. Band III/2: Die benediktinischen Mönchs- und Nonnenklöster in Österreich und Südtirol*, ed. U. Faust O.S.B. and W. Krassnig, St. Ottilien 2001, 874–923; idem, "Das Mondseeland als historische Landschaft und seine Zentren Kloster und Markt", in *Mondseeland*, Linz 1981, 9–49; idem, *Mondsee. Die Geschichte des Klosters*, Linz 1998; M. Kaltenegger, *Die Frühgeschichte des Klosters Mondsee: historische Auswertungen zu den ältesten Baubefunden*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Graz, 1994; G. Rath and E. Reiter, *Das älteste Traditionsbuch des Klosters Mondsee*, Linz 1989; H. Wolfram, "Das frühmittelalterliche Kloster Mondsee in heutiger Sicht", *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereins* 134 (1989), 7–11.

3 For a detailed study on the renewal of the liturgy and music in accordance with the Melk reform, see, for example, J.F. Angerer, *Die liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung der Melker Reform: Studien zur Erforschung der Musikpraxis in den Benediktinerklöstern des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna 1974; R. Klugseder, "Die Auswirkung der Melker Reform auf die liturgische Praxis der Klöster", *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*

when Abbot Benedikt II Eck (1463–1499) decided to refurbish the library and rebind almost all Mondsee books, manuscripts as well as incunabula.[4]

For the thousandth anniversary of the abbey in 1748, Abbot Bernardus Lidl published the *Chronicon Lunaelacense*, which contains a catalogue of all the manuscripts from the ninth to the sixteenth century.[5] According to this list, the library possessed at the time 1013 manuscripts, 184 of which were written on parchment, 813 on paper and 9 mixed (for 7 there is no information about the material). One should have in mind, however, that some composite codices containing several codicological units could have been counted as separate manuscripts, so that the total number of physical books might have been somewhat smaller.

Identifying, describing and digitizing the material

The Austrian National Library (ÖNB)

After the dissolution of the abbey in the eighteenth century, the court library in Vienna (today the Austrian National Library, abbreviated ÖNB) demanded for its holdings not just a few selected books (as in the case of many other dissolved institutions) but almost all Mondsee manuscripts, totalling over 760.[6] At the time, the librarians listed the manuscripts in a handwritten inventory preserved today under the shelfmark Cod. Ser. n. 2162. The books are divided according to format (folio, quarto, octavo), so that each physical object received a shelfmark of the type 'lunael. f. 1', which marks their provenance. Today a query in the online catalogue of

---

123 (2012), 169–209; F.X. Bischof and M. Thurner, eds., *Die benediktinische Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2013.

4   The only surviving Carolingian binding is that of Cod. 1193, which had ivory plaques on both covers and probably gold or silver decoration, now missing.

5   B. Lidl, *Mantissa Chronici Lunae-Lacensis Bipartita*, Gastl 1749.

6   On the dissolution of the monastery with special focus on the monastic archive and books see I. Zibermayr, OÖLA, *Stiftsarchiv Mondsee*, Linz 1928.

756 manuscripts		
large fragment(s)		366
no fragment		241
detached		88
sewing supports only	29	
large detached; sewing supports in situ	32	
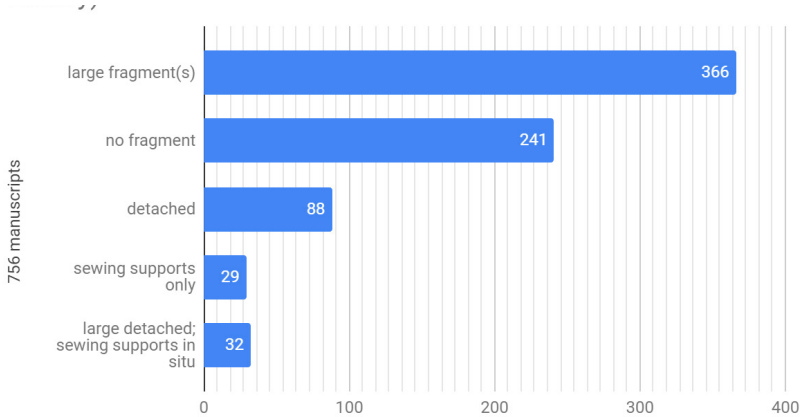
Table 1: Number of Mondsee-provenance MSS with in situ fragments (ÖNB)

the ÖNB brings 756 items with Mondsee provenance in the *Codices* collections.[7]

Our initial step was to go through the list and inspect all codices for in situ fragments and mark their exact position within the binding (Table 1). In nearly 70% of all codices (515 codices), there are either in situ fragments or traces of detached ones. One should keep in mind, however, that often, when a fragment was detached, new pastedowns were pasted over the offset, hiding all clues for the pre-existing binding waste. This would suggest that there are unaccounted offsets and the percentage of manuscript binding waste was originally higher. Furthermore, one often finds fragments from two or more original manuscripts within a single binding, so that the actual number of individual in situ fragments is over 620 items.

This process of detaching fragments began in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the general appreciation for the historical value of binding waste started to grow.[8] Some of the first

---

7   The difference in the numbers is due probably on the one hand to the fact that the librarians did not list all books separately at the time, on the other hand that later composite codices were divided in separate physical items. *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum (Cod. 1 - Cod. *19500)*, 10 vols., Vienna, 1864-1899 (reprint Graz, 1965).

8   F. Unterkircher, "Fragmenta felici fato servata in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek", in *Scire Litteras. Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen*

fragments to attract the attention of scholars were the so-called Mondsee Fragments, Old High German texts from the early ninth century. In 1833 Stephan Endlicher, a *scriptor* at the court library, began examining all Mondsee manuscripts in search of these old German fragments; he was later joined by August H. Hoffmann von Fallersleben. They detached the fragments from the bindings and managed thus to reconstruct 27 leaves from a single original manuscript, preserved today under shelfmark Cod. 3093*.[9]

Unfortunately, nineteenth century scholars were mainly interested in texts and not codicology. When detaching fragments, they rarely noted the host volume, thus depriving future generations of important information concerning the provenance of both binding and fragment. The same happened when bindings were restored or renewed and many fragments detached. This practice changed only since the 1930s when librarians started to record the host volume and the position of the fragments within the bindings more frequently.

Detached fragments that were deemed interesting enough to be catalogued were rebound in guard-books and received shelfmarks from the *Codices* collection and later from the *Codices Series Nova*.[10] Of fragments with Mondsee provenance, we know of five with a *Cod.* shelfmark and 29 with a *Cod. Ser. n.* shelfmark. Other detached fragments, which at the time were considered less important, remained uncatalogued. In the 1980s, the librarians began working on a handwritten inventory that lists 1709 items (as of April 2019) with shelfmarks *Fragm. + numerus currens*. Depending on the

Geistesleben, ed. S. Krämer and M. Bernhard, Munich 1988, 377–81; A. Fingernagel, "Die Fragmentensammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken: Geschichte – Perspektiven", in *Fragmente. Der Umgang mit lückenhafter Quellenüberlieferung in der Mittelalterforschung*, ed. C. Gastgeber, Vienna 2010, 97–108; K. Kaska and F. Simader, *Vom Umgang großer Bibliotheken mit Fragmenten am Beispiel der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, forthcoming.

9   See E. Krotz, *Auf den Spuren des althochdeutschen Isidor, Studien zur Pariser Handschrift, den Monseer Fragmenten und zum Codex Junius 25. Mit einer Neuedition des Glossars Jc*, Heidelberg 2002.

10 O. Mazal, F. Unterkircher, and R. Hilmar, *Katalog der abendländischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: 'Series nova' (Neuerwerbungen)*, 5 vols., Vienna 1963.

Fragm.
26.1%

Ser. n.
4.4%

Cod.
0.8%

[in situ]
68.7%

172

29

453
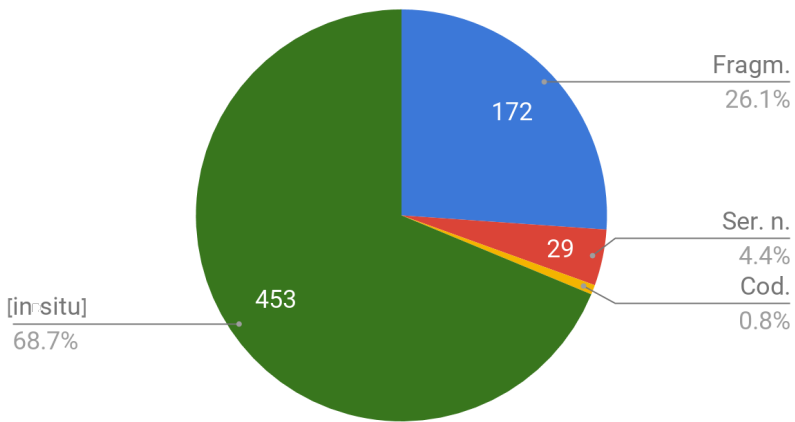
Table 2: Mondsee fragments in the ÖNB by collection

information recorded by the librarians at the time the fragment was detached, these entries include either only the shelfmark and the number of fragment pieces, or also the textual genre (breviary, antiphonary etc.), a rough dating and the shelfmark of the former host volume. Based on this information, we were able to establish a Mondsee provenance for 117 items within the collection of loose fragments. Since within one shelfmark there are often fragments from more than one original manuscript, we expanded the shelfmark by letters (e.g., Fragm. 1586a and 1586b), which increased the number of fragments to 172.

The fragments in the ÖNB collections altogether amount to 826 individual items; we identified sufficiently and described 659 fragments (in situ and detached), since the remaining 167 were too small or illegible for proper examination.

The State Library of Upper Austria (OÖLB)

While the manuscripts found their new home in the ÖNB, many incunabula and rare books from Mondsee remained in Linz and are today kept the State Library of Upper Austria (OÖLB). During the dissolution of the monasteries, manuscripts and prints from many different monastic houses and church institutions found their way to Linz, where their provenance was of no importance to the
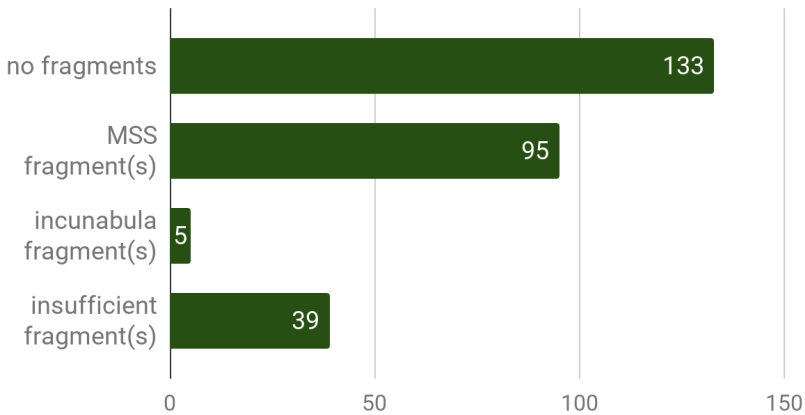
Table 3: Mondsee incunabula in the OÖLB

librarians and was thus not noted in the library catalogues. Despite
this, it is still possible to establish a Mondsee provenance for about
270 incunabula thanks to specific features such as spine labels, red
and black shelfmarks and owners' inscriptions. In half of them, we
found in situ fragments, of which we examined and described 95
manuscript and 5 early printed fragments. In 39 incunabula, the
waste hidden within the binding was not visually accessible, and
therefore could not be sufficiently described or digitized.

Significantly less binding waste was removed from the incu-
nabula at the OÖLB in comparison to the ÖNB. Thanks to the in-
formation supplied by Konrad Schiffmann we know of 13 fragments
which were detached from Mondsee books.[11] Schiffmann, who was
the head-librarian and later director in the early twentieth century,
was interested in early Carolingian pieces (such as the homiliaries
Hs.-595 [F-8380], Hs.-596 [F-bq06], Hs.-834 [F-f8n7]) and historical
notes and letters he regarded important for monastic and regional
history.

One could also single out Mondsee-provenance rare books from
the common collection of the OÖLB again based on their bindings.

---

11   Konrad Schiffmann, *Die Handschriften der öffentlichen Studienbibliothek in
      Linz*, Linz 1971, usually provides only a brief note concerning provenance; some
      fragments are also accompanied by notes in Schiffmann's hand stating the
      exact host volume and date when the binding waste was detached.

Due to the time limit of the project and the number of fragments to be described, we decided not to perform a thorough search of the collection. Exceptions were rare books with limp bindings, coverings (with paper linings or over *cartonnage*) or wrappers made from binding waste. Together with the staff of the OÖLB, we managed to sort 22 such items, so that the number of Mondsee fragments within the OÖLB increased to 174, 135 of which we could sufficiently identify and describe.

The State Archive of Upper Austria (OÖLA)

Only a small part of the Mondsee archive survived the dissolution and is today kept in the State Archive of Upper Austria (OÖLA) in Linz. It includes 323 charters, 515 archival folders, 289 archival manuscripts, and 9 maps and plans.[12]

Among the archival manuscripts, 36 still contain manuscript binding waste. In seven volumes we found fragments from several original manuscripts, which raised the number of in situ fragments to 43. In the second half of the twentieth century, many manuscript fragments were detached during rebinding initiatives. Today, they are kept as a collection of loose fragments called 'Buchdeckelfunde'. Among these, 44 pre-sixteenth-century fragments come from the Mondsee archives. Of the 87 fragments in total, the team provided descriptions of 80, while the remaining seven were either to small or illegible to be correctly identified.

Apart from the fragments in Vienna and Linz, we know of at least 21 predominantly Carolingian fragments kept in institutions around Europe and North America, which owing to the paleographical studies of scholars such as Bernhard Bischoff and Karl Forstner, can be attributed to the Mondsee scriptorium.[13] The fragments were

---

12 See the summary description in I. Zibermayr, *OÖLA, Stiftsarchiv Mondsee*, 2–7, including a succinct overview of the history of the archive after the dissolution of the monastery. Comparing the current repository at the OÖLA and an archival list made by Abbott Bernhard in 1792, Zibermayr accounted for significant losses. See also Georg Heilingsetzer, "Mondsee" (*supra*, n. 2), 919–920.

13 B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit. 2: Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden 1980; K. Forstner, "Neue Funde und Erkenntnisse zum karolingischen Schriftwesen
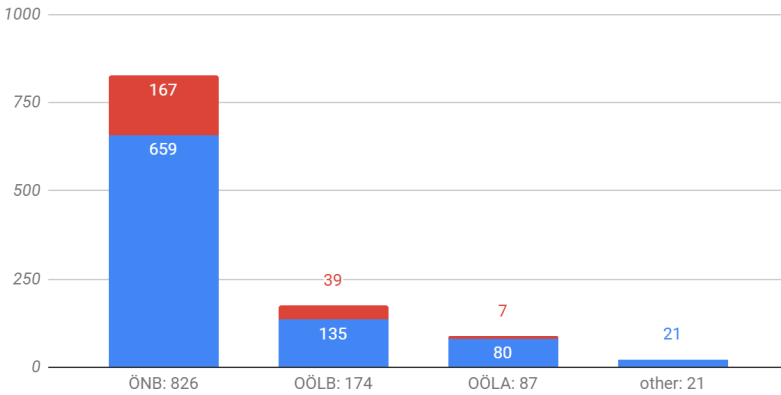
Table 4: The 1108 known Mondsee fragments, by repository. Blue = fully described fragments. Red = insufficient remains for a full description.

used as binding waste but left the monastery probably much earlier together with the host volumes. By collaborating with some of the institutions, we hope to be able to publish the fragments on *Fragmentarium*.

The total number of fragments with Mondsee provenance in all Austrian repositories and the known fragments in other Austrian and foreign libraries can be estimated to at least 1108, for 895 of which the team was able to provide complete codicological descriptions and identify the text or at least the genre.

von Salzburg und Mattsee", *Scriptorium* 52 (1998), 255–277. The fragments in alphabetical order are: Admont, Benediktinerstift, Fragm. B 38; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturebesitz, Cod. germ. fol. 751, Heft 7; Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, U.Fr.l.m.3; Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 694 [F-rod4]; Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. I 20; Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, Fragm. I/4, Fragm. I/8; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18704 (in-situ pastedown), Clm 27270; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 564; Nürnberg, Germanisches Museum, Ms. 27932; Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. Lat. 1; Passau, Staatliche Bibliothek, Fragm. I.8*, Salzburg, Archiv der Erzdiözese, Fragm. 55 (AT-AES 7.1.H1.55) and Fragm. 103 (AT-AES 7.1.H1.103); Salzburg, Landesarchiv, RP 117, RP 118, RP 119 and RP 120; Salzburg, Bibliothek der Erzabtei St. Peter, Fragm. 4; St. Florian, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Cod. III 222 A (endleaf); Wien, Universitätsbibliothek, II 261085 (offset).

Digitization

One of the project's main goals was to develop guidelines for digitizing in situ fragments. Researchers and photographers worked in close collaboration, assuring the best possible non-intrusive way to document objects that are only partly visible and would have remained undocumented using only standard photographic methods.

Pastedowns and flyleaves are usually easy to digitize and are included in the general workflow for digitizing manuscripts in the ÖNB. The common practice is to digitize the binding element as visible on the inner face of the boards. Already on the first inspection of the Mondsee manuscripts, we noticed that the binders followed the common technique of hooking the pastedowns around the outermost gathering and sewing them to it, thus strengthening the connection between the book block and the boards. For our project it was important that, even if these hooks are blank (pertaining, for instance, to the margin of the original leaf), they be nevertheless digitized so that no information about the codicological features of the original manuscript (such as original size of the leaf or existing pricking in the margin) gets lost. To make sure online users understand these features when looking at the digital facsimile, we included all codicological details in the description and explained the exact position of the fragment in the binding. In the *Fragmentarium* web application, users can view the digital facsimile and at the same time read the description in a toggle sidebar, as seen in Cod. 1118 [F-6lhe].

Sewing guards (also referred to as centre strips) are one of the most challenging fragments to describe. These narrow strips of parchment, sometimes only a centimetre wide, were used to strengthen the fold in paper quires. Over 190 Mondsee manuscripts include such strips, which were often cut from several different manuscripts. In the past, the usual practice was to detach such fragments by making tiny cuts on the level of the sewing stations to release the guard from the sewing thread (see for instance Fragm. 4a [F-reao]). Such invasive practice often lead, however, to serious damages when the strips were cut through and thus torn to several pieces. Nowadays librarians, restoration experts and scholars in general do not

Figure 1: Acrylic prism for digitizing sewing guards

want to separate two objects (host volume and fragment) that share a common history. Manfred Mayer, an engineer and conservator at the University Library Graz in Austria, offered a solution to this problem: a specially devised acrylic prism, with which it is possible to take images of the in situ strips without damaging the host volume.

The photographer positions the prism at the opening of the sewing guard to take one picture of the inner part. For photographing the outer side of the fragment, the prism needs to be repositioned

a   b   c

Figure 2: Sewing guards in Cod. 3820 a) as seen during in-situ observation, b) as digitized with a prism, c) reconstructed to form a single leaf

between the quire fold and the recto and verso of the sewing guard respectively.

Rigid or fragile bindings that cannot be opened up to 90 degrees pose a particular challenge for the photographer, who has to proceed with extra care. Most important in these cases is to avoid any damage to the medieval bindings, even at the cost of losing some information. If the prism does not reach the bottom of the fold, a small part of the middle of each sewing guard is not visible in the picture, as shown below: the letter "e" in the topmost line is visible in the in situ observation, but is cut off in the scanned image (Figures 2a, 2b).

The processing that includes taking the images, renaming, rotating and mirroring them, as well as joining the two outer images is extremely time-consuming, but makes it possible to reconstruct full pages of the original manuscript (Figure 2c).

Due to time limitations, it was impossible to digitize all sewing guards within the duration of the project. Carolingian and Romanesque manuscripts were given priority, while for the rest a compromise was necessary. At least one image per group of strips that belonged to one original manuscript was taken, while in the description we included information about the number and position

of all strips and (when possible) gave the exact content. In this way, scholars interested in the fragments can have at least one visual example and perhaps order further images or consult the fragments in situ. The fully digitized sets were used as case studies for fragmentation practices.

Another issue the team dealt with concerned the digital reconstruction of fragments on the digital platform. Our aim was to enable users online to have an experience as close as possible to examining the physical object and to get a precise idea of how much text is hidden or missing in the images showing parts of fragments in different places within the binding. This is particularly the case with transverse spine linings visible on the inner face of the boards (when there are no pastedowns) but hidden by the intact spine of the book. Two vertical strips in Cod. 3585 [F-xa56], for instance, belonged to one single leaf. To illustrate the gap between the visible parts, the photographer combined the images of the left and right board, where the fragments are pasted, placing the image of the fore-edge in the middle.

Significantly smaller and more challenging to digitize are what Nicholas Pickwood has called comb guards.[14] Comb guards are a feature observed exclusively in south German bindings. If the pastedowns are intact, such fragments are visible only as small slips cut at the height of the supports and hooked around the outermost gathering or endleaf. Sometimes the slips are glued onto the pastedowns so that the text is visible only from one side, as for instance in Cod. 1592 [F-38a2]. In most cases, however, the pieces could be digitized on both sides, so the photographer used a glass plate to hold all the pieces flat, as seen in Cod. 4073 [F-kiwq].

Description

Considering the high number of fragments that had to be described within the two-year period, it was necessary to choose a

---

14 N. Pickwood, "The Use of Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts in the Construction and Covering of Bindings on Printed Books", 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, 1–20, at 18.

suitable, time-efficient description pattern, which still guaranteed that the material would become known and accessible to the scientific community. This issue had already been addressed by a previous *Fragmentarium* case study conducted at the Manuscript Centre in Leipzig. Its main aim was to test how time-consuming the work on detached fragments is and how detailed the description ought to be. For the content and the codicological and palaeographical characteristics we largely followed the guidelines established by the Leipzig case study.[15] Since we envisaged from the very start to incorporate our material into the *Fragmentarium* database, we kept our data consistent with *Fragmentarium*'s data structure.

While the majority of the fragments had not been studied before and were thus unknown to the public, early medieval and musical fragments had been the object of previous studies. This significantly facilitated our work, since we could build upon the information supplied, for instance, by Bernhard Bischoff in his examination of early Carolingian manuscripts produced in Mondsee, by Carl Pfaff's study of the scriptorium in the High Middle Ages, or Robert Klugseder's works on musical notation in the monastery.[16] Even in the cases where there was a detailed description of the content, it was nevertheless necessary to examine closely the objects in order to add codicological information or investigate the provenance history by bringing together fragments with their host volumes. The team also added extensive transcriptions of fragments that we could not interpret and contextualise properly due to limited time and human resources. In need of further specialized study are for instance two

---

15   I. Dobcheva and C. Mackert, "Manuscript Fragments in the University Library, Leipzig: Types and Cataloguing Patterns", *Fragmentology* 1 (2018), 83–110, esp. 98–99.

16   B. Bischoff, "Die Mondseer Schreibschule des VIII. und IX. Jahrhunderts", in *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen 2*, 9–26; C. Pfaff, S*criptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Mondsee im hohen Mittelalter*, Wien 1967; R. Klugseder, *Quellen zur mittelalterlichen Musik- und Liturgiegeschichte des Klosters Mondsee* (Codices Manuscripti, Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde, Supplementum 7), Purkersdorf 2012; id., "Ergänzungen zu Supplementum 7 (2012) der Codices Manuscripti: Quellen zur mittelalterlichen Musik- und Liturgiegeschichte des Klosters Mondsee", *Codices manuscripti & impressi* 91/92 (2013), 45–56; see also his database *Cantus Planus*.

fragments – today serving as pastedowns in Cod. 4989 [F-osfa] and Cod. 4993 [F-jvr1] – from a document pertaining to the rites and statutes of a double monastery. The full-text searches supported by *Fragmentarium* (indexed also by web engines) will, hopefully, draw the attention of specialists and shed more light on the origin and history of such fragments.

The possibility to work with the object in situ and with the digitized images at the same time proved especially advantageous for the description of sewing guards. For the bookbinders, it made no difference if they cut the pages horizontally or vertically, as long as the strips had the needed length. For someone trying to identify the text on the pieces, however, the difference is enormous. In the case of horizontal strips, one can usually read complete phrases of at least two or three words so that one can identify the text using databases or at least recognizing the genre. Furthermore, layout features such as column width or paleographical characteristics often help the researcher not only to identify the content but also to assign the fragment to an already defined group. This was the case for example for three sewing guards in Cod. 3839 [F-lik8], written in an early Carolingian script, in two column with wide line spacing – all features found in a group of fragments of the Pauline epistles [F-mjod]. This task is significantly harder for vertical strips, where only a couple of letters from each line are preserved. In this case, the work with digitized images turned out to be indispensable. By placing the images next to each other and trying several combinations, it was possible, for example, to identify a leaf of Statius, *Thebais* (Cod. 3628 [F-14t7]). This process, however, can be extremely time-consuming depending on the number of strips.

For each entry in the database, we made an effort to collect existing information about the host volume, and whenever possible to enrich it with our own observations, since, as argued above, fragment and host volume complement each other's history. A guiding principle in the project was that the material would be of interest to a wide range of scholars, including binding historians, who pay particular attention to glue residue, stains, rust and other pieces of evidence from the techniques used in the original binding. To facilitate the examination of the objects online, it was imperative to

provide the digitization of the entire binding: left and right cover, pastedowns, spine, head, tail and fore-edge. Additionally, the textual descriptions offer further information about elements of the bookbinding that could not be digitized sufficiently (e.g., endbands) or are hardly recognisable on a two-dimensional image (stamps). When it comes to detached fragments, the *Fragmentarium* web application offers the possibility to publish images of the host volume and the offset as additional images, as for instance in Fragm. 813 [F-ts3a].

Reconstructing fragmented manuscripts: some examples

Apart from providing individual descriptions of fragments, we tried to group together fragments belonging to one original manuscript and to make virtual reconstructions. In this way, it will be easier for future scholars to view all the surviving leaves and pieces from a given manuscript, placed within a content sequence in the *Fragmentarium* web application. The largest reconstruction encompasses 211 fragment items of an early Carolingian copy of Paul's Epistles [F-mjod], which are now reconstructed to 92 leaves collated in at least 16 quires.[17] In most cases, we could build upon and add to previous scholarship. So, for instance, to a group of 19 antiphonary fragments listed as group NNA1 by Robert Klugseder, we were able to add further fragments: two detached spine linings under the shelfmark Fragm. 1494 [F-1en8], 18 in situ sewing guards in Cod. 3671 [F-ke4l], 23 in Cod. 3691 [F-81si], and another 17 in Cod. 3745 [F-tt6a], thus filling some gaps in the virtually reconstructed antiphonary [F-w4m4]. In the case of twelfth-century graduale fragments with partially surviving foliation it was even possible to recreate partially the quire structure of the original book and thus to visualize the amount of lost material [F-hejg].

Another example is the group of hagiographical fragments of the *Vitas Patrum* written in the early ninth century and including Rufinus Aquileiensis' *Historia monachorum*, Hieronymus' *Vita Pauli*,

---

17   See Larissa Rasinger's article in this volume.

and Athanasius Alexandrinus' *Vita Antonii*. These fragments have long attracted the attention of librarians at the ÖNB, who salvaged over two dozen fragments from Mondsee bindings.[18] Thanks to Otto Mazal's catalogue and Bernhard Bischoff's study, modern editors of the texts were aware of the existence of the sources, but their fragmented state hindered their use for the new editions of the texts.[19] In the scope of the project, we were able to find unrecorded in situ fragments in four Mondsee manuscripts and five detached ones in the fragment collection.[20] Part of them show for the first time that the former Mondsee manuscript included also Hieronymus' *Vita Hilarionis* – preserved as a single sewing guard in Cod. 3776 [F-oed8], and the *Vita Malchi* – attested by one spine lining with shelfmarks Fragm. 248-14 to 248-16 [F-ixl7], detached from Cod. 3776. That these fragments belonged to the original manuscript is confirmed by the comparison of the codicological and palaeographical features.

The same grouping of texts – *Historia monachorum*, *Vita Hilarionis*, *Vita Malchi*, *Vita Pauli* and *Vita Antonii* – is attested in the three South-German manuscripts that are part of the manuscript family δ, a fact that supports the hypothesis that the former Mondsee

---

18   The fragments were initially bound in three booklets: four leaves in Ser. n. 2070, and 22 leaves in Ser. n. 2069 and Ser. n. 3763. In 1965, when they were recognized as belonging together, the latter two were combined into a single shelfmark, Ser. n. 3763.

19   O. Mazal, F. Unterkircher, and R. Hilmar, *Katalog der abendländischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: 'Series nova' (Neuerwerbungen)* (*supra*, n. 10); B. Bischoff, "Die Mondseer Schreibschule des VIII. und IX. Jahrhunderts", 24; E. Schulz-Flügel, *Tyrannius Rufinus, Historia monachorum sive de Vita Sanctorum Patrum (Editio critica)*, Berlin 1990 (Reprinted 2011); P. Bertrand, *Die Evagriusübersetzung der Vita Antonii. Rezeption-Überlieferung-Edition. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Vitas patrum-Tradition*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Utrecht, 2006; Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus, *Trois vies de moines. Paul, Malchus, Hilarion* (Sources chrétiennes 508), ed. E.M. Morales et al., Paris 2007.

20   The ones in situ include a pastedown in Cod. 1754 [F-wd4j], 5 sewing guards in Cod. 3776 [F-oed8], an endleaf guard in Cod. 3847 [F-oi1f], and an offset in Cod. 3895 [F-3rnx]; the detached fragments represent further 10 partial leaves: 5 physically reconstructed leaves from long strips in Fragm. 782d [F-i7qc]; 2 leaves made of 7 strips in Fragm. 1562 [F-vdtb]; 2 leaves preserved only in the form of 2 strips in Fragm. 1575 [F-pyhj]; 1 leaf reconstructed from 6 strips in Fragm. 1579 [F-rl3q].

manuscript also belonged to this group.[21] Moreover, another newly identified fragment (Fragm. 1579 [F-rl3q]) transmits the end of *Vita Pauli* and the opening of *Vita Antonii*, thus confirming that the Mondsee collection had these two texts in this order.

A comparison between the mistakes typical for family δ and the readings in our fragments further supports the close connection between the manuscripts. Several instances show that the Mondsee scribe(s) either had a better exemplar or corrected their text against another witness. Here are just two examples from the *Historia monachorum*:

IX, 7,1 ergo] autem δ, ergo Mondsee fragments
X, 8,9 derelinques] derelinqueres δ, derelinques *corr*. Mondsee fragments

For the virtual reconstruction published in *Fragmentarium* [F-02pm] we were able to put together 41 trimmed and partial leaves. A tentative estimation of the amount of text missing (based on the layout and words pro leaf as observed on the preserved fragments) suggests that the surviving leaves represent probably not more than a third of the original manuscript, which would have in that case consisted of about 110 leaves.

The examples presented here demonstrate that the Mondsee binder had several manuscripts – products of the scriptorium – to use as binding waste. The sheer number of fragments with mostly liturgical content makes it, however, difficult to establish such groups of matching fragments for the whole material. Even if the paleographical and codicological features match, one cannot be sure if, for instance, the fragments from a collection of hymns [F-dc32, F-lccm], a Psalter [F-xiju, F-2fx3, F-i5u6] and fragments from an antiphonary [F-p11a, F-aw7i, F-f72y] were part of one huge breviary or belonged to two or three separate books. It is hence for the moment impossible to figure out how many original manuscripts

---

21   The three manuscripts are München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6393 (Freising, end of the eight century/beginning of the ninth century), Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, 8216-18 (St. Florian, 819) and Salzburg, Bibliothek der Erzabtei St. Peter, Cod. A VIII 25 (Southern Germany, tenth century). For short descriptions of the manuscripts and analysis of the family δ see Schulz-Flügel, *Tyrannius Rufinus*, 123–126, 162–163 and 224.

were recycled at the Mondsee workshop. Furthermore, as discussed below some of the fragments have foreign origin and were probably cut to binding waste already before their arrival at the monastery.

Fragments as binding waste

On the basis of the examined material, both host volumes and fragments, we tried to gather as much information as possible about the working practices in the Mondsee bookbinding workshop and particularly about the use of manuscript waste as binding elements. The collected data, such as type and position of binding elements, will serve bookbinding historians who could interpret it and thus elucidate the binding techniques used at the monastery. Following are some initial observations the team made 1) in respect to the most common types of waste found; 2) about the practice of cutting and preparing the manuscript leaves; and 3) about the use of binding waste from one or several original manuscripts within one host volume.

It appears that the Mondsee binders preferred one type of end-leaf construction, by which the fragmented leaves were cut slightly wider than the wooden cover so that the extra width could be folded around the first and last gathering of manuscripts.[22] Analysis of the binding waste found in incunabula showed that the practice did not continue after the end of the fifteenth century, when the binders used either blank paper endleaves to cover the turn-ins or left bare the boards of half leather. Manuscript waste was used for paste-downs in less than 10% of incunabula. The use of comb guards – a typical regional feature mentioned above – is still attested in the sixteenth century, especially in half leather bindings of manuscripts and incunabula, as for instance in Cod. 2016 [F-mpqn] and in Linz, OÖLB, Ink. 9 [F-7ksi].

The analysis of the Mondsee manuscripts showed that the use of sewing guards had its peak in the fifteenth century, when over 33% (195 out of 519 MSS) were strengthened with sewing guards,

---

22   For the different types of endleaf construction see J.A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, Ashgate 1999, 178–179 (the type most often found in Mondsee bindings corresponds to his [c] in Figure 9.2).

while in the previous century this was the case with only 23% (17 out of 73), and the sixteenth century with 3% (4 out of 95). From the roughly 270 incunabula, only 13% have sewing guards. Finally, there are no seventeenth-century manuscripts with sewing guards. For the statistical evaluation, we also took into account manuscripts and incunabula from which the sewing guards were removed, but had left unmistakable traces in the host volume, such as loose sewing or a groove along the gutter left by the strip pressing against the underlying sheet.

Aside from the common use of manuscript waste as bookbinding material, Mondsee scribes sometimes used discarded parchment leaves as palimpsests. To judge by the surviving material, this practice was relatively rare. This is due perhaps to the fact that at the time of the thriving book production in Mondsee in the fifteenth century, there was a cheaper and easier way to procure writing material, namely to buy paper. There is only one book entirely made of palimpsest leaves: Cod. 1992, a collection of psalms and hymns for the daytime prayers written in 1478. As already observed by Klugseder, the text block leaves are a palimpsest of a twelfth-century antiphonary [F-owye], which were washed from the ink, cut horizontally in two and folded in the middle to form double leaves.[23]

The intensive cataloguing of in situ fragments offered also a unique possibility to investigate the actual process of cutting up manuscripts and using the pieces within a binding characteristic for the monastic workshop. Based on the type and number of fragments within one host volume, we tried to see if the binders prepared the waste beforehand or if they were cutting the leaves in respect to what binding element was needed at the moment. The second proposition confirmed, first by looking at the use of in situ sewing guards in several host volumes. The virtual reconstruction of the fragments showed that in many cases the binders were cutting the needed material on the spot, and placing the strips from one single leaf in the quires of one book, as is the case with horizontal sewing guards in Cod. 2968 [F-12yy] or the vertical ones in Cod. 3820 [F-f72y]. Fragm. 15 [F-8aoc] – 21 strips detached from Cod. 3792 – is

---

23   R. Klugseder, *Quellen* (*supra*, n. 16).
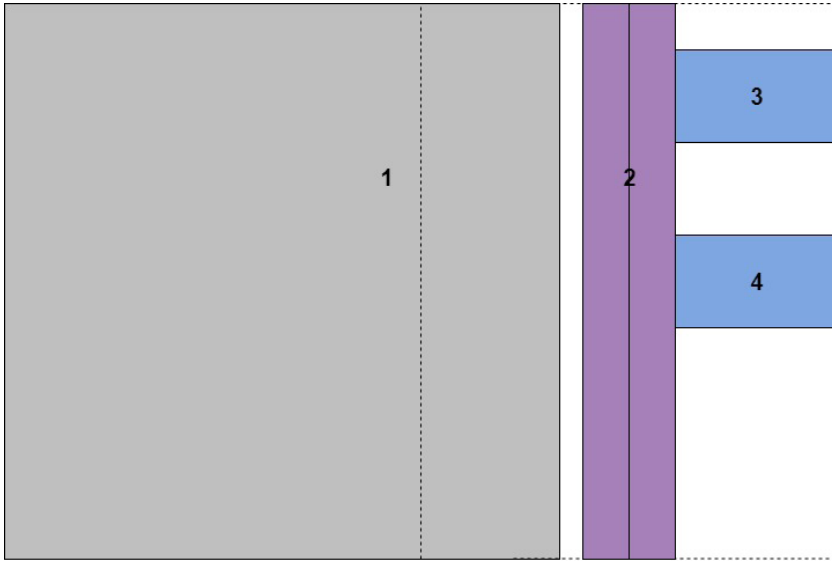
Figure 3: Scheme of a bifolium used as: [1] a pastedown (Cod. Ser. n. 3763, ff. 21-22), [2] two sewing guards (Fragm. 782d); [3] and [4] two spine linings (Fragm. 248-17 and 248-18), reconstructed as part of F-02pm

an excellent example of how the binder tried to get the most from the parchment leaf by cutting it both horizontally and vertically to maximise the use of the material and thus getting as many sewing guards as possible.

One notices the same economic practice by the reconstruction of the *Vitas Patrum* [F-02pm]. A large part of the first bifolium in the reconstructed quire G was used as a pastedown in Cod. 3776 (now detached in Cod. Ser. n. 3763, ff. 21–22). From the rest of the leaf were cut two spine linings (now Fragm. 248-17 and 248-18 [F-ixl7], detached from the same host volume Cod. 3776) and two sewing guards (now Fragm. 782d [F-i7qc], detached from an unknown host volume). See Figure 3.

The presence of fragments from one original manuscript (and especially from the same leaf, or from consecutive leaves) in two or several bindings can furthermore help to place bindings in a chronological framework. One can deduce that Cod. 3247 and Cod. 3776 were not only bound in the same workshop but probably in a very short period. The evidence comes from the binding waste, one
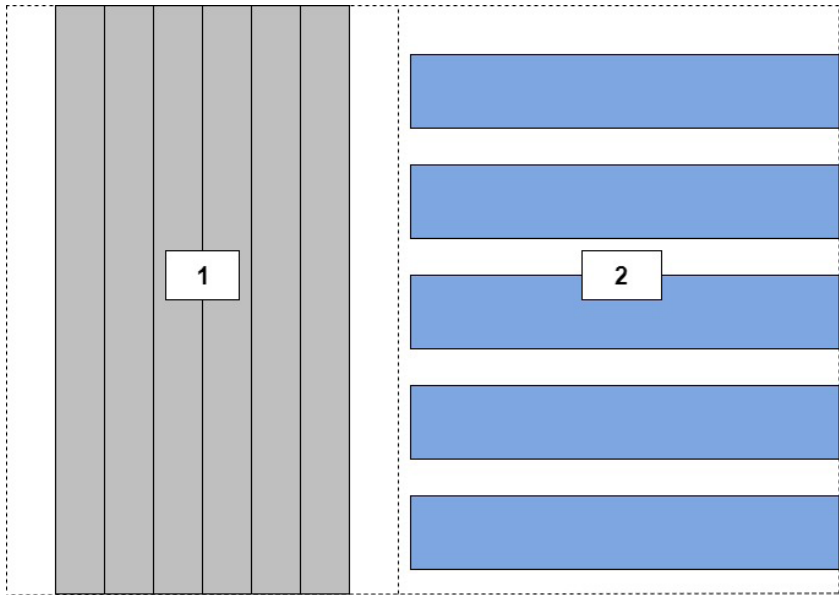
Figure 4: Scheme of a bifolium used as: [1] 6 sewing guards (Fragm. 1579, detached from Cod. 3247) and [2] 5 transverse spine linings (Fragm. 248-1 through 248-13, detached from Cod. 3776)

bifolium of the *Vitas Patrum* used in both bindings: six thin vertical strips served as sewing guards in Cod. 3247, while five wider horizontal strips for spine linings in Cod. 3776 (Figure 4). Cod. 3247 – a manuscript written 1452 in Melk by the hand of the Mondsee monk Jacobus Keser, who brought the unbound codex to Mondsee – offers a clear *terminus post quem* for the binding of both codices.

Again, based on the binding waste one can group several mainly half leather bindings now preserved in the ÖNB under shelfmarks Cod. 1592 [F-38a2], Cod. 3558 [F-k4gb], Cod. 3653 [F-pz2g], Cod. 3836 [F-6t62], Cod. 3852 [F-6k21], Cod. 3856 [F-odj6], Cod. 3858 [F-q2wr], Cod. 4068 [F-sy2k]. As endleaf guards and comb guards were used fragments from the same breviary, written at the end of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century. Thanks to stamps decorating some of the bindings, it is certain that the bindings were all products of the Mondsee workshop.

Coming back to the binding waste in Cod. 3247, this host volume is also a good example for the practice of binders using different

original manuscripts for different binding components. As already mentioned, they used six sewing guards cut from a leaf of *Vitas Patrum* (now Fragm. 1579 [F-rl3q]), side-by-side with two leaves from a manuscript of Paul's Epistles (now Cod. Ser. n. 2065, ff. 69–70) for the pastedowns as well as two sewing guards (still in situ between ff. 147–148 and ff. 159–160, [F-qh63]). To give another example, the offsets left from the binding waste in Cod. 3895 reveal that the binders used two Carolingian manuscripts: a single leaf from Gregorius Magnus' *Homiliae in evangelia* [F-jo4h] and a single leaf from the *Vitas Patrum* [F-3rnx] for the pastedowns. This suggests that binders had at their disposal a stock of dismembered early Carolingian Mondsee manuscripts (given for recycling presumably owing to their outdated script) at some point in the mid-fifteenth century.[24]

Although the Mondsee monastery bound its books locally, the library also grew thanks to donations, purchases of new books and the personal collections of educated monks who joined the monastery.[25] This explains the presence of foreign binding waste in books, which only later in their history became part of the Mondsee library. Ink. 586 from the collection of the OÖLB, for instance, was published 1475 in Rome but received its binding in Vienna in the workshop of Blasius Coniugatus. As endleaf guards connecting the covers and the text block are used fragments from two Italian charters – one of them a papal bull dated 1470 – which, as already noted by Katharina Hranitzky, indicates that the quires were sewn together probably already in Rome.[26] The import of ready bound

---

24   There were probably many other instances where fragments from different early Carolingian manuscripts were used as binding waste within one and the same host volume. As mentioned above, however, in most cases the previous librarians removed the fragments without marking the host volume. Tracing detached fragments back to their host volumes is usually impeded by blank paper endleaves pasted over the offsets on the inner covers, as for instance in Cod. 3895 [F-3rnx].

25   On the rapid growth of the library, particularly in the fifteenth century, see L. Glückert O.S.B., "Hieronymus von Mondsee. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Einflusses der Wiener Universität im 15. Jahrhundert", *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 48 (1930), 99–201, esp. 126–133.

26   See K. Hranitzky et al., *Die illuminierten Handschriften, Inkunabeln und Frühdrucke der Oberösterreichischen Landesbibliothek in Linz: Handschriften und*

books explains also why one finds not only foreign Latin but also Hebrew fragments in Mondsee bindings.[27] The bindings of both Cod. 3866 and Cod. 4784, for instance, are products of a workshop in Vienna where the binders used Hebrew fragments for the pastedowns and sewing guards (Fragm. hebr. B 43 [F-kphc]), and for the endleaf guard (Fragm. hebr. B 10 [F-sks2]) respectively.[28]

The codicological structure and binding of other Mondsee manuscripts reveal that in many cases it was not bound books but separate booklets that came as imports and gifts to Mondsee. As unbound fascicles, they had only temporary wrappers to protect them, as was probably the case with Cod. 2996. This manuscript was written around 1425 by Nicolaus Walber, a student in Vienna, changed several times its owners before it was brought by novices or bought by Mondsee monks who studied in Vienna. The blind-tooled binding including a simple framed saltire is not sufficient to indicate a particular workshop. In the middle of three of its quires, however, one finds as sewing guards vertical strips from the Carolingian manuscript of Paul's Epistles written in Mondsee [F-mf8a], which is a definite evidence that the codex received its solid binding at the monastic workshop. The Hebrew fragment, which was later used as its pastedown and as sewing guards (Fragm. hebr. B 28 Han [F-1313]), might have served previously as a wrapper to the unbound book.

Frühe Drucke 1140-1540. Österreich, Passau, Italien, vol. 1, Vienna 2018, 10–11.

27 For the use of Hebrew manuscripts as binding waste, see for instance A. Lehnardt, "Hebräische und aramäische Einbandfragmente in Mainz und Trier Zwischenbericht eines Forschungsprojekts (2008)", in *Rekonstruktion und Erschließung mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken: neue Formen der Handschriftenpräsentation* (Beiträge zu den Historischen Kulturwissenschaften 1), ed. A. Rapp and M. Embach, 45–64. For the study of Hebrew fragments in Austria see C. Glassner and J. Oesch, eds., *Fragmenta Hebraica Austriaca*, Vienna 2009; A.Z. Schwarz, *Die hebräischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Leipzig 1925; A.Z. Schwarz, D.S. Loewinger, and E. Roth, *Die hebräischen Handschriften in Österreich außerhalb der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1931.

28 See stamps A.4 and C.6 in K. Holter, *Verzierte Wiener Bucheinbände der Spätgotik und Frührenaissance. Werkgruppen und Stempeltabellen* (Codices manuscripti. Sonderheft), Vienna 1977; reprinted in idem, *Buchkunst – Handschriften – Bibliotheken; Beiträge zur mitteleuropäischen Buchkultur vom Frühmittelalter bis zur Renaissance*, ed. G. Heilingsetzer and W. Stelzer, 2 vols., Linz 1996, v. 1, 420–490.

More challenging to interpret is the binding waste in composite manuscripts such as Cod. 3839, a small paper manuscript (150 × 110 mm) made up of five codicological units. In all five, we find manuscript waste being used as sewing guards.

Cod. unit (ff.)	Quire	Strip between ff.	Fragment
1. (1–99)	1	5/6	blank
	2	17/18	blank
	3	28/29	illegible (15th c.)
	4	39/40	*Excidium Troiae*
	5	51/52	blank
	6	63/64	illegible
	7	74/75	*Excidium Troiae*
	8	84/85	*Epistulae Pauli*
	9	94/95	Missal (14th / 15th c.)
2. (100–109)	10	104/105	*Excidium Troiae*
3. (110–146)	11	115/116	*Excidium Troiae*
	12	127/128	*Excidium Troiae*
	13	139/140	*Epistulae Pauli*
4. (147–170)	14	152/153	charter
	15	164/165	charter
5. (171–181)	16	176/177	*Epistulae Pauli*

Table 5: sewing guards in Cod. 3839

The blind tooling on its covers matches that of a group of Mondsee manuscripts and therefore testifies that the codex received its binding in the monastic workshop. Further evidence for its origin comes from the fragments of Paul's Epistles [F-lik8] found in three of the codicological units. Nevertheless, it is uncertain if the fragments from the other three original manuscripts were local binding waste taken from the library or foreign imports. There are no other matching fragments from the *Excidium Troiae* to support the existence of an original manuscript with Mondsee provenance. The five horizontal strips constitute just one partial bifolium [F-gw18], which could very well have been previously used as a wrapper for one of the fascicles. The rather undistinctive Northern Textualis

of the missal fragment and the short text snippets of the charter fragments offer few clues for their history. Until further fragments from these manuscripts are discovered, it is an open question how the fragments landed in the hands of the Mondsee binders.

