

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, Stavros Niarchos Foundation (SNF), and the Zeno-Karl-Schindler Foundation, *Fragmentology* is published by the University of Fribourg 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; images may be subject to other licenses. Submissions are free, and *Fragmentology* does not require payment or membership from authors or institutions.

Founding Editors: William Duba (Fribourg), Christoph Flüeler (Fribourg)

Editor: William Duba (Fribourg)

Associate Editor: Veronika Drescher (Vienna)

Editorial Board: Lisa Fagin Davis, (Boston, MA), Christoph Egger (Vienna), Thomas Falmagne (Frankfurt), Scott Gwara (Columbia, SC), Nicholas Herman (Philadelphia), Christoph Mackert (Leipzig), Marilena Maniaci (Cassino), Stefan Morent (Tübingen), Åslaug Ommundsen (Bergen), †Nigel Palmer (Oxford)

Typesetting: Trine Wismann (Fribourg)

Instructions for Authors: Detailed instructions can be found at <https://www.fragmentology.ms/about/submissions/>. Authors must agree to publish their work in Open Access.

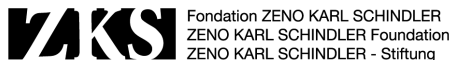
Fragmentology is published annually at the University of Fribourg. For further information, inquiries may be addressed to fragmentarium@unifr.ch.

Editorial Address:

Fragmentology
Center for Manuscript Research
University of Fribourg
Rue de l'Hôpital 4
1700 Fribourg, Switzerland.

tel: +41 26 300 90 50

Funded by:



Volume VIII, 2025

Editorial: Fragmented Perspectives 1–4

Articles

The Provenance of the Swedish-Finnish Manuscript Collection: A Case Study of Early Modern Parchment Reuse 5–45
Seppo Eskola

Bringing Missing Links Together: How Fragmentology and Digital Humanities can Restore Catalonia's Disturbed Cultural Memory 47–96
Matthias Tischler

Fragments Unveiled: A Newly Discovered Manuscript of Henry of Langenstein's Sentences 97–125
Monica Brînzei

In situ Fragments in Beinecke Library Incunabula 127–153
Elizabeth Hebbard

Research Notes

Mise-en-page between Roman Egypt and Medieval Europe: The Recette de Saint-Remi and the Layout of an Early Greek Parchment Codex (P. Ant. 1 27) 155–169
Brent Nongbri

Membra disiecta and the Dispersion of an Eighth-Century Codex in Rhaetian Script 171–183
Marina Bernasconi Reusser

Tracing Origins and Reassembling Fragments: Material from St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1396.1–32 185–206
Brigitte Roux

Two Fragments of Augustine's In Iohannis evangelium tractatus from Lambach 207–216
Lisa Fagin Davis

Hanc te volo diligentiam adhibere ... Late-Medieval Fragmentary Instructions on Housekeeping 217–232
Pieter Beullens

Fragments Combined: A Comprehensive Dataset on Swedish and Finnish Medieval Book Fragments 233–240

Seppo Eskola

Book Review

Laura Albiero and Christian Meyer, *Fragments notés : Paris, Archives Nationales et Solesmes, Abbaye Saint-Pierre* 241–243

Luca Ricossa

Index of Shelfmarks 245–255

Fragmented Perspectives

Editorial



It has been a great year for *Fragmentology*. A range of authors have contributed to produce a large volume—the biggest to date—full of studies that cover individual fragments, groups of fragments, and whole collections, from late antiquity to the early-modern period, from the Iberian Peninsula to the Nordic lands. This year as well, the Italian National Agency for the Evaluation of University and Research Institutes (ANVUR) accepted to classify *Fragmentology* as “Recognized” in Area 11 (Historical, Philosophical, and Pedagogical Sciences), and as an “A-class” journal in Area 11/A4 (Book Sciences, Diplomatics, and Historical-Religious Sciences). Henceforth, authors from Italian institutions will not just enjoy the respect and admiration of their peers, but will even receive credit from administrators for publishing in this journal. In addition, the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) now lists *Fragmentology*, making it even more accessible to researchers, scholars, and scrapers for large language models.

In last year’s Editorial, I glossed on the observation of Alessandra Molinari that fragments were fundamentally relational,¹ stating that “for fragments of manuscripts and early print, those relations are between the fragment, the original object, and their current functional whole that they (help) constitute”. This series of relations between piece, carrier, and whole provides an effective set of tools for understanding fragments and for communicating them.

When we call something a ‘fragment’, we are also saying that it is *not* something. A ‘fragment of St. Augustine’s *De civitate Dei*’ is not

¹ The comment appears in A. Molinari, R. Rosselli Del Turco, K. Janz-Wenig, E. Meyer, A.A. Gasparini, and F. Aurora, “The Multi- and Interdisciplinary Relevance of Fragment Studies: Two Cases from a State Archive in Italy”, *Digital Philology: A Journal of Medieval Cultures* 13 (2024), 102–123, at 108. I assume the observation comes from Molinari, as this formulation cites A. Molinari, N. Biondi, and E. Abate, “*Textus invisibilis*. An integrated research approach to the study of the manuscript fragments preserved at the State Archive in Urbino”, in *Urbino in età moderna e contemporanea*, ed. G. Dall’Olio and S. Pivato, Rimini 2019, 215–260, at 236.

the *De civitate Dei*. Rather, we are saying that it probably once was part of a copy of the *De civitate Dei*. We relate the object in front of us, the piece, to the notion of a whole that no longer exists. What was a charter is now part of a binding. A ‘fragment’ is a dead part.

Indeed, calling something a ‘fragment’ designates a relation of not-being some original whole, but, with very few exceptions, that thing lives in a new context: it serves as part of the binding of a book, as framed decoration for someone’s living room, as part of a box labeled ‘fragments’ forgotten in the corner of a library, as lining in clothing, or otherwise reused.

As an historical artefact, the fragment bears witness not just to the moment of its creation, but to whole life of the original whole, receiving annotations, undergoing degradations and modifications, dying and being reused. Sometimes a single piece has traces of participating in several carriers, and in describing the reuse of such a piece, we hypothesize the existence of other artefacts that may or may not exist now or have ever existed.

The components that constitute working with fragments fall into these classes, piece-carrier-whole, and their relations provide much of the meaning in fragmentology. We often treat together several pieces from the same whole found in the same carrier, for example, when leaves from the same manuscript are used as front and back pastedowns in the same book. A reconstruction aims to use the surviving pieces from the same original whole to produce a model of that original. Several carriers bearing pieces of the same whole likely share a common provenance, the time and place, for example, where the bookbinder, luthier, or (literal or figurative) butcher dismantled the whole for reuse. Likewise, a single carrier bearing pieces from several wholes spatiotemporally unites the carcasses of those diverse originals.

Practically, not every case needs members of each class to exist, or to have existed. We may infer the existence of a fragment from the offset of the ink left behind on a binding. A written artefact may have been left to decay or subjected to violence, such that all that remains is a fragment thereof, with no secondary carrier. That whole

Figure 1: [E-xd3f] Frauenfeld,
Kantonsbibliothek Thurgau,
X 96, Back flyleaf r-v



may never have existed, as with discarded or cancelled leaves.² Yet it does not seem that the same piece can serve as part of a whole and part of a carrier at the same time and in the same way.

As purely notional classes, piece-carrier-whole can be applied to broader notions, not just using collections of fragments to trace groups of carriers or reconstruct liturgies and libraries, but even considering corpora, the cultures that created them, and the institutions that hold them. Certainly, the division can be applied to the analysis of literary fragments.

While this core idea of fragmentology may find ambitious and spectacular theoretical applications, the practical presentation of physical fragments of manuscripts and early print requires us to be clear on these three conceptual objects and their relations. Indeed,

² I. Dobcheva and C. Mackert, “Manuscript Fragments in the University Library, Leipzig: Types and Cataloguing Patterns”, *Fragmentology* 1 (2018), 83–110, at 91.

much of the difficulty we encounter in talking about fragments arises from a confusion of notions.

For example, consider the case of a former bifolium that now appears as a flyleaf in a printed book [Figure 1]. We identify the piece in relation to its carrier: it is the back flyleaf, recto and verso. But we would invite confusion if we tried to talk about the original content of the fragment in terms of the book, say by assigning to the recto columns A–D, and the same to the verso, then explaining that the text runs rC–rD–vD–vC–[...]–vB–vA–rA–rB. Even worse, in this case pieces of the same bifolium were also used for the pastedowns. Therefore, in discussing the content, we shift perspective from piece-carrier to piece-whole: this bifolium has two leaves, each with two columns.

These shifts in perspective do not come about automatically. The web platform *Fragmentarium* privileges the piece-whole relation, and ambiguity arises when the piece-carrier relation intrudes, resulting in awkward solutions and inconsistent data. How do we describe the extent when we have two pastedowns and a flyleaf that is also one partial bifolium? Having this piece-carrier-whole model present, however, will help to understand how fragments relate to their multiple contexts and to appreciate the wide range of spectacular work contained in the current issue.

William Duba
Bellevue, WA (USA), 26 December 2025

The Provenance of the Swedish-Finnish Manuscript Fragment Collection: A Case Study of Early Modern Parchment Reuse

Seppo Eskola, University of Helsinki*
seppo.eskola@helsinki.fi



Abstract: A significant portion of the books of medieval Sweden survive as fragments. This is due to the early modern practice of reusing their leaves as soft covers for tax accounts, resulting in ca. 30,000 fragments from over 10,000 parchment books preserved today. The process of reuse left discernible traces on the fragments and has long been considered key to solving the issue of their medieval provenance, which underpins most research that utilises them. Uncovering their provenance would clarify the books' historical context and significantly increase the fragments' value as historical sources. This article analyses the provenance of approximately one hundred manuscripts through their reuse, expanding the evidentiary base to include not only the fragments themselves, but also the tax books they covered, and the officials responsible for the process. The results suggest that the long-standing puzzle of the fragments' provenance may, in fact, be solvable.

Keywords: administrative fragment reuse, provenance, medieval Sweden, sixteenth century

The largest surviving body of written material from medieval Sweden consists of parchment leaves from books repurposed as soft covers for tax records in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Now divided primarily between the Swedish National Archives and the Finnish National Library, this collection comprises over 30,000 individual parchment fragments—or approximately 54,000 leaves—from manuscripts and early printed books dating from the eleventh century to the Reformation.¹ Originating from across

* This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation

medieval Sweden, the collection offers a unique glimpse into the book culture of a realm on the threshold of the Reformation, serving as a material record of Christianisation and medieval Christian life. It is remarkable not only for its scale but also for its composition: the fragments come predominantly from liturgical books of parish churches—material that survives poorly across much of medieval Christendom.²

The fragments have been studied for nearly 200 years, the collection enabling scholarship across a range of topics.³ Yet almost

programme under grant agreement No 948497 (BOMPAC, *Books of the Medieval Parish Church*).

- 1 Most of these fragments are catalogued in the *Medeltida pergamentomslag* (MPO) (<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/mpo>) and the *Fragmenta membranea* (FM) (<https://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/>) databases.
- 2 See J. Tahkokallio, “[Lots of Fragments from Sweden: A Representative Sampling of the Manuscript Books of One Medieval Realm?](#)”, *Digital Philology* 14:1 (2025), 107–26.
- 3 The oldest publications date to the 1840s and 1850s. For an overview of literature and collection history, see Å. Ommundsen and T. Heikkilä (eds.), *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments: The Destruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books*, Abingdon 2017, and J. Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers. Medieval Book Fragments in the Swedish National Archives*, Stockholm 2013. The following non-comprehensive list highlights a variety of themes studied with the help of the fragments over the past two decades: S. Supponen, *Alphabetum distinctionum of Master Mathias of Linköping: its composition, use and literary context*, Helsinki 2023; J. Tahkokallio, “Fragments Re-Connected. Identifications of leaves stemming from the same twelfth-century or early thirteenth-century missals now divided between the collections of the National Library of Finland and the National Archives of Sweden”, *Mirator* 23:1 (2023), 1–29; S. Raninen, “Make Do and Mend: Reworking Liturgical Parchment Manuscripts in Post-Reformation Sweden”, in *Disiecta Membra Musicae. Studies in Musical Fragmentology*, ed. G. Varelli, Berlin 2020, 185–204; J. Keskiäho, “En grupp handskrifter från Nådendal? Nya rön”, in *Nådendal – Vallis Gratiae. Finlands Birgittakloster*, ed. C. Cederbom, O. Ferm, and S. Nyström, Stockholm 2019, 51–67; J. Hannikainen and E. Tuppurainen, “Vernacular Gregorian Chant and Lutheran Hymn-Singing in Reformation-Era Finland”, in *Re-Forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North*, ed. T.M.S. Lehtonen and L. Kaljundi, Amsterdam 2016, 157–178; G. Björkvall, *Liturgical Sequences in Medieval Manuscript Fragments in the Swedish National Archives: Repertorial Investigation, Inventory, and Reconstruction of Sources*, Stockholm 2015; V. Walta, *Libraries, Manuscripts and Book Culture in Vadstena Abbey*, Helsinki 2014; A. Wolodarski, “Klemming och jakten på de försvunna inkunablerna”, in

all research on the fragments is, to some degree, underpinned by an unresolved question: their provenance. The fragments originate from over 10,000 books, each typically surviving as only a few leaves, and—with a handful of exceptions—their medieval places of use remain unidentified. The potential benefits of localising them are clear: each fragmentary book would gain historical context, enhancing its value as a source and offering insight into themes such as parish development, church construction, liturgical life, and the spread of literary culture. Annotations have allowed a small number of books to be linked to specific churches, while liturgical evidence has offered broader indications of diocesan affiliation.⁴ However, it has long been apparent that tracing the provenance of most books must rely on the evidence left by the early modern process of reuse. Some progress has been made, and there is now broad consensus on the general outlines of the phenomenon. Given the potential gains, every effort should be made to meet the challenge of localising the manuscripts.⁵

In this article, I address this problem by analysing the provenance of over one hundred manuscripts, all reused within the same administrative context: the Duchy of Johan Vasa (later King Johan III), second-eldest son of Gustav I (1523–1560). The duchy, which existed in south-western Finland from 1556 to 1563, provides a setting limited in scope but rich in evidence, enabling a comprehensive

Fragment ur arkiven. Festskrift till Jan Brunius, ed. M. Lennersand, Å. Karlsson, and H. Klackenborg, Stockholm 2013, 191–210; T. Heikkilä, “I ett medeltida skriptorium i Åbo”, *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 93 (2008), 253–284; J. Tahkokallio, “Handskrifter från ett skriptorium i Åbo från mitten av 1400-talet?”, *Historisk tidskrift för Finland* 93 (2008), 285–317; J. Brunius, *Atque Olavi: Nordiska helgon i medeltida mässböcker*, Stockholm 2008; M. Gullick, “Preliminary observations on Romanesque manuscript fragments of English, Norman and Swedish origin in the Riksarkivet (Stockholm)”, in *Medieval Book Fragments in Sweden*, ed. J. Brunius, Stockholm 2005, 31–82.

4 On the annotations, see, e.g., Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 100–108; on the liturgical evidence, e.g., T. Haapanen, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsingfors. I: Missalia*, Helsingfors 1922, xxviii ff.

5 Some scholars have doubted the feasibility of this goal (see, e.g., Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 32), while informal discussions often reveal equal measures of optimism and pessimism.

examination of manuscript reuse. I expand the evidentiary basis to include not only the fragments themselves, but also the bookkeeping records they once covered and the officials involved in their production. This makes it possible to move from the analysis of individual manuscripts to groups of books linked through the actions of identifiable agents. As I will show, the surviving evidence is consistent enough to allow, with reasonable confidence, the assignment of a likely medieval provenance—often within a cluster of a few parishes or administrative districts—to over 90% of the manuscripts studied. While the findings may not be universally applicable, they provide a valuable reference point for the collection as a whole, and suggest that the long-standing puzzle of fragment provenance may, in fact, be solvable.

The conditions for studying the provenance of the fragments have improved markedly in recent decades. A century of cataloguing work has reached near-completion in both Sweden and Finland,⁶ and online databases have made both metadata and digital images widely accessible, though work remains to be done in this area.⁷ The archival history of the fragments following their reuse has also been clarified, allowing for, e.g., a better assessment of how fires have affected the representativeness of the material and a clearer understanding of the structure of the archival collections.⁸ In addition, the

6 The Swedish fragments were catalogued first by the *Catalogus Codicum Muti-lorum* (CCM) project from the 1930s onwards, with the work then continued by the *Medeltida pergamentomslag* project (1995–2003). The Finnish fragments have been catalogued in stages since the 1910s. The results of these efforts have, for the most part, been incorporated into the online databases on the fragments. For a brief history of the cataloguing see, e.g., S. Eskola and J. Tahkokallio, “How many fragments? The original extent, nineteenth-century losses, and present size of the Swedish-Finnish medieval book fragment collections”, *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 114 (2024), 13–48, at 36–37.

7 The Finnish fragments have been digitised almost completely, while many of the Swedish ones still lack images.

8 Approximately a quarter of the fragments have been lost in fires, though the Finnish ones survive near-completely. On this and the history of the archival collections more generally, see Eskola and Tahkokallio, “How Many Fragments”; J. Brunius, “Landskapshandlingarna i Kammararkivet: från kam-marens register till databas”, in *Arkiv, samhälle och forskning*, 2000:1, 7–27; H. Wichman, “Branden i Kammararkivet 1807”, *Arkiv, samhälle och forskning*

study of the bookkeeping records—long underutilised in fragment research—has progressed in ways that directly benefit provenance analysis.⁹ Research focused specifically on the question of provenance—to be discussed in the next section—has likewise advanced. The improved conditions, however, have not yet been exploited to take steps in determining the provenance of the fragments.¹⁰

1991:2, 33–46; and M. Kerkkonen, *Suomen arkistolaitos Haminan rauhasta maan itsenäistymiseen*, Helsinki 1988.

- 9 See especially S. Eskola, [*Archives, Accounting, and Accountability: Camer-al Bookkeeping in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Sweden and the Duchy of Johan \(1556–1563\)*](#), Helsinki 2020, and S. Eskola, [*Catalogue of the Bailiffs' Records of Nyland \(1540–1634\)*](#), Helsinki 2023.
- 10 The question of the fragments' provenance has a long historiography, appearing already in the earliest studies on the fragments, though only in a limited way. See, e.g., E. Grönblad, "Tvenne medeltidshandlingar", *Suomi, Tidskrift i fosterländska ämnen* 6 (1846), 202–260; and E.J.W. Brunér, "Notiser om typografiska sällsyntheter och medeltids-handskrifter på universitets-bibliotheket i Helsingfors", *Öfversigt af Finska vetenskaps-societetens förhandlingar* VII (1865), 159–172. The first substantial debate on parchment reuse took place in the 1910s. In 1914, Isak Collijn showed that fragments could become associated with accounts already at the local administration or later at the central chamber. In contrast, Vilhelm Gödel argued that most were added in the seventeenth century, after archiving, but his view was criticised and Collijn's accepted. See I. Collijn, *Redogörelse för på uppdrag af Kungl. Maj:t i Kammararkivet och Riksarkivet verkställd undersökning angående äldre arkivalieomslag*, Stockholm 1914, 17–27; V. Gödel, *Sveriges medeltidslitteratur. Proveniens. Tiden före antikvitetskollegiet*, Stockholm 1916, 134–148; I. Collijn, "Vilhelm Gödel, Sveriges Medeltidslitteratur. Proveniens. Tiden före antikvitetskollegiet", *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* IV (1917), 353–62; J.A. Almquist, *Den civila lokalförvaltningen i Sverige 1523–1630: med särskild hänsyn till den kamerala indelningen*, I, Stockholm 1917, 122–123, n. 1; V. Gödel, *Svar till Isak Collijn med anledning av hans anmälan av Vilhelm Gödel: Sveriges medeltidslitteratur*, Stockholm 1918; Haapanen, *Verzeichnis 1: Missalia*, XXI ff. As with these studies, most comments and analysis of fragment reuse is still to be found in introductions and footnotes rather than as the main topic of a study. The few articles that appear to focus solely or mostly on the reuse of the fragments in the Swedish-Finnish collection are J. Brunius, "The recycling of manuscripts in sixteenth-century Sweden", in *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments*, 66–81; S. Eskola, "Tracking manuscript fragments in sixteenth century Finland", in *Fragment ur arkiven*, 220–31; J. Brunius, "De medeltida bokfragmenten och deras proveniens", in *Ny väg till medeltidsbrev. Från ett medeltidssymposium i Svenska Riksarkivet 26–28 november 1999*, Stockholm 2002, 390–403; and J. Brunius, "Kammaren, fogdarna och de medeltida böckerna. Studier

This article proceeds as follows. First, I review what has previously been said of the provenance of the fragments and the early modern administrative reuse of manuscripts. Second, I analyse the reuse of parchment fragments in the Duchy of Johan, and third, I identify the likely medieval provenance of the manuscripts. In the conclusion, I discuss the broader significance of these findings for the fragment collections and suggest steps to establish provenance on a wider scale. The data used in the analysis is available in an on-line repository, along with analyses of each manuscript discussed.¹¹ I use the term *fragment* to refer to physically distinct pieces of parchment originating from medieval books (in most cases bifolia or large single folios), while *manuscript* refers to handwritten books, regardless of the—here typically highly fragmentary—state that they survive in today. All manuscripts discussed belong to the *Fragmenta membranea* (FM) collection of the National Library of Finland, with the exception of two that consist of leaves from the *Medeltida pergamentomslag* (MPO) database of the Swedish National Archives. In several cases, however, FM manuscripts contain supplemental leaves from the MPO or, indeed, from other Helsinki shelfmarks. Manuscripts are cited principally by their main Helsinki shelfmark; for additional leaves, please consult the dataset.¹² As for place names,

kring pergamentomslagen i Riksarkivet”, in ...*Och fram träder landsbygdens människor... Studier i Nordisk och Smäländsk historia tillägnade Lars-Olof Larsson på 60-årsdagen den 15 november 1994*, Växjö 1994, 390–403.

- 11 For the data, see S. Eskola, *The-Reuse-of-Fragments-in-the-Duchy-of-Johan* [Dataset], 2025. Zenodo: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17511273>. This dataset is the source for the tables and Maps 2–4 in this article. This article has been prepared within the framework of the *Books of the medieval parish church* (BOMPAC) project, hosted by the National Library of Finland, and draws on the metadata produced therein. For this metadata, see S. Eskola, J. Tahkokallio, and H. Kaasik, *Stockholm-Helsinki-Frs-Combined-BOMPAC* [Dataset], 2025. Zenodo: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17511106x>. See also the introduction in this issue, “Fragments Combined”, pp. 233–240. I wish to thank my colleagues and acknowledge the collaborative effort involved in compiling the project’s metadata on the Swedish–Finnish fragments, with several scholars and research assistants taking part over several years. The identification of the corpus studied in this article would not have been possible without the project’s broader dataset.

- 12 Shelfmarks of the form *F.m.temp.x* refer to the uncatalogued portion of the *Fragmenta membranea* collection (the “DIG” shelfmarks). These 319 shelfmarks

Finnish provinces are referred to by their English names where these are established (e.g. *Finland Proper*, *Åland*), and otherwise by their Finnish names (e.g. *Satakunta*, *Raasepori*).

Current understanding of administrative parchment reuse

The large-scale administrative reuse of parchment in Sweden took place—with minor exceptions—between c. 1540 and 1630. The fiscal administrative system behind the reuse is well known. As part of his efforts to strengthen the Crown, Gustav I reformed the tax system at the end of the 1530s, creating a system where the country's over twenty provinces were divided into administrative districts known in English as bailiwicks (Swe. *föggeri*) which were led by bailiffs (*fogdar*) directly accountable to the king. In the following decades the number of such districts quickly grew from a few dozen to over two hundred. The central administration was formed around the chamber (*kammaren*), serving as a treasury and—importantly for parchment reuse—being responsible for auditing the accounts of local officials. When Gustav later founded duchies for his sons, they retained the local administrative structures while supplementing them with their own regional chambers.¹³

The parchment fragments used to cover early modern Swedish tax records are estimated to originate from over 10,000 medieval books.¹⁴ With a few exceptions—such as certain Slavonic manu-

have been provisionally organised into approximately 250 manuscript reconstructions within the BOMPAC project by Jaakko Tahkokallio. Exact references for all fragments associated with these provisional shelfmarks are provided in the dataset (see previous footnote).

13 A detailed description of the local administration can be found in J.A. Almqvist, *Den civila lokalförvaltningen i Sverige 1523–1630: med särskild hänsyn till den kamerala indelningen*, vol. 1–4, Stockholm 1917–1923. See also M. Hallenberg, *Kungen, fogdarna och riket: lokalförvaltning och statsbyggande under tidig Vasatid*, Stockholm 2001.

14 For the most recent estimates, see S. Eskola and J. Tahkokallio, *How-Many-Fragments* [Dataset], 2024. Zenodo: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.13879587>. At present, the metadata identifies more than 12,000 distinct books, though this number will almost certainly need to be revised downward

scripts acquired through Sweden's Baltic conquests and conflicts with Russia—there is every reason to believe that these books were present in Sweden at the onset of the Reformation.¹⁵ They constitute a broad, if uneven, sample of medieval books: most of the fragments, approximately three in four, come from liturgical manuscripts, while the remainder primarily derive from works of higher learning, particularly theology and law. Given the predominance of liturgical material, most fragments inevitably originate from the numerous churches and ecclesiastical institutions within the Swedish realm, especially parish churches. By the end of the medieval period, there were approximately 1,700 parish churches in Sweden, each of which would have held several liturgical volumes, a significant portion of which are now represented among the surviving fragments.¹⁶ The remainder of the books likely stemmed chiefly from the libraries and collections of the seven cathedrals and roughly fifty convents and monasteries of medieval Sweden.

Despite the vast scale of administrative parchment reuse, narrative sources remain remarkably silent on the practice, offering only anecdotal evidence. The few known mentions include the king's men confiscating “innumerable books” from the library of Vadstena Abbey in 1543; further volumes taken to the bailiff of Vadstena castle (and ending up as covers for the town's accounts) at the eventual closing of the Abbey in 1595; Duke Karl requesting parchment books for binding purposes from Strängnäs Cathedral in 1590; and a deputy bailiff (*underfogde*) cutting leaves from a parchment book in

as codex reconstruction advances. These figures refer solely to manuscripts; the number of early printed books represented among the fragments has not yet been established, but is perhaps in the range of one to two thousand.

- 15 On refuting the sometimes-voiced theory (mostly in seminar settings) that the books were imported to Sweden in the sixteenth century for the very purpose of reusing their parchment, see Tahkokallio, “Lots of Fragments”, 110.
- 16 For estimates on the number of books in medieval Scandinavian churches, typically estimated between three and ten, see (for Sweden) Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 40, and C.-A. Moberg, *Die Liturgischen Hymnen in Schweden*, Band I, Uppsala 1947, 46; (for Finland) J. Keskiäho, “Bortom fragmenten: handskriftsproduktion och boklig kultur i det medeltida Åbo stift”, *Historisk tidskrift för Finland* 93 (2008), 209–52, at 212ff., and (for Norway) Å. Ommundsen, *Books, Scribes and Sequences in Medieval Norway*, Bergen 2007, 68ff.

Östergötland.¹⁷ Such morsels of information tell us that the central administration acquired complete volumes for its use, while local authorities could (at least partly) address their needs by sourcing individual leaves. Concerning manuscript provenance, they serve to verify the self-evident existence of administrative parchment reuse, but not much more. Their very scarcity indicates, however, that the process was so mundane as to not merit systematic written documentation.

Given the dearth of narrative sources, manuscript provenance must primarily be approached through other means. Based on a handful of fragments bearing medieval annotations that securely link them to specific churches, it is evident that a book's medieval provenance often correlates with the region discussed in the accounts that its leaves were used to bind. Drawing on previous research, twenty-five such fragments—with both annotations and account information suitable for comparison—can be identified.¹⁸ In twenty cases, the fragments were used to cover booklets from the same province that the leaves originated from. As these fragments effectively represent a random sample of the broader collection, the fact that four in five show a correlation between the fragments' medieval provenance and the geographical focus of the associated accounts strongly suggests that parchment for covers was commonly acquired locally and that bookkeeping data can in many cases be used to identify a manuscript's medieval provenance.

Evidence pointing to a similar conclusion—but on a much broader scale—is offered by manuscripts or printed books that represent the liturgical tradition of a specific diocese. Consider, for instance, two printed missals: *Missale Upsalense novum* (printed 1513) and *Missale Aboense* (for the Diocese of Turku, 1488). The data for the first are incomplete, as many—perhaps most—of its leaves have been removed from the booklets they once covered and are not included in the MPO database. Even so, the available evidence is suggestive: 67% of the fragments from *Missale Upsalense novum*

17 Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 24–27, and A. Sandberg, *Linköpings stifts kyrkoarkivalier till och med år 1800*, Lund 1948, 54.

18 Of the 25 fragments, 23 are listed in Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 100–108, and two in Haapanen, *Verzeichnis I: Missalia*, xxxiv–xxxv.

cover accounts from the diocese of Uppsala. The data for *Missale Aboense* is much more complete, showing that as many as 97% of its leaves were used to cover records from Finland.¹⁹ Again, this clearly indicates that parchment for accounts was often sourced locally or by regional administrative bodies and that there is a significant correlation between the medieval and ‘bookkeeping’ provenances of fragments.²⁰

As informative as these observations are, they offer only general (liturgical use) or limited (annotations) evidence. To deepen our understanding of the medieval provenance of the manuscripts, the bookkeeping process and the traces it left must be considered. In brief, bookkeeping took place in two phases: first, in the bailiwicks,

19 The exact figures are 205 of 306 fragments with the necessary account metadata for the *Missale Upsalense novum* and 658 of 676 for the *Missale Aboense*. These figures are derived from the MPO metadata and a survey of early printed fragments in the National Library of Finland (Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, Rv.dupl./Rv.kk/H.ink) as well as the bound *Missale Aboense* manuscripts (constructed from fragment leaves) in the Jyväskylä University Library (*Jyväskylän yliopiston kirjasto*) and the National Library in Stockholm (*Kungliga biblioteket*). The lower figure for the Uppsala Diocese is likely explained by its proximity to the Stockholm-based central administration, causing its fragments to be associated with accounts from across the realm. The same diocesan bias can be seen in manuscripts from various Swedish dioceses; see Brunius, “*The Recycling of Manuscripts*”, 76.

20 Another securely localised group are the Russian and Baltic manuscripts, often in Church Slavonic, which typically cover Baltic accounts (the area was ruled by Sweden to varying degrees from the 1560s onwards), offering further evidence of local sourcing of parchment. See Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 68–73. The prominence of *Missale Aboense* leaves in the Helsinki collection was noted already in the nineteenth century by Jaakko Gummerus prompting him to suggest that most leaves in the collection are of Finnish medieval provenance. J. Gummerus, “Jäännöksiä keskiajan saarnakirjallisuudesta Suomessa”, *Teologisk tidskrift – Teologinen aikakauskirja* (1896), 204–218 and 277–296, at 205–206. Isak Collijn likewise observed that printed liturgical books were generally reused within their dioceses (Collijn, “Vilhelm Gödel, Sveriges Medeltidslitteratur”, 360). Biases can also be seen in some archival series: for instance, Brunius notes the prevalence of theological and legal fragments in records that are known to have been bound in Stockholm—such as records for the Stockholm toll or those of the royal court. This very likely reflects the availability of books from monastic libraries and mendicant houses in Stockholm after the Reformation. Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 31–32.

with various registers, cadastres, and concept accounts formulated and updated as necessary throughout the year, and second, at the chamber, where bailiffs and their scribes submitted their records for annual audit. At the chamber, the locally prepared records were supplemented with finalised fair copies of accounts, with some of the local records preserved and others discarded as redundant. Parchment covers could be introduced to the process at either phase, and differentiating between these two contexts is key to tracing the provenance of the reused parchment fragments.

The most effective method for understanding how a manuscript was reused has been the comparative analysis of leaves from the same book. Scholars observed early on—before the principle was clearly formulated—that when leaves from one manuscript appear as covers for accounts from different parts of the country, often within just a few years, this strongly suggests central reuse. Conversely, leaves linked to records from a single area over a longer period have been seen as evidence of local reuse.²¹ Although this method of identifying ‘patterns’ that reflect the functioning of the local and central administrations is sound, it has mostly been used illustratively rather than to determine provenance on a larger scale.²² It also has its limitations: covers were sometimes reassigned during the auditing process—obscuring their original association with a particular account—while any mistakes in the reconstruction of a manuscript can also lead to mistaken analyses.²³ Moreover, the reliability of the evidence has traditionally been linked to the number of surviving leaves—the more that survive, the stronger the con-

21 Studies employing or referencing such deduction are, e.g., Eskola, “Tracking Manuscript Fragments”; Brunius, “De medeltida bokfragmenten”, 396; T. Schmid, “Undersökningen av medeltida Svenska bokfragment”, *Scandia* 6 (1933), 103–115, at 106; Gummerus, “Jäännöksiä keskiajan saarnakirjallisuudesta”, 205–206; Brunér, “Notiser”, 171. The list is not exhaustive but is intended to illustrate the long historiographical arc.

22 An exception is Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 33, which cites over three hundred manuscripts he considers locally reused. He does not, however, attempt to establish their provenance beyond the provincial level.

23 Some reconstructions in the Swedish-Finnish collection almost certainly require dismantling, though the extent of this problem appears limited. Conversely, many reconstructions will likely need to be expanded as further leaves are identified.

clusions drawn. Jan Brunius has suggested that at least four or five covers are required to identify any meaningful pattern.²⁴ As will be demonstrated in the next section, however, even smaller numbers of leaves, when combined with other forms of evidence, can yield credible results, significantly expanding the range of manuscripts to which this method can be applied.

Another approach has focused on bookkeeping markings, mainly account headlines, written on the parchment fragments and used them to determine the context the fragments were reused in. This evidence can be fruitful: it has been pointed out, first, that different kinds of bookkeeping records were written in different contexts. For instance, week-by-week salary registers were inevitably written on-site, while fair copies were written during audit.²⁵ Second, it has been shown that the composition of the headlines reflects the different priorities of scribes in local and central administrations. Local scribes aimed simply to keep their own documents in order, while chamber scribes worked to stay on top of records from several bailiffs, requiring much more exact information on the account headlines. Therefore, vaguely defined headlines, which, e.g., do not name a bailiff or define the time and place the account concerns, have been taken to suggest local bookkeeping and parchment reuse. While certainly useful, the application of these methods has been scant and left too much uncertainty to reliably determine manuscript provenance. Considering the evidence of the bookkeeping records themselves—not simply the cover headlines—would give weight to this approach.²⁶

24 Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 32.

25 On the production of bookkeeping records, see Eskola, *Archives, Accounting, and Accountability*, and Brunius, “Kammaren, fogdarna och de medeltida böckerna”, 117–118; on headlines indicating local reuse, see Haapanen, *Verzeichnis 1: Missalia*, xxiv–xxv; on identifying local and central scribal hands in the fragments and accounts (rarely discussed), see L. Sjödin, “Några skriftstudier i Kammararkivets landskapshandlingar”, in *Donum Boëthianum. Arkivvetenskapliga Bidrag Tillägnade Bertil Boëthius 31.1.1950*, ed. O. Jägerskiöld and Å. Kromnow, Stockholm 1950, 387–407, at 395ff.

26 Analysis of the accounts and bookkeeping system allows the writing context of virtually all records to be established. See Eskola, *Archives, Accounting, and Accountability*, esp. 65ff.