Conclusions

By the project's end, in August 2019, the team had inspected all known Mondsee manuscripts, incunabula and archival material for manuscript fragments, and provided descriptions and digital images of most of the 1108 known Mondsee fragments. This previously undocumented material is now freely available, with high-resolution images and scholarly descriptions published on the *Fragmentarium* platform. As of November 2019, 469 fragments are already published on *Fragmentarium*, while another 180 await final corrections. It is our hope that the practices developed in the framework of the project and discussed above could be used by other institutions and projects as an example of how to digitize, describe and publish large fragment holding in other libraries as well.

In this way, both manuscript specialists as well as the general public can get to know these historical objects, some of which are of such a fragile state that they cannot be consulted in-situ. The importance of the fragments lays not only in their nature as evidence of a prior manuscript and the transmission of text, but also, as in the case of the Mondsee, in their constituting an essential source for tracing the growth of the medieval library and the development of scribal and literary activities, especially in the Early and High Middle Ages, a period from which only a small number of manuscripts survive intact.

Some of the fragments offer a unique insight into local monastic history and everyday life. The fragment of an anti-Hussite poem attests, for example, to how far-reaching the movement was (Fragm. 221b [F-rpdo]). Remnants from grammatical textbooks suggest which texts were used in the monastic school (Cod. 3594, [F-hogp]). Writing exercises show the practice of ruling the leaf, including waistlines to help the scribes write letters of equal height (Fragm. 308 [F-2pfn]). Lists of monks appointed as *Lectores* and

Cantatores (Fragm. 351b [F-mhe2]) or an inventory of items used in the church (Fragm. 822 [F-hw57]) allow us a glimpse in the organisation of the liturgical ceremonies. Although the latter examples are not fragments in the proper sense of the term, they are intriguing ephemeral documents, which rarely survive unless, as in these cases, they were recycled and preserved within the bindings of other books.

The comprehensive analysis of this material helped to improve our understanding of the use of fragments for bookbinding in Mondsee. Because most bindings can only be dated to within a half-century, it remains unclear how long binders used a single original manuscript for binding waste. It is, however, possible to visualize the methods of dismembering the books and cutting the leaves. By the study and comparison of groups of fragments and their host volumes, the team was also able to document new blind tooling stamps, which can be used in the future as evidence for assigning bindings to the Mondsee workshop.

Finally, the comprehensive examination of all Mondsee fragments allowed us to see which books were deemed 'inutiles' and sent to the binder's workshop.[29] Not surprisingly, the lion's share of fragments consists of liturgical texts. In contrast to most areas in modern Germany, where the Reformation was the main reason why so many books were discarded, in Austria and particularly in Mondsee this happened because of the Melk Observance introduced in the monastery 1435 from Regensburg. The close connections with Melk, with which Mondsee established a confraternity in 1447, stimulated further the production and acquisition of new books and hence the discarding of older ones.[30]

---

29 On the reasons for discarding manuscripts, see for instance E. Pellegrin, "Fragments et membra disiecta", in *Codicologica 3: Essais Typologiques*, ed. A. Gruys and J.P. Gumbert, Leiden 1980, 70–95; G. Powitz, "Libri inutiles in mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken. Bemerkungen über Alienatio, Palimpsestierung und Makulierung", in idem, *Handschriften und frühe Drucke. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur mittelalterlichen Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte*, Frankfurt am Main 2005, 82–112.

30 B. Lidl, *Mantissa Chronici Lunae-Lacensis Bipartita* (*supra*, n. 5), 219 and 225. Mondsee received some manuscripts as gifts (such as Cod. 4790, given by the Abbot of Melk, Ludwig Schanzler (1474-1480), while others were written

Questions remain, however, concerning the use of late medieval liturgical manuscripts as binding waste. Take the case with eighteen trimmed or partial leaves from a breviary, kept today in the State Archive of Upper Austria (OÖLA) under shelfmarks Buchdeckel-funde III, Mappe 3h/3 [F-6eld], 5e [F-co1w], 5k/1 [F-3rhv] and 10e/5 [F-umrb]. According to the colophon, the Mondsee monk Jacobus Keser produced the manuscript in the year 1476.[31] Just a century later the leaves were used to cover the bindings of archival manuscripts, the earliest of which is Linz, OÖLA, Stiftsarchiv Mondsee, Hs 136, containing documents from the years 1571-1572. A provisional exam-ination of the liturgy in the fragments revealed that it follows the newly established observance as presented in the *Ordo breviarii* of Haymo of Faversham.[32] The reason why the breviary was sent to the bookbinder must await further research by liturgical specialists, who can examine the texts in detail and compare them with such used in Melk.

in Melk by Mondsee monks, who were probably sent there with the specific task to copy important texts. On the impact of the Melk Reform in respect to the liturgical practice and book collection, see K. Holter, "Der Einfluss der Melker Reform auf das klösterliche Buchwesen in Österreich", in *Buchkunst – Handschriften – Bibliotheken*, 763–84, and R. Klugseder, "Die Auswirkung der Melker Reform" (*supra*, n. 3).

31   The colophon is preserved on the second leaf of Mappe 3h/3 and reads: "Hunc librum horarum comparauit reuerendus in christo pater ac dominus dominus Benedictus abbas huius monasterii lunelacensis, quem anno ab incarnatione domini milesimo quadringentesimo septingesimo sexto finiuit frater Jacobus de wratislauia professus eiusdem monasterii in die sancte Brigide uirginis" (February 1, 1476). Within the manuscript collection in the ÖNB survive sever-al liturgical book written by the hand of Keser, including a similarly-arranged missal dated 1472 (Cod. 1797) and the aforementioned Cod. 3776.

32   S.J.P. van Dijk, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents (1243–1307)*, 2 vols., Leiden 1963.

Zwei karolingische Fragmente von nicht identifizierten Predigtsammlungen

(München, BSB, clm 29319/3 und 29319/40)

Lukas J. Dorfbauer, Universität Salzburg-CSEL
lukas.dorfbauer@sbg.ac.at

Abstract: The present paper offers discussions of two Carolingian fragments of sermon collections now at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (clm 29319/3 and 29319/40), based on the first identification of their contents. It is demonstrated that clm 29319/3 originally belonged to the same book as the liturgical fragment clm 29304/1; this lost book, which served as exemplar for the famous *Benedictionale Frisingense* (clm 6430), may turn out to be of major importance for the study of a sermon formerly attributed to Eligius of Noyon (CPL 2096). It is also demonstrated that clm 29319/40, directly or indirectly, served as the exemplar for the hitherto only known copy of an early medieval sermon (*Doctrina populorum*; CPPM 1A, 2360) in clm 14380. The text of this sermon is printed here for the first time; its sources and also its use in Carolingian sermons (e.g. in a sermonary by Hrabanus Maurus) are discussed.

Keywords: Carolingian fragments of sermon collections; early medieval sermons; Eligius of Noyon; Benedictionale Frisingense; Caesarius of Arles; *Doctrina populorum*; Hrabanus Maurus

Die korrekte Identifizierung von Predigtsammlungen aus Fragmenten stellt eine besondere Herausforderung dar, insbesondere wenn die erhaltenen Bruchstücke sehr kurz sind und die betreffende Kollektion keinem der weit verbreiteten Homiliar- bzw. Sermonartypen angehört. Beides trifft für die zwei Fragmente clm 29319/3 und 29319/40 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München zu. Diese sollen im Folgenden ausführlicher diskutiert werden, weil sich aus der Identifizierung ihres Inhalts eine ganze Reihe von

weiterführenden Erkenntnissen ergeben haben, welche für die früh-mittelalterliche Text- und Geistesgeschichte von Bedeutung sind.[1]

I

Bei München, BSB, clm 29319/3 [F-hyq0] handelt es sich um insgesamt 17 vertikal zugeschnittene Falzstreifen aus Pergament (je ca. 31 × 1 cm), die aus dem Codex München, BSB, clm 9732 (s. XV, ehemals Kloster Oberaltaich) ausgelöst wurden. Sieben bzw. zehn dieser Streifen bilden nebeneinander gelegt je ein fast vollständiges Blatt, beschrieben in 31 Langzeilen; wir haben es offenbar mit einem ursprünglichen Bifolium zu tun, welches das Innerste einer Lage bildete. Paläographisch gilt eine Entstehung in Freising unter Bischof Hitto (811/2–835) als sicher. Dass es sich beim Inhalt um Reste von homiletischen Texten handelt, ist offensichtlich; eine genaue Identifikation gelang bisher jedoch nicht.[2]

Die heute mit Bleistift auf einem Rahmen des Fragments eingetragenen Seitenangaben ‚I recto – I verso – II recto – II verso‘ stehen in Zusammenhang mit der Annahme, es handle sich um die ehemaligen Hälften zweier Blätter, welche zweispaltig beschrieben gewesen wären, wie man es in der u. Anm. 2 genannten Literatur liest. Sie geben aber die Abfolge des enthaltenen Texts korrekt wieder.[3] Erhalten sind der Schlussteil einer Predigt (I recto ...*qui et ipse*

---

1   Die vorliegende Arbeit ist aus meinem Projekt hervorgegangen, alle Fragmente von im weitesten Sinn theologischen Texten zu untersuchen, die Bernhard Bischoff in seinen großen, postum publizierten Katalog der karolingischen Handschriften aufgenommen hat, und deren Inhalt bisher nicht genau bestimmt werden konnte. Vgl. B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, 3 Bände und Gesamtregister, Wiesbaden 1998 / 2004 / 2014 / 2017.

2   Bischoff (Anm. 1), nr. 3424; B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit 2: Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden 1980, 216; H. Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Fragmente der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München 2: Clm 29315–29520*, Wiesbaden 2001, 130 („Homilien nicht identifiziert“).

3   Ich werde im Folgenden nach jenen Angaben zitieren, wenn nötig ergänzt um die Zeilenzahl (Z.). Dass es sich bei clm 29319/3 nicht um Hälften von zweispaltig beschriebenen Blättern handelt, beweist der Vergleich mit dem Fragment clm 29304/1, worauf im Folgenden ausführlich eingegangen wird.

caste vivit et filios vel vicinos suos docet – I verso *...ut ad regna caeles-tia gaudentes perveniatis praestante domino nostro Iesu Christo qui cum patre et spiritu sancto*) sowie, nach der in rubrizierter Unziale gehaltenen Überschrift *ITEM ALIA*, der Anfangsteil einer weiteren Predigt (I verso *Rogo vos et ammoneo, fratres karissimi, ut diem iudicii semper pertimescatis...* – II verso *...[cu]m Christo et omnibus [sanctis] in pa[ra]dyso letatur et [sep]arabit...*).

Beim ersten dieser zwei Texte handelt es sich um eine in den modernen Repertorien nicht klassifizierte Version einer Predigt, welche bisweilen Eligius von Noyon († 660) zugesprochen wurde (CPL 2096; CPPM 1, 1113). Andere Fassungen sind sowohl separat als auch innerhalb der *Vita S. Eligii episcopi Noviomensis* (CPL 2094; BHL 2474) überliefert und wurden an unterschiedlicher Stelle ge-druckt: In PL 40,1169–1190 unter dem Titel *De rectitudine catholicae conversationis*; in PL 87,524–550 als Kapitel 15 der genannten Eligi-us-Vita; in MGH SS rer. Merov. 4, p. 751–761 als Appendix II zu jener Vita unter dem Titel *Praedicatio Eligii de supremo iudicio*. Keine dieser im Druck greifbaren Versionen ist völlig identisch mit jener Form, die clm 29319/3 bietet. Diese ist, soweit ich sehe, sonst nur auf den Folien 76r–78v des Codex München, BSB, clm 6430 überliefert, dort unter dem Titel *Predicatio ad populum*, ohne Verfasserangabe. Der in clm 29319/3 erhaltene Text entspricht fol. 78r, Z. 6 bis fol. 78v, Z. 17 von clm 6430.[4]

In der genannten Handschrift clm 6430 folgt unmittelbar da-nach, auf fol. 78v–83r, die zweite in clm 29319/3 fragmentarisch vorhandene Predigt, allerdings ohne Überschrift und beginnend mit einem unvollständigen *ogo*: Das R hätte als Initiale eingetra-gen werden sollen, ist aber nicht ausgeführt worden. Der auf clm 29319/3 vorhandene Text entspricht fol. 78v, Z. 18 bis 80r, Z. 4 von

---

4   Zu München, BSB, clm 6430 vgl. Bischoff (Anm. 1), nr. 3085; B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit 1: Die bayrischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden ³1974, 114; G. Glauche, *Katalog der lateini-schen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Perga-menthandschriften aus dem Domkapitel Freising 2: Clm 6317–6437*, Wiesbaden 2011, 290–292. Die genaueste Beschreibung findet man bei R. Amiet, *The Bene-dictionals of Freising*, Maidstone 1974, 23–36. Der Codex ist online einsehbar unter: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0004/bsb00047275/images/index.html (letzter Zugriff: 20.12.2019).

clm 6430. Bei dieser Predigt handelt es sich im Wesentlichen um eine Kompilation, erstellt mittels Versatzstücken aus dem direkt vorangehenden Text, aus Ps.-Augustinus, Sermo app. 251 (CPPM 1, 1036) sowie aus Ps.-Caesarius, Homilia 17 (CPPM 1, 2290).[5] Auch diese zweite Predigt ist nicht in unseren Repertorien erfasst und, soweit mir bekannt, ausschließlich in clm 6430 und clm 29319/3 tradiert.

Wenn zwei Texte in nur zwei Handschriften überliefert zu sein scheinen und in diesen überdies gleich positioniert sind (in diesem Fall unmittelbar aufeinander folgend), dann drängt sich der Verdacht einer näheren Verwandtschaft auf. Und tatsächlich zeigt ein genauer Vergleich von clm 29319/3 mit clm 6430, dass der jeweilige Wortlaut identisch ist bis auf einige Fehler und Auslassungen, die clm 6430 gegenüber clm 29319/3 aufweist.[6] Vgl. die unten stehenden Beispiele (rein orthographische Abweichungen wie *celebrate*/ *caelebrate* besitzen selbstverständlich keine Aussagekraft):

clm 29319/3	clm 6430
diem sanctarum sollemnitatum pio **affectu** celebrate (fol. Ir, Z. 22–24)	diem sanctarum sollemnitatum pio **affectum** caelebrate (fol. 78r, Z. 19–78v, Z. 1)
et tu[nc v]eniet dominus Iesus Christus (fol. IIr, Z. 28)	et tunc dominus Iesus Christus (fol. 79v, Z. 2)

---

5 Vgl. bereits Amiet (Anm. 4), 35 und Glauche (Anm. 4), 292. Zu den unterschiedlichen Fassungen, in denen Ps.-Augustinus, Sermo app. 251 überliefert ist, vgl. C.D. Wright, „A Doomsday Passage in an Old English Sermon for Lent, Revisited", *Anglia* 128 (2010), 28–47. Unser Kompilator verwendete offenbar die am häufigsten überlieferte Version, welche unter CPPM 1,1036 klassifiziert ist.

6 Umgekehrt bietet clm 6430 nur an einer einzigen Stelle gegen clm 29319/3 den zweifellos richtigen Text: *dies ille **quo** dominus noster … proposuit venire* clm 6430, fol. 79r, Z. 5f.: [*dies*] *ille **quod** d*[*ominus noste*]*r … proposuit ve*[*nire*] clm 29319/3, fol. IIr, Z. 2–4. Aber hier liegt offenbar eine selbständige Korrektur vor, wenn nicht sogar eine ,irrtümliche Verbesserung', indem nämlich eines der beiden aufeinander folgenden *d* aus *quod **d**ominus* der Vorlage übersehen wurde. Dass der Text in clm 6430 mit den Worten *qui cum patre et spiritu sancto **vivit et regnat*** schließt statt mit *qui cum patre et spiritu sancto*, ist nicht als Textausfall in clm 29319/3 zu bewerten, sondern als selbständiger, glättender Zusatz, wie er am Predigtende nicht ungewöhnlich ist.

Am deutlichsten ist aber der folgende Fall; aus ihm lässt sich ein sicherer Schluss auf das Verhältnis der beiden Handschriften zueinander ableiten:

clm 29319/3	clm 6430
homo numquam debet omnino disperare, **quia, si** veram poenitentiam egerit et puriter ad confessionem veram occurrerit **et elymosinas iustas fecerit**, numquam ardebit in poena inferni (fol. Iv, Z. 7–13)	homo numquam debet omnino disperare **quasi** veram poenitentiam egerit et puriter ad confessionem veram occurrerit, numquam ardebit in poena inferni (fol. 78v, Z. 9–12)

Man mag dem Fehler *quasi* statt *quia si* in clm 6430 vielleicht nicht allzu viel Gewicht beimessen; aber bei der Auslassung der Worte *et elymosinas iustas fecerit* handelt es sich um einen signifikanten Augensprung von (*occur*)*erit* zu (*fec*)*erit*, der seine Ursache im Layout von clm 29319/3 findet: Dort nehmen die betreffenden Worte genau dieselbe Länge in zwei aufeinander folgenden Zeilen ein, und die beiden ...*erit* stehen exakt untereinander. Wer also clm 29319/3 als Vorlage zum Abschreiben benutzte, für den bestand erhöhte Gefahr, eben jenen lückenhaften Text zu produzieren, wie er sich in clm 6430 präsentiert.

Dass wir es in diesem Fall höchstwahrscheinlich mit einer direkten Abschrift zu tun haben, legen Abfassungsort und -zeit der beiden Textzeugen nahe. Wie bereits oben festgehalten, gilt clm 29319/3 als Produkt des Freisinger Skriptoriums unter Hitto. Die Folien 15–87 von clm 6430 bilden eine kodikologische Einheit (fol. 1–14 sind älter), die ebenfalls in Freising geschrieben wurde, und zwar an der Wende vom 9. zum 10. Jh.[7] Offenbar hat man um 900 in der Dombibliothek beschlossen, einen Band der eigenen Sammlung zu kopieren, und uns ist von diesen Büchern leider nur das jüngere Exemplar vollständig erhalten geblieben.

Die Vorlage von clm 6430, fol. 15–87 lässt sich aber noch genauer rekonstruieren, wenn man den übrigen Inhalt des Bandes in den Blick nimmt. Den meisten Raum, nämlich die Folien 15v–76r sowie 87v, nimmt eine Sammlung von Benediktionen ein, die

---

7   Vgl. die o. Anm. 4 genannte Literatur.

der Liturgiewissenschaft als ‚Benedictionale Frisingense' (CLLA2, nr. 280) bekannt ist und als wertvolles Zeugnis des gallikanischen Ritus gilt.[8] Und seit längerer Zeit kennt man das aus zwei Doppelblättern bestehende Fragment München, BSB, clm 29304/1, welches Benediktionen enthält, deren Auswahl, Abfolge und Wortlaut bis auf eine Auslassung identisch ist mit dem Text von clm 6430. Bernhard Bischoff und Robert Amiet vermuteten daher, in clm 29304/1 [F-43jk] könnte der Überrest der unmittelbaren Vorlage der Benediktionen von clm 6430 erhalten sein.[9]

Wie man bisher nicht erkannt hat, bestehen zwischen den Fragmenten clm 29304/1 und clm 29319/3 derart klare kodikologische und paläographische Gemeinsamkeiten, dass Herkunft vom selben Band zwingend anzunehmen ist: Die Maße dieser Bruchstücke, welche durch die im Vergleich zur geringen Breite auffallend große Höhe der Blätter ins Auge stechen, stimmen überein (je ca. 31 × 12 cm; Schriftraum je ca. 26 × 8 cm);[10] die Folien sind mit jeweils 31 Langzeilen beschrieben; für Überschriften ist jeweils rubrizierte Unziale verwendet, außerdem gibt es jeweils rubrizierte Initialen, die zwei Zeilen einnehmen und ausgerückt sind; die fraglichen Blätter stammen dem Schriftbefund zufolge aus dem Freisinger Skriptorium unter Bischof Hitto. Es kann meines Erachtens nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass in clm 29304/1 und clm 29319/3 sogar die Hand desselben Schreibers zu sehen ist; man wird sich in diesem Punkt allerdings schwer festlegen können. Angesichts dieser Sachlage darf die vermutete Abhängigkeit der Benediktionen in clm 6430 von jenem Band, dessen Überreste heute clm 29304/1 bilden, als

---

8 Vgl. G. Morin, „Un recueil gallican inédit de *Benedictiones episcopales* en usage à Freising aux VIIe-IXe siècles", *Revue Bénédictine* 29 (1912), 168–194, Amiet (Anm. 4) sowie die übrige bei Glauche (Anm. 4), 291 genannte Literatur.

9 Vgl. Bischoff (Anm. 4), 110, Anm. 1 („entspricht den Bl. 30R–34R des Clm 6430 ... aus dem fragmentarisch erhaltenen Codex abgeleitet") sowie Amiet (Anm. 4), 36–40, wo die beiden Doppelblätter jeweils noch unter ihren ehemaligen Signaturen clm 29163m und 29164 behandelt sind. Zu clm 29304/1 vgl. auch H. Hauke, K*atalog der lateinischen Fragmente der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München 1: Clm 29202–29311*, Wiesbaden 1994, 229.

10 Bischoff (Anm. 4), 110 ging angesichts der markanten Abmessungen davon aus, dass der ursprüngliche Codex „mit einem oder zwei Elfenbeindeckeln geschmückt werden sollte".

Tatsache gelten. Welche Folgerungen sich daraus für die Liturgiewissenschaft ergeben, mögen Kundigere diskutieren.[11]

Durch die Erkenntnis, dass clm 29304/1 und clm 29319/3 Überreste desselben Buches sind, welches als Vorlage für clm 6430, fol. 15–87 gedient hat, ergibt sich die folgende inhaltliche Gegenüberstellung:

clm 29304/1 + clm 29319/3	clm 6430, fol. 15–87
Benedictiones episcopales [frg.]	15v–76r: Benedictiones episcopales
Eligius (?), Sermo [frg.]	76r–78v: Eligius (?), Sermo
Sermo ‚Rogo vos et ammoneo‘ [frg.]	78v–83r: Sermo ‚Rogo vos et ammoneo‘
	83r–87r: Ps.-Caesarius, Homilia 17
	87v: Benedictiones de natale domini

Zweifellos wurde die Predigt Ps.-Caesarius, Homilia 17 in clm 6430 ebenfalls aus jenem uns nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen Vorgängerband kopiert.[12] Die drei Predigten auf fol. 76r–87r bilden einen Block, der nicht nur äußerlich als Einheit erscheint: Die Texte sind durch die in ihnen behandelten Themen (jeweils über Tugenden und Laster sowie über das Jüngste Gericht) verbunden, und ihr Stil, der sich eindeutig am ‚volkstümlichen‘ Predigerton des Caesarius von Arles orientiert, wirkt recht homogen. Es muss betont werden, dass die mittlere dieser Predigten, wie bereits oben gesagt, zu einem Gutteil aus Passagen der beiden umgebenden Texte kompiliert ist. Dieser Umstand könnte darauf hindeuten, dass die Kollektion noch relativ nahe an jener Form steht, wie sie vom Verfasser der zweiten Predigt hinterlassenen wurde, welcher in diesem Fall die von ihm ausgewerteten Quellen gemeinsam mit dem eigenen Erzeugnis in einem Handexemplar aufbewahrt hätte.

---

11   Jedenfalls bestätigt sich die Hypothese von Amiet (Anm. 4), 40, der Schreiber von clm 6430 habe beim Kopieren ausgerechnet eine in liturgiewissenschaftlicher Hinsicht besonders interessante Benediktion ausgelassen (ob dies allerdings „délibérément" geschah oder bloß aus Unachtsamkeit, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden).

12   Glauche (Anm. 4), 292 weist darauf hin, dass auch der Wortlaut dieser Predigt nicht völlig identisch ist mit der uns im Druck (PL 67,1079–1081) vorliegenden Textgestalt.

Es ist nicht ohne Interesse, dass diese homiletische Textsammlung, die in irgendeiner Weise mit Eligius von Noyon in Verbindung stehen könnte, eine Überlieferungsgemeinschaft mit gallikanischen Benediktionen bildet, welche auf das Frankenreich der Merowingerzeit zurückgehen.[13] Zu wünschen wäre eine ausführliche Untersuchung der in clm 6430 vollständig, in clm 29319/3 fragmentarisch tradierten Predigtsammlung, welche auch die oben genannten anderen Versionen der angeblichen Eligius-Predigt CPL 2096, deren Überlieferung, Quellen sowie das gegenseitige Verhältnis dieser Texte in den Blick nimmt. Vielleicht kommt man auf diese Weise hinsichtlich der umstrittenen Zuschreibung an Eligius einen Schritt weiter.[14] Immerhin ging Andrew E. Burn mit Blick auf das Glaubensbekenntnis, das in den Predigten von clm 6430 verarbeitet ist, davon aus, dass hier eine „probably purer form of text" vorliege, als sie die in PL 40 gedruckte Fassung aufweist, und er zweifelte nicht an der Urheberschaft des Bischofs von Noyon.[15] Dank der Identifizierung der auf clm 29319/3 enthaltenen Texte sowie der Erkenntnis einer ursprünglichen Zusammengehörigkeit mit clm 29304/1 können wir nun zumindest mit Sicherheit sagen, dass die gesamte von clm 6430 gebotene Textsammlung älter ist als ihre Trägerhandschrift, und plausibel vermuten, dass sie auf den fränkischen Raum und eine Zeit zwischen dem 7. und dem 8. Jh. zurückführen könnte.

II

Bei München, BSB, clm 29319/40 [F-8iy3] handelt es sich um zwei Hochstreifen aus Pergament (ca. 24 × 7,5 cm), die ihrer Breite

---

13 Vgl. Amiet (Anm. 4), 49–63. Im Anschluss an Ausführungen Morins (Anm. 8), 180–184 über die Benediktionen in clm 6430 vermutete G. Lanoë, „Les plus anciens manuscrits d'Autun", in: *Regards sur les manuscrits d'Autun. VIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle*, Ville d'Autun 1995, 41–55 (hier 52), der Inhalt der Münchner Handschrift könnte auf eine Vorlage aus der Abtei Saint-Symphorien in Autun zurückgehen.

14 Zur Forschungsdiskussion vgl. die bei J. McCune, „Rethinking the Pseudo-Eligius Sermon Collection", *Early Medieval Europe* 16 (2008), 445–476, hier 445f., Anm. 2–4 genannte Literatur.

15 A.E. Burn, *An Introduction to the Creeds and to the Te Deum*, London 1899, 227.

nach etwa die Hälfte des ursprünglichen Folios ausmachen, beschrieben mit 26 bzw. 27 Langzeilen. Ausgelöst wurden sie aus der Inkunabel Inc. extr. 1549 (ehemals 2° Inc. dpl 8087) der BSB. Auch sie gelten paläographisch als Produkt des Freisinger Skriptoriums unter Hitto (811/2–835). Die im aktuellen Fragmentekatalog der BSB vorgeschlagene Identifizierung der enthaltenen Texte ist unzutreffend.[16]

Eine Lektüre des enthaltenen Texts macht deutlich, dass die beiden Blätter ursprünglich nicht aufeinander gefolgt sind, ja sie müssen nicht einmal derselben Lage angehört haben. Überschriften bzw. Titel, die eine erste Orientierung geben könnten, fehlen. Außerdem besteht keine Sicherheit, dass die moderne, mit Bleistift jeweils am oberen rechten Seitenrand der Fragmente eingetragene Zählung als „1" und „2" jene Reihenfolge angibt, in der die Predigten im originalen Band zu lesen waren.

Ich beginne mit dem auf Blatt 2 enthaltenen Text, weil sich dieser rascher abhandeln lässt. Es handelt sich um eine Predigt über das Almosengeben, welche eine Umformung von Ps.-Augustinus, Sermo app. 310 (CPPM 1,1095) darstellt. Während die am weitesten verbreitete Fassung der Predigt für gewöhnlich mit den Worten *Remedia peccatorum, fratres, medicina est eleemosynarum* beginnt, lautet der Anfang dieser Version in den Handschriften zumeist *Misericordia, fratres, peccatorum sunt/est remedia/remedium*. In den modernen Repertorien hat diese Fassung bisher keine Beachtung gefunden, obwohl sie gar nicht so selten überliefert ist und sogar als Vorlage für altenglische Texte gedient hat; eine Edition wurde 1990 von James E. Cross publiziert.[17] Der in clm 29319/40 vorhandene Text

---

16 Bischoff (Anm. 1), nr. 3429; Bischoff (Anm. 2), 216 (unter der ehemaligen Signatur clm 29499/2); Hauke (Anm. 2), 146 („Gregorius Magnus: Homiliae in evangelia ?"). Bei Inc. extr. 1549 handelt es sich um eine 1493 in Straßburg bei Martin Flach gedruckte Inkunabel von Richardus de Sancto Laurentio, *De laudibus beatae Mariae virginis* (GW 616/10; HC 10767 = H 10768). Einer Notiz auf dem Vorsatzblatt zufolge stammt sie aus dem ehemaligen Franziskanerkloster Schrobenhausen (ich danke Wolfgang-Valentin Ikas von der BSB für diese Information).

17 J.E. Cross, „A *Sermo de misericordia* in Old English Prose", *Anglia* 108 (1990), 429–440 (vgl. auch die hier 429f., Anm. 1 und 5 genannte Literatur zur Überlieferung der Predigt). Mit Blick auf den wahrscheinlich englischen Hintergrund

entspricht – mit Lücken aufgrund der Verstümmelung des Blatts –
dem Abschnitt p. 432,27 *dona]vit tibi et egenus* bis p. 433,71 *stulte ac*
(!) *n[octe* der Druckausgabe von Cross.

Gemäß dem Apparat bei Cross ist der Wortlaut von clm 29319/40
aufs Engste verwandt mit jenem von V = Wien, ÖNB, cod. 994 (die
Predigt dort auf fol. 105r–107v). Dies beweisen mehrere gemeinsame
Fehler, Auslassungen und Zusätze gegen die übrigen von Cross be-
rücksichtigten Handschriften. Vgl. insbesondere:

p. 432,27 donavit] tibi *add.* V clm 29319/40
p. 432,29 centesimas] de centesimo V; dicentesimo clm 29319/40
p. 432,39 fame pereunti *om.* V clm 29319/40
p. 432,39 crudele est] nimis *add.* V clm 29319/40
p. 432,43 feci] dicit dominus *add.* V clm 29319/40
p. 432,60 tua non est] tuam quae non est tua V clm 29319/40

Das Buch, dessen Reste uns in clm 29319/40 vorliegen, kann
nicht Vorlage von V gewesen sein, weil das Fragment zumindest zwei
Fehler gegen die Übereinstimmung der von Cross kollationierten
Codices aufweist:

p. 432,35 dictum est] scriptum est clm 29319/40 (irrtümliche Wiederholung aus
Z. 33f.)
p. 432,43 si] sicut clm 29319/40

Dass umgekehrt V – eine Handschrift, die im frühen 9. Jh. in
Salzburg geschrieben wurde[18] – die Vorlage jenes Freisinger Codex
gewesen wäre, von dem das Fragment clm 29319/40 herstammt,

---

der betreffenden Version sei darauf hingewiesen, dass sich diese auch in Er-
furt, UB, Dep. Erf. CA 12° 11 (s. XII), fol. 141r–143v findet, der Trägerhandschrift
der 2007 neu aufgefundenen ‚Erfurter Augustinuspredigten‘, für welche aus
guten Gründen eine aus England stammende Vorlage angenommen wurde;
vgl. I. Schiller – D. Weber – C. Weidmann, „Sechs neue Augustinuspredigten.
Teil 1 mit Edition dreier Sermones“, *Wiener Studien* 121 (2008), 227–284 (hier
238 und 249) sowie C. Weidmann, „The Corpus of Augustinian Sermons Re-
cently Discovered at Erfurt: With a New Edition of Sermo 207“, in: Ministerium
sermonis. *Philological, Historical, and Theological Studies on Augustine's Ser-
mones ad populum,* hg. G. Partoens – A. Dupont – M. Lamberigts, Turnhout
2009, 11–37 (hier 21–24).

18 Bischoff (Anm. 1), nr. 7193; Bischoff (Anm. 2), 97.

lässt sich, soweit ich sehe, nicht ausschließen, kann aber keineswegs als sicher gelten. Jedenfalls gehen die beiden Textzeugen auf einen gemeinsamen Ahnherrn zurück, der zu Beginn des 9. Jahrhunderts im Raum Bayern-Salzburg verfügbar gewesen sein muss.

Kommen wir nun zu Blatt 1 von clm 29319/40. Die darauf befindliche Predigt ist sonst, soweit mir bekannt, nur in München, BSB, clm 14380 überliefert (dort fol. 75v–77v), wo sie die Überschrift *DOCTRINA POPULORUM. SERMO BEATI AUGUSTINI* trägt (CPPM 1,2360).[19] Obwohl die ‚Doctrina‘ – so werde ich diese Predigt im Weiteren bezeichnen – Interesse beanspruchen darf als indirekter Textzeuge für den äußerst raren Sermo 1 des Caesarius von Arles und in dieser Hinsicht auch von Germain Morin und Raymond Étaix ausgewertet wurde,[20] ist sie bis heute nicht im Druck verfügbar. Außerdem hat man in der Vergangenheit übersehen, dass die ‚Doctrina‘ ihrerseits als Vorlage für mindestens eine, wahrscheinlich sogar für zwei karolingische Predigten gedient hat, was angesichts ihrer – zumindest nach unserem Kenntnisstand – geringen handschriftlichen Bezeugung beachtenswert erscheint. Aus diesen Gründen habe ich mich dazu entschlossen, eine vollständige Transkription des Texts aus clm 14380 mitzuteilen, in der ich auch den entsprechenden Wortlaut von clm 29319/40 dokumentiere.

---

19 München, BSB, clm 14380 ist ein Sermonar, das einzelne Stücke aus der Paulus-Diaconus-Sammlung mit vielen anderen, teils karolingischen (und bisweilen raren) Predigten verbindet. Vgl. zu der Handschrift Bischoff (Anm. 1), nr. 3163; Bischoff (Anm. 4), 240; F. Helmer – H. Hauke – E. Wunderle, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Handschriften aus St. Emmeram in Regensburg 3: Clm 14261–14400*, Wiesbaden 2011, 390–393. Sie ist online einsehbar unter: https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0003/bsb00031763/images/index.html (letzter Zugriff: 20.12.2019). Der Titel der Predigt ‚Doctrina populorum‘ mag angeregt sein von Passagen wie Hier. in Mt. 12,46 (*Occupatus erat dominus in opere sermonis, in doctrina populorum, in officio praedicandi*) oder Hier. epist. 64,22,1 (*quidquit agit, quidquid loquitur, sit doctrina populorum*).

20 Vgl. G. Morin (ed.), *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones 1*, Turnhout 1953 (CCSL 103), 1; M.-J. Delage (ed.), *Césaire d'Arles. Sermons au people 1 (Sermons 1-20)*, Paris 1971 (SChr 175), 218f., Anm. 1. Die Verarbeitung vom Caesarius-Text könnte für die handschriftliche Zuweisung der ‚Doctrina‘ an Augustinus verantwortlich sein, weil die Predigten des Bischofs von Arles oft unter dessen Namen kursierten.

Aus dieser Gegenüberstellung kann man ablesen, dass clm 14380 nicht nur mehrere schwere Fehler gegenüber clm 29319/40 aufweist, was umgekehrt nicht der Fall ist, sondern dass an zwei Stellen sogar längere, jeweils durch Augensprung verursachte Textlücken in clm 14380 bestehen, die durch clm 29319/40 erkannt und zumindest versuchsweise ergänzt werden können. Aufgrund dieser Sachlage muss man davon ausgehen, dass der Text der 'Doctrina' in clm 14380 mittelbar oder unmittelbar auf jenes Exemplar zurückgeht, dessen Reste uns in clm 29319/40 erhalten sind. Clm 14380 wurde im ersten Drittel des 9. Jh. in einem unbekannten, wohl bayerischen Skriptorium abgefasst.[21] Das passt zu jenem überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Befund, der sich bereits bei der Identifikation der auf Blatt 2 von clm 29319/40 enthaltenen Predigt abgezeichnet hat.

Der folgende lateinische Text ist weitgehend eine diplomatische Transkription, doch habe ich der leichteren Lesbarkeit halber eine moderne Interpunktion eingesetzt. Auf gravierende Korruptelen weise ich in den Fußnoten hin; manche lassen sich durch Vergleich mit anderen Texten heilen (auf diese werde ich später eingehen). Vergleichsweise geringere Verstöße gegen die 'klassische' Orthographie und Grammatik, wie sie für das frühmittelalterliche Latein typisch sind und sowohl auf den Verfasser der Predigt selbst als auch auf Schreiber zurückgehen können (etwa Vertauschungen von *ae/e, u/o, e/i, b/p, ci/ti, vi/bi, -o/-um* etc.), vermerke ich nur ausnahmsweise. In jener Passage, für welche der Text von clm 29319/40 als Kontrolle vorhanden ist, hebe ich all jene Lesarten durch Fettdruck hervor, die in clm 14380 entsprechend korrigiert werden müssen; Textverlust durch Verstümmelung des Blatts signalisiere ich durch ***. Bibelzitate werden nach Möglichkeit angegeben, zur Anzeige von Schreiberkorrekturen die folgenden Abkürzungen verwendet: *ac.* = *ante correcturam, ir.* = *in rasura; uv.* = *ut videtur.*

---

21   Vgl. die o. Anm. 19 genannte Literatur.

[clm 14380, fol. 75v] DOCTRINA POPULORUM. SERMO BEATI AUGUSTINI. Audite, fratres karissimi, tam clerici quam et laici, tam iuvenes quam et senes, quomodo magnum periculum[22] quae facere vel quae vitare debeatis! Ait enim dominus per phetam[23] ad sacerdotes: 'Clama, ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam et adnuntia populo meo peccata eorum' (Is. 58,1). Et iterum dixit per prophetam: 'Si adnuntiaveris iniquo iniquitatem suam, tu autem animam tuam liberas; [76r] si autem non adnuntiaveris, ille quidem iniquitate sua morietur; sanguinem vero eius de manu tua requiram' (cf. Ez. 3,18–20), hoc est peccata eorum. Quia si nos non adnuntiaverimus, ut corregatis vosmetipsos ab opere malo, non[24] in die iudicii rationem reddituri erimus pro vobis, qui[25] ab omnibus sacerdotibus futurum est[26] omnium anime requirende. Et si unusquisque pro suo peccato vix possit[27] evadere, quid de sacerdotibus erit, quia (qui *ac.*) nobis mandatum est, ut vobis adnuntiemus sine cessatione dicentes 'Querite dominum, dum invenire[28] potest; invocate eum, dum prope est. Derelinquet impius vias suas et vir iniquus cogitationes suas' (Is. 55,6f.). Certum est enim, quod sacerdotes non ideo ordinantur, ut tantum procuratores agrorum et cultores esse debeant terrarum, sed ut spiritali cultus[29] exerceant animarum. Sed tamen de ecclesiarum terrena substantia debemus esse solliciti, sed non nimis. Inde certum est, quod[30] propter hanc scio non dabitur in terra, ut sine cessatione populo praedicarent. Nos vero, quantum possumus, non solum in maioribus[31] domini praedicemus nec in ecclesia tantum, sed, sicut scriptum est,[32] et

---

22 Nach *periculum* ist eine Textlücke anzusetzen. Vgl. Hrab. hom. 66 (PL 110,125): *audite ... quomodo magnum periculum est sacerdotibus ... qui non annuntiant vobis quae facere, quae vitare debeatis.*

23 Lies *prophetam.*

24 Lies *nos* (vgl. Hrab. hom. 66; PL 110,125).

25 Lies *quia.*

26 Nach *est* liegt Textausfall bzw. -verderbnis vor. Bereits die Predigt Hrab. hom. 66 dürfte basierend auf diesem Textzustand erstellt worden sein, denn in ihr erscheint der betroffene Satz, anders als die umgebenden Abschnitte, einfach weggelassen (vgl. PL 110,125).

27 Ergänze *poenam* (vgl. Hrab. hom. 66; PL 110,125).

28 Lies *inveniri.*

29 Lies *spiritalem culturam* (vgl. Caes. s. 1,5).

30 Die folgenden Worte *propter* bis *terra* sind korrupt bzw. lückenhaft.

31 Ergänze *festivitatibus* (vgl. Caes. s. 1,10).

32 Die Vorbildstelle Caes. s. 1,10 hat *sicut supra iam suggessi,* was im dortigen Kontext zutrifft. Dagegen erscheint der Verweis auf ein Schriftzitat in der ‚Doctrina' unpassend (man wird *sicut scriptum est* doch wohl kaum als Verweis auf die schriftliche Vorlage des anonymen Predigers, also auf Caes. s. 1, verstehen dürfen).

clm 14380	clm 29319/40
ad convivium lectionem divinam relegi faciamus et in conloquio et in conventu et itinere,	***em divinam religi facia ***et in conventu et itinere
et ubicumque fuerimus repudiatis otiosis fabulis	***epudiatis otiosis fabulis
et mordacibus iocis verbum domini fidelium et infidelium cordibus inserere festinemus. Haec	***erbum domini fidelium et in ***ere festinemus haec
ergo, fratres karissimi, tam viri quam femine, tam relegios	***quam femine tam **relegiosi**
quam seculares, tam senes quam iuvenes, tam [76v]	***es quam iuvenes tam
pueri quam et puellae, admonemus vos, ut, quod	***e admonemus vos ut quod
promisistis in baptismo ante conspectu dei vel	***ante conspectu dei vel
angelorum, nulla sit neglegentia, et si iam	***neglegentia et si iam
fuerit, succurat poenitentia. Duo, quod promisistis: Una credere vos in deum patrem omnipotentem	***ntia duo **sunt** quod promi ***in deum patrem omnipotentem
et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum dominum nostrum;	***eius unicum dominum nostrum
altera promisistis abrenuntiae diabolum et omnibus pompis vel operibus.[33] Qui cogitationem	*****nuntiare** diabolum et om ***ibus qui cogitationem
vel sermonem et operibus custodit (et *ir.*) animam suam,	***bus custodit et animam suam
ut nec cupiditas terrena ne superbia nec invidia	***a **nec** superbia nec invidia
nec elatio neque ira neque rixa neque	***neque ira neque rixa neque
tristitia nequae vanitas neque turbis locutio	***neque **turpis** lucutio
neque detractio neque murmuratio animam illius	***murmuratio anima illius
inclinet. Et si ista vel alia post baptismum	***alia post baptismum
commisimus peccata, revertamur ad confessionem poenitentiae, sicut scriptum est	***revertamur ad confes ***sicut scriptum est

---

33   Nach *pompis* oder *operibus* sollte wohl *eius* ergänzt werden (vgl. Hrab. hom. 66; PL 110,126). Die folgenden Worte *qui* bis *suam* sind korrupt bzw. lückenhaft; möglicherweise liegt eine Anspielung bzw. ein Zitat von Prov. 21,23 vor (nach der Vulgata: *Qui custodit os suum et linguam suam, custodit ab angustiis animam suam*).

'Dic tu prius iniquitates tuas, ut iustificeris' (Is. 43,26).³⁴	***tes tuas ut iustificeris
Deus ignoscet.	*****tu agnoscis** deus ignoscet
Proinde donemus³⁵ confessionem, quae post baptismum	***essionem quae post baptismum [verso]
peccata commisimus et iudicium sacerdotis	peccata commisimus***
suscipimus, et poenitentiam agamus omnibus	suscipimus et poenit***
diebus vitae nostrae dicentes cum David propheta	diebus vitae nostrae dicen***
'Miserere mei, deus, secundum magnam misericor-	miserere mei deus secundum***
diam tuam' (Ps. 50,2). In primis enim hoc Christianis scire³⁶	diam tuam in primis e***
eam in corde suo firmiter tenere; in pri-	eam in corde suo firm***
mum, ut credatis unum deum in trinitate	mum ut credatis unum***
patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, tres personas et	patrem et filium et spiritum***
unum deum, quia nihil nobis (quod *ir.*) est³⁷ bona	unum deum quia nihil***
opera facere, si haec firmiter non credimus.	opera facere si haec f***
Simiter, ut credatis quod venisset Christus de caelo,	**similiter** ut credatis quod v***
carnem humanam adsumpsisse de utero	carnem humanam a***
virginali [77r] sanctae Mariae sine virili sexu et	virginali sanctae Mariae***
de spiritu sancto conceptum, natum ex Maria virgine	de spiritu sancto conceptum na***
et pabtizatum a Iohanne baptista propter	et baptizatum a Iohan***
abluendo originale peccatum, quod de Adam	abluendo originale p***
traxit genus humanum, et propterea	traxit genus human***

---

34 Hier folgt der erste größere Textausfall in clm 14380, verursacht durch Augensprung von (*iustificer*)*is* zu (*agnosc*)*is*. Man wird den lückenhaften Satz in Anlehnung an Caes. s. 64,4 so ergänzen dürfen: *Iniquitatem tuam si tu agnoscis, deus ignoscet*. Im Übrigen scheint Caesarius, Sermo 64 eine weitere, bisher unerkannte Quelle unseres anonymen Predigers gewesen zu sein, denn in dem signalisierten Paragraphen gibt es noch eine zweite klare Übereinstimmung mit der ‚Doctrina' (*Haec ergo, fratres … adtentius cogitemus*).

35 Die folgenden Worte *confessionem* bis *peccata* sind korrupt bzw. lückenhaft.

36 Nach *scire* ist eine Textlücke anzusetzen.

37 Lies *prodest*.

omnes aquas ex suo baptismo consecrare[38]	omnes aquas ex suo b***
fuissent ad pabtizandum. Similiter, ut cre-	fuissent ad baptizan***
datis quod[39]	**datis quod fuisset pa*****
	et in patibulum crucis***
	peccata redimendo***
	diebus ac noctibus et t***
aparuisset post	**similiter ut credatis qu*****
resurrectionem xl diebus discipulis suis.	resurrectionem xl di***
Videntibus illis et praesentibus[40] adstantibus	videntibus illis et praese***

[clm 14380] ascendit in caelis. Et in ipsa carne, in qua natus fuit ex Maria virgine et pabtizatus in Iordanne, iterum veniet iudicare nos in secundo adventu, hoc est in die iudicii. Unde propheta dicit: 'Ignis ante eum praecedit (procedit *ac.*) et inflammavit in circuitu inimicus eius' (Ps. 96,3). Ad cuius adventum universa alimenta[41] quaciuntur (quas ciuntur *ac.*) ac celum cum terra contremescit virtutesque caelorum commovebuntur. Tunc praecinentibus angelorum[42] omnes gentes quaecumque sub solae (solvae *uv. ac.*) fuerunt et omnis homo, tam viri quam femine, in eo sexu unusquisque, quo natus fuit in mundo, boni et mali, sancti et peccatores vel quicumque ab initio mundi nati et mortui fuerunt vel a bestiis devorati sive ab igne consumpti sive etiam ab aquis absorti, omnes (omnis *ac.*) simul in momento temporis atque in ictu oculis[43] et uno die resurgent. In qua carne, quae hic habuerunt, et in mensuram aetatis in xxx annorum resurgent, et pariter electi et reprobi oculis suis videbunt, sicut ipse dominus in evangelio dixit 'Tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem in nubibus caeli cum virtute multa et maiestate' (Mt. 24,30). 'Et congregabunt ante eum omnes gentes, et separavit eos ab invicem, [77v] sicut pastor segregat oves ab hedis. Et statuit iustos quidem ad dextris suis, impios autem ad sinistris. Tunc dicit ad eos, qui ad dextris eius erunt: Venite, benedicti patris mei,

---

38 Lies *consecratae*. Die fehlerhafte Übereinstimmung *aquas consecratae* wird man in diesem Text wohl hinnehmen müssen.

39 Hier folgt der zweite größere Textausfall in clm 14380, verursacht durch Augensprung von *credatis quod* (*fuisset*) zu *credatis quod* (*aparuisset*). Die Lücke ist zu umfangreich, als dass man sie sicher ergänzen könnte, aber es war zweifellos die Rede von der Passion und Kreuzigung (vielleicht: *quod fuisset passus Iesus Christus et in patibulum crucis pependisset*), wodurch die Sünden des Menschengeschlechts getilgt worden seien, sowie von Christi dreitägiger Grabesruhe, Auferstehung und den 40 Tagen bis zur Himmelfahrt, an denen er sich den Jüngern zeigte.

40 Nach *praesentibus* könnte sich eine Textlücke verbergen.

41 Lies *elementa* (vgl. Elig. [?] supr. iud. 10; MGH Script. Merov. 4, p. 755,32).

42 Ergänze *tubis* (vgl. Elig. [?] supr. iud. 10; MGH Script. Merov. 4, p. 756,2).

43 Lies *oculi* (vgl. Elig. [?] supr. iud. 10; MGH Script. Merov. 4, p. 756,6).

possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi. Esurivi enim et dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi et dedistis mihi potum; hospes eram et collegistis me; nudus et operuistis me; infirmus et in carcere eram et venistis ad me. Tunc respondebunt iusti dicentes: Domine, quando te vidimus esurientem aut sitientem aut hospitem aut nudum aut infirmum aut in carcere et ministravimus tibi? Amen, dico vobis quamdiu fecistis fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis. Tunc dicit his, qui ad sinistris eius erunt: Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui praeparatus est diabulo et angelus eius. Esurivi enim et non dedistis manducare; sitivi et non dedistis mihi potum; hospes (hospis *ac.*) eram et non collegistis me; nudus et non operuistis me; infirmus et in carcere et non venistis ad me. Tunc respondebunt et ipsi dicentes: Domine, quando te vidimus esurientem aut sitientem aut hospitem aut nudum aut infirmum vel in carcere et non ministravimus tibi? Tunc respondebunt ipsi (ipse *ac.*) dicentes:[44] Amen, dico vobis quamdiu non fecistis uni de minoribus his minimis, nec mihi fecistis. Et ibunt hii in supplicium aeternum in saecula saeculorum' (cf. Mt. 25,32–46). Semper in luctu et gemitu ardebunt miseri sine fine. Iusti autem in vitam aeternam sine fine regnum percipiant cum patre filioque spiritui sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Wir haben mit der ‚Doctrina' eine Predigt an Kleriker und Laien vor uns, die in allen Aspekten geradezu typisch für das Frühmittelalter erscheint: In dieser Hinsicht einschlägig ist die einfache und gemessen an ‚klassischen' Standards keineswegs fehlerfreie Sprache sowie der Inhalt mit der eindringlichen Mahnung zur Buße, dem deutlichen Bezug auf das Glaubensbekenntnis und der breit ausgemalten Warnung vor dem Jüngsten Gericht; einschlägig ist schließlich auch die mehr oder minder wörtliche Übernahme ganzer Abschnitte aus literarischen Quellen.

Zu Letzteren zählt neben Caesarius, Sermo 1 auch – was bisher nicht erkannt wurde – die angebliche Eligius-Predigt CPL 2096, die wir bereits bei der Diskussion des Fragments clm 29319/3 kennen gelernt haben. Dieser Text lieferte das Material für den langen Schlussteil über das Jüngste Gericht, beginnend mit den Worten *ad cuius adventum universa* (oben bei Anm. 41).[45] Es ist durchaus möglich, dass auch jene Teile der ‚Doctrina', die nicht aus Caesarius, Sermo

---

44 Lies *respondebit ipse dicens* (irrtümliche Wiederholung aus dem Vorangehenden).

45 Es bestehen weitgehende wörtliche Übereinstimmungen mit Kapitel 23 jener Fassung der Eligius-Predigt, die in PL 40 zu lesen steht (*ad cuius adventum ... mihi fecistis* PL 40,1185f.), bzw. mit Kapitel 10 in MGH SS rer. Merov. 4 (p. 755,32–756,18).

1 oder der Eligius-Predigt adaptiert wurden, wenigstens partiell aus bisher nicht identifizierten Quellen stammen (vgl. o. Anm. 34 zur wahrscheinlichen Benutzung von Caesarius, Sermo 64). Eine Vielzahl von vergleichbaren frühmittelalterlichen Predigten wartet noch darauf, untersucht und ediert zu werden, und die zumeist anonymen Autoren dieser Stücke haben sich oft ausgiebig aneinander bedient. Somit könnten sich künftig durchaus noch weitere Erkenntnisse über die Quellen der ,Doctrina' ergeben. Diese diente aber auch ihrerseits als Vorlage zur Erstellung von Predigten, wie im Folgenden dargestellt werden soll.

Ich beginne mit einem Beispiel, bei dem direkte Abhängigkeit sehr wahrscheinlich ist, aber nicht als völlig gesichert gelten kann. Es handelt sich um eine Predigt, welche ohne Autorenangabe oder Titel auf den Folien 104v–106r des Codex Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weiss. 91 zu lesen steht (im Folgenden: ,Wolfenbütteler Predigt').[46] Gedruckt greifbar ist sie in Susan Keefes Sammeledition von karolingischen Texten zur Auslegung des Glaubensbekenntnisses.[47] Der Anfangsteil jener Predigt (p. 6,1–10 Keefe) stimmt weitgehend mit jenem der ,Doctrina' überein, und es ist schwer vorstellbar, dass derart großflächige Gemeinsamkeiten – im Wortlaut und in den ausgewählten Bibelzitaten – unabhängig voneinander zu Stande gekommen wären: *Audite, fratres karissimi, tam clerici quam et laici, tam iuvenes quam et senes, quomodo dominus per prophetam ad sacerdotes dixit: 'Si adnuntiaveris iniquo iniquitatem suam, tu autem animam tuam liberasti; et si non adnuntiaveris, et ille quidem in iniquitate sua morietur; sanguinem vero eius de manu tua requiram' (vgl. Ez. 3,18–20), hoc est peccata eorum. Et ideo: 'Quaerite dominum, dum invenire potest; invocate eum, dum prope est. Derelinquat impius vias suas malas et vir iniquus cogitations suas pessimas et revertatur ad dominum, quoniam multum est ad ignoscendum'* (Is. 55,6f.). In ihrem jeweiligen Hauptteil behandeln die beiden Predigten zwar

---

46 Vgl. zu der Handschrift Bischoff (Anm. 1), nr. 7427 sowie H. Butzmann, Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel 10: Die Weissenburger Handschriften, Frankfurt a. M. 1964, 257–268.

47 S. Keefe (ed.), *Explanationes symboli aevi Carolini*, Turnhout 2012 (CCCM 254), 5–8. Vgl. auch S. Keefe, *A Catalogue of Works Pertaining to the Explanation of the Creed in Carolingian Manuscripts*, Turnhout 2012, 65 (nr. 9) und 384f.

ähnliche Themen, doch gibt es keine wörtlichen Überschneidungen mehr.

Dass nicht die ‚Doctrina' von der ‚Wolfenbütteler Predigt' abhängen kann, zeigt sich daran, dass bei Ersterer die Einleitungspartie glatt in das Folgende übergeht und den angestoßenen Gedanken bruchlos weiterführt, während bei Letzterer der Übergang sehr abrupt ist: Möglicherweise wurden hier Versatzstücke aus zwei unterschiedlichen Quellen zusammengefügt, ohne eine entsprechende Abstimmung vorzunehmen. Außerdem erscheint es plausibler, dass der Verfasser der ‚Wolfenbütteler Predigt' seine Vorlage gekürzt und dabei das Zitat Is. 55,6f. aus der Folgepartie in die Einleitung gezogen hat, als dass umgekehrt diese Teile in der ‚Doctrina' selbständig voneinander getrennt und der Text erweitert worden wäre. Insbesondere das Fehlen des unverständlichen und zweifellos lückenhaft überlieferten Satzteils der ‚Doctrina' *quomodo magnum periculum quae facere vel quae vitare debeatis* will beachtet sein: Wenn der Text bereits dem Verfasser der ‚Wolfenbütteler Predigt' in dieser korrupten Form vorgelegen ist, dann erscheint es nur natürlich, dass er diesen einfach weggelassen hat.

Ein ernstzunehmendes Argument, das sich gegen die Abhängigkeit der ‚Wolfenbütteler Predigt' von der ‚Doctrina' vorbringen lässt, besteht darin, dass das eben angesprochene Zitat von Is. 55,6f. in der ‚Wolfenbütteler Predigt' ausführlicher als in der ‚Doctrina' ist und man nicht recht glauben mag, dass der Verfasser hier selbständig – durch Nachschlagen in der Bibel oder aus dem Gedächtnis – ergänzt hätte. Vielleicht gehen also unsere beiden Predigten unabhängig voneinander auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurück, in welcher die längere Form des Bibelzitats zu finden gewesen wäre. Ich kann diese Möglichkeit nicht ausschließen, halte es aber für wahrscheinlich, dass die ‚Doctrina' selbst ursprünglich jene längere Form des Zitats geboten hat, die man in der ‚Wolfenbütteler Predigt' vorfindet, und dass dieses bloß in unserem einzigen vollständigen Zeugen clm 14380 verstümmelt überliefert ist.[48] Diese Annahme wird auch durch jenen Text gestützt, der im Anschluss zu behandeln ist. Bevor

---

48 Das textlich weit verlässlichere Fragment clm 29319/40 ist für diesen Abschnitt leider nicht als Kontrolle verfügbar, aber die Gegenüberstellung beweist nachdrücklich, wie nachlässig clm 14380 kopiert wurde.

wir uns aber diesem zuwenden, sei betont, dass die ‚Wolfenbütteler
Predigt‘ – wenn sie tatsächlich von der ‚Doctrina‘ abhängt – eine
ursprünglich weitere Verbreitung Letzterer anzeigt, als sich den
uns derzeit bekannten Textzeugen entnehmen lässt: Die Träger-
handschrift Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weiss. 91 wurde nämlich im frühen
9. Jh. im Oberrheingebiet geschrieben.[49]

Kommen wir nun zu einer Predigt, welche gedruckt als Homilia
66 innerhalb jenes Sermonars zu finden ist, das Hrabanus Maurus
(† 856) als Abt von Fulda zwischen 822 und 825 für den Mainzer
Erzbischof Haistulf zusammenstellte, und das in PL 110,9–134 greif-
bar ist (der Text hier 125D–127B).[50] Diese Predigt verarbeitet mehrere
Abschnitte aus dem Anfangs- und aus dem Mittelteil der ‚Doctrina‘
weitgehend wörtlich (125D *Audite fratres* – 126A *cogitationes suas
pessimas*; 126A *Ideo admonemus vos – operibus eius*).[51] Aufgrund der
Länge der übernommenen Partien sowie der Kombination mit Text
aus anderen Quellen (u.a. Caesarius, Sermo 46,6) ist die Abhängig-
keit in diesem Fall unbestreitbar, und die o. Anm. 26 signalisierte
Auslassung eines Satzes spricht für die Annahme, dass Homilia 66
auf einem Wortlaut beruht, wie er uns ganz ähnlich aus clm 14380
bekannt ist. Die etwas längere Form des Zitats Is. 55,6f. in Homilia
66 (125D–126A) scheint, wie bereits angesprochen, zu bestätigen,
dass clm 14380 hier einen sekundär verstümmelten Wortlaut bietet.

Es gilt als umstritten, ob Homilia 66 tatsächlich von Hraban
verfasst wurde, und Raymond Étaix, der diese Frage am genauesten
diskutiert hat, ging mit guten Gründen davon aus, dass sich die Au-
torschaft Hrabans nur dann halten lässt, wenn man von einer ‚Zwei-
ten Auflage‘ des Sermonars ausgeht, in welcher die Predigt enthalten
gewesen sei, wohingegen sie in der ursprünglichen Fassung gefehlt
habe.[52] Diese Debatte lässt sich jetzt, da die Abhängigkeit des Texts

---

49   Vgl. die o. Anm. 46 genannte Literatur.
50   Vgl. dazu R. Étaix, „Le recueil de sermons composé par Raban Maur pour Hais-
      tulfe de Mayence“, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 32 (1986), 124–137 sowie
      C. Woods, „Six New Sermons by Hrabanus Maurus on the Virtues and Vices“,
      Revue Bénédictine 107 (1997), 280–306.
51   Nicht ausgewiesen in der nützlichen Quellenübersicht bei Étaix (Anm. 50),
      133.
52   Étaix (Anm. 50), 125f. Vgl. auch Woods (Anm. 50), insbesondere 280–283,
      291f. und 305f., deren Zuweisung von sechs in München, BSB, clm 28459

von der ‚Doctrina' erkannt ist, um ein wichtiges Detail bereichern. Einem sehr ausführlich gehaltenen Bücherverzeichnis der Fuldaer Bibliothek aus dem 16. Jh. ist nämlich zu entnehmen, dass die Abtei eine Handschrift besaß, in welcher die ‚Doctrina' enthalten war: *Liber Effrem abbatis, p(rincipium): ‚Audite fratres charissimi tam clerici quam et laici tam iuvenes quam et senes'* (Katalog V, nr. 250).[53] Dieser Band ist nicht nur in zwei weiteren Fuldaer Bücherlisten aus dem 16. Jh. bezeugt, sondern bereits im ältesten uns aus der Abtei erhaltenen Verzeichnis, welches um 800 geschrieben wurde.[54] Wenn aber zur Zeit Hrabans ein Exemplar der äußerst raren ‚Doctrina' in Fulda verfügbar war, dann wird man die Abfassung von Homilia 66 unter den gegebenen Umständen entweder dem Fuldaer Abt selbst oder zumindest einer Person aus seinem Umfeld zuweisen dürfen.

Im Übrigen untermauert der genannte Katalogeintrag auch die bereits oben postulierte Nähe der Vorlage von Homilia 66 zum Text von clm 14380: In der Münchner Handschrift befinden sich nämlich unmittelbar vor der ‚Doctrina', auf den Folien 73v–75v, die ersten beiden Kapitel[55] des unter dem Titel *De beatitudine animae* (CPL 1143ii) bekannten Texts aus der Sammlung des sogenannten ‚Effrem latinus', welcher hier auch explizit die betreffende Verfasserangabe trägt (*DE BEATITUDINE. BEATI EFFREM*). Die Überlieferungsgemeinschaft dieser Stücke kann erklären, warum der Fuldaer Codex, der die ‚Doctrina' enthielt, bei der Inventarisierung als *Liber Effrem* bezeichnet wurde.[56] Allerdings war das Fuldaer Exemplar angesichts seines Alters wohl enger verwandt mit clm 29319/40, dem

---

anonym überlieferten Predigten an Hraban m. E. als unsicher gelten muss.

[53] Zitiert nach K. Christ, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im 16. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1933, 116. Zwar passt das Incipit auch zur ‚Wolfenbütteler Predigt', doch deuten alle Begleitumstände hier auf die ‚Doctrina' hin.

[54] Vgl. Christ (Anm. 53), 260 (Katalog F, nr. VI I, 16: *Liber Effrem abbatis*) und 304 (Katalog P, nr. 297: *Liber Effrem abbatis*) sowie G. Schrimpf – J. Leinweber – T. Martin, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse des Klosters Fulda und andere Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im Mittelalter*, Frankfurt a. M. 1992, 5 (Katalog A, nr. 20: *Liber sancti Effrem*).

[55] Leicht gekürzt (bis zu den Worten *passiones corporis oculis nostris cordis excecant*).

[56] Wie man Christ (Anm. 53), 195 entnehmen kann, hat bereits Germain Morin die Verbindung zwischen clm 14380 und dem für Fulda bezeugten Buch gesehen (freilich ohne auf Hrab. hom. 66 oder auf clm 29319/40 hinzuweisen).

uns nur fragmentarisch überlieferten Ahnherrn von clm 14380. Der genannte Effrem-Text wird somit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach in derselben Position – d.h. unmittelbar vor der ‚Doctrina' – auch in jenem Sermonar enthalten gewesen sein, von dem das Bruchstück clm 29319/40 herstammt.

III

An den beiden hier behandelten Handschriftenfragmenten von Predigtsammlungen zeigt sich, dass die Arbeit mit derartigen Bruchstücken nicht beim Bestimmen des Inhalts Halt machen sollte, wenn man deren geistesgeschichtlichen Wert voll ausschöpfen möchte. Die Identifizierung der in clm 29319/3 vorliegenden Texte war bloß der erste Schritt, um dieses Fragment mit clm 29304/1 zusammenzuführen, was wiederum das Verhältnis der beiden Bruchstücke zu dem Codex clm 6430 sichert, und dies ist von Interesse sowohl für die Liturgiewissenschaft wie auch für die Erforschung der dem Eligius von Noyon zugeschriebenen Predigten. Die Bestimmung der in 29319/40 enthaltenen Texte lässt umrisshaft ein altes Sermonar erkennbar werden, welches am Beginn des 9. Jh. im bayerisch-salzburgischen Raum verfügbar war, einige Raritäten enthielt und etwas später in Fulda, im Umkreis des Hrabanus Maurus, bei der Erstellung einer neuen Predigt ausgewertet wurde. Vielleicht wird dieses Sermonar für uns noch deutlicher fassbar werden, sollten in der Zukunft weitere Abkömmlinge oder Rezeptionsspuren identifiziert werden.

Manuscript Fragments in Greek Libraries

Athina Almpani,* National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
   athinaalbani@gmail.com
Agamemnon Tselikas, Center for History and Palaeography,
   National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation
   agatselikas@gmail.com

Abstract: A case study on fragments in Greek manuscript collections was conducted at the Center for History and Palaeography of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation. The majority of the manuscripts for the study come from hard-to-reach monastic libraries and were microfilmed by the Center. The study focused on a selection of collections, including the library of the Monastery of Hozoviotissa (Amorgos Island, Cyclades), the Patriarchal library of Alexandria (Egypt), the library of the Monastery of Iviron (Mt. Athos), and a variety of collections from Cyprus. While research is ongoing, the current results show the potential contribution that fragments can make to the study of Medieval Greek manuscripts.

The Center for History and Palaeography (IPA), National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation (MIET), Athens, hosted a *Fragmentarium* case study, a research project funded by the Zeno-Karl-Schindler Foundation for 2017–2018. The goal of the project was to demonstrate the viability and interest of using the IPA's unparalleled microform

system which for decades has offered reproductions of a vast number of Greek manuscripts of which the originals are difficult to access.[footnote continues]

collection of manuscripts to identify, describe, and analyze manuscript fragments.

1. The Center for History and Palaeography (IPA, MIET)

The Center was founded in 1974 having as its prime objective to create and organize a microfilm record of handwritten codices and historical archives from Greece and the Greek-speaking world. Since its establishment, the IPA has conducted over 250 scientific missions and research expeditions, over the course of which it has photographed or digitized approximately 9,000 manuscripts and 20 large historical archives.[1] In addition to maintaining this collection, the IPA has published an index of Greek scribes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, hosts a specialized palaeography library, organizes seminars in palaeography, and is engaged in international programs and other pioneering activities, such as research on parchment DNA.[2]

Greek manuscripts are overwhelmingly located in monasteries, with a much smaller number in public and state libraries.[3] There-

---

1   The copies of manuscripts in the MIET's collection come from several monastic and public libraries, situated in Thrace, Macedonia (including the monastic archives of Mount Athos), Thessaly, Epirus, Continental Greece, Attica (including the Parliament of Greece), the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnese, the Cycladic Islands, the East Aegean Islands and the Dodecanese. Moreover, the collection includes reproductions of manuscripts from monastic and ecclesiastical libraries of Cyprus and a part of the archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa. A significant part of the archive of the Jerusalem Eastern-Orthodox Patriarchate has also been digitized, including a selection of codices from the Patriarchal Library. Several manuscripts have also been selectively photographed from the Monastery of Sinai and the Monastery of Ioannou Theologou in Patmos. In addition, there are collections and records from Venice, Italy, particularly from the Marciana National Library and the Hellenic Institute, and finally manuscripts from Sofia, Bulgaria, Bucharest, Romania, Budapest, Hungary and Kiev, Ukraine.

2   For further information on the operation and benefits offered by the Center, see: http://www.ipamiet.gr/miet/.

3   Cf. the statement of A. Tselikas, "Οἱ μοναστηριακὲς βιβλιοθῆκες καὶ γενικώτερα αὐτὲς ποὺ λειτουργοῦν στὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸ περιβάλλον στὴ χώρα μας ἀποτελοῦν μιὰ τεράστια κοιτίδα τῆς πνευματικῆς μας κληρονομιᾶς. Ἀπὸ τὴ σκοπιὰ ἑνὸς

fore, the only access that researchers and the general public could have to many of these manuscripts is through microfilm or digital surrogates.

2. Collections of manuscripts in Greece

The concentration of manuscripts and book collections in monasteries in the Greek peninsula is due to their continuation and independence under successive periods of Frankish, Venetian and Ottoman Rule (1204–1821).[4] Monasteries survived the Ottoman conquest and even acquired certain privileges that allowed them to maintain relative economic prosperity, thereby guaranteeing their continued function.[5] At a time when other institutions in the area

παλαιογράφου καὶ ἐρευνητοῦ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐντύπων ἐκδόσεων οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικὲς βιβλιοθῆκες εἶναι ὁ φυσικὸς καὶ αὐτονόητος χῶρος ἔρευνας". A. Tselikas, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὲς συλλογὲς χειρογράφων καὶ παλαιῶν ἐντύπων βιβλίων*, 1 (http://www.laskaridisfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Εκκλησιαστικές-συλλογές-χειρογράφων-και-παλαιών-εντύπων-βιβλίων_Τσελίκας.pdf). Also, according to K. Chryssochoidis, "For the historian of the medieval and later years of the Greek East, the monastery archives – and the libraries of course – are perhaps the most valuable source of information he has at his disposal". K. Chryssochoidis, "Monastic libraries and archives: depositories of historical evidence", *Trends in Orthodox Monasticism. 9th–20th centuries*, Athens 1996, 260.

4   S. Davies and J.L. Davis, "Greeks, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire", in *Between Venice and Istanbul: Colonial Landscapes in Early Modern Greece*, ed. J.L. Davis and S. Davies, Athens 2007, 25–31 (pp. 30–31 comprehensive bibliography); M. Balard, "Etat de la recherche sur la latinocratie en Mediterranée Orientale", in *Ricchi e poveri nella società dell'oriente Grecolatino*, ed. C.A. Maltezou, Venice 1998, 17–36; D.A. Zakythinos, *The Making of Modern Greece. From Byzantium to Independence*, trans. K.R. Johnstone, Oxford 1976.

5   N. Necipoğlu, "Byzantine Monasteries and Monastic Property in Thessalonike and Constantinople During the Period of Ottoman Conquests (Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries)", *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 15 (1995), 123–135, at 123; eadem, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire, Cambridge* 2009, 92. Concerning the privileges of Mount Athos before and during the Ottoman conquest, see D. Nikolakakis, "Το προνομιακό φορολογικό καθεστώς των μετοχίων και της εν γένει ακίνητης περιουσίας των Μονῶν του Αγίου Ὀρους", *Mount Athos: Spreading the Light to the Orthodox World: the Metochia. Conference Proceedings*, Thessaloniki 2014, 335–336.

tended to stagnate, this status enabled monasteries not only to survive, but even to grow in certain cases. For example, the monasteries of Meteora were in decline at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Thessaly in 1413, but underwent a revival in the late fifteenth and into the sixteenth century, with new monasteries being established. The numbers of monks and monasteries grew continuously, peaking in the seventeenth century.[6]

In line with Byzantine tradition, monastic libraries operated as centers of education and study, storing collections of manuscripts and producing new ones.[7] Education within and outside Greek monasteries depended on the appointment of qualified scholars, as the monk Maximus Planudes (ca. 1255–ca. 1305), and local personalities, as Demetrius Triclinius, a schoolmaster who is known to have lived in Thessalonica ca. 1305–20.[8] The gradual decline of the Byzantine Empire of the East over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not accompanied by a corresponding decline in intellectual life. On the contrary, "the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw some of the best Byzantine work on classical texts".[9] Also, the revival of theological and classical letters resulted in the appearance of a multitude of scholars studying and writing in the monasteries.

---

6   N. Veis, "Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων", *Βυζαντίς* 1 (1909), 191–332; 2 (1911), 261–262.

7   See, for example, the case of Stoudios, a monastic center for education and manuscript production, and the center of a geographically disperse community, P. Lemerle, *Ὁ πρῶτος βυζαντινὸς οὑμανισμός* (*Le premier humanisme byzantin*), trans. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, MIET, Athens 2001³, 110–115. More generally, see P. Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971), 61–84, at 80–81; M. Weitzman, "The Evolution of Manuscript Traditions", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A* 150 (1987), 287–308. Concerning manuscript production, A. Tselikas, Ἐκκλησιαστικὲς συλλογὲς χειρογράφων καὶ παλαιῶν ἐντύπων βιβλίων, 1–2, "[…] δημιουργοῦνται νέα κωδικογραφικὰ ἐργαστήρια σὲ μεγάλα ἢ μικρὰ μοναστικὰ κέντρα, συγκροτοῦνται νέες συλλογὲς ἢ ἄλλες προστίθενται σὲ παλαιότερες, ἐνῶ ἡ διδασκαλικὴ δραστηριότητα ἀνάλογα μὲ τὴν κατὰ τόπους ἐγκατάσταση λογίων καὶ τὶς ἐντόπιες συνθῆκες ἐξαπλώνεται ὁλοένα σὲ ὅλον τὸν ἑλληνικὸ χῶρο …"

8   Tselikas, ibid.; L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, S*cribes and Scholars: a Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford 1991³, 73–78.

9   Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 73.

Their works in turn became the subject of monastic study and are included in the libraries of the monasteries.[10]

In terms of history and culture, monasteries and manuscripts are closely interconnected and interrelated. The production of manuscripts is directly linked to the service of the monasteries' purposes, and more broadly, to the functioning of churches. The core material of any monastic library consists in liturgical books and literature on patristic studies and asceticism, all of which contribute to the smooth conduct of worship and regular observation of monastic offices, as well as the educational interests of the monks.[11]

Keeping these textual treasures under monastic controls involved significant risks.[12] On some cases, monasteries were plundered and entire manuscripts or parts of them were stolen. Previously lost manuscripts can now be found in various libraries and museums around the world.[13] In some occasions, after being identified as property of a monastery, the manuscripts have been returned to monastic libraries.[14] One such case is the Byzantine Monastery of Panagia Chozoviotissa on the Aegean island of Amorgos. Sometime between the end of the nineteenth century and 1967, someone removed six leaves from a parchment manuscript containing a 1253 copy of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*. In 2006, a private donor gave the leaves to

---

10   Chryssochoidis, "Monastic libraries and archives", 252.

11   Chryssochoidis, "Monastic libraries and archives", 259.

12   See indicative examples by K. Chryssochoidis, "Παραδόσεις καὶ πραγματικότητες στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος στὰ τέλη τοῦ ΙΕ΄ καὶ στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ ΙΣΤ΄ αἰῶνα", *Ἀθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα* 4 (1997), 99–147 (https://helios-eie.ekt.gr/EIE/bitstream/10442/14617/2/B03.004.0.pdf).

13   In a recent case that was resolved positively, the J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles) announced in April 2014 plans to voluntarily return a twelfth-century Byzantine illuminated New Testament to the Holy Monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos in Greece: http://news.getty.edu/byzantine-manu-to-greece.htm.

14   The most recent (Spring 2019) example of this kind of action is the return, by the British Library to the Greek authorities, of three rare historic documents that had been illegally removed from the Panagia Chrysopodaritissa Monastery in Achaia (Peloponnese) in 1979: https://www.culture.gr/en/Information/SitePages/view.aspx?nID=2649.

the Benaki Museum, which, after becoming aware of their origin, returned them to Chozoviotissa.[15]

In conclusion, the widescale removal and, on many occasions, theft of manuscripts and other cultural treasures[16] is a phenomenon that we encounter regularly from the last century of the history of the Byzantine Empire through to the present.[17]

3. Manuscripts in Figures

The Director of the Center of History and Palaeography (IPA, MIET), Agamemnon Tselikas, and his team maintain some figures regarding manuscripts that we encounter in monastic, ecclesiastic and public libraries in Greece. While constantly being revised, these numbers provide an overview of the totality of Greek manuscripts[18].

There are a total of 220 libraries in Greece with manuscript collections, including monastic (especially on Mount Athos), ecclesiastical, public, municipal and private libraries. In total, there are 24,437 manuscripts.

Table 1: Libraries with Manuscripts in Greece

Type of library with manuscripts	Libraries	MSS
Monastic Libraries with Collections of Manuscripts	81	4,778
Monastic Libraries of Mount Athos	29	13,248

15   The manuscript is briefly described in L. Politis, *Συνοπτικὴ ἀναγραφὴ χειρο-γράφων ἑλληνικῶν συλλογῶν*, Athens 1976, 71–79, at 72, no. 11. For an inventory of the manuscript collection of the Benaki Museum, containing the returned items, see: http://oldwww.benaki.gr/inner/ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ%20ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΥ%20ΜΠΕΝΑΚΗ.pdf, esp. no. 98; according to the current inventory, fragments nos. 99, 102, 103, and 104 have also been returned to the monastery.

16   P.M. Kontogiannis, "Τὰ κειμήλια τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους κατὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν", *Θεολογία* 4 (1926), 144–152.

17   Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 78: "A vast number of manuscripts were brought back from the Byzantine empire in the last century of its history, and the collectors were active long after, so that today the libraries of the Greek East are virtually denuded of classical texts... This process was undoubtedly necessary in order to ensure the survival of Greek literature."

18   A. Tselikas, *Μοναστηριακές βιβλιοθῆκες* (Monastic Libraries), unpublished paper, National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation, Athens.

Ecclesiastical Libraries	47	395
Private, Municipal and Public Libraries	63	6,016
Total	**220**	**24,437**

Furthermore, there are some 3,321 manuscripts in ecclesiastical libraries in areas of the Greek-speaking world, and specifically in Orthodox Patriarchates, following the demographic extent of the premodern Greek Orthodox Church. These are: the library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, the library of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the library of the Patriarchate of Antioch, the libraries of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (ecclesiastical, monastic and archives).

Table 2: Ecclesiastical Libraries with MSS in the Greek-speaking world

Collection	MSS
Patriarchate of Constantinople	163
Patriarchate of Alexandria	538
Patriarchate of Antioch (Monastery of Virgin Seidanagias)	±50
Patriarchate of Jerusalem	
I. Collection of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre	645
II. Monastery of St. Sabba	706
III. Holy Monastery of the Holy Cross	129
IV. Collection of patriarch Nicodemus	15
V. Collection of the Holy Monastery of Abraham, dependency of the Holy Sepulchre	135
VI. New Collection	120
VII. Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre of Constantinople	820
Total	**3,321**

Moreover, the Holy Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai has 2,319 manuscripts.

In addition, we find more than 429 manuscripts in Cyprus, in ecclesiastical and monastic libraries, as well as in the Cyprus Research

Center (CRC). In addition to those noted here, there are many other manuscripts that have not yet been inventoried.

Table 3: Libraries with Manuscripts in Cyprus

Library	MSS
Nicosia, Archdiocesan library	140
Nicosia, Monastery of Faneromeni	2
Nicosia, Cyprus Research Center (CRC)	4
Larnaca, Metropolitan Church	78
Paphos, Metropolitan Church	11
Paphos District, Monastery of St. Neophytos	32
Paphos District, Monastery of the Virgin Chrysorrogiatissa	10
Nicosia District, Monastery of the Virgin of Machairas	27
Nicosia District, Monastery of the Virgin of Kykkos	54
Larnaca, Metropolis of Kition	71
Total	**429**

Furthermore, there are circa 80 Greek manuscripts in the National Archive of Albania.

Overall, Greek manuscripts in Greece and the Greek-speaking world total more than 30,586. The overwhelming majority of the manuscripts—ca. 90% of the total—come from monastic libraries. Even manuscripts in public libraries come originally from monasteries.

4. Discovery and study of fragments

Although most of these collections do not have extensive catalogues and on-line resources for their manuscripts, let alone for their fragments, the majority of their content is undoubtedly religious,[19] specifically, theological and liturgical. The reason lies in their practical value for the daily life of the monastery. Thus monastic libraries

---

19   Tselikas, *Μοναστηριακές βιβλιοθῆκες*, "Μολονότι δὲν ἔχουμε γιὰ πολλὲς ἀπὸ τὶς βιβλιοθῆκες ποὺ ἀνέφερα λεπτομερεῖς καταλόγους … Αὐτονόητο εἶναι ὅτι τὰ χειρόγραφα μὲ θρησκευτικὸ περιεχόμενο ὑπερτεροῦν."

of manuscripts abound in Biblical texts, Gospels, Homilies, Liturgical Books, Psalters and Liturgical Material, the lives of the Saints, the Apophthegmata Patrum (Sayings of the Fathers), Material of Canon Law, miscellaneous theological, Ecclesiastical and Patristic texts, catechetical and musical manuscripts. Nevertheless, works of Ancient Greek literature and philosophy can be found in the same libraries, alongside (and sometimes bound together with) religious works.

Greek libraries therefore contain a wealth of ancient and Byzantine sources in manuscript, and the books themselves constitute an open field for research. The fragments in their bindings are even less known, and have great potential for historical research. Moreover, while only a small number of manuscript collections have been digitized, the IPA-MIET has, as noted above, a significant archive of photographs on microfilm and microfiche.

Conducting research at the Center for History and Palaeography (IPA), we went through the microfilms of manuscripts from a selection of collections, finding and identifying fragments. When possible, we drew upon research instruments, specifically print and digital catalogues. When they exist (which is often not the case), these catalogues are sometimes extensive, sometimes brief, but always helpful for the researcher, although most of the time, they do not mention the presence of fragments. The same could be said for the notes of scholars who have conducted research in these libraries.

While some fragments are loose or inventoried separately, most are in the bindings of other manuscripts, as covers, pastedowns, or flyleaves. Our procedure was to locate fragments on the microfilm reader and digitize the corresponding images. The digitization enabled us to conduct a palaeographical analysis utilizing the images. Often, the marginal conservation status of the manuscripts made for difficult-to-read images. If, as in the overwhelming majority of the cases, there was no inventory or catalogue, or such a catalogue did not identify the fragment, we drew upon digital and traditional tools to identify and describe the contents; we have included an online list of some of the electronic tools that are particularly helpful for the study of Greek manuscript fragments.

Our study reached several conclusions:
- For the collections that we worked on, fragments amount from 10 to 20 percent of the total number of manuscript items.
- Most of the fragments are in situ binding fragments. We rarely find guard volumes, and even more rarely loose fragments.
- The same collections have both parchment and paper fragments, which, while often centuries apart, are frequently bound into the very same codices.
- 90 percent of the fragments that we have seen so far are theological in nature, chiefly *homiliae* and liturgical material. They often serve as unique witnesses to the textual tradition.
- On some occasions, the fragment's textual genre relates to that of the host volume; for example, often a Menaion codex hosts a Menaion fragment.
- The fragments that we have encountered are mainly in minuscule script. Only two fragments are in majuscule script, those deriving from the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria (cod. 56 [F-lixc] and cod. 92 [F-icft]).
- Almost all of the fragments so far discovered lack an explicit date, but can be dated on palaeographical criteria to the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

5. Selected fragments from the case study

5.1 A previously-unidentified text from the 10th century in bouletée script

One of the cases that we examine in our study is the parchment binding of codex 36 (Pantelidis and Kyrris 9, olim 717) [F-6vak] of the monastery of Kykkos (Nicosia District, Cyprus). The Holy, Basilike and Stauropegiake Monastery of Kykkos was founded by the Byzantine Emperor Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118), and has had a library since its foundation. Four catastrophic fires, in 1365, 1541, 1751, and 1813, have destroyed a large number of Kykkos codices, and others

were undoubtedly lost to unsuitable storage conditions.[20] Most of what remains of the monastery's early manuscript holdings can be found abroad, in the National Library of Paris, the Vatican Library, as well as in libraries in Jerusalem, Athens, and Mt. Athos.[21] Since the fifteenth century, the monastery of Kykkos operated a scriptorium, and since the sixteenth century, a workshop for restoring books.[22] The later manuscript collection of the monastery has been studied extensively by researchers, such as C.G. Pantelides, C.P. Kyrris, M. Polite-Sakellariade, C.N. Constantinides, and A. Jacovlević.[23]

Over the course of two missions led by A. Tselikas, one in 1979, the other in 1983, the IPA microfilmed the manuscripts of Kykkos.[24] One of the manuscripts microfilmed in January 1983, MS 36, is a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century paper codex of 158 leaves, containing

---

20   For further information on the history and the manuscript collection of the monastery, see N. Kyriazes, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου*, Larnaka 1949; A. Jacovlević, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Kykkos*, Nicosia 2016, 1–15 (preface of the catalogue with extensive bibliographical references).

21   See "A Checklist of the MSS from the Library of Kykkos Identified in Other Libraries" in A. Jacovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 14.

22   Jacovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 3.

23   C.G. Pantelidou, "Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς μονῆς Κύκκου", *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 10 (1913), 201–208 (http://olympias.lib.uoi.gr/jspui/handle/123456789/3080). Before Pantelides, C. Papadopoulos mentions the existence of a remarkable collection of manuscripts in the monastery of Kykkos. C. Papadopoulos, "Περιγραφὴ μονῶν τινῶν τῆς νήσου Κύπρου μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς χειρογράφων", *Σωτήρ* 13 (1890), 320; C.N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570*, Washington D.C.-Nicosia 1993, 29; C.P. Kyrris, "Ἀναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου", *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν* 7 (1973–1975), 305–415; M. Polite-Sakellariade, "Λειτουργικά χειρόγραφα τῆς Σχολῆς Μποζέου στὴν Κύπρο", *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν* 17 (1987–1988)*: Πρακτικὰ Α΄ Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου Μεσαιωνικῆς Κυπριακῆς Παλαιογραφίας*, 81–111; C.N. Constantinides, *Catalogue of the Manuscript Exhibition in the Monastery of Kykkos (First International Symposium on Mediaeval Cypriot Palaeography)*, Nicosia 1984, 27–48; idem, "Ἡ Στάχωση τοῦ Κώδικα 9 τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου", *Ἐπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου* 1 (1990), 51–59; Jacovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*.

24   MIET, *Μικροφωτογραφήσεις χειρογράφων καὶ ἀρχείων (Δελτίο Β΄, 1978–1980)*, Athens 1981, 17; *MIET, Μικροφωτογραφήσεις χειρογράφων καὶ ἀρχείων (Δελτίο Γ΄, 1981–1983)*, Athens 1985, 24.

Nikephoros Blemmydes' Logic,[25] a common pedagogical text in the late Byzantine and Ottoman period. The binding of the manuscript is wrapped lengthwise by a single leaf that, perhaps owing to wear, has variously been measured at 402 × 275 mm (Kyrris) and 39.8 × 25 cm (Jacovlević).[26]

The text of the fragment has been assessed according to the interior side (board-facing) of the fragment. The text, written in bouletée script, was dated to the twelfth century (Pantelidou), then to the fourteenth century (Kyrris), before Constantinides established the current consensus, which we share, that the fragment hales from the tenth century, making it possibly the oldest surviving manuscript at Kykkos, dating to before the foundation of the monastery itself.[27]

The inner side of the parchment leaf was initially transcribed by C.P. Kyrris in his catalogue of the manuscript collection of the monastery of Kykkos, but without identifying the text, merely noting its similarity to John Chrysostom's *Homilia XXIX in Genesim*.[28] We can

---

25   Constantinides, *Catalogue of the Manuscript Exhibition in the Monastery of Kykkos*, 29. On this manuscript and other philosophical texts at Kykkos, see idem, "Ἡ Στάχωση τοῦ Κώδικα 9 τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου", 51 and corresponding bibliography; Jacovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 231–233.

26   C.N. Constantinides, "Ἡ Στάχωση τοῦ Κώδικα 9 τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου", 51–57; C.P. Kyrris, "Ἀναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου", 326; A. Jacovlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 230: "MS 36.1: Unidentified text in Bouletée script".

27   C.N. Constantinides, "Ἡ Στάχωση τοῦ Κώδικα 9 τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου", 54, esp. nn. 14–16; C.P. Kyrris, "Ἀναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου", 306: "…παλαιὰ τυγχάνει ἡ περγαμηνὴ τῆς σταχώσεως τοῦ κώδικος 9, πιθανῶς τοῦ 14. αἰῶνος."; C.G. Pantelidou, "Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς μονῆς Κύκκου", 204.

28   C.P. Kyrris, "Ἀναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου", 327: "Τὸ κείμενον τῆς προσθίας πλευρᾶς δὲν κατέστη δυνατὸν νὰ ταυτισθῇ, ὁμοιάζει ὅμως πρὸς τὴν "Ὁμιλίαν XXIX τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν", P.G., LIII, στήλ. 260–273, καὶ κατὰ τὸ θέμα καὶ κατὰ τὸ ὕφος. Πάντως δὲν πρόκειται περὶ "μέρους τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης", ὡς γράφει ὁ Χρ. Γ. Παντελίδης, «Κατάλογος τῶν Κωδίκων τῆς μονῆς Κύκκου», ΝΕ, (vol.) X, 1913, σ. 204, τὸ δὲ χωρίον "οὐκ ἐποίησεν / 6 οὕτως παντὶ ἔθνει καὶ τὰ κρί / 7 ματα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐδήλω / 8 σεν αὐτοῖς" (Ψάλμ. ΡΜΖ´, 8–9) ἁπλῶς παρατίθεται ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως, ὡς καὶ ἕτερα τῆς Π.Δ. (ἐκ τῆς Γενέσεως) χωρία, χάριν σχολιασμοῦ. Ἀλλ' ἡ ἀναφορὰ εἰς τὸν Παῦλον (Γαλ., Γ´, 28) ἐν στίχ. 13–23 μαρτυρεῖ συγγραφέα χριστιανόν".
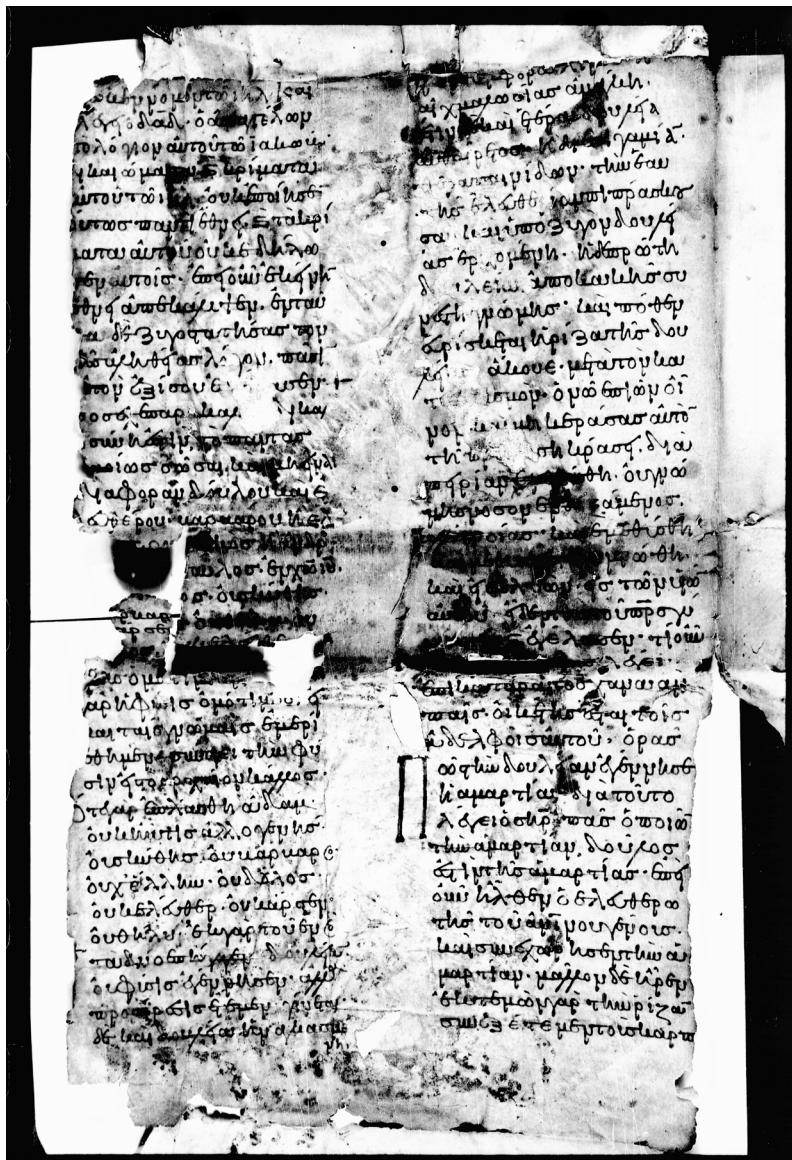
Figure 1: Kykkos, cod. 36, inner side. Enhanced microfilm digitization

Figure 2: Kykkos, cod. 36, outer side, front and back cover

now conclude that the inner side of the leaf provides fragmentary
text from Severian of Gabala's homily *De legislatore* [CPG 4192, PG 56

(spuriously ascribed to St. John Chrysostom), cols. 400.50–401.38], with some small text variations.[29]

Owing to wear and the consequent illegibility, the outer side of the parchment leaf has also not been identified until now. With the aid of the text of the *De legislatore* and enhanced scans of the microfilm, we were able to obtain a tentative reading of the outer side of the fragment, which turns out to be the leaf's verso.