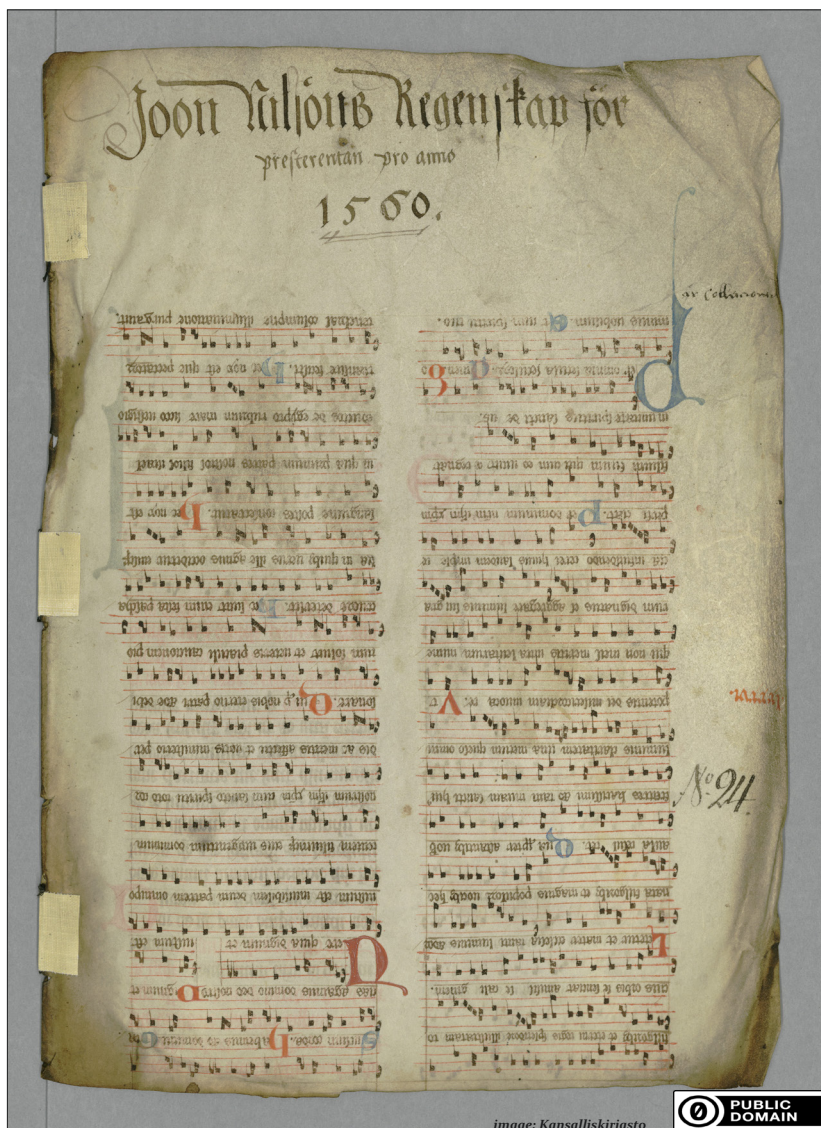


Figure 1: An account cover made from a reused bifolium Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, Fragmenta membranea, MS F.m.I.55, ff. 32–33 (image f. 33v); missal saec. XIII^{2/2} – XIV^{1/2}. The bifolium has been turned upside down to use the space of the larger lower margin for the account headline which reads: “Joon Nilsons Regenskap för presterentan pro anno 1560” [Jon Nilsson’s account of the ‘priest rent’ pro anno 1560].

Taken together, previous research suggests that there is enough evidence to trace manuscript provenance: it only needs to be analysed comprehensively, and the methods developed further. As it stands, the reuse of books surviving as many fragments—i.e., with lots of evidence—can often be understood quite well. When, on the other hand, only one or two fragments survive, research has effectively ended in a cul-de-sac. It is important to keep in mind that, across the entire corpus, some 8,000 fragments survive as singletons, each representing a separate book. While these account for less than a third of the total number of fragments, they represent as much as three-quarters of all books. Therefore, to address the provenance of most books in the corpus, all evidence must be considered and new methods for analysing the traces of the process of parchment reuse introduced.

Manuscript reuse in the Duchy of Johan

The Duchy of Johan (1556–1563) comprised the provinces of Finland Proper, Satakunta, Åland, and Raasepori (from 1557), with an administrative centre in the cathedral city of Turku. To determine the provenance of manuscripts reused by the duchy's officials, three steps are required: first, identifying the relevant codices; second, establishing the administrative context in which each book was reused; and third, considering further evidence to determine the provenance of each book. A review of the Finnish fragment collection has identified 1,115 parchment covers from 115 manuscripts reused in the duchy, as well as one incunable (*Missale Aboense*, 1488) with twenty covers.²⁷ To enable the ensuing analysis, the year

27 This includes all manuscripts with covers originating from the duchy's accounts between 1556 and 1562, as well as those deemed to have been reused locally for accounts of 1563. The duchy was dissolved mid-fiscal year in 1563, and any central reuse of covers thereafter would have taken place in Stockholm. Under the terms of the peace treaty concluding the war of 1808–1809, Sweden was required to transfer all Finnish accounts to Finland. In principle, therefore, all of the Duchy's accounts and their parchment covers should now be in Helsinki. Some, however, remain in Stockholm, and two manuscripts with leaves only in the MPO were also identified. Concerning the incunable, although *works* such as the *Missale* and *Manuale Aboense* have been



Map 1: The Duchy of Johan, 1556–1563

of reuse, the associated bailiwick, and the bailiff responsible have been established for each cover. The fragments in the Finnish collection were detached from their accounts in the nineteenth century, and, whenever possible, the connections between fragments and accounts have also been re-established.²⁸ Based on two recent

reconstructed from Finnish fragments of early prints, no specific copies have previously been identified. The copy discussed here was identified through a survey of *Missale Aboense* fragments, based on account markings. Of the 777 covers examined, only twenty-nine were reused before 1560. Of these, twenty were employed for accounts from Satakunta between 1550 and 1557, while the remainder show no discernible pattern. Such a strong geographical concentration strongly suggests that the fragments derive from a single copy.

²⁸ The separation took place in the mid-nineteenth century when the accounts were first being catalogued. Today, the accounts are preserved in the National

catalogues, the accounts themselves have then been categorised as locally or centrally produced.²⁹

Let us first consider the reuse of manuscripts in the central administration in Turku. The survey of the Helsinki fragment collection allowed for the identification of several books that can confidently be determined as having been used by the central administration. These determinations have primarily relied on identifying what may be called ‘patterns of reuse’—discussed above—which have been supplemented by other methods as needed. To reiterate, a central pattern of reuse is one where leaves from one manuscript have been used to cover accounts from several separate areas in quick succession. Such a pattern logically arises from chamber scribes auditing accounts arriving yearly from different provinces. Consider, for instance, MS F.m.I.55, a missal dated to the second half of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century, which survives as thirty-seven covers used to bind accounts from all four provinces of Johan’s duchy (and nowhere else) over a period of just two years (1559–1560), or MS F.m.v.TH.AA.87, a mid-fourteenth-century exegetical work by Franciscus de Abbati, which survives as twenty-six covers and was used for four years (1556–1559), also to bind records from every province of the duchy. Both manuscripts are among the clearest examples of central administrative parchment reuse and allow virtually no room for alternative interpretations.

In total, fifteen books—comprising 514 covers—were identified as fitting this pattern. Their year-by-year use is illustrated in Table 1. As the table demonstrates, there is a clear progression between the manuscripts: in any given year, leaves from approximately five to ten books were in circulation, and as one manuscript was exhausted, a new one was introduced. The first two manuscripts, as

Archives and the fragments in the National Library. Although connections between the two were not documented at the time, in most cases they can be reconstructed from account markings on the covers.

²⁹ See the catalogue appendix in Eskola, *Archives, Accounting, and Accountability* and Eskola, *Catalogue of the Bailiffs’ Records of Nyland*. These catalogues cover the accounts of the Duchy of Johan and the province of Nyland (1540–1634). In the ensuing quantitative estimates on the writing contexts of accounts, only fragment-covers originating from accounts included in the catalogues are considered.

Manuscripts			Covers by year													
			Pre		Duchy							Post			Un-clear	Total
Genre	Type	Shelfmark	1554	1555	1556	1557	1558	1559	1560	1561	1562	1563	1564	Later		
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.1.277	1	5	1	1						1			9	
Law	Canon Law	F.m.Temp.65	2	10	10	7	1	3	1	1					5	49
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.1.305	1	1	12	24	4	1		1				1		45
Law	Canon Law	F.m.Temp.117		4	18	5									3	30
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.1.281		2	13	1										16
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.1.276		1	8	3	1									13
Liturgy	Breviary	F.m.III.13		1	5	33	1							1		41
Theology	Exegesis	F.m.v.TH.AA.87			2	9	3	12								26
Theology	Bible	F.m.v.BI.1				15	20	1		1					8	45
Theology	Exegesis	F.m.v.TH.AA.26			6	42	1	2			1	1			4	57
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.1.283				9	15	4						2		30
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.1.137				2	21	2						1		26
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.1.55					11	24			1				1	37
Theology	Hagiography	F.m.VII.8						9	30		1	2			2	44
Theology	Exegesis	F.m.v.TH.AA.38									4	10	23	7	2	46
All			4	24	78	104	83	65	42	33	7	14	23	12	25	514
			Σ 28		Σ 412							Σ 74				

Table 1: Reuse of manuscripts by year, the chamber in Turku, 1556–1562. Fragments at Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto; Stockholm, Riksarkivet; London, British Library

well as the last, have been separated from the rest, as their context of reuse—while still central—likely differs from that of the others. The first two appear to be associated with Gustav I's visit to Finland in 1555 and 1556, during which he travelled with chamber staff, while the final manuscript was likely reused in Stockholm after the dissolution of the duchy. This is suggested by the reuse of the first two partly predating the duchy and not being limited to its territory in any way (while still being used for Finnish accounts only) and the use of the last one mostly postdating the duchy and its leaves also covering many accounts from various Swedish provinces outside Finland.³⁰ The remnants of the first two seem to have been passed on to the duke's chamber, while the last manuscript may never have been in the Diocese of Turku at all. Many of the other

³⁰ The manuscripts are MS F.m.1.277, MS F.m.Temp.65, and MS F.m.v.TH.AA.38. As Table 1 shows, some leaves from other manuscripts also cover records predating the duchy. This is to be expected as travel delays often led to late audits.

books contain audit markings which tie them unambiguously to the duchy's chamber.³¹ For analysis of each manuscript, see the dataset.

The number of leaves surviving from these manuscripts is exceptional, as all but three survive as twenty-six or more covers. In the Finnish collection, fewer than fifty books—out of 1,500—survive with as many leaves, and the average number of covers per manuscript is only approximately four. The high number of covers can be explained by the books' association with the central administration in general—it being systematic in its use of parchment—and with the Duchy of Johan in particular, as it existed at a time when bailiwicks were small and numerous, resulting in an exceptionally high annual output of account booklets.³² The manuscripts used by the central administration provided 412 covers for the approximately 800 accounts that survive from the duchy—i.e., for roughly half of them.³³ Further examination reveals that the chamber officials primarily provided covers for records written by themselves: in approximately 82% of the cases, the parchment leaves acquired by the chamber have covered sets of records that were at least partly produced in the chamber, most often including fair-copied final accounts. The remaining covers were used to bind locally written accounts, suggesting that the chamber was not only self-sufficient in its parchment needs but also capable of supplementing the materials brought in by local scribes. As will be shown, this has important implications when compared with the way parchment from locally sourced manuscripts was used.

In addition to the manuscripts reused by the chamber, a small group of codices reused in a different—but still central—administrative context can be identified. These six manuscripts—MS F.m.1.150,

31 Audit markings are common but absent from most covers. Names frequently encountered include Tomas Henriksson, Mats Wiborg, and Anders Måns-son, all known officials of the chamber. See at least MS F.m.1.55, MS F.m.1.137, MS F.m.1.283, and MS F.m.vii.18. For the chamber's staff, see K. Kiuasmaa, *Suomen yleis- ja paikallishallinnon toimet ja niiden hoito 1500-luvun jälkipuoliskolla* (vv. 1560–1600), Helsinki 1962, 291–294.

32 On the volume of account production over time, see, e.g., Eskola and Tahkokallio, “How Many Fragments?”, 18.

33 On the number of accounts produced in the Duchy and their relationship to the Finnish accounts as a whole, see Eskola, *Archives, Accounting, and Accountability*, 28–36.

MS F.m.III.140, MS F.m.V.BI.22, MS F.m.Temp.70, MS F.m.Temp.105, and MS Codex-1334 (MPO)—survive as just 18 covers combined. All but three covers were used for records dating to 1555–1557 and concerning matters beyond the routine affairs of tax bookkeeping. Six relate to the possessions of the king and church in Finland, four to military or royal provisioning, three to the handling of cloth and money, and two summarise the economy of the duchy. One cover lacks bookkeeping markings, and two others were used later, in 1565 and 1576, for records of Turku Castle. With one or two exceptions, the accounts associated with these fragments are written notably skilfully, reflecting the importance of their content. These records suggest an administrative setting separate from the chamber, where scribes worked directly for the king and duke and had their own supply of parchment. In terms of reuse patterns, these manuscripts combine characteristics of both central and local practice: they covered high-level records yet survive in small numbers and were used in a narrowly defined context. Within the wider fragment collection, identifying such specific instances of reuse can help clarify otherwise ambiguous evidence, but requires focused analysis of codices from well-defined spatiotemporal contexts.

Let us now consider the manuscripts proposed to have been reused locally. As discussed in the previous section, many such manuscripts follow a recognisable pattern: their leaves were used over an extended period to bind accounts from a single region. It is difficult to see such a pattern arising through central use. In the local context, it suggests either that the book stayed in place—perhaps in a church—with leaves detached or cut off as needed, or that the book was confiscated by a bailiff or his associates and then repurposed for covers (and potentially other uses). The following examples illustrate how local reuse can be observed through the parchment covers.

First, MS F.m.VII.70, a liturgical manual from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, survives as four covers used for the records of Haga estate and Kastelholma Castle, both on the island province of Åland, over a period of seven years (1559–1565). Such a pattern can only result from local reuse, and the book's medieval provenance was surely in Åland. Second, MS F.m.I.144, a fourteenth- or

fifteenth-century missal, survives as seven covers, six of which were used in 1562 or 1563 for the records of one Håkan Anundsson, bailiff in a part of Finland Proper; the seventh was used a decade later for records of the same general area. It is likely that the manuscript's medieval provenance was within Anundsson's bailiwick. Third, and perhaps most strikingly, MS F.m.III.68, a breviary from the second half of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century, survives as twenty-three covers. Nineteen were used to cover accounts from the Halikko district in Finland Proper, across three periods: 1560–1561 (four covers), 1567–1577 (fourteen), and 1601 (one). Of the remaining four covers, two relate to accounts from Savo and Satakunta respectively, while two lack sufficient markings for attribution. The consistency of the reuse pattern clearly points to local reuse in Halikko, where the book was dismantled and used leaf by leaf for binding. The two outliers likely reflect covers being redeployed during audit—a phenomenon discussed in more detail below.

In total, I have identified ninety-five books, comprising 583 covers, as having been reused locally. This yields an average of approximately six covers per manuscript, in contrast to thirty-four among centrally reused books. Twenty-one of these manuscripts survive as a single cover, and twelve as two. Forty-seven have between three and ten covers, while fifteen survive with more than ten. The highest number of covers from a locally reused manuscript is twenty-six. Many of these cases are relatively straightforward to identify, as they explicitly follow the pattern of local reuse.

Overall, however, identifying locally reused books is more challenging than identifying centrally reused ones. This is due, first, to the more limited evidence available per manuscript, and second, to the occasional repurposing of covers during audit, which can obscure the traces left by local bookkeeping. Such repurposing is closely related to the idea that, in the local context, manuscript leaves were often used as loose wrappers or dust jackets, rather than as covers—a term which implies a more permanent, bound state. This kind of use has previously been discussed in connection with

the so-called ‘portfolio theory’.³⁴ In the following, I address the repurposing of parchment leaves through two approaches: first, by examining a case that illustrates how covers were handled in the chamber, and second, by presenting a quantitative analysis of locally reused books.

The way that covers were sometimes moved during audit at the chamber is well exemplified by MS F.m.v.TH.AA.40. The surviving leaves of the manuscript—a copy of *Historia Scholastica* by Petrus Comestor now consisting of ten leaves (or five covers)—were used, first likely as loose wrappers, for the records of bailiff Nils Birgersson of Lower Satakunta in 1561. Their story is revealed through two layers of headlines, both still visible on the fragments. The original headlines, written in a single informal hand, show that Birgersson (or rather his scribe) used the wrappers to protect the following locally produced bookkeeping records: a tithe register, a description of annual taxes, a cadastre, a fine register, and a draft of a storage account. However, when the records were submitted for audit, some of the wrappers were repurposed, evidenced by a formal headline—characteristic of chamber scribes—added to one cover, adjustments made to Birgersson’s original headlines (notably in different ink),

34 The portfolio theory, formulated above all by Ilkka Taitto, rests on the idea that in the local administration loose wrappers were often more practical than fixed covers. Locally produced records needed to remain accessible for updates and comparisons during the fiscal year, and were subject to correction, trimming, or disposal at audit. A loose wrapper was therefore an ideal means of protection—though this does not exclude a degree of local binding. Clear cases of fragments being reused more loosely than as sewn covers are known: for example, a fragment first used in 1579 for a record from Savonlinna was reused two decades later (1599) for another record from the same castle, still locally, as shown by the name of a scribe active there between 1595 and 1605. Taitto has also pointed out leaves with sewing marks, suggesting they once formed envelope-like wrappers. See I. Taitto, *Graduale Aboense 1397–1406: näköispainos käsikirjoituskatkelmasta*, Helsinki 2002, 13; I. Taitto, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscript Fragments in the Helsinki University Library: Fragmenta membranea 4:1, Antiphonaria: Text*, Helsinki 2001, 18; and I. Taitto, “Bertill Tönson Nylandh”, *Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston tiedotuslehti* 8 (1992), 171–176, at 175–176. The theory is sometimes attributed to Toivo Haapanen, who noted that leaves were occasionally re-used by the same scribe, but Taitto appears to have first formulated it properly. See Haapanen, *Verzeichnis 1: Missalia*, xxv.

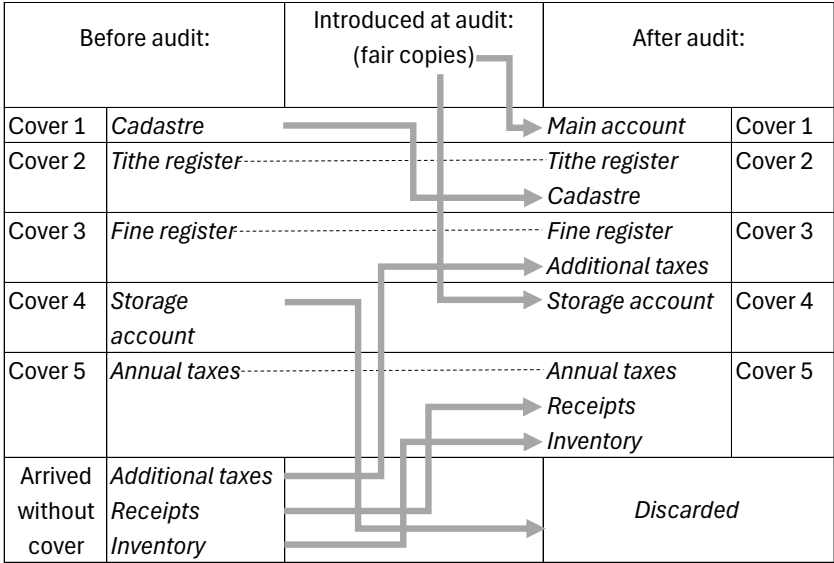


Figure 2: The redeployment of the covers of MS F.m.v.TH.AA.40 Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, *Fragmenta membranea*

and the composition of the surviving accounts.³⁵ The chamber produced a main account, reusing the cadastre’s wrapper for it, and a fair copy of the storage account, discarding the earlier draft and transferring its wrapper to the new version. Birgersson also brought additional records without assigned wrappers; these, along with the cadastre that had lost its cover, were now bound together with the other records, and the headlines were adjusted accordingly [Figure 2].

While it is rare to be able to follow the handling of covers in such detail, the irregularities often seen within otherwise consistent patterns of reuse suggest that moving and rearranging covers for convenience was not especially uncommon.³⁶ This means that when considering manuscripts reused locally, we cannot always expect to see a fully uniform picture.

35 The accounts covered are at the Finnish National Archives. See Helsinki, Kansallisarkisto, Voudintilit 2114–2118.
36 Sjödin, based on hands-on work with the accounts and fragments, is also aware of this phenomenon. Sjödin, “Några Skriftstudier”, 391.

Shares of leaves from one area		Admin. context	
		Local	Central
100 %	=	40	
90 %	≥	5	
80 %	≥	7	
70 %	≥	3	
60 %	≥	8	
50 %	≥	10	1
35 %	≥	1	4
35 %	<		10
Total mss.		74	15

Table 2: Manuscripts based on the concentration of their leaves on accounts from any single area

While the reassignment of covers during audit can at times make the account markings harder to interpret qualitatively, quantitative analysis should be able to bring out differences between locally and centrally reused manuscripts. In what follows, I analyse the manuscripts identified as locally reused using two indicators: first, the concentration of their covers on records from a single area, that is, their adherence to a local reuse pattern; and second, the distribution of their covers between locally and centrally produced accounts. Let us begin with the first indicator. Table 2 compares seventy-four local manuscripts (excluding the twenty-one that survive as single fragments) with the fifteen used by the chamber based on the concentration of their covers on records of a single area.³⁷ As shown, the local and central manuscripts fall at opposite ends of the spectrum: all manuscripts with at least 60% of their covers concentrated on one area are local, while all those with less than 35% are central. Only in the middle range is there any overlap between the groups. This pattern thus appears to be a strong—though not an absolute—indicator of a manuscript's context of reuse.

³⁷ A 'single area' is here defined as no more than four bailiwicks clustered together. In practice, this means that the smaller provinces of Satakunta, Raasepori, and Åland qualify as single areas, while Finland Proper must be treated in smaller divisions. A single area may also consist of adjoining bailiwicks from two provinces.

Further evidence can be drawn from the second indicator: the type of bookkeeping records each manuscript was used to cover. As noted earlier, 82% of the covers from centrally reused manuscripts were used for records that were fully or partly produced at the chamber. For manuscripts identified as locally reused, the situation is reversed, with only 14% of covers used for records produced at the chamber and 86% for those written entirely at the local level. This suggests that when wrappers were brought to the chamber by local scribes, only a small minority—one in seven—were reassigned to central records. While some movement of covers certainly occurred, it was more the exception than the rule. In most cases, wrappers appear to have retained their association with the records they originally accompanied into the chamber.

This finding further supports the use of account information in determining provenance. Taken together, the two indicators form a robust evidentiary base: locally reused manuscripts tend to be strongly concentrated on records from a single area and overwhelmingly used for locally written accounts, while centrally reused books were used across multiple regions and primarily for records produced at the chamber.

Within the group of locally reused manuscripts there are, however, half a dozen that appear to contradict some of the conclusions outlined above and therefore require explanation. For instance, MS F.m.Temp.60 and MS F.m.Temp.239 each survive as two covers, all of which have been used to bind records written at least partly in a central capacity. MS F.m.IIb.4 survives as five covers, the first two showing signs of central reuse and the latter three of local reuse. Could these not be examples of centrally reused manuscripts that happen to survive in unusually small numbers? While this possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, it appears highly unlikely.

Consider, for example, one further book, MS F.m.VII.25, which survives as three covers. One headline is unreadable, but the other two appear to have been written centrally, and the fragments were used to cover centrally produced records from Åland in 1559 and Pohjanmaa in 1566. If this were a case of central reuse, the first cover would have been used by the Duchy of Johan's chamber in Turku, and the second by the royal chamber in Stockholm. It is highly

implausible that a manuscript would begin to be reused in Turku in 1559, remain unused for several years, be transferred to Stockholm, and still survive as only three covers. A more credible explanation is that the manuscript was reused locally, and that the covers were later repurposed in the chamber to bind newly produced records. This interpretation also accounts for similar cases, which would otherwise require accepting unnecessarily complex—or simply unrealistic—scenarios. It should also be noted that, for the purposes of determining provenance, any further consideration may often ultimately be moot: if all surviving leaves were moved within the chamber and no trace of their original use remains, the provenance information conveyed by the account markings is already lost. The key, rather, is to recognise when a cover shows signs of movement or reuse within the chamber and to treat any associated provenance evidence with appropriate caution.

Finally, manuscripts that survive as one or two covers only—the group with the least evidence—merit brief separate consideration. Within the wider fragment collection, this category is of particular importance: single folio survivals account for approximately 70% of all books and 30% of manuscript fragments currently identified in the Swedish-Finnish fragment collection, while manuscripts with two fragments constitute around 13% of books and 12% of fragments.³⁸ Identifying their provenance would therefore substantially advance efforts to map Sweden's medieval book culture regionally. Previous research has said little about the provenance of these fragments; in some cases, it has even been suggested that nothing can be said at all.³⁹

In the Duchy of Johan, none of the manuscripts surviving as one or two covers appear to have been reused at the chamber. Twenty-two manuscripts survive as single fragments and thirteen as two. Of the single-fragment survivals, eighteen carry locally written headlines and covered locally produced records. One was used by the scribes working in the central administration but separately from the chamber (which, for the purposes of the discussion on provenance, can be

³⁸ The figures are based on fragments listed either in the MPO or FM with early print fragments excluded.

³⁹ Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 32.

considered local use), and three bear centrally written headlines and were used to cover accounts produced centrally—covers likely reassigned during audit. Among the thirteen manuscripts represented by two fragments, both covers relate to accounts of the same general area or context in ten cases. The majority of the fragments carry locally written headlines and have covered locally produced records, and the indications of central reuse can plausibly be attributed to later handling during auditing.

The provenance of the manuscripts

With the reuse contexts of the manuscripts established, we can now consider how far their medieval provenance can be traced—and how this may inform our understanding of provenance across the wider collection. The number of books available for reuse within the duchy would have been substantial. At the time of its existence, systematic administrative reuse was still a relatively recent development, and most medieval volumes were likely still *in situ* in churches and libraries. The vast majority would have been held in the duchy's nearly 90 parish churches, the Bridgettine monastery in Naantali (Nådendal), and the Cathedral in Turku. Although the Franciscan convents in Rauma and Kökar and the Dominican convent in Turku had been closed by the late 1530s, their libraries—or parts of them—may still have remained on site. It is possible that the duchy's administration received some parchment from Stockholm or dismembered books from Finnish parishes outside the duchy, but there is no indication that such cases were more than incidental. Most of the books reused in the duchy, it is clear, had their medieval provenance within it.

Let us begin with the provenance of the books used by the central administration. As established in the previous section, twenty-one manuscripts fall into this category: twelve were acquired by the chamber of the Duchy of Johan, six by scribes working centrally but outside the chamber, two by the retinue of Gustav I during his visit to Finland, and one likely by the Royal Chamber in Stockholm. Since the provenance of the latter three is likely outside the Duchy,

the following discussion focuses on the remaining eighteen.⁴⁰ These contain nine liturgical and nine non-liturgical books, with both groups contributing nearly equal numbers of covers (211 and 217, respectively). This ratio is noteworthy, given that in the wider collection liturgical books outnumber non-liturgical ones by four to one.

The apparent overrepresentation of non-liturgical books in this context likely reflects two factors: first, the ready availability of such material in Turku; and second, the earlier obsolescence of non-liturgical texts, which made them more susceptible to reuse.⁴¹ The administrative break with Rome following the Reformation was more immediate and definitive than the gradual liturgical shift away from traditional forms of worship, and many liturgical books—especially song books—retained their practical use long after the initial stages of reform.⁴² It is therefore unsurprising that non-liturgical manuscripts were favoured for reuse in the early stages of administrative parchment reuse.

The books used in Turku were most likely acquired from within the city or its immediate surroundings. The most probable sources include Turku Cathedral, several significant nearby parish churches, the Dominican convent of St. Olaf, and the Bridgettine monastery of Naantali, located some 15 kilometres away. The manuscripts in this group are listed in Table 3, and several contain features that support their association with these institutions. Among the liturgical books two Bridgettine missals—MS F.m.I.276 and MS F.m.I.281—have been tied to the monastery in Naantali on liturgical grounds and may have

40 The two books reused by chamber staff accompanying the king are MS F.m.I.277 and MS F.m.Temp.65, while MS F.m.v.TH.AA.38 appears to have been reused in Stockholm after the duchy's dissolution. The origins of all three—a missal, a canon law manuscript, and an exegetical work—might best be looked for in the Stockholm area.

41 Analogously, Brunius observes that Stockholm-produced accounts are frequently bound in parchment from theological or legal manuscripts, likely acquired from nearby convents and monasteries. Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 31–32. Many of these books were reused early on.

42 On the continued use of liturgical books, see e.g., Raninen, “Make Do and Mend”, and a forthcoming article by the present writer and Jaakko Tahkokallio.

been confiscated from there by officials of the duchy's chamber.⁴³ MS F.m.I.283, a missal dated to the second half of the fourteenth or first half of the fifteenth century, belongs to a group of books identified as having been produced within the Diocese of Turku, most likely at the convent of St. Olaf.⁴⁴ Two further missals—MS F.m.I.55 and MS F.m.I.305—also follow the liturgical tradition of the Diocese of Turku,⁴⁵ leaving only two—MS F.m.I.137 and MS F.m.I.150—without obvious ties to the diocese. In addition to these missals, the liturgical books include MS F.m.III.13, a breviary dated to the second half of the twelfth or the first half of the thirteenth century—one of the oldest in the Finnish collection and thus suitable for the Turku region—and MS F.m.III.140, a fifteenth-century psalter.

The non-liturgical books include a group of five theological books: two thirteenth-century Bibles (one possibly from the twelfth century), a fourteenth-century exegetical text by Nicholas de Lyra,⁴⁶ a mid-fourteenth-century postil on Sunday Gospels by Franciscus de Abbati, and a thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine. In addition, there are four manuscripts of canon law dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that contain, among other material, the *Decretals* of Gregory IX. While it is difficult to assign precise provenance beyond the general Turku area, the postil by Franciscus de Abbati is known to have been used by the Bridgettines, and a copy was certainly held by Vadstena Abbey.⁴⁷ It is therefore plausible that this manuscript, like the two Bridgettine missals, was taken from Naantali.

43 V. Walta, "Naantalin Luostarin Kirjasto", *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 100 (2010), 33–70, at 42–43; A. Maliniemi, *Der Heiligenkalender Finnlands: seine Zusammensetzung und Entwicklung*, Helsinki 1925, 97–102.

44 Heikkilä, "I ett medeltida scriptorium", 282–83.

45 Haapanen, *Verzeichnis I: Missalia*, 26–29 and 253–55.

46 In addition to use in the chamber, a fifth of this manuscript (MS F.m.v.TH. AA.26) appears to have been reused in the Tavastia (Häme) province. This likely reflects a bailiff taking part of it from the chamber, rather than the manuscript originating in Tavastia. See the analysis in the dataset.

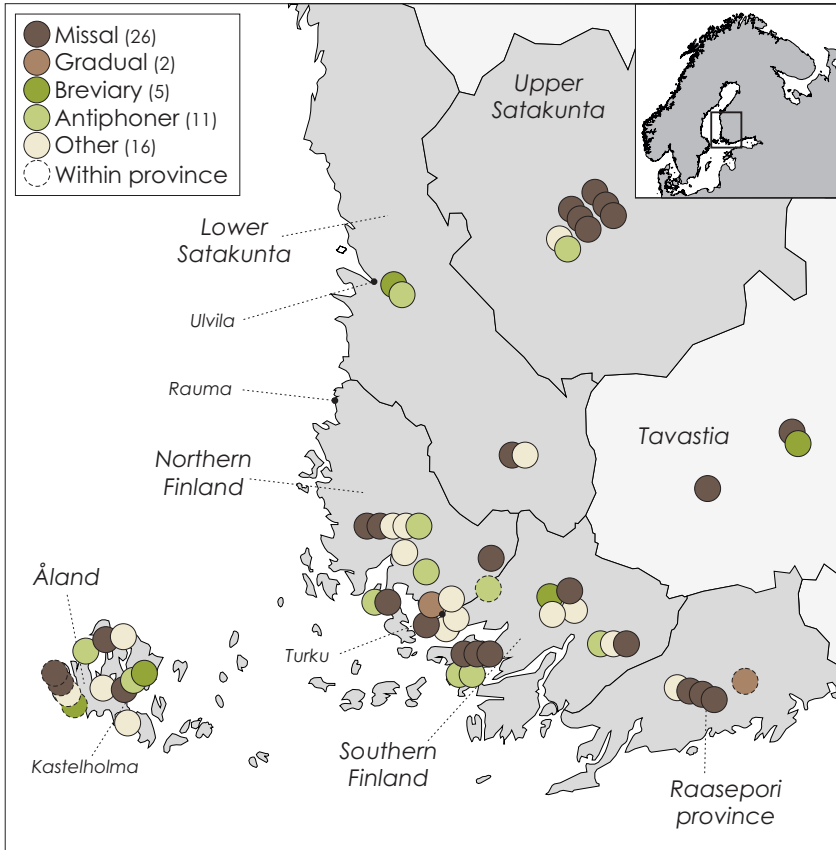
47 R. Andersson, "Messenger manuscripts and mechanisms of change", in *Continuity and change. Papers from the Birgitta conference at Dartington 2015*, ed. E. Andersson et al., Stockholm 2017, 24–40, at 28.

Liturgical manuscripts						
Type	Shelfmark	Dating	Covers	Leaves	Liturgical use	Origin
Missal	F.m.I.55	Saec. XIII ^{2/2} -XIV ^{1/2}	37	76	Turcu Diocese	Germany?
Missal	F.m.I.137	Saec. XIV ^{2/2} -XV ^{1/2}	26	47		
Missal	F.m.I.150	Saec. XIV	2	4		
Missal	F.m.I.276	Saec. xv ex.	13	28	Bridgettine	
Missal	F.m.I.281	Saec. xv med.	16	30	Bridgettine	
Missal	F.m.I.283	Saec. XIV ^{2/2} -XV ^{1/2}	30	53	Turcu Diocese	
Missal	F.m.I.305	Saec. xv med.-ex.	45	72	Turcu Diocese	
Breviary	F.m.III.13	Saec. XII ^{2/2} -XIII ^{1/2}	41	76		
Psalter	F.m.III.140	Saec. XV	1	2		
Other manuscripts						
Type	Shelfmark	Dating	Covers	Leaves	Author	Origin
Bible	F.m.v.BI.1	Saec. XIII ^{2/2} -XIV ^{1/2}	45	81		France
Bible	F.m.v.BI.22	Saec. XII ^{2/2} -XIII ^{1/2}	3	3		England
Exegesis	F.m.v.TH.AA.26	Saec. XIV (post 1320)	57	115	Nicholas de Lyra	France
Exegesis	F.m.v.TH.AA.86	Saec. XIV med.	26	41	Franciscus de Abbatibus	France
Hagiography	F.m.vII.18	Saec. XIII	44	76	Jacobus de Voragine	France?
Canon Law	F.m.Temp.117	Saec. XIII	30	63		
Canon Law	F.m.Temp.70	Saec. XII ^{2/2} -XIII ^{1/2}	4	8		
Canon Law	F.m.Temp.105	Saec. XIII	4	4		
Canon Law	Codex-1334	Saec. XIV	4	5		

**Table 3: Centrally reused manuscripts with likely provenance in the Turku area
Fragments at Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto; Stockholm, Riksarkivet; London,
British Library**

Taken together, the composition of the centrally reused books—with connections to the Bridgettines, the Dominican convent in Turku, and the diocese more generally—suggests that the duchy's officials acquired books for reuse from several sources, perhaps reflecting a reluctance to strip any single institution of its entire library.