Table 4: Transcription of Kykkos, cod. 36, outer cover (Severianus Gabalensis, Homilia de Legislatore, CPG 4192, PG 56)

401.38–49, 49–56	401.56–402.8, 402.8–15
[οὺς, καλεῖ δικαιοσύνης Εὐ] αγγέλι[ον διὰ τὸ π]άν[τας |] ὁμοίως φωτίζειν. Ὑπε | λάμβανον οὖν οἱ [Ἰουδαῖ | οι,] ὅτι τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τὸ | κηρυττόμενον δι' αὐτ[οῦ |] αὐτοῖς δίδοται μόνοις. | Ἐξέβη [δὲ παρ' ἐλ[πίδας |]	[ρατα τῆς γῆς· δικαιοσύ]νης [πλ]ήρης | [ἡ δεξι]ά σ[ου· εὐρ]ίσκη (εὐρίσκει scr.) | [καὶ ᾄδ]ων [τὰ] τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ, καὶ | [πληρ]ού[μεν]ος Πν(εύματο)ς ἁγίου. | [Ὁ γὰρ γνησί]ως ψάλλων, | [ἀνακαινιζόμενος τὴν] ψυ[χήν, ἀποτ |]
[ἡ προσδοκία. Διό φησιν ὁ Δαυΐδ· Ὑπελά- βομεν, ὁ Θεός, τὸ ἔλεός σου ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ σοῦ· κατὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὁ Θεός, οὕτω καὶ ἡ αἴνεσίς σου ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς. Καὶ ἵνα δείξῃ, ὅτι τὸ ἐλεῆσαι τὰ πέ- ρατα τῆς γῆς, δικαιοσύνη ἐστίν, ἐπήγαγε· Δικαιοσύνης πλήρης ἡ δεξιά σου. Ὅταν βαθύ τι καὶ προφητικὸν ἀνακύψῃ ζήτημα, σύνδραμε τῷ λόγῳ]	[ελεῖται ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Μὴ γὰρ μικρὸν νομίσῃς ψαλμῳδίαν εἶναι. Δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀκοὴν θέλγειν, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγείρειν. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἐλισσαῖος ὁ προφήτης παρακαλούμενος παρά τινων βασιλέων προφητεῦσαι τὰ μέλλοντα, λέγει· Δότε μοι ἄνδρα εἰδότα ψάλλειν· ἦλθεν]

---

29   On the attribution to Chrysostom, see, e.g, J.A. De Aldama, *Repertorium Pseu-dochrysostomicum*, Paris 1965, 182. For the diplomatic transcription of the text of the inner side of the leaf, see C.P. Kyrris, "Ἀναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου", 326–327. For philological and diplomatic transcriptions, see C.N. Constantinides, "Ἡ Στάχωση τοῦ Κώδικα 9 τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου", 55–56. This philological transcription is also included in A. Ja-covlević, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 230, which adopts Constantinides assessment of it as an unidentified text.

[μὴ κροτ]ῶν, ἀλλὰ ν[οῶ]ν, μὴ |	[ὁ τῆς μουσικῆς ἔμπ]ειρος, |
[ἀ]πλῶς δ[εχό]μενο[ς] τὸν |	[καὶ ἐν τῷ ψά]λλειν, [φ]ησίν, |
κρότον τῶν [ῥη]μάτων, |	[ἐ]κεῖν[ον,] ἦλθε τὸ Πν(εῦμ)α |
ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔννο[ι]αν [β]α |	[τὸ ἅγι[ον ἐπὶ Ἐλισσ]αῖον. |
[σα]νίζων τῶν νοημάτων. |	Τί ο[ὖν;] ἆρα τὸ Πν(εῦμ)α |
Ἐὰν γὰρ [ᾄδῃς τὰ τοῦ] Θ(εο)ῦ |	τὸ ἅγιον φωναῖς θέλ |
μετὰ ἀληθείας, καὶ μά |	γεται, καὶ ἐπῳδαῖς κα |
λιστα τὴν [φωνὴν] ταύ |	θέλκεται, εἰ τῇ ψυχῇ |
την, ἣν [ὁ Δαυῒδ εἶπ]εν· |	[ἐπανεπαύ]ετο τῇ προ |
Ὑπελάβομε[ν], ὁ Θ(εό)ς, τὸ |	φητικῇ; Ἤρκει ἡ κα |
[ἔ]λε[ός] σου ἐ[ν μέ]σῳ τοῦ |	θαρότης τοῦ προφή |
λαοῦ σοῦ· κατὰ τὸ ὄνο |	του προσκαλέσασθαι |
μά σου, ὁ Θ(εό)ς, οὕτω καὶ |	τὸ Πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον. (Δ)ιὰ |
ἡ αἴνεσίς σου (ἐνεσίσου scr.) ἐπὶ τὰ π[έ |]	τί [οὖν λέ]γει, [Δότε ἅ] |
	νδρα [εἰδότ]α [ψ]άλλει[ν;] |

5.2 *Codex Nicosiensis*

The case study included fragments from some private collections from Cyprus that were part of an exhibition at the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia on the occasion of the First International Symposium on Medieval Cypriot Paleography in September 1984.[30]

One of the manuscripts exhibited was the well-known *Tetraevangelion of Nicosia*, also known as the *Codex Nicosiensis* [F-4jwn]. The codex is composed of 48 surviving folios that provide fragmentary text from two of the four gospels. It is dated to the twelfth century and ascribed to the "Family 2400", a famous group of twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century manuscripts that was also known as the "Family Karachisar" or "Family Nicaean School". Named for its association to Chicago, University Library 965 (Gregory 2400), Family 2400 was identified in the 1930s, and since then its members have increased more than tenfold, so that it now comprises more than one hundred illuminated manuscripts and some fifty others. Manuscripts ascribed to this family, "the largest homogeneous group of

---

30   C.N. Constantinides, *Catalogue of Manuscript Exhibitions*, Nicosia 1984, 5;
       MIET, *Δελτίο τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ καὶ Παλαιογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου, Δ' (1984–87)*, Athens
       1988, 17, 218–219 (concerning the current codex, see 218, no. 3).

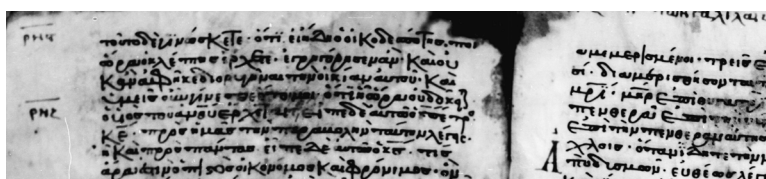*Figure 3: Codex Nicosiensis, f. 21r*

Figure 4: Codex Nicosiensis, ff. 1v-2r (detail)

Figure 5: Codex Nicosiensis, f. 6v (detail)

illuminated manuscripts known to have survived from Byzantium",[31] occupy a prominent position in libraries around the world.[32]

The *Tetraevangelion of Nicosia* is written in Greek, in one single column of 32 lines, in black ink with magenta initial letters.[33] This fragmentary codex begins with Luke 12:24 and ends (f. 48v) with John 18:37. The current MS contains only one miniature, that of the symbol of St. John: an eagle in profile holding the Gospel of John with its talons (f. 21r).

Codex Nicosiensis was copied by a single unnamed scribe in the so-called "decorative style". The script is a diminutive minuscule, which Constantinides and Browning even characterize as calligraphic, featuring small initials and all the characteristic features

---

31 C.N. Constantinides, "An unknown Manuscript of the 'Family 2400' from Cyprus", Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν 17 (1987–88), 169–186, at 169 and nn. 1–2.

32 A number of manuscripts from this family have connections to Cyprus. See C.N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1570*, Washington, D.C. and Nicosia 1993, 367 (no. 109) and nn. 3–4.

33 See the extended description by C.N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 366–368 (no. 109). See also, C.N. Constantinides, "An unknown Manuscript", 171–173, n. 11; 179–186 for photos of manuscripts belonging to the "Family 2400".
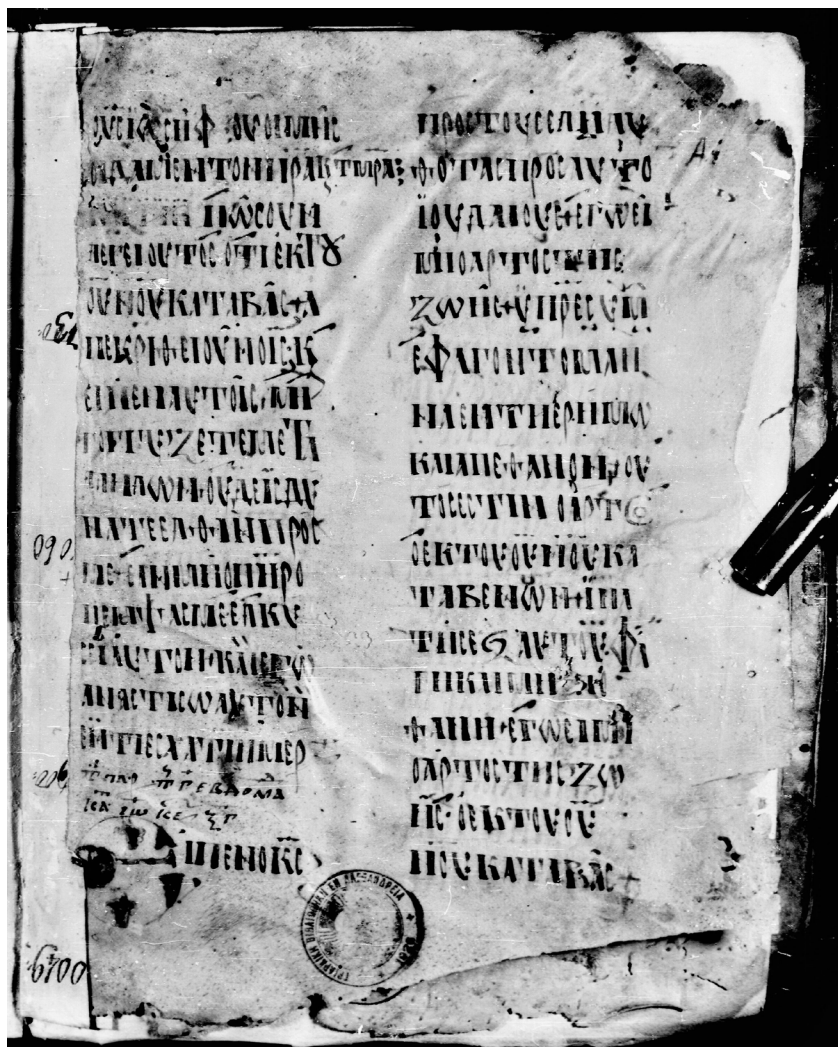
Figure 6: Alexandria, Patriarchal Library, Cod. 56, f. Ar

of the 2400 Group, including deep black ink.[34] Constantinides also notes the bulging beta, the emphatic diagonal delta and rho, the flourishing kappa, the characteristic chi, the enlarged open (or

34   C.N. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 367.
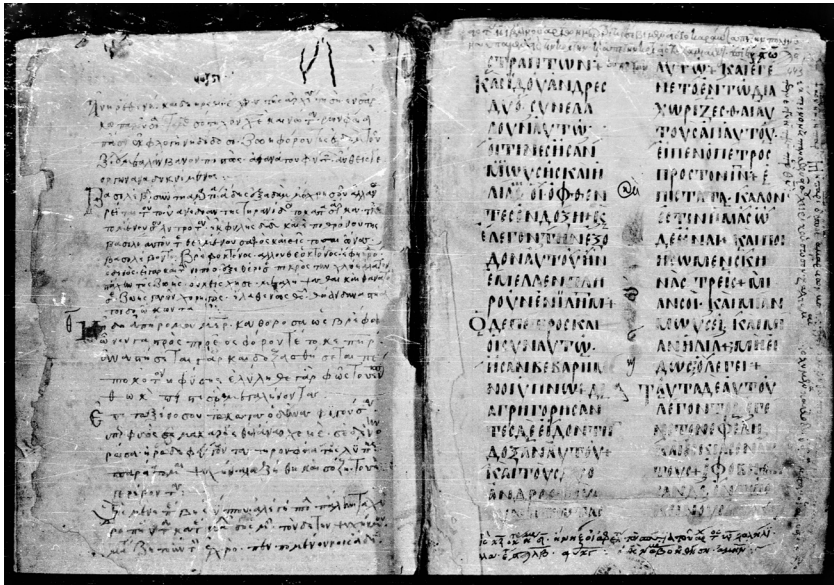
Figure 7: Alexandria, Patriarchal Library, Cod. 92, ff. 442v–443r

boxy) upsilon and the epsilon-xi ligature.[35] Lastly, the text has a few abbreviations, chiefly *nomina sacra*.

5.3 Alexandria, Patriarchal Library, Cod. 56 & Cod. 92

The IPA microfilmed the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria over two missions, one in 1976 and one in 1977.[36] A survey of 100 manuscripts from this collection revealed, among other fragments, two items in majuscule script.

Cod. 56 (olim 81; 949; 74) is an Evangelion with, at the front, two paper and two parchment leaves.[37] The parchment leaves contain pericopes of St. John's Gospel in Greek, and the paper folios are blank. In addition, the codex has three paper strips (visible on f. Ar, f. Bv, and the verso of the second blank paper leaf at the front), glued to the hinge. These strips come from one or more manuscripts pro-

---

35   C.N. Constantinides, "An unknown Manuscript", 172–173.
36   K. Chryssochoidis, *Μικροφωτογραφήσεις χειρογράφων καὶ ἀρχείων*, Athens 1978, 34.
37   T. Moschonas, *Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας. Κατάλογοι τῆς πατριαρχικῆς βιβλιοθήκης. Τόμος Α'. Χειρόγραφα*, Alexandria 1945, 67.
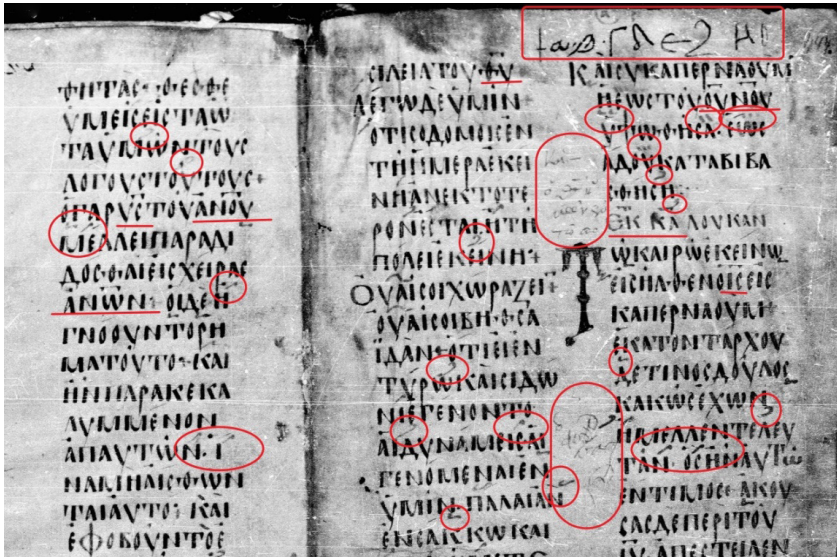
Figure 8: Cod. 92, ff. 443v–444r, detail. Circled: ekphonetic notation and marginal notes (two hands). Underlined: nomina sacra and abbreviations

duced after the codex, are pasted upside-down, containing mainly numerical symbols. The back pastedown is a financial document dated 5 May 1804 and localized in Egypt.

The parchment fragment of St. John's Gospel [F-lixc] features the text in majuscule script, in two columns of 17–18 lines. It contains some standard abbreviations as well as ekphonetic notation. This notation, along with marginal notes, indicates that the manuscript was in liturgical use and the Gospel readings followed the cycle of the ecclesiastical year.

Since the host volume provides Gospel readings for the same ecclesiastical period, these leaves may have been added at the beginning of the codex, owing to their relation with the main manuscript.

The other fragment in majuscule script from the Patriarchal library of Alexandria found in our sounding appears at the end of Cod. 92 (olim 251; 167 (ΡΞΖ)), a fourteenth-century codex of bombycin paper containing Menaion.[38] At the back, after two paper leaves

---

38   *ibid,* 90–91.

that are not discussed in the catalogue, appears the fragment, in two leaves that contain the Evangelion, Gospel of Luke [F-icft].

The majuscule script dates from the ninth or tenth century. The text is laid out in two columns, 22 lines per column and the initials in many cases are decorated and placed to the left of the main body text. In addition, the text provides some abbreviations, mainly *nomina sacra*, and ekphonetic notation. These elements again show that the fragmentary Evangelion was in use, serving liturgical purposes.

The fragment, numbered ff. 443–444, contains Luke 9:29–36, 43–44, 10:11–15, and 7:1–8, in that order. The Gospel of Luke is typically read over nineteen weeks, beginning with the Monday after the Elevation of the Holy Cross (September 14), and, after the twelfth week, it is only read on Saturdays and Sundays, while St. Mark's Gospel is read on the remaining weekdays. Therefore the fragment pertains to the period of the liturgical cylce between mid-September and mid-December.

5.4 Monastery of Panagia Hozoviotissa, Ms. 22

The manuscript collection of Panagia Hozoviotissa in Amorgos Island, Cyclades, was photographed in 1967–1968 by the founder of the IPA, Prof. Linos Politis, and in 1989 by Agamemnon Tselikas.[39] Prof. Politis produced a summary inventory of 97 numbered codices of the monastery, including and characterizing two manuscript items as fragments.[40] From the microfilms of the collection, so far we have identified, described, and published on *Fragmentarium* ten fragments.

One such fragment is Ms. 22 [F-jwyz], from the first half of the fifteenth century. It consists of two parts of a roll (εἰλητάριον).[41]

---

39 MIET, *Δελτίο τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ καὶ Παλαιογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου, Ϛʹ (1988–92)*, Athens 1994, 45–46. The mission, led by Agamemnon Tselikas, photographed four codices that were discovered in the monastery library after the mission by Politis, in addition to the "old archive" of the monastery, which is presented in an inventory in the aforementioned report [Ϛʹ (1988–92)] by the IPA, 46–101.

40 Politis, *Συνοπτικὴ ἀναγραφὴ χειρογράφων ἑλληνικῶν συλλογῶν*, Thessaloniki 1976, 71–79; the fragments are nos. 22 and 23, p. 73.

41 According to the inventory by L. Politis, *Συνοπτικὴ ἀναγραφὴ χειρογράφων ἑλληνικῶν συλλογῶν*, 73, n. 22, the fragment measures 55.5 × 22 cm. According
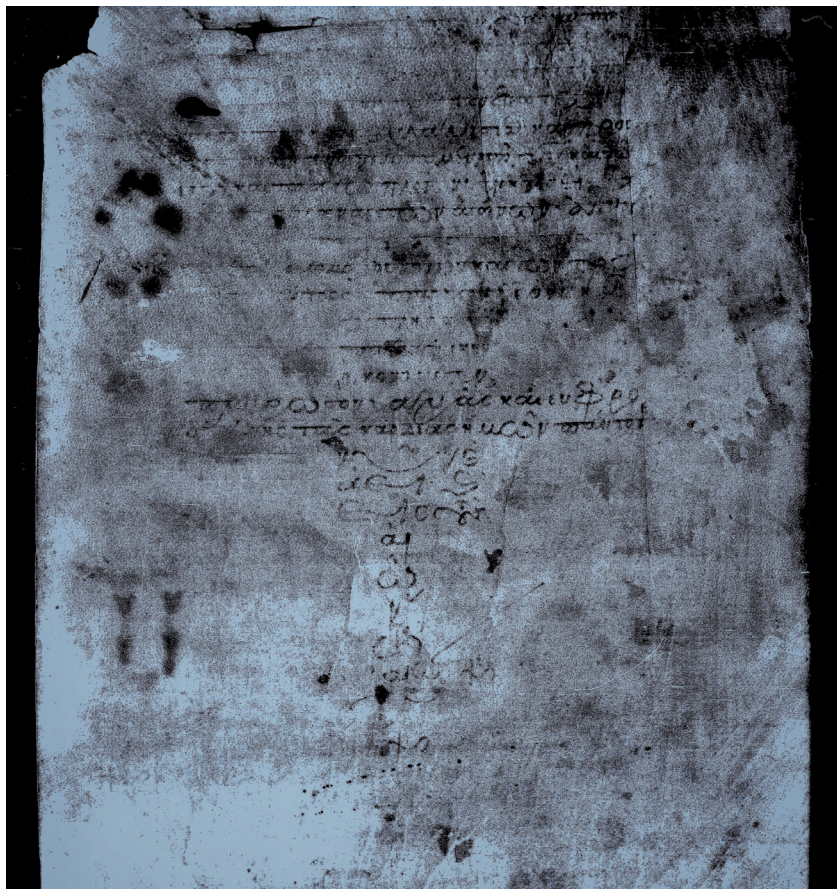
Figure 9: Amorgos, Monastery of Panagia Hozoviotissa, MS 22, end of the first part

Although the parts are joined, they are not continuous. They contain text from the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in a Greek minuscule script, with several illuminated interlace initials throughout the text. The text is written perpendicular to the long side of the document (Figures 9–10). Most of the content flows horizontally from left to right, vertically from top to bottom. The first part provides the prayer for catechumens and the second part contains diptychs

to Tselikas' label on the microfilm, produced on 29 May 1989, there are two pieces, one 55.5 × 22 cm and the other, 44.5 × 22 cm.
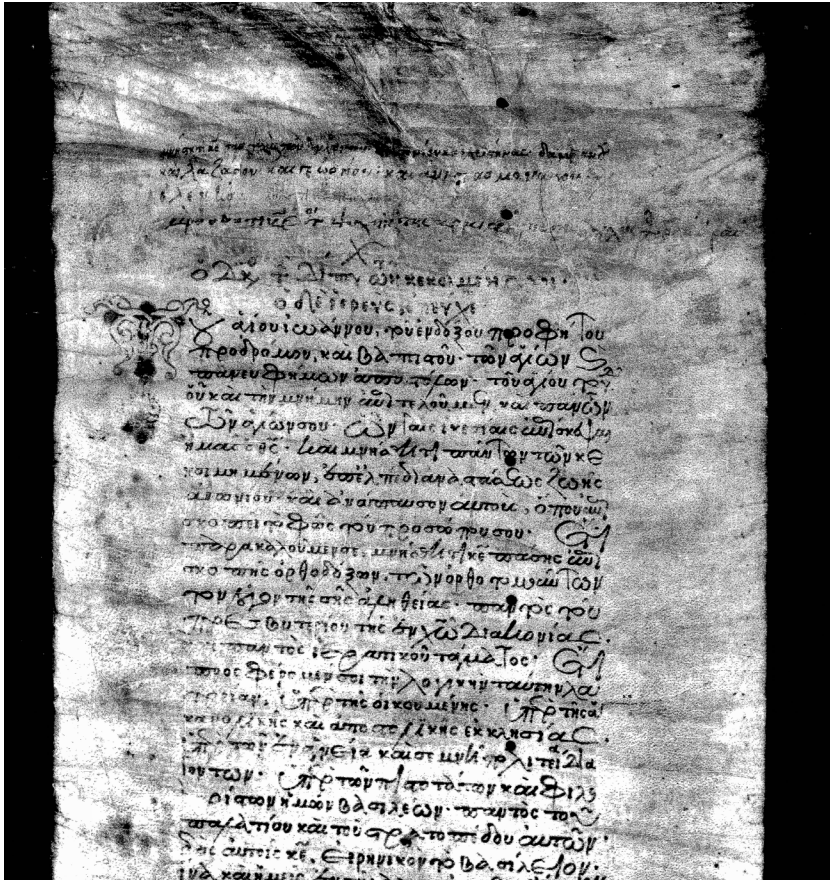
Figure 10: Amorgos, Monastery of Panagia Hozoviotissa, MS 22, beginning of the second part

and prayers. As the figures make clear, the parchment has suffered some physical damage. Nevertheless, we can be sure of the identity and the reading order of the text.

5.5 Menaion for September from the Monastery of Iviron

Over two missions, in 1991 and 1992, the IPA photographed 237 of the almost 2,000 manuscripts in the collection of the monastery
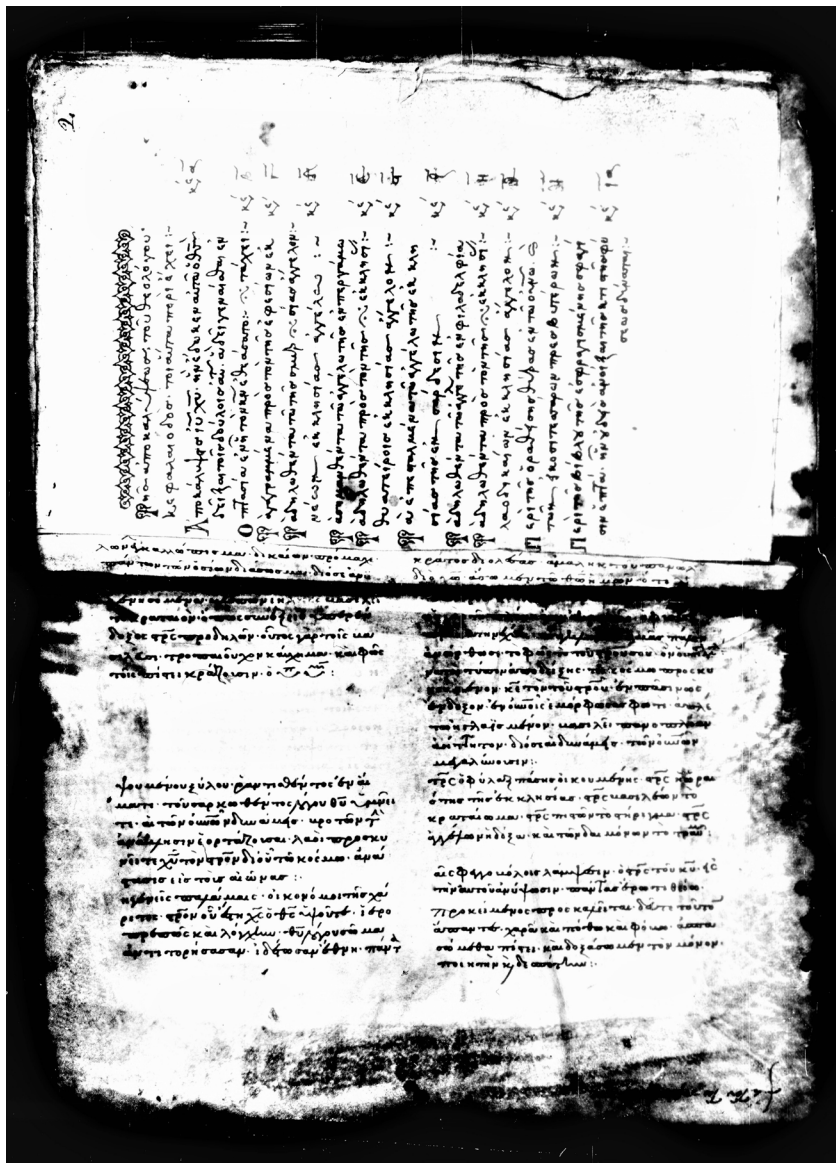
Figure 11: Mount Athos, Monastery of Iviron, Cod. 34, ff. 1v–2r

of Iviron in Mount Athos.[42] This collection also includes fragments. Four images capture parts of the same thirteenth-century Menaion of September 14–15, and in fact of the same page, and appear at the beginning of Cod. 34, a fourteenth-century parchment codex that transmits five other theological texts [F-e248].[43]

Specifically, at the beginning of Cod. 34, the microfilm shows what is either one trimmed leaf of a two-column text or a bifolium of a single-column text (f. 1) and two strips of the same that do not appear to be catalogued, and which appear in the images of f. 2r and f. 4r, respectively. The text on the 4r strip contains the Matins for September 14, and matches the September 14 Matins on f. 1v. Similarly, 2ra has Vespers for September 15, as does f. 1ra; 2rb and 1rb contain the next part of the liturgy, the Matins for September 15. Therefore, the fragment is a single leaf with two columns, and the strip on f. 2r and on f. 4r is a single piece of the same leaf, passing behind the bifolium f. 2–3. Therefore, a reconstruction of the text would proceed (with gaps of varying sizes) f. 4ra–1va–4rb–1vb for what was originally the recto (Figure 12), then f. 2ra-1ra-2rb-1rb for the verso (Figure 13). This reconstruction shows the promise and the challenge of working with fragments on microfilm: the physical structure of the binding is often not apparent and requires considerable reconstruction and reflection.

Conclusion

The work of studying and publishing Greek manuscript fragments in the photographic collections of the IPA continues. These fragments, often from practically inaccessible monastic libraries, have already provided priceless witnesses to Greek patristic sources, as well as to the liturgy. For many Greek libraries, the examples of the oldest writing in the collection are in fragments, and, in some

---

42   MIET, *Δελτίο τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ καὶ Παλαιογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου, Ϛ´ (1988–92)*, 108.

43   P. Sotiroudis, *Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἰβήρων, Κατάλογος Ἑλληνικῶν Χειρογράφων, Α´ (1–100)*, Mount Athos 1998, 65-66 (no. 4154), identifying it as a Menaion of September 15. S. Lampros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. II, Cambridge 1900, 4 (no. 4154), identifies it as "Liturgical material" and provides an incomplete summary of the codex's contents. The same codex also has a twelfth-century Triodion fragment at the end.

cases, the fragments provide the most significant evidence of the scriptoria that flourished in those same houses.
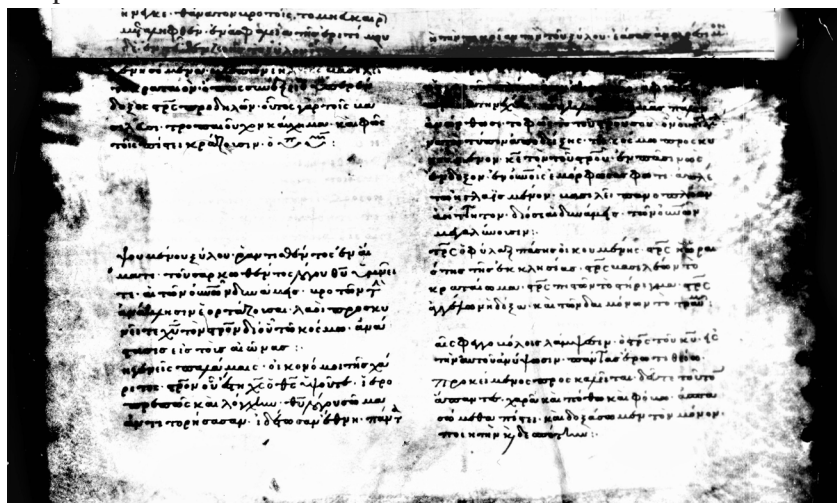

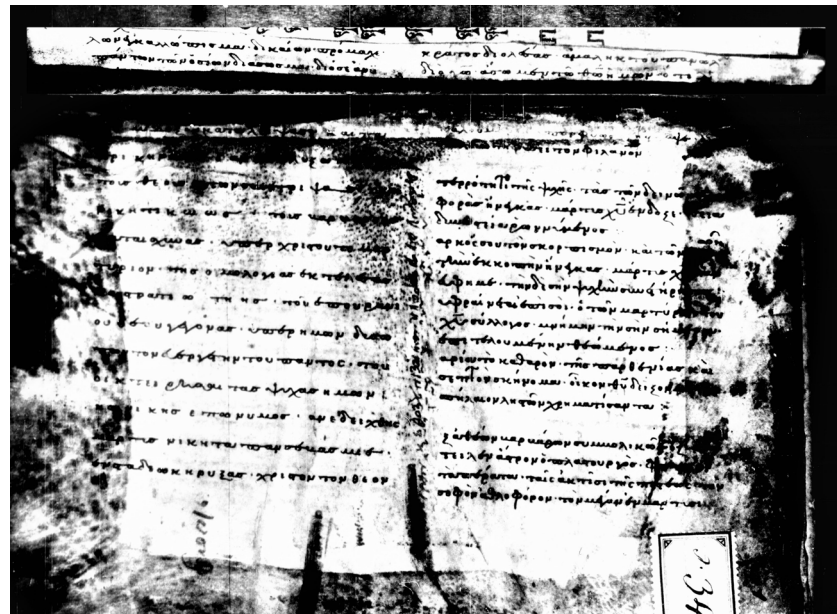**Figure 12:** *Mount Athos, Monastery of Iviron, Cod. 34: reconstruction of recto (f. 4r, f. 1v)*

Figure 13: *Mount Athos, Monastery of Iviron, Cod. 34: reconstruction of verso (f. 2r, f. 1r)*

Eine Überlieferung der Paulusbriefe um das Jahr 800 aus dem Kloster Mondsee

Eine Rekonstruktion aus 211 Fragmenten

Larissa Rasinger, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
larissa.rasinger@onb.ac.at

Abstract: In the fifteenth century a ca.-800 copy of the Pauline epistles was cut up in the Austrian Benedictine monastery of Mondsee and reused as binding material. Most of the fragments were detached in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and are today kept in the Austrian National Library as Cod. Ser. n. 2065, but some are still in situ in their host volumes. The large number of surviving pieces – 211 in all – enabled a reconstruction of not only 95 former (partial) leaves, but also of the quire structure of the former manuscript. These reconstructions rely on codicological observations as well as comparisons with other surviving witnesses of the same textual traditions, such as München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9544.

Keywords: reconstruction, Pauline epistles, textual transmission, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Die Fragmente einer Handschrift mit Teilen der Paulusbriefe, welche unter der Signatur Wien, ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 2065 [F-rm22][1] in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek aufbewahrt werden, sind der Forschung bereits seit längerem als wichtiges Zeugnis karolingischer Buchproduktion in Österreich[2] und als Zeuge einer selten überlieferten Texttradition bekannt.[3] Die ursprüngliche Handschrift

---

1 O. Mazal–F. Unterkircher, *Katalog der abendländischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek „Series nova" 2/1* (Wien, 1963), 161.

2 Zuerst: F. Unterkircher, *Inventar der illuminierten Handschriften, Inkunabeln und Frühdrucke der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Teil 1: Die abendländischen Handschriften* (Wien, 1957), 173; für weitere (ältere) Literatur siehe Anm. 4 und Anm. 16.

3 Siehe zum Text: H.-J. Frede (Hg.), *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum* (Vetus Latina 25/1, Freiburg, 1975–1982), 96f.

wurde um das Jahr 800 im Kloster Mondsee in karolingischer Mi-
nuskel geschrieben und wird somit der frühesten Produktionsphase
des Mondseer Skriptoriums zugewiesen,[4] die nach dem berühmten
<u>Psalter von Montpellier</u>[5] auch „Psalter-Stufe" genannt wird.

4   B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Ka-
     rolingerzeit, Teil II: Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden,
     1980), 10 und 16f; für eine genaue Beschreibung der beiden an der Hand-
     schrift beteiligten Hände siehe auch: E. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores.
     A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century,
     Bd. X: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt and Holland* (Ox-
     ford, 1963), Nr. 1513; U. Fröhlich (Hg.), Epistula ad Corinthos I (Vetus latina
     22, Freiburg, 1995), 160f.; siehe zur Handschrift und weiterer älterer Literatur
     auch: B. Bischoff., *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahr-
     hunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen), Teil III: Padua–Zwickau, aus dem
     Nachlaß herausgeg. von B. Ebersperger* (Wiesbaden, 2014), 494 Nr. 7240; sowie
     außerdem knapp: C. Pfaff, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Mondsee im
     hohen Mittelalter* (Wien, 1967), 23; Klaus Gamber nimmt dagegen, ausgehend
     von zum damaligen Zeitpunkt neu entdeckten Blättern eines Regensburger
     Evangeliars eine Entstehung der Handschriften in Regensburg an, von wo aus
     sie nach Mondsee verbracht worden seien: K. Gamber, „Fragmentblätter eines
     Regensburger Evangeliars aus dem Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts", *Scriptorium*
     34 (1980), 72–77, hier v.a. 74f; diese Meinung hat sich aber in der Literatur nicht
     durchgesetzt – siehe dazu in Bezug auf frühere Arbeiten Gambers: K. Holter,
     „Schrift und Kunst in vorkarolingischer Zeit" in *Von Severin zu Tassilo: Baiern-
     zeit in Oberösterreich. Das Land zwischen Inn und Enns vom Ausgang der An-
     tike bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Ausstellung des Oberösterreichischen
     Landesmuseums im Schloßmuseum zu Linz anläßlich der 1200 jährig. Wie-
     derkehr der Gründung des Stiftes Kremsmünster durch Herzog Tassilo III.,
     Linz, 1977), 213–219; zu den deutschen Glossen: R. Bergmann et al., *Katalog
     der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften, Bd. 4* (Berlin,
     2005), 1811f. Nr. 956 – s. hier auch zu weiterer Literatur; I. Reiffenstein, „Mond-
     seer Glossenhandschriften" in, *Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Glosso-
     graphie. Ein Handbuch, Bd. 2*, hg. von R. Bergmann–S. Stricker (Berlin–New
     York, 2009), 1444; Edition: E. v. Steinmeyer, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen,
     Bd. 1: Glossen zu biblischen Schriften* (Berlin, 1879), 765 Nr. CCCCXVIII; im
     fast 20 Jahre später erschienenen vierten Band gibt Elias von Steinmeyer das
     Fragment als „unsigniert und zur Zeit nicht mehr aufzufinden" an: Ders., *Die
     althochdeutschen Glossen, Bd. 4: Alphabetisch geordnete Glossare. Adespota.
     Nachträge zu Bd. I–III. Handschriftenverzeichnis* (Berlin, 1898), 660 Nr. 627.

5   Montpellier, Bibliotheque interuniversitaire: H 409; E. Lowe, *Codices Latini
     Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth
     Century, Bd. VI: France. Abbeville – Valenciennes* (Oxford, 1953), 29 Nr. 795;
     sowie zuletzt mit weiterer Literatur: H. Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, „Psalter
     von Montpellier (Mondsee-Psalter oder Tassilo-Psalter)" in *Karl der Große*

Kunsthistorisch bedeutend ist die große P-Initiale am Beginn des Römerbriefes,[6] die ebenfalls mit dem Psalter von Montpellier und einigen anderen Mondseer Handschriften[7] sowie generell mit der Buchmalerei bayerischer Klöster in Verbindung zu bringen ist.[8]

Von besonderem Interesse ist auch die textliche Tradition, die einer Handschriftengruppe zuzuordnen ist, die neben einer weiteren Mondseer Handschrift (ÖNB Cod. 732) auch den Codex München, BSB, Clm 9544 aus der Bibliothek des Benediktinerklosters Oberaltaich umfasst[9]. Diese Handschriften der Paulusbriefe stechen vor allem durch eine ungewöhnliche Textabfolge heraus. Aufgrund der schwierigen Überlieferungslage von ÖNB Cod. Ser. n. 2065 wurde in der Forschung allgemein und vor allem für die Ausgabe des Korinther-, Thessalonicher- und Timotheus-Briefe bisher die Münchner Handschrift für die Textkollation herangezogen und nicht die textlich nahezu identen Fragmente aus Mondsee.[10]

Im Rahmen eines zweijährigen, von der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften geförderten Projekts zur Erforschung

---

– *Charlemagne. Karls Kunst. Katalog der Sonderausstellung Karls Kunst vom 20. Juni bis 21. September 2014 im Centre Charlemagne, Aachen*, hg. von P. van den Brink–S. Ayooghi, (Dresden, 2014), 262–264.

6   A. Weiner (Hg.), *Illuminierte Handschriften der Agilolfinger- und frühen Karolingerzeit* (Ausstellungskataloge der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung 16, München, 1989), 35 Nr. 19.

7   K. Holter, „Der Buchschmuck in Süddeutschland und Oberitalien" in *Karolingische Kunst*, hg. von W. Braunfels–H. Schnitzler (Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben 3, Düsseldorf, 1965), 74–114, hier 112 und Abb. 118; wieder abgedruckt bei: G. Heilingsetzer–W. Stelzer, *Kurt Holter. Buchkunst – Handschriften – Bibliotheken. Beiträge zur mitteleuropäischen Buchkultur vom Frühmittelalter bis zur Renaissance Bd. 1* (Linz 1996), 114–156; K. Bierbrauer, *Die Ornamentik frühkarolingischer Handschriften aus Bayern* (Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften NF 84, München, 1979), 85–87.

8   Bierbrauer, *Ornamentik* (wie Anm. 7), 86f.

9   Laut Bernhard Bischoff ist die Handschrift wahrscheinlich in Bayern am Anfang des 9. Jahrhunderts entstanden, siehe: B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts, Teil 3: Padua–Zwickau*, bearb. von Birgit Ebersperger (Wiesbaden 2014), 247 Nr. 9544.

10   Fröhlich, *Epistula* (wie Anm. 4), 16f.; Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), hierzu 97. ÖNB Cod. 732 enthält nur eine Auswahl der Briefe, siehe dazu weiter unten.

der Fragmente des Klosters Mondsee[11] konnten nun erhebliche Fortschritte bei der Rekonstruktion des ursprünglichen Mondseer Codex mit den Paulusbriefen erzielt werden. Von einem Großteil der Blätter der ehemaligen Handschrift wurden zumindest Bruchstücke – zum Beispiel in Form schmaler Streifchen – identifiziert, wodurch der Textbestand und die Lagenstruktur rekonstruiert werden konnten. Sowohl die bereits bekannten, abgelösten Fragmente als auch neu entdeckte Fragmente in situ wurden digitalisiert und als digitale Rekonstruktion der Handschrift in Fragmentarium zugänglich gemacht.[12] Damit konnte eine neue materielle Basis für zukünftige Texteditionen geschaffen werden, die in diesem Artikel näher erläutert und kontextualisiert wird.

Geschichte der Fragmente

Die Fragmente der Mondseer Paulusbriefe-Handschrift wurden vermutlich seit dem 19. Jahrhundert in mehreren Etappen aus ihren Trägerbänden in der Hofbibliothek, heute Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, abgelöst. Einige Stücke firmierten zunächst eine Zeit lang unter verschiedenen Signaturen, die aber nicht mehr genau rekonstruiert werden können, beispielsweise ist in den Codices Latini Antiquiores „Fragm. 9/8" als olim-Signatur angegeben und auch auf einem Blatt mit Bleistift vermerkt.[13] In der Folge sind wohl laufend weitere Fragmente der Handschrift aufgetaucht, deren Zusammengehörigkeit erst nach und nach erkannt wurde. Gesichert ist nur, dass ein Konvolut von 47 größeren Blättern und 7 kleinen

---

11   Siehe zum Projekt https://www.oeaw.ac.at/stipendien-foerderungen/foerder-programme/godigital/godigital-20-ausgewaehlte-projekte/.

12   Für die Digitalisierung von in situ-Falzstreifen wurde ein Glasprisma verwendet, welches durch die Lichtbrechung im Prisma den Großteil des im Falz v-förmig zusammengedrückten Streifens sichtbar macht bzw. eine Fotografie ermöglicht. Nicht erfasst werden können lediglich 1–2 mm in der Mitte der Falzstreifen, was den großen Nutzen des Prismas für die Digitalisierung aber nur wenig schmälern kann. Siehe dazu ebenfalls in dieser Ausgabe den Aufsatz von I. Dobcheva.

13   CLA X, Nr. 1513 (wie Anm. 4). Weitere Signaturen wurden mit Bleistift im Rundstempel der Nationalbibliothek auf verschiedenen Fragmenten des Konvoluts eingetragen und beziehen sich wohl ebenfalls auf eine Fragmentensignatur wie jene der CLA: „9/1", „9/2" und „9/7".

Fragmenten 1949 als Wien, ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 2065 ungebunden aufgestellt wurde.[14] Später wurden die Stücke in Cod. Ser. n. 2065 in einem modernen Halbleineneinband gebunden und durchgehend foliiert. In den folgenden Jahren wurden dem Konvolut weitere Stücke an passender Stelle lose beigelegt und mit ergänzenden Folionummern versehen (6a, 6b, 13a etc.).[15] Hinzu kommen weitere Blätter, die dem Konvolut abermals nachträglich lose beigelegt wurden, ohne sie jedoch in die richtige Reihenfolge zu bringen oder zu foliieren.[16] Einzelne Fragmente wurden außerdem mit Gold-

---

14   Siehe Akquisitionsbuch Nr. IV (Cod. Ser. n. 2242), fol. 81v.

15   Die ersten beiden erhaltenen Blätter der ursprünglichen Handschrift (Wien, ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 2065, fol. 1 und 2 [olim I und II]), bestehen aus jeweils zwei durch Goldschlägerhaut verbundenen Streifen. Dies dürfte erst nach 1963 geschehen sein, da sie im entsprechenden Katalog aus diesem Jahr noch als fol. I–IV angeführt werden: Mazal–Unterkircher, *Katalog* (wie Anm. 1), 161 (Sofern nicht anders angegeben beziehen sich die in der Folge genannten Signaturen immer auf Bestände der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek [Wien, ÖNB]). Zur Bearbeitung der Fragmente der ÖNB siehe auch: F. Unterkircher, „Fragmenta ... felici fato servata in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek" in *Scire litteras. Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, hg. von S. Krämer–M. Bernhard (München, 1988), 377–381.

16   Die wiederholten Änderungen in der Aufbewahrung und Signierung spiegeln auch die immer wieder differierenden Angaben in der Literatur wieder: zuerst findet sich bei Franz Unterkircher 1957 die Angabe „46ff.": Unterkircher, *Inventar* (wie Anm. 2), 173; 1963 werden in den CLA bereits 50 Blatt aufgenommen, wovon 44 gebunden seien, hinzu kämen zwei weitere schmale Streifen: CLA X, Nr. 1513 (wie Anm. 4); Otto Mazal und Franz Unterkircher, *Katalog* (wie Anm. 15) nennen im selben Jahr dagegen 59 Blatt sowie 3 Papierblätter; Bernhard Bischoff nennt 1980 dagegen wieder 50 Blatt: Bischoff, *Schreibschulen* (wie Anm. 4), 16; zwei Jahre später heißt es, dass „bisher mehr als 60 Blätter oder Fragmente, darunter mehrere Papierblätter mit Leimabdrücken, aufgefunden" wurden: Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 97; 2005 zählt Rolf Bergmann – wohl ausgehend von älterer Literatur wiederum erneut „etwa 50 Blätter, Fälze und zahlreiche Streifen": Bergmann et al., *Katalog* (wie Anm. 4), 181f. Nr. 956. Zwischenzeitlich war zumindest ein Blatt sogar verschollen (siehe Anm. 4). Zu ähnlich gelagerten Fällen und der Geschichte der Fragmentensammlung der ÖNB siehe auch: A. Fingernagel, „Die Fragmentensammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken: Geschichte – Perspektiven" in *Fragmente. Der Umgang mit lückenhafter Quellenüberlieferung in der Mittelalterforschung*, hg. von Ch. Gastgeber et al. (Wien, 2010), 97–107; K. Kaska–F. Simader, „Vom Umgang großer Bibliotheken mit Fragmenten am Beispiel der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek"

schlägerhaut zu Blättern oder Blattteilen verbunden. Fragmente der Paulusbriefe-Handschrift, deren Zugehörigkeit zum Konvolut erst während des Projekts erkannt wurde, befanden sich auch in der Sammlung unbearbeiteter, loser Fragmente der ÖNB: Fragm. 778, Fragm. 782, Fragm. 814, Fragm. 828, Fragm. 856a, Fragm. 1591 und Fragm. 1632.

Sie wurden im Zuge der Bearbeitung Cod. Ser. n. 2065 angegliedert (siehe die olim-Signaturen in der Gesamtzusammenstellung im Anhang). Heute umfasst das Konvolut daher 211 Einzelfragmente[17], von denen 21 Streifen aufgrund nur einzelner erhaltener Buchstaben textlich nicht eindeutig zuordenbar oder auch gänzlich unbeschrieben sind. Aufgrund der gemeinsamen Überlieferung mit ebenfalls als Falzstreifen in denselben Trägerbänden verwendeten Fragmenten der ursprünglichen Paulusbriefe-Handschrift, sowie der Pergamentbeschaffenheit und der paläographischen Merkmale der wenigen vorhandenen Buchstaben ist die Zuordnung dieser kaum beschriebenen Streifenfragmente trotzdem ausreichend gesichert.

Da die bisherige Foliierung der Einzelstücke in Cod. Ser. n. 2065 teils fehlerhaft war und eine größere Anzahl neuer Stücke identifiziert werden konnte, wurden die Einzelfragmente in eine neue, textlich korrekte Reihenfolge gebracht und eine (Neu-)Foliierung vorgenommen.[18]

Nicht in Cod. Ser. n. 2065 aufgenommen wurden weitere Stücke der Fragmentengruppe, die in situ in Mondseer Handschriften aufgefunden wurden und daher weiterhin in ihren Trägerbänden verbleiben:

Cod. 1953 [F-ksnn] (VDS und Ansetzfalz)
Cod. 2996 [F-mf8a] (Falzverstärkungen)
Cod. 3247 [F-qh63] (Falzverstärkungen)
Cod. 3781 [F-ofhz] (je ein Rest des vorderen und hinteren Ansetzfalzes)
Cod. 3816 [F-zrgd] (Rücken- und Falzverstärkungen)
Cod. 3839 [F-lik8] (Falzverstärkungen)

in *Frammenti di un discorso storico. Per una grammatica dell'aldilà del frammento,* hg. von C. Tristano (Spoleto, 2019), 435–447.

17 Gezählt wurden nur solche Stücke, die nicht – zum Beispiel durch Goldschlägerhaut – miteinander verbunden sind.

18 Die alten Folionummern wurden als olim-Folionummern in der Gesamtzusammenstellung vermerkt.

Cod. 5001 [F-qt15] (Falzverstärkung)
Cod. 5426 (Rücken- und Falzverstärkung)

Für die digitale Rekonstruktion wurden allerdings Abbildungen aller bekannten Fragmente verwendet, und auch in die angehängte Gesamtzusammenstellung konnten die in situ-Stücke integriert werden [F-mjod].

Trägerbände und Makulierung

Für die ausgelösten und heute als Cod. Ser. n. 2065 aufbewahrten Fragmente der Paulusbriefe-Handschrift konnten durch die Neubearbeitung 17 ehemalige Trägerbände mit Provenienz Mondsee identifiziert werden. Bei der Ablösung wurden zumeist keine Notizen angefertigt und nur selten ist ein vormaliger Trägerband auf dem abgelösten Stück vermerkt. Sicher ist, dass die ursprüngliche Handschrift im 15. Jahrhundert zerschnitten und die Makulatur in Mondsee zur Buchbindung verwendet wurde. Dies geschah wohl nicht vor der Jahrhundertmitte, wie aus Datierungen einiger der neugebundenen Handschriften hervorgeht.[19] Für folgende (abgelöste) Fragmente sind der Trägerband und die Verwendungsart wie angegeben bekannt:

Folionummer	Träger-band	Verwendungsart
fol. 13, fol. 16 (Blattteile 16-1 bis -7) und fol. 17 (Blattteile 17-1, -2, -3, -5, -7 und -8) (alle olim Fragm. 856a)	Cod. 3781	Falzverstärkungen
fol. 14 (olim 6a)	Cod. 5410	Rückenverstärkung
fol. 15 (olim 6b)	Cod. 5410	Rückenverstärkung
fol. 18 (Blattteil 18-1; olim 6c)	Cod. 5426	Falzverstärkungen

---

19 So kaufte Leonhard Kellner die Handschrift Cod. 2996 – möglicherweise noch ungebunden – 1435 in Wien. In einer anderen Mondseer Handschrift (Cod. 3816) ist der Mondseer Professe Hieronymus als Vorbesitzer vermerkt – er befand sich jedoch erst ab 1451 im Kloster. Eine weitere Handschrift (Cod. 3247) ist in das Jahr 1452 datiert.

fol. 18 (Blattteil 18-2; olim Fragm. 814)	Cod. 818	Falzverstärkungen
fol. 22 (Blattteil 22-2; olim 10A)	Cod. 5426	Falzverstärkungen
fol. 24 (olim 11a)	Cod. 1311	Hinterdeckelspiegel
fol. 27, fol. 37 (Blattteile 37-2 bis -6), fol. 41, fol. 73 und fol. 74 (Blattteile 74-3 und -4) (alle olim Fragm. 778-1 bis -14) fol. 72 (Blattteil ohne mit Goldschlägerhaut verbundene Streifen)	Cod. 2996	Falz- und Rückenverstärkungen
fol. 28 (olim 23a)	Cod. 818	Vorderdeckelspiegel
fol. 29 (olim Fragm. 814)	Cod. 818	Falzverstärkungen
fol. 30 (olim 13a)	Cod. 5410	Falzverstärkungen
fol. 31 (olim 14) und fol. 34 (olim 17)	Cod. 3781	Vorderdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz; ein Rest des Ansetzfalzes, der nach der Ablösung des Spiegelblattes in situ im Trägerband verblieben ist, befindet sich zwischen fol. 12/13
fol. 32 (olim 15) und fol. 33 (olim 16)	Cod. 3781	Hinterdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz; ein Rest des Ansetzfalzes, der nach der Ablösung des Spiegelblattes in situ im Trägerband verblieben ist, befindet sich zwischen fol. 402/403
fol. 36 (olim 17b)	Cod. 1370	Vorderdeckelspiegel und Hinterdeckelspiegel
fol. 44 (olim 23)	Cod. 3586	Vorderdeckelspiegel
fol. 45 (23a2)	Cod. 4999	Hinterdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz
fol. 46 (olim 24)	Cod. 3816	Vorderdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz
fol. 47 (olim 25)	Cod. 3816	Hinterdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz

fol. 49 (olim 25a und Fragm. 1612)	Cod. 5410	Falzverstärkungen, für zwei Streifen findet sich die falsche Angabe „aus Cod. 5001", sie stammen aufgrund der gleichen Größe wahrscheinlich ebenfalls aus Cod. 5410
fol. 50 (olim 25b und Fragm. 1612)	Cod. 5410	Falzverstärkungen
fol. 51 (Blattteil 51-1: olim Fragm. 828)	Cod. 5001	Falzverstärkungen
fol. 51 (Blattteil 51-2: olim 25c)	Cod. 4999	Vorderdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz
fol. 54 (olim 26a)	Cod. 3586	Hinterdeckelspiegel
fol. 56 (Blattteil 56-1: olim 43)	wahrscheinlich aus Cod. 5162	Vorderdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz
fol. 58 (olim 43a)	Cod. 3197	Vorderdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz
fol. 60 (olim 43b)	Cod. 3197	Hinterdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz
fol. 62 (olim 44)	wahrscheinlich aus Cod. 5162	Hinterdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz
fol. 69 (olim 29a)	Cod. 3247	Hinterdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz
fol. 70 (olim 29b)	Cod. 3247	Vorderdeckelspiegel mit Ansetzfalz
fol. 77 (olim 32) und fol. 84 (olim 37)	wahrscheinlich aus Cod. 2049	Spiegelblatt
fol. 81	Cod. 5001	Falzverstärkungen

Wie aus dieser Auflistung hervorgeht, fanden die Fragmente bei der Bindung der Trägerbände auf verschiedene Art Verwendung. Es wurden sowohl ganze Blätter als auch kleinere Zuschnitte als Spiegelblätter eingeklebt, breitere Streifen für die Rückenverstärkungen

zugeschnitten und schmale Streifen verschiedener Länge als Verstärkung in den Fälzen verarbeitet. Abgelöste Stücke, für die kein Trägerband bekannt ist (Cod. Ser. n. 2065, fol. 27), zeigen einen kleinen quadratischen Zuschnitt. Sie wurden wohl im Rücken zwischen den Bünden verklebt.

Aus der Verwendung der Blätter der ursprünglichen Handschrift können Informationen über die Einbandwerkstatt von Mondsee gewonnen werden. Es lassen sich verschiedene Vorgehensweisen bei der Verwendung makulierter Blätter erkennen: die Verarbeitung mehrerer Blätter in einem Trägerband und umgekehrt die Verstreuung einzelner Blätter über mehrere Trägerbände. So zeigt beispielsweise Cod. 3816 Fragmente von drei aufeinanderfolgenden Blättern der Paulusbriefe als Spiegelblätter (abgelöst), Rücken- und Falzverstärkungen. Bei Codd. 818, 2996 und 5410 wurden Blätter, die in der Paulusbriefe-Handschrift in größeren Abständen aufeinanderfolgten, jeweils im selben Trägerband verarbeitet. Zum Beispiel wurde in Cod. 2996[20] eine Hälfte eines ursprünglichen Doppelblattes als Spiegelblatt (Cod. Ser. n. 2065, fol. 72) verwendet, die andere Hälfte wurde zu Streifen und kleinen quadratischen Stückchen zerschnitten und in den Fälzen und im Rücken verarbeitet. Dieses Doppelblatt umschloss in der Ursprungshandschrift das mittlere Blatt einer Lage, dessen eine Hälfte ebenfalls in den Fälzen von Cod. 2996 verarbeitet wurde. Außerdem wurden Fragmente von drei weiteren Blättern der Paulusbriefe verwendet (Cod. Ser. n. 2065, fol. 27, 37 und 41). Ein anderes Blatt mit dem Text des ersten Briefs an die Korinther (Cod. Ser. n. 2065, fol. 18 (olim 6c und Fragm. 814-2)) wurde dagegen auf zwei verschiedene Trägerbände aufgeteilt: Cod. 818 und Cod. 5426. Letzterer nahm außerdem die gegenüberliegende Doppelblatthälfte dieses Blattes auf (Cod. Ser. n. 2065, fol. 22), wogegen in der Bindung von Cod. 818 die Fragmente zweier weiterer Blätter (Cod. Ser. n. 2065, fol. 28 und 29) Verwendung fanden. Auch hier

---

20   Neben den Cod. Ser. n. 2065 zuzuordnenden Fragmenten beinhaltet die Handschrift noch ein hebräisches Fragment (http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13974256) sowie einen schmalen Streifen, der den berühmten althochdeutschen Mondseer Fragmenten (Cod. 3093*) zuzuweisen ist, siehe E. Krotz–K. Kaska, „Ein neues Mondseer Fragment", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 145 (2016), 82–88.

ergibt sich eine Verbindung von zwei Trägerbänden, da die zweite Doppelblatthälfte des Blattes Cod. Ser. n. 2065, fol. 28 außerdem Verwendung als Falzverstärkungen in Cod. 3839 fand.

Diese Beobachtungen lassen Rückschlüsse auf die Arbeitsweise in der Mondseer Bindewerkstatt zu: Angenommen werden kann, dass im 15. Jahrhundert eine (Neu-)Bindung einer größeren Anzahl von Handschriften vorgenommen wurde. Für diese benötigte man Makulatur und wählte dafür die Paulusbriefe-Handschrift aus, deren Bindung dazu zunächst aufgelöst wurde, worauf ganze erhaltene Doppelblätter hindeuten. Anschließend wurde der so gewonnene Stapel an Pergamentmakulatur nach und nach bei den Bindearbeiten der Trägerbände verarbeitet. Der Buchbinder folgte bei der Verarbeitung offensichtlich nicht der originalen Abfolge der Blätter: Waren aufeinanderfolgende (bzw. ineinanderfolgende) Doppelblätter gerade passend, fanden sie in einem einzelnem Trägerband Verwendung, blieben Reste von zurechtgeschnittenen (Doppel)Blättern übrig, konnten diese auch erst später an passender Stelle Verwendung finden. In einem nächsten Schritt müssten nun die Mondseer Einbände genauer untersucht werden, um vielleicht durch die Einbandtechnik Hinweise auf näher zusammengehörige Bände einer Buchbindewerkstatt bzw. eines Buchbinders zu gewinnen. Der Einbandschmuck, der in vielen Fällen nur aus Streicheisenlinien besteht, erwies sich bisher jedenfalls als zu wenig aussagekräftig.[21]

Erhaltungszustand

150 Jahre wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung und verschiedene physische Rekonstruktionsversuche führten zu einem unbefriedigenden konservatorischen Zustand von Cod. Ser. n. 2065. Die heutige

---

21   Zu den Einbänden aus Mondsee, die im Rahmen des Projekts noch näher bearbeitet werden, siehe: K. Holter, „Die Buchkunst im Kloster Mondsee" in *Das Mondseeland. Geschichte und Kultur, [Katalog der] Ausstellung des Landes Oberösterreich [in] Mondsee* (Linz, 1981), 185–221 und Katalogteil 451–462; sowie: Ders., „Salzburg, Mondsee, Wilhering. Beiträge zur Geschichte des spätmittelalterlichen Bucheinbandes" in *De libris compactis miscellanea. Bibliotheca Wittockiana* (Brüssel, 1984), 43–62, hier 53. Im Mittelpunkt dieser Publikationen stehen allerdings vor allem die Blindstempeleinbände.

materielle Überlieferungssituation reicht, wie bereits erwähnt, von fast vollständig erhaltenen Doppelblättern über Einzelblätter und mittelgroße bis kleine Stücke bis hin zu dünnen Streifen. Hinzu kommen drei auf Papierblätter abgenommene Leimabklatsche, die zusammen mit den dazugehörigen Pergamentblättern ebenfalls im Konvolut erhalten sind. Vor allem Streifenfragmente sind häufig mit Goldschlägerhaut restauratorisch zu Blättern verbunden und ein Teil der Blätter – teilweise durch angesetzte Papierergänzungen – in einen modernen Einband eingebunden.

Häufig finden sich auch nachträgliche Vermerke auf den Fragmenten selbst: Neben der aktuellen Foliierung gibt es eine ältere Bleistiftfoliierung, die teilweise im 20. Jahrhundert unter etlichen Ergänzungen angebracht wurde. Daneben wurden teilweise mit Tinte oder Bleistift moderne Zitate der jeweiligen Textstelle auf dem Stück selbst oder auf überstehender Goldschlägerhaut angebracht, die zum Teil ungenau oder nicht korrekt sind.

Zu diesen modernen Vermerken treten vielfältige Spuren der ehemaligen Verwendung als Makulatur in Bucheinbänden. Zu ihnen zählen die Signaturen der ehemaligen Trägerbände, die teilweise bereits eingetragen wurden, als sich die als Spiegelblätter verwendeten Fragmente noch in situ befanden. (In anderen Fällen wurden sie erst nach deren Ablösung als nachträglicher Hinweis auf den Trägerband angebracht.) Ehemalige Spiegelblätter weisen in einigen Fällen Rostspuren von den Beschlägen der Trägerbände auf; als Ansetzfälze oder Falzverstärkungen verwendete Stücke zeigen Löcher für die Fäden der Bindung des Trägerbandes. Cod. Ser. n. 2065, [fol. 36](#) (olim 17b) wurde als Spiegelblatt verwendet und zur Eintragung eines Inhaltsverzeichnisses der Trägerhandschrift (Cod. 1370) zur Hälfte palimpsestiert. Teilweise haben aber auch Leimreste und abgeriebene oder durch Abklatsch verloren gegangene Stellen den Text unleserlich gemacht.

Für die Bearbeitung und Digitalisierung der Fragmente wurde der moderne Einband aufgelöst; die restauratorisch durch Anstückung angefügten Papierergänzungen wurden, soweit möglich, entfernt. Mit Goldschlägerhaut verbundene Fragmente wurden im Verband belassen, auch wenn zugehörige Fragmente aufgefunden werden konnten. Sie werden nun ausschließlich digital zusammengefügt.

Rekonstruktion

Für die Rekonstruktion der materiellen und textlichen Struktur der ursprünglichen Handschrift gehen kodikologische und inhaltliche Studien Hand in Hand. Da die Zugehörigkeit der Fragmente zu einer speziellen Überlieferungsgruppe der Paulusbriefe bereits bekannt ist, lassen sich erste Grundannahmen für die Textzusammenstellung treffen. Hauptvertreter dieser Gruppe, die textlich einem speziellen Zweig der norditalienischen Vulgata-Überlieferung angehört, der eng mit der sogenannten Misch-Vulgata verwandt ist,[22] ist die oben bereits erwähnte Handschrift München, BSB, Clm 9544. Sie weist eine ungewöhnliche Abfolge der Paulusbriefe auf:[23] Röm, 1–2 Kor, Gal, Kol, Laod, Eph, Phil, 1–2 Th, 1–2 Tim, Tit, Phlm und Hebr. Ebenfalls dieser Gruppe zugehörig ist eine weitere Mondseer Handschrift aus der ersten Phase der Buchproduktion des Klosters (Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 732, fol. 64–178),[24] die jedoch nur die Briefe Röm, 1 Kor, 2 Th und Phlm überliefert. Ein genauer textlicher Vergleich zeigt, dass Clm 9544 so nahe mit den Fragmenten in Cod. Ser. n. 2065 verwandt ist, dass eine gemeinsame Vorlage angenommen werden kann.[25] Damit ist als Arbeitshypothese zunächst anzunehmen, dass die Abfolge der Briefe in beiden Handschriften dieselbe ist. Tatsächlich ist für die Fragmente in Cod. Ser. n. 2065 aus erhaltenen Briefübergängen die Anordnung der Briefe von Röm bis 2 Tim gesichert. Die Forschung ist hier bisher von einem Ende der Überlieferung mit 1 Tim 5,8 ausgegangen, neu entdeckte Fragmente erweitern die Überlieferung: Im Fall des 1. Timotheusbriefs sind die erhaltenen Verse nun bis 5,21 bekannt (Cod. Ser. n. 2065, [fol. 91](#) (olim Fragm. 1569)). Gänzlich neu ist die Textüberlieferung zum 2. Timotheusbrief, für den die Textstelle 2 Tim 1,1–12 sowie Teile von dessen Kapitelliste (Cod. Ser. n. 2065, [fol. 92](#)) neu aufgefunden wurden und

---

22   Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 160.

23   Siehe zum Text: Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3) 158–160.

24   Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 96, 159; siehe außerdem: CLA X, Nr. 1487 (wie Anm. 4).

25   Beide Handschriften zeigen zudem gleichlautende Korrekturen: Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 158–160 – darüber hinaus äußert sich Frede zum Vorlage-Kopieverhältnis aber nicht; siehe auch: Fröhlich, *Epistula* (wie Anm. 4), 160f.

der Forschung nun ebenfalls via Fragmentarium zugänglich ist.[26] Trotzdem fehlt im Vergleich zur Münchner Handschrift weiterhin jede Spur der anschließenden drei Briefe Tit, Phlm und Hebr, sodass in textlicher Hinsicht zumindest nicht auszuschließen ist, dass die zerschnittene Handschrift mit 2Tim endete.[27] Zusätzlich zu den Texten der Briefe selbst finden sich in Cod. Ser. n. 2065 Fragmente der Capitula und Prologe zu den einzelnen Briefen sowie eine dem Briefkorpus vorangestellte Vorrede, wie sie in gleicher Weise auch in der Münchner Handschrift zu finden sind.[28] Keine Fragmente erhalten haben sich von einem sogenannten Argument zum Römerbrief, das aber trotzdem in der ursprünglichen Handschrift von Cod. Ser. n. 2065 sehr wahrscheinlich vorhanden war. Es tritt in der Regel gemeinsam mit dem Prolog „Primum quaeritur" auf und befindet sich auch in der Münchner Handschrift.[29] Ebenfalls mit einiger Sicherheit auch für die Fragmente rund um Cod. Ser. n. 2065 angenommen werden kann eine – ebenfalls nicht erhaltene – *Concordia epistularum*, nach ihrer Bezeichnung unter anderem in der Münchner Handschrift auch *Capitulatio de omnibus epistulis* genannt. Es handelt sich um eine Art Konkordanz zu 56 Themen des christlichen Glaubens, zu denen die Parallelen in den Paulusbriefen angegeben werden. Diese Konkordanz setzt die Briefreihenfolge, wie sie auch in Cod. Ser. n. 2065 gegeben ist (Kol...Th), voraus[30] und war der Handschrift vorangestellt. Aufgrund dieser inhaltlichen

---

26 Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 97; Fröhlich, *Epistula* (wie Anm. 4), 161.

27 Zu kodikologischen Überlegungen zu dieser Frage siehe unten.

28 Vorrede „Primum quaeritur" s.: Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 159 (hier „PROL Pauli"); Fröhlich, *Epistula* (wie Anm. 4). Diese Vorrede ist der einzige zur Vulgata gehörige Paulus-Prolog; die Reihenfolge der hierin behandelten Briefe ... Phil, Kol, Th ... orientiert sich nicht an deren Chronologie, sondern nach sich steigernder Vollkommenheit der Adressaten. Sie stimmt daher nicht mit der Reihenfolge der Briefe im Text überein, was man bei späteren Rezensionen des Prologs bereits geändert hat. Sie begegnet aber noch im Münchner Textzeugen BSB, Clm 9544 und eben den Paulusbriefe-Fragmenten rund um Cod. Ser. n. 2065, sowie wenigen anderen Handschriften. Siehe hierzu: Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 99–101; siehe auch: A. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul* (Texts and Studies IX, 2, 1926), 3–126.

29 „Romani ex Iudaeis" s. Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 101 (hier „PROL Rm Arg").

30 „De unitate ecclesiae" s. Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 106, 158 (hier „AN conc").

Überlegungen ist es daher wahrscheinlich, dass der ursprüngliche Beginn und das ursprüngliche Ende[31] der Handschrift heute vollständig verloren sind. Dies erschwert in weiterer Folge eine genaue materielle Rekonstruktion der Handschrift.

Insgesamt sind heute 95 Blätter der ursprünglichen Pergamenthandschrift in zumindest einem kleinen Bruchstück erhalten, wobei aus den Fragmenten in Cod. Ser. n. 2065 allein 91 Blatt gebildet werden können. Hinzu kommen drei weitere Blätter, welche fragmentarisch als Rückenverstärkungen in situ in Cod. 3816, als Falzverstärkungen in Cod. 3839 (zwischen ff. 84/85, 139/140 und 176/177) sowie als vorderes Spiegelblatt mit Ansetzfalz in Cod. 1953 erhalten sind.

Die ursprüngliche Blattgröße von mindestens 290 × 188 mm sowie die Zeilenzahl von durchgehend 19 Zeilen kann anhand einiger vollständig erhaltener Blätter eindeutig erfasst werden. Von etlichen weiteren Blättern sind zudem mehrere Einzelteile erhalten und waren auch bereits vor der Bearbeitung durch das Projekt mit Goldschlägerhaut miteinander verbunden. In anderen Fällen konnten weitere Blätter oder Blattteile rekonstruiert werden, teilweise ist es sogar möglich, Blätter fast vollständig aus mehreren Fragmenten zusammenzusetzen. Beispielsweise kann ein fast zur Gänze erhaltenes ursprüngliches Doppelblatt aus Cod. Ser. n. 2065, [fol. 74](#) – das wiederum aus etlichen Streifenfragmenten und einem größeren Blattteil zusammengesetzt werden konnte (darunter auch ehemalige Stücke der Fragmentensammlung: olim Fragm. 778-11 und 778-14) – und drei noch in situ befindlichen Falzstreifen in Cod. 2996 (zwischen fol. 55/56, 67/68 und 151/152) rekonstruiert werden. Auch die Stücke Cod. Ser. n. 2065, [fol. 46](#) (olim 24) und [fol. 47](#) (olim 25) stellen jeweils die oberen zwei Drittel eines Einzelblattes dar und können durch zwei Querstreifen, die in der Rückenverstärkung von Cod. 3816 verarbeitet wurden (noch in situ) zu zwei Blättern vervollständigt werden.[32]

---

31   Wenn man nicht von einem Ende mit 2 Tim ausgehen will.

32   Die zwei so rekonstruierten Blätter waren zwei aufeinanderfolgende Seiten der Ursprungshandschrift. Ein drittes, direkt nachfolgendes Blatt ist repräsentiert durch einen Längs- und einen Querstreifen, die sich ebenfalls als Rückenverstärkungen in Cod. 3816 befinden.

Aus den erhaltenen Blättern und dem bekannten Text, aber auch aus rekonstruierbaren Lagen, kann abgeschätzt werden, wie viele Blätter an den Überlieferungslücken heute in etwa fehlen, woraus wiederum eine ungefähre Abschätzung des ursprünglichen Umfangs abgeleitet werden kann. Aus den Lagenrekonstruktionen im Bereich von besser erhaltenen Teilen der Handschrift kann das Fehlen von 13 Blättern mit einiger Sicherheit festgestellt werden. Aus Rekonstruktionen des Textumfangs gemäß der Überlieferungstradition ergeben sich – vorsichtig geschätzt – mindestens weitere 35–40 fehlende Blätter für den übrigen Text der (vorhandenen) Briefe, die zumeist nur durch Einzelblätter oder kleine Blattteile repräsentiert sind.[33] Daraus ergibt sich inklusive der erhaltenen 95 Blätter – ausgehend von einem Ende mit 2Tim und bei aller gebotenen Vorsicht – ein ursprünglicher Umfang von mindestens 143 Blatt.

Wenn man annimmt, dass die Wiener Handschrift bezüglich der enthaltenen Texte eine genaue Schwesterhandschrift von Clm 9544 ist, fehlen im Anschluss an 2 Tim die Tit, Phlm und Hebr. Für sie wären ca. 23 weitere Blätter zu veranschlagen, wenn, was anzunehmen ist, das Layout gleichbleibt. Zusätzlich fehlen mit ziemlicher Sicherheit, wiederum aus Vergleich mit Clm 9544, zu Beginn der Handschrift ein einleitendes Argument zum Römerbrief,[34] sowie die *Concordia epistularum*.[35] Da hier nicht unbedingt von einem gleichbleibenden Layout auszugehen ist, kann man den Umfang nur grob aus dem Vergleich mit der knapp 170 Blätter[36] umfassenden

---

33 Möglich sind solche Schätzungen durch den Text, da ausgehend von vollständig erhaltenen Blättern mit Hilfe eines Textverarbeitungsprogramms abgeschätzt werden kann, mit wie vielen Zeichen pro Seite bzw. Blatt des Originals gerechnet werden kann. Anschließend kann der Zeichen-Umfang der Fehlstellen im fragmentarisch überlieferten Briefkorpus ermittelt und so errechnet werden, wie viele Blatt zwischen zwei vorhandenen Textstellen in etwa fehlen.

34 Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 101.

35 Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 106.

36 Laut Bernhard Bischof umfasst der Kodex 161 Blatt und ist vollständig erhalten: B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, Teil I: Die bayrischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden 1960), 264. Tatsächlich ist die heute 161 Folia zählende Handschrift nicht vollständig erhalten, da 8 Blätter fehlen, siehe hierzu: Frede, *Epistulae* (wie Anm. 3), 158; sowie: K. Halm

Münchner Handschrift ableiten, die ein ähnliches Format besitzt. Dort umfassen die Texte 6 Blatt.[37]

Für die Wiener Paulusbriefe-Handschrift kann daher ein Umfang von 143+23+6? Blättern, in Summe also circa 170 Blättern, rekonstruiert werden.

Untersuchungen zum genauen ursprünglichen Lagenaufbau gestalten sich schwieriger; in die Überlegungen miteinbezogen werden muss: der Umfang der Fehlstellen auf Grundlage des Textes, die Abfolge von Haar- und Fleischseiten der Pergamentblätter,[38] der angenommene Umfang der Einzellagen und möglicherweise vorhandene Kustoden. Ausgehen kann eine solche Untersuchung nur von erhaltenen Doppelblättern, die einen ersten Anhaltspunkt bieten. Können mehrere Doppelblätter auf- bzw. ineinanderfolgend zusammengelegt werden, ergeben sich daraus Hinweise auf Lagenumfänge. Im vorliegenden Fall war anhand einer vollständig erhaltenen Lage (Lage 12: fol. 36 (olim 17) bis fol. 43 (olim 22)) schnell die Arbeitsthese von durchgehenden Quaternionen aufgestellt. Wichtig hierfür war außerdem, dass dieser vollständige Quaternio auf eine Lage (Lage 11) folgt, von welcher ebenfalls das äußerste Doppelblatt erhalten ist, was den Umfang zusätzlich bestätigt. Durch Schätzungen zur Zahl der zwischen vorhandenen Seiten fehlenden Blätter anhand des Textes konnte die Abfolge der Quaternionen für die Blätter ab fol. 12 (olim 6) rekonstruiert und durch Überprüfung der Abfolge von Haar- und Fleischseiten zusätzlich untermauert werden. Durch erhaltene Kustoden an zwei Lagenenden (auf fol. 25v für Lage 9 und fol. 76v für Lage 17) bestätigte sich diese Rekonstruktion, warf allerdings auch Fragen zur Lagenfolge des ersten Teils vor fol. 12 der ursprünglichen Handschrift auf, für den sich die Überlieferungslage außerdem deutlich schlechter darstellt (nur schätzungsweise ein

---

et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, Bd.: 2,1, Codices num. 8101 – 10930* (München, 1874), 101 Nr. 802.

37   K. Halm et al., *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 34), 101 Nr. 802.

38   Grundsätzlich sind einander jeweils die gleichen Seiten des Pergaments zugewandt, d.h. im aufgeschlagenen Buch sah man entweder zwei Haar- oder zwei Fleischseiten. Darüber hinaus war die erste Recto- und letzte Versoseite der meisten Lagen wohl immer eine Haarseite. Der Lagenaufbau der karolingischen Handschriften des Mondseer Skriptoriums wurde bisher nicht untersucht.

Drittel der Blätter erhalten, davon nur ein Doppelblatt). Hierfür
konnte nicht mehr von Quaternionen ausgegangen werden: Auf-
grund der erhaltenen Kustode 9, welche sich auf dem erhaltenen
Blatt Cod. Ser. n. 2065, fol. 25 (olim 12) befindet, müssen sich da-
vor weitere 8 Lagen befunden haben. Die erhaltenen Teile lassen
hier auf weitere zwei Quaternionen mit der Lagennummer 7 und
8 schließen. Davor müssen sich folglich weitere 6 Lagen befunden
haben, für die aber auch unter Einbeziehung der vermuteten feh-
lenden Blätter, nicht genügend Folios für 6 Quaternionen vorhan-
den gewesen sein können. Aufgrund der geschätzten Blattzahl für
diesen ersten Abschnitt liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass es sich um
Ternionen gehandelt haben muss. Der Verdacht wird erhärtet durch
ein erhaltenes Doppelblatt ([fol. 8](#) (olim 4 und Fragm. 1591-3)/fol. 9
(olim Fragm. 1591-1 und -2)), bei dem es sich um eine Lagenmitte ge-
handelt haben muss, und das sich ausgehend von einer Abfolge von
Ternionen vor Lage 7 tatsächlich als mittleres Doppelblatt der Lage
5 einpassen lässt. Obwohl hier natürlich aufgrund der schlechten
Überlieferungslage Vorsicht geboten ist, erscheint die rekonstruier-
te Lagenfolge in Abstimmung mit dem erhaltenen und vermuteten
Text durchaus schlüssig.

    Betrachtet man nun abermals den aus Quaternionen zusammen-
gesetzten Teil der Handschrift, ergeben sich weitere Unklarheiten
für das Ende der Handschrift, da von der letzten (durch Fragmente
repräsentierten) Lage 20 nur mehr vier Einzelblätter erhalten sind.
Schätzungen zum Umfang des verloren gegangenen Textes – sowohl
der Lücken von 1Tim und 2Tim als auch der nicht repräsentierten
Briefe Tit, Phlm und Hebr – lassen jedoch abermals Rückschlüsse
auf den Lagenaufbau zu: Für den Text der zwei Timotheusbriefe
waren ursprünglich vermutlich weitere sechs Blätter vorhanden,
wovon vier Blätter notwendig sind, um die Lage 20 als Quaternio
zu vervollständigen. Die folglich verbleibenden zwei Blätter der
Timotheusbriefe, legen die Vermutung nahe, dass es eine weitere
Quaternio-Lage 21 gegeben haben muss, deren fehlende 6 Blätter
durch die Briefe an Titus und Philemon, sowie den Beginn des He-
bräerbriefes zu vervollständigen wären. Für den noch ausständigen
Text des Hebräerbriefes, waren schließlich rund 18 weitere Blätter
notwendig, wobei denkbar wäre, dass hierzu zwei Quaternio-Lagen

um angefügte Einzelblätter ergänzt wurden oder, wie so häufig bei Handschriften, die letzte Lage einen anderen Umfang besaß.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich daher ein ursprünglicher Lagenaufbau aus insgesamt 6 Ternionen und anschließend wahrscheinlich 17 Quaternionen vermuten, wobei die Ternio-Lagen sowie die ersten 15 Quaternionen als annähernd gesichert erscheinen. Über den Aufbau des Endes der Handschrift lassen sich dagegen nur Vermutungen anstellen.[39]

Die vorhandenen Fragmente bieten bisher kaum Anhaltspunkte für die Gründe der Makulierung der karolingischen Handschrift im 15. Jahrhundert. Wenn man davon ausgeht, dass es sich bei Cod. Ser. n. 2065 tatsächlich um eine Parallelüberlieferung von Clm 9544 handelt, fällt auf, dass gerade das Ende des Textes durch keine Fragmente repräsentiert ist. Vielleicht war der Kodex schon im Spätmittelalter unvollständig, was möglicherweise auch zur Makulierung führte. Noch zu überprüfen ist, ob vielleicht zu dieser Zeit neue Handschriften oder gedruckte Bände die alte Handschrift der Paulusbriefe ersetzt haben könnten.

Die genaue Erfassung, Beschreibung und Digitalisierung aller Cod. Ser. n. 2065 zugehörigen Blätter bzw. Blattteile, seien es abgelöste Makulaturfragmente, Leimabklatsche oder in situ-Fragmente, erlaubt nun erstmals eine gesamtheitliche Einordnung dieses frühen Produkts des karolingischen Skriptoriums von Mondsee. Durch die inhaltliche und materielle Rekonstruktion im digitalen Raum kann der Forschung ein weiteres Untersuchungsobjekt nicht nur für die Überlieferung der Paulusbriefe im Frühmittelalter, sondern auch für die Erforschung karolingischer Buchproduktion in Österreich zur Verfügung gestellt werden.

---

39 Würde man aufgrund dieser Vermutungen noch den Schritt zu einer Lagenformel wagen, sähe diese unter Berücksichtigung des unklaren Schlussteils (kursiv) wie folgt aus: $(6.\mathrm{III})^{36} + (15.\mathrm{IV})^{156} + (2.IV)^{172}$.

Anhang: Gesamtzusammenstellung der Fragmente

Im Folgenden wird eine Gesamtzusammenstellung aller erhaltenen Fragmente der Paulusbriefe-Handschrift rund um Cod. Ser. n. 2065 gegeben, die nicht nur alle Stücke dieses Konvoluts auflistet, die repräsentierten Textstellen wiedergibt und die jeweils an anderer Stelle erhaltenen Fragmente beiordnet. Die Liste ist nach repräsentierten Einzelblättern geordnet, die vorangestellte Nummerierung bezieht sich daher auf die jeweils – zumindest in einem kleinen Bruchstück – erhaltenen Blätter. Es folgt die Signatur des jeweiligen Fragments, handelt es sich dabei um ein Stück im Konvolut Cod. Ser. n. 2065 wird – sofern nicht anders angegeben—nur dessen Folionummer zitiert. Am Ende der Tabelle sind Stücke, welche zwar als Bruchstück der Paulusbrief-Handschrift identifiziert werden konnten, deren genaue Textstelle jedoch unklar bleibt, zusätzlich aufgelistet.

Blätter	**Signatur**	**Inhalt**
	(sofern nicht anders angegeben beziehen sich die Folionummern auf Cod. Ser. n. 2065!)	
1	fol. 1, olim I	*Praefatio in epistulas Pauli* (Prolog *Primum quaeritur*);
2	fol. 2, olim II	*Praefatio in epistulas Pauli* (Prolog *Primum quaeritur*);
3	fol. 3r, olim 1	Kapitelliste zum Brief des Paulus an die Römer (Frede, KA A (De Bruyne M)), (3v) *Praefatio* und Röm 1,1–3;
4	fol. 4, olim Fragm. 782-1	Röm 1,4–13;
5	fol. 5, olim Fragm. 1632-1	Röm 1,14–17, Röm 1,21–23 (nur einzelne Silben vorhanden);
6	fol. 6, olim 2	Röm 3,12–13, Röm 3,19;
7	fol. 7, olim 3	Röm 5,15–16, Röm 6,2–4 (beide Seiten mit stark beschnittenem Rest der jeweils zweiten Spalte);

8	fol. 8, olim 4 und Fragm. 1591-3	Röm 8,30–39, Röm 9,1–5;
9	fol. 9, olim Fragm. 1591-1 und -2	Röm 9,6–8, Röm 9,10–12, Röm 9,14–21;
10	fol. 10, olim 5	Röm 11,26–12,4;
11	fol. 11, olim Fragm. 1569	Röm 14,4–6, Röm 14,8–11 (starker Textverlust);
12	fol. 12, olim 6	Röm 15,8–22 (mit Textlücken);
13	fol. 13, olim Fragm. 856a-1 und a-6	Röm 16,5-20;
14	fol. 14, olim 6a	Röm 16,21–27, Kapitelliste zum 1. Brief des Paulus an die Korinther (Frede, KA A);
15	fol. 15, olim 6b	Kapitelliste zum 1. Brief des Paulus an die Korinther (Frede, KA A);
16	fol. 16, olim Fragm. 856a-2	1 Kor 1,17-2,2 (leichter Textverlust);
17	fol. 17, olim Fragm. 856a-3, -4, -5	1 Kor 2,3–9, 1 Kor 2,10–3,1 (leichter Textverlust);
18	fol. 18, olim 6c und Fragm. 814-2	1 Kor 3,1–18;
19	fol. 19, olim 7	1 Kor 3,18–4,9;
20	fol. 20, olim 8	1 Kor 4,9–5,3;
21	fol. 21, olim 8a und 9	1 Kor 6,19–7,15;
22	fol. 22, olim 10 und 10A	1 Kor 7,15–30;
23	fol. 23, olim 11	1 Kor 8,4–9,6;
24	fol. 24, olim 11a	1 Kor 9,6–9,19 (Textverlust);
25	fol. 25, olim 12	1 Kor 12,11–14, 1 Kor 12,23–27 (leichter Textverlust);
26	Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 3839: Streifenfragmente in situ zw. ff. 84/85, 139/140 und 176/177	1 Kor 14,2–12 (nur einzelne Zeilen vorhanden);
27	fol. 26, olim 13	1 Kor 14,28–36, 1 Kor 14,39–15,6;
28	fol. 27, olim Fragm. 778-7, -8, -9 und -10	1 Kor 15,10–12, 1 Kor 15,15–16, 1 Kor 15,20–22, 1 Kor 15,24–25 (mit schwerem Textverlust; fol. 27-1 und -3 = Innenspalte, fol. 27-2 und -4 = Außenspalte);
29	fol. 28, olim 23a	1 Kor 15,26–42 (Textverlust);

30	fol. 29, olim Fragm. 814-1 [= Außenspalte] und Fragm. 1578 [= Innenspalte]	1 Kor 15,43–16,1 (Textverlust);
31	Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 1953: VDS mit Ansetzfalz in situ	1 Kor 16,2–16 (mit Textlücken);
32	fol. 30, olim 13a	1 Kor 16,18–24, Kapitelliste zum 2. Brief des Paulus an die Korinther (Frede, KA A);
33	fol. 31, olim 14 + Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 3781: ein Rest des Ansetzfalzes, der nach der Ablösung des Spiegelblattes in situ im Trägerband verblieben ist zwischen ff. 12/13	Kapitelliste zum 2. Brief des Paulus an die Korinther (Frede, KA A; Textverlust)
34	fol. 32, olim 15 + Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 3781: ein Rest des Ansetzfalzes, der nach der Ablösung des Spiegelblattes in situ im Trägerband verblieben ist, befindet sich zwischen ff. 402/403	2 Kor 1,1–12;
35	fol. 33, olim 16 + Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 3781: ein Rest des Ansetzfalzes (wie fol. 32)	2 Kor 3,1–3,5, 2 Kor 3,13–3,17;
36	fol. 34, olim 17 + Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 3781: ein Rest des Ansetzfalzes (wie fol. 31)	2 Kor 3,18–4,2 und stark beschnittener Rest der rechten Spalte: 2 Kor 4,2–5, (verso:) 2 Kor 4,9–13 und stark beschnittener Rest der linken Spalte: 2 Kor 4,5–8;
37	fol. 35, olim 17a	2 Kor 4,13–10 (Textverlust);
38	fol. 36, olim 17b	2 Kor 5,10–16, 2 Kor 5,18–6,3 (teilweise palimpsestiert);
39	fol. 37, olim 778-1	2 Kor 6,4–17 (Textverlust);
40	fol. 38, olim 18	2 Kor 6,18–7,11 (stark berieben);
41	fol. 39, olim 19	2 Kor 7,11–16, 2 Kor 8,1–7 (leichter Textverlust, stark berieben);
42	fol. 40, olim 20	2 Kor 8,7–22 (stark berieben);
43	fol. 41, olim Fragm. 778-2, -3 und -4	2 Kor 8,22–9,10 (Textverlust);
44	fol. 42, olim 21	2 Kor 9,10–10,8 (Textverlust);

45	fol. 43, olim 22	2 Kor 10,10–11,4 (Textverlust);
46	fol. 44, olim 23	2 Kor 11,6–22 (Textverlust und auf einer Seite stark berieben);
47	fol. 45, olim 23a2	2 Kor 11,23–28, 2 Kor 11,33–12,4 (Textverlust und auf einer Seite stark berieben);
48	fol. 46, olim 24 + Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 3816: ein Querstreifen als Rückenverstärkung in situ	2 Kor 12,5–17 (Textverlust);
49	fol. 47, olim 25 + Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 3816: ein Querstreifen als Rückenverstärkung in situ	2 Kor 12,18–21, 2 Kor 13,1–9 (Textverlust);
50	Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 3816: ein Lang- und ein Querstreifen als Rückenverstärkung in situ	2 Kor 13,9–13 (Textverlust);
51	fol. 48	Kapitelliste zum Brief des Paulus an die Galater (Frede, KA A bzw. Stegmüller, RB 8684; nur wenige Silben vorhanden);
52	fol. 49, olim 25a und Fragm. 1612	Kapitelliste zum Brief des Paulus an die Galater (Frede, KA A bzw. Stegmüller, RB 8684), Gal 1,1–13 (Textverlust);
53	fol. 50, olim 25b und Fragm. 1612	Gal 1,13–2,5 (Textverlust);
54	fol. 51, olim 25c und Fragm. 828-1	Gal 2,5–16 (leichter Textverlust);
55	fol. 52, olim 25d	Gal 2,17–3,3, Gal 3,5–12 (Textverlust);
56	fol. 53, olim 26	Gal 5,9–11, Gal 5,13–14, Gal 5,17–19, Gal 5,21–22 (nur einzelne Wörter vorhanden);
57	fol. 54, olim 26a	Gal 5,24–6,14 (Textverlust und stark berieben);
58	fol. 55, olim 26b	Gal 6,15–18, Kapitelliste zum Brief des Paulus an die Kolosser (Frede, KA A) (schwerer Textverlust);

59	fol. 56, olim 43, 45 und 46	Kapitelliste zum Brief des Paulus an die Kolosser, Kol 1,1–8 (Textverlust und stark berieben), hiervon enthält fol. 56-2 (olim 46) die Kapitelliste und den Text Kol. 1,3 und fol. 56-3 (olim 45) die Kapitelliste und den Text Kol. 1,7–8;
60	fol. 57, olim H	Kol. 1,11–18 (Textverlust);
61	fol. 58, olim 43a	Kol 1,22–2,6 (Textverlust);
62	fol. 59	Kol 2,12–17 (nur einzelne Buchstaben vorhanden);
63	fol. 60, olim 43b	Kol 2,21–3,5, Kol 3,7–14 (Textverlust);
64	fol. 61, olim 27	Kol 3,14–4,6 (Textverlust);
65	fol. 62, olim 44	Kol 4,7–18, Laod 1,1–2 (Textverlust);
66	fol. 63, olim 30	Laod 1,6–15, hiervon enthält der Einzelstreifen fol. 63-7 den Text Laod 1,9–10, der im Wort *unianimes* direkt anschließt: [*uniani*]*mes. Ergo, dilectissimi, ut audistis praesentia mei* (Versoseite unleserlich);
67	fol. 64, olim 27b	Laod 1,16–20, Kapitelliste zum Brief des Paulus an die Epheser (schwerer Textverlust);
68	fol. 65, olim 28	Eph 1,13–2,4;
69	fol. 66, olim 28a	Eph 2,4–19 (Textverlust);
70	fol. 67	Eph 2,20–3,15 (Textverlust);
71	fol. 68, olim 29	Eph 3,16–19, Eph 4,7–11 (Textverlust);
72	fol. 69, olim 29a	Eph 4,26–5,8 (Textverlust);
73	fol. 70, olim 29b	Eph 5,9–28 (Textverlust und auf der Rectoseite stark berieben);
74	fol. 71 + Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 3247: zwei Streifenfragmente in situ zw. ff. 159/160	Eph 5,29–32, Eph 6,9–12 (Textverlust);
75	fol. 72	Eph 6,12–24, Kapitelliste zum Brief des Paulus an die Philipper (leichter Textverlust);

76	fol. 73, olim Fragm. 778-12	Kapitelliste zum Brief des Paulus an die Philipper (Frede, KA A bzw. Stegmüller, RB 8688), Phil 1,5–6 (nur wenige Wörter vorhanden);
77	fol. 74, olim Fragm. 778-11 und -14 + Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2996: drei Streifenfragmente in situ zw. ff. 55/56, 67/68 und 151/152	Phil 1,25–2,2, Phil 2,2–12 (leichter Textverlust), das gesamte Blatt setzt sich zusammen aus mehreren abgelösten Falzstreifen, die in zwei Gruppen auf Goldschlägerhaut aufgebracht wurden (fol. 74-1 und 74-2), zwei Kleinfragmenten (74-3 und -4, olim Fragm. 778-11 und -14), einem Fortsatz an fol. 72 (fol. 74-5);
78	fol. 75	Phil 2,12–15, Phil 2,25–27 (nur einzelne Buchstaben vorhanden);
79	fol. 76, olim 31	Phil 2,29–3,13 (leichter Textverlust);
80	fol. 77, olim 32	Phil 3,14–4,8;
81	fol. 78 und 78a, olim 33 und 33a	Phil 4,8–23, Kapitelliste zum 1. Brief des Paulus an die Thessalonicher (Frede, KA A), bei fol. 78a (olim 33a) handelt es sich um einen auf Papier abgenommen Leimabklatsch der Versoseite des Blattes);
82	fol. 79, olim 34	Kapitelliste zum 1. Brief des Paulus an die Thessalonicher;
83	fol. 80, olim Fragm. 828-2	Ende der Kapitelliste zum 1. Brief des Paulus an die Thessalonicher und 1 Th 1,8–10 (nur einzelne Buchstaben vorhanden);
84	fol. 81	1 Th 2,5–13 (schwerer Textverlust);
85	fol. 82 und 82a, olim 35 und 34a	1 Th 2,14–3,7 (bei fol. 82a (olim 34a) handelt es sich um einen auf Papier abgenommen Leimabklatsch der Versoseite des Blattes);
86	fol. 83 und 83a, olim 36 und 35a	1 Th 3,7–4,9 (bei fol. 83a (olim 35a) handelt es sich um einen auf Papier abgenommen Leimabklatsch der Rectoseite des Blattes);
87	fol. 84, olim 37	1 Th 4,9–5,7;
88	fol. 85	1 Th 5,7–11, 1 Th 5,23–28 (schwerer Textverlust);

89	fol. 86, olim 38	2 Th 2,14–3,14 (schwerer Textverlust);
90	fol. 87, olim 39	2 Th 3,14–18, Kapitelliste zum 1. Brief des Paulus an Timotheus (Frede, KA A);
91	fol. 88, olim 40	1 Tim 2,5–12, 2,14–3,7 (Textverlust);
92	fol. 89, olim 41	1 Tim 3,8–4,6 (Textverlust);
93	fol. 90, olim 42	1 Tim 4,7–5,7 (Textverlust);
94	fol. 91, olim Fragm. 1569	1 Tim 5,8–21 (leichter Textverlust);
95	fol. 92	Kapitelliste zum 2. Brief des Paulus an Timotheus, 2 Tim 1,1–12 (leichter Textverlust).
–	Hinzu kommen mehrere unidentifizierte Streifenfragmente in Cod. Ser. n. 2065: unidentifiziert-1; unidentifiziert-2; unidentifiziert-3; unidentifiziert-4; unidentifiziert-5 (olim Fragm. 778-5); unidentifiziert-6 (olim Fragm. 778-6); unidentifiziert-7 (olim Fragm. 778-13); unidentifiziert-8 (olim Fragm. 828-3); unidentifiziert-9 (olim Fragm. 828-4), unidentifiziert-10 und -11 (beide olim Fragm. 1569); sowie einige unbeschriebene Streifen: leer-1; leer-2; leer-3; leer-4; leer-5; leer-6 (olim Fragm. 1591-4); leer-7 (olim Fragm. 1591-5); leer-8 (olim Fragm. 1591-6); leer-9 (olim Fragm. 1591-7); leer-10 (olim Fragm. 1591-8).
–	Außerdem befinden sich leere Falzstreifen und solche, auf denen nur Reste einzelner Buchstaben erkennbar sind in Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 5001 zw. ff. 6/7, 54/55 und 77/78 sowie in Cod. 5426 zw. ff. 13/14.