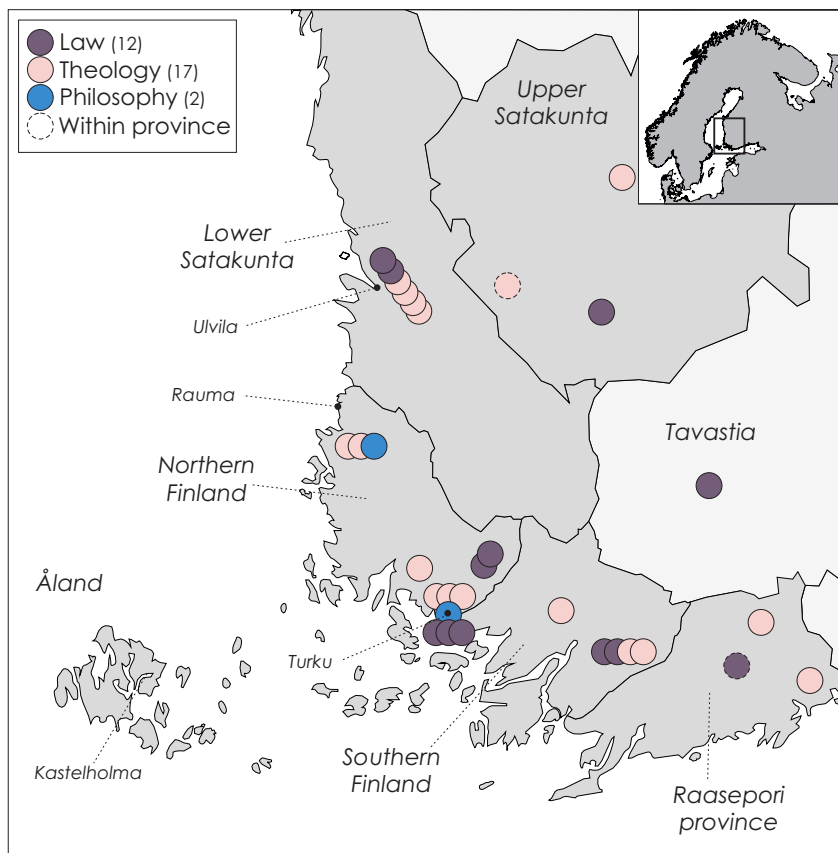
With the locally reused manuscripts, we can expect to trace provenance from across the duchy. Maps 2 and 3 suggest a provenance for all but four of the ninety-five manuscripts identified as



Map 2: Suggested provenance of locally reused manuscripts (liturgical)

locally reused in the previous section. Each manuscript was analysed individually and—based on the accounts its leaves were used to cover—assigned to the bailiwick where reuse most likely began. Before turning to a more detailed analysis, it is worth briefly considering the broader picture that emerges.

Map 2 shows the distribution of sixty liturgical books. As we can see, they appear throughout the duchy, with types represented fairly evenly across regions. Map 3 portrays the remaining thirty-one manuscripts—i.e., theological, legal, and philosophical texts—which also appear to come from across the duchy, except for Åland. These



Map 3: Suggested provenance of locally reused manuscripts (non-liturgical)

non-liturgical books tend to cluster more strongly in some areas, especially in and around Turku, where seven are localised. This is to be expected due to such books being available in Turku, and the Turku Castle—itsself an administrative entity overseen by a bailiff—producing more accounts per year than other bailiwicks, creating demand for parchment covers. Generally, the relatively even distribution of both liturgical and non-liturgical books supports the reliability of the localisations, reflecting the expectation that book reuse was a widespread practice within the local administration and that parish churches were the primary source of material.

The strength of the evidence for these provenance attributions varies. In some cases, provenance can be established straightforwardly and with confidence; in others, the evidence is admittedly thin. The most reliable localisations are based on clear patterns of reuse. Consider, for instance, MS F.m.IV.21, a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century antiphoner, which survives as twenty-three covers, all but one reused for records of Åland. The manuscript was reused in two periods—between 1554 and 1568 (eight covers) and between 1603 and 1618 (fifteen covers)—a pattern that makes its medieval provenance in Åland virtually certain. We can even venture a plausible institutional holder: during its earliest reuse in the 1550s and 1560s, all fragments were used by bailiffs based at Kastelholma Castle or the nearby Haga estate (nine kilometres apart), with the church of Saltvik—an obvious candidate for the book's medieval home—lying between them.

Cases in which a specific medieval holder can be suggested remain rare, yet a second example demonstrates that this line of inquiry need not be merely speculative. MS F.m.I.162, a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century missal likewise reused in Åland, is independently known to have come from the church of Finström.⁴⁸ Suggestively, its fragments were employed chiefly for records from Kastelholma and Grelsby estate, seven kilometres apart, with Finström church lying only a short distance from Grelsby. This reinforces the view that, in favourable cases, precise provenance can be inferred from reuse evidence.

At the other end of the spectrum are books whose localisation rests on much less secure grounds. MS F.m.Temp.49, a Roman law manuscript dated to the fourteenth century or the latter half of the thirteenth, survives as a single fragment reused for a record of Halikko district in Finland Proper. The cover, however, appears to have

48 Based on an annotation in the manuscript (f. 7); see Haapanen, *Verzeichnis I: Missalia*, 79. The close relationship between bookkeeping, parchment covers, and parish churches is further illustrated by a large cut-off folio from the same manuscript, used as a cover for an inventory of both Grelsby and Haga estates. That inventory was witnessed and sealed by Johannes Petri and Michael Andrea, priests of Finström and Saltvik, respectively.

been moved between records, making this moot as evidence.⁴⁹ The best clue to its provenance is the name Frans Larsson, which appears on one leaf. Larsson was a bailiff in Satakunta, and the most plausible explanation is that the cover was first used—and acquired—by him. It is therefore placed accordingly on Map 3. Fortunately, such scant evidence is the exception; most locally reused books can be linked to a plausible provenance based on their association with specific accounts.

I would argue that the provenance attributions proposed above broadly reflect the original medieval distribution of books, though specific localisations should be treated as tentative. These provenance assignments—based on individual manuscript analysis—can be further examined by grouping books into broader patterns, thus generating wider pools of evidence. While a full exploration of this approach lies beyond the scope of this article, I will conclude by presenting three examples that illustrate how group-level analysis can shed additional light on manuscript provenance and the practicalities of local parchment reuse.

As a first example, we may consider manuscripts localised to Åland. Twelve books—all liturgical—can be assigned to the region: four missals, two breviaries, two antiphoners, a lectionary, a psalter, and a manual. One further manuscript is of uncertain type, surviving only as narrow strips. The lack of non-liturgical books is curious, but may reflect the fact that Åland housed no religious communities apart from the Franciscan convent on the outer island of Kökar. What is most striking about this group is how clearly it illustrates the regional character of fragment reuse. Taken together, the twelve books survive as seventy-nine covers, seventy-three of which were used to bind accounts from Åland, with the few exceptions showing clear signs of later reuse by the chamber. This strongly suggests that the initial reuse took place entirely within the province. Moreover, each book was, on average, used by three bailiffs from three different bailiwicks. This pattern indicates that once reuse began, leaves either circulated beyond the book's immediate vicinity or multiple bailiffs drew on the same local supply of parchment regardless of

49 Another cover with the same headline also survives: Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, *Fragmenta membranea*, MS F.m.v.TH.AA.87, ff. 4–5.

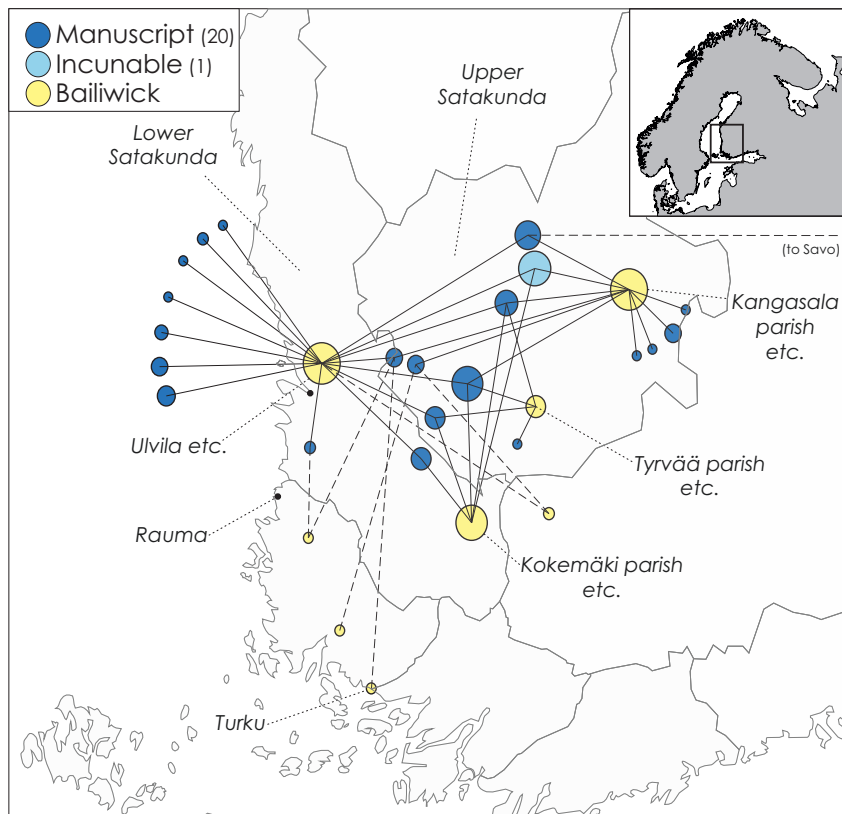
where they were stationed. This makes assigning bailiwick-level provenance difficult—unless supported by additional evidence—while at the same time reinforcing the security of localisation to the province as a whole.⁵⁰

As a second example we may turn to another group—larger and informative in a different way. The manuscripts localised to Satakunta—a province north of the heartland of Finland Proper, divided into three or four bailiwicks each encompassing approximately four parishes—comprise twenty-one books and 117 covers. This group is illustrated in Map 4 as a network of bailiwicks and manuscripts: manuscripts are represented in blue, bailiwicks in yellow, and node size corresponds to the number of covers associated with a bailiwick or comprising a manuscript. Each manuscript is connected by lines to the bailiwicks whose records its leaves were used to cover.

The network brings several things into focus. First, as with Åland, the reuse of these books appears to have been almost entirely confined to the province. Only six covers are associated with records from outside Satakunta, again suggesting that the leaves of locally reused books rarely circulated beyond provincial boundaries.⁵¹ Second, the network distinguishes between books linked to multiple bailiwicks and those used in only one. In total, eight books are connected to more than one bailiwick in Satakunta, two of which are associated with all four. These must have either been kept in locations accessible to several bailiffs or acquired by one bailiff who then shared the material with colleagues—a situation also observed in Åland.

50 Most books were reused within a decade, but two were reused over much longer spans—sixty-five and forty-five years. This suggests that at least these two remained in place, likely in churches, with leaves sometimes either cut off or, if the binding had been broken, simply removed. I consider this the most likely way of local reuse taking place. Such practice accords with church inventories (surviving mainly from the 1590s onwards), which indirectly evince old liturgical books withering away in the early seventeenth century, sometimes to the point of only the wooden covers remaining. See Sandberg, *Linköpings stifts kyrkoarkivalier*, 48–52.

51 The six covers come from five manuscripts, one of which shows a link to Savo. Another has a link to Häme (just east of Satakunta) and three are connected either to Turku or one of two bailiwicks between it and Satakunta.



Map 4: The reuse of manuscripts in Satakunta by bailiwick associations. Node size is determined by the number of covers associated with a bailiwick or comprising a manuscript.

Unlike in Åland, however, there are also two groups of books with a link only to a single bailiwick. One includes four books linked to the bailiwick of Kangasala (in Upper Satakunta); the other comprises seven books connected to the bailiwick of Ulvila (centred around a town of the same name in Lower Satakunta). I focus here on the latter group to offer a final example illustrating how tentative provincial localisations can, in some cases, support more precise provenance determinations.

The seven books linked solely to the bailiwick of Ulvila are exceptional in content. They include two exegetical works (MS F.m.v.

TH.AA.40 and MS F.m.v.TH.AA.48, by Petrus Comestor and Petrus Lombardi) and two of canon law (MS F.m.Temp.35 and MS F.m.vi.IUS.CAN.40), all dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. While not unique in the fragment collection, such texts represent a clear minority.⁵² More striking, however, are three books one would hardly expect to find in a provincial bailiwick like Ulvila: MS F.m.III.133, a fifteenth-century breviary adhering to the liturgy of the Diocese of Skara, with reference to St. Elin of Skövde, patron saint of Västergötland;⁵³ MS F.m.Temp.191, an exegetical work in Middle Low German—one of perhaps only two such texts in the Finnish collection; and MS F.m.vII.99, a hagiographical manuscript possibly from the eleventh century, and one of just ten books in the Finnish collection with such an early dating. It seems unlikely that such a group of books would derive from ordinary parish churches, and their presence in Ulvila demands a more plausible explanation.

I would argue that a likely source for such books is the Franciscan convent of Rauma, dissolved in the late 1530s and located some 40 kilometres south of Ulvila, near the border between Satakunta and Finland Proper.⁵⁴ Several lines of evidence support this hypothesis: the exceptional content of the books, the timing of their reuse, and the evident connections between officials in Ulvila and Rauma. The books in question were used to bind the accounts of two bailiffs—Mats von Klewen (active in Ulvila 1551–1556), who reused one cover, and his successor Nils Birgersson (1557–1561), who reused fifteen. In addition, one cover was used for a record concerning tithes in 1563 and was likely written by a local priest. The reuse began with MS F.m.Temp.35, a canon law manuscript used by von Klewen in 1554 and by Birgersson in 1557–1558, while the rest, except for the tithe record, were reused solely by Birgersson between 1557 and 1561. The interconnectedness of the officials in Ulvila and Rauma can be highlighted by considering two further manuscripts—also

52 In the Finnish collection, there are eleven books assigned to Petrus Comestor and nine to Petrus Lombardi; canon law comprises c. 11% of the collection.

53 T. Haapanen, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsinki: III: Breviaria*, Helsinki 1932, 60.

54 On Franciscan convents and book culture in Finland, see J. Tahkokallio, “Fransiskaanit”, in *Suomen Keskiajan Kirjallinen Kulttuuri*, ed. T. Heikkilä, Helsinki 2010, 277–86.

likely from the convent's library—reused in both Rauma and Ulvila. First, MS F.m.v.BI.42, a glossed French Bible from the late thirteenth century, was reused by von Klewen in 1552 and again in 1556 for a tithe account of Andreas Petri, the provost of the Rauma area; and second, MS F.m.IV.146, a fifteenth-century *Franciscan* antiphoner, was reused first by the bailiff of Rauma, Lars Jönsson (1556–1557), and later by the bailiffs of Ulvila.⁵⁵

Evidence that the books of the former convent were being repurposed at precisely this time comes from three manuscripts first reused by Lars Jönsson's successor as bailiff of Rauma, Olof Svart (1557–1562). Svart unquestionably initiated the reuse of all three, since he used no fewer than thirteen fragments from them to bind his accounts between 1559 and 1563, and the other surviving fragments were all reused after 1563. Each of these books is the kind one would expect to find in a convent library: MS F.m.v.BI.8, a fourteenth-century Bible; MS F.m.v.VAR.7, a fourteenth-century medical text by William of Saliceto; and MS F.m.v.TH.AA.128, a late-fifteenth-century copy of the *Lucidarium*, a Bridgettine customary.⁵⁶ Considering that the bailiffs of Rauma had, in 1556, moved to the very grounds of the former convent—first converted into a vicarage and then a royal estate (*kungsgård*)—it is difficult to escape the conclusion that, as

55 As a further point on the ties between Ulvila and Rauma, Mats von Klewen is known to have settled near the town after his tenure. It has even been suggested that he oversaw the conversion of the old Rauma convent to a royal estate (*kungsgård*) in 1551. P. Papunen, "Lääninvallan ja suurvaltakauden vaikutukset Rauman seudulla vv. 1550–1721", in *Rauman seudun historia I*, ed. P. Papunen and K. Virkkala, Rauma 1959, 159–474, at 159–160.

56 The Bridgettine book MS F.m.v.TH.AA.128 is discussed in I. Hedström, "One Customary to Rule Them All", in *The Bridgettine Experience. Papers from the Birgitta Conference in Stockholm 2011*, ed. C. Gejrot, M. Åkestam, and R. Andersson, Stockholm 2013, 351–369, at 355–358. Hedström suggests that the book was written in Vadstena abbey and subsequently sent to Naantali, basing this on its contents and on her view that its administrative reuse connects it to Turku. A closer inspection, however, unambiguously ties the book to Rauma, as it has been used to cover two accounts written by the bailiwick's scribe who has also headlined the covers. This does not necessarily preclude an earlier presence in Naantali, but the manuscript was certainly in Rauma in the early 1560s.

they settled in, they proceeded to repurpose the remaining books of the convent.⁵⁷

Taken together, these twelve books (listed in Table 4) are exceptional both individually and as a group. Individually, they include an exegetical work in German, a possibly eleventh-century hagiographical manuscript, and an out-of-place breviary from Västergötland. As a group, they comprise two liturgical and ten non-liturgical manuscripts, an unusual ratio in a collection where liturgical material overwhelmingly dominates. Their geographic origins are also diverse, with suggested provenance in France, Italy, the Low Countries, and the Nordic region. This departure from the typical composition of the collection makes it difficult to view their connection to the Rauma area as coincidental. Even if some nearby parish churches had held individual volumes of this kind, it is hard to imagine them collectively possessing such an improbable combination. The scarcity of liturgical books in the group is also striking, though it may be explained by the fact that liturgical volumes still held practical value for departing friars, particularly those intending to serve as priests. Definitively attributing these books to the Rauma convent would require further study, ideally extending the spatiotemporal frame, but this case demonstrates how group-level analysis can sharpen and refine the tentative provenance established through individual manuscript study.

57 A handful of liturgical books have previously been tentatively connected to the convent's library based on the books' content and early modern reuse, see J. Tahkokallio, "Rauma ja fransiskaalainen kirjakulttuuri", in *Risti ja lounatuuli. Rauman seurakunnan historia keskiajalta vuoteen 1640*, ed. A. Lahtinen and M. Ijäs, Helsinki 2015, 56–63. One of the few direct sources on the fate of the Rauma convent library is a late-eighteenth-century disclosure mentioning several chests that had belonged to the "monks" and remained on the convent grounds; one reportedly once contained books and parchment manuscripts but was by then empty. See R. Välimäki, "Rauman seurakunnan varhaisimmat historiat Henricus Mathei Rawmensiksesta H.G. Porthaniin", in *Risti ja lounatuuli*, 226–232, at 231.

Genre	Shelfmark	Dating	Type/work/author	Lit. use or origin
Liturgy	F.m.IV.146	Saec. xv	Antiphonal	Franciscan
	F.m.III.133	Saec. xv	Breviary	Nordic
Bibles	F.m.v.BI.8	Saec. xiv	Bible	France
	F.m.v.BI.42	Saec. xiii ex.	Bible, glossed	France
Theology	F.m.Temp.191	Saec. xiv ^{1/4} –xvi ^{1/4}	Exegesis (in German)	
	F.m.v.TH.AA.40	Saec. xiii ^{2/2} –xiv ^{1/2}	Petrus Comestor; <i>Historia scholastica</i>	France?
	F.m.v.TH.AA.48	Saec. xiii ex.	Petrus Lombardi: <i>Glossae continuae</i>	France?
	F.m.v.TH.AA.128	Saec. xv	<i>Elucidarium observantium</i>	Bridgettine
Hagiography	F.m.vii.99	Saec. xi ex.–xii	Hagiography	Low countries?
Law	F.m.vi.IUS.CAN.40	Saec. xiv in.–med.	Canon Law	
	F.m.Temp.35	Saec. xiii ^{2/2} –xiv	Canon Law	
Philosophy	F.m.v.VAR.7	Saec. xiv	William of Saliceto: <i>Summa conservationis et curationis</i>	Italy

Table 4: Books with a possible provenance in the Rauma Franciscan convent. Fragments at Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto; Stockholm, Riksarkivet; Uppsala, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek; London, British Library

Conclusion

This article has examined the reuse of over a hundred medieval manuscripts in mid-sixteenth-century Sweden. By distinguishing between locally and centrally reused books and then analysing their reuse in detail, it has been possible to establish a likely medieval provenance for nearly all of the manuscripts studied. Most can be tied to specific regions, typically provinces, while in many cases a more precise provenance—within a bailiwick or even a religious institution—can be suggested by combining individual- and group-level analyses. Although the results concern a specific context, the methods developed are applicable more widely across the fragment collection and address a central question concerning its study.

Most importantly, the findings suggest that manuscript provenance in the Swedish-Finnish fragment collection can, in fact, be determined. The assumption that evidence of reuse could be used to establish provenance for all, or even most, of the fragments has long

been contested. While scholars have acknowledged a correlation between the fragments' 'bookkeeping' and medieval provenances, it has been argued that sufficient evidence for provenance attributions exists only for books that survive with many leaves. Since the majority of books in the collection survive as single fragments, many have doubted whether their provenance could ever be established. The results of this study, however, indicate that most—perhaps even all—single-fragment manuscripts were reused locally and became associated with accounts from regions near their medieval homes. If this finding can be verified for the collection as a whole, the research potential of the fragments will be greatly enhanced, providing strong encouragement for continued provenance studies.

Administrative parchment reuse was influenced by many factors over its century-long span. The production of bookkeeping records—and with it, the demand for parchment—peaked early and gradually declined toward the seventeenth century. The availability of parchment varied regionally, depending among other things on the density of churches and religious institutions. Evidence suggests that certain types of books, such as legal ones, were reused earlier than most, while some liturgical books retained their value longer after the Reformation. Further, the growth and evolution of the chamber in Stockholm, along with the establishment of ducal and occasional regional chambers created to address specific local needs, contributed to variation and discontinuity in how parchment was reused by the central authorities. These and other factors must be considered when assessing how far the patterns observed in the Duchy of Johan apply to the wider collection. In the absence of any formal policy or central directives on book reuse, however, the practice must have been steered by similar practical needs across the realm, making it reasonable to assume that broadly comparable methods and habits of reuse prevailed throughout.

The results presented here rest on the comprehensive production of metadata, which has enabled both the identification of relevant manuscripts and the analysis of their reuse. Looking ahead, the continued enrichment of metadata will be a crucial stepping stone for new research, whether on provenance or on the many other topics for which fragments can serve as sources. The publication of the

Medeltida pergamentomslag and *Fragmenta membranea* databases some fifteen years ago has been invaluable, but neither provides comprehensive or consistent metadata at the fragment level. This problem has been recognised, and the first datasets to expand the metadata and integrate the Swedish and Finnish fragments into a single corpus have recently been published.⁵⁸ Alongside improved metadata, two further needs are clear, particularly for the study of provenance: first, research contextualising the administrative structures behind parchment reuse, especially the role of regional chambers and other local exceptions; and second, a fuller understanding and documentation of auxiliary sources, most importantly bookkeeping records, that can illuminate fragment reuse.

As the conditions for research improve, the Swedish-Finnish fragment collection can become an increasingly significant source for the study of medieval literary culture. Large metadata sets will enable quantitative research, thus far little exploited, while digitisation improves access to the fragments and supports approaches ranging from palaeographical and codicological to textual analysis. In relation to the specific focus of this article, what is most needed are targeted studies. Although fragment reuse has been noted in dozens of publications, it is usually treated only in passing, and very few works examine the phenomenon directly. This stands in sharp contrast to the importance routinely—and rightly—ascribed to the provenance of the fragments. There is no shortage of promising approaches: case studies of single manuscripts or larger corpora can reveal local and temporal conditions and conventions, while large datasets can expose broader patterns and correlations, directly illuminating the practices and intentions behind book reuse. By approaching fragment reuse systematically, as demonstrated in this article, we can recover the histories of individual manuscripts, identify wider patterns of book circulation, and open new perspectives on medieval literary culture and its afterlives.

58 See Eskola and Tahkokallio, 'How-Many-Fragments_dataset' and Eskola, 'Stockholm-Helsinki-Frs-Combined-BOMPAC'.

Bringing Missing Links Together: How Fragmentology and Digital Humanities Can Restore Catalonia's Disturbed Cultural Memory

Matthias M. Tischler, ICREA/Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
matthias.tischler@icrea.cat



Abstract: This essay opens up a panorama for the systematic exploration of the numerous manuscript fragments of medieval Catalonia. To this end, the current state of research and its structural shortcomings are first described. The development and use of the novel text and manuscript database *Carolingian Catalonia* (*CarCat*) now make it possible, for the first time, to compensate these shortcomings through the consistent electronic cataloguing of manuscripts and fragments not yet recorded by regional, national, and international research. This new technical setting of Catalan manuscript research enables numerous multidisciplinary research perspectives for the reconstruction of the medieval scriptoria and libraries, and ultimately, of the disturbed cultural memory of medieval Catalonia. The essay concludes with an initial orienting overview of the scope and profile of Catalonia's medieval fragments, using the particularly extensive and complex collection of the Cathedral and Diocese of Vic as a representative showcase.

Keywords: Catalonia, systematic fragment research, Digital Humanities

The General Situation and the Specific Case of Medieval Catalonia

The study of medieval manuscript fragments has all the allure of a detective mystery. Each newly identified and scientifically processed witness gives us a further clue, a small shard by which to rebuild what is otherwise an incomplete, if not utterly shattered, picture.¹

¹ Right from the start, I would like to point out that in the following I deliberately do not distinguish between (individual) 'fragments' and (multiple)

No matter how small a fragment might be, it still provides sufficient data on the codicology, script, and text of its full manuscript to make it possible to determine the place of origin, the time of production, and, with a sufficiently large amount of text preserved, even to place the witness within the vexing textual history of the surviving author or work. Under particularly fortunate circumstances, such fragments may contain a rare, if not unique, text, or at least the oldest-known witness to it.²

The study of medieval manuscript fragments in Catalonia has developed along the same general lines as in other regions of Europe.³ As a rule, individual studies have been published on textual

‘membra disiecta’ of a medieval copy, since, with the advances in national and international fragmentology, many ‘fragments’ previously claimed to be individual pieces are now turning out to be ‘membra disiecta’ of common-text witnesses. The abandonment of this unnecessary distinction is based on the hope of being able to at least partially reconstruct an increasing number of manuscripts. This promising research potential is present in many of the cases presented hereinafter.

- 2 Some basic orientation for the Iberian context: M.C. Díaz y Díaz, “Códices y fragmentos de códices”, in *Iglesia y cultura en las edades media y moderna*, ed. A. Hevia [y] Ballina, Oviedo 1992, 31–44; D. Andrés [y] Fernández and C. Martí [y] Martínez, “Fragmentos de códices litúrgico-musicales en España. Apuntes para una historiografía y una propuesta de descripción”, *Hispania Sacra* 69 (2017), 49–60; H. Bamford, *Cultures of the Fragment. Uses of the Iberian Manuscript, 1100–1600*, Toronto 2018; J. Antoni Iglesias i Fonseca, “‘Instruments inútils o no importants per lo monastir’. En los márgenes de la codicología, fragmentos y ‘membra disiecta’”, in *La producción del libro en la Edad Media. Una visión interdisciplinar*, ed. G. Avenzoza [i Vera], L. Fernández [y] Fernández, and M.L. Soriano [y] Robles, Madrid 2019, 247–91; M.E. Martín [y] López, “La investigación sobre fragmentos en España. Estado de la cuestión”, in *Frammenti di un discorso storico. Per una grammatica dell’aldilà del frammento*, ed. C. Tristano, Spoleto 2019, 405–26; J.A. Iglesias [i] Fonseca, “La investigación sobre fragmentos y ‘membra disiecta’ en Cataluña. Jirones de un ilustre patrimonio bibliográfico”, in *ibid.*, 481–506.
- 3 Groundbreaking essays on fragment research in Catalonia, which provide a general orientation on the tasks and possibilities, were written by Anscari Manuel Mundó i Marcet and his pupil Jesús Alturo i Perucho: A.M. Mundó [i Marcet], “Les colleccions de fragments de manuscrits a Catalunya”, *Faventia* 2:2 (1980), 115–23; *idem*, “Comment reconnaître la provenance de certains fragments de manuscrits détachés de reliures”, *Codices manuscripti* 11 (1985), 116–23; J. Alturo i Perucho, “Els estudis sobre fragments i ‘membra disiecta’ de còdexs a Catalunya. Breu estat de la qüestió”, *Revista catalana de teologia*

traditions from liturgy or exegesis, sometimes on spectacular finds, in a wide variety of fields of ancient, patristic, and medieval texts.⁴ However, these activities have remained limited to a small selection of the superficially most interesting pieces, and equally limited as to audience, as they have been mostly presented in the traditional essay format, often with poor illustrations, and written only in Catalan, or possibly Spanish. Making the fragments available on an internationally visible all-English platform has not yet been considered. In addition, initial, but only sporadic, attempts have been made to provide an overview of fragments according to genre, without, however, delving into substantial philological detail.⁵ Laudable though

13 (1988), 431–50 [Spanish version: “Los estudios sobre fragmentos y membra disiecta de códices en Cataluña. Breve estado de la cuestión”, in *Instituciones de enseñanza y archivos de la Iglesia*, ed. A. Hevia [y] Ballina, vol. 1, Oviedo 1998, 33–52]; idem, “La aportación del estudio de los fragmentos y ‘membra disiecta’ de códices a la historia del libro y de la cultura”, in idem, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*, Bellaterra 1999, 11–40; idem, “Les études sur les fragments de manuscrits en Espagne. Bilan et considérations diverses”, *Revista de história da sociedade e da cultura* 12 (2012), 79–112.

- 4 Some selected examples are mentioned later in the article when presenting the various possibilities of fragment research in Catalonia.
- 5 Of particular note here are the inventories of the mostly liturgical fragments by José Janini y Cuesta (twice with Xavier Ricomà i Vendrell) and the surveys of Vic fragments of liturgical, biblical, and hagiographic texts by him and the archivist and liturgy expert Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol: J. Janini [y Cuesta], “Los fragmentos de sacramentarios existentes en Vich”, *Hispania Sacra* 18 (1965), 385–409; idem and J. Ricomà [y Vendrell], “Fragmentos litúrgicos del Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Tarragona”, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 38 (1965), 217–30; idem, “Manuscritos latinos existentes en Poblet”, in *Miscellanea Populetana*, Poblet 1966, 209–28; J. Janini [y Cuesta], “La colección de fragmentos litúrgicos de Vic”, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 48 (1975), 3–32; idem, “Fragmentos litúrgicos de Cataluña”, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 1 (1978), 69–88; idem, *Manuscritos litúrgicos de las bibliotecas de España 2: Aragón, Cataluña y Valencia*, Burgos 1980; M.S. Gros [i Pujol], “Fragments de biblias llatines del Museu Episcopal de Vic”, *Revista catalana de teologia* 3 (1978), 153–71; idem, “Cinc fragments de manuscrits de l’escriptori de la catedral de Vic”, *Ausa* 19 (2000), 61–72; idem, “Fragments de passoner i de leccionari del sanctoral de la Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic dels segles IX–XIII”, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 26 (2018), 97–145. For the case of the Catalan biblical traditions see below, n. 18 and 26. There are numerous other works by Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol and Jesús Alturo i Perucho, comprising individual studies on fragmentary liturgical texts and glossaries, patristic, and literary

such attempts are, they make visible only the tip of an iceberg, the enormous submerged extent of which can hardly be estimated. In contrast to other regions of Europe, medieval Catalonia has an abundance of handwritten fragments—indeed, it is perhaps one of the richest regions for these remains. There are several reasons for this.

The region's high degree of literacy following the so-called 'Carolingian Reform' of the ninth century is well known. This is apparent in the area of private charters and documents, whose records up to the year 1000 have now been largely processed and critically edited.⁶ However, this work has not yet been accomplished in the area of (early) medieval manuscript production, which can be defined as 'literary' literacy in the broadest sense.⁷ This research situation in Catalonia is due not least to the complexity of the records in the various archives and libraries and their virtually non-existent systematic indexing in inventories and catalogues, let alone any consistent digitisation or visualisation of the material in question.⁸ If the estimates are even remotely accurate, then in Catalonia we are

texts, respectively. Selected publications were republished or published for the first time in the latter's anthology of 1999: *Studia in codicum fragmenta*. A full grasp on the individual titles is now provided in the recent bibliographies of the two scholars: I.J. [i Ginestà] and A. Gudayol [i Torrelló], "Bibliografia del Dr. Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol", *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 31 (2023), 19–45; T. Alaix [i Gimbert] and A. Pons [i Serra], *Jesús Alturo i Perucho, filòleg, paleògraf, historiador de la cultura. Breu biobibliografia*, Barcelona 2024.

- 6 R.d'Abadal i de Vinyals et al. (eds.), *Catalunya Carolíngia* 8 vols., Barcelona 1926–2020 [<https://catcar.iec.cat/documents/edicio/llistaMan>].
- 7 A first impression of the richness of the Catalan manuscript landscape is provided by three monographs published more or less simultaneously, in which fragments are repeatedly mentioned: J. Alturo i Perucho, *El llibre manuscrit a Catalunya. Orígens i esplendor*, Barcelona 2000; idem, *Història del llibre manuscrit a Catalunya*, Barcelona 2003; M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IXe–XIIe siècle)*, 2 vols., Madrid 2003.
- 8 This is painfully evident in the fact that no serious attempt has ever been made to develop a manuscript census in Catalonia, let alone in Spain or Portugal. Given our rapidly growing knowledge of the globally scattered Iberian manuscript heritage, such a repertory can now only be conceived of as an electronic manuscript portal.

dealing with c. 7,000 fragments of c. 3,000 medieval manuscripts.⁹ However, given the estimated number of c. 2,600 intact medieval manuscripts from Catalonia,¹⁰ this is probably too low because the number of so far unreported pieces that have found their way into foreign, i.e. non-Iberian collections, has not been taken into account. Any precise determination of the number of surviving fragments is currently hampered by the lack of reliable estimates of the contents of both historical and modern Catalan, Spanish, and Portuguese collections as a whole.¹¹

The high level of diplomatic and literary writing in Catalonia has, however, been accompanied by an equally—and unusually—high level of destruction, especially of the region’s medieval manuscripts, which may explain the exceptionally high proportion of manuscripts that have migrated abroad or that have remained only in a fragmented state in Catalonia itself. The fragmentation of multiple medieval libraries and manuscripts, which began for

9 Alturo i Perucho, “La aportación”, 16. Based on an estimation made end of November 1979, Anscari Manuel Mundó i Marcet spoke of 6,317 fragments of 2,693 medieval manuscripts: Mundó i Marcet, “Les colleccions”, 116 with n. 7.