Manuscript Fragments in the University and Provincial Library of Tyrol at Innsbruck

Claudia Sojer, Department of History and European Ethnology, University of Innsbruck; University and Provincial Library of Tyrol

claudia.sojer@uibk.ac.at

Walter Neuhauser (†), University and Provincial Library of Tyrol*

Abstract: This article presents an overview of the current state of knowledge concerning detached and in situ fragments in the collection of the University and Provincial Library of Tyrol (ULB Tyrol). The detached fragments were removed in several different phases from manuscripts and printed volumes, and, at the turn of the twentieth century, were assembled in a separate collection, which now numbers 233 shelfmarks, some of which contain as many as 26 individual pieces. A current Austrian National Bank project is underway to publish images and descriptions on *Fragmentarium*. Among in situ fragments, only those in manuscript codices have been described, namely in the ten-volume ULB Tyrol manuscript catalogue, but they represent only part of the holdings of fragments. Nevertheless, these 390 fragments contained in some 302 manuscripts provide an overview of the range of material in the collection, and the promise held by the larger collection.

Keywords: Fragments, University and Provincial Library of Tyrol, Manuscripts, Binder's Waste, Provenance, Bookbinding

1. Introduction

The great majority of fragments known today were not created by cutting individual leaves out of manuscripts, whether for their retail value in the art trade or perhaps because of the poor condition

---

* *Hofrat* Dr. Walter Neuhauser, who passed away on 22 October 2016, left extensive drafts of this article. Claudia Sojer elaborated it in its present form and is solely responsible for the notes and bibliography. The article was translated into English by Thomas Stockinger. A slightly abbreviated version, with an

of a page. Rather, they are the product of the destruction and reuse of entire codices, ones that were no longer needed or considered unimportant. These could be materials deteriorated by long and heavy use, for example in the case of liturgical works such as missals and breviaries. In these cases, the Council of Trent played a major role through the general introduction of the Roman Missal and Breviary in place of the previously habitual use of specific diocesan texts, such as the *Missale Brixinense* and the *Breviarium Brixinense* in Tyrol. Unfinished copies, exemplified by a missal fragment in Cod. 661, and draft or practice writings not intended for future use, like the psalms in Cod. 662, were also prime candidates for reuse. Schoolbooks were likewise continuously being replaced, resulting in frequent transmission as fragments for works like Aelius Donatus's *Ars maior* and *Ars minor*, the foremost school grammars of the Middle Ages.

Charters, especially copies with probative value only for a limited duration, such as commercial agreements, were likewise used as waste in the bindings of new manuscripts or incunabula, be it as pastedowns on the inside covers, as flyleaves protecting the first page of text, or as binding strips sewn in for strengthening. Many interesting texts of charters have been preserved only as fragments. In Tyrol, this concerns mainly charters of the monasteries of Stams, Schnals, and Wilten, from both the high and the late Middle Ages.

Another decisive factor in selecting manuscripts for reuse was the legibility of the writing, rooted in the current owners' inability to read older scripts, often combined with a lack of language comprehension. Censorship was also an essential influence, especially in the period of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, in situations such as the suppression of monastic institutions in Protestant areas. Similar attitudes extended into the Modern period, particularly during the Enlightenment. Later, the dissolution of monasteries also played a key part, though by this time it was mainly

---

emphasis on detached manuscript fragments, will appear in German at the end of 2020 in a collective volume (ed. Claudia Schretter-Picker and Anna Pinter) on the manuscript holdings of the ULB Tyrol, analyzing and presenting the results of decades of manuscript cataloguing work from a thematic perspective.

no longer manuscripts but printed books, such as prayer books and other devotional and edifying works, that were removed, sold off, or forbidden, and therefore reused for their materials.

Technological change, particularly the introduction of printing, caused a particularly intense wave of reuse, as printing often led to the end of manuscript transmission, not only because new works were distributed only in print, but also because older works were replaced by printed copies and the manuscript versions were seen as unimportant and thus disposed of. A good example is provided by the abbey of Stams, where around the year 1600 Father Wolfgang Lebersorg (1570/71–1646)[1] began a new library catalogue, into which he entered only those manuscripts of works of which the abbey did not possess printed copies. Printed texts were frequently seen as more reliable and even as more authentic.

2 Fragments at the ULB Tyrol

The University and Provincial Library of Tyrol (ULB Tyrol) holds manuscript fragments both in detached condition and in situ.[2] The fragments removed from manuscripts and printed volumes were put into a separate collection at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century[3] and assigned shelfmarks

---

1 "Lebersorg, Wolfgang", in *Biographia Cisterciensis*, http://www.zisterzienser-lexikon.de/wiki/Lebersorg,_Wolfgang.

2 A concise compilation of data on the in situ fragments (and on later, self-contained texts written on binding materials) contained in the ten volumes of the catalogue is available as a PDF document on the department's homepage: https://www.uibk.ac.at/ulb/sondersammlungen/2.1.1.2-fragmente.html.

3 See for example A.E. Schönbach, "Altdeutsche Funde aus Innsbruck I–VII", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Litteratur* 33 (1889), 339–394; A.E. Schönbach, "Altdeutsche Funde aus Innsbruck XII: Aus einer Über-setzung Petrarcas", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Litte-ratur* 35 (1891), 227–237; *Ekkehards Waltharius*, ed. K. Strecker, Berlin 1907; K. Strecker, "Neues zum Waltharius", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 69 (1932), 113–122; K. Strecker, "Neue Fragmente der Inns-brucker Walthariushandschrift", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deut-sche Literatur* 73 (1937), 261–268; *Waltharius*, ed. K. Strecker, trans. P. Vossen, Berlin 1947, reprint Berlin 1987; K. Strecker, *Die lateinischen Dichter des deut-schen Mittelalters VI. Nachtrag zu den Poetae aevi Carolini*, Berlin 1951, 8–9;
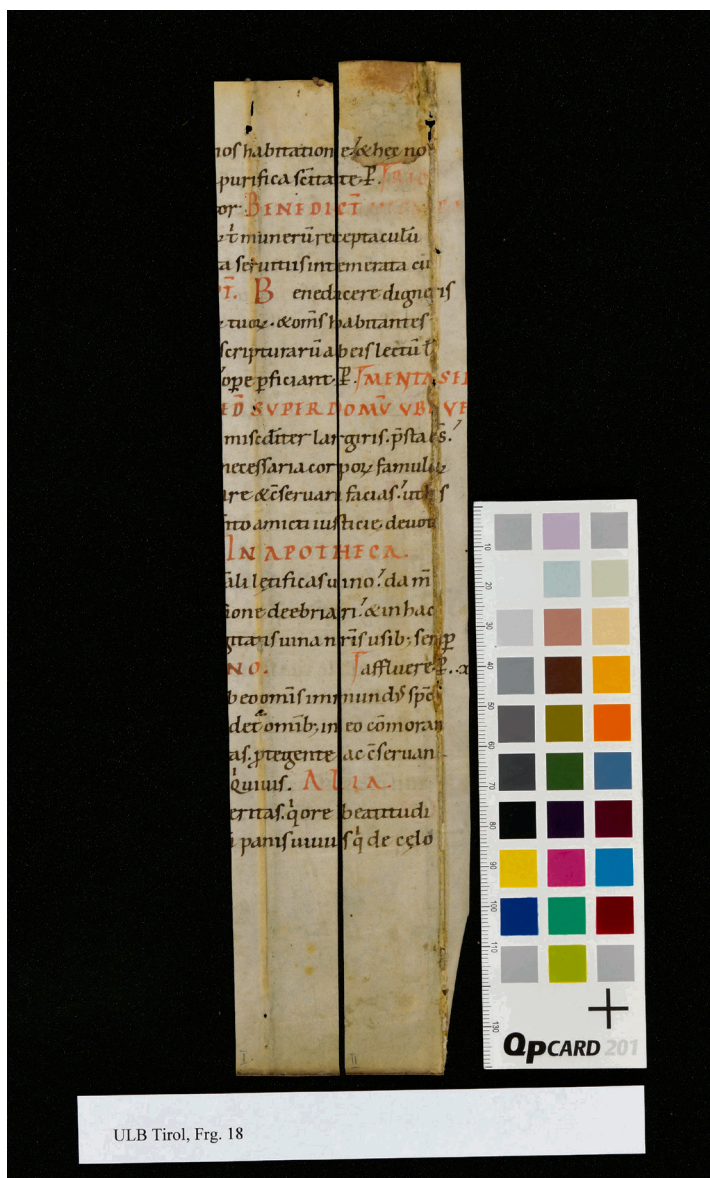
ULB Tirol, Frg. 18

Figure 1: ULB Tirol, Frg. 18_1–2 [F-4w1b], Formulas for the Sunday blessing of monastic rooms, eleventh century, © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol
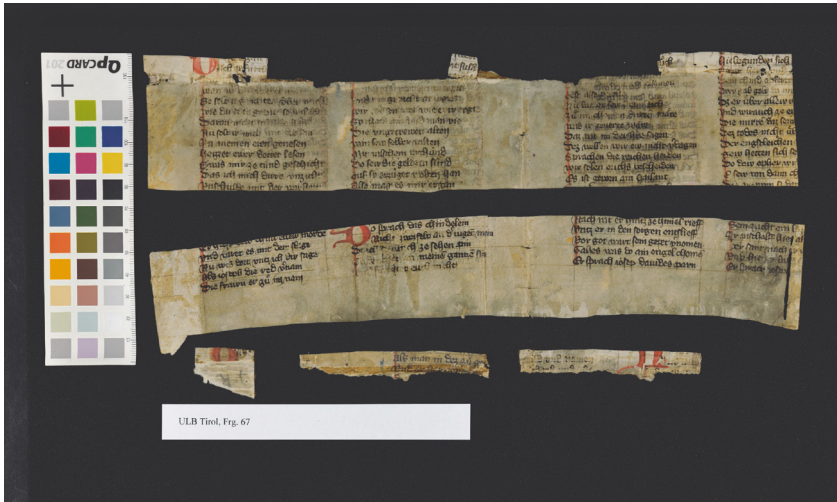
Figure 2: ULB Tirol, Frg. 67 [F-nodw], Konrad of Fußesbrunnen: The Child-hood of Jesus, late fourteenth century, © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol

from 1 to 90. In addition, a large number of other detached fragments were kept in folders. In the 1980s, Sieglinde Sepp reviewed these fragments, arranged them by subject categories, and gave them shelfmarks (A1–E40).[4] Outside of an internal typewritten inventory, the detached fragments are largely uncatalogued. They are currently being processed by an Austrian National Bank project (timeframe: October 2018 to November 2020), which aims to publish images and descriptions of them on *Fragmentarium*.[5]

W. von Zingerle, "Ein Tristan-Fragment in Tirol", Romanische Forschungen 10/4 (1897), 475–486; A. Zingerle, "Ein berühmter Elefant", *Wiener Zeitung. Feuilleton* (15.04.1893); A. Zingerle, "Fragmente des sogenannten Hegesippus in der Universitätsbibliothek in Innsbruck", *Anzeiger der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 11 (1894), 41–43; A. Zingerle, "Übersicht über philologische Handschriften aus tirolischen Bibliotheken", *Commentationes Aenipontanae* 4 (1909), 1–4.

4   Following the guidelines set by the Commission for Book and Library History of the Austrian Association of Librarians between 1983 and 1985; see W. Neuhauser, "Die Bearbeitung von Fragmenten an österreichischen Bibliotheken", *Biblos* 35 (1986), 352–371.

5   In what follows, the *Fragmentarium* ID is included for these objects, although as of the publication of this article (December 2019), they have not yet been published; when they are published, it is planned that the links will be added

The ULB Tyrol has fragments in situ in both manuscript codices and early printed books. The catalogue of manuscripts documents only those fragments held in situ in manuscripts at the ULB Tyrol. In comparison to a specific description form for fragments, such as that offered by *Fragmentarium*, this information is often rather limited. The detail of the description varies according to the person responsible for dealing with the manuscript and the method of description used at the time each catalogue volume was produced (1987–2017). Sometimes descriptions are only a few lines, but sometimes they are complete, with current and original dimensions, dating, script type, incipit and desinit or identification of the contents. These discussions form the basis for the quantitative discussion below.[6] There is no documentation of the manuscript fragments in situ in printed books, with rich deposits to be expected especially in the incunables.[7]

---

to this article. For more details on the project, see https://www.uibk.ac.at/ulb/sondersammlungen/projekt-abgeloeste-fragmente.html; C. Sojer, "Die abgelösten Handschriftenfragmente der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol und ihre digitale Erschließung", *b. i. t. online - Bibliothek. Information. Technologie*, 22/4 (2019), 290–296. https://www.b-i-t-online.de/heft/2019-04-index.php and https://www.b-i-t-online.de/heft/2019-04-fachbeitrag-sojer.pdf.

6   W. Neuhauser, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck, Teil 1: Codices 1–100*, Wien 1987; W. Neuhauser, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck, Teil 2: Cod. 101–200*, Wien 1991; G. Kompatscher, with W. Neuhauser, S. Sepp, and E. Ramminger, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck, Teil 3: Cod. 201–300*, Wien 1999; W. Neuhauser and L. Šubarić, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck, Teil 4: Cod. 301–400*, Wien 2005; W. Neuhauser, with D. Mairhofer, M. Rossini, C. Schretter et al., *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck, Teil 5: Cod. 401–500*, Wien 2008; W. Neuhauser, with D. Mairhofer, C. Schretter, U. Stampfer et al., *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck, Teil 6: Cod. 501–600*, Wien 2009; W. Neuhauser, with P. Ausserlechner, C. Schretter, U. Stampfer et al., *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tyrol in Innsbruck, Teil 7: Cod. 601–700*, Wien 2011; W. Neuhauser, with P. Ausserlechner, A. Ohlenschläger, C. Schretter, U. Stampfer et al., *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tyrol in Innsbruck, Teil 8: Cod. 701–800*, Wien 2014; W. Neuhauser, with P. Ausserlechner, H. Gritsch, P. Kennel, A. Ohlenschläger, C. Schretter-Picker, U. Stampfer et al., *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tyrol in Innsbruck, Teil 9: Cod. 801–950*, Wien 2015; W. Neuhauser, with H. Gritsch, P. Kennel, R. Neyer, A. Ohlenschläger, A. Pinter, C. Schretter-Picker et al., *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tyrol in Innsbruck, Teil 10: Cod. 951–1198*, Wien 2017.

7   The only exceptions are the musical manuscript fragments formerly contained in incunables from the library of the Augustinian canonry of Neustift near

2.1 Quantitative Information

Overall, some 390 in situ fragments contained in 302 manuscripts are documented at present in the manuscript collections of the ULB Tyrol. The major provenances of these manuscripts are the Cistercian abbey of Stams (147), the Mount of Angels (*Allerengelberg*) Charterhouse in the Schnals Valley (91), the Premonstratensian abbey of Wilten in Innsbruck (13), the Jesuit College at Hall (10), and the Augustinian canonry of Neustift near Brixen (8), with 33 manuscripts coming from other prior owners. Other cases concern self-contained texts written on binding materials, usually on pastedowns or flyleaves, that do not form part of the main manuscript, but are entered there after the binding was made, such as notes, mnemonic verses, calculations, etc. These are not fragments in the strict sense. They are of course described in the catalogue, but not referred to as 'fragments'.[8] The major part of the in situ fragments come from liturgical books, charters, or schoolbooks.

Most of these fragments are handwritten text, while only nine manuscripts contain fragments of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century printed material (Cod. 234, 330, 362, 422, 632, 716, 719, 840, 1040). Some of these are not identifiable, because they are too small or because they are pasted over (Cod. 362, 716, and 840). Cod. 330 contains an eighteenth-century text in Italian, Cod. 422 a fragment of the 1581 Frankfurt edition of Marx Rumpolt's cookbook. Cod. 719 is bound in waste pasted together from leaves taken from Leonhart Fuchs's *Num morbifica aliqua de Galeni sententia sit causa continens*

Brixen, which are included in a project by Dr. Giulia Gabrielli and her team at the Free University of Bolzano. They will be published with the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, presumably in 2020.

8   About these "occasional microtexts" (*microtesti avventizi*), which differ from fragments primarily in that something new is inserted into something old, and not vice versa, as is usually the case with fragments, see A. Petrucci, "Spazi di scrittura e scritte avventizie nel libro altomedievale", in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo, Settimana di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo XLVI, 16–21 aprile 1998, tomo secondo*, ed. Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 1999, 981–1010. Petrucci examined the microtexts in codices of the sixth–ninth centuries, i.e. which kind of microtexts occur in which codices (contents). The phenomenon for the period after the ninth century therefore remains largely unexplored.

disceptatio, printed at Basle in 1557. Cod. 234 and Cod. 1040 contains fragments of printed missals, Cod. 632 printed psalms.

25 of these fragments (all parchment) have since been detached and added to the fragment collection, with only traces of their presence visible in the codices (see List 1).[9] Another 15 fragments are visible only as offsets left in the places where they were once used and are for the most part not further identifiable. These offsets are in Cod. 23, 30, 39, and 113 (psalms); Cod. 274 and 281 (prayer books?); Cod. 289 (account book); Cod. 290 and 316 (notes from Stams about deliveries of wine); Cod. 391 (Rudolf of Ems); Cod. 476 and 563 (German charters?); Cod. 660, 712, 758, 953 (grammars?).

Table 1: Detached fragments, some still visible as offsets in the codices formerly containing them, now in the collection of detached manuscript fragments (all are parchment fragments)

Host Cod.	Provenance	Place of Origin	Date	Subject	Contents	Shelfmark	ID
9	Stams	Kempten?	ca. 1440	Hist.	2 charters of abbot Pilgrim of Kempten	E32	F-o2h5
22	Stams	Stams	1439	Hist.	Charters from Stams	E33–E34	F-17a6 F-hotw
152	Schnals	Schnals	1409	Hist.	Charter from Schnals	E12	F-vfzz
212	Stams	Stams?	1423	Hist.	Charter from Stams	E9	F-sbh4
223	Schnals	Tyrol?	IX ⅔	Theol.	*Benedictio maior salis et aquae*	24	F-o56h
231	SJ Hall	Cologne?	XII	Theol.	Antiphoner	A8	F-xked
237	SJ Hall	Cologne?	XII	Theol.	Antiphoner	A6	F-gmuz
277	unknown	Sonnenburg in Pustertal / South Tyrol?	XII/XIII	Mhd.	Williram of Ebersberg	62	F-uidi

9   The abbreviated subject categories may be resolved as follows: Gram. = Grammar, Hebr. = , Hebrew; Hist. = Historiography; Kom. = Commentary; Lit. = Literary Texts; Mhd. = *Mittelhochdeutsch* (Middle High German); Theol. = Theology. ID indicates the *Fragmentarium* ID.

Host Cod.	Prove-nance	Place of Origin	Date	Sub-ject	Contents	Shelf-mark	ID
302	Stams	Northern France	XII/XIII	Theol.	Antiphoner	A4	F-c2u4
310	Stams	Southern Germany?	XII	Lit.	Ovid, Tristia	B7	F-zjhp
348	Stams	France	ca. 1300	Mhd.	Rudolf of Ems	65_6	F-ht26
365	Schnals	Tyrol	1366	Hist.	Charter from Stams	E4	F-m1tq
393	Stams	Baumgar-ten	ca. 1300	Mhd.	Rudolf of Ems	65_10	F-ht26
432	Stams	Lower Austria?	XIII	Kom.	Commentary on Aelius Donatus	48	F-351r
435	SJ Hall	Cologne	ca. XIII	Hebr.	Prayers (Sid-dur / Maḥzor)	A18	F-gew4
436	Schnals	Schnals?	1427	Hist.	Charter for Schnals	E20	F-xbmi
436	Schnals	Schnals?	1366	Hist.	Charter	35	F-uag4
450	Stams	Kauf-beuren or Kais-heim?	XV	Hist.	Charter from Kaufbeuren	E21	F-7had
454	Stams	Prague	XIII	Gram.	Latin grammar	47	F-h4fs
475	Schnals	Salzburg	XIII and XIV	Litur-gy	2 liturgical texts on the same leaf, one with neumes	30	F-40kw
481	Schnals	Schnals	1360	Hist.	Charter from Schnals	E5	F-lhou
649	Stams	Stams	ca. 1300	Mhd.	Rudolf of Ems	65_8–9	F-ht26
652	Stams	Carinthia or Bavari-an-Austri-an region ?	ca. 1300	Mhd.	Rudolf of Ems	65_7	F-ht26
933	Stams	Stams	XV	Hist.	Charter regarding Mariathal	E22	F-7r28
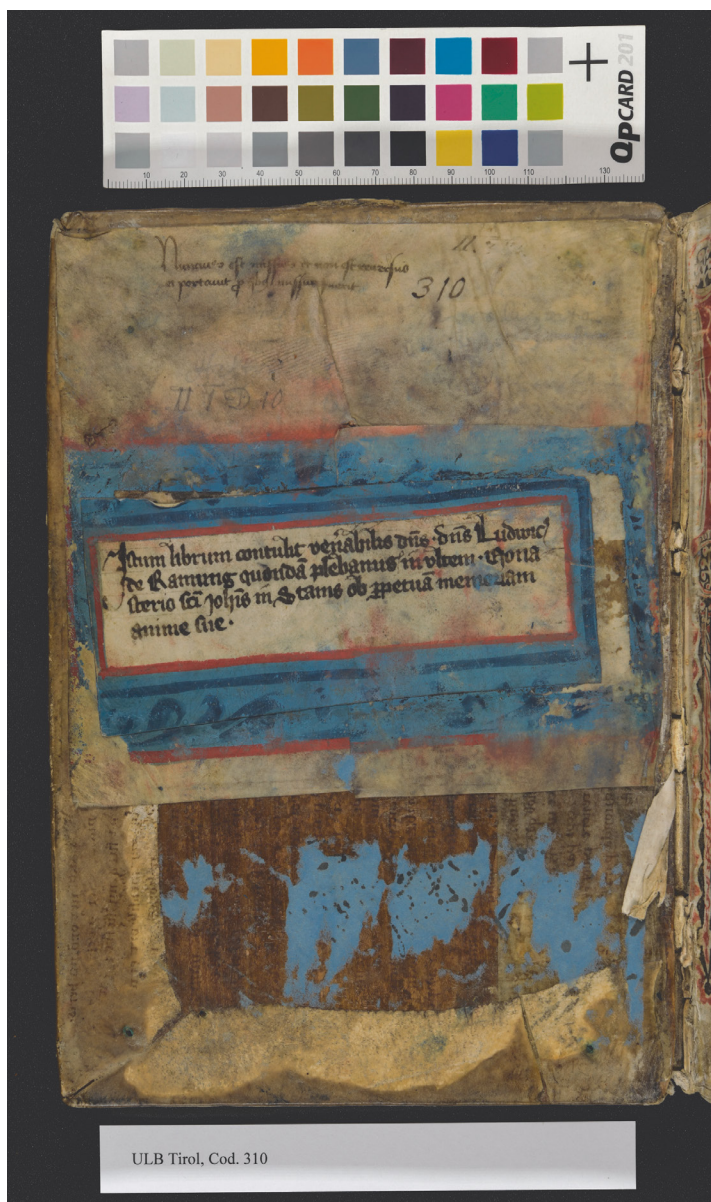
Figure 3: ULB Tirol, Cod. 310, Front pastedown, offset on the lower, exposed section. Detached parts of the front pastedown are now Frg. B7 [F-zjhp], © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol.

2.2 Types and forms of preservation of in situ fragments

As mentioned above, most fragments currently form part of the bindings of their host manuscripts. Bookbinders needed parchment or paper for the production of bindings, to be used as filler in the spine, as binding strips, as pastedowns on the insides of the boards, and as front or back flyleaves. Both parchment and paper were costly, so that rather than using new material for these purposes, one turned to leaves previously written on but no longer needed. Older books that were damaged or had become useless were unbound or cut up, turning them into binder's waste. Given that parchment proved to be more suitable for all these uses, the greater part of reused binder's waste consists of this material, except for pasteboard bindings, where multiple paper leaves were pasted together, often sheets containing writing or printing, as in Cod. 719. In some cases, entire bindings were made of such waste. Parchment, tougher than paper, was especially suitable for making bindings, which sometimes even involved leaves with illuminations.

The following manuscripts have this type of binding: Cod. 113 (Wilten, missal), Cod. 515 (Stams, psalms [Figure 6]), Cod. 520 (Stams, Cistercian breviary), Cod. 551 (Stams, missal), Cod. 580 (unknown provenance, antiphoner), Cod. 648 (Schnals?, missal), Cod. 674 (Stams, Bible commentary), Cod. 686 (Stams, Cistercian breviary), Cod. 747 (Tyrol, charter), Cod. 897 (Tyrol, missal), Cod. 933 (Stams, charter, now Frg. 22, [F-pd8v and F-hxz5]), Cod. 1031 (Neustift, breviary [Figure 5]), Cod. 1087 (Germany, German Bible). A special case is Cod. 1033, consisting of four leaves of binder's waste showing fragments of sermons (of unknown provenance), which in the nineteenth century were assembled into a codex and assigned a manuscript shelfmark.

2.3 Fragments from the same source in separate bindings

Given that we owe the preservation of many manuscript books, albeit in mutilated form, primarily to the bookbinders, there is ample opportunity not only for codicological findings, but – as stated

before – for learning about the transmission of texts. It is readily understandable that bookbinders would use their materials, whose content was of no matter to them, for multiple distinct bindings. When the manuscripts thus bound were written in different locations, we can gain insight into the location where the binding took place, even if the bindings lack distinctive decoration. These cases could also point to the last location of the reused manuscript prior to its dismemberment, information useful for, among other things, the history of textual transmission.

Some examples from Stams and Schnals may be given. Thus Cod. 89 (Avignon, early fourteenth century, decretals of Gregory IX) and Cod. 90 (southern Germany, late thirteenth century, Gratian) have undecorated bindings each containing fragments of the same manuscript, a copy of Peter Lombard's commentary on the Book of Psalms. Fragment shelfmark Frg. 65_1–10 [F-ht26] designates several double, single, and half-pages from a manuscript of the chronicle of the world by Rudolf of Ems, taken from the undecorated bindings of six manuscripts and one incunable from Stams: Cod. 348 (France, ca. 1400), Cod. 391 (Stams?, thirteenth century; the fragment is lost, leaving only a visible offset), Cod. 393 (Baumgarten in Alsace, thirteenth century), Cod. 536 (France, thirteenth century, fragment in situ), Cod. 649 (Stams, fourteenth century), and Cod. 652 (Carinthia?, twelfth century), as well as Ink. 106 E 5 (Iohannes Herolt, *Sermones*, Speyer 1483; HC 8488 = GW 12352). The manuscripts on this list were all rebound in the fifteenth century, and the incunable provides the *terminus post quem* for the binding of 1483. The preserved fragments are in nearly undamaged condition; they can be dated to around 1300 (although the internal, typewritten inventory assigns them to the fourteenth). The precise reason for destroying and reusing this manuscript, which contained simple red and blue initials but no other rubrication or illumination, cannot be specified.

Similarly, numerous large fragments from a southern German formulary for letter-writing were used at Stams in the sixteenth century for rebinding Cod. 609 (Tyrol, fifteenth century, with secondary use at Stams of bindings from Ulm) and Cod. 779 (Latsch, 1383). Three volumes, Cod. 373 (*Sammelband*, France and Germany, thirteenth and fourteenth century), Cod. 538 (excerpts, place of writing

unknown, thirteenth century), and Cod. 655 (*Sammelband*, Tyrol, thirteenth and fourteenth century) were bound in the fifteenth century at Schnals using waste from a twelfth-century manuscript of the Song of Songs with glosses by Walahfrid Strabo.

2.4 The host volumes

The provenance of the manuscript volumes containing fragments is largely proportional to the distribution of provenance in the manuscript holdings overall. This means that many of these manuscripts come from Stams or Schnals, a lesser number from Wilten, the Jesuit College at Hall, or the aulic library in the *Wappenturm* in Innsbruck. Remarkably few fragments are found in the ULB Tyrol's manuscripts from the canonry of Neustift. This parallels their low frequency in the manuscripts still at Neustift today and is presumably due to the uniform rebinding of large parts of the collection there in the eighteenth century. The places of origin of the manuscripts are widely distributed; besides those created in Tyrol itself, the greater part originate from southern Germany (Bavaria and Swabia), others from eastern Austria, Italy, or France. The localization of the bindings yields similar results. They are mostly Tyrolean, otherwise usually from southern Germany, with the decorated ones often assigned to well-known workshops. For the most part they date from between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century. Besides bindings contemporary with the time of writing, there are many cases of rebinding, some with older manuscripts receiving fragments of younger ones in their new bindings.

2.5 Localization and dating of the fragments

While the fragments can be dated by paleographic methods, determining their place of origin is usually difficult and requires secondary indications, whether internal evidence from their content or information from other sources. Successful localization is mostly restricted to fragments from charters and related materials, such as account books or letters. The catalogue of Innsbruck manuscripts[10] documents a large number of charters from Stams which

---

10   See note 6.

were previously unknown and can thus offer valuable contributions to the history of that monastery. Much the same can be said for the Charterhouse of Schnals.

Otherwise, localization, at least in rough terms, is most likely to be possible for liturgical fragments such as missals, breviaries, or any kind of songbooks with locally specific contents. An example is the fragment of a missal from Neustift bound in a printed Salzburg breviary, Ink. 156 F 20.[11]

2.6 Use of binder's waste by Tyrolean bookbinders

The history of bookbinding in Tyrol is still very incompletely documented, especially regarding the libraries of South Tyrol.[12] Only since World War II, and mostly in connection with the cataloguing of manuscript holdings, have bindings received any attention. At present, three centers for the use of binder's waste can be considered well documented.

---

11   http://manuscripta.at/m1/hs_detail.php?ID=39349.

12   The standard manuals by Kyriss on Gothic bookbinding and by Haebler and Schunke on Renaissance bookbinding do not cover Tyrol: K. Haebler, with I. Schunke, *Rollen- und Plattenstempel des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1928–1929; *Beiträge zum Rollen- und Platteneinband im 16. Jahrhundert. Konrad Haebler zum 80. Geburtstag am 29. Oktober 1937 gewidmet*, ed. I. Schunke, Leipzig 1937 (reprint Nendeln 1969); E. Kyriss, Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet, 4 vols., Stuttgart 1951–1958; E. Kyriss, "Deutsche Buchbinder der Spätgotik und Renaissance", *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 3 (1962), 181–204. There is still no standard reference work on the history of bookbinding in South Tyrol, but an important case study on an alchemical book from the sixteenth century in the professors' library of the Bozen (Bolzano) Franciscans' school is now available: A. Pedron and U.-D. Oppitz, "Buchdeckel als Schatzgrube. Von der Entdeckung eines der ältesten Textzeugen des 'Schwabenspiegels' und eines raren Tiroler Frühdruckes im Buchdeckel eines Sammelbandes", *Der Schlern. Monatszeitschrift für Südtiroler Landeskunde* 92 (2018), 4–25. The same holds for a study on a fragment of polyphonic music from the fifteenth century consisting of multiple leaves pasted together, which was in use as a cover for a land register of the old parish church of Gries near Bozen; see G. Gabrielli, "Eine neue Quelle polyphoner Musik. Sie stammt aus dem 15. Jahrhundert und wurde in Bozen entdeckt", *Der Schlern. Monatszeitschrift für Südtiroler Landeskunde* 93 (2019), 4–15; and https://musical-life.net/kapitel/schlaglicht-das-bozner-fragment.

2.6.1 The bookbinder Eriber

A bookbinder named Eriber, an immigrant from Bavaria, is known in the relevant literature,[13] but his activity in Tyrol had been largely ignored until recently.[14] He produced bindings in the area of Innsbruck at the end of the fifteenth century. Additional local workshops have been revealed through work on him and his stamps. His known work consists mostly of rebinding Romanesque and early Gothic books for the abbeys of Wilten and Stams.

For Wilten:

Cod. 62 (twelfth century): fragment from an unidentified theological text; rebinding
Cod. 300 (ca. 1300): fragments from a nautical treatise, fourteenth century, and from an unidentified theological text; rebinding
Cod. 470 (twelfth century): fragment from a sacramentary, tenth century; rebinding
Cod. 728 (1482): fragment from a breviary, thirteenth century; first-time binding

For Stams:

Cod. 94 (thirteenth or fourteenth century): German charter dated 1430 from Sankt Georgenberg, concerning Stams, and charter of abbot Georg Ried of Stams (in office 1436–1481)
Cod. 274 (fourteenth century): offset of an unidentifiable fragment

2.6.2 Innsbruck bookbinders

For the second half of the sixteenth century, we are aware of a group of Innsbruck bookbinders, consisting of Gallus Dingenauer, Leonhard and Narziss Schuechl, and members of the Dimbler family.[15] All of them worked for multiple customers, especially the Habsburg court at Innsbruck, the Franciscan monasteries at Innsbruck, Hall, and Schwaz, and the abbeys of Wilten and Stams. The

---

13   Kyriss, *Verzierte gotische Einbände*; Kyriss, "Deutsche Buchbinder"; P. Wind, with G. Hayer, *Die verzierten Einbände der Handschriften der Erzabtei St. Peter zu Salzburg bis 1600*, Wien 1982.

14   W. Neuhauser, "Ein Beitrag zum süddeutschen und Tiroler Bucheinband des 15. Jahrhunderts", in *Bibliophilies et reliures. Mélanges offerts à Michel Wittock*, ed. A. De Coster and C. Sorgeloos, Bruxelles 2006, 316–373.

15   On this group, including bindings from multiple Tyrolean libraries (Wilten, Stams, the Franciscans of Schwaz, and the Provincial Archives), see W. Neuhauser, "Die Rolleneinbände des Buchdruckers und Buchbinders Gallus Dingenauer (Meister G–D)", in *De libris compactis Miscellanea*, Bruxelles 1984, 133–249, at 189–191, 218; Neuhauser et al., *Katalog der Handschriften*, Teil 7, 335.

binding of manuscripts was of course only part of their business, whose main focus was naturally work on printed books. In the holdings of the ULB Tyrol, the following manuscripts contain fragments in bindings by these bookbinders, almost always in first-time bindings:

Gallus Dingenauer, all for Stams:

Cod. 14 (fourteenth century): fragment from a missal, fourteenth century
Cod. 91 (fourteenth century): fragment from an unidentified theological text, fourteenth century
Cod. 92 (fourteenth century): fragment from an unidentified text, pasted with the written side to the inside cover

Leonhard Schuechl, all for Wilten:

Cod. 104 (fourteenth century): fragment from a missal, fifteenth century
Cod. 243 (twelfth to fourteenth century): fragment from an incunable Brixen missal, H 11273
Cod. 375 (Wilten 1417): fragment from a Brixen missal, fifteenth century
Cod. 661 (ca. 1300): fragment from a missal, fourteenth century

2.6.3 Schnals monastic bookbinders

The Charterhouse of Schnals, founded in 1326 and suppressed in 1782, produced a relatively limited number of decorated bindings in its own workshop,[16] not all of which include fragments.

Cod. 39 (fourteenth century): binding strips from unidentified theological text, fourteenth century
Cod. 216 (fifteenth century): back pastedown of an undated liturgical fragment; front and back flyleaves from a medical text, fourteenth century
Cod. 284 (1410): front pastedown with written side to the board, as yet undetached and thus undated and unidentified; back pastedown from a grammar, fourteenth century
Cod. 945 (fifteenth century): front and back pastedowns from a tonary, fifteenth century
Cod. 1163 (1505): front and back pastedowns from a *Liber ordinarius officii*, fourteenth century

---

16   On these blind-stamped bindings, see O. Mazal, "Gotische Einbände aus der Kartause Schnals", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1973), 423–428.

2.7 Use of binder's waste by bookbinders outside Tyrol

The Jesuit College at Hall, established in 1571, from its founding owned several medieval manuscripts and incunables with bindings that can be assigned to workshops in Cologne.[17] Eleven of these 30 manuscripts contain fragments: Cod. 74, 209, 215, 231, 237, 435, 452, 547, 549, 953, and 990. They come from the 'Rose' workshop (Cod. 74 and 990), the 'Dragon I' workshop (Cod. 209, 215, 231, 237, and 435), and from additional as yet unidentified workshops (Cod. 452, 547, 953, and 990). The fragments are for the most part either from liturgical texts or from charters. Special mention is to be made of two Hebrew fragments, one detached (now Frg. A18 [F-gew4]) and one consisting of two parchment bifolia used as front and back pastedowns in Cod. 74.

The few manuscripts in the ULB Tyrol that come from other identifiable German workshops contain no significant fragments, meaning either that there are none at all or that they are too small to allow any meaningful statements to be made. Most of the manuscripts belonging to the libraries of the Tyrolean monasteries have undecorated bindings; these contain large numbers of fragments, usually of a liturgical nature or from charters. On account of the lack of distinctive decorations, however, it is not possible to determine where the binding took place.

2.8 Overview of languages, contents, and chronology

2.8.1 Languages

The majority of in situ fragments offer text in Latin. This applies not only to liturgical and Biblical texts but also to most of the other topics that occur, such as grammar and law. Only for the charters is the proportion of text in German comparatively high. An exception is represented by the four or five Hebrew fragments. These are found: in two manuscripts from Stams, Cod. 3 (written in Italy) and

---

17 On the Cologne bindings in the Jesuit College at Hall, see S. Sepp, "Spätgotische Kölner Einbände aus der ehemaligen Haller Jesuitenbibliothek in der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck", *Codices manuscripti* 6 (1980), 89–111.

Cod. 432 (possibly from eastern Austria), which may or may not have been bound at Stams; in Cod. 435 from the Jesuits of Hall, which was written and bound in Cologne; and in Cod. 688, whose provenance and place of binding is Neustift. To be added to these is Ms. Wilten 32 03 18 (olim XXXII A 11)[18] of the abbey library at Wilten, which we can only guess was written and bound at Wilten. Certainly, monasteries in Tyrol must have owned at least a few Hebrew manuscripts. Two Syriac manuscripts, Cod. 1168 and Cod. 1169, contain fragments likewise written in Syriac, coming from several different source manuscripts in Cod. 1168 and from possibly a single one in Cod. 1169. A gift from an Orientalist, they have no codicological relation to Tyrol.

2.8.2 Contents

Most of the in situ fragments, as is commonly the case, contain bits of charters, or biblical, theological, or liturgical texts (chiefly missals, breviaries, and rituals). Besides these, we find grammatical works like those of Aelius Donatus, and many cases of anonymous or unidentifiable treatises. In contrast, there is little from medical texts or those pertaining to other topics. Fragments from German literary texts are not numerous but can be very important for the history of textual transmission and distribution. Many fragments have not been identified and cannot be without great difficulty, as in cases where the preserved quantity of text is slight (as in binding strips), where the fragment is pasted with the written side to the board and has not been detached, or only an offset remains. For reasons like these, most of the liturgical fragments, for example, cannot be precisely assigned to a diocese or a monastic order.

Authors so far identified:

In manuscripts from Stams:

Theology and canon law: Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Aurelius Augustinus, Gregorius I. papa, Gregorius IX. papa, Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus, Innocentius

---

18   See C. Sojer, "Talmudic Fragments in the Library of the Premonstratensian convent Wilten at Innsbruck", *Materia Giudaica. Rivista dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio del Giudaismo* 13/1–2 (2008), 349–353 & 4 plates in the appendix; G. Kompatscher Gufler, D. Mairhofer, and C. Schretter with P. Ausserlechner, F. Dexinger, S. Engels, S. Furtenbach, J. M. Oesch, and M. Stieglecker, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Bibliothek des Prämonstratenser Chorherrenstiftes Wilten*, Wien 2012, 127–128.
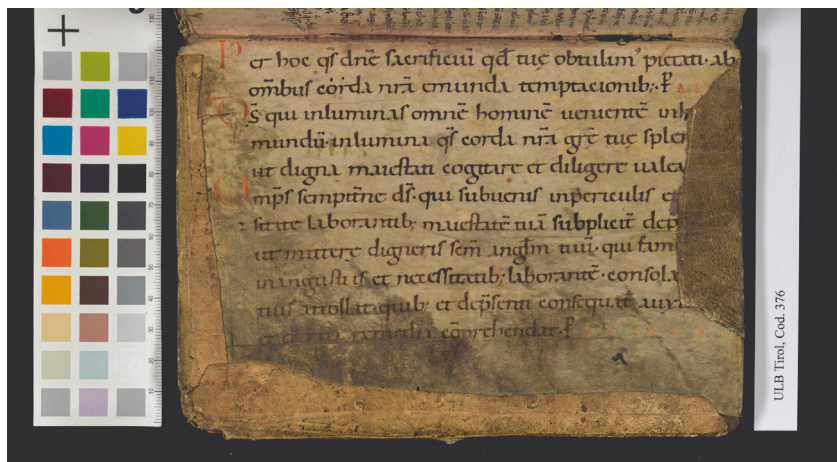
Figure 4: ULB Tirol, Cod. 376, back pastedown, parchment fragment from a sacramentary, tenth century, © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol

III. papa, Yvo Carnotensis, Nicolaus II. papa, Petrus Lombardus, Raimundus Jordanus (Idiota, Sapiens).
Grammar: Alexander de Villa Dei, Johannes de Garlandia.
Literary works: Publius Ovidius Naso (binding may not be from Stams), Franciscus Petrarca (binding from Stams), Rudolf of Ems (binding from Stams).

In manuscripts from Schnals (now in ULB Tyrol and University Library of Padua):

Theology: Pseudo-Beda, Jacobus de Voragine, Iohannes Marchesinus, Thomas de Aquino, Walahfrid Strabo.
Grammar: Aelius Donatus, Remigius de Autun.
Classics: Quintus Horatius Flaccus (binding from Schnals), Publius Terentius Afer (binding from Germany), Prosper Aquitanus (binding probably from Schnals, redone in Padua).

In manuscripts from Wilten (now in ULB Tyrol and Wilten):

Aegidius Corbeiensis (author of medical texts), Aelius Donatus.

In manuscripts from Neustift (now in ULB Tyrol and Neustift):

Alexander de Villa Dei.

In manuscripts with other provenances:

Sonnenburg: Cod. 277, binding probably from Sonnenburg: Willeramus Eberspergensis.
Hall Valley: Cod. 640, bound in the Hall Valley: Johannes de Sacrobosco.
Unknown provenance: Cod. 321: Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus.

Figure 5: ULB Tirol, Cod. 1031, limp binding (unfolded), parchment fragment from the lesson book of a breviary, tenth century, © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol

2.8.3 Chronological distribution

At present, the following statements are possible. The chronological range of the fragments extends from the eighth to the seventeenth century, with 60 objects as yet undated. 33 undated fragments are found in manuscripts from Stams, 13 in those from Schnals, six in ones from the library of Wilten and three in ones from Neustift. Five are in manuscripts with other provenances.

24 objects fall into the category of the oldest fragments, ranging from the eighth to the eleventh century (including three fragments dated to between the eleventh and twelfth centuries: Cod. 263, 587, and 797). Ten of these are in manuscripts from the library of Stams (Cod. 187, 199, 263, 350, 389, 515 [Figure 6], and 586), another seven in manuscripts from Schnals (Cod. 129, 180, 359, 535, 587, 699,
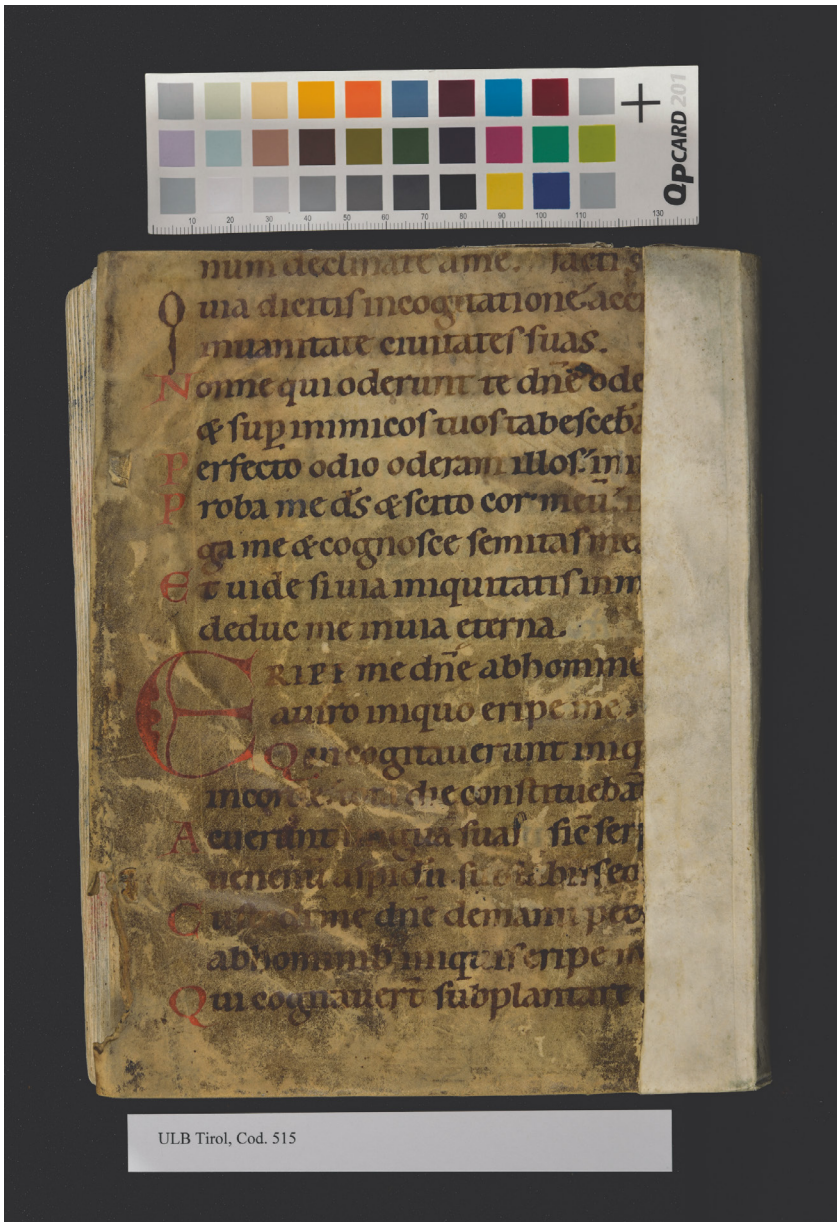
Figure 6: ULB Tirol, Cod. 515, exterior of back cover, parchment fragment used as binding: psalter, eleventh century, © Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol

and 797), two fragments are contained in manuscripts from Wilten (Cod. 376 [Figure 4] and 470), one in a manuscript from Neustift (Cod. 1031 [Figure 5]), and four fragments in manuscripts of other provenances (Cod. 321, 629, 634, and 928).

From the twelfth century (including those dated to between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), there are 22 fragments belonging to three provenance groups: thirteen from Stams, six from Schnals and three with other provenances.

74 objects date from the thirteenth century or are doubtful between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Most of these are in manuscripts from Stams (39), followed by those from Schnals (29), other provenances (4), and one item each from Neustift and Wilten.

The fourteenth century and the transition to the fifteenth century provide 139 fragments, making this the most strongly represented period. 78 are in manuscripts from Stams, 44 from Schnals, four from Wilten, three from Neustift, and 10 have other provenances.

The objects dated to the fifteenth century number 61, of which 35 are in manuscripts from Stams, 13 from Schnals, one from Wilten, two from Neustift, and 10 from other provenances.

As might be expected, there are very few manuscript fragments dated to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and they are mainly paper fragments. Of ten instances in total, six are found in Stams manuscripts, two in those from Schnals, and two in manuscripts with other provenances. Despite their comparatively young age, these items are of interest precisely because they pose questions concerning the use of binder's waste and the repair of bindings in the Early Modern period, given that some of them are in bindings first made in the Middle Ages.

3. Conclusion

This classification of fragments covers the ca. 390 fragments in situ in manuscript codices that are currently documented in the catalogue. A more precise localization, dating, and identification of the contents would require more profound investigation than was possible during cataloguing. Smaller libraries like the ULB Tyrol often have difficulties in adequately cataloguing and presenting their fragment collections, which is barely possible, if at all, with the

limited personnel available.[19] External financing has helped publish some of the collection, such as the detached fragments discussed here, which will be published with descriptions on *Fragmentarium* in 2020, thanks to the support of the Austrian National Bank. Likewise, the ULB Tyrol's musical and Hebrew fragments (for the ULB Tyrol) are currently the subject of a research project. Yet for the most part, at the ULB Tyrol, as in many other institutions, the majority of fragments are not covered by current projects and do not even have a rudimentary description. There is much work to be done, and resources are limited.

---

19   A. Löffler, "Die Erschließung von Handschriftenfragmenten unter den Bedingungen kleinerer Bibliotheken und Archive", in *Die Kleine Bibliothek. Bedeutung und Probleme kleiner nichtstaatlicher Buchbestände. Symposium in Essen-Werden am 12. und 13. Juni 2006*, ed. H.P. Neuheuser and W. Schmitz, Köln 2007, 67–80.

Research Note

Ein Berliner Handschriftenfragment der *Vita Sancti Columbae Adamnani*

Stefanie Bellach, Freie Universität Berlin
StefanieBellach@gmail.com

Das Geheime Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin (GStA PK) hält neben dem entsprechend seiner Sprengelkompetenz verwahrten Schriftgut Brandenburg-Preußens auch Fragmente deutscher und lateinischer Buchhandschriften, die zumeist nicht Teil der Verwaltungsüberlieferung sind und als Koperte anderer Archivalien in das Archiv kamen.[1] Eines dieser Bruchstücke ist das

---

1 Mittelalterliche Buchhandschriften werden im GStA PK nur wenige verwahrt, obwohl sich zahlreiche Hinweise in den Beständen recherchieren lassen. Bekannt ist, dass die preußischen Provinzialarchive nach ihrer jeweiligen Gründung im frühen 19. Jahrhundert intensiv die Bestände vormals säkularisierter Kloster- und mediatisierter Herrschaftsarchive in sich aufnahmen und Teile davon an das Preußische Geheime Staatsarchiv oder direkt an die Königliche Bibliothek weitergeben mussten. Dazu gehörten u. a. geistliche und literarische Handschriften sowie z. T. auch Urkunden, welche in der Regel jedoch an die Archive zurückgingen; die tatsächlichen Handschriften und ihr Übergang an das Preußische Geheime Staatsarchiv lassen sich in der älteren Dienstregistratur des Archivs angesichts kriegsbedingter Verluste nicht mehr nachweisen. Eine Ausnahme bilden allerdings Koperte, welche hauptsächlich als Umschläge von Amtsrechnungen der ehemaligen ostpreußischen Ämter, aber auch von Akten aus der Registratur des Geheimen Rates, dienten. Davon machen die Handschriftenfragmente, welche mit der Überlieferung des ehemaligen Staatsarchivs Königsberg in das Archiv gelangten, den weitaus größeren Teil mit 388 liturgischen (12.–16. Jahrhundert) und 161 nicht-liturgischen Fragmenten (11.–16. Jahrhundert) aus. Diese wurden als Bestand GStA PK, XX. HA Historisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Handschriften aufgestellt und sind bereits katalogisiert (vgl. A. Löffler, *Fragmente liturgischer Handschriften des Deutschen Ordens im Historischen Staatsarchiv Königsberg Vol. 1–4*, Lüneburg et al. 2001, 2004, 2009, 2019). Weitere wenige Handschriften lassen sich auch in den als sogenannte ‚Kleine Erwerbungen' betitelten Reposituren nachweisen, die durch Ankauf, Abgaben, Schenkungen oder Funde ins Archiv gelangten. Diese zusammengefassten Sammlungsgüter sind zum Teil nur mittels hausinterner Findmittel erschlossen. Hinzuweisen ist auf die Bestände GStA PK,

Fragment einer Abschrift der Lebensbeschreibung des Heiligen Columba bzw. Colum Cille (520/22–597), das bisher völlig unbekannt zu sein scheint[2] und deshalb an dieser Stelle kurz vorgestellt werden soll.[3]

Die *Vita sancti Columbae* wurde vermutlich um den 100. Todestag des Gründers und Abtes des um 565 gegründeten iro-schottischen Klosters Iona verfasst. Sein Autor, der neunte Abt Ionas, Adamnan (628–704) macht selbst keine Angaben zum Entstehungsdatum der Vita; indes machen Textbefunde eine Entstehung zwischen Adamnans letztem Besuch in Northumbria 688 und seinem Tod 704 wahrscheinlich.[4] Der hagiographische Text schildert das Leben und Wirken Columbas, der in Irland und Schottland als Klostergründer und Missionar in Erscheinung trat, wobei seinen

---

I. HA Rep. 94 Kleine Erwerbungen; GStA PK, X. HA Provinz Brandenburg, Rep. 16 Kleine Erwerbungen; GStA PK, XIV. HA Provinz Westpreußen, Rep. 417 Kleine Erwerbungen; GStA PK, XVII. HA Provinz Schlesien, Rep. 133 Kleine Erwerbungen; GStA PK, XVIII. HA Provinz Sachsen, Rep. A Kleine Erwerbungen und GStA PK, XX. HA Historisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Rep. 100 A Kleine Erwerbungen.

2   Die erste Gesamtdarstellung der Handschriftengenese der *Vita sancti Columbae* von Gertrud Brüning konnte das Handschriftenfragment noch nicht berücksichtigen (vgl. G. Brüning, „Adamnans Vita Columbae und ihre Ableitungen", *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 11 (1917), 213–304, zugl. Diss. Univ. Bonn 1916). Auch späteren Editionen wie A.O. Anderson, M.O. Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, London 1961 oder R. Sharpe, *Life of St. Columba*, London 1995 bzw. T. Klüppel, *Das Leben des Heiligen Columban von Iona*, Stuttgart 2010 kennen die Einbandmakulatur nicht. Der kurrente online-Katalog CODECS *Collaborative Online Database and e-Resources for Celtic Studies* (http://www.vanhamel.nl/codecs/Vita_sancti_Columbae_(Adomn%C3%A1n)) enthält ebenfalls keinen Eintrag.

3   Eine eingehende Betrachtung erfolgt im Rahmen der gegenwärtig an der Freien Universität Berlin entstehenden Dissertation der Autorin, welche sich mit der Überlieferung, Rezeption und Aneignung insularer Heiligenviten auf dem Kontinent am Beispiel der Vita sancti Columbae Adamnani auseinandersetzt.

4   Vgl. Brüning 1917, 227; Sharpe 1995, 55; J.M. Wooding, „Introduction", in: *Adomnán of Iona. Theologian, lawmaker, peacemaker*, J.M. Wooding, R. Aist, T.O. Clancy, T. O'Loughlin, Dublin 2010, 16; *Annals of Ulster, Otherwise, Annala Senait, Annals of Senat. A Chronicle of Irish Affairs, A.D. 431–1131, 1155–1541*, Vol. 1: *A.D. 431–1056*, W.M. Hennessy, B. MacCarthy, (s.l.) 2018, 153; Adamnan, *Vita Sancti Columbae* II,43 bzw. I,1, 30, 37, II,28, 45, 46, III,19, 23.

religiösen Ideen und Prophezeiungen und den von ihm getätigten Wundern besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird.

Handschriftenlinie

Die *Vita sancti Columbae Adamnani* ist heute in zwei bekannten Handschriftenlinien bezeugt: Die ältere Gruppe α lässt sich erstmals in einer wahrscheinlich noch in Iona durch den Mönch Dorbbéne zwischen 688 und 713 gefertigten Abschrift nachweisen;[5] dieser Textzeuge wurde zudem in einer gekürzten Variante tradiert.[6] Trotzdem gelten die Handschriften der zweiten Gruppe β als nachstehende

5   Grundlage für die heute überlieferten Handschriften ist der Codex Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Gen. 1 (https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/sbs/0001), als wahrscheinliche Abschrift insularer Provenienz des Textes α. Die weiteren Abschriften lassen sich in zwei Rezensionen zusammenfassen: die Texte der ersten Redaktion orientieren sich stark an der Vorlage Adamnans und übernehmen sowohl irische Eigennamen, irische Schreibweisen und weitere Eigentümlichkeiten der Vorlage; die Textzeugen der zweiten Redaktion weisen indes Korrekturen hinsichtlich einer kontinentalen Rezeption auf. Zur zweiten Handschriftenlinie β gehören die Handschriften mit den Siglen B1, B2 und B3. Bei diesen handelt es sich um Abschriften einer Kopie der Vita, welche wahrscheinlich in einem ähnlichen Zeitraum wie die Vorlage Dorbbénes (α) entstanden ist. Die Texte unterscheiden sich vor allem in dem zusätzlich hinzugefügten Material von dem Schaffhausener Codex. Dabei enthalten alle drei Manuskripte zusätzlich eine Auflistung von Schülern und Verwandten Columbas, die Textzeugen B2 und B3 sogar ein Kapitelverzeichnis zu Buch II und III. Vgl. Brüning 1917, 218; R. Gamper, S. Marti, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Schaffhausen*, Zürich 1998, 9; J.-M. Picard, „Schaffhausen Generalia I and the Textual Transmission of Adomnán's 'Vita Columbae' on the Continent", in *Ireland and Europe in the early Middle Ages. Texts and Transmission / Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter. Texte und Überlieferung*, P. Ní Chatháin, M. Richter, Dublin 2002, 99; D. Sneddon, *Adomnán of Iona's Vita Sancti Columbae. A Literary Analysis*, Diss. Univ. Edinburgh 2018, 26–27.

6   Die kürze und längere Textvariante unterscheidet sich auch in ihrer Komposition: während die längere Fassung immer Kapitelüberschriften enthält, entfallen diese bei der kürzeren Form, die dazu zumeist ohne irische Eigennamen auskommt. Darüber hinaus ist sie um einzelne Kapitel gekürzt; hinzu kommen Kapitelverschiebungen; bei der gekürzten Bearbeitung entfallen die Kapitel I,1, 7, 12–15, 17–18, 20–21, 23–27, 34–39, Ende 50 sowie II,Ep. 1, 9, 14, zweiter Teil 19, 20, 24, 28, 31, 39, 44–46 und III,Ep. 23. Vgl. Brüning 1917, 216–217.

Textzeugen der Vita des Adamnans, wenn sie auch erheblich später
datieren; ihre gemeinsame Textvorlage entstand aber wahrschein-
lich in einem ähnlichen Zeitraum wie die Vorlage Dorbbénes.[7] Das
Berliner Bruchstück stammt aus dem zweiten von insgesamt drei
Büchern der Vita und gibt den überwiegenden Teil des Kapitels 37,
die Kapitel 38 und 40 und den Anfang des Kapitels 41 wieder; Kapitel
39 wurde nicht aufgenommen.

Überlieferungszusammenhang

Bei dem Berliner Fragment der *Vita sancti Columbae* handelt es
sich um ein ehemaliges Kopert eines Registers der Kirche zu Rossow
im Amt Brüssow-Löcknitz mit einer Laufzeit von 1634 bis 1753.[8] Die
Erwerbung des Registers erfolgte wahrscheinlich 1928 mit der Über-
nahme älteren Schriftgutes der staatlichen Behörden in den ucker-
märkischen Kreisen Angermünde, Prenzlau und Templin durch
das Preußische Geheime Staatsarchiv.[9] Eine separate Akzession des
Handschriftenfragmentes lässt sich in den entsprechenden archiv-
internen Nachweisungen für die Jahre 1928 bis 1933 nicht ermitteln.[10]
Der Trägerband wird heute zuständigkeitshalber im Brandenburgi-
schen Landeshauptarchiv verwahrt, und ist im Bestand Repositur
7 Landesherrliche Ämter nachgewiesen,[11] während das Fragment

---

7   Vgl. Sharpe 1995, 236–237.
8   Nachweislich der Altsignatur Brandenburg, Rep. 7 Amt Löcknitz, Fach 13
     Nr. 28a. Das Königliche Domänenamt Brüssow-Löcknitz entstand durch die
     Zusammenlegung des Amtes Brüssow mit dem Rest des Amtes Löcknitz,
     nachdem der größere Teil des Letzteren samt dem Amtssitz an die Provinz
     Pommern gekommen war. Vgl. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbe-
     sitz, *Übersicht über die Bestände des Geheimen Staatsarchivs in Berlin-Dahlem.*
     Vol. 2: Zentralbehörden, andere Institutionen, Sammlungen, Köln, Berlin 1967,
     116; E. Müller, E. Posner, *Übersicht über die Bestände des Geheimen Staats-
     archivs zu Berlin-Dahlem. Vol. 1: Hauptabteilung 1*, Leipzig 1934, 133.
9   Vgl. Berlin, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 178 Generaldirektion der Staatsarchive,
     Nr. 1931: Die Monats- und Jahresberichte des Geheimen Staatsarchivs, Bd. 32,
     1928–1929, 127v.131.
10   Vgl. Berlin, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 178 B Preußisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv,
     Nr. 2383: Zugangsbuch für Archivalien, 1927–1935, [s.f.].
11   Die vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in der X. Hauptabteilung Brandenburg auf-
     gestellten Bestände, darunter auch der Bestand X. HA Rep. 7 Domänen und

Teil der Überlieferung des Geheimen Staatsarchivs blieb und in die aus ehemaligen Handschriftensammlungen hervorgegangene und z. T. noch ergänzte Repositur GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 94 Kleine Erwerbungen übernommen wurde; die kurrente Bestellsignatur des Fragments lautet Berlin, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 94 Kleine Erwerbungen, I C Nr. 4.

Paläographischer Befund

Das Pergamentblatt ist in einen Schutzumschlag aus starkem Papier eingebunden; die Heftung geschah spätestens im Jahr 1928 unter Glättung der bestehenden Falze durch die Restaurierungsabteilung des Geheimen Staatsarchivs PK.[12] Das Pergamentblatt besitzt ein Außenmaß von 34,0 × 25,5 cm und war Teil eines Doppelblattes. Es weist Verunreinigungen durch Staub und Flecken auf, bei denen es sich wahrscheinlich um benutzungsbedingte Rückstände handelt. Der Rand ist an allen Seiten beschädigt; der untere und innere Rand weist die stärksten Schädigungen in Form einer Risskante bzw. Tierfraß auf, weiterhin ist das Blatt an den Außenkanten durch Feuchtigkeit und unsachgemäße Lagerung gewellt. Daneben zerteilen zwei senkrechte Falze das Blatt in drei Teile; entlang der Falzkante ist das Pergament an einigen Stellen gebrochen.

Das Blatt war ursprünglich Teil einer Lage, die auseinandergerissen wurde. Die arabische Foliierung „193" auf dem Recto (Haarseite) weist das Kopert als Teil eines Codex' aus. Kustoden und Reklamanten sind nicht vorhanden.

Rentämter, befinden sich heute überwiegend im Brandenburgischen Landeshauptarchiv. Die kurrente Bestellsignatur des Kirchenregisters lautet Potsdam, BLHA, Rep. 7 Landesherrliche Ämter, Brüssow-Löcknitz 1218: Kirchenregister von Rossow, 1651–1696; eine im 20. Jahrhundert gefertigte Abschrift des Registers befindet sich in Berlin, GStA PK, X. HA Provinz Brandenburg, Rep. 16 Kleine Erwerbungen, Nr. 95: Sammlung zu Rossow, Grimme, Fahrenwalde und Zerrentin aus dem Nachlass J.G. Durrows (Pr. Br. Rep. 7 Amt Brüssow-Löcknitz Tit. 110 Nr. 1,2), (1634–1753) [20. Jahrhundert].

12 Die Datierung der Bindung ergibt sich aus einem der Handschrift beigeschlossenen Erschließungsvermerk, der mit dem Datum 22.11.1928 endet und von gleicher Hand wie der Aktentitel ist. Eine frühere Bindung bei späterer Beschriftung kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, scheint gleichwohl aufgrund archivischer Arbeitsprozesse wenig wahrscheinlich.

Das Pergament scheint in seinen ursprünglichen Maßen überliefert zu sein, es sind keine Schnitte auszumachen. Der Schriftraum selbst ist in einem sehr guten Zustand und nur an den Falzkanten beeinträchtigt. Es ist ein Schreibrand von 2,5 cm oben, 5,5 cm unten, 4,5 cm rechts und 2,0 cm links auszumachen. Der Schriftraum misst insgesamt 26,0×19,5 cm und verhält sich in seiner Größe proportional zum Blattformat. Eine Blindliniierung definiert den Schriftspiegel in zwei Kolumnen von je etwa 9,0 cm Breite à 35 Zeilen. Der Text ist linksbündig und wie die Handschrift Dorbbénes in zwei Spalten angelegt;[13] jedes Kapitel beginnt nach einem Absatz mit einer Lombarde. Der Schriftraum wird überwiegend eingehalten, es gibt kaum Überhänge. Der Zeilenabstand ist mäßig bis eng.

Der Text wurde durch eine Hand in dunkler Tinte ausgeführt. Korrekturen sowie Akzente erfolgten sowohl durch den Schreiber als auch in hellerer Tinte und mit dünnerem Strich durch eine wahrscheinlich andere Hand. Jeweils von anderer Hand in ebenfalls hellbrauner Tinte notiert wurden der frühneuzeitliche Vermerk „Kirchen-Register zu Rosso" sowie die unter Umständen zeitgenössische Notiz „de ver[…]"; eine weitere Marginalie (recto, links oben) kann nicht aufgelöst werden. Die Ausstattung des Textes ist insgesamt zurückhaltend. Die flächig aufgetragene Rubrizierung der drei Lombarden erfolgte rostrot mit einer metallisch glänzenden Pigmentierung. Weitere Gliederungs- und Schmuckelemente sind nicht vorhanden.

Bei der Schrift handelt es sich um eine spätere karolingische Minuskel, welche sich durch ein Nebeneinander jüngerer und älterer Elemente (*d, u/v*) sowie eine Fülle an Kürzungsformen wie Abbreviaturen und Ligaturen auszeichnet. Die Lombarden sind Kapitalis und Uncialis entlehnt. Der Schriftwinkel ist flach und ermöglicht eine stärkere kursive Ausrichtung, was zu einer leichten Neigung

---

13 Verglichen mit anderen Textzeugen fällt auf, dass das Berliner Fragment wie die Handschrift Dorbbénes in zwei Spalten angelegt wurde, während die ins 9. Jahrhundert datierenden Abschriften der Columba-Vita, welche heute in St. Gallen und München verwahrt werden, den Text in einer Spalte präsentieren. Vgl. Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Gen. 1; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 555 (https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0555); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6341 (http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00054502/images/).

nach rechts führt. Der Text gliedert sich, einem Satzschema ähnlich, in Sinnzusammenhänge, welche mit einer Majuskel eingeleitet werden. Auch hier werden die Buchstaben der Kapitalis und Uncialis gemischt. Die Schrift kommt ohne Verzierungen aus.

Die Buchstaben sind mehrheitlich unverbunden, schmal und in der Senkrechten leicht gestreckt. Die Formung der Ober- und Unterlängen ist ebenfalls gleichmäßig, wenn auch kurz; lediglich die einen Satzbeginn eröffnenden Versalien weisen eine darüber hinaus leicht erhöhte Oberlänge auf. Die obere Linie der Mittelhöhe wird jedoch betont und gibt der Schrift ein geordnetes Erscheinungsbild. Insgesamt vermittelt das Blatt eine ausgeglichene paläografische Konzeption.

Die Handschrift weist ein durchgängiges karolingisches Minuskel-*a* aus; darüber hinaus deutet die fortgeschrittene Senkrechtstellung des Winkelschenkels bei *a* und der Schäfte von *m, n* sowie Schließung der Bögen des *g* auf eine ausgeprägte karolingische Minuskel. Die Schäfte von *f, s, r* enden wiederum auf der Zeile. Die Proportion der Oberlängen und Buchstaben steht im Verhältnis von 2:1.[14] Das Verschwinden der keilförmigen Verdickung der Oberlängen und die Ansetzung mit leichten Brüchen in der Linienführung bzw. mittels feiner Ansatzlinien sowie die Verwendung von Abschlusslinien deuten auf eine erste Gotisierung der Schrift. Die Handschrift zeigt überdies Elemente des schrägovalen Stils, wie er nachweislich in Regensburg in Gebrauch war.[15] Hinzu kommt die fortgeschrittene Worttrennung und die erkennbaren Bemühungen, einzelne Sinneinheiten durch Satzzeichen voneinander zu trennen. In der Summe aller Indizien handelt es sich um eine Handschrift der Übergangszeit vom 10. zum 11. Jahrhundert bzw. des Beginns des 11. Jahrhunderts.[16]

---

14   Vgl. N. Daniel, *Handschriften des 10. Jahrhunderts aus der Freisinger Dombibliothek. Studien über Schriftcharakter und Herkunft der nachkarolingischen und ottonischen Handschriften einer bayerischen Bibliothek*, München 1973, 2.

15   Vgl. B. Bischoff, *Kalligraphie in Bayern. Achtes bis zwölftes Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1981, 34–35; C. Dora, P. Lenz, F. Schnoor, *Im Paradies des Alphabets. Die Entwicklung der lateinischen Schrift in den Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, 2. ed., St. Gallen 2018, 48–49.

16   An dieser Stelle sei David Ganz für seine unterstützenden Anmerkungen gedankt. Vgl. darüber hinaus B. Bischoff, W. Koch, *Paläographie des römischen*

Sprachliche Besonderheiten

Hinsichtlich der Verwendung von irischen Eigennamen ist eine Aussage zum Berliner Fragment aufgrund seines bruchstückhaften Charakters nur schwer zu treffen, gleichwohl sich Beispiele nachweisen lassen. Verglichen mit anderen Textzeugen fällt auf, dass der Berliner Text zum Beispiel in Kapitel II,38 und II,40 sowohl die aus der Überlieferung *A* aus dem 8. und 9. Jahrhundert (Schaffhausen; St. Gallen; München) als Name für Irland gebräuchliche Bezeichnung *evernia* als auch die klassisch-lateinische und in der *B*-Gruppe (London) verwendete Bezeichnung hibernia;[17] dabei korrigiert der Schreiber die ursprüngliche Wiedergabe *evernia* selbst in *hibernia*. Vergleicht man den Befund mit anderen Textzeugen, so zeigt sich, dass der St. Gallener Codex ebenfalls beide Bezeichnungen enthält, der Münchner und Londoner nur den klassischen Namen *hibernia*.

Ein ähnliches Beispiel enthält II,40: Der älteste Textzeuge der Vita überliefert das Morphem *parentela* in einer Korrektur. Diese Schreibweise ist in der Schaffhausener Quelle mit doppelten Konsonanten auszumachen, da die Rasur des zweiten *l* noch zu erkennen ist.[18] Der *Codex Sangallense* 555 übernimmt die Korrektur; jedoch wird hier das erste *l* rasiert und das voranstehende *e* mit dem zweiten *l* mittels eines nachträglichen Bogens verbunden.[19] Das Berliner Fragment weist wiederum den Ausdruck in der Schreibweise *parentilla* bzw. berichtigt nach *parentella* aus.[20]

Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters, 4. ed., Berlin 2009, 151–170; H. Foerster, *Abriss der lateinischen Paläographie*, 2. ed., Stuttgart 1963, 193–195; G. Powitz, „Datieren und Lokalisieren nach der Schrift", *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 10 (1976), 127–132.

17 Vgl. Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Gen. 1, pag. 86a.18, 93a.8; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 555, pag. 99.2–3, 100.15–16; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6341, fol. 31r.22, 31v.22–23; Berlin, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 94 Kleine Erwerbungen, I C Nr. 4, fol. 193va.6, 193vb.10; London, British Library, Add. Ms. 35110 (http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_35110), fol. 126ra.30, 128va.22; M. Richter, *Irland im Mittelalter. Kultur und Geschichte*, 2. ed., München 1996, 21. Siehe auch Fußnote 5.

18 Vgl. Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Gen. 1, 93a.16–17.

19 Vgl. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 555, pag. 101.3.

20 Vgl. Berlin, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 94 Kleine Erwerbungen, I C Nr. 4, fol. 193vb.16.

Resümee

Zusammenfassend kann festgehalten werden, dass es sich bei dem Berliner Fragment um ein Bruchstück einer Gebrauchshandschrift aus dem frühen 11. Jahrhundert handelt, das wahrscheinlich Teil eines umfangreichen Codex war. Die Einbandmakulatur ist eine gekürzte Abschrift der *Vita sancti Columba Adamnani*. Die Vorlage enthielt unter Umständen noch ursprüngliche Eigennamen, die vom Schreiber übernommen, allerdings im Text korrigiert wurden. Diese Korrekturen lassen sich auch in anderen Textzeugen ermitteln. Weitere Erkenntnisse zum Berliner Handschriftenfragment sind im Rahmen einer gegenwärtig in Arbeit befindlichen Analyse im größeren Zusammenhang der Tradierungsgeschichte der *Vita sancti Columbae Adamnani* zu erwarten.

Figure 1: GStA PK, PK, I. HA Rep. 94 Kleine Erwerbungen, I C Nr. 4 (Foto: Bildstelle GStA PK)

Research Note

Il Virgilio Vaticano. Uno *stress-test* per *Fragmentarium*

Roberta Napoletano, Alma Mater Studiorum - Università di Bologna
roberta.napoletano03@unibo.it

Il Virgilio Vaticano, ossia il codice della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3225, è indubbiamente uno dei manoscritti più celebri e studiati al mondo.[1] Le ragioni di questo interesse secolare sono lampanti: non solo tramanda una delle versioni più antiche dei testi virgiliani,[2] rappresentando uno dei sette codici *antiquiores*, ma è un monumento per gli studi paleografici[3] e di storia dell'arte. Esso è uno dei più vetusti manoscritti illustrati di epoca romana giunto sino a noi, insieme al Virgilio Romano, all'Iliade Ambrosiana, alla

---

1   La mole di studi intorno a questo manoscritto è sconfinata, in questa prospettiva è certamente significativo il titolo di D.H. Wright, "From Copy to Facsimile: a Millennium of Studying the Vatican Vergil", *The British Library Journal* 17 (1991), 12–35.

2   Si ricorda la tradizione manoscritta più antica del corpus virgiliano: Virgilio Mediceo (M), Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, plut. 39; Virgilio Palatino (P), Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1631; Virgilio Vaticano (F), Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3225; Virgilio Romano (R), BAV, Vat. lat. 3867; Virgilio Augusteo (A) BAV, Vat. lat. 3256 (+ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Cod. lat. fol. 416); Virgilio Sangallense (G), St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1394 (https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/list/one/csg/1394, dove sono indicati i riferimenti ai codici nel quali il Virgilio Sangallense era stato riutilizzato e che presentano traccia di questo riuso); Virgilio Veronese (V), Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XL (38).

3   Tra i principali studi paleografici intorno alla scrittura del Virgilio Vaticano si ricordano: A. Pratesi, "Nuove divagazioni per uno studio della scrittura capitale. I codices vergiliani antiquiores", *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985), 5–33; G. Nicolaj, "Osservazioni sul canone della capitale libraria romana fra I e III secolo", in *Miscellanea in memoria di Giorgio Cencetti*, Torino 1973, 3–28; G. Cavallo, "Frammenti di un discorso grafico-testuale", in *Il Libro e il testo. Atti del convegno internazionale: Urbino, 20–23 settembre 1982*, a cura di C. Questa e R. Raffaelli, Urbino 1984, 415–429; E.A. Lowe, "More Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts", *The Classical Quarterly*, 22 (1928), 43–62.

Bibbia di Cotton, all'Itala di Quedlinburg e al Dioscoride di Vienna.[4]

Il Virgilio Vaticano è un frammento, secondo la più larga accezione di questo termine, ovvero una parte di un tutto che non è sopravvissuto nella sua interezza. Attualmente è costituito da 76 *folia*, 75 effettivamente appartenenti al nucleo originale del manoscritto, l'ultimo proveniente dal Virgilio Mediceo.

I 75 fogli sopravvissuti riportano il testo parziale e cinquanta illustrazioni dei libri III e IV delle Georgiche e dei libri da I a IX dell'Eneide. Ma in origine il manoscritto, nonostante il suo formato ridotto (circa 219 mm in altezza e 196 in larghezza), si doveva presentare molto più voluminoso rispetto ad oggi. Gli studi codicologici volti a comprendere l'originaria consistenza del codice sono iniziati alla fine del XIX secolo con Pierre de Nolhac,[5] poi perfezionati ed arricchiti nel 1984 da David H. Wright.[6] Secondo l'analisi di Wright, i 75 fogli odierni costituiscono solo un sesto del manoscritto completo, che originariamente doveva contare circa 430 fogli e 280 illustrazioni. Nel lavoro di Wright è presente una ricostruzione schematica della consistenza originale del codice; [7]naturalmente, ad oggi, è possibile utilizzare i più sofisticati strumenti informatici offerti da una piattaforma come *Fragmentarium* per restituire virtualmente il codice in tutte le sue parti.

L'obiettivo di questo contributo non è condurre un'ulteriore analisi del celeberrimo manoscritto, ma piuttosto dare conto della sperimentazione metodologica svolta su di esso. Il codice è stato infatti utilizzato come 'cavia' per il 'laboratorio *Fragmentarium*', al fine

---

4   R. Bianchi Bandinelli, "Virgilio Vaticanus 3225 e Iliade Ambrosiana", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 5 (1954), 225–240. Per le segnature dei manoscritti: Virgilio Romano: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3225; Iliade Ambrosiana: Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Cod. F. 205 Inf.; Bibbia di Cotton: London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B VI; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Cod. theol. lat. fol. 485; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Med. Gr. 1.

5   P.M. De Nolhac, "Le Virgile du Vatican et ses peintures", *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 35, 2 (1897), 683–791.

6   D.H. Wright, *Vergilius Vaticanus: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 3225 der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Graz 1984.

7   D.H. Wright, *Vergilius Vaticanus*, 103–107.

Figura 1: il CMS di **Fragmentarium**

di offrire al lettore e all'utente una nuova prospettiva sulle frontiere rese possibili dall'applicazione delle *Digital Humanities* alla paleografia e alle indagini sui manoscritti e dall'utilizzo della piattaforma. Verrà illustrata dunque in che modo sia stata effettuata la ricostruzione virtuale del Virgilio Vaticano all'interno di *Fragmentarium*, sottolineando quali siano le potenzialità descrittive di questo portale e quali i limiti: un test "sotto sforzo" per *Fragmentarium*, finalizzato a contribuire alla riflessione metodologica – ed in qualche modo tecnica – intorno a questo progetto.[8]

Il primo passo è stato creare un nuovo documento nel CMS (*content management system*; Figura 1) di *Fragmentarium* (*CMS > Documents > Add Document*); qui sono stati inseriti i metadati relativi al Virgilio Vaticano (*Basic*

---

[8] L'idea di ricostruire il Virgilio Vaticano, in qualità di 'progetto pilota', nasce dal Professor Christoph Flüeler, project director di *Fragmentarium*, con due principali intenti: capire se *Fragmentarium* possa funzionare per una ricostruzione di tal genere e, al contempo, offrire all'utente maggiori informazioni intorno ad uno dei più celebri manoscritti dell'antichità. La parte puramente pratica di inserimento dei dati in *Fragmentarium* è stata effettuata da chi scrive; lavoro che si è reso possibile grazie ad un soggiorno presso la sede di *Fragmentarium*, nell'ambito dello svolgimento del progetto di dottorato dal titolo: 'Catalogo digitale dei frammenti di riuso del Fondo Parrocchie Soppresse della Città dell'Archivio Generale Arcivescovile di Bologna'. Tale soggiorno è stato finanziato grazie alla borsa di studio 'Marco Polo', erogata dal dipartimento d'eccellenza di Filologia Classica ed Italianistica (FICLIT) dell'Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna. Il presente contributo vuole essere un resoconto dell'attività svolta; pertanto, al fine di facilitare la comprensione del lettore e illustrare al meglio i passaggi eseguiti per la ricostruzione del manoscritto, nel presente contributo verranno indicate tra parentesi, in caratteri corsivi, le sezioni corrispondenti nel *CMS* di *Fragmentarium*. Tale descrizione, condotta volutamente con un taglio assai didascalico, vuole servire inoltre da guida pratica per l'utente interessato a questo utilizzo del portale.

Metadata, ovvero la sezione contenente le informazioni descrittive di base necessaria alla creazione di una scheda di un frammento).

La Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana ha interamente digitalizzato il manoscritto Vat. lat. 3225 rendendo disponibili le immagini tramite IIIF (*International Image Interoperability Framework*). Proprio grazie a quest'ultimo è stato possibile importare le immagini dal sito web della Biblioteca Apostolica all'interno di *Fragmentarium*. È stata poi aggiunta la descrizione scientifica del manoscritto (*add a description to this document*) effettuata da Lowe per i *Codices Latini Antiquiores*; grazie ai metadati di base e alla descrizione sono stati aggiunti, nelle relative sezioni, i collegamenti a risorse esterne (*Links*), persone (*Persons*), identificate in maniera univoca tramite *Authority files*, e luoghi inerenti (*Places*); infine le *Facets* per facilitare la ricerca del codice all'interno della banca dati.

Come precedentemente illustrato, il Virgilio Vaticano è un codice fortemente lacunoso, pertanto, prima ancora di poter procedere a qualunque tipo di ricostruzione virtuale, è stato necessario selezionare uno studio codicologico di riferimento: la scelta è ricaduta sul lavoro di Wright, secondo il quale il manoscritto doveva contare in tutto 430 fogli e dunque, sempre secondo il suo calcolo, sarebbero ad oggi 355 i fogli mancanti, contenenti presumibilmente il testo integrale, e le relative illustrazioni, di Georgiche ed Eneide. Lo studioso ha inoltre individuato, in numerosi casi con precisione, quali parti di testo e illustrazioni dovevano effettivamente essere presenti nei fogli perduti. All'interno di *Fragmentarium* esiste la possibilità di aggiungere tutti i fogli mancanti (*Sequence > Canvases > Add empty Canvas*), ma purtroppo non c'è modo di indicare al loro interno nessun tipo di informazione; il risultato è quindi una pagina grigia con la semplice dicitura '*empty canvas*', certamente non adatta a questo tipo di ricostruzione.

Dati questi limiti, si è proceduto a creare un *file* .docx per ogni foglio recto e verso mancante del Virgilio Vaticano, per un totale di 710 *files*, riportanti le informazioni indicate nella ricostruzione di Wright. Poi, ognuno dei 710 *files* è stato prima convertito nel formato PDF, e successivamente nel formato JPEG, per poi poter essere caricato in *Fragmentarium* (*CMS > Documents > Edit document > Upload images*).

Una volta caricati i JPEG dei fogli mancanti, questi sono stati aggiunti alla sequenza di immagini (*Sequence > Canvases > Select images to add to this Sequence > Select Canvases >* Add Selected Canvases to Sequence) e risultano già visibili all'utente nella sezione 'facsimile', ma esse vanno posizionate secondo l'ordine originario; e qui si presenta una delle più grandi criticità riscontrate durante il test: ogni immagine deve essere trascinata singolarmente nella posizione che le spetta. Se da un lato è possibile selezionare più immagini da aggiungere alla sequenza, la stessa operazione non può essere effettuata una volta che le immagini si trovano all'interno della sequenza. Si tratta di un problema quasi del tutto irrilevante quando si hanno poche immagini da trascinare e spostare, ma di assai maggior portata e decisamente limitante, nel momento in cui si hanno, come in questo caso, ben 710 immagini da posizionare.

Per offrire all'utente più modi per interrogare ed indagare il manoscritto, è utile aggiungere degli intervalli di tipo 'tematico', ad esempio relativi alla struttura fisica del codice (*Ranges for this Sequence > Physical Structure > Add range group*). Nel caso del Virgilio Vaticano sono stati creati due *Ranges*: *Content structure*, che mostra solo i *folia*, attualmente conservati, disposti secondo l'ordine testuale originario e con una sottosezione dedicata alle descrizioni delle singole immagini; *Physical structure* dedicata alla vera e propria ricostruzione virtuale del manoscritto, quindi contenente anche tutte le immagini dei fogli perduti. Nel *Range Content structure* è stata inoltre aggiunta una sottosezione dedicata alla descrizione di ogni illustrazione presente nel manoscritto. Nella sezione della struttura fisica, è stato possibile organizzare delle sottosezioni dedicate ai fascicoli riconoscibili, come nel caso dei fogli da IV a V, dove i due bifogli sono ancora congiunti tra loro. Inoltre, come è noto, i fogli IV e V, intermezzati da un ulteriore bifoglio perduto, risultano invertiti tra loro, e così appaiono nella digitalizzazione della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, la quale fotografa lo stato attuale del manoscritto.

Un'ulteriore osservazione va effettuata riguardo alla numerazione dei fogli del Virgilio Vaticano. Il manoscritto sembra essere stato foliato ben tre volte, sempre in numerali romani;[9] lo stesso sistema

---

9   D.H. Wright, *Vergilius Vaticanus*, 18.
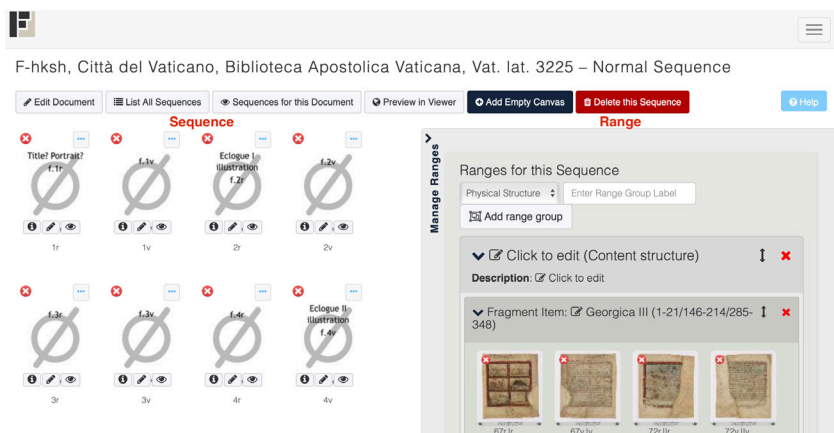
Figura 2: sulla sinistra la **Sequence** *e sulla destra il* **Range***, dove si può notare la doppia numerazione – araba e romana – dei fogli*

è seguito anche nelle digitalizzazioni della Biblioteca Vaticana, con *folia* da Ir a LXXVIv. Volendo aggiungere i fogli perduti – con la loro relativa numerazione – all'interno della ricostruzione del codice in *Fragmentarium*, si è presentato il problema di come rendere sia la numerazione in cifre romane originaria, sia quella dei fogli perduti. Tale problema si è posto poiché attualmente in *Fragmentarium* si può modificare il nome di una immagine (*Canvas*) solo quando essa è già caricata all'interno della sequenza, e non all'interno del *Range* (Figura 2).

Se fosse possibile cambiare nome alle immagini anche una volta inserite nel *Range*, si potrebbe adottare una foliazione in numeri arabi solo per la ricostruzione fisica del manoscritto (*Physical structure*), e mantenere quella in numeri romani per la struttura relativa al contenuto (*Content structure*). Non potendo fare altrimenti, si è scelto pertanto di adottare contemporaneamente sia la foliazione ricostruita da Wright in numeri arabi, sia quella attuale in numeri romani, separate da un punto (ad esempio 67r.Ir). Inoltre, la possibilità di cambiare nome alle *Canvas* anche una volta aggiunte nel *Range*, avrebbe permesso di associare ad ogni immagine inserita nella *Content structure* il riferimento al numero dei versi scritti nel foglio, cosa che attualmente è presente nell'intitolazione dei sotto-gruppi del *Range*.
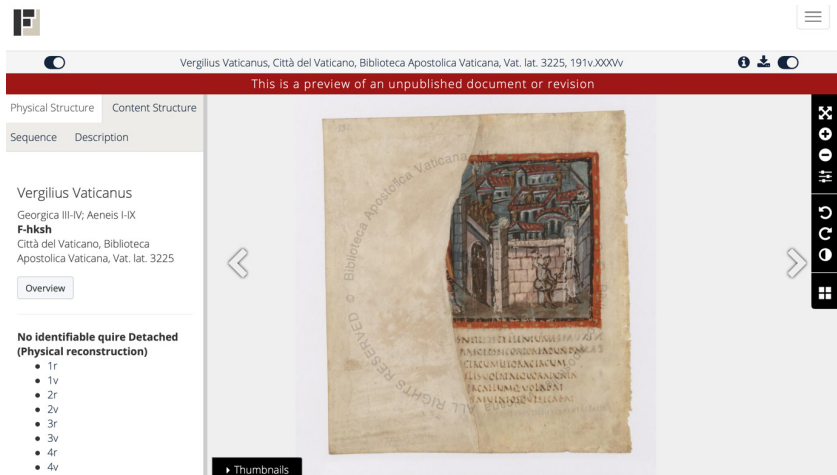
Figura 3: visualizzazione nel Viewer. *Il manoscritto può essere sfogliato carta per carta utilizzando le frecce, oppure si può selezionare la carta scorrendo e cliccando l'elenco sulla sinistra*

Il risultato di questo lavoro di ricostruzione virtuale è visibile nel documento F-hksh di *Fragmentarium*. La ricostruzione è consultabile nella sezione *Physical structure* e andando nel *Viewer* sarà possibile visualizzare il manoscritto. Selezionando ad esempio *Content structure* è possibile visualizzare solamente i *folia* tutt'oggi conservati, raggruppati su base testuale (suddivisione in libri delle Georgiche e dell'Eneide, con la segnalazione del numero di versi). Selezionando la *Physical structure* all'interno del *Viewer*, l'utente ha la possibilità di percepire – quasi fisicamente – quanto effettivamente doveva essere voluminoso il manoscritto originario del Virgilio Vaticano e quanto di esso sia andato perduto.

Perciò l'utente potrà consultare la ricostruzione semplicemente sfogliando le carte del manoscritto oppure selezionarle nella sezione sinistra del *Viewer* (Figura 3). L'unico ostacolo ad una fruizione rapida ed intuitiva della ricostruzione è il ricaricamento della pagina *web* ogni qualvolta si voglia selezionare una nuova carta del manoscritto.

Venendo dunque alle considerazioni finali, lo *stress-test* per *Fragmentarium* ha dato esisti sostanzialmente positivi, poiché il risultato finale della ricostruzione appare abbastanza chiaro ed intuitivo. L'inserimento dei dati nel *CMS* può certamente essere

perfezionato in relazione a ricostruzioni di questo tipo; rimane di fondamentale importanza rendere più veloce l'inserimento di fogli vuoti (*empty canvas*) e avere la possibilità di selezionare più immagini all'interno della sequenza. Certo è che se fosse possibile rinominare le immagini inserite nel *Range* – e perciò associare ad una sola immagine più nomi in base al *Range* che si sta utilizzando –, allora sarebbe sufficiente l'attuale sistema per l'inserimento di fogli mancanti.

Nonostante queste criticità, *Fragmentarium* si presta molto bene per le ricostruzioni di manoscritti frammentari, poiché esso offre allo studioso la possibilità di inserire numerosi livelli di informazioni rendendo il codice accessibile da molteplici punti di vista. Per il Virgilio Vaticano si potrebbero, ad esempio, creare due differenti *Physical structure*, una per la ricostruzione di Wright e l'altra per quella precedente di Nolhac,[10] al fine di mostrare l'evoluzione degli studi codicologici intorno a questo manoscritto.