10 Mundó i Marcet, “Les colleccions”, 115 with n. 1.

11 E. Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West. Explorations with a Global Database*, Leiden 2011, 110 mentions an estimated range of 61,543 to 82,128 medieval and premodern manuscripts of Iberia (Spain, Catalonia included, and Portugal), but he bases these extrapolated figures up to the year 1600 on an internal, thus not verifiable, database. C. Flüeler, “Ein europäisches Handschriftenportal. Ein Plan für das 21. Jahrhundert”, in *Die Bibliothek – The Library – La Bibliothèque*, ed. A. Speer and L. Reuke, Berlin 2020, 819–33, at 829 bases his statistically extrapolated number of ca. 9,000 medieval manuscripts in modern Spain (Catalonia included) on supposedly comparable parameters of interest in the same authors and works across Europe, as if one could assume more or less the same production and reception interests in all historical European societies. Given the permanently conflictual Iberian border societies and their different concerns, reading interests, and production conditions, this is at the very least questionable. Furthermore, both authors do not include systematic estimates of fragments, seemingly unaware of the publications by Mundó i Marcet and Alturo i Perucho. All figures presented so far regarding manuscripts and fragments of a present-day region or nation-state are also unreliable because, given the (medieval and modern) losses of their historical holdings and the (modern) acquisition of foreign items, they do not reflect the true conditions of either production or library holdings during the Middle Ages.

various reasons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, through numerous wars from the latter century onward, up to the Spanish Secularisation in the nineteenth century (esp. the *amortización* of 1835) and the Spanish Civil War 1936–39, have severely damaged Catalonia’s historical *and* modern manuscript collections.¹² A reliable history of the destruction of the region’s medieval libraries will only be possible once we have compiled a census, not only of the complete manuscripts that are still preserved and verifiable, but also of the books that have survived only in form of fragments.

Setting out For New Horizons

The following essay was prompted by the results of two joint projects that the author conducted together with his Austrian colleague Walter Pohl (Institute for Medieval Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna), from 2015 to 2019 and from 2020 to 2024. The first dealt with the transmission and use of the Bible in the Iberian Peninsula and led to an initial review of all Catalan biblical manuscripts and fragments that have been discovered to date, not only in regional archives and libraries, but also in national and international collections.¹³ The second project, using the same systematic approach, examined the new Carolingian text and manuscript culture of Septimania and Catalonia and documented it in the database *Carolingian Catalonia* (*CarCat*), which will go online in the near

12 M.M. Tischler, “From Disorder to Order. The Scientific Challenges of Early Medieval Catalonia for Twenty-First-Century Medieval Studies”, in *Disorder. Expressions of An Amorphous Phenomenon in Human History. Essays in Honour of Gert Melville*, ed. M. Breitenstein and J. Sonntag, Münster in Westfalen 2020, 93–140, at 97–103 provides some initial insights for the (pre)modern period. Based on the fascinating figure of the Catalan scholar Jaume Caresmar i Alemany (1717–91), P. Freedman, *The Splendor and Opulence of the Past. Studying the Middle Ages in Enlightenment Catalonia*, Ithaca (NY) 2023 develops an impressive panorama of the destruction of Catalan collections of documents and books during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

13 *Bible and Historiography in Transcultural Iberian Societies, 8th to 12th Centuries* (FWF project P 27804-G16): <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/research/historical-identity-research/projects/further-projects/bible-and-historiography>.

future.¹⁴ During the data processing, it became clear how extensive the proportion of fragments actually was, not only in the usually highly fragmented liturgical and exegetical manuscripts, but also in the biblical tradition (used as the reference text for Christians, Jews, and Muslims). Furthermore, the decision was made to include other sources in the database that attest to medieval manuscripts, such as medieval book lists (known and mostly published today, as they appear within endowments, donations, testaments, and, not least, inventories) and true library catalogues. All these sources attest to manuscripts that have only survived in the form of fragments.

The Development of the Text and Manuscript Database *Carolingian Catalonia* (CarCat)

Finally, in the interests of coverage and efficiency, it was decided to develop for each codicological unit, and also for each textual witness, an individual research bibliography, from which the current state of scholarship and digitisation can be seen.¹⁵ It goes without saying that such a regional database design, which can be expanded at any time to include additional neighbouring regions—e. g. for the purposes of comparison—will not only enable the integration of the extensive biblical and less extensive Carolingian textual culture of the wider Iberian Peninsula. It will also allow the full inclusion of the manuscript transmission of the ancient classical authors, the Church Fathers, the Hispano-Visigothic and Insular authors, the Graeco-Latin authors of central and southern Italy, the authors and works of the new reform epochs from early, central, and late Scholasticism, and last but not least, the new wave of authors and works of Italian and international Humanism. With this design, the *Corpus Codicum Manuscriptorum Aevi Postvisigotici*, which has

14 *Carolingian Culture in Septimania and Catalonia. The Transformation of a Multi-Ethnic Middle Ground of the Euro-Mediterranean World* (FWF project P 33080-G): <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/forschung/historische-identitaets-forschung/projekte/carolingian-culture-in-septimania-and-catalonia>. CarCat will be published at <https://webs.uab.cat/carolingian-catalonia/>.

15 For this reason and in order to reduce the size of the footnotes, the codicological measures will be omitted below; they can easily be taken from the literature documented in CarCat.

long been called for,¹⁶ can be gradually developed. This data pool will also lay the foundations for the complete integration of the numerous textual witnesses that are only available in fragments. These do not require a separate *Corpus fragmentorum*, since fragmentology is not a sub-discipline of codicology, as it serves many other disciplines that deal with manuscripts too (palaeography; art history; text history; ecdotics; book and library history; intellectual, economic, war, and cultural history, etc.).¹⁷ When trying to retrieve an imaginary library of the cultural memory of a distinctive society, a separate corpus of fragments makes no sense. Instead, its dynamics can best be visualised by using a comprehensive text and manuscript database.

As should be clear already, only a few of the individual fragment collections have been recorded in printed inventories or catalogues. Where attempts have been made to compile the fragments comprehensively, at least up to the central Middle Ages, there, as in the case of the Catalan Bible tradition, the fragments have been mixed with the full manuscripts in mere chronologically sorted lists of shelfmarks, without this being made clear to foreign researchers. And again, the fragments have not been examined in detail either for their codicological—let alone palaeographical—coherence, or philologically with regard to their biblical text.¹⁸

16 J. Alturo i Perucho, “Le corpus des manuscrits et des chartes en écriture wisigothique et caroline en Espagne”, *Revista de história da sociedade e da cultura* 19 (2019), 13–39. However, this study does not take into account the more comprehensive perspective on the ‘Spanish’ manuscript heritage of the Middle Ages developed in the late nineteenth century by the Austrian manuscript librarian Rudolf Beer, who not only compiled the state of knowledge on this subject at his time but already formulated a vision of a combined edition of the medieval library catalogues and other book lists of ‘Spain’: R. Beer, *Handschriftenschatze Spaniens. Bericht über eine in den Jahren 1886–1888 durchgeführte [!] Forschungsreise ...*, Wien 1894 [repr. Amsterdam 1970]; idem, “Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken Spaniens und ihr Bestand an nationaler Literatur”, *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, [26 October 1895](#), 1–4.

17 W. Duba and C. Flüeler, “Fragments and Fragmentology”, *Fragmentology* 1 (2018), 1–5.

18 J. Alturo i Perucho, “Corpus biblicum medii aevi Cataloniae. Códices, fragmentos, membra disiecta y referencias literarias. Una primera aproximación”, in *Biblia y archivos de la Iglesia*, ed. A. Hevia [y] Ballina, Oviedo 2013, 69–114, at 101–05 (witnesses of the eleventh and twelfth centuries). Does the

In general, the understandable desire to expand rather small medieval manuscript holdings by integrating modern fragment collections within an existing shelfmark system of the respective collections has led to the problem that only those familiar with specific collections can quickly identify such bundles of fragments—without, however, being able to easily determine the number of medieval manuscripts hidden behind any given shelfmark.¹⁹ In other words, this practice has made it, if not impossible, then at least considerably more difficult to accurately calculate the number of fragments currently separated from their medieval and (early) modern supports (manuscripts, archival materials, incunabula, and prints) and bound separately. In this context, it should be mentioned that researchers can consider themselves fortunate if the provenance of the separated fragment is recorded, including location and institution. More usually, the shelfmark of the former host volume (archival document, manuscript, or print) is not known, and thus valuable chronological, geographical, and content-related data for assessing the origin or use of the fragment have inevitably been lost, or can only be reconstructed with considerable difficulty.

unsatisfactory state of research in this publication have to do with the fact that it does not take into account (and may even be unaware of) a detailed and philologically much more sound study that was published ten years earlier, i.e., A. Puig i Tàrrach, “La Bíblia llatina en els països de llengua catalana fins al segle XIII”, *Revista catalana de teologia* 28 (2003), 103–34?

- 19 Such shelfmarks containing a bundle of various manuscript fragments can be found in many Catalan collections, e. g. Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Còdex 120, Còdex 178, and Còdex 185; Barcelona, Arxiu Diocesà, Carpeta 1, Carpeta 2, and Carpeta 3; Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, UAB Ms. 33, UAB Ms. 34, UAB Ms. 35, Ms. 193, Ms. 2323, Ms. 2541, Ms. 5067, Ms. Música 1408, Ms. Música 1409, Ms. Música 1451 and Ms. Música 1463; Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 1949 and Ms. 1952; Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 151; Girona, Arxiu Diocesà, Ms. 27; Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 756, Ms. 757, Ms. 761, Ms. 770, Ms. 790, Ms. 791, Ms. 792, Ms. 793, Ms. 794, Ms. 795, Ms. 799, Ms. 804, Ms. 1039, Ms. 1042, Ms. 1061, Ms. 1104, Ms. 1108, Ms. 1113, Ms. 1152 and Ms. 1255; Tarragona, Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesà, Ms. 18, Ms. 19, Ms. 20, Ms. 21 and Ms. 22; Tortosa, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 332, Ms. 333, Ms. 334, Ms. 335 and Ms. 336; (La Seu d')Urgell, Biblioteca Capitular, Ms. 180, Ms. 181, Ms. 182, Ms. 183, Ms. 184, Ms. 185 and Ms. 186; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 79, Ms. 122, Ms. 123 and Fragn. 1–XXIX.

Unknown Private Collections of Fragments in Catalonia

Other structural obstacles to research on fragments in Catalonia are the largely unpublished private collections, for which there are currently only internal inventories available, but almost no publications. The most prominent case is probably the manuscript and fragment collection of the Catalan palaeographer and historian Anscari Manuel Mundó i Marcet (1923–2012). Over the course of his monastic, then secular career, Mundó, a former monk of Montserrat, acquired codices, primarily fragments of medieval manuscripts. Most of these entered Montserrat's manuscript collection in 2010, where over fifteen years later they still await processing.²⁰ A largely unknown private collection of fragments is located close by, in Sant Vicenç de Castellet, at the foot of Montserrat Abbey. In the possession of Miquel de Fàbregas i Sabater, it is going to be catalogued and described by the author of this essay.²¹ From both these collections, only individual pieces have so far been 'picked out' for publication.²²

20 The archive of Montserrat Abbey maintains an internal typewritten inventory of this collection of manuscripts and fragments (Ms. 1494–1536), to which Bernhard Bischoff refers in his catalogue of ninth-century continental manuscripts still under the location 'Barcelona': B. Bischoff (†), *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)* 1: Aachen – Lambach, Wiesbaden 1998, 56. However, the collection contains among its shelfmarks only one fragment from late ninth-century Septimania or Catalonia, Ms. 1520, a leaf of Pseudo-Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos* 5.

21 For a first orientation on this largely unknown private archive: M. de Fàbregas i Sabater, "Els fons documentals i la seva conservació. Un exemple concret d'iniciativa social. L'Arxiu Patrimonial Fàbregas de Manresa (Segles XI–XX)", *Dovella* 79 (2003), 27–30.

22 In the case of Mundó's collection of fragments, Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 1526, the bifolium of a thirteenth/fourteenth-century Tropary: M.C. Gómez [y] Muntané, "El Ars Antiqua en Cataluña (Apéndice I)", *Revista de musicología* 3 (1980), 279–83, and a further fragment of Justus of Urgell's *Commentary on the Canticles*, Ms. 1515, which belongs to an already-known fragment of the same eleventh-century copy, today Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193/4: J. Alturo i Perucho, "Encara un nou testimoni de l'Explanatio in Cantica Canticorum' de sant Just d'Urgell. El Ms. 1515 de la Biblioteca del Monestir de Montserrat", *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 23 (2015), 21–35. In the case of de Fàbregas i Sabater's collection of fragments, Sant Vicenç de Castellet, Arxiu Històric Fàbregas, Fragment 10, a large-size leaf with

The Invisibility of Medieval Fragments in Catalonia

In general, it can be said that up to the present time almost no medieval fragments in Catalonia are freely accessible as digital copies.²³ The only archive that has made all its digitised fragments available is the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó in Barcelona, but even there the user has to overcome two crucial hurdles: the fragments are only verifiable in a brief on-site inventory, and most of them can only be viewed in person, using screens in the archive's reading room. All users, whether local or international researchers, must travel to the centre of Barcelona to consult them in situ.²⁴ To date, no other archives have made any digital copies available at all. This inadequate research situation, coupled with the dispersal of fragments across a wide variety of archives and libraries under ecclesiastical and public administrations,²⁵ represents a major obstacle to

an early thirteenth-century primitive crucifixion scene, which is accompanied (among other short texts) by the beginnings of the four Gospels used in the Narbonese liturgy of church consecration and interesting notarial forms from Manresa on Jews as creditors in money-lending transactions with Christians: A. Rubió i Serrat, "Vestigis de la tradició litúrgica narbonesa i de debitoris jueus en uns formularis medievals", *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 27 (2019), 349–67.

23 A notable exception is, e.g., the fragment collection Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193, digitised under: <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/manuscritBC/id/263694>.

24 Only four of the 441 digitised fragments are currently visible online, namely Fragm. 94, 209, 241 and 242: <https://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/contiene/3231872>. This stands in curious contrast to the accessibility of the digitised manuscripts from Santa Maria de Ripoll, Sant Cugat del Vallès, and "Varia": <https://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/1859467>, <https://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/232180>, and <https://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/4735924>. The same holds true for the digital copies of the fragments of the Arxiu Capítular and Arxiu Diocesà at Girona, which are only consultable on the archive's screens in the reading room. In the Arxiu Capítular at Lleida, only a selection of fragments is currently available for consultation in digital form, also only at the archive itself. The inventory list in Lleida, like in Barcelona, can only be used on site; in Girona, the corresponding inventories have at least been made available online in pdf: https://www.arxiuadg.org/images/sec_esp/ACG-Manuscrts.pdf; https://www.arxiuadg.org/images/sec_esp/ADG-Manuscrts.pdf.

25 Catholic Church: diocesan, capitular, and episcopal archives and libraries; monastic libraries and archives; parish archives not yet integrated into the

systematic and comparative access to this virtually unknown part of the manuscript heritage of Catalonia.

A Typology of Fragmentology

Based on the work of the two above-mentioned research projects, on the biblical and the Carolingian manuscript heritage respectively, the author of this article has taken the first steps towards systematically investigating and reuniting (mostly unknown) fragments in these different textual areas.²⁶ This work has produced a number of insights, which will be presented below in a kind of typology of fragmentology.

Bringing Missing Links Together from Various Collections

Beyond the study and edition of an individual fragment,²⁷ the ambition of fragment research is the reunification of at least

diocesan archives. Spanish State: Archives of the Crown of Aragón, public libraries, and notarial archives. Generalitat de Catalunya: county ('comarcal'), municipal, and historical archives. Private owners.

²⁶ Bible: M.M. Tischler, "The Biblical Tradition of the Iberian Peninsula from the Eighth to the Twelfth Centuries seen from a Typological Standpoint", *Lusitania Sacra* 34 (2016), 33–59; Homiliaries: idem, "From Fragments to Codices. The Reconstruction of Copies of Carolingian Homiliaries and the 'Homiliary of Luculentius', a Case Study of Twenty-First Century Fragmentology in Septimania and Catalonia", *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 14:2 (2022), 181–200; *Homiliary of Paulus Diaconus*: idem, "Das Homiliar des Paulus Diaconus an der südwesteuropäischen Peripherie des Karolingerreiches. Methodische Anmerkungen und inhaltliche Ergänzungen zu einer neuen Monographie", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 131 (2023), 1–20.

²⁷ Thanks to the information kindly supplied by the Vic archivist Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol in March 2024, who died shortly thereafter, the author succeeded in discovering and publishing the oldest existing witness to Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* written in early Visigothic minuscule, now Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xxv/27. The fragment probably belongs to a copy made in the Pyrenean region, possibly in Urgell, around 800: M.M. Tischler, "Eine in westgotischer Minuskel geschriebene Kopie der 'Enarrationes in Psalmos' des hl. Augustinus in Vic (Katalonien) und ihre Bedeutung für die frühmittelalterliche Überlieferungs- und Textgeschichte des Werkes", *Sacris Erudiri* 64 (2025) (forthcoming).

two fragments from the same or different collections. While the former has been achieved more frequently,²⁸ the reuniting of fragments—especially from at least three different archives—has so far been rather rare.²⁹ As our own cataloguing work progresses, the discovery of fragments of the same manuscript from several relatively or completely unknown public, ecclesiastical, and private collections have increased in the last years³⁰. But there are also more complex cases, such as that of fragments of a magnificent, probably

28 I quote here only three spectacular cases, two of which are fragments of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* in two copies written in ninth-century Visigothic minuscule, one last recorded in Tarragona, private collection of Joan Serra i Vilaró, and Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà, Fragn. 106: J. Serra i Vilaró, "11. De l'arxiu particular de Mossèn Serra i Vilaró", *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 6 (1930), 296–303, at 300–03; J. Alturo i Perucho, "Un nou fragment visigòtic dels 'Moralia in Iob' de Sant Gregori el Gran. El 106 de Solsona, Arxiu Catedralici", *Faventia* 6:2 (1984), 127–36 [repr. in idem, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*, 42–51]; the other in Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 2541/11 and Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 1104/v: A. Millares [y] Carlo (†), *Corpus de còdices visigòtics* 1–2, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 1999, 17 n° 10; the third case consists in the above-mentioned fragments of Justus of Urgell's *Commentary on the Canticles* in Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193/4 and Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 1515. Further examples in the area of the biblical and homiletic tradition can be found in Tischler, "The Biblical Tradition"; "From Fragments to Codices".

29 The most spectacular find in Catalonia in this case is clearly the discovery of fragments of a third Ripoll Bible from the early eleventh century (1012/1017), the so-called Bible of Fluvià: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 322: Jerome, *Epistola* LIII and *Prologus in Pentateuchum* (parts) (Stegmüller RB n° 285), Lv (parts) and Dt (parts); Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 821/IV: los (parts); Banyoles, Arxiu Comarcal del Pla de l'Estany, Col·lecció de manuscrits, 1: 11 Thess and 1 Tim (parts): A.M. Mundó [i Marcet], *Les Biblies de Ripoll. Estudi dels Mss. Vaticà, lat. 5729 i París, BnF, lat. 6*, Vatican City 2002, 57–59. Here and in the following, the Bible books are cited according to the internationally standardised *sigla* of the *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgata*.

30 Two leaves of an unknown late eleventh-century Bible pandect are Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 288: 1 Mcc 12, 53–13, 7, 1 Mcc 13, 22–32 and 45–51, and 1 Mcc 14, 9–18 [Figure 1], and Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà, Fragn. 82: Act 10, 7–12, 15 [Figure 2]; two immediately following bifolia of a small private Psalter from the first half of the thirteenth century, with the late medieval provenance from Santa Coloma de Centelles, are Sant Vicenç de Castellet, Arxiu Històric Fàbregas, Fragment 8: Ps 32, 1–33, 9 and Ps 37, 7–38, 7 [Figure 3], and Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XI/40: Ps 33, 9–34, 13 and Ps 36, 19–37, 7 [Figure 4].

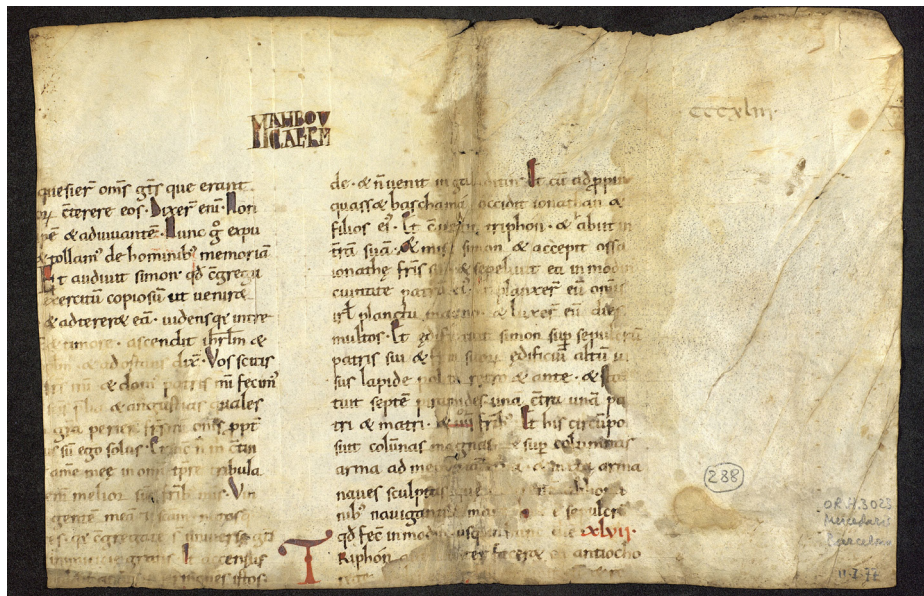


Figure 1: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragma. 288, recto

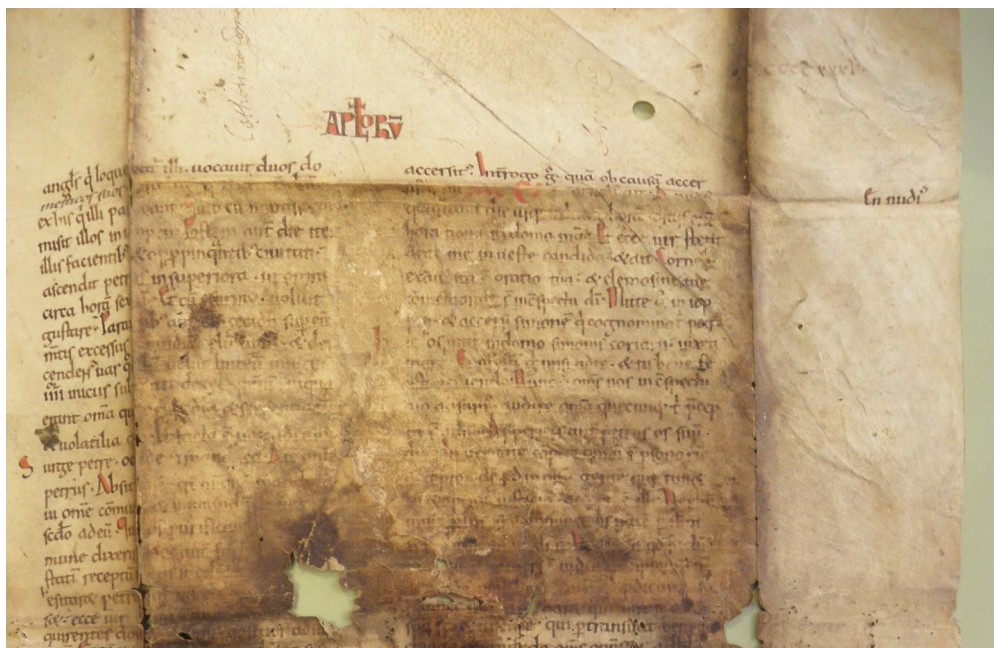


Figure 2: Solsona, Arxiu Diocesà, Fragma. 82, recto (upper part)

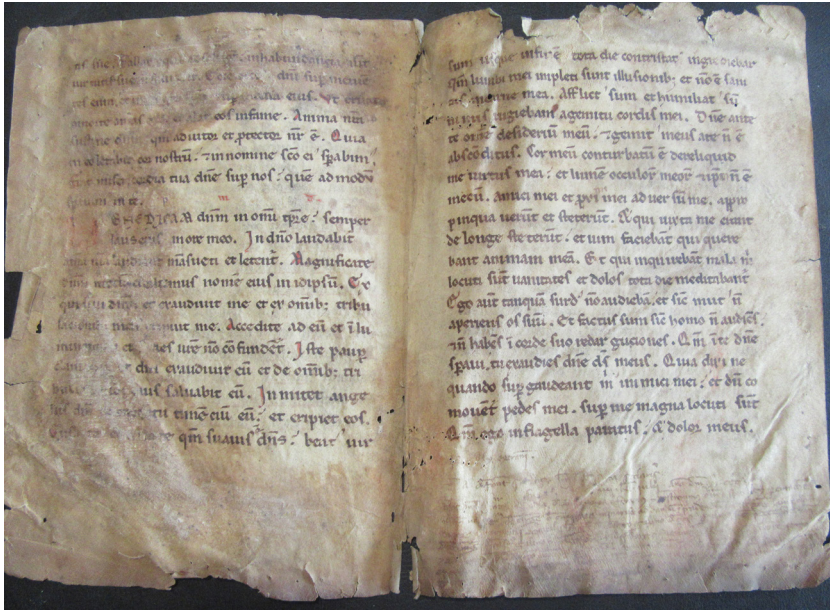


Figure 3: Sant Vicenç de Castellet, Arxiu Històric Fàbregas, Fragment 8, f. 1v/2r

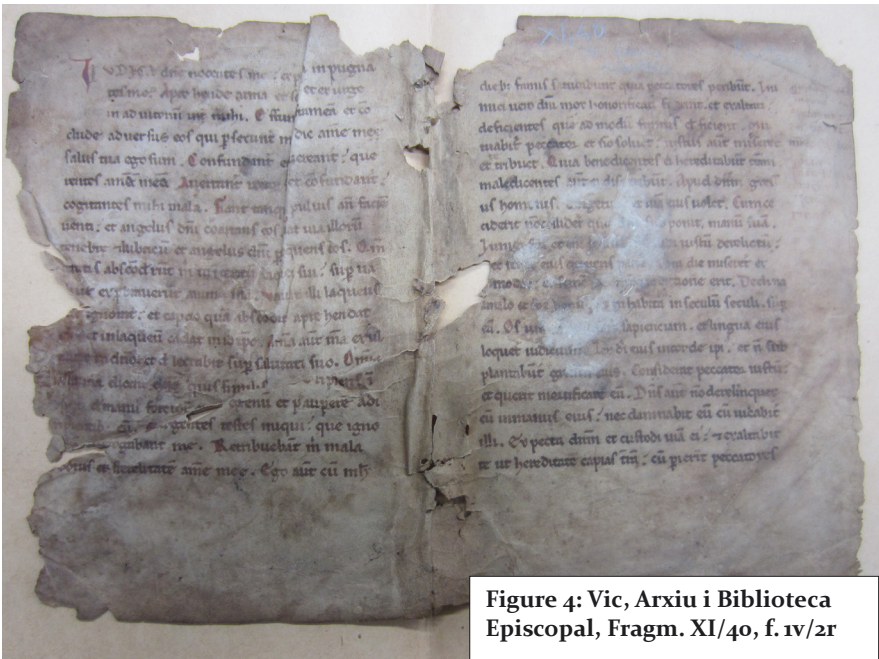


Figure 4: Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragam. XI/40, f. 1v/2r

late eleventh-century Bible from Sant Pere de Ripoll—the parish church of the famous Catalan Benedictine Abbey Santa Maria de Ripoll—which are scattered among at least three different archives, each under different administration today.³¹ An even more complex case involves a late twelfth-century copy of Peter Lombard's *Magna glossatura* to the Psalter, which was once housed in the Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria de Poblet (near Tarragona) and later cut up for binding material. Its many fragments are now scattered among at least three Catalan and two Spanish institutions, and further of the manuscript's fragments may yet emerge at new locations in the future.³² In all these instances, comparable codicological, palaeographical, and art-historical data were not the only factors that brought the fragments back together. Equally important and particularly revealing regarding the latest date of disassembly of the original codex and its reuse in new forms are the inscriptions on the limp bindings of archival documents in the form of titles, shelfmarks, or dates, especially when they are written by the same hand and reveal an origin from the same archival context. All of

31 The three currently-known fragments are Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XXII/5; Ex 14, 25–19, 15; Cardona, Arxiu Històric Municipal, Ms. 489: Rt 4, 5–22 and Hieronymus, *Prologus in Esr* (Stegmüller RB n° 330); Ripoll, Arxiu Comarcal del Ripollès, Fons Santa Maria de Ripoll, Ms. 1: Is 63, 2–66, 8, Ier 8, 21–9, 15, Ier 10, 22–11, 11, Ier 39, 5–14, Ier 40, 1–7, Ier 40, 10–16, Ier 41, 5–10, Ier 2, 17–29, Ier 3, 1–13, Ier 3, 14–21, *Prologus in Am* (Stegmüller RB n° 512), Am 1, 1–7, Am 9, 3–15, *Prologus in Abd* (Stegmüller RB n° 518), Abd 1–10, Abd 11–21, *Prologus in Ion* (Stegmüller RB n° 521) and Ion 1, 1–12: Tischler, “The Biblical Tradition”, 43 and 46–48.

32 Poblet, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Cod. 13 with 21 leaves: Ps 10–11, Ps 41, Ps 21–22, Ps 26, Ps 36–37, Ps 32, Ps 50, Ps 50, Ps 109–10, Ps 111–12, Ps 113, Ps 118, Ps 118, Ps 39, Ps 31, Ps 52–53, Ps 37, Ps 18, Ps 16, Ps 17 and Ps 105–06 [Figure 5]; Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 172 with 14 (five of them only partial) leaves: Ps 37, Ps 36, Ps 38–39, Ps 17, Ps 107–08, Ps 40–41, Ps 38, Ps 34–35, Ps 29, Ps 20, Ps 20–21, Ps 17, Ps 17 and Ps 56 [Figure 6]; Tarragona, Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesà, Ms. 18/6 with two leaves: Ps 39–40 and Ps 48 [Figure 7]. Further fragments of the same copy are pasted into book bindings of Poblet manuscripts that are preserved in various sections of the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid. Finally, there will be fragments at Salamanca as well: Tischler, “The Biblical Tradition”, 56 (mentioning only Poblet and Tarragona). A reconstruction of the manuscript needs also to rearrange the incorrectly bound (Poblet) or ordered (Barcelona) fragments.

Figure 5: Poblet, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Cod. 13, f. 10r

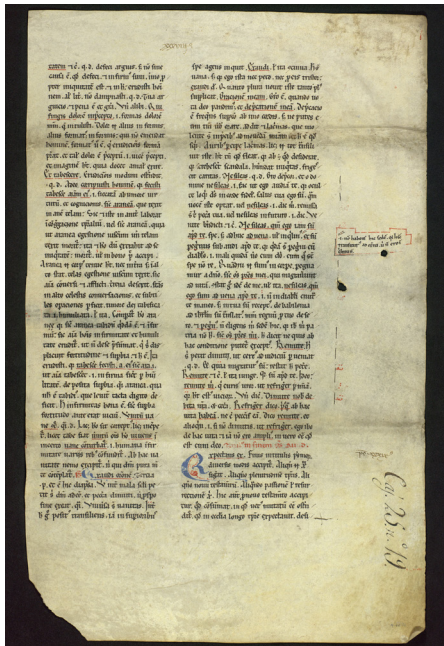
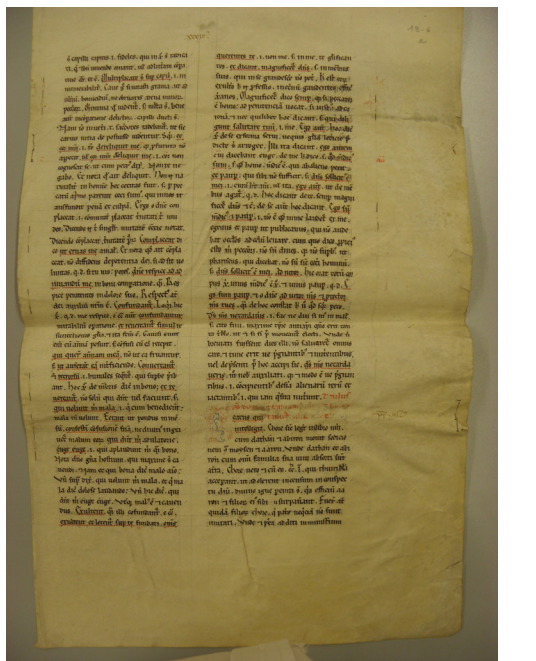
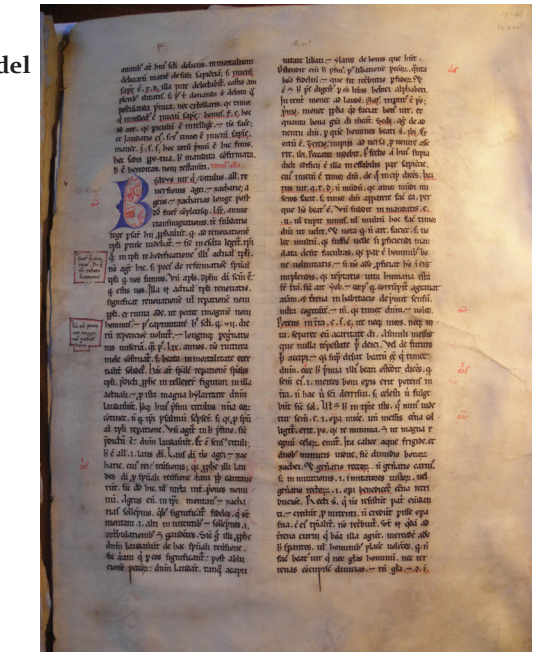
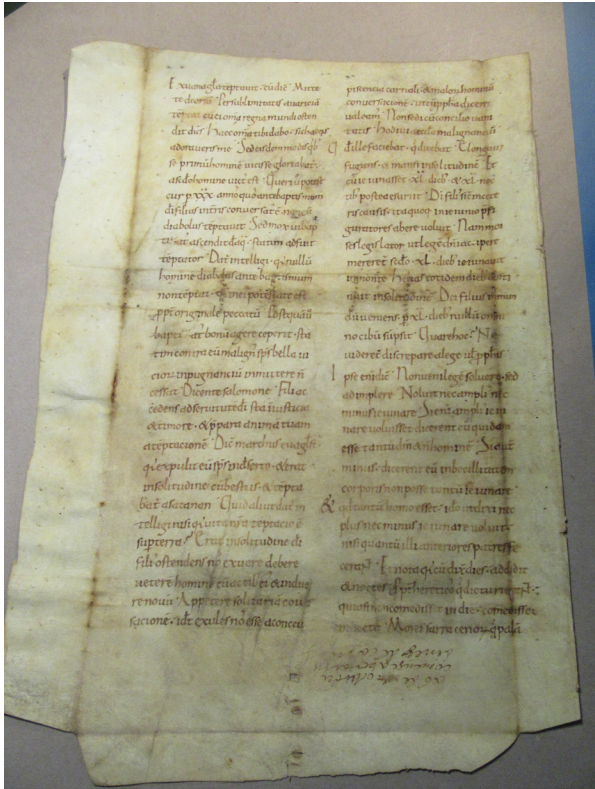


Figure 6: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 172, f. 3r

Figure 7: Tarragona, Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesà, Ms. 18-6, f. a, recto





**Figure 8: Sant
Vicenç de Castellet,
Arxiu Històric
Fàbregas, Fragment
22, verso**

these traces must be documented, as they are often the only clues to the place of reuse and, in the best-case scenario, even reveal the medieval provenance or origin of a manuscript.