Inoltre *Fragmentarium* si può considerare come una 'scheda di catalogo' aperta, dove un documento può essere costantemente aggiornato e pertanto migliorato; nel caso in cui si riuscisse a ritrovare, magari riusato e perduto in qualche rilegatura o foglio di guardia, un ulteriore frammento del Virgilio Vaticano, la sua digitalizzazione potrebbe essere immediatamente inserita nella ricostruzione virtuale di *Fragmentarium*. In effetti, un tentativo simile, potrebbe già essere effettuato per altri manoscritti. Quindi, il cosiddetto Virgilio Augusteo, conservato in due frammenti, uno presso la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (ms. Vat. lat. 3256) e l'altro presso la Staatsbibliothek di Berlino (Cod. lat. fol. 416). Attualmente il codice vaticano è completamente digitalizzato (https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.lat.3256), manca solo il lacerto berlinese. Nella speranza di una prossima digitalizzazione di quest'ultimo, si potrebbe agevolmente tentare un'ulteriore ricostruzione di un altro eminente testimone *antiquior* della tradizione virgiliana, i cui i frammenti sono dispersi in due istituti di conservazione differenti.

Infine, mentre da un lato il progetto di digitalizzazione della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana fotografa il patrimonio manoscritto

---

10   P.M. De Nolhac, "Le Virgile du Vatican".

esattamente come è attualmente conservato, corredando ciascun codice di una bibliografia massima di riferimento e dei collegamenti alle digitalizzazioni di specifiche parti di testo nel manoscritto, dall'altro *Fragmentarium* fornisce all'utente un servizio, se così si può definire, differente. Infatti, come mostrato dall'esempio del Virgilio Vaticano, e nonostante i limiti sottolineati in questo contributo, è possibile mostrare più piani di analisi di uno stesso codice frammentario. Tale analisi comprende non solo la classica descrizione tratta dai cataloghi a stampa (che naturalmente può essere affiancata da quella redatta dal catalogatore), ma soprattutto mostra all'utente, specialistico e non, come un manoscritto sia fruibile da più punti di vista: a partire dalla fotografia dello stato attuale di conservazione, si rende accessibile il codice attraverso il testo e le illustrazioni contenute, fino ad arrivare alla ricostruzione dell'unità codicologica originaria.

È chiaro come il caso del Virgilio Vaticano mostri la duplice valenza ontologica dell'oggetto frammento, non solo in rappresentanza di quello che è sopravvissuto fino ad oggi, ma anche di ciò che è andato perduto o disperso e che si tenta di ricostruire. Proprio in quest'ottica *Fragmentarium* si pone quindi come il passo successivo ai progetti di digitalizzazione di manoscritti presenti tutt'oggi a livello globale.

Research Note

Bart Demuyt and Ann Kelders, "Patrimoine éparpillé: Les fragments de l'antiphonaire de Beaupré," *Science connection* 58 (2018), 10–14 (www.scienceconnection.be)

Alison Stones, University of Pittsburgh
mastones@hotmail.com

It is gratifying when a dismembered leaf from a medieval manuscript finds its way into an appropriate public collection after wandering the world in private hands. Such is the case with a beautiful leaf decorated with elaborate pen-flourishing from the six-volume noted Antiphoner made in 1289–90 for the Abbess and Prioress of the Cistercian nunnery of Beaupré near Grammont, Belgium. Dispersed in the aftermath of the French Revolution, the volumes were in part dismembered, notably by the celebrated John Ruskin. The largest surviving entity of this collection was acquired by the Walters Art Gallery (now called the Walters Art Museum) in Baltimore and is mss W.759–62 and W.915 (www.thedigitalwalters.org). Other leaves, some illuminated with historiated initials or otherwise decorated with foliate initials, champie initials in gold and colours, or simply decorated with elaborate pen-flourished initials and borders, are widely scattered in European and American collections. The Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels houses two striking historiated initials, one showing of the Birth of John the Baptist, attended, unusually, by the Virgin Mary, with a pen-flourished initial on the verso. The second leaf shows the death of John the Baptist, with a foliate initial on the verso (MSS II 3634[1,2]). The Bibliothèque Royale also has a page with a champie initial (MS IV 173) and a page with pen-flourishing (MS IV 548) from the same set of volumes. Another pen-flourished leaf, sold twice at Sotheby's (6.xii.1988, lot 5, and again on 7.vii.2015, lot 5), was purchased by the Fondation Roi Baudouin and deposited at the Manuscript Department of the Bibliothèque Royale where, under the shelf number IV 1322, it rejoins its sister leaves already in the collection. The digitization of these leaves, which will facilitate research on their codicology, decoration, and textual and musical

content, was conducted by the Alamire Foundation — Centre inter-
national d'étude de la musique aux Pays Bas (www.idemdatabase.org).

Review

Edith Boewe-Koob, *Mittelalterliche Einbandfragmente aus dem Stadtarchiv Villingen-Schwenningen* (Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs und der Städtischen Museen Villingen-Schwenningen, 33), Villingen-Schwenningen 2018, 2 Bände (Text und Abbildungen), 95 + 56 S. ISBN 9783939423300.

Rezensiert von **Anette Löffler**, Universität Würzburg
anette.loeffler@gmx.de

In 2 Bänden legt die Musikwissenschaftlerin Edith Boewe-Koob die im Stadtarchiv Villingen-Schwenningen vorhandene mittelalterliche Makulatur vor. Zunächst kurz zum Aufbau des Textbandes. Nach einer sehr knappen allgemeinen Einleitung gibt Boewe-Koob eine Einführung (S. 9–16) in die diversen Einzelheiten der Beschreibungsteile. Zu diesen gehören beispielsweise der Zeitpunkt der Makulierung, die Klassifikation der Trägerbände, die Angabe von Schriftarten oder Notationen. Da es sich bei der Publikation nicht um einen ausgesprochenen Fragmentkatalog handelt, sondern der Text sich außer an Fachwissenschaftler offensichtlich auch an die interessierte Öffentlichkeit wendet, sind diese Festlegungen durchaus sinnvoll.

Es folgen in einem Teil 1 (S. 17–53) die Beschreibungen der 47 mittelalterlichen Fragmente, von denen 44 Liturgica sind, sowie deren Trägerbände. In Teil 2 (S. 54–88) unternimmt Boewe-Koob die Einordnung der Fragmente in die liturgische Tradition. Diese Zweiteilung empfinde ich als problematisch, denn die Behandlung eines Fragments unter beiden Gesichtspunkten zugleich wäre gut möglich und zudem kompakt gebündelt gewesen. Ein Beispiel soll dies belegen. Bei Fragment Nr. 18, einem Graduale, steht in Teil 1 auf S. 31, das Fragment bestehe aus 2 Teilen [gemeint sind vordere und hintere Deckelbeklebung], wobei die *Communio* auf dem vorderen Deckel auf Fronleichnam deute. Wer nun in Band 2 auf S. 24 die zugehörigen Abbildungen anschaut, fragt sich, warum nicht auch die gut lesbare Rubrik zu *Dedicatio ecclesie* mit dem Introitus erwähnt

wird. Wird sie, aber eben erst in Teil 2 auf S. 62. Ähnliches findet sich bei weiteren Fragmenten.

Auch wäre es insgesamt positiv gewesen, neben der sehr exakten Schriftbeschreibung sowie den Angaben der Notationen, etwas mehr Kodikologie beziehungsweise kunsthistorische Aspekte beispielsweise bezüglich der Initialen mit aufzunehmen. So werden weder Beschreibungen der Initialen, das Vorhandensein von Marginalien oder Foliierungen noch das Vorkommen von Seitenverweisen in die Erläuterungen aufgenommen.

Eine grundlegende Schwierigkeit stellen sehr häufig die Datierungen dar. Jeder Fachmann weiß, wie schwer es ist, liturgische Fragmente in Textualis oder Textura einigermaßen genau zu datieren. Insofern ist ein eher weiterer Datierungsrahmen, wie Boewe-Koob ihn bei den meisten Fragmenten wählt, nachvollziehbar. Warum aber die zusammengehörigen Fragmente Nr. 24 und Nr. 25 auf „um 1350" datiert werden, erschließt sich mir nicht, aber es wäre höchst aufschlussreich, die Gründe für diese sehr exakte Datierung darzulegen oder einfach den Datierungsrahmen auf „Mitte" oder „2. Drittel" zu erweitern. Die Datierung („nach 1000" bzw. „nach 1100") der beiden karolingischen Fragmente Nr. 38 und Nr. 39 bei einem der wenigen Spezialisten*innen zu erfragen, die eventuell sogar auf ein Skriptorium hätte ergänzt werden können, wurde leider verabsäumt.

Gerade bei dem bereits genannten Fragment Nr. 25 unterbleibt ein Hinweis auf die am selben Tag begangenen Feste von Georg und Adalbert, was im Bistum Konstanz eher unüblich war. Außerdem werden im Text nicht Alternativgebete für Georg aufgeführt, sondern die Alternativen sind die Gebete für Adalbert. Ebenso unerwähnt bleibt die wichtige Angabe, dass dem Buchbinder offensichtlich ein größerer Teil dieses Codex vorgelegen hatte, wenn ein Teil aus dem *Proprium de tempore* aus der Zeit nach Ostern (Nr. 24) und ein Teil aus dem Sanktorale aus dem Monat April (Nr. 25) stammt.

Die Fragmente Nr. 28 und 31 können durchaus noch näher eingeordnet werden. Die in Nr. 28 vor dem Formular der *Dominica quinta post pent.* aufgeführten Epistel- und Evangelienlesungen sind Teile der *Feria sexta post dominicam quartam post pent.*, die übrigens in Nr. 30 inhaltlich erneut auftauchen. In Nr. 30 gehen

diesen beiden Lesungen noch die entsprechenden Texte der *Feria quarta post dominicam quartam post pent.* voraus. Schlussfolgern könnte man daraus, dass diese beiden Fragmente unterschiedlichen Vorbesitzern (Kirchen) zugehörig gewesen waren. Auf alle Fälle aber kommen die Texte in exakt dieser Reihenfolge im 1485 gedruckten *Missale Constantiense* vor, folgen also dem Konstanzer Ritus.[1]

Den Abschluss des beschreibenden Teils von Band 1 (S. 79–86) bilden die Nachweise der einzelnen liturgischen (Gesang)Teile mit den Angaben der entsprechenden Nachschlagewerke wie CAO oder AMS. Diese Listen sind für einen Benutzer immer sehr nützlich, noch etwas nützlicher wären sie allerdings, wenn die Initien insgesamt alphabetisch geordnet worden wären und nicht nach ihrem Vorkommen in den einzelnen Fragmenten.

Am Ende des Bandes 1 (S. 87–95) steht ein Anhang, in dem hauptsächlich die Abkürzungen, ein Glossar sowie das Literaturverzeichnis verzeichnet sind. Auch seltene Antiphonen und Responsorien werden eigens aufgeführt, was man aber eventuell auch im Beschreibungsteil wirkmächtig hätte unterbringen können.

Wie in vielen Städten, so ist auch aus den Villinger Klöstern und Kirchenbibliotheken keine mittelalterliche Handschrift mehr bekannt und somit könnten die Fragmente hier ein kleines Mosaiksteinchen dieser Lücke schließen. Es zeigt sich immer wieder, dass Fragmente neue Erkenntnisse über Buchbesitz und Buchverwendung erbringen. Dies lässt sich auch an der Villinger Sammlung sehr schön dokumentieren.

Einige Beispiele dokumentieren den Umgang der Buchbinder mit Fragmenten, wenn ihnen offensichtlich mehr als ein Doppelblatt vorgelegen hatte (Nr. 24–25) und natürlich auch mit den entsprechenden Trägerbänden. Weiterhin wurde die Einbanddecke für einen Gartenzehntrodel aus dem Jahr 1613 aus mehreren Fragmenten zusammengeklebt (Nr. 31), auch dies eine durchaus gängige Praxis bei den Buchbindern. In diesem konkreten Fall hätten die vier verwendeten, unterschiedlichen Fragmente allerdings einzeln

---

1   Missale Constantiense, Basel, Peter Kollicker, 29. Mai 1485 (ISTC im00657000; GW M24338), hier verglichen mit Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ra 23, f. 111va–112vb.

und genauer beschrieben und dezidiert auf ihren Ritus untersucht werden müssen.

Das Paradebeispiel für die Zuordnung von Fragmenten sind gewiss die Fragmente Nr. 33–35. Ob die drei Doppelblätter von der bekannten Äbtissin Ursula Haider aus Valduna mitgebracht worden waren, scheint indes eher fraglich zu sein. Von Bedeutung ist aber, dass, wie aus den Angaben der Trägerbände hervorgeht, die Äbtissin Ursula Cabelissin oder Labellis (1624–1635, gest. 1636) des Villinger St. Clara-Konventes die Rechnungsbücher 1625/26 und 1627/28 hat anlegen (und binden) lassen.[2] Das Rechnungsbuch der Jahre 1607/08 wurde von ihrer Vorvorgängerin Appolonia Moser (Äbtissin 1592–1612) angelegt.[3] Ob die ehemaligen Handschriften aus Valduna mitgebracht worden waren, könnte eventuell eine genauere Einordnung der deutschsprachigen Rubriken und Anweisungen, die die Fragmente teilweise aufweisen, erbringen. Eine liturgische Verwendung im Klarissen-Konvent St. Clara in Villingen liegt durchaus im Bereich des Möglichen, dies müsste anhand von Vergleichen mit der einschlägigen franziskanischen Liturgie, etwa im *Liber Ordinarius*, verifiziert werden.

Es ergeben sich also aus den hier vorgelegten Fragmenten viele weitere Fragen zu interessanten Einzelaspekten.

---

2   Sie liegt auf dem Friedhof, vgl. L. Walter, „Personalverzeichnis und Totenregister des Klarissenklosters Paradies von 1580", *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 17(1923), 38–50, hier 46, Nr. 104.

3   M. Buhlmann, „Geistliche Gemeinschaften im mittelalterlich-neuzeitlichen Villingen", *Vertex Alemanniae. Schriftenreihe zur südwestdeutschen Geschichte* 57(2011), 1–45, hier 40.

Review

Dalibor Havel, *Počátky latinské písemné kultury v českých zemích. Nejstarší latinské rukopisy a zlomky v Čechách a na Moravě* [The Beginnings of Latin Written Culture in the Bohemian Lands. The Oldest Latin Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments in Bohemia and Moravia] (Opera facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Masarykianae, 479), Brno: Muni Press 2018, 534 pp. ISBN 9788021089181.

Reviewed by **Evina Steinova**, Huygens ING, Dutch Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences.
    evina.steinova@gmail.com

The editorial to the first issue of *Fragmentology* (2018) emphasized that fragments are often the most important kind of manuscript evidence for the study of the beginning of (Latin) written culture in specific regions. It gave examples from Scandinavia and Hungary, but the observation is equally true for regions that now belong to the Czech Republic – Bohemia and Moravia. The beginnings of written culture in this region (which, it should be stressed, was not only Latin but also Slavic) are connected with the Christianization in the ninth century, although we possess few fully preserved manuscripts of Bohemian and Moravian origin from before the thirteenth century. In this regard, Havel's catalogue and analytical study of the earliest Latin fragments of Bohemian and Moravian provenance are essential in unearthing the beginnings of Latin written culture in the Czech lands. It is a welcomed enterprise that will surely benefit scholars and enrich the discipline of fragmentology.

Havel's monograph consists of two distinct works that can be used separately. The part perhaps most interesting to those not specifically concerned with the history of the written culture and intellectual life in the Czech lands is the catalogue of the earliest

Latin manuscript fragments from the libraries in the Czech Republic
on pp. 100–372 (the greater part of chapter 3). This catalogue con-
tains short descriptions of 216 Latin fragments dating from the end
of the eighth to the end of the twelfth century (which Havel calls
'early medieval' following the chronology of Central Europe rather
than that of Western Europe). Importantly, the fragments includ-
ed in Havel's monograph represent only a third of Latin fragments
predating the thirteenth century in the holdings of Bohemian and
Moravian institutions (p. 19). Thus, rather than a complete overview,
the users of Havel's catalogue see only a selection, although Havel
stresses that the selection covers all types of fragment material in
Czech collections (p. 473). It is a pity that the users of the book
will not hear more about what was omitted from the selection and
on what grounds. Was it perhaps because many fragments remain
inaccessible? Likewise, readers do not necessarily get a good sense
of the criteria for inclusion; were fragments picked on the basis of
content, their character of fragmentation, age and provenance, or
locus of current preservation?

   The most exciting feature of Havel's catalogue is the presence
of high-quality colour images of all 216 fragments. Havel is very
well aware of the importance of this feature and correctly observes
that images should be an essential element of a catalogue like his
own (p. 54). Indeed, they allow his textual descriptions to remain
relatively short as a single image can do more for paleographers than
a lengthy description. Unfortunately, the image cannot do the same
for codicologists. Here, the written description is, and will remain,
key, whether in printed or online catalogues. Havel seems to be
aware of the need for a good description of the material aspects of
fragments, as is clear from the introduction to the catalogue on pp.
53–70. Despite noting, however, that he wants to provide informa-
tion on the dimensions of the text areas in his descriptions (p. 59),
the catalogue does not contain this information. It is commendable
that Havel pays attention to the ruling pattern and also discusses
the position of binding stations, whenever the state of the fragment
allows it. However, without the information about the text area
(both as it survives in the fragments and as it can be reconstructed
based on the text) and about the number of lines (surviving and

reconstructed), the descriptions are incomplete. This is the most substantial weakness of the catalogue, for the fact that the texts are not always correctly identified or not identified precisely (Havel seems to base himself on pre-extant catalogues) is less of a problem, given the presence of high-quality images.

The second entity hidden in Havel's monograph that usefully complements the catalogue consists of two analytical studies that treat the palaeographical and codicological evidence pertaining to the oldest phase of the Latin written culture in the Czech lands. Havel first re-examines the oldest Latin documents that can be securely said to have been written in Czech lands, even if they cannot yet be attributed to a fully-developed scriptorium (pp. 71–99). In chapter 4 of his monograph, he treats the question of the oldest indigenous scriptoria (pp. 373–472). Manuscript material treated in these two studies includes both fragments and fully preserved codices, as well as glosses, corrections and other marginalia that demonstrate that particular manuscripts were present in early medieval Bohemian or Moravian institutions. As in the case of the catalogue of fragments, the two analytical sections are equipped with high-quality colour images. Moreover, Havel supplies these two sections with detailed codicological diagrams allowing one to visualize both the mise-en-page and the quire structure of the fully preserved manuscripts central to his reconstruction of the earliest indigenous tradition of Latin writing in the Czech lands. Since many of his arguments are based on the codicology of manuscripts, these diagrams are a helpful aid to the readers.

Following earlier scholarship, Havel connects the inception of Latin written culture in the Czech lands with the Frankish missionary efforts orchestrated from Bavaria and to a lesser extent from other German areas in the Carolingian period. As he shows in his catalogue, the oldest Latin fragments preserved in Bohemian and Moravian institutions correspond chronologically and geographically to this first phase of the spreading of Latin literacy into Slavic domains. Nevertheless, probably none of these oldest books were produced in Bohemia or Moravia, nor can it be assumed that they were present there in the early Middle Ages, although Havel indicates several fragments and codices that were present in Bohemia in

the eleventh century. He identifies Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 217, a tenth-century Bavarian codex containing penitentials and canon law material, as the oldest manuscript whose Bohemian provenance can be proven. Crucial in this regard is a set of additions made by untrained hands whose contents suggest they were penned at the end of the tenth and during the first half of the eleventh century in the environs of the Prague bishopric. From this manuscript and from a fragment preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 1322, Havel deduces that trained scribes were present from early on in the environs of the Prague bishopric founded in the 970s, even though there was not yet a scriptorium.

The first scriptoria appeared in Benedictine monasteries, whose foundations can be placed into the same time frame as the beginnings of the Prague bishopric. Building on previous scholarship, Havel confirms that Břevnov Abbey, now a district of Prague, and Hradisko Abbey, near Olomouc, the seat of the Moravian bishops, were important early foundations possessing and producing Latin manuscripts. Havel identifies several manuscripts produced by teams of cooperating scribes displaying palaeographic particularities indicative of the existence of a scriptorium in both monasteries. Here the value of fragments is fully revealed, as his conclusions depend on fragments and marginalia, by means of which he tracks the same hands across several manuscripts. In total, Havel identifies twelve manuscripts that were either in possession of or produced by Břevnov Abbey between the mid-eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century, connecting the establishment of Břevnov's scriptorium to the long and prosperous abbacy of Mainhard (1035–1089). In a similar vein, he attributes six manuscripts to the scriptorium of Hradisko Abbey during the abbacy of Bohumil (the 1130s and 1140s), whose time in office corresponds to the episcopacy of the influential Jindřich Zdík (c. 1083–1150) in neighbouring Olomouc. As a completely novel hypothesis, Havel suggests that Ostrov Abbey, near Davle in central Bohemia, was a third Benedictine monastery possessing a scriptorium in the early Middle Ages (in this case, in the first half of the eleventh century).

The Czech monograph is accompanied by an English summary (pp. 481–486), which will surely please those whose Czech is a bit

rusty. Thanks to the lavish assortment of colour images, the book is useful even to those who are not familiar with the language. Indeed, the images are the most admirable element of the monograph. Not only the author of the book should be praised here, but also the publisher who undertook an effort many publishers stubbornly refuse these days. It cannot be overlooked that the author and/or publisher was able to obtain images from over forty different institutions. The willingness of institutions to release their images should be commended, above all because we need more projects such as this book, whether in print or on the web.

Review

Bart Jaski, Marco Mostert, and Kaj van Vliet, ed., *Perkament in stukken. Teruggevonden middeleeuwse handschriftfragmenten* (Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen, 171), Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren 2018, 280 pp. ISBN 9789087047429.

Reviewed by **Carine van Rhijn**, Utrecht University
c.vanrhijn@uu.nl

Perkament in stukken, 'parchment in pieces' is before anything else a celebration of the medieval fragments kept in the University Library of Utrecht and the Utrecht Archive. No less than forty-one people (ranging from graduate students to senior professors) collaborated to write this beautifully designed book, which has been generously illustrated with full-page photographs of the fragments discussed. Its publication went hand-in-hand with an exhibition in the Utrecht Archive in 2018, and the book is therefore aimed at a wide audience. Even though it is not a scholarly book, it provides a great introduction to the study of fragments, which it shows in impressive variety. At the same time, several authors underline that this is just a first exploration: the University Library alone holds about 750 fragments, with several thousand more still awaiting discovery in existing book-bindings.

The volume has three introductions, in which the editors each offer their own perspective on the subject. Marco Mostert explains how fragments as a subject for research has existed since about 1700, undergoing a notable revival in the past fifty years. All the same, the results of such research usually do not go beyond description, even though fragments offer opportunities to reconstruct lost libraries, for instance, or to ask wider questions about medieval literacy. Bart Jaski introduces the material kept in the Utrecht University Library by sketching the way in which books from the libraries of a whole series of churches, chapters, monasteries and learned individuals

in the Utrecht area ended up in the University Library. Many books from these collections contain the cut-up remains of discarded manuscripts, which sometimes allow the reconstruction of lost libraries, for instance that of the Utrecht Abbey of St Paul. Kaj van Vliet in his introduction briefly describes the little research that the Utrecht fragments have inspired thus far – but this has changed since 2016, when Utrecht graduate students became actively involved in the description and research of the fragments. This book is also a tribute to their hard work: more than half of the authors are (former) students who took part in these 'fragment-classes'.

The core of the volume consists of 38 brief chapters, organised thematically in broad categories such as 'liturgy', 'law' and 'science', and selected to illustrate the full breadth of what the Utrecht collections have on offer. Each chapter discusses a single fragment, ranging from small strips to complete bifolia, from Carolingian to the sixteenth century, from small and grubby to beautifully written and decorated. Many fragments tell new stories, and here we come to what is probably the most exciting aspect of the book. One ninth-century fragment (c. 14), discovered by students in 2016, contains a commentary on the Holy Trinity by the third-century 'anti-pope' Novatian, a text thus far only known through an edition from the sixteenth century. Another fragment (ch. 8), dated to around 1200, contains the first eight lines of a song in praise of Willibrord. This text also appears in an Echternach manuscript, but the Utrecht fragment contains musical notation (neumes written on lines) that has allowed musicologists to reconstruct the melody. Yet another ninth-century fragment (c. 7) sheds new light on the development of liturgical books in the early middle ages, in this case that from sacramentary to missal.

Not only the texts, but also other aspects of the fragments get attention, for instance decoration (c. 20), 'the green monster' ink corrosion (c. 35), or striking forms of re-use. One instance of the latter is the re-use of large leaves from a sixteenth-century antiphonary, which were sewn into envelopes to keep proof of inoculation against smallpox in the early twentieth century. From such attention to a range of different aspects, the reader discovers how this is an interdisciplinary field of study: the eyes of historians, liturgists,

palaeographers, art historians and musicologists respectively each see different things, and together paint a colourful panorama of Utrecht as a city of manuscripts. One aspect that could have done with more attention is how this city of manuscripts was connected to the wider world: many fragments reflect aspects of local history, but others show interesting connections with the wider world. For instance, fragments of a Salernitan medical compendium, of a Jewish-Arabic text containing dietary knowledge, and of a legal text from Bologna show how Utrecht was a city reached by traditions of knowledge from everywhere, centuries before the university was founded.

After going through this dazzling panorama of 'parchment in pieces', the reader cannot help but wonder what else is out there in unexplored library collections, early-modern book bindings, and in forgotten boxes on the shelves of archives. The appearance of this book will hopefully stimulate interest in this line of research, for if this is, indeed, just the beginning, we are surely in for many surprises in future.

Review

Åslaug Ommundsen and Tuomas Heikkilä, ed., *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments: The Destruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books*, Abingdon: Routledge 2017, 304 pp. ISBN 9781472478580.

Reviewed by **Christoph Flüeler**, Université de Fribourg
   christophe.flueler@unifr.ch

This volume presents the state of the research on fragments in the Nordic countries of Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark and Iceland. As such, it presents over a century and a half of research, beginning in the 1840s with what was, in comparison to current research, a selective approach (pp. 10–15). This early approach exemplified by the assessment of the Norwegian historian P.A. Munch (1810–1863), "Most of the findings [in the Norwegian National Archives] are fragments in Latin books of ascetic (*sic*!) contents and therefore not of particular interest for us, apart from that they are beautifully written and seem ancient."(p. 11). This very selective and unsystematic approach is still common in traditional manuscript research. New ways to look at fragments started in countries at the boundaries of medieval Latin culture.

In the Nordic countries, the systematic study of medieval manuscript fragments began already in the 1930s. By the 1940s, the first efforts at cataloging were undertaken, by, for example, Toni Schmid in Stockholm, by the musicologist Toiv Haapanen in Finland, by Jørgen Rasted in Denmark, or, in the 1950s, by Lilli Gjerløw in Norway. What Heikkilä and Ommundsen in their introductory chapter call the "latest wave" (p. 12) began in 1993, at the same time as the archivist Jan Brunius' pioneering work in digital cataloguing efforts. Since then, there has been a close and very productive cooperation among the Nordic countries. Alongside this research,

there have been numerous workshops (Stockholm 1993, 2003, 2013; Oslo 2003, 2005 and 2006; Bergen 2005, 2009, 2010; Helsinki 2007) and numerous publications. From 2006 to 2011, Heikkilä directed a research project about the culture of writing in Finland, taking into account Latin manuscript fragments. In Norway, systematic research was advanced by Andreas Haug, Espen Karlsen, Gunnar Pettersen, Tor Weidling, Michael Gullick, Åslaug Ommundsen and others, resulting in the project *From manuscript fragments to book history*, directed by Åslaug Ommundsen at the University of Bergen.

In regard to fragment research, the Nordic countries, especially Sweden, Finland and Norway, are today several steps ahead. First of all, they have already catalogued a large part of their fragments, and can provide precise information about their inventory of surviving fragments. Second, based on this cataloguing, they have begun to carry out fundamental historical research. In comparison to other European countries, where, in spite of an abundance of complete codices, fragment research is still largely in its infancy. The Nordic countries have in fact relatively few complete codices,[1] the sheer number of Nordic fragments is however impressive. There are about 50,000 single fragments in public institutions, and they witness about 15,000 medieval books from between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. Most of these fragments are held in archives (not libraries). The Swedish National Archives alone hold about 23,000 fragments (from about 11,000 codices); in Finland there are more than 9,400 fragments (witnesses of about 1,500 codices), in Norway 6,500, and in Denmark more than 10,000 fragments. Iceland holds a significantly smaller number with a total of about 750 fragments (p. 8), of which 218 are in Latin (p. 171).

This volume brings together a total of ten articles, including one for each of the five Scandinavian countries. The article by Jan Brunius, author of the seminal book *From Manuscripts to Wrappers. Medieval Book Fragments in the Swedish National Archives* (Stockholm 2013), provides a concise introduction to the fragments

---

[1]   Only Sweden has a large store of about 1,650 medieval codices, of which about 650 are from Sweden. Norway, in contrast, has only 10–12 Latin codices that were produced there (p. 139). There are only a few dozen Finnish codices and only a single complete Latin codex in and from Iceland (p. 169).

in Sweden, where almost half of the Nordic fragments can be found. Most of the recycled manuscripts, primarily liturgical ones (84%), found new uses after the Reformation, between 1530 until 1630 (with a peak in the year 1565). It is assumed that most of these manuscripts came from Swedish parishes, although a particular parish can be determined in only a very few cases; Brunius mentions 21 of them (p. 68). Thus, direct indications of provenance are rare. But the so-called 'portfolio theory' (pp. 74–76) can provide indirect indications of provenance, based on the fact that the origin of the wrappers and covers can be accounted for by the activity of officials from the central administration in Stockholm. Therefore, the fragments must be from Sweden and must even be from certain provinces.

Tuomas Heikkilä's article is a textbook example of how systematic fragment research can reveal significant historical developments. This is possible only if reconstruction is considered very broadly, moving beyond the traditional understanding of reconstructing a single manuscript from a few surviving parts, to using large sets of fragments to rebuild entire libraries, or even literary cultures. Indeed Heikkiläs' article reconstructs the emergence of a literary and book culture in Finland from the sum total of surviving Finnish fragments. As mentioned above, in Finland there are about 9,400 fragment leaves from about 1,500 manuscripts. This allows the author to reconstruct the emergence of book culture in Finland. According to Heikkilä, book culture entered the northernmost edge of the *Latinitatis* in the eleventh to twelfth century, at the same time as Christianization. The oldest fragments, however, probably come from imported manuscripts. With all due caution, we can assume English, German and French missionary influences. In keeping with political developments, Swedish influence follows in the thirteenth century. Finland did not develop its own book culture until the fourteenth century, and organized book production only emerges in the fifteenth century.

The fragments in Denmark – where the "last wave" apparently was less active – are presented by Michael H. Gelting. In a manner comparable to the 'portfolio theory' (cf. Brunius, pp. 74–76), the author attempts to deduce the origin of these fragments from their secondary provenance, i.e., from the recycling process they

underwent. Thus, fragments from Ringsted Abbey are found in late 16th century account books, the monastery's *len*. The situation is different for Tønder, where, unlike in Ringsted Abbey, apparently no old manuscripts were available on site; therefore binding materials had to be provided by the *Rentenkammer* (office of pensions) in Gottorf, which availed itself of parchment leaves of manuscript waste from the nearby Augustinian monastery in Bordesholm.

As Åslaug Ommundsen points out in her article, "A Norwegian – and European – Jigsaw Puzzle of Manuscript Fragments", the fragments in Norway are products of the Danish administration's binding techniques between 1536 and 1660. They are usually smaller than in Sweden, which can also be attributed to this different binding technique.[2] In Norway, parchment was used not as covers or wrappers, but as reinforcing material, for example as spine lining. If we assume a rough estimate of about 10,000–12,000 liturgical manuscripts at some time (p. 139), as well as fragments from about 1,080 liturgical manuscripts (90% of the roughly 1,200 Latin codices, p. 139), the significance of these sources becomes clear, especially if one considers them in relation to the small number of complete manuscripts (10–12 Latin codices that have survived intact). Thanks to these numerous sources, reconstructions become possible; one must, however, always assume to have a puzzle where only a few pieces at most will fit together. In recognition of this problem, Åslaug Ommundsen explains the title of her article more precisely, "the fragment collections will never take a shape of a neat and orderly jigsaw puzzle, but rather a mix and match of several puzzles, some of which will never connect to others." (p. 155).

A special case is presented by Iceland, where many fewer fragments have survived. Even if Icelandic fragments held in other countries, especially in Denmark, are included in the count, the total reaches only a rather modest number compared with the other Nordic countries. In his article, Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson discusses the preeminent Árni Magnússon (1663–1730). In his time, reusing manuscript waste was a common practice, and Magnússon was no

---

2   An impressive overview can be found in *Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Norway. Studies in memory of Lilli Gjerlow*, ed. E. Karlsen, Oslo 2013, including an article by Ommundsen.

exception. He was interested in the written witnesses to Icelandic culture; for instance, he kept a Icelandic calendar, because he considered it interesting, and used the rest as manuscript waste (p. 167). In addition to the 218 Latin fragments in Iceland, more can be found in the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen (560 fragments), as well as an indeterminate number in other collections in other countries. That there must have been a substantial number of liturgical manuscripts in Iceland is shown by the following calculation (p. 174): if in the late Middle Ages there were 330 churches and 1,200 chapels, and each church had about four liturgical manuscripts, then at a certain point in time there should have been at minimum a total of 1,200 codices (p. 175). Traces of about 340 manuscripts have survived. On the one hand, this demonstrates a great loss, but at the same time, it demonstrates the significance of the fragments. From a pan–European perspective, it is astonishing how many fragments of books, out of the estimated total to have survived, have been preserved in Iceland, as well as in Norway (p. 139) and Sweden. Rudimentary research up to now suggests that the losses in Western and Southern Europe are much larger.

It would be good to know how many fragments survive worldwide. Just over 30,000 leaves have been counted in the USA, but what are considered 'leaves' there are mostly singletons, often illuminated, from 'broken books'. Currently no one knows how many fragments there may be in Western, Southern and Eastern Europe. Most collections do not even know the number of their detached fragments (often stored in archival boxes without shelfmarks), not to mention the number of fragments in host volumes. Are there as many medieval manuscript fragments as codices, about 300,000? Or should one rather assume tenfold more? Both numbers are possible. This would mean, however, that the great number of Nordic fragments should not necessarily be considered extraordinary (cf. Brunius pp. 78–79). As is generally known, since the early Middle Ages, it was common practice to reuse parchment as 'manuscript waste'; thus, this practice is not unique to the Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Catholic liturgical manuscripts were given a second life as binding material. Such reuse of 'waste' material can be found as early as the ninth century (e.g. in St. Gall)

and as late as the early 20th century, with a peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are countless libraries and archives in Western and Southern Europe with large collections of fragments that still have to be inventoried. Nevertheless, what is special about the Nordic countries is the proportion of surviving fragments to codices.

Scandinavian and Finnish research has raised numerous methodological questions and has presented fascinating results. The systematic study of medieval manuscript fragments yields more profits the greater the number of fragments that have been identified and described, and the more pieces that have been related to others. Such reconstructions go far beyond the reconstruction of codices or scriptoria or the book culture of specific countries. The study of the Nordic fragments show that our goal must be to reconstruct the book culture of Europe as a whole. The relation of Nordic written culture to that of Europe is addressed repeatedly in this volume; it is understood as a research perspective (pp. 17–19). Our hope is that fragmentology in the other regions takes up this groundbreaking approach and pursues it with equal persistence.

Review

Caterina Tristano, ed., *Frammenti di un discorso storico. Per una grammatica dell'aldilà del frammento* (Palaeographica. Collana di studi di storia della cultura scritta, 8), Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM 2018, 750 pp. ISBN 9788868091651

Reviewed by **Roberta Napoletano**, Alma Mater Studiorum - Università di Bologna
roberta.napoletano3@unibo.it

Il volume raccoglie gli atti del convegno internazionale di studi "Frammenti di un discorso storico" tenutosi presso l'Università di Siena dal 10 al 12 dicembre 2015, grazie all'*input* dato dagli storici del libro e della scrittura impegnati nel Progetto di Interesse Nazionale PRIN 2010–11 *Bibliotheca Italica Manuscripta* (BIM); è stato curato da Caterina Tristano, coordinatrice locale di BIM e autrice sia della presentazione che della postfazione. I lavori del convegno hanno come obiettivo la creazione di "una visione intellettuale condivisa, su cui fondare una sorta di grammatica del frammento", la condivisione di criteri metodologici simili in campi di ricerca apparentemente distanti.

Da subito si percepisce l'intento – e la necessità – di sviluppare un'ottica interdisciplinare per lo studio del frammento, ed infatti la ricchezza degli interventi mira proprio a coprire il numero più ampio possibile di campi di ricerca; nonostante ciò, appare innegabile la preponderanza di saggi inerenti ai lacerti di tipo testuale.

Il volume è costituito da ventinove saggi ed è arricchito da un indice delle figure e delle fonti, ma non presenta una netta suddivisione dei contributi per area tematica; scelta che può essere interpretata come la volontà di integrare tra loro, in una sorta di dialogo, tutti i campi disciplinari coinvolti.

In apertura le riflessioni di Tarcisio Lancioni il quale, attraverso un'analisi semiologica, offre al lettore un cappello metodologico per tutti quei campi di indagine che guardano a reperti frammentari. Il frammento viene infatti interpretato in relazione al rapporto con il tutto di cui fa parte al quale talvolta si sostituisce. Quasi come a sottolineare la sopravvivenza dell'oggetto frammento nella storia, Giuseppe Patota presenta un caso di studi riguardante le prime e variegate attestazioni della parola *vita* nell'area italoromanza, suddividendo le attestazioni in base alle sfumature di significato che essa assume.

Seguono poi alcuni interventi dedicati a singoli gruppi di frammenti: la 'filologia del frammento' è affrontata da Claudio Lagomarsini attraverso lo studio di fonti romanze; Arianna D'Ottone Rambach traccia una panoramica dei lacerti in scrittura araba, mentre Lucio Del Corso, servendosi di alcuni dettagliati esempi, affronta le criticità connesse all'analisi e all'edizione dei frammenti papiracei greci. Elisabetta Bartoli parla delle questioni metodologiche intorno al trattamento delle fonti epistolografiche del XII secolo.

Lo studio dei frammenti è fondamentale anche nelle discipline archeologiche, e nel volume non mancano i contributi di questo settore. Nicoletta Giannini propone una convincente ricostruzione della Roma medievale, mediante lo studio di manufatti e frammenti architettonici rinvenuti in città. Flavia De Rubeis e Daniele Ferraiuolo propongono un eccellente studio della cultura scritta nel monastero di San Vincenzo al Volturno tra i secoli VIII e IX, integrando i dati rilevati dai reperti archeologici con codici ed epigrafi, spesso frammentari, superstiti. Roberto Farinelli ha presentato il censimento dei frammenti epigrafici dell'abbazia imperiale di S. Antimo, che ha permesso la scoperta di *instrumenta* del XII secolo e di condurre uno studio prosopografico dei personaggi menzionati. Infine Enrico Zanini, attraverso riflessioni a carattere teorico e metodologico, mette in luce il legame tra archeologia e filologia nell'approcciarsi alle testimonianze frammentarie.

Lo studio del mercato antiquario tra XVIII e XX secolo costituisce un ulteriore ambito di indagini, essenziale per comprendere la fenomenologia del riuso e della dispersione del patrimonio librario, ed in particolare quello miniato. Se ne occupa Francesca Manzari,

rintracciando un gruppo di fogli miniati trafugati nel 1897 dalla Biblioteca Giovardiana di Veroli, immessi sul mercato antiquario statunitense nel XX secolo.

La sezione più corposa del volume è dedicata all'illustrazione delle campagne di censimento e catalogazione sistematiche condotte in biblioteche e archivi; il proliferale di tali progetti manifesta un crescente interesse per questa tipologia di fonti, che si sta diffondendo in maniera esponenziale in Italia e all'estero. Ecco quindi che gli studiosi coinvolti relazionano in merito ai frammenti scegliendo un criterio di tipo territoriale.

Il saggio di Mauro Perani si propone come *summa* di trentasette anni di ricerca intorno ai frammenti ebraici italiani, analizzando i motivi della dispersione e del riuso, le tipologie di riutilizzo e il dibattito intorno ai problemi di conservazione e fruizione. Attraverso esempi inerenti ai lacerti della *Genizah* italiana, l'autore in realtà delinea una metodologia di lavoro applicabile quasi *in toto* anche ai frammenti latini, in volgare, in arabo ecc.

Esemplare è il caso dell'Archivio di Stato di Arezzo, presso il quale, sempre nell'ambito del progetto BIM, è stato effettuato un censimento sistematico dei frammenti, che ha permesso inoltre di riunire numerosi manoscritti smembrati. I lacerti aretini sono stati studiati a seconda della loro tipologia testuale nei contributi di Leonardo Magionami, che analizza gli omeliari dei secoli IX–XIII, di Gianluca Millesoli che guarda alla produzione, sviluppatasi in Italia a partire dal XIII secolo, della Bibbia in volgare e di Maura Mordini, che riferisce intorno alla catalogazione dei frammenti giuridici.

Vengono poi illustrati gli studi condotti da Emilio Giazzi il quale, dopo un attento spoglio dei cataloghi di frammenti presenti sul territorio nazionale, illustra i ritrovamenti di frammenti classici ritrovati a Cremona tra cui spicca, per vetustà, una maculatura di IX secolo del *Brutus* di Cicerone.

Per l'area emiliana vi sono i contributi di Armando Antonelli e Paola Degni. Antonelli compie una breve panoramica su alcuni frammenti bolognesi e ferraresi, mentre Paola Degni si occupa dei frammenti greci conservati presso l'Archivio dell'Arcidiocesi e l'Archivio di Stato di Bologna, compiendo un'attenta ricostruzione

degli studi umanistici e greci a Bologna al tempo del concilio di Ferrara-Firenze del 1441.

Tra le tipologie maggiormente attestate nei censimenti, si riscontrano i frammenti provenienti da libri liturgici e liturgico-musicali. Contestualizzando in maniera chiara e sintetica le loro peculiarità, le potenzialità e le prospettive di ricerca, Nicola Tangari redige un utilissimo sommario dei frammenti liturgici musicali – ancora oggi *in situ* – dell'Archivio Notarile di Città di Castello, suddividendolo in due parti, a seconda della tipologia dei libri liturgico-musicali.

I lacerti dell'Archivio Capitolare di Pistoia sono presentati da Michaelangiola Marchiaro, che riesce a ricondurre sei di questi ad alcuni codici della Biblioteca Capitolare della cittadina.

Il saggio di Carlo Tedeschi e Ilaria Vezzosi mostra un metodo di lavoro e intervento sui frammenti a 360°. Infatti gli studiosi, a partire dal minuzioso studio dei quattrocento frammenti conservati nell'Archivio Diocesano di Penne, ricostruiscono il contesto storico e di produzione dei manoscritti da cui originariamente provenivano; nella seconda parte del contributo vengono illustrate le fasi di restauro di un antifonario contenente frammenti.

Naturalmente le indagini sistematiche non si fermano all'area italiana; in questo contesto si pone l'intervento di Thomas Falmagne che si occupa delle collezioni di frammenti, specialmente miniati, di area belga, al fine di ricostruire la circolazione libraria di epoca umanistica e rinascimentale.

Christoph Egger offre una panoramica dei frammenti austriaci, mentre Katharina Kaska e Friedrich Simader si occupano nello specifico della grande collezione della Biblioteca Nazionale austriaca; i risultati di tali ricerche svolte presso la Biblioteca Nazionale e presso l'ex monastero benedettino di Mondsee confluiscono nella banca dati *Fragmentarium*.

Alcuni interessanti lacerti della Catalogna vengono presentati da J. Antoni Iglesias-Fonseca, per i quali l'autore cerca di ricostruire le vicende che hanno portato alla loro dispersione. Mentre per la Penisola Iberica, a partire dall'opera di Avelino de Jesus da Costa, María Encarnación Martin López pone l'accento sugli attuali problemi di catalogazione dei frammenti di manoscritti in Spagna.

Ogni singolo caso di studio presentato mostra come, partendo da un censimento e catalogazione sistematica del patrimonio frammentario di una determinata area, siano innumerevoli le strade percorribili dalla ricerca.

È grazie a questa multidisciplinarità che l'approccio digitale risulta essere la frontiera più innovativa; tant'è vero che sia in Italia che all'estero sempre più istituzioni e centri di ricerca rendono disponibili immagini e schede descrittive di lacerti di manoscritti. Simonetta Buttò presenta il progetto *Manus OnLine* (MOL) dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico (ICCU), non specificatamente orientato alla catalogazione dei frammenti di manoscritti, bensì al censimento e alla catalogazione dei manoscritti conservati in Italia. In costante dialogo con l'ICCU è il progetto presentato da Paolo Eleuteri e Francesco Bernardi, *Nuova Biblioteca Manoscritta* (NBM), un catalogo aperto dei manoscritti delle biblioteche venete. NBM raccoglie al suo interno alcune sezioni speciali, come *Manoscritti greci d'Italia* (MaGI), ed in particolare *Fragmenta Italica Manuscripta* (FIM), che si propone come progetto dagli interessanti sviluppi, dedicato al censimento e catalogazione dei frammenti del territorio italiano, conservati presso archivi e biblioteche di enti pubblici, ecclesiastici o privati.

Guardando Oltralpe, Marina Bernasconi Reusser offre una esaustiva panoramica dei frammenti conservati in Svizzera, presentando il problema, riscontrabile anche nei cataloghi più recenti, dell'identificazione univoca del singolo frammento, staccato oppure ancora *in situ*. Infine la studiosa illustra il giovane, ma già ben avviato, *Fragmentarium* (https://fragmentarium.ms), un portale *open access* che funge da centro internazionale per l'inventariazione e la ricerca scientifica dei frammenti manoscritti.

Ciò che emerge chiaramente dalle relazioni presentate al convegno del 2015 è che oramai il frammento non è più percepito come ritrovamento eccezionale, un *unicum*, un superstite di qualche evento traumatico, ma viene messo in relazione sia con l'ambiente di origine, sia con il contesto di riuso. La varietà eccezionale di interventi raccolta in "Frammenti di un discorso storico" evidenzia proprio come la cooperazione tra differenti settori di ricerca sia la chiave per

delineare un metodo comune che sottostia a questo nascente campo di studi.

Pur essendoci molti aspetti ancora da approfondire ed indagare – *in primis* si percepisce l'assenza di una riflessione metodologica intorno ai lacerti a carattere documentario – chi si appresta a condurre lavori sui *membra disiecta* non può prescindere da un attento studio di questo volume che, grazie anche ai numerosissimi *case studies*, rappresenta il fondamento per la ricerca di quella tanto richiesta "grammatica dell'aldilà del frammento".

Fragmentology 2 (2019)

Index of Manuscripts

This index supplies the shelfmarks of objects containing manuscript material that are cited in the text. When available, the Fragmentarium ID is indicated within [square brackets].

A

B