Already at this point a fundamental remark must be made on the importance of bringing together fragments that at first glance seem exceedingly inconspicuous, such as scraps from Bibles, homiliaries, or lectionaries. The more fragments of one and the same manuscript can be reassembled, the greater the probability that we will be able to recognise the texts and their arrangement, and thus, for example, the type of Bible and its book order (canon), or the organising principles of a homiliary or lectionary. With this information, and in conjunction with the codicological and palaeographical data, we increase our chances of rediscovering models in their original, or at least copied form.

New Campaigns of Fragment Research and the Role of Auction Houses

The situation is different when fragments of a work originating in the region—and thus with a correspondingly wide local distribution—increasingly emerge, either from an already-known copy or from new copies from a variety of ownerships. The project undertaken by the author and his team preparing the critical edition of the late Carolingian *Homiliary* of Luculentius, a work probably written in Vic (or Ripoll) around 900,³³ has meanwhile sensitised national and international fragment research to this largely unedited work. Eleven further fragments of it have been accordingly brought to light, eight of which belong to previously unknown textual witnesses from Vic,³⁴ while the other three belong to two already recorded copies.³⁵ The latter pieces, from València and London (sold

33 <https://webs.uab.cat/luculentius/>

34 Caldes de Montbui, Arxiu municipal, s. n., first half of the eleventh century: *Homilia* 6 (part): J.A. Iglesias i Fonseca, in *Obres fragmentades i biblioteques disperses*, ed. J.A. Iglesias i Fonseca, and [M.]L. Soriano [y] Robles, Madrid 2026 (forthcoming); a short presentation and the illustration of f. 2r is published under: <https://www.caldesdemontbui.cat/actualitat/noticies/el-document-del-mes-de-maig-es-un-fragment-de-lhomiliari-de-luculentius-del-s-xi.html>; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xxv/28, Vic, first quarter of the tenth century: *Homiliae* 91 end – 92 beginning: M.M. Tischler, E. Pons i Vernet, “Un nou fragment d’una còpia primerenca de l’*Homiliari* de Luculenci procedent de Sant Mateu de Bages (Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xxv/28)”, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 33 (2025) 21–35; Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xxv/14, Vic, first half of the tenth century: *Homiliae* 86 end – 87 beginning; Sant Vicenç de Castellet, Arxiu Històric Fàbregas, Fragment 9, Vic (?), last quarter of the tenth century: *Homiliae* 138 end – 139 beginning and 148 (part); Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xiv/67, Vic (?), last quarter of the tenth century: *Homilia* 23 (part); Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xxv/16, Vic, first quarter of the eleventh century: *Homilia* 103 (part); Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xiv/64, Vic (?), first half of the eleventh century: *Homiliae* 103 (part) and 106 (part); Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xxv/26: Vic, second half of the eleventh century: *Homilia* 112 (part).

35 València, Universitat, Biblioteca Històrica, FR/1, two late tenth-century fragments of a leaf with part of *Homilia* 12 bound into the spine of a book cover of a sixteenth-century print as strengthening: F.M. Gimeno [i] Blay, *Librorum fragmenta. Incunables i manuscrits reutilitzats en la Biblioteca Històrica* (exhibition catalogue), València 2023, 62–67 n° 10 with 6 figures (verso b, recto

at auction and now in Los Angeles), clearly highlight the manifold deficiencies in the research of medieval Catalan manuscripts and fragments. Since there is currently no authoritative description of the hallmarks of the Caroline minuscule of early to central medieval Catalonia, and since illustrations of it have received little international attention so far, these unknown fragments of a previously largely unknown text could only be identified, localised, or dated with difficulty. And since there are currently no digital copies of the Catalan fragments publicly accessible, the two manuscript experts in València and London were unable to determine the relationship between their fragments and other, already-known pieces, and therefore also had difficulty dating their own items more precisely. The fact, however, that all eleven fragments are copies from early medieval Catalonia reinforces the conclusion, already drawn from other considerations,³⁶ that we are dealing with a homiletic work from this region and that it circulated there both early and widely.

-
- a, recto b, verso a, verso a/verso b and verso b, oblique view), 156 n° 10, and 230–31 with fig. 6 (opened book cover with verso, detail, oblique view). To them belongs Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de Protocols, Miscel·lània 1/8 (*olim* Fragn. 16; *olim* 3), a fragment with *Homiliae* 18 end – 19 beginning, used as a flexible book-cover of the “Manual de Montalegre” from 1625 (or: 1628)–1634 in the possession of the Barcelona notary Rafael Riera menor (AHPB, 588/77): F.X. Altés i Aguiló, “La tradició codicològica i litúrgica de l’homiliari carolingi de Luculentius a Catalunya. La recensió catalana. Inventari i homilies recuperades”, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 18 (2010), 71–241, at 142–43 n° 17. A large-size leaf with the beginning of *Homilia* 31 offered in London at Sotheby’s on 4–10 July 2025 (auction catalogue *Books, Manuscripts and Music from Medieval to Modern*, n° 9: <https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2025/books-manuscripts-and-music-from-medieval-to-modern-l25404/fragment-cloth-late-10th-century-fragment-of>), now Los Angeles, Collection of Gifford Combs, belongs to Tarragona, Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesa, Ms. 18/9 with *Homiliae* 53 and 54 (parts), Catalonia, first quarter of the eleventh century: Altés i Aguiló, “La tradició codicològica”, 164–65 n° 48. Sant Vicenç de Castellet, Arxiu Històric Fàbregas, Fragment 22, a leaf with *Homilia* 37 (part) [Figure 8], most probably belongs to Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 793/v, the lower part of a leaf with *Homiliae* 56 and 57 (parts), a copy from Santa Maria de Ripoll, 1010–1015: Altés i Aguiló, “La tradició codicològica”, 161 n° 41.
- 36 M.M. Tischler and E. Pons i Vernet, “An Untapped Treasure of Carolingian Text Culture. The Homiliary of Luculentius from the Spanish March (c. 900)”, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 115 (2020), 715–29 [revised Catalan version: idem, “L’Homiliari de Luculentius (marca hispànica catalana, ca. 900). Un tresor

Furthermore, the age of the newly discovered fragment preserved in Vic (Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. xxv/28) also shows us what early copies of this work made for daily use looked like. In view of our recent experiences with this work, it is likely that further fragments of the *Homiliary* of Luculentius will appear nationally and internationally in the near future—an expectation that can only be flexibly met in a permanently updatable text and manuscript database such as *CarCat*.

The Reconstruction of a Set of Manuscripts: The Private Library of a Prominent Tenth-Century Bishop of Girona

Fragment research opens up a different perspective when the discovery, analysis, and classification of one or more fragments enable the completion of a collection of related texts consisting of surviving manuscripts, or even permits the reconstruction of such a collection. An interesting situation arises when known, but incorrectly—or at least imprecisely—dated and located manuscripts are suddenly joined by fragments of further codices by the same scribe, who can then not only be identified by means of documents, but whose work can also be located and dated. This is the case where the discovery of a charter allowed a collection of fragments and books to be assigned to Girona in the 970s and 980s. Previously, in 1994, Anscari Manuel Mundó i Marcet observed that a prominent copy of the *Collectio Hispanica*,³⁷ wrongly dated to the ninth or eleventh century, was written in the same hand as a Barcelona manuscript³⁸ of a collection of canon law, patristic, and Carolingian texts for the instruction and examination of priests and laypeople, which was also dated to the eleventh century and assigned to either northern

amagat de la cultura textual carolíngia”, *Miscel·lània litúrgica catalana* 28 (2020), 67–95].

37 Girona, Arxiu Capítular, Ms. 4: M.M. Tischler, “Carolingian Canon Law Collections in Early Medieval Catalonia. Complementing or Replacing the Hispano-Visigothic Legal Tradition?”, in *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam. An Arabic Canon Collection from al-Andalus and its Transcultural Contexts*, ed. M. Maser, J. Lorenzo [y] Jiménez and G.K. Martin, Turnhout 2024, 87–125, at 88, n. 5.

38 Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 228: <https://bipadi.ub.edu/digital/collection/manuscripts/id/55626>.

Italy or southern France. To these already-described manuscripts, Mundó i Marcet added a fragment of the Bible in Girona and a Barcelona copy of Gregory the Great's *Dialogorum libri iv*.³⁹ Only with his discovery of the same hand in a charter from Girona, dated 14 June 983, in which the scribe names himself (Atto), was it possible to bring all these manuscripts together as products from Girona of the last quarter of the tenth century. It seems most likely that these manuscripts represent a new set of key works that a newly elected and consecrated bishop of Girona had commissioned for his private use, that bishop very probably being Miró Bonfill (970–84).

Mapping the Manuscript Landscape of Catalonia

This prominent case is instructive in many further respects. Firstly, because it was common in Catalonia for scribes to write both documents and books, the region's rich and unrivalled tradition of 'private' charters and documents, which are mostly written in cursive but also calligraphic book minuscules, offers a unique opportunity to precisely determine the date and origin of numerous previously undatable and not localisable literary manuscripts. These opportunities have been repeatedly pointed out.⁴⁰ It goes without saying that this potential—especially as regards Catalonia's oldest Latin textual witnesses up to the end of the eighth and ninth centuries, many of which are fragments—will have consequences for updating the repertories of Elias Avery Lowe, Bernhard Bischoff, and Agustín Millares y Carlo. Not only will the discoveries from the

39 Girona, Arxiu Capítular, Ms. 151, Fragm. 7 (with parts of I–II Tim) and Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 487: A.M. Mundó [i Marcet], "La cultura artística escrita", in *Catalunya romànica 1: Introducció a l'estudi de l'art romànic català. Fons d'Art romànic català del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, Barcelona 1994, 133–62 [repr. under the title "La cultura escrita dels segles IX al XII a Catalunya", in idem, *Obres completes 1: Catalunya 1: De la romanitat a la sobirania*, Barcelona 1998, 484–582], at 142 with n. 84 and 86, 159 n. 64, and 160 n. 84 and 86. The Barcelona copy is digitised: <https://bipadi.ub.edu/digital/collection/manuscrpts/id/70070>.

40 Especially by J. Alturo i Peruchó, "L'apporto delle carte alla storia della scrittura e del codice", in *Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, ed. E. Condello and G. De Gregorio, Spoleto 1995, 289–300 [repr. in idem, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*, 266–78].

last decades have to be integrated, but also most recent and future discoveries will provide further additions to the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*,⁴¹ the *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*,⁴² and the *Corpus de códices visigóticos*.⁴³

Secondly, as this particular case illustrates, with each new piece by an identifiable scribe, his profile as a copyist becomes clearer—for example, when it becomes apparent that he was an ‘all-rounder’ because of his writing capacities, but also specialised in the dissemination of certain contemporary literary works.⁴⁴

41 E.A. Lowe [and B. Bischoff], *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century* 1–11 and Supplement, Oxford 1934–71; B. Bischoff and V. Brown, “Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*”, *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985), 317–66; idem and J.J. John, “Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (II)”, *Mediaeval Studies* 54 (1992), 286–307; V. Brown, “New ‘C.L.A.’ Membra Disiecta in Naples and Rome”, *Mediaeval Studies* 58 (1996), 291–303. The repertory, now available in electronic form at <https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/>, also needs an updated bibliography for each item. From Catalonia can now be added the bifolium of a Hispanic Psalter, Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 259, and the above-mentioned (n. 27) Vic fragment of Augustine’s *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.

42 B. Bischoff (†), *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)* 1–4, Wiesbaden 1998–2017. Richard W. Pollard (Montréal) has now converted this repertory into an electronic version, which should be supplemented in the near future with an expanded and updated bibliography for each item. From ten Catalan collections can be added at least 25 witnesses of Septimanian Caroline minuscule and of Catalan handwriting in transition between Visigothic and Caroline minuscule, among them the fragment of Mundó’s former private collection at Barcelona, now at Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 1520 (above, n. 20), the hitherto unknown fragment of a large-format Septimanian copy of Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae* (v 39 and vi 1), now Manresa, Arxiu de la Seu, Fragments de còdexs, s. n., and the bifolium of a Narbonne copy of Walahfrid Strabo’s *Expositio in Psalmos* (In Ps 9, 4–24 and Ps 11, 3–13, 2), now Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xxv/2.

43 See above, nn. 27–28.

44 This is the case of Bonsom, obviously from Vic, who besides documents also wrote the late tenth-century Sant Cugat Bible, a leaf of which (with iv Rg 4, 34–7, 5) is Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Fragm. 250, the *Homiliary* of Luculentius, fragments of which (with parts of *Homiliae* 16 and 77) are Vilafranca del Penedès, Arxiu Comarcal de l’Alt Penedès, Comunitat de Preveres de Vilafranca, 17: G-8-79 and G-10-99 and Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Fragm. 249, and the full copy of the so-called *Liber iudicum popularis*, today

Thirdly, with every new textual witness, even if only preserved as fragments, the picture of the transmission of specific authors and works in a region becomes increasingly dense. Layering new chronological, spatial, religious and social information, these discoveries thus deliver evidence by which we can stratify the transmission of texts, providing new arguments for their initial presence, their duration, and their popularity (or the contrary). Each new piece of the puzzle tells us a new micro-story, either further clarifying and confirming previously identified general trends in text transmission, or telling new stories of individual and targeted acquisitions of copies. Hence, it is quite possible that otherwise domestic authors or works become domestic again through new foreign copies, made because they were apparently no longer available in their own libraries.⁴⁵

Finally, advancing fragmentology makes it possible to determine with increasing precision the proportions of the various text genres within the complete manuscript tradition and its fragments, which is of great importance for assessing the architecture of a manuscript and textual culture and its gradual transformations. For all these and many other reasons, consolidating the overall picture of a clearly defined regional landscape of historical manuscript collections through systematic fragment research is of utmost importance.

The Reconstruction of Collections of Glossed Bible Manuscripts in Catalan Cathedrals

Our second example of reconstructed sets of manuscripts are more or less complete collections of glossed Bibles from the central Middle Ages.⁴⁶ The first point to note is the relatively complete

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Ms. Z. II. 2., a work of which we still have traces of other contemporary copies, e.g. Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragm. xv/3; A.M. Mundó [i Marcet], "El jutge Bonsom de Barcelona, calligraf i copista del 979 al 1024", in *Scribi e colofoni*, 269–88 and plates I–VI [repr. in idem, *Obres completes* 1, 587–610]; Tischler, "From Fragments to Codices", 194.

45 This seems to be the case for the eleventh-century Italian copy of Justus of Urgell, *Explanatio in Cantica Canticorum* from Tortosa, which possibly had an older Catalan owner who still needs to be determined; see above, nn. 22 and 28.

46 On this phenomenon, which can be observed throughout Europe: M.M. Tischler, "Die glossierten Bibeln des Bamberger Doms im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert", *Archä Fragmentology* VIII (2025)

collection of such Bible manuscripts from the Cathedral of Girona, which was acquired by the University Library of Barcelona during the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, researchers did not note that, as regards the Pentateuch, the book of Leviticus, containing the Jewish legal regulations, is missing. The reason for this was simply its fragmentation, and a fragment of this glossed Bible is indeed preserved in Girona itself.⁴⁸ More significant for the importance of fragmentology is the case of Urgell Cathedral. Like all other contemporary episcopal churches of the central and late Middle Ages, the cathedral began acquiring the innovative northern French Bible editions with the so-called *Glossa ordinaria*. However, curiously, only three (or four) such Bible manuscripts seemed to have survived in Urgell,⁴⁹ which is similar to the situation at Barcelona Cathedral, for

Verbi 1 (2004), 91–118 (Bamberg); idem, “Dekonstruktion eines Mythos. Saint-Victor und die ältesten Sammlungen glossierter Bibelhandschriften im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert”, in *Bibel und Exegese in der Abtei Saint-Victor zu Paris. Form und Funktion eines Grundtextes im europäischen Rahmen*, ed. R. Berndt, Münster in Westfalen 2009, 35–68 (Saint-Victor de Paris and Europe); idem, “Zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie. Die Umgestaltung der Bildungslandschaft im Bistum Hildesheim durch fröhscholastische Bücher aus Nordfrankreich im 12. Jahrhundert”, in *Schätze im Himmel – Bücher auf Erden. Mittelalterliche Handschriften aus Hildesheim*, ed. M.E. Müller, Wolfenbüttel 2010, 237–52 (Hildesheim and other Saxon institutions); idem, “The Biblical Tradition”, 51–56 (Catalonia and Aragón); idem, “Saint-Victor de Paris. Spiritualité et érudition des chanoines réguliers, XII^e et XIII^e siècles”, in ‘*Secundum Evangelium Christi et vitam apostolicam*’. *I Canonici Regolari dal Medioevo ai nostri giorni*, ed. B. Ardura and G. Melville, Vatican City 2023, 233–64, at 250–56 (East Saxony).

47 Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 491–Ms. 497, Ms. 829, Ms. 498–Ms. 500, Ms. 1754, Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 51, and Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat, Ms. 501: K. Reinhardt, “La presencia de la ‘Glosa ordinaria’ (‘In Bibliam’) en la Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo”, in *Creer y entender. Homenaje a Ramón González Ruiz*, vol. 1, Toledo 2014, 65–74, at 70 (with lacunae); Tischler, “The Biblical Tradition”, 53.

48 Girona, Arxiu Capitular, Ms. 151, Fragm. 5.

49 The three completely preserved glossed Bible manuscripts are Ms. 2002: Is and Ier, Italy, second half of the twelfth century; Ms. 2001: Ps, Northern France, second half of the thirteenth century; Ms. 2004: Rm ... Hbr (Peter Lombard), Northern France, twelfth century: M. Bertram, G. Fransen, A. García y García, D. Maffei, P. Maffei, B. Marquès [i] Sala, and A. Pérez [y] Martín, *Catálogo de los manuscritos jurídicos de la Biblioteca Capitular de la Seu d’Urgell*, La Seu d’Urgell 2009, 405–06 and 408, however not mentioned by Reinhardt, “La

which we currently only know three complete and two fragmented manuscripts of this type.⁵⁰ During a research stay at the Biblioteca Capítular of Urgell at the end of July 2019, however, the author was fortunate enough to discover 20 leaves of varying sizes belonging to several further thirteenth-century glossed Bible manuscripts of varying provenance. These fragments show text passages from several books of the Old and New Testaments, of which 14 pieces have so far been identified.⁵¹ These fragments have therefore suddenly revealed that Urgell Cathedral, like Vic⁵² and all other Catalan episcopal sees,⁵³ also possessed a large collection of glossed Bibles, and that their heterogeneous composition pointed to the various foreign study locations of the canons of this episcopal see in the Pyrenees.

The Reconstruction of a Hybrid Manuscript Culture

However, fragmentology systematically applied in a region rich in manuscripts, such as Catalonia, opens up still further dimensions, which will be illustrated in the following by way of a few examples. First, it becomes clear that the region was a transitional zone between various written cultures, as it initially belonged

presencia de la 'Glosa ordinaria' ('In Bibliam')", 71. A later southern French or Catalan, thus autochthonous, product of the first half of the fourteenth century is Ms. 1998, a New Testament, prepared for interlinear and marginal glossing, which was, however, only accomplished at the beginning in Mt (ff. 1r–34r) and Lc (ff. 54v–90r), whereas the rest remained without glosses. The Bible text is written in the middle column in the style of an old twelfth- to thirteenth-century glossed Bible manuscript: Bertram et al., *Catálogo*, 404.

50 Barcelona, Arxiu Capítular, Còdex 3: Ex; Còdex 94: Ps (Peter Lombard); Còdex 183, 2: Ecl; Còdex 183, 1: Mt; Còdex 8: Rm ... Hbr (Peter Lombard). Other glossed Bibles belonging to the Cathedral of Barcelona (and other institutional and individual owners of the city) are likely to be found among the fragments preserved at the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona and the Arxiu Històric de Protocols in Barcelona.

51 La Seu d'Urgell, Biblioteca Capítular, Ms. 186, 4: Nm [Figure 9], Idc, Ios, Ps, Rm and 11 Cor [Figure 10]. A special study on these fragments, six of which are very difficult to identify due to their small size, is in preparation.

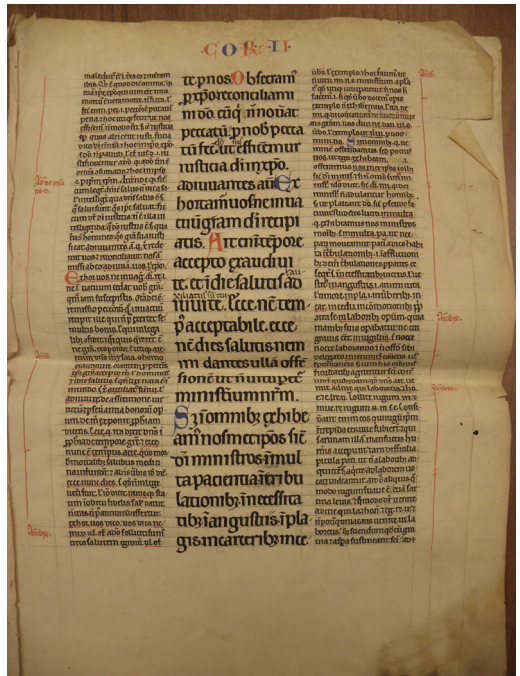
52 M.S. Gros i Pujol, "A propòsit de la biblioteca particular de Guillem de Tavertet, bisbe de Vic", *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 22 (2003), 103–36; Tischler, "The Biblical Tradition", 53.

53 Tortosa and Tarragona: Tischler, "The Biblical Tradition", 54. Only the situation at Lleida currently remains obscure.



Figure 9: La Seu d'Urgell, Biblioteca Capítular, Ms. 186. 4, here Nm 12-13

Figure 10: La Seu d'Urgell, Biblioteca Capítular, Ms. 186. 4, here II Cor 5-6



to the post-Visigothic text and manuscript culture dominated by Visigothic minuscule. From the ninth century, this was—depending on the subregion—sooner (Septimania) or later (Catalonia) replaced by the Frankish text and manuscript culture with its new Caroline minuscule. Therefore, in addition to manuscripts and fragments in hybrid scripts, there are also those in more or less pure Visigothic and Caroline minuscule.⁵⁴ However, we also find representatives of other foreign text cultures and corresponding book types in Catalonia, among which manuscripts imported from Italy played a significant role and demonstrate the close cultural exchange between the Apennine Peninsula and the north-eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁵ The fragments of manuscripts written in Beneventana known at the time were presented, described, and classified by Jesús Alturo i Perucho nearly 40 years ago.⁵⁶ Furthermore, there are also a number of other manuscripts and fragments written in the typically central Italian Romanesque minuscule that must be placed in the overall panorama. Prominent among the several imported Italian manuscripts that have not yet been documented and contextualised in a comprehensive study are fragments of four still largely unknown Italian Giant Bibles from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵⁷

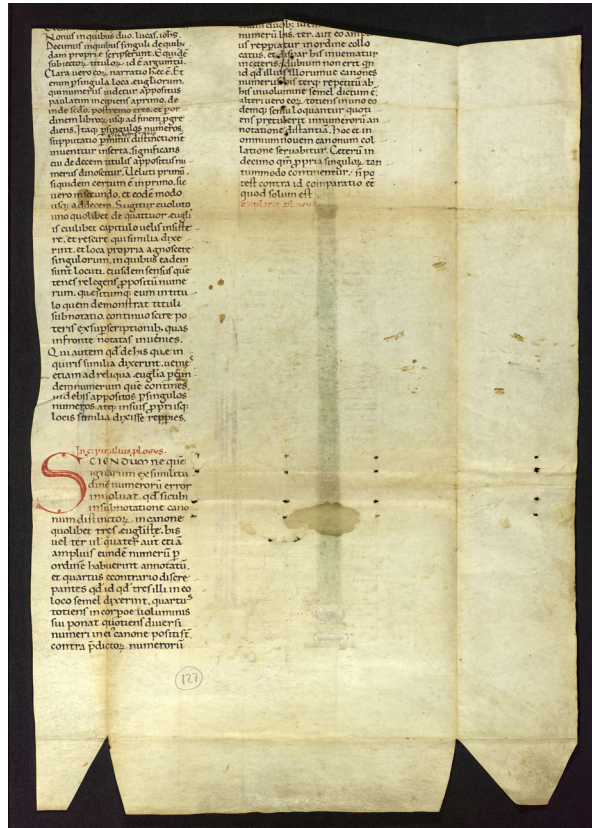
54 For fragments from Septimania and Catalonia written in Visigothic minuscule, one can consult the repertory by Millares y Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, as well as the individual studies, especially by Jesús Alturo i Perucho, some of which were reprinted *Studia in codicum fragmenta*.

55 A monographic study on the widely ignored presence of Italian manuscripts and fragments in Catalan medieval collections (which the author of this essay has been collecting for years), remains to be written.

56 J. Alturo [i Perucho], “Manuscripts i documents en escriptura beneventana conservats a Catalunya”, *Studi Medievali* III 28 (1987), 349–80 [repr. in idem, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*, 60–101]. A new fragment of Augustine, *Sermo* CXCVII and Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia* XXVII, written in twelfth-century Beneventana, now València, Universitat, Biblioteca Històrica, FR/2, has been most recently discovered and published by Gimeno i Blay, *Librorum fragmenta*, 68–73 n° 11 with 6 figures (recto and verso in different views).

57 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragm. 127, central Italy, twelfth century: Prologues to the Gospels and Canons of Eusebios (parts) [Figure 11]; Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 3932, northern Italy, eleventh century: Iob and Psalter (parts): <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/manuscritBC/id/239282> [Figure 12]; Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 821/1, central Italy, eleventh century: Psalter (part) [Figure 13]; Montserrat, Arxiu i

Figure 11: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragm. 127, recto



New Facets of Catalan Book Illumination

Fragments of these Bibles of the so-called ‘Gregorian Reform’, often decorated with elaborate initial letters, illustrate something further: their study contributes to the intensified research on the illumination techniques used, and thus to the history of entangled

Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 821/vi, central Italy, twelfth century: Dn (part) [Figure 14]. All these witnesses, which require precise palaeographical and art-historical classification, are not mentioned in *Le Bibbie atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione* (exhibition catalogue), ed. M. Maniaci and G. Orofino, Milano 2000; *Les Bibles atlantiques. Le manuscrit biblique à l'époque de la réforme de l'Église du XIe siècle*, ed. N. Togni, Firenze 2016.

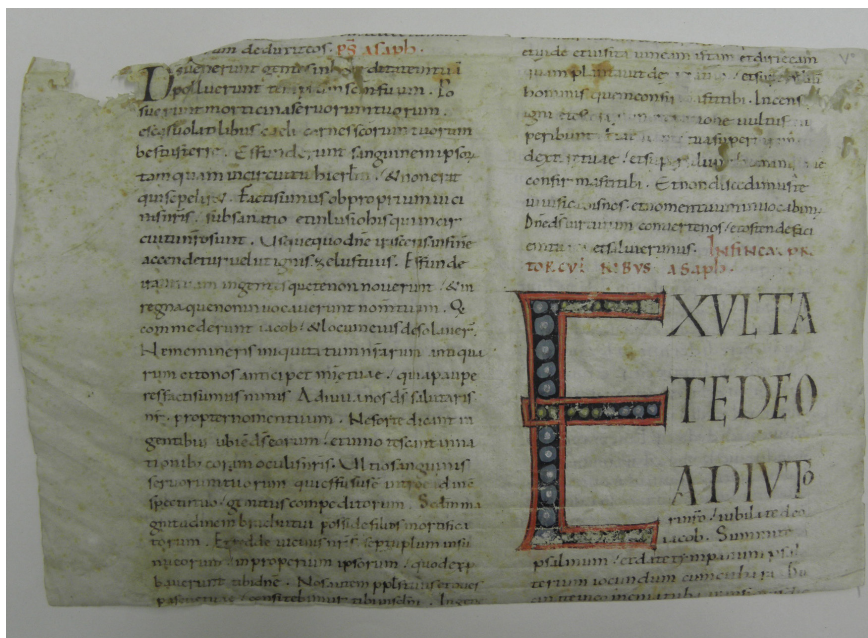


Figure 13: Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 821/I, f. 2v

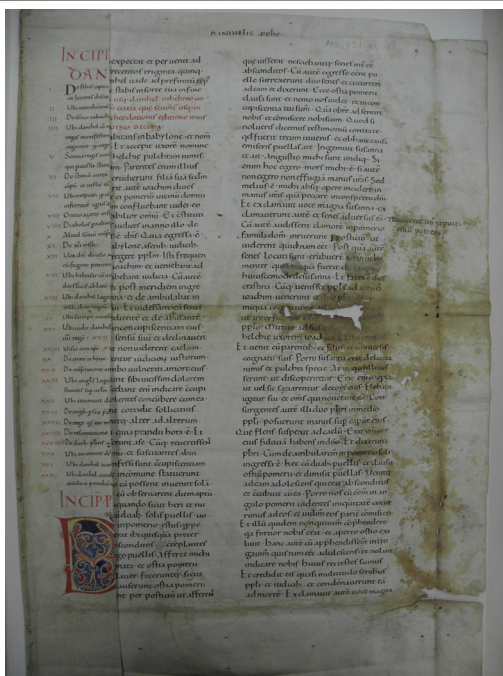


Figure 14: Montserrat, Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir, Ms. 821/vi, f. 1r and 2r

book illumination in an intermediating region like Catalonia.⁵⁸ That the rage of fragmentation visited upon manuscripts has affected not only commonplace items but also masterpieces of art history is shown by an example from the Biblioteca de Catalunya: a leaf of exquisitely illuminated canon tables of the Gospels from a large-size twelfth-century Catalan Romanesque Bible that has survived the centuries.⁵⁹ This precious piece requires closer examination, as its provenance from Santa Maria de Verdú suggests that it is somehow related to the diocese of Vic, of which Verdú was a parish during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, before coming into the possession of the nearby Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria de Poblet in 1227.

Visualising Manuscripts Thought to be Lost

A final point concerning fragment research still needs to be addressed: the possibility of making visible manuscripts that were previously unseen but attested from other medieval (and modern) sources. This becomes particularly exciting when, for example, a manuscript so far attested only in medieval catalogues, inventories, lists, endowments, and wills can be identified through suddenly emerging fragments and thus, so to speak, is materialised again, i.e., made tangible. Attempts at identification have not yet been systematically undertaken in the rich tradition of such additional sources in Catalonia, but with all due caution, the possibilities

58 The standard repertories and monographs are still J. Domínguez [y] Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas. Notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, 2 vols., Madrid 1933; P. Bohigas [y Balaguer], *La ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña*, 3 vols., Barcelona 1960–67, esp. “Inventario de códices miniaturados o iluminados de procedencia catalana o existentes en bibliotecas catalanas”, *ibid.* vol. 3, 145–223 [repr. Barcelona 2000]. The special articles on manuscripts of individual Catalan scriptoria in the volumes of the series *Catalunya romànica* 1–27, Barcelona 1984–98 and in *Del romà al romànic. Història, art i cultura de la Tarraconense mediterrània entre els segles IV y X*, ed. P. de Palol i Salellas and A. Pladevall i Font, Barcelona 1999 [also: <https://www.enciclopedia.cat/catalunya-romantica>] provide excellent illustrated overviews.

59 Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193/12 (= f. 16r/v) [Figure 15]: <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/manuscritBC/id/263626>; <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/manuscritBC/id/263627>.



Figure 15: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 193/12 (= f. 16r/v), recto

seem promising where the evidence is sufficiently dense.⁶⁰ At the

60 Only two examples will be mentioned here. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Fragn. 402 and Fragn. 21, two pieces of an early tenth-century copy of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel's *Expositio libri comitis* with later provenance Ripoll, can perhaps be identified with the "Collectarum i.", mentioned in the Ripoll catalogue of 1047: Tischler, "From Fragments to Codices", 187 with n. 36. In 1050, the church Sant Julià de Vilatorrada (near Vic) receives on the occasion of its dedication a donation of 17 biblical and liturgical books from the priest

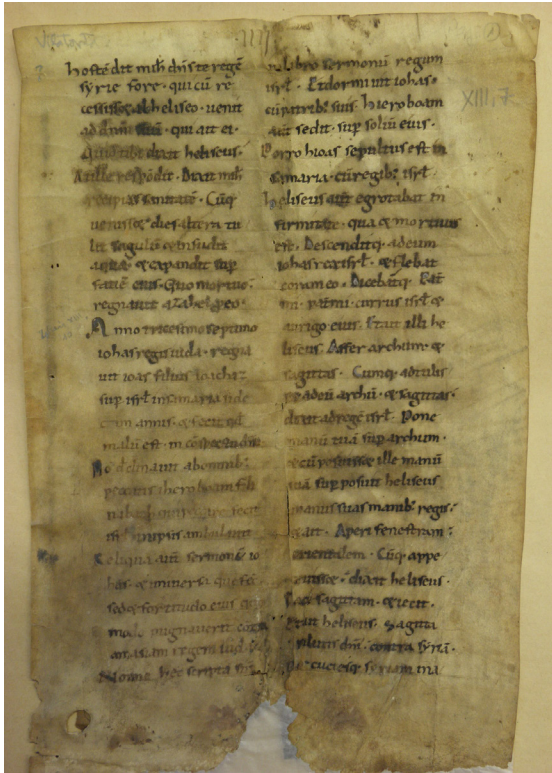
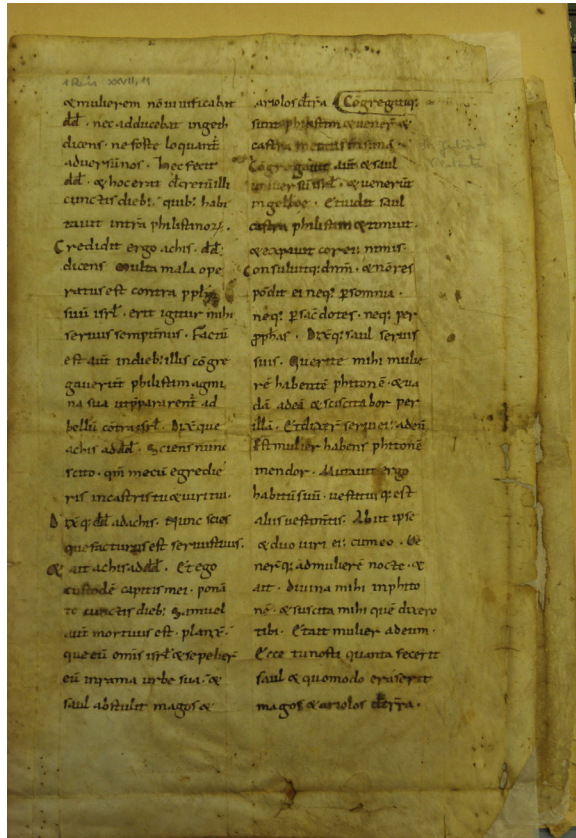


Figure 16: Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XIII/2, f. 2r

moment a fragment appears, the age, place of origin, size, quality

Bonfill. Among them are the Letters of St. Paul together with the Prophets, Genesis (probably the whole Pentateuch) with the Books of Kings and the Proverbs, a copy of the two books of Maccabees and also two Psalters and a liturgical Psalter: “Et sub hac excommunicationis pena ego Bonusfilius, sacerdos supradictus, dono in hac dedicatione Domino Deo et seniori meo, karissimo sancto Juliano, omnes libros meos quos abeo: nominatim dono ei ... et epistolas Pauli cum aliquibus libris Prophetarum et librum Genesis cum libro Regum et parabolas Salomonis cum libris Macchabeorum ... saletos duos ... et psalterium ... ut semper in iure ipsius ecclesie maneant, et clerici tenentes eam in eis legant, maxime illi clerici quos ego docui et nutrivit”: ed. R. Ordeig i Mata, *Les dotals de les esglésies de Catalunya (segles IX–XII)*, vol. 2, p. 1, Vic 1996, 151–52 n° 188 B, at 152. The eleventh-century fragments of Ex, I Sm, Dn, IV Rg and Is with the same provenance, now Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XIII/2 [Figure 16] and Fragn. XIII/7 [Figure 17], are perhaps remaining pieces of this manuscript endowment.

Figure 17: Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Fragn. XIII/7, f. 1r



and function of the originating manuscript become visible, giving us new precise data that do not appear in the usually cryptic references in book lists. Suddenly this information makes it clear whether the larger manuscript was an import or an original product of the local scriptorium or library. Of course, this research can only be carried out effectively if these book lists, their numerous editions, the widely scattered studies of them, and the often-contradictory opinions on their individual contents are systematically recorded and evaluated, a preparatory work that has already been done in the case of *CarCat*.

Fragmentology offers the potential for even more dramatic breakthroughs: the rediscovery of a previously invisible library or

even scriptorium.⁶¹ This previously under-recognised dimension of fragment research provides initial insights into a region's supposedly lost world of medieval books.⁶² Consistent study of as many fragments as possible will surely yield further insights in the future—for example, if the same book designs, handwriting, illumination practices, or even shelfmark systems are discovered.

Some Thoughts on the Epistemic Potential of Fragmentology

This overview of fragmentology's research possibilities has been concerned only with its potential for this particular field. However, it should be clear by now that the study of fragments significantly refines our picture of the written book culture of a region with a decidedly independent profile, both in detail and in general. Above all, it provides the means to bridge many gaps, making it possible to pose fundamental questions that in other, less affected regions of European heritage have already been asked. Each additional fragment found and classified allows us to visualise the dynamics of cultural transfer and the resulting transformation of a society with increasing precision, because each of these gives us a dateable and localisable piece of the puzzle. The overall picture we are trying to put together is of the body of knowledge that a specific society once held. By fitting each new piece that comes to hand, we are able to stratify and map old and new knowledge components in terms of time and place, and thus for the first time we are in a position to make reliable comparisons with the transmission conditions in other societies and regions of Europe. Fragmentology is therefore

61 Such a 'door-opening' find for Sant Pere de Rodés, with a fragment of Augustine's *Tractatus in Iohannem* from the middle of the twelfth century, now Barcelona, Arxiu Diocesà, Carpeta 1, Fragm. 19, has been made by J. Alturo [i Peruchó], "Un manuscrit du 'scriptorium' de Sant Pere de Rodés (Catalogne). Le 'Tractatus in Iohannem' de saint Augustin", *Revue d'études augustiniennes* 39 (1993), 155–60 [reprinted in idem, *Studia in codicum fragmenta*, 132–39].

62 A first hint at the mostly lost late medieval library of the Charterhouse of Montalegre (near Barcelona), primarily through fragments of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, has been given by A.M. Mundó [i Marcet], "Sobre los códices de Beato", in *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del 'Comentario al Apocalipsis' de Beato de Liébana*, vol. 1, Madrid 1978, 107–16, at 111.

understood here in a comprehensive sense, no longer solely concerned with the fragments of manuscripts themselves, and no longer understood as just a measure for the philological reconstruction of previously missing textual witnesses in the *stemma codicum* of an author or work. Instead, we see fragmentology as being concerned also with the libraries of which the fragmented manuscripts once formed a part and from which they were removed to be literally destroyed. We can thus conceptualise fragments of libraries in multiple ways—namely, as fragments of a text, work, or book that was, on the one hand, part of a concrete library, but, on the other hand, also part of an imaginary larger library in the network of knowledge of a society in transformation, and thus of its emerging collective cultural memory. In this respect, fragmentology is a sound measure to restore this impaired memory.

Fragments as ‘missing links’ of an imaginary ‘library’ stands as a metaphor for the cultural ‘memory’ stored in a knowledge network, and can be implemented in a literacy-intensive society such as that of medieval Catalonia. This region not only offers a sufficiently large number of fragments, but above all offers a critical mass of cases in which fragments can be put together in a variety of ways, be it as scraps of a single manuscript, or as parts of a set of codices or even a larger collection of medieval books.

The path to the best possible reconstruction of this library in its widest sense is still long and fraught with obstacles, not only because the abundance of already-known and previously unprocessed fragments is overwhelming. Consequently, we need to initially confine ourselves to dealing with central bodies of knowledge such as the Bible, patristic tradition, or hagiography, but across as many collections as possible. A greater challenge will certainly be overcoming the purely technical and administrative barriers between the individual archives and libraries, and the mental barriers to granting access to digital copies (of sufficient quality) without legal restrictions, since without this, a substantial improvement in the research of a society’s written heritage and identity will not be possible. Having to repeatedly revisit the collections to answer newly arising questions in consultation with the originals is a waste of financial and time resources. It is also damaging in terms of the

environment (energy-wise and emissions) and the conservation of the original manuscripts. It is therefore imperative for all these reasons, and additionally for reasons of regional culture and identity, that the written heritage belonging to society as a whole is made accessible in digital form to all. It will certainly require some work to convince the various owners of fragment collections in Catalonia of the need for such an open-source text and manuscript database, which would allow for the integration of the Catalan fragments on the platform *Fragmentarium*. However, the resulting benefits will likely lead to a long-term rethinking of the currently restrictive usage policies of most of the holding institutions. Making these treasures open access is a profoundly democratic act, ensuring our common culture is accessible to all citizens.

A first step towards overcoming the fragmentation of fragments—dispersed as they are between the various ecclesiastical, state, and private libraries and archives of the region—should also be a stimulus to begin systematically searching them out from where they are inadvertently hidden: that is, amidst the bindings of manuscripts, incunabula, and early prints from the fifteenth and sixteenth century onward. Doing so would place fragment research in Catalonia on a coordinated basis. The problem here is how to professionally retrieve the fragments and smaller pieces still glued in as cover plates or spine reinforcements, thus enabling the identification of the previously hidden pages. In the interest of preserving the fragments, the librarians and archivists must decide in each case whether the fragments, once prepared, should remain *in situ* or be stored separately. Documenting the retrieval and restoration of each individual case is now an international standard and therefore essential.

A Concluding Remark on the Proportions of Fragment Transmission in Catalonia

A final point about the proportions of fragment types needs still to be made. Our work has found that in many cases, completely different types of fragmented Bible manuscripts repeatedly came into play. Is this pure coincidence or does it hinge on the author's initial focus on the Bible tradition that an apparently high proportion

of Bible fragments can be found amongst the broader tradition of currently known fragments in Catalonia's collections? As a suitable starting point for our further observations and considerations regarding the relative proportions of fragments of different book types and text genres in medieval Catalonia, we present here the numbers of the extensive and complex collection of medieval fragments stored at the *Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic*. Our choice of this collection is not only due to its relatively large size and the fact that it has been continuously built up over decades, but also because the fragments it contains reflect the entire history of scribal activities at the seat of the bishopric of Vic (Osona), which was re-established towards the end of the ninth century (c. 886), as well as in the diocese itself. The figures given should therefore be representative.

The Bible as an object of reading and study, including its aids, is by no means as prominently in the foreground as one might think. With fragments comprising less than 5% of the total surviving fragment transmission (4.81–4.99%), the Bible appears rather modest compared to the liturgically used biblical text in epistolaries and evangeliaries (3.05%), lectionaries (8.30%), and breviaries (incl. liturgical psalters: 7.40–8.21%), which together account for 18.75–19.56%. As expected, the lion's share consists of liturgical books and texts used for the celebration of the Mass and the monastic and clerical offices, comprising 37.50–39.54%, distributed among sacramentaries (6.24%), missals (5.41–6.02%), and mass lectionaries (4.86–5.25%), as well as the complete set of liturgical 'song books' such as graduals, prosaries, antiphonaries, and responsories (20.99–22.03%). Further liturgical-exegetical reading and study books include the rich patristic and younger textual tradition of the so-called 'Carolingian Reform', containing, among others, homiletic texts (6.63–6.80%), homiliaries (4.39–4.44%), and passionaries (3.88%). The proportion of book types and texts genres used for liturgical purposes in the widest sense is therefore a substantial 71.15–74.22%. In contrast, scholastic medieval exegesis and theology are strikingly underrepresented (2.37–2.80%), while medieval civil and canon law occupy a prominent place, although the exact percentage of the total surviving material cannot yet be determined due to the lack of reconstruction of the fragments (11.48–15.14%).

All in all, however, this panorama likely reflects the religious and intellectual profile of a Catalan diocese in the Middle Ages.

Where do these numbers come from? Some of the detached fragments were first bound into three manuscript volumes, now Ms. 79, Ms. 122, and Ms. 123, the vast majority of them, however, are grouped thematically (with some exceptions) into 29 folders (I–XXIX). In a few cases, when there were enough fragments from the same original codex, they were bound as separate manuscripts among Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 232–Ms. 290; the former Vic archivist Dr. Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol also gathered together two folders of not yet counted fragments. These last two groups are not part of the current study.

Underlying our numbers from Vic (see below the Appendix)—and indeed every quantitative account of fragments from other collections in Catalonia—is a dynamic environment where fragments seem to appear and disappear, consolidate and divide. The fragments in the Vic folders are grouped into subfolders according to original manuscripts, and their state reflects the considerable movement of fragments. Several subfolders are missing, others have been consolidated, and some have been given the same number. Undoubtedly, further consolidations could be made, so our survey overestimates the total numbers of manuscripts represented in 1137 subfolders or codicological subunits. Furthermore, several of the fragments from the same original are small enough that they might come from the same leaf, and we have reflected this by indicating the number of leaves as a range so that we end up with a total of 2,239–2,423 leaves.

How can these numbers be satisfactorily interpreted?⁶³ They cannot be explained solely by the increasing use of paper as a new—and initially by no means cheaper—writing material from the fourteenth century, or the general importance of the printed book even before 1500, nor the professional bookbinding industry in Catalonia during the sixteenth century, or the urgent need for parchment as

63 The reasons listed here for the extensive and intensive fragmentation of medieval manuscripts in Catalonia round off the considerations that were put forward some years ago by Iglesias i Fonseca, “La investigación sobre fragmentos”, 494–99.

binding for new archival material, since all these phenomena were also relevant in other parts of Europe. Among the reasons for the mass fragmentation of medieval parchment manuscripts is the role of the particularly well-developed Catalan notarial system, almost legendary in its productivity and its documentation of absolutely everything. Added to this is the early establishment of functioning protocol archives—all factors that necessitated a particularly high demand for parchment for the binding of archival materials. Therefore, one cannot explain everything through the biblical and liturgical reforms of the Council of Trent—indeed, compared to Germany or France, the Reformation and religious conflicts played only a minor role in Catalonia, and yet even magnificently decorated Bibles, which we would describe as bibliophilic, were fragmented there. Thus, the tendency toward a pragmatic approach to larger parts of the medieval manuscript heritage considered obsolete outweighed the aesthetic sense of its preservation. Or, alternatively, was this ‘Catalan addiction to parchment’ simply due to the sheer shortage of a still indispensable basic material of pre-modern archives and bookkeeping? The increasingly refined results of systematic fragment research in Catalonia and other regions of Europe, in the context of the great progress in the worldwide cataloguing of manuscripts and fragments, will provide an answer to the question of whether the conditions in Catalonia are unique or rather correspond to those we can observe elsewhere.

Appendix: The Loose Fragment Collection at Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal

Folder I

Content: Sacramentaries

Subfolders: 1–60

Total leaves: 143 (subfolder 55 has four pieces perhaps of one leaf)

Folder II

Content: Missals

Subfolders: 1–39 and 41–47 (subfolder 40 is now in subfolder 14)

Total leaves: 112–126 (subfolder 34 counts 18 fragments, among them also bifolia and half leaves and smaller pieces)

Folder III

Content: Epistolaries and Evangeliaries

Subfolders: 1–37 (subfolders 36 and 37 contain Mass lectionaries and belong therefore to folder IV)

Total leaves: 71

Folder IV

Content: Mass Lectionaries

Subfolders: 1–38 and 44–45 (subfolders 39 and 44 are now in subfolder 5 and a new subfolder 44 does also exist; subfolders 36 and 37 from folder III are counted here as well)

Total leaves: 113–122 (subfolders 42 and 43 count eight and three pieces respectively)

Folder V

Content: Graduals and Prosaries

Subfolders: 1–45, 47–55, and 60–64 (subfolders 46 and 56–59 are missing)

Total leaves: 116–124 (subfolders 34 and 64 count six and four further pieces respectively)

Folder VI

Content: Antiphonaries

Subfolders: 1–75 (a subfolder 74 has been counted twice)

Total leaves: 125–127 (subfolders 15 and 74 count five or six and one or two leaves respectively, and subfolder 25 has one leaf and a further piece; the four leaves in the second subfolder 74 are declared as stemming from a breviary)

Folder VII

Content: Responsories

Subfolders: 1–29

Total leaves: 50

Folder VIII

Content: Office Lectionaries

Subfolders: 1–13, 15–31 and 33–43 (subfolders 14 and 32 are now in subfolder XXV/17 and subfolder 24 is now in subfolder 19; however, a new subfolder 24 has been created)

Total leaves: 88

Folder IX

Content: Homiliaries

Subfolders: 1–18, 20–21, 23–27, and 29–34 (subfolder 19 is now in subfolder VIII/14, subfolder 22 in subfolder XXIII/20, and subfolder 28 in subfolder XXIII/10)

Total leaves: 52

Folder x

Content: Passionaries

Subfolders: 1, 3–6, 8–27, and 29–37 (subfolders 2 and 7 are now in subfolder 3 and subfolder 28 is now in subfolder 27)

Total leaves: 62

Folder xi

Content: Breviaries (Psalters)

Subfolders: 1–89 (besides subfolder 86, there is another one with the same shelfmark, which contains two small pieces of a different, more recent manuscript)

Total leaves: 163–182 (subfolder 64 has four small pieces, subfolder 70 has two pieces, subfolder 72 has four pieces, subfolder 73 has four pieces, subfolder 77 has one strip of a bifolium and four pieces, and subfolder 85 has three strips)

Folder xii

Content: Costumaries and Rituals (labeled ‘Consuetes - Rituals’, this folder also contains a pontifical (subfolder 5), calendars (subfolders 11, 12, and 17), martyrologies (subfolders 13 and 17), a Mass commentary (subfolder 14) and a hymnary (subfolder 20))

Subfolders: 1–31

Total leaves: 60–64 (subfolder 16 has two pieces, subfolder 24 has one bifolium, lower parts of four leaves, and the upper part of a leaf, which perhaps belongs to one of the lower parts, and subfolder 28 has three pieces)

Folder xiii

Content: Bibles (labeled ‘Bibles’, this folder also contains commentaries on the Gospels (subfolders 37 and 38), an unspecified book of the Bible (subfolder 56), a Bible concordance (subfolder 42), and a Bible index (subfolder 54), while subfolder 39 has a commentary on Aristotle, excluded here from the number of counted leaves)

Subfolders: 2–16, 18–20bis, 30–55bis and 56–58 (subfolders 1 and 21–29 are missing, subfolder 17 is now in Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, Ms. 1–4 (XXII–XXV), the Vic Bible of 1268, and there are also subfolders 20bis and 55bis)

Total leaves: 94–98 (subfolder 53 has two strips and subfolder 55bis has four strips)

Folder xiv

Content: Church Fathers and Carolingian Reform (labeled ‘Textos patrísticos’, this folder also contains fragments of authors and works of the so-called ‘Carolingian Reform’; furthermore, subfolder 73 has two strips of one or two leaves, and subfolder 76 has two pieces of one or two leaves, both perhaps with biblical texts, and are therefore excluded from the number of counted leaves)

Subfolders: 1–60 and 62–78 (subfolder 61 is now in subfolder XXV/17)

Total leaves: 105–109

Folder xv (divided into two parts)

Content: Sermons, Exegesis and Theology, Civil and Church Law, Metaphysics, Medicine, Natural Sciences, Computus, Vocabularies, Grammar, Metric, and Classics, Hagiography, Historiography, Calligraphy, and Unidentified

Subfolders: first part: 1–70; second part: 67 [!]-117, 140–141, and 150–170, according to content 5, 32, 99, 2, 4, 1, 1, 11, 7, 4, 3, and 1

Total leaves: 277–370, according to content 13, 50–60 (subfolder 68 has two bifolia and three pieces, subfolder 69 has two pieces of a leaf and three pieces, subfolder 88 has two halves of a leaf and two pieces, subfolder 89 has two strips, and subfolder 107 likely has the upper and lower parts of the same bifolium and one piece), 151–220 (subfolder 41 has six pieces, subfolder 46 has three strips, subfolder 48 has five pieces, subfolder 52 has one leaf and two strips, subfolder 57 has two strips, subfolder 58 has seven strips of the upper part of bifolia, five strips of the lower part of bifolia, and one strip of the middle part of a bifolium, subfolder 91 has nine pieces, subfolder

92 has three pieces, subfolder 110 has two bifolia and fifteen pieces, subfolder 112 has two halves of one or two leaves, subfolder 170 has ten pieces, subfolder 177 has two pieces, subfolder 184 has two strips of a bifolium, one of them of the lower part, and three pieces, subfolder 185 has two pieces of one (?) leaf, subfolder 186 has two pieces of one (?) leaf, and subfolder 189 has two strips of likely one bifolium and three pieces), 4, 5–7 (subfolder 194 has four pieces, two of them certainly from one leaf), 1, 2, 23, 15–20 (subfolder 105 has four strips of a bifolium, two of them from two different bifolia, and five pieces), 9, 3, and 1–3 (subfolder 77 has two strips and one piece)

Folder xvi

Content: Graduals

Subfolders: 1–31

Total leaves: 60–61 (subfolder 24 has two pieces of one or two leaves, subfolder 28 has two pieces probably from one leaf, and subfolder 31 has half a leaf and two pieces from the same leaf)

Folder xvii

Content: Antiphonaries (Office)

Subfolders: 1–7 and 9–37 (subfolder 8 is now in subfolder xvii/4 and a subfolder 35 is counted twice)

Total leaves: 65–77 (subfolder 22 has one bifolium and three pieces and subfolder 35 has two pieces of probably two leaves and ten pieces)

Folder xviii

Content: Responsories

Subfolders: 1–18

Total leaves: 35–36 (subfolder 11 has one leaf, one piece of another leaf, and one piece)

Folder XIX

Content: Office Lectionary of Vic Cathedral

Subfolders: 1

Total leaves: 17

Folder XX

Content: Office Lectionaries

Subfolders: 1–25 (subfolder 24 has the fifth leaf from another manuscript)

Total leaves: 50

Folder XXI

Content: Office Lectionaries

Subfolders: 1–9, 11–17, and 19 (subfolders 10 and 18 are now in subfolder 2 and subfolder 19 probably belongs to the same fragmented manuscript)

Total leaves: 32

Folder XXII

Content: Bibles

Subfolders: 1–13

Total leaves: 18

Folder XXIII

Content: Homiliaries

Subfolders: 1–17, 19–23, and 25–27 (subfolder 18 is now in subfolder 12, subfolder 24 is in subfolder 23, and subfolder 28 is in subfolder 25)

Total leaves: 50–51 (subfolder 6 has two fragments that likely form the same leaf and subfolder 9 has one leaf and three strips likely from another leaf)

Folder xxiv

Content: Passionaries

Subfolders: 1–17

Total leaves: 28

Folder xxv

Content: Church Fathers and Carolingian Reform (labeled ‘Textos patrísticos’, this folder also contains fragments of authors and works of the so-called ‘Carolingian Reform’)

Subfolders: 1–28

Total leaves: 49

Folder xxvi

Content: Breviaries and Hymnaries, Grammar, and Unidentified

Subfolders: 1–8, according to content 6, 1, and 1

Total leaves: 10–11, according to content 6, 3–4 (subfolder 5 has one bifolium, one horizontal strip of the lower part of a leaf, and one vertical strip of this or another leaf), and 1

Folder xxvii

Content: Civil and Church Law, Theology, and Responsory (?)

Subfolders: 1–48, according to content 46 (subfolder 19 has besides two leaves also a small unidentified fragment of an older manuscript from the twelfth century, not counted here), 1, and 1

Total leaves: 112–128, according to content 110–126 (subfolder 4 has eight bifolia, one leaf, one piece at the third bifolium, likely a part of it, and one strip at the fifth bifolium, likely a part of it, subfolder 5 has two bifolia and one piece, likely part of the second fragmented bifolium, subfolder 26 has nine strips of the inner and outer parts of up to five leaves, subfolder 27 has four leaves and five pieces, subfolder 28 has one strip of a bifolium and one vertical strip of the marginal gloss of this or another bifolium, subfolder 31 has two

strips of a bifolium and two strips, subfolder 35 has one fragmented leaf and two pieces, subfolder 39 has the upper part of a leaf and the lower part of the same or another leaf, subfolder 40 has one strip of a bifolium, one strip of a leaf, two pieces, and one piece of another manuscript, subfolder 43 has one mutilated bifolium, one leaf, and six pieces likely belonging to the bifolium, and subfolder 47 has two leaves and two strips of likely one leaf, but from another manuscript), 1, and 1

Folder xxviii

Content: Graduals, Antiphonary, Lectionaries, Exegesis and Theology, Philosophy, Civil and Church Law, Charter, Medicine, Computus, Poetry, Hagiography, Calligraphy, and Unidentified

Subfolders: 18, according to content 2, 1, 2, 2, 1, 3, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, and 1

Total leaves: 24, according to content 2, 1, 5 (subfolder 11 has four horizontal strips of probably one leaf and subfolder 14 has two bifolia), 4, 1, 3 (subfolder 8 has two halves of a leaf and subfolder 11 has two vertical strips of a leaf and two vertical strips of the leaf of another manuscript), 1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 1, and 1

Folder xxix

This folder consists of four separate-bound volumes, the so-called 'dipòsit' of fragments formed by the former Vic archivist Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol, containing the subfolders 1–8, 9, 10, and 11

Content: Missal, Graduals and Antiphonaries, Lectionary, Breviary, Civil and Church Law, Poetry, and Calligraphy

Subfolders: 12, according to content 1, 5, 1, 1, 1, 1 (only a photocopy of the Visigothic fragment of the *Lex Visigothorum*, now Ripoll, Arxiu Comarcal del Ripollès, s. n., is located in the pertaining subfolder 11), 1, and 1

Total leaves: 15, according to content 1, 6, 1, 2, 3, 1, and 1

Ms. 79

Content: Sacramentary and Missals

Codicological Subunits: 3, according to content 1 and 2

Total leaves: 2 and 12

Ms. 122

Content: Missal, Graduals and Antiphonaries (Office), and Breviary

Codicological Subunits: 9, according to content 1, 7, and 1

Total leaves: 16, according to content 1, 14, and 1

Ms. 123

Content: Graduals and Antiphonaries (Office)

Codicological Subunits: 9

Total leaves: 13

Fragments Unveiled: a newly discovered manuscript of Henry of Langenstein's Sentences

Monica Brînzei, Restory Project*
monica.brinzei@recherche.gouv.fr



Abstract: Five income registers documenting transactions of the seventeenth century at the Jesuit College in Luxembourg have been found to be partially covered by fragments of a manuscript containing Henry of Langenstein's commentary on the *Sentences* from Paris and the academic year 1371–1372. The discovery includes eight parchment bifolia and approximately 20 paper folios, a sizeable fragment of a previously unknown copy of a significant text for both the University of Paris and the new University of Vienna at the end of the fourteenth century. The recoverable text includes portions of book I, questions 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6, as well as book II, question 1, by one of the founding figures of the Faculty of Theology at Vienna.

Keywords: *Sentences* commentaries, Henry of Langenstein, Jesuits, mixed quires

Commentaries on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* are key texts that played a pivotal role in disseminating philosophical and theological thought in the medieval universities. The vast number of surviving specimens in the genre, as well as their variety, comprehensive nature, and imposing size, make them revealing and rewarding objects of study. Yet their physical transmission can tell a different story. Originally conceived to encapsulate academic production,

* This paper has received funding from the European Union under the Horizon 2020 project [RESTORY](#) n° 101132781. I am grateful to Thomas Falmagne for alerting me to the existence of the fragments discussed below; Chris Schabel and Bill Duba for their constructive comments. Marco Toste is preparing an edition of Langenstein's text and his draft transcription from Alençon, BM, 144 was extremely useful in helping to navigate through the text. I am currently finishing a book under the title *Homo est microcosmos. Henry of Langenstein's seminal ideas on public display. With an edition of his surviving principium (1370–1371)*.

some of these codices, in exceptional cases, ended up being valued more for their material than for their contents.¹ One example is a manuscript of Henry of Langenstein's commentary on the *Sentences* that was employed as covers for income and account registers from the Jesuit College in Luxembourg, established in 1603 and closed in 1773. To understand why the Jesuits chose to reuse Langenstein's work in this manner, it is helpful to begin with a brief biography of Langenstein and an overview of the circulation of the manuscripts transmitting his text.

As a young and promising scholar in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Paris, in 1363 Henry of Langenstein was invited to preach before the dauphin of France, the future King Charles v. Later, as a bachelor of theology, he delivered his lectures on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard in 1371–1372² and in 1375 obtained the title of Master of Theology, which opened the door to a notable career in Parisian academia. He eventually rose to the position of Vice-Chancellor under John de Calore, but his academic ascent was abruptly halted around 1382, when the German Nation of scholars was forced to leave the University of Paris due to their allegiance to the Roman Pope Urban VI, in contrast to the French scholars, who supported Pope Clement VII in Avignon. After departing from the Valois capital, Henry of Langenstein eventually began a new chapter of his career in Vienna, where, in 1384, along with his dear colleague Henry Totting of Oyta, he became one of the founding members of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Vienna.³

Given such a fascinating trajectory, one might expect that his commentary on the *Sentences* circulated widely. In fact, however, only three manuscripts are presently known to transmit all or part of his set of questions on Lombard's *Sentences*:⁴

- 1 See M. Brînzei, "Recycling or Rubbishing Ockham's *Sentences*?", *Fragmentology* 7 (2024), 93–112.
- 2 See M. Brînzei and C. Schabel, "Henry of Langenstein's *Principium* on the *Sentences*, His Fellow Parisian Bachelors, and the Academic Year 1371–1372", *Vivarium* 58 (2020), 334–346.
- 3 E.A. Lukács, *Immovable Truth. Divine Knowledge and the Bible at the University of Vienna (1384–1419)* (Commentaria 15), Leiden 2024, 86–89.
- 4 In his book on Langenstein, P. Justin Lang described A and W, but also München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 11591, which he misattributed to

A = Alençon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 144, books I–IV and one *Principium*⁵

J = Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, El. f. 47, one *principium*⁶

W = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (=ÖNB), Cod. 4319, books II–IV [<https://data.onb.ac.at/rep/131B1773>]⁷

Langenstein along with some other manuscripts that actually contain the *Sentences* questions of James of Eltville (from Paris, 1369–1370). Lang also provided a list of questions from A, including a *principium*, a question on the *prologus*, and four questions for book I, but he omitted one question, thinking that the first question for book I (*Circa primam distinctionem primi libri Sententiarum queritur utrum voluntas quolibet suo actu licito circa creaturas eis utatur et Deo solo fruatur*) runs from ff. 22ra–48rb, when, in fact, it ends at 31va and is followed by another question on ff. 31va–48rb (*Consequenter queritur tertio: utrum ex Sacris Scripturis et autenticis melius quam ex creaturis appareat veritas Trinitatis increate*). J. Lang, OFM, *Die Christologie bei Heinrich von Langenstein*, Freiburg 1966, 58–71, at 66–67 for the list of questions. For the correct attribution of Clm 11591, see M. Brînzei and L. Cioca, “New Attribution of Texts in the Manuscript München, Clm 11591”, *Chora* 12 (2014), 269–286.

- 5 H. Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements-Tome II: Rouen (suite et fin) Dieppe–Eu–Fécamp–Elbeuf–Gournay en Bray–Le Havre–Neufchâtel en Bray–Bernay–Conches–Gisors–Louviers–Verneuil–Evreux–Alençon–Montvilliers*, Paris 1888, 528.
- 6 Langenstein's surviving *Principium* is the object of a forthcoming edition and study of J in Brînzei, *Homo est microcosmos* (forthcoming). For more on J, see M. Brînzei, “When Theologians Play Philosopher: A Lost Confrontation in the *Principia* of James of Eltville and His Socii on the Perfection of Species and Its Infinite Latitude”, in *The Cistercian James of Eltville († 1393). Author in Paris and Authority in Vienna* (*Studia Sententiarum* 3), ed. M. Brînzei and C. Schabel, Turnhout 2018, 43–77.
- 7 W was produced by one of Langenstein's disciples in Vienna, Michael of Suchenschatz. The text of Langenstein starts abruptly on the top of f. 145r in the middle of question 1 of book II and concludes at the end of book IV, with the following colophon on f. 237v: “*Expliciunt questiones quarti Sententiarum Magistri Heinrichi de Hassia simul et secundi et tertii Sententiarum eiusdem*”. W was the basis for the imperfect edition (with German translation) in *Der Sentenzenkommentar des Heinrich von Langenstein*, ed. R. Damerau, 4 vols., Marburg 1979–1980, which did not use A. On Suchenschatz, see E.A. Lukács, “Das zunehmende Wissen Christi in der Schriftauslegung von Heinrich Totting von Oyta und Michael Suchenschatz”, *Archa Verbi* 15 (2018) 162–190; A. Coman, “Grace Meets Free Will Ruling in a Regal Government: Magister Michael Suchenschatz on Grace and Free will”, in *The Rise of an Academic Elite: Deans, Masters, and Scribes at the University of Vienna before 1400* (*Studia*

In addition, at least part of a copy of book 1 different from A was once used in Vienna, since, in the autograph of his commentary on the *Sentences*, Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl incorporated passages from Langenstein's *Sentences* questions.⁸

The present paper adds some fragments of Langenstein's *Sentences* recently identified in the collection of Archives nationales de Luxembourg.⁹ These fragments are used in the bindings of five manuscripts from the former Jesuit College in Luxembourg, namely four seventeenth-century registers (L1–L4) and a smaller account book contemporary to the registers (L5):

L1: A-XXXVIII-01-0002

L2: A-XXXVIII-01-0609

L3: A-XXXVIII-01-0701

L4: A-XXXVIII-01-1030

L5: A-XXXVIII-02-0744

What these five books also have in common is that material fragments extracted from a manuscript containing Langenstein's *Sentences*

Sententiarum, 6), ed. M. Brînzei, Turnhout 2022, 585–654; M. Brînzei, "Rectors and Deans as scribes at the Medieval University from Vienna", *ibid.*, 655–668, here 667.

8 C. Schabel, "Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the *Filioque* at Vienna on the Eve of the Council of Florence", in *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Sentences at Vienna in the Early Fifteenth Century* (Studia Sententiarum 1), ed. M. Brînzei, Turnhout 2014, 16–83, at 17–20, 36, and 38 for A. This hypothesis, that the borrowings in Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl's autograph, Wien, Schottenstift, Bibliothek, Cod. 269, reflect another version of Langenstein's commentary, is also discussed in M. Brînzei and C. Schabel, "Critically Editing a So-Called 'Sentences Commentary'", in *Sicut Dicit. Editing Ancient and Medieval Commentaries on Authoritative texts* (LECTIO Studies in the Transmission of Texts & Ideas, 8), ed. S. Schorn, S. Boodts, and P. De Leemans (†), Turnhout 2020, 243–271, at 250–251.

9 In May 2024, Thomas Falmagne first drew the attention of Chris Schabel and myself to this series of fragments, which we identified as witnesses to Langenstein's text. In November 2024, I joined Falmagne in Luxembourg for a consultation of the manuscripts.



Figure 1: L1–L4 (Luxembourg, Archives nationales, A-XXXVIII-01-0002, -0609, -0701, -1030)

Figure 2: L1–L4 topped by L5 (Luxembourg, Archives nationales, A-XXXVIII-02-0744). Photograph prior to the restoration of L5



were used in their production. Each of the first four manuscripts is covered by two parchment bifolia, while the cover of the fifth is made of several paper pages from the same manuscript [Figures 1–2].

The following sections follow the sequence of the shelfmarks of the Luxembourg manuscripts and identify the content of these fragments by comparing them with the other extant witnesses to the text. This concordance will then reconstruct the copy of Henry of Langenstein's *Sentences* whence they came and determine how much of Langenstein's text can be recovered from the covers of these Jesuit registers. Most of the fragments contain passages from the

principium, prologue and beginning questions of book I, which is only otherwise extant in A:

Principium: Utrum in timorem et legem Dei potuerit vigor naturalis rei (A 1ra–8va)

Q. 1 (Prologus): Utrum veritas scientie humane repugnent conclusionibus Christiane theologie (A 9ra–21vb)

Q. 2 (Book I, q. 1): Utrum voluntas quolibet suo actu licito circa creaturas eis utatur et Deo solo fruatur (A 22ra–31va)

Q. 3 (Book I, q. 2): Utrum ex Sacris Scripturis et authenticis melius quam ex creaturis appareat veritas Trinitatis increate (A 31va–48rb)

Q. 4 (Book I, q. 3): Utrum sit aliqua productio in divinis qua nec essentia nec Spiritus Sanctus nec producat nec producatur (A 48rb–59ra)

Q. 5 (Book I, q. 4): Utrum caritas vel gratia viatoris possit in infinitum augeri (A 59ra–71va)

Q. 6 (Book I, q. 5): Utrum omne futurum contingens eternaliter sit a Deo presciturum et ad fore determinatum (A 71va–89rb)

Q. 7 (Book II, q. 1): Utrum Peripatetici senserint omnia alia entia a primo esse facta vel potius plurima entia non habere principium effectivum. (A 89va–104va)

L1: A-XXXVIII-01-0002

The first register from the Jesuit College that includes fragments from Langenstein contains a collection of documents from 1690.¹⁰ This register can be closed by means of four strips of red fabric attached to the cardboard cover, two on the front cover and two on the back. The outer sides of the covers are protected by two parchment bifolia that preserve text in two columns per page and overlap at the spine of the codex. The parchment is glued to the cardboard, so no text can be recovered between the parchment and cardboard without dismantling the covers, especially since blank sheets of paper have been glued to the insides of the covers. On the outer sides of the covers (henceforth referred to as the front cover and the back

¹⁰ A description of this codex by T. Falmagne will be published in volume III of the manuscript catalog of the Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, forthcoming in the collection *Die Handschriften des Grossherzogtums Luxemburg*.



Figures 3–5: L1 (Luxembourg, Archives nationales, A-XXXVIII-01-0002)

cover), however, eight columns from the original manuscript can be identified, although portions of one of the outer columns of the bifolia have been trimmed to varying degrees and are thus partially illegible.

There are three places where the content of the two parchment bifolia of L1 is covered by a label from the Jesuit archive. On the upper part of the front cover is affixed a large label reading N° 46: *inventaire de l'Archive*. Towards the bottom, another piece of paper was attached, either to reinforce the spine or to provide space for another inscription on the volume's spine. This tag extends over the spine and onto the back cover, where it cancels some text in two columns. Additionally, there is another tag on the spine, partially damaged, where the first and last letters of the word 'Index' are mostly erased. On the upper part of the spine, the shelfmark 'N46' is clearly written in elegant, bold handwriting. No text can be recovered from the inside of the covers, as the adhesive used is simply a blank sheet of paper glued over the cardboard cover.

A comparison of the text on the fragment with that in A shows that the bifolia used for the front cover and the back cover transmit text from book I, q. 6 of Langenstein's *Sentences*. Orienting the fragments so that that they can be read, we observe the following correspondence:

L1, front cover (interpolated text from A marked in brackets)

	verso		recto	
passage in A	I, q. 6, f. 77va	I, q. 6, f. 77vb	I, q. 6, f. 75vb	I, q. 6, f. 76ra
begins	ut patebit inferius	Pro responsione ad rationes predictas est advertendum	oriri quod si ab eterno habuisset esse adhuc esse A fuisse	non oportet (cum manifestum sit, sed quia Aureoleus) super (dist. 38 primi tenet conclusionem Aristotelis in hac parte) ideo specialiter
ends	negavit omnem (prescientiam futurorum, ut) patebit inferius	est advertendum (quod, cum dicitur quod propositio de) futuro	se habent quo pro hoc instanti habebit esse	fuisset, (semper fuisset vera. Probatur hoc, quia, si A) semper

L1, back cover

	verso		recto	
passage in A	I, q. 6, f. 88rb–va	I, q. 6, f. 88va	I, q. 6, f. 88va–vb	I, q. 6, ff. 88vb–89ra
begins	(ulte)rius argutum (fuit si illa consequentia ex illis) duabus	notat rationem propriam (visionis vel ipsius videre) vel eius quod es(t)	per esse vel ad esse respective (ad mensuram successivam) actualem vel potentialem	et ex illo (non sequitur quod ille propositiones predicate) et scripture
ends	ly formaliter.	fuisse, quia consurgit	predicaverunt mortuos resurrecturos et quod Antichristus	si vero intelligitur sic quod res necessario

In short, the comparison with A reveals that L1's front cover comes from the innermost bifolium of a gathering, with the outwards-facing side visible, while the back cover comes from the innermost bifolium of the next gathering, with the inwards-facing side visible.

L2: A-xxxviii-01-0609

The bifolia of L2 carry the most legible text, because there is only one label glued to the spine of the volume. On the front cover, the handwritten titles 'Vaux-3°-1680', 'V-10-3' are written in the blank spaces [Figure 6].



Figures 6–8: L2 (Luxembourg, Archives nationales, A-XXXVIII-01-0609)

L2, front cover

	verso		recto	
passage in A	I, q. 1, f. 20ra–rb	I, q. 1, f. 20rb–va	I, q. 1, f. 18rb–vb	I, q. 1, ff. 18vb–19ra
begins	prime, ⟨quia ibi est minor resistentia quam⟩ erat ⟨in prima cognitione, quia in prima cognitione⟩ fuit ignorantia	⟨de Sancto Victore in libro De trinitate credo sine ⟩ dubio ad quecumque que necesse est esse non tantum probabile ymmo	non potuit ... ⟨Apparet⟩ quia cuiuslibet talis ordinibus	se. Secundum corollarium, quod in qualibet serie ⟨predicta infinite⟩ relinquuntur conclusiones
ends	dicit Richardus	veritatum de preterito et de futuro et huiusmodi non potest reduci	iueret et illustratione fidei irradiaretur	unreadable text

L2, back cover

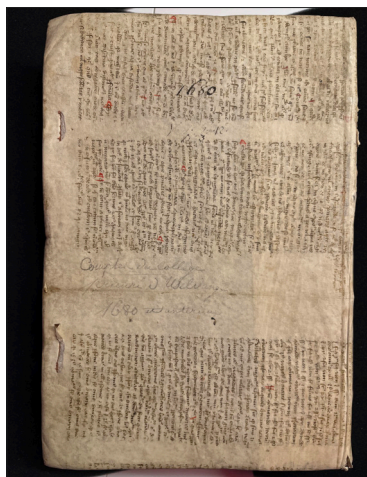
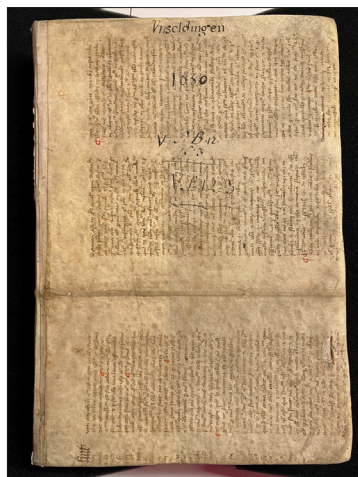
	verso		recto	
passage in A	I, q. 2, f. 26rb–va	I, q. 2, f. 26va–vb	I, q. 3, f. 36va	⟨not visible⟩
begins	augeret de malo miseriam, Augustinus etiam	vel capit ibi felicitatem pro ‘aggregatione omnium bonorum’	⟨enu⟩ntiabili et sic videtur summi cum dicitur ab eo quod res	
ends	Augustinum et Magistrum	est. Item, Augustinus dicit, primo De doctrina christiana	conformeriter consonare sicut positioni	

The text that can be recovered from L2 runs on seven legible columns and encompasses part of questions 1–3 (the prolog and questions 1–2 of book I) of Langenstein's *Sentences* commentary. The parchment of the front cover formed the innermost bifolium of a gathering, probably a quaternion, with the outward-facing side visible, while the back cover, was the outermost bifolium of the next gathering.

L3: A-XXXVIII-01-0701

The third register from this Jesuit collection contains and inventory of incomes and goods from different Jesuit properties (Useldange, Rhedingen, and neighboring places). The register has a label on the spine, and a seventeenth-century hand has written 'Vnseldingen', '1684', 'V-S-B-12', 'N° 3', and 'VS123' on the front cover [Figure 9] and the date '1680' on the back cover [Figure 10].

The bifolium visible on the front cover has traces of a title, in the partially visible outside column of the verso, at the top, where 'fuit' can be read. The bifolium wraps around to the inside, where a paper pastedown covers it, except for a hole in the paper that reveals the preceding word from the same title, 'articulus' [Figure 11, Figure 12]. The ties on both covers of this register are no longer extent.



Figures 9–10: L3 (Luxembourg, Archives nationales, A-XXXVIII-01-0609)



Figure 11: L3, front pastedown

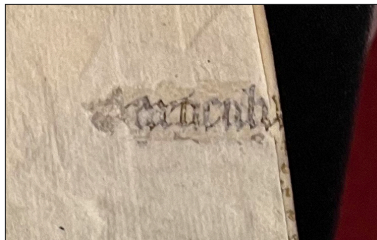


Figure 12: Detail showing 'articulus' visible through a hole in the paper

L3, front cover

	verso		recto	
passage in A	II, q. 1, f. 94rb–va	II, q. 1, f. 94va–vb	II, q. 1, f. 103va–vb	II, q. 1, ff. 103vb–104ra
begins	articulus* fuit ...primam ...motor	vim agenda, licet nullum effectum earum ei comproducat	distantium a se in tribus circulis eque distantibus	qui habent causas proprias in rebus inferioribus
ends	... tertia (quod prima tam necessario agit ad extra quan) tum	totalem militarem ad dirigendum totum exercitum	vel homo (et cetera) est spe- cialis combinatio vel concursus influentialiarum	(ple)ne cognosceret tamquam causatum (per causam. Si etiam aliquam) rem

L3, back cover

	verso		recto	
passage in A	I, q. 3, f. 44va–vb	I, q. 3, ff. 44vb–45ra	I, q. 3, ff. 42vb–43ra	I, q. 3, f. 43ra
begins	dicit essentiam abstractive vel ut	(ibi divisibilis vel indivi)sibilis dicitur quod indivisibilis et cum	Negatur consequentia prima, quia Pater et Filius simul ut unum principium vel	<i>unreadable text</i>
ends	(quaeri)tur si distantia vel impossibilitas remaneat	non dicunt impos- sibilitatem formaliter. Ante- cedens patet quia contingit	earum quia ille tres combinatio- nes sunt omnes binarii earum	de(nominatur per predicatum relativum, nec est ratio propter) quam (non eque possit dici quod) s(oli)



Figures 13–15: L4 (Archives nationales, A-XXXVIII-01-0609)

L3 therefore has on the front cover the outermost bifolium of a gathering, probably a sextern, with the inward-facing side visible, and, on the back cover, the innermost bifolium of another gathering, with the outward-facing side visible.

L4: A-XXXVIII-01-1030

The spine of L4 has deteriorated the most in this collection.¹¹ The paper label has mostly been destroyed, remaining only on the sides of the front and back covers, where it obscures portions of the text of the two bifolia. On the front cover [Figure 13], one can read in black ink the inscriptions ‘IT=379’ and ‘Accepta’ and the pencil notation ‘1701–1717’. On the back cover, there is only an expunged black ink note from which only a few letters are legible: ‘***soclxii’ [Figure 15]. Both covers of this register are in poor condition, and a significant portion of the text on the parchment bifolia is not easily decipherable. The two bifolia preserve sections of questions 4 and 6 (book I, qq. 3 and 5) of Langenstein’s *Sentences* commentary.

¹¹ See the forthcoming codicological description of T. Falmagne. *Fragmentology VIII* (2025)

L4, front cover

	verso		recto	
passage in A	not visible	I, q. 4, f. 49rb–va	I, q. 3, f. 37va–vb	I, q. 3, ff. 37vb–38ra
begins		Ad sextam posset concedi antecedens, si potentia accipiat prout distinguitur	repugnet modo essendi creature magis quam alter de isto videndum	habere rationem (constitutivam per se unius accidentalis) vel (per se) unum accidentale sicut
ends		se absolute, quamvis	(on spine) Hic a quibusdam diceretur quod iste negative essent vere	(on the spine): reperire secundum Porphyrium. Hinc oritur quod vere negative

L4, back cover

	verso		recto	
passage in A	not visible	I, q. 6, f. 71va–vb	I, q. 6, f. 82ra	I, q. 6, f. 82rb–va
begins		scientiarum (et virtutum inter omnes animas que humanum) corpus	intuetur omnem entitatem possibilem preteritam et presentem	creabilis intuitive videret divinam essentiam et
ends		presciebat necessario futurum erat. S(imiliter dicit) Anselmus, De concordia, dicit capitulo 1, quod illud	est sed est ratione	tenentibus (ex parte cau) salitatis obiectalis. Ex isto infero primo quod

L5: A-xxxviii-02-0744

Register L5 is smaller size (21 × 15.5 cm) than the others (31 × 21/20.5 cm). Another notable difference is that all the fragments of Langenstein's *Sentences* commentary recycled in this codex are on paper, glued together to form the cardboard of the covers. The binding of the manuscript was in very poor condition, with the spine completely destroyed [Figures 16–17].

At the top of the spine, a cracked label still bears the inscription 'V° 4 / 1646–1679', matching the contents, a register of transactions involving the Jesuit college of Luxembourg. The cover consists of two consecutive leaves, possibly the inner two of a bifolium, from what appears to be a fourteenth-century missal. The back cover [Figure 17] has the right column legible, where the rubric *Emmerenciane et mart.* likely signals the beginning of the Mass for St. Emerentiana



Figures 16–17: L5 (Luxembourg, Archives nationales, A-xxxviii-02-0744)

(23 January), with introit, Psalm, collect, and a reading from Hebrews (10:32–), which continues on the left column of the front cover (–38), followed by the offertory *Exultabunt sancti in gloria* (Cantus: [goi323](#)) and the offertory verse *Cantate domino canticum novum* (Cantus: [goi323a](#)), and then a reading from Matthew 24:1–7 (at least).

The parchment that serves as the front cover was detached, revealing that the other side of the parchment was covered in black ink, so that it would adhere better to the cardboard, to which glue was then added. A sizeable portion of a column of Langenstein's *Sentences* commentary was visible; the missal covered boards made of cardboard, itself made by gluing together what appeared to be sixteen paper leaves from the same commentary by Langenstein [Figure 18].

The poor condition of the binding required that the volume be restored, and the cardboard was separated into sixteen leaves, which were then photographed and numbered according to the order in which they were glued [Figures 19–22].¹² Organizing the pages according to where the text appears in A reveals that the paper leaves

¹² I am grateful to the conservator of the Luxembourg National Archives, Nadine Zeien, for the skillful and careful work of separating the leaves. Thomas Falmagne supervised the renumbering of the pages and provided me with the photographs of the individual pages.

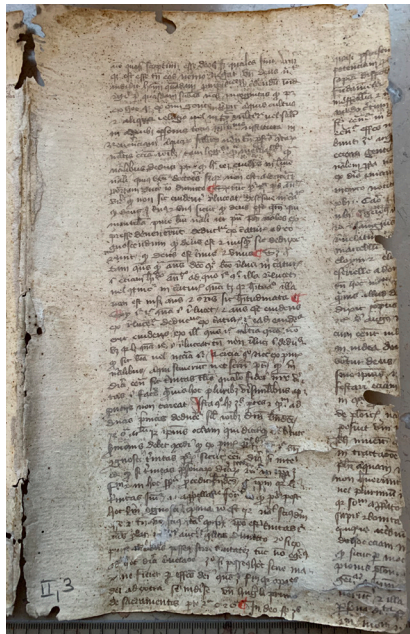
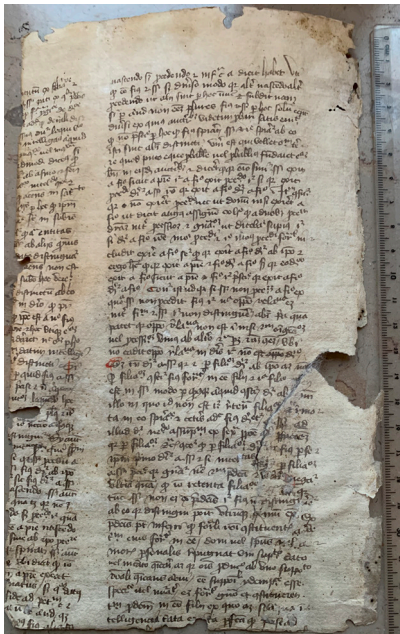
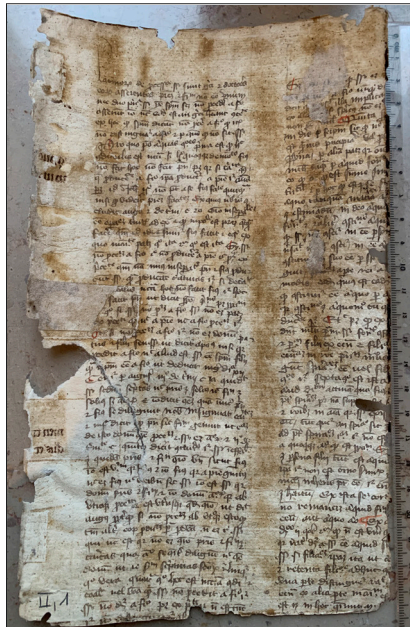
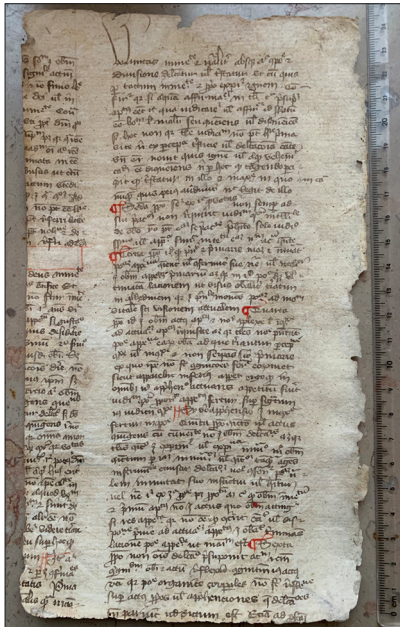


Figure 18: L5, with the front cover lifted

constituted most of the intermediate bifolia (that is, neither the outermost bifolium, nor the innermost, but almost all in between) of two consecutive sexterns, and leaves from a third one in series.

Upper board (A-xxxviii-02-0744-I)

Reading Order	L5 foliation	passage in A
1	8v	27ra
2	8r	27rb
3	7r	28ra
4	7v	28rb-vb
5	6v	29ra
6	6r	29rb
7	5r	29va-vb
8	5v	30rb
4 Missing Pages (1 bifolium)		
9	4v	33rb-33va
10	4r	32va-vb
11	3v	33va-vb
12	3r	34ra-va
13	2r	34vb
14	2v	35ra-va
15	1v	35va-vb
16	1r	36ra-va



Figures 19-22: L5, interior leaves, post-restoration

Lower board (A-xxxviii-02-0744-II)

Reading Order	L5 foliation	passage in A
1	2v	39ra
2	2r	39rb
3	6r	39vb–40ra
4	6v	40va
5	4v	41ra–rb
6	4r	41rb–va
8 Missing pages (4 bifolia, including L3, back cover)		
7	5v	46ra–rb
8	5r	46vb
9	3r	47ra
10	3v	47vb
11	7v	48rb
12	7r	48vb
6 Missing pages (3 bifolia, including L4, front cover)		
13	8r	54va–vb
14	8v	55ra–rb
15	1r	57vb
16	1v	58va–vb

Philological Significance

A philological analysis of sections of book II based on a collation of the three manuscripts, Alençon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 144 (A), Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4319 (W) (published by Damerau), and the Luxembourg fragments, reveals that the manuscript from which the Luxembourg fragments come belonged to the same family as A. The brief appendix to this paper offers an edition of the passage in L3, back cover, verso, column 2 (Langenstein's book II, q. 1; f. 94va–vb in A), with full apparatus criticus from the three surviving witnesses. W contains a passage of

21 lines that are missing in AL3,¹³ and this is the case for a few other passages in W (see the apparatus). There are also a few instances when L3 and W share variants (see lines X, Y, and Z), which might be either variants of A or explained by the fact that they reflect more accurately what was probably in the archetype of the text. L3 has also some unshared readings, but they do not help clarify the position of the Luxembourg fragments in the transmission of the text.

Historical Significance

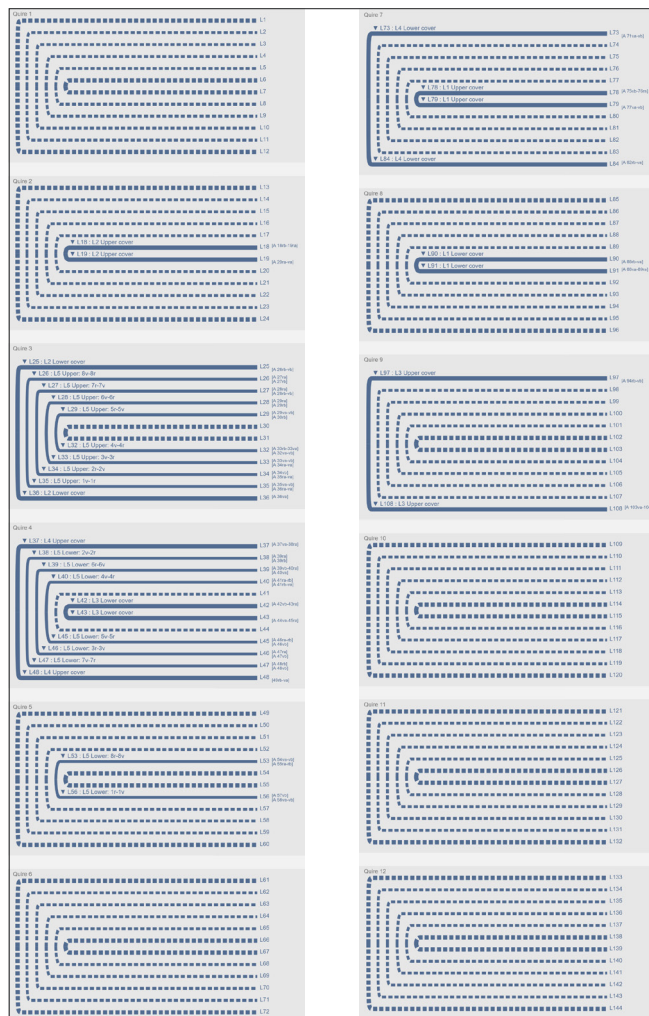
The five Jesuit registers are extremely valuable in reconstructing part of the story of this newly identified copy of Langenstein's commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. The registers contain eight parchment bifolia and paper from two quires (probably two mixed senions: 2 bifolia of parchment and 4 of paper) originating from questions 1–4 and 6–7 (that is, the Prologus, qq. 1–3 and 5 of book I, and q. 1 of book II) of this commentary. This suggests that the Jesuits were perhaps in possession of a complete manuscript, or at least a copy covering both books I and II, in contrast to the surviving copy that circulated in Vienna (Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 4319), which did not transmit book I. Since the Jesuits used materials from different parts of the commentary, it is likely that the entire codex was recycled to reinforce or cover other administrative documents or books in their collection. Unfortunately no further evidence of this has yet been found.

The copy of Langenstein's *Sentences* employed in the Jesuit codices was a mixed manuscript, written on both paper and parchment. The parchment bifolia were on the outsides and in the middle of each quire, likely to reinforce the structure of the codex. At the end of the fourteenth century this practice of fashioning manuscripts with mixed materials was quite popular.¹⁴

¹³ For a philological analysis of the relationship between A and W, see in Brînzei, *Homo est microcosmos* (forthcoming).

¹⁴ Another copy of the *Sentences* of Henricus Totting of Oyta, today Oxford, Balliol College 72, is also a mixed manuscript where parchment bifolia protect quires of paper. F. Bianchi, P. Canart, M. d'Agostino, L. Lucchini, S. Magrini, M. Maniaci, P. Orsatti, M. Palma, and M. Signorini, "Une recherche sur les manuscrits à cahiers mixtes", *Scriptorium* 48/2 (1994), 259–286. For a recent

Figure 23: Visualization of L. Reconstruction made made with VCEditor



By comparing the text on the parchment bifolia with the corresponding passages in A, we can model the original structure of L [Figure 23]. This reconstruction, assuming a regular quire structure

discussion on mixed parchment and paper quires, see M. Johnston, "A Lydgate Anthology: The Codicological Vicissitudes of Rawlinson C. 48", in *Poets and Scribes in Late Medieval England. Essays on Manuscripts and meaning in honor of Susanna Fein* (Festschriften, Occasional Papers, and Lectures), ed. M. Johnston, K. Herby-Fulton, and D. Pearsall, Berlin 2023, 87–109, esp. 96–98.

throughout the manuscript, allows us to conclude that L originally contained Langenstein's *Principium* as well, and that this text was copied in the first quire together with the beginning of Question 1 of Book I. By comparison, the first quire of A seems added to the core of the manuscript and copied by another hand.

From these quires, the Jesuits made careful use of every scrap of the scholastic materials, which were probably no longer in fashion. Thus the parchment bifolia were used to protect the covers of four large registers (L₁–L₄), while the paper leaves were employed to create the cardboard covers for the fifth, smaller register (L₅). It is likely that other paper leaves are still hiding in intact bindings.

The manuscript from which the Luxembourg fragments come may have been produced in the same context as the Alençon copy, probably in Paris. Details of the hands of the manuscripts support this hypothesis. One copy of the *Sentences* commentary of Henry Totting of Oyta, a close collaborator and friend of Henry of Langenstein who was also a member of the German Nation of scholars in Paris, is conserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (=BnF), Latin 15895, formerly in the library of the Collège de Sorbonne, as indicated by the former shelfmark 'Sorbonne 688' [Figure 24]. The scribe of this manuscript, who was not necessarily French, shares the same style of handwriting as in Langenstein's text in the Luxembourg fragments. For example, both manuscripts display the same three types of the letter S: a long S, a long S with a double stroke; and a round S at the end of words. The long S with a double stroke is significant. The double stroke, which does not belong to the hand of a professional scribe, is a common sign of hasty writing in academic manuscripts from the end of the fourteenth century. Simplified and rapidly written letters can also be seen in the letter H, where the upper part of the letter takes the form of a triangle. The abbreviation of *est* as a 3 with a long tail is also seen in both A and L, and the two witnesses share the same shapes for capital letters.

These handwriting examples suggest that the former codex of the Luxembourg fragments was likely produced at the same time and for the same motivation as the Oyta manuscript. It is perhaps no coincidence that the most comprehensive writings of two illustrious German secular theologians at Paris, Henry of Langenstein and



Figure 24: Paris, BnF, Latin 15895, f. 11. Image: Gallica [<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvb90672581>]

Henry Totting of Oyta, were copied in the French academic context, at least one of which became part of the collection of *Sentences* commentaries in the library of the Sorbonne (i.e., Paris, BnF, Latin



Figure 25: *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Paris, BnF, Français 2813, f. 475r: Jean Calore and Henry of Langenstein, chancellor and vice-chancellor of the University of Paris, preach before King Charles v.

15895). Although they had to leave Paris around 1382 owing to the Schism, the doctrinal contribution of these theologians was known in the Valois capital. In addition, the German Nation of scholars in Paris was extremely dynamic in the years leading up to the Great Schism, and most of the German masters of theology at Paris had

known each other or were part of the same circles for decades.¹⁵ This connection is mirrored by their efforts to reproduce their texts and distribute them among their peers.¹⁶

At Paris, Oyta and Langenstein also received the admiration of their French peers. For example, Jean Gerson occasionally praised the memory of Henry Totting of Oyta,¹⁷ while a representation of Henry of Langenstein as vice-chancellor of the University of Paris, in the company of Chancellor Jean Calore preaching before King Charles V of France, can be seen in Paris, BnF, Français 2813, f. 475r [Figure 25]. To this portrait we can add the one that decorated the Sorbonne library until the seventeenth century,¹⁸ just when the Jesuits from Luxembourg were recycling the material basis of his text.

One question still remains open: why was this apparently Parisian manuscript in the possession of the Jesuit college? And why at Luxembourg? Might the Jesuits, well known for their involvement in editing and printing texts, have acquired this manuscript with the aim of publishing one of the most important writings of the

15 See for example the constellation of German scholars and the friendship among, for example, James of Eltville, Henry of Langenstein, John Hiltalingen of Basel, Angel Dobelin, Conrad Zollern, John Brammart, John of Wassia, and Paul of Gelria.

16 John of Retz, for example, present in Paris until 1393, copied the *Sentences* of Conrad of Ebrach, which is now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 573. He is likely also the copyist of Alençon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 144, and Oxford, Balliol College 246, ff. 169ra–171rb (*Utrum divina sapientia ab eterno communicabilis intus et extra generaliter sit vel esse possit beatitudo rationalis creature formalis*), which is a copy of one *principium* of Henry Totting of Oyta. Cf. A. Zumkeller, “Der Wiener Theologieprofessor Johannes von Retz, O.S.A. († nach 1404) und seine Lehre von Urstand, Erbsünde, Gnade und Verdienst”, *Augustiniana* 21 (1971), 505–540, here 505–506.

17 M. Dekarli, “Henry Totting of Oyta and the Prague Nominalist Schola Communis between 1366 and 1409: A Preliminary Draft”, *Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 55/1 (2015), 53–70, at 53–54 for Gerson’s praise of Oyta. For more on the doctrinal influence of Oyta on Gerson, see Brinzei, *Homo est microcosmos* (forthcoming).

18 Langenstein’s portrait was apparently among those of other towering figures in the gallery of portraits of illustrious personalities that decorated the library of the Sorbonne until the seventeenth century. A list made by Claude Héméré (1580–1650), a witness to this gallery, was published in L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. 11, Paris 1874, 200, n. 3.

Plantator gymnasii Viennensis in Austria? Or maybe another detail from Langenstein's life can bring more light to this. As of 16 June 1365, Henry *Heynbuch* or Henry of Langenstein, cleric of Mainz, had not yet secured a benefice with an income, when Pope Urban v granted him a canonry with expectancy of a prebend in Worms Cathedral.¹⁹ He must not have been able to obtain the prebend in Worms, however, at least not before 27 January 1371, when a letter of Pope Gregory xi describes Henry *Hembuech*, bachelor of theology and master of arts, as having secured no benefice. In that letter, Gregory ordered the chancellor of Paris to examine Henry and, if found worthy, to assign him a benefice worth not more than 18 silver marks annually if without cure of souls or 25 marks with cure of souls. The benefice was to pertain to the collation of the abbot and monks of the Benedictine St. Maximin Abbey outside the walls of Trier.²⁰

St. Maximin was a very powerful abbey, closely linked to the count of Luxembourg, who was its *advocatus* with various rights and obligations. A letter of the Roman Pope Boniface ix dated 30 August 1391 informs us that the parish church of St. Nicholas in *novo foro* (Nikloskierch am Neumarkt), the main parish church of the city of Luxembourg, was vacant because of the resignation of the benefice by Henry *de Hassia*. Langenstein had resigned his post into the hand of Abbot John of the Benedictine abbey of St Mary of Luxembourg.²¹ Given the links with St. Maximin, it seems likely that Langenstein's benefice in Luxembourg was connected to the papal concession of two decades earlier, which was likely granted because of his status as bachelor of theology.

One month after the announcement of the vacancy in Luxembourg, on 28 September 1391, Pope Boniface announced that Henry *de Langensteyn alias de Hassia* intended to resign his canonry and

19 *Rotuli Parisienses. Supplications to the Pope from the University of Paris*, vol. 11: 1352–1378, ed. W.J. Courtenay and E.D. Goddard, Leiden 2004, 315.

20 *Ibid.*, 435.

21 The abbey was traditionally called Mënster (a dialect form of Münster) and was replaced by the Neimënster after the first was destroyed in 1542; H.V. Sauerland, *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Rheinlande aus dem Vatikanischen Archiv* (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichte 23), vol. 4, Bonn 1907, 189, n° 414.

prebend in Liège Cathedral, so the pope reserved them for someone else.²² Perhaps the canonry in Liège was a reward for Langenstein's promotion to master of theology during the 1375–1376 academic year, but the only solid evidence for Langenstein's possession of the post in Liège is in three letters of 1388 concerning his attempt to trade his canonry for another benefice.²³

Kreuzer hypothesized that, after leaving Paris, Langenstein went first to Liège, presumably because the evidence for this post is stronger than for Luxembourg, and because the 1388 letters involve the residency requirement in Liège, which Langenstein wanted to avoid. Concerning the connection between Langenstein and Liège, it is worth adding another detail. Although there is no concrete evidence of Langenstein's presence in Liège, echoes of his ideas from his *principium* to the *Sentences* appear to have circulated in Liège. Gerardus Rondelli, a doctor of theology at Paris in 1401 and a cleric of the diocese of Liège, composed a *Sermo De conceptione Beate Virginis coram doctoribus et universitate Parisiensi* in which long passages from Langenstein's *principium* are reproduced verbatim.²⁴ This sermon seems to have been first delivered in Paris,²⁵ then circulated in Liège, and it survives today in manuscript form in Bruxelles, KBR, ms. 11817-40, ff. 64v–72v and also in an edited form from the seventeenth century. It is very likely that it circulated in Liège where Rondelli was active, and maybe at the time when Rondelli endowed a benefice in honor of the Blessed Virgin in the chapter of Notre-Dame at the abbey church of Soleimont.²⁶ The precise

22 H.V. Sauerland, "Vatikanische biographische Notizen zur Geschichte des xiv. und xv. Jahrhunderts", *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 15 (1903), 468–475, at 474, n° 9.

23 G. Kreuzer, *Heinrich von Langenstein. Studien zur Biographie und zu den Schismatraktaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Epistola pacis und der Epistola consilii pacis* (Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte 6), Paderborn 1987, 52–53, 240–245.

24 Brinzei, *Homo est microcosmos* (forthcoming).

25 Lourdaux, *Bibliotheca Valis Sancti Martini*, 523; W. Lourdaux and M. Heverals, *Bibliotheca Vallis Sancti Martini in Lovanio, Bijdrage tot de studie van het geestesleven in de Nederlanden (15de–18de eeuw)* (Symbolae Facultatis Litteratum et Philosophiae Lovaniensis 8), vol. I, Leuven 1978, 523.

26 T. Sullivan, O.S.B., *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, AD 1373–1500. A bibliographical Register* (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 37),

passages that Rondelli copied from Langenstein suggest that he had direct access to a copy of Langenstein's text. This observation raises another question: should we suppose that Rondelli possessed his own copy of Langenstein's *Sentences* in his private library and that one was known in Liège?²⁷

The presence in Luxembourg of substantial fragments of a manuscript containing his *Sentences* questions, however, may indicate that Langenstein instead paused there and not in Liège.

vol. 2, Leiden 2011, 482–483.

²⁷ About his book and what he donated, see Sullivan, O.S.B., *Parisian Licentiates in Theology*, 483.

Appendix: Henrici de Langenstein, *In II Sententiarum*, q. 1, excerptum

A, ff. 94va–vb

W, ff. 148r–v

L3, front cover, verso, col. b

ed. Damerau, vol. II, pp. 12.9–14.27

... vim agendi, licet nullum effectum earum ei comproducat, sed quod ipsi solum agant amore ipsius et cetera, sicut lumen dat efficaciam agendi colori sensus suos in medium.

Secunda opinio est quod produxit secundam intelligentiam cum suo orbe et mediante illo tertiam, et sic consequenter mediante mediis ultimam et mediantibus dictis intelligentiis cum suis celis mundum istum elementarem et quod sit ibi una linea essentialis subordinationis causarum usque ad elementa, quarum prior non posset agere sine posteriori nec econverso.

Tertia quod prima tam necessario agit ad extra quantum ad effectus cursus naturalis universi, quamvis etiam habeat posse libere contradictorie ad extra agendi et mirabilia faciendi, verbi gratia recte sicut anima microcosmi habet operationes quasdam naturaliter ad extra et alias libere contradictorie, ut sunt motus [A 94vb] voluntarii, et quibus facit effectus artificiales plures.

Ex quibus apparet quod, stante tali ypotesi, tunc si philosophi incepissent predicasse unum verum Deum esse et illum debere revereri super omnia latraria et divino cultu, totum populum haberet ad se videntur traxisse ad sectam eorum, sicut apostoli predicantes Christum traxerunt homines ad legem Christi et cultum divinum quem ipse instituit. Quod, quia non fecerunt vel saltem occulte vel

1 earum ei] earum eis L3 eorum W 2 ipsi]ipse L3W et cetera] om. W
3 colori... medium] om. AL3 4 opinio] om. W produxit] produxerit W
5 suo orbe] celo suo W illo tertiam] illa tertia W 5–7 mediante... elementarem] om. AL3 9 posteriori] prioris A 10 quod prima
tam] ponit cum prima W agit] om. A 12 mirabilia] scrips. A; miracula L3 14 alias] naturaliter add. L3 14 voluntarii] voluntarie W
artificiales] scrips. W

16–44 Ex quibus... est de primis] om. AL3. For a detailed analysis of the lost treatise *De natura communi* cited in this passage, see Brînzei, *Homo est microcosmos*, forthcoming.

manifeste debuissent cogitasse de institutione alicuius divini cultus debito primo omne tamquam Deo suo, ideo ratione talis negligentie non excusandi, sed potius incusandi sunt. Et causa quare hoc
 25 neglexerunt forte fuit, quia credebant quamlibet speciem universi habere finem naturaliter actingibilem in hoc mundo, qui esset hominis optima dispositio et status perfectissimus et quod exorbitatores ab illo eorum fine vitiose moraliter sese habendo punirentur per hoc sufficienter, quod frustarentur optimo statu eorum quem
 30 neglexerunt, et ita propria malitia et deordinatione est. Igitur pena reformans et etiam aliorum virtus eo magis apparet et facit ad pulchritudinem universi.

Predictis correlarie adicitur quod duplices sunt effectus cursus communis, quidam qui fiunt sine specialibus casibus ex occasione-
 35 bus prestitis circa aliquas res universi et sunt qui non fiunt nisi cum illis et vocantur effectus nature communis et sunt quasi miraculosi respectu aliorum, de quibus dixi aliquando in tractatu *De natura communi*. Et adhuc illi sunt in duplici differentia, quia quidam sunt quorum occasiones et casus propter quos extinguunt constant et
 40 experiuntur et alii respectu quorum non sic, et [W 148v] de illis ultimis philosophi opinantes quod in lege nostra nichil extra cursum naturalem accadat dicerent: forte fuisse effectus omnes quos nos vocamus miraculosos, quamvis eorum actiones nos laterent et non sic de hoc, ut dictum est de primis.

45 Circa quod est opinio primo ⟨libro⟩ *Sententiarum*, distinctione 42, quod mens illius philosophi est quod quilibet orbis habet duos motores, unum quidem proprium et sibi unitum naturaliter per modum forme largientis duas perfectiones eidem modo exposito in precedentibus. Et hic movet tantum per modum agentis et im-
 50 mediate dictum orbem producendo scilicet immediate motum eius circularem. Et hoc modo coniuncta est et movet quolibet intelligentia abstracta praeter primam. Secundus motor quem quilibet orbis habet est non quidem proprius, ut probavit Avicenna, sed communis movens tantummodo per modum finis, ut amatum et desideratum

45 primo] primam L3W 46 philosophi] philosophie L3W

quod] sup. lin. L3 47 unitum naturaliter] inv. L3W 48 exposito] exposita A

52–53 quilibet orbis habet] habet quilibet orbis W 53 habet] om. L3

probavit] putavit W 54 et om. W

55 a motoribus aliis coniunctis et activis; et hic motor est intelligentia simpliciter prima, quam Deum vocant et causam primam.

Modus autem sue motionis secundum istam opinionem est quod ipsa prima causa vel intelligentia virtualiter et velut ars quedam
60 universalis omnia exemplariter continens et eminenter existens in mente cuiuslibet alterius intelligentie, causat efficienter desiderium sive amorem et complacentiam sui in illis, ita quod eadem ipsa est, quae immediate efficit desiderium et que terminat seu finit.

Nam ipsa est quam appetunt et in qua complacent. Ex tali autem complacentia quilibet motor alius movet ad explicandum artem
65 illam universalem in materia per motum sui orbis magis et minus, secundum quod illam magis et minus intelligunt. Nam motor primi orbis intelligens eam totaliter et universaliter intendit bonum simpliciter etiam totius universi, sicut dux habens in mente artem totalem militarem ad dirigendum totum exercitum ...

57 sue] prime W 59 omnia] omnium W
sat] causa W 61 eadem] eodem A
fiunt W 63 qua complacent] om. L3
64 ad] om. W 68 etiam] om. W

et] ut W 60 cau-
62 que] om. W seu finit] sive
complacent] placent W

In situ Fragments in Beinecke Library Incunabula

Elizabeth K. Hebbard, Indiana University, Bloomington
ehebbard@iu.edu



Abstract: This article describes the results of a survey of the Beinecke Library's over 3,400 incunabula for in situ manuscript fragments. It offers a benchmark for the incidence of manuscript fragments in these bindings (7–8%) and considers the relationship between in situ fragments and book size. It also suggests further avenues for research on in situ binding fragments with implications for studies of provenance, binding techniques, and the formation of North American collections.

Keywords: in situ fragments, Yale, Beinecke Library, incunabula

In a 1994 article, the then-curator of Early Books and Manuscripts at the Beinecke Library, Robert Babcock, described roughly a half dozen examples of classical texts preserved in sixteenth-century bindings from Venice.¹ In the article, Babcock observes a pattern of manuscript binding fragment content (classical texts) as well as a

* This project was only possible with the exceedingly generous cooperation of the Beinecke Library staff at all levels. I am forever indebted to Raymond Clemens for hiring me as a curatorial assistant, encouraging my work, trusting me with the collections, and setting me on the path to working with manuscript fragments; to E.C. Shroeder for allowing me to represent the Beinecke Library partnership at the two *Fragmentarium* meetings (Fribourg 2016 and St. Gall 2017) and for the summer fellowship that allowed me to complete my initial survey; to Beinecke archivist Mark Custer for his help wresting incunabula metadata from the library's back-end cataloguing systems; and to the incredible Access Services staff of the Beinecke, who compiled carts of volumes for me to study, brainstormed methods for working through the collections for the purposes of this survey, and otherwise facilitated this research in a dozen ways, including making me feel at home in the Beinecke, particularly Natalia Sciarini, John Monahan, Moira Fitzgerald, Ingrid Lennon-Pressey, Anne Marie Menta, Mary Ellen Budney, Anna Franz, and Adrienne Sharpe.

1 R.G. Babcock, "Manuscripts of Classical Authors in the Bindings of Sixteenth-Century Venetian Books", *Scrittura e Civiltà* 18 (1994), 309–324. Please see the appendix for updates about the volumes Babcock identified in his study.

pattern of their material configuration: one of the contributions of this article was in detailing the practice of using of binding fragments as spine liner strips that had not been described before. Babcock's study suggested that the Beinecke collection was in need of a more comprehensive survey of early bindings, both for the purpose of creating fuller descriptions of the volumes themselves, and in order to identify similar examples or patterns of manuscript material used in the bindings.² In 2010–2011, some of the Beinecke bindings were studied by Scott Husby in the context of his long-term project on American collections of fifteenth-century print volumes in original bindings, the *Bookbindings on Incunables* database.³ In the course of his data collecting, Husby recorded ninety-four Beinecke incunabula volumes that contained fragments of medieval manuscripts, though the presence of in situ fragments was not the focus of his census work, nor was his survey restricted to the Beinecke collections, either: he also visited two other campus collections during his fellowship. This article builds on the foundational work of these predecessors and focuses exclusively on fragments of manuscripts used in incunabula bindings that are now in the Beinecke Library collection. My own contribution is to propose two new axes for the study of binding fragments: to consider the relationship between in situ binding fragments and book size, and, using this collection, to offer a data-driven benchmark for the incidence of in situ binding fragments in incunabula (7–8%).

The survey of incunabula bindings that I undertook to gather this data was begun while I was working part-time during graduate school as a Curatorial Assistant. It was later completed with the generous support of a Beinecke Library *Fragmentarium* Fellowship in summer 2017. This research and the associated fellowship provided

2 Babcock, "Manuscripts of Classical Authors", 311.

3 S. Husby, "Bookbindings on Incunabula in American Library Collections: A Working Census", in *Early Printed Books As Material Objects: Proceedings of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section Munich, 19–21 August 2009*, ed. B. Wagner, and M. Reed, New York 2010, 205–215. The Scott Husby Database of Bookbindings on Incunables, formerly hosted on the website of the Bibliographical Society of America, and later by Princeton Libraries, is unfortunately no longer hosted online or publicly accessible.

one of the initial six *Fragmentarium* case studies. The goal of my case study at the Beinecke was twofold: first, to complete the survey (begun in 2015) of incunabula within the collection in order to identify those volumes that still preserved manuscript fragments in their bindings; second, to begin systematically photographing and cataloguing the binding fragments identified in the course of the survey. Further and ongoing aims of this work include completing photography of the volumes, and making these binding fragment records searchable and discoverable within the Yale Libraries catalogue, by first indicating the presence of manuscript waste within the host volume records, and by then creating catalogue records for the binding fragments themselves. Unlike at the Bodleian Library—where *Fragmentarium* Fellow Ruth Mullet worked on binding fragments for a companion case study—no systematic or comprehensive census of in situ fragments had previously been undertaken at the Beinecke.⁴ Existing records, then, included Scott Husby's notes described above, and some paper records inside the books themselves: incunabula that were acquired early in the Beinecke's history had been carefully described on typewritten collation slips pasted inside the back boards of most volumes. These collation slips occasionally make mention of manuscript binding material, either by simply signaling the presence of manuscript binding material, or by characterizing in a general manner the contents of binding fragments made of print or manuscript waste. Many collation slips, however, do not mention manuscript waste at all, and in numerous cases the papers are themselves pasted directly onto manuscript board liners or pastedowns.

At the outset of the project, my decision to survey incunabula holdings was, in some respects, arbitrary, because there is no predictable relationship between the printing date of the bookblock and the date of the binding in which the bookblock is currently found. What is more, the practice of binding with manuscript material was already well established before the advent of print,

4 R. Mullet, "In Situ Manuscript Fragments in the Incunables of the Bodleian Library, Oxford: A *Fragmentarium* Case Study," *Fragmentology* 1 (2018), 111–120.

and it continued beyond the incunable era and well into the eighteenth century, with occasionally even later examples.⁵ In other words, an incunabulum with in situ binding fragments might have been bound in the fifteenth century with that manuscript waste or rebound with it in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, limiting my scope to incunabula was motivated by some considerations that were purely practical: the Beinecke holds some 3,400 incunabula. As such, it represents one of the larger incunabula collections in North America. Other significant holdings can be found at the Newberry Library (2,000 volumes), the Morgan Library and Museum (2,800 volumes), Houghton Library (3,000 volumes), and the Huntington Library (5,500 volumes), with the largest collection, some 5,600 volumes, at the Library of Congress. Since I surveyed the entire collection, the decision to limit my attention to incunabula was done to constrain the scope of volumes surveyed to a more or less reasonable number of items. We can anticipate that a survey of earlier and later volumes held by the Beinecke would bring to light numerous additional binding fragments, and in fact, Robert Babcock's article offers a first step in this direction. I hope that other efforts will follow.

The work that I describe here is also a first step. In addition to the larger aims of a research collaboration with Kivılcım Yavuz focused on nuancing taxonomies of in situ manuscript binding fragments, the purpose of the present article is to report preliminary numbers of in situ fragments in the Beinecke Library incunabula.⁶ Where Ruth Mullet has shown the promise of studying in situ fragments within their host volume context to recover provenance information about binders and readers of incunabula, and Ivana Dobcheva and Christopher Mackert were able to reunite some ex situ fragments with their host volumes and identify some idiosyncratic binding practices after their own binding study and cataloguing efforts, the present survey extends the work of these important precedents while adding a new perspective: that of in situ fragment studies

5 See below on pp. 145–147 for an example.

6 I am grateful to the University of Leeds for aiding in establishing this collaboration with the support of an AHC International Academic Mobility Fund grant in July 2025.

within the context of North American rare book collections.⁷ These North American collections, formed differently than their European counterparts, offer in turn a different sphere of comparison through examples of in situ binding fragments, as well as early print volumes, from many and disparate origins. After reporting the overall results of the binding survey, I will offer some observations about patterns of the reuse of manuscripts as binding material taken from this corpus. I will then highlight a handful of examples that emerge from this context as unusual, and which might inform future efforts to use evidence from the way that in situ fragments feature in bindings as a source of provenance information. Finally, I will analyze the survey findings in the context of North American collections more generally and suggest some future directions and possible payoffs for in situ binding fragments research. These future directions include identifying uncommon or even idiosyncratic binding techniques using manuscript material and nuancing the vocabulary of in situ binding fragments in order to facilitate the identification of such uncommon practices. The payoff is suggested in the enormous potential for new kinds of provenance information that in situ fragments represent, from specific binders to regional practices, and even to commercial networks of manuscript binders' waste.

Overall, my survey work in 2015 and 2017 resulted in the identification of 240 incunabula out of the 3,400 in the collection that contain binding fragments. Those 240 volumes contained at least 462 distinct fragments representing 318 original *codices discissi*. In many cases, a single volume or a set of volumes might contain multiple fragments from the same original codex. In general, these numbers indicate a 7% incidence rate of in situ binding fragments across the collection—that is, not of fragments surviving only in those volumes retaining their original bindings, but across all of the Beinecke's fifteenth-century print holdings. At the same time, this 7% incidence rate is conservative. A handful of additional volumes in the Yale University library catalogue are tagged with the MARC

7 Mullet, "In situ Manuscript Fragments"; I. Dobcheva and C. Mackert, "Manuscript Fragments in the University Library, Leipzig: Types and Cataloguing Patterns", *Fragmentology* 1 (2018), 83–110.

index term Genre/Form (field 655) “Manuscript waste (Binding).” After concatenating duplicate records resulting from multiple copies of an incunable, each with a different call number, showing up in search results, there are twelve volumes I have added to my survey results based on this index term. Another eleven volumes were identified by Husby as containing manuscript waste, but were not items that I had identified in my own survey, either because I failed to find these specific examples, because the volumes were overlooked in paging, or by some other accident. Adding both of these additional numbers to my own total gives us 263 volumes out of 3,400 containing manuscript fragments in their bindings, or an incidence rate of closer to 8%. Despite the infelicities in my early data collection, and my plans to return to the Beinecke and to the project to collect additional images and clarify and reconcile the various catalogue and survey information about specific volumes, the results are nonetheless worth sharing at this time for the larger picture this collection offers of binding practices with manuscript materials across a wide geographic and chronological range.

These survey numbers merit a few additional caveats. First, I did not distinguish between recycled binding materials deriving from documents and those coming from manuscripts (*codices discissi*). Both kinds of original handwritten objects figure in the dataset. Second, although my goal for this project was to catalogue the Beinecke binding fragments, I included in my dataset some volumes containing binding fragments that cannot yet be read or fully described. Examples include limp and parchment bindings that were made from repurposed documents, which were glued to the boards front-side-down or which had their text darkened or otherwise obscured, partially damaged or partially lifted pastedowns revealing the presence of manuscript board liners, and sewing guards in the center of quires whose presence can be noted but whose text cannot yet be recovered due to any combination of folding stubs into the gutter, trimming stubs close to the stitching, or simply a tight binding [Figure 1]. These yet “invisible” fragments, numerous in the collection, require further study via special imaging techniques that were not available to me in 2017, and so their description was left to a later time, but for my purposes, the presence of manuscript binding

Figure 1: Bottom edge view of Zi 4158, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University



material still merited their inclusion in the survey. I have also included in the survey count manuscript fragments represented only by offsets (the transfer of ink from *ex situ* fragments) that remain visible, usually on a board where a film of glue originally securing a pastedown has retained an impression of the writing that was once attached to it, though offsets can also occur within the text block from adjacent manuscript material, such as in the center of quires that once featured sewing guards.

Finally, the Beinecke Library is actively acquiring and now reports holdings of 3,500 incunabula, though these volumes are not

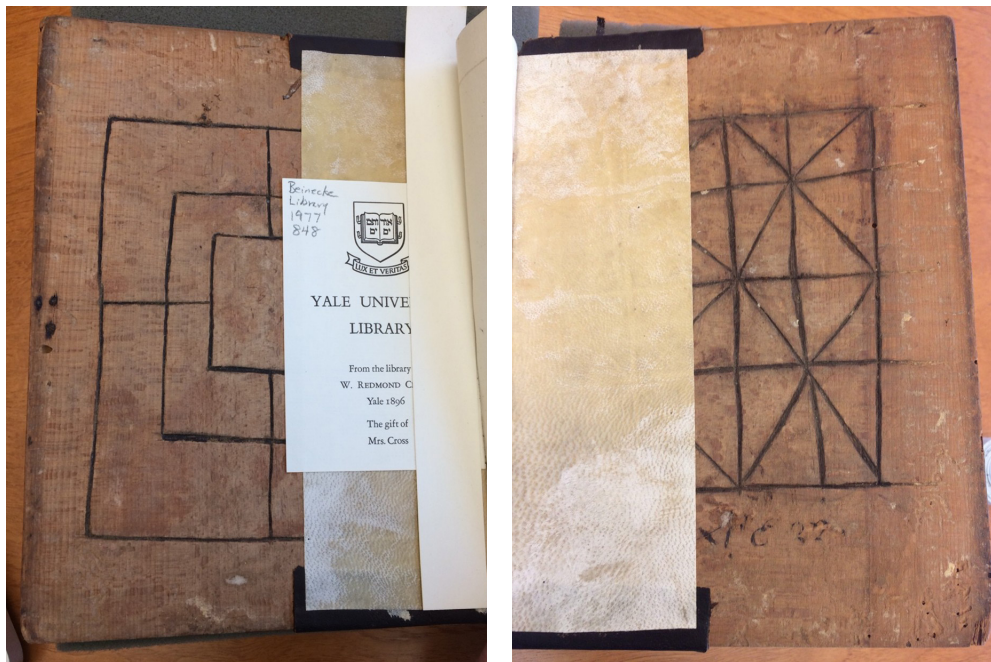


Figure 2: The game boards on the front (Nine Men's Morris) and back (Alquerque) inside boards of 1977 848, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

all catalogued and not all yet searchable with the Special Collections subject "Incunabula in Yale Library." My survey only accounts for volumes of the oldest acquisitions, a period during which incunabula were shelved by format (with call numbers Zi ## for octavo, Zi +## for quarto, and ZZi ## for in-folio volumes), and of the incunabula arranged by acquisition year (eg. 1974 ## for octavo, 1974 +## for quarto, and 1974 Folio ## for in-folio volumes) from 1971 through 2015 and those volumes that had been acquired in 2017 and accessioned by May 2017. Finally, because of my particular focus on premodern manuscripts used within bindings, I excluded from the records I report here examples of manuscript binding fragments from later periods, binding fragments of printers' waste, pre-1600 manuscript material bound into or recorded within the bookblock of an incunabulum, and lifted pastedowns with notes, texts, and inscriptions

that were added by a reader or owner after the volume's first binding. The survey provided a unique opportunity to observe thousands of incunabula, and to note other features of these volumes beyond their use of manuscript binding materials, such as their hardware, stamping and tooling motifs, leather finishing techniques, and—in one case—the use or reuse of the volume's oak boards for the medieval strategy board games Nine Men's Morris and Alquerque [see Figure 2].

Although I do not have comprehensive data for all the volumes represented in the survey, Scott Husby has kindly and generously shared his data on the bindings of Yale volumes in which he observed manuscript waste. Husby's data, though a cross-section of the larger picture, is nonetheless interesting in that it contradicts the impression that binding fragments may only survive in, or predominantly in, original bindings. The volumes Husby identified as containing manuscript fragments came not only from the Beinecke Library (94 volumes), but also from the Medical Historical Library of the Harvey Cushing / John Hay Whitney Medical Library (20 volumes) and the rare book collection of the Lillian Goldman Law Library (15 volumes), both also at Yale University. Of these 129 volumes with *in situ* manuscript fragments, Husby identifies 81 bindings as more or less contemporary with the date of printing before 1501, which represents about 63% of the bindings containing manuscript fragments that he noted. The remaining 36% of the volumes are currently housed in later, post-fifteenth-century bindings. More than 18%, or nearly one in five of the volumes containing manuscript fragments, are identified by Husby as "modern" bindings, from the nineteenth century or later. These data stand in contrast to findings from European collections in large state institutions, which suggest that bindings with manuscript fragments drastically diminished in the late seventeenth century, and so attest to the importance and unique perspective of North American collections.⁸ There are many factors

8 See, for example, N. Pickwoad, "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, 13; K. Kaska and F. Simader, "Vom Umgang

at play, including binding context (artisanal versus industrial) and the potential reuse by modern binders of manuscript fragments from these imprints' earlier bindings. In any case, the number of later bindings containing in situ fragments is considerable and justifies the inclusion of later bindings and, by extension, of later printed volumes, in future binding survey efforts. As an outlying example, one case I will discuss below involves a bookblock, rebound or at least restored in the nineteenth century, wrapped in a leaf from a Carolingian Bible that appears to have been copied at the turn of the eleventh century.

Before turning to exceptional cases such as this early Bible leaf wrapper, I will now offer additional overviews of the Beinecke data in hopes of conveying both the breadth of in situ examples and also the way they suggest certain patterns or norms of manuscript recycling in bindings. The following is not a mathematical exercise but a descriptive one, for which the numbers help illustrate some observations that might be useful for the future study of in situ manuscript fragments. Regarding format, the majority of Beinecke in situ fragments are found in quarto volumes (140 of the 263 volumes or over 53%). A little over a third of the volumes containing manuscript waste are in octavo format (91 vols. or almost 35%), while the fewest examples of in situ fragments are found in in-folio incunables (32 vols. or 12%). The folio examples—at least based on the data compiled here—also contain on average a larger number of in situ fragments per volume than the quartos or octavos. This makes good common sense, given the size of folio boards, the comparatively small size of manuscripts that must have become obsolete by the fifteenth century, and thus the need for a binder to

großer Bibliotheken mit Fragmenten am Beispiel der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek”, in *Frammenti di un discorso storico: per una grammatica dell'aldilà del frammento*, ed. C. Tristano, Spoleto 2019, 348; A.M. Stützle-Dobrowolska, “Was uns Makulatureinbände über die Bücherschätze des vorreformatorischen Grossmünsterstifts überliefern”, *Zürcher Taschenbuch* 134 (2014), 96; J. Brunius, “The Recycling of Manuscripts in Sixteenth-Century Sweden” and A. Ommundsen, “A Norwegian – and European – jigsaw puzzle of manuscript fragments”, in *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments. The Destruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books*, ed. A. Ommundsen and T. Heikkilä, London 2017, 71 and 135 respectively.

Format	Share of collection	with in situ ms.	Share of in situ ms. volumes.	% of format with in situ mss.
Octavos	51.09%	91	34.6%	5.24%
Quartos	43.85%	140	53.2%	9.39%
Folio	5.06%	32	12.2%	18.60%
Total	100%	263	100%	7.74%

Table 1: Beinecke incunabula in situ fragments by format

use multiple leaves of smaller manuscripts to cover the boards with binding waste used as board liners or pastedowns. With respect to the overall makeup of the collections, the numbers of quarto and folio volumes are overrepresented among those volumes containing fragments [Table 1].⁹ However, these numbers are better contextualized within the incidence rate of fragments when separated by format. In considering the collection in these terms, it seems clear that the larger the volume, the greater the chances of finding in situ manuscript fragments.

There are many reasons why these observations about format and the incidence rate of in situ fragments may or may not be generalizable: the scope of my survey (limited only to this collection of the oldest printed books from Western Europe); survivorship bias; the provenance of a particular item, including the likelihood of that item being rebound; and the number of times it has changed hands, particularly in the twentieth-century rare books market as dealers and buyers became increasingly interested in fragments. On the other hand, the data are consistent in both the overrepresentation of binding fragments in quartos and folios with respect to the makeup of the Beinecke collection, and with the rates of incidence by format. This suggests that the larger format volumes on the whole not only contain larger numbers of fragments, but that they also more frequently retain in situ fragments. The logic of the

9 When these data were collected, the Beinecke incunabula collection had roughly 3,400 volumes. The exported records provided to me consisted only of records that were consistently catalogued, represented items held by the Beinecke Library, and contained the Special Collections Subject “Incunabula in Yale Library” mentioned above, some 2,492 volumes, and I have extrapolated the proportion of folio, quarto, and octavo volumes to the full 3,400.

first observation holds, considering that more manuscript material is needed to cover, line, or otherwise reinforce larger format books. The second is harder to explain, but perhaps the rate of incidence of in situ fragments in folio volumes is related to the relative scarcity of volumes of this size. Another possible explanation is purely economic in nature: manuscript fragments were recycled materials used to keep down binding costs, which is why they do not appear in luxury bindings in visible or prominent places. As bindings for larger volumes are more expensive, perhaps the use of manuscript fragments was simply a cost-saving measure to make such bindings more affordable.¹⁰

It will come as no surprise that the vast majority of in situ fragments in Beinecke incunabula are written in Latin, and that the fragments come overwhelmingly from liturgical books. Among these are a large number of liturgica with music recorded in a variety of notational systems. In terms of languages represented, the survey also turned up, however, a handful of documents in German, a French literary manuscript, two volumes wrapped in leaves from a Spanish account of legal proceedings concerning family law, and several fragments from Hebrew manuscripts (more on these below). Regarding the genre of in situ manuscripts, the binding fragments include a legal dictionary, literary manuscripts of poetry and prose, theological and philosophical works, treatises on canon law, hagiography, a grammar, Torahs and Bibles, and various documents, including a papal bull. The in situ fragments also cover a wide chronological range extending from the turn of the eleventh century through the late sixteenth century, and even later examples that, as described above, were excluded.

It is not always easy to determine how manuscript waste was originally incorporated into a binding, even when these fragments remain in situ. Damage caused by handling or by environmental conditions, glue failure over time, conservation interventions, and successive rebindings can obscure the physical context of some original binding materials. Still, the in situ fragments surveyed here occur in a predictable range of locations within the volume:

¹⁰ I am grateful to the anonymous referee for this insight.

as coverings or wrappers over wood or stacked paper boards, folded into limp bindings, as endpapers attached and arranged in a variety of ways to the bookblock and the boards or as separate pastedowns, and as board liners, spine liners, text guards (around first and last gatherings), and sewing guards (in the center of one or more gatherings).¹¹ Rather than quantify the different types of manuscript reuse, all of which are numerous across the surveyed items, or nuance the terminology in a way that highlights the different techniques on display in these cases, I will focus first on certain qualitative observations about the use of manuscript binding material that speak to broader practices.

For example, we might arrange the *in situ* fragments on a spectrum from functional to aesthetic according to how they are used in a given binding context. The categories are not entirely distinct, as there is a great deal of overlap, and admittedly they are also quite subjective. And, indeed, all binding fragments necessarily serve a function. But the Beinecke examples as a whole are suggestive of a range of practices and proclivities among binders within which these categories can highlight some distinctions.¹² On one extreme, that of functionality, we might place sewing guards as a general rule, since they are often so severely trimmed that their presence can only be confirmed by looking from the top or bottom edge of the volume, as in Figure 1, but the contents of the *codex discissus* remain inaccessible, particularly in a tight binding where visual access to the gutter is impossible without threatening the integrity of the binding structures. Similarly, board and spine liners are often concealed and can even be undetectable unless the volume has suffered damage to the binding or researchers have recourse to technological interventions such as X-Ray fluorescence, CT scanning, endoscopy, or other emerging recovery techniques.¹³ Finally, wrappers made of

11 On text guards and sewing guards, see the *Language of Bindings* (LOB) database (<https://lob.is.ed.ac.uk/concept/3697>, and <https://lob.is.ed.ac.uk/concept/3282>, respectively).

12 Pickwood makes similar observations about the "decorative impulse" of some binders. See Pickwood, "The Use of Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts", 4–6.

13 See J.E. Ensley, K.H. Tachau, S.A. Walsh, H. Zhang, G. Simon, L. Moser, J. Atha, P. Dilley, E.A. Hoffman, and M. Sonka, "Using computed tomography to recover hidden medieval fragments beneath early modern leather bindings,

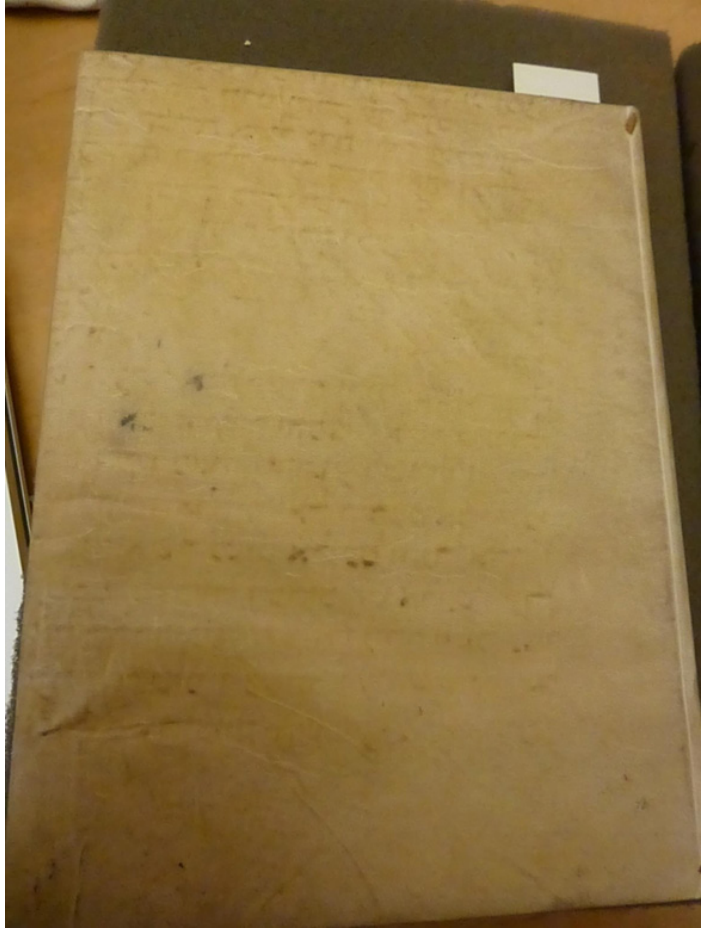
recycled manuscripts can be placed closer to the extreme of function over aesthetics where either 1) the recycled material comes from a document and the blank dorse is placed facing the outside of the volume or 2) the side of the manuscript facing the outside of the volume once contained text but now has been erased or intentionally discolored. The latter is the case with the binding of Beinecke Library Zi 5451, which contains a copy of a work on charity, *Pro Monte pietatis consilia, sive, Quaestiones super mutuo judaico et civili et divino*, printed in Venice in 1498 by Johannes Tacuinus. Interestingly, this imprint that argues against usury and the practices of Jewish moneylenders is bound in a leaf of a Hebrew manuscript [Figure 3]. Although the leaf appears to have been deliberately erased, it is still partially legible, certainly to the extent that the writing is recognizable as Hebrew. The leaf is even oriented so that the text reads properly from right to left.¹⁴ Still, it is tempting to read intention behind the selection of this particular fragment as a wrapper for this particular imprint.

On the other end of the functional-aesthetic spectrum, binders clearly admired many recycled manuscripts for their artistry and their beauty, repurposing them in a way that highlights these features. Covers made from manuscript material often carefully align the text with the spine when possible, and in some cases, place a decorated or illuminated initial at the top left corner of the front board. Perhaps it is simply a result of the larger numbers of recycled liturgical books, but it seems that musical notation also held a special aesthetic value for binders. This may be partly due to the conventions of copying medieval music, as the use of red for staves and to indicate melismas in text underlay leads to a higher ratio of red to black in these manuscripts. On this aesthetic end of the spectrum, we might

first results”, *Heritage Science* 11 (2023), 82; J.R. Duivenvoorden, A. Käyhkö, E. Kwakkel, and J. Dik, “Hidden library: visualizing fragments of medieval manuscripts in early-modern bookbindings with mobile macro-XRF scanner”, *Heritage Science* 5 (2017), 6; T. Porck and I. van Kuijk, “Project Report: Medieval Fragments Revealed with FraggEndoscopy: A Pilot Project to Detect and Record Spine Linings with an Endoscopic Camera”, *Fragmentology* 7 (2024), 123–134.

14 I am grateful to Malachi Beit-Arié and Sarah Ifft Decker for their help in examining this and other Hebrew fragments identified during the survey.

**Figure 3: A
Hebrew leaf used
to cover Zi 5451,
Beinecke Rare
Book and Manu-
script Library,
Yale University**



also place other examples where Hebrew fragments were used in bindings. In one case, ZZi 7537, fragments of a Torah were used as text guards and were trimmed only so that the endleaf matched the dimensions of the bookblock. That is, the binders seem to have purposefully left more of the parchment material in place and visible. Of course, there are other examples of text-hook endleaves, where a free flyleaf is secured around the outside of the first or final gathering of the volume, with a stub visible inside the bookblock, or

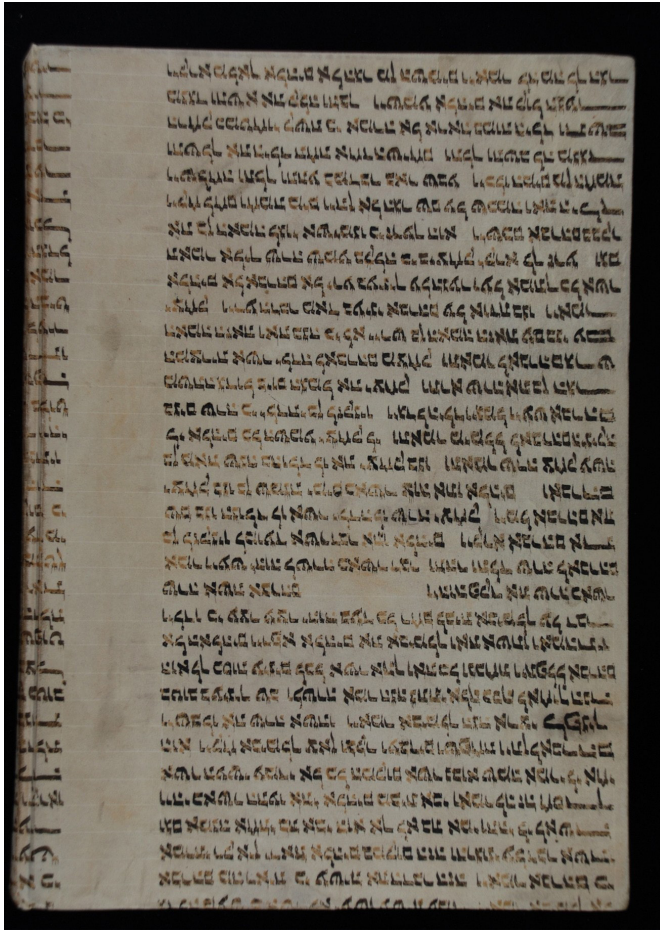


Figure 4: The front cover of Zi +3487.3 featuring an upside-down Torah fragment, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

where the text-hook endleaf also serves as a pastedown.¹⁵ But there are also many examples of text-hook endleaves where the endleaves are trimmed significantly and then adhered to the board under a pastedown of paper or of other manuscript material. We might also consider as an example of the aesthetic reuse of binding material the case of another Torah fragment used as a wrapper, this time with the text facing outward [Figure 4]. In this volume, Zi +3487.3,

¹⁵ On text-hook endleaves, see *Language of Bindings* (<http://w3id.org/lob/concept/i662>).

a binder has carefully placed a Hebrew manuscript so that the edge of the written area aligns with the outer hinge. However, the binder, who could not read Hebrew, could not distinguish between the double justified edges of the written area and ultimately placed the writing upside down. These examples are perhaps a testament to the interest that these fragments—and maybe even Hebrew characters themselves—held as visual artifacts. At the same time, they raise uncomfortable questions about the dismemberment of Torah scrolls—which would not typically be recycled for binding materials by Jewish communities in the way Bible fragments might be used to Christian ones, but would have been disposed of through ceremonial burial—and the relationships between Christian and Jewish communities, including late-fifteenth century pogroms.¹⁶

We can extend considerations of legibility to the fragments of Latin alphabet scripts as well, given that binders opt in almost all cases to orient pastedowns legibly, or with the top of the manuscript leaf placed toward the head of the volume. Exceptions occur when the size of the imprint exceeds the size of the *codex discissus*, in which case often a manuscript bifolium is opened and pasted such that the manuscript text is perpendicular to the printed text. In attending to binders' choices in these cases, we might note whether there is directional continuity across the volume's *in situ* fragments, or whether on either side of the volume, the top of the manuscript bifolium is oriented toward the gutter or toward the fore-edge. In any case, the fact that binders, when possible, place manuscript fragments in ways that make them legible might suggest that binders as a general rule are literate artisans and perhaps that some are involved in other areas of bookcraft. A larger sample size of early bindings will be the testing grounds for such a hypothesis.

Having made these general observations about the surveyed *in situ* fragments, I now want to turn to a few volumes that illustrate more unique cases and, thus, potential avenues for further study. First among these is an unusual binding technique in an

16 On the use of Hebrew binding fragments, see A. Lehnhardt and J. Olszowy-Schlanger, eds., *Books within Books: New Discoveries in Old Book Bindings*, Leiden 2013. On the question of Torah fragments in bindings, see in particular the contributions by Campanini, Lehnhardt, Kogel, and Visi and Jánosišková.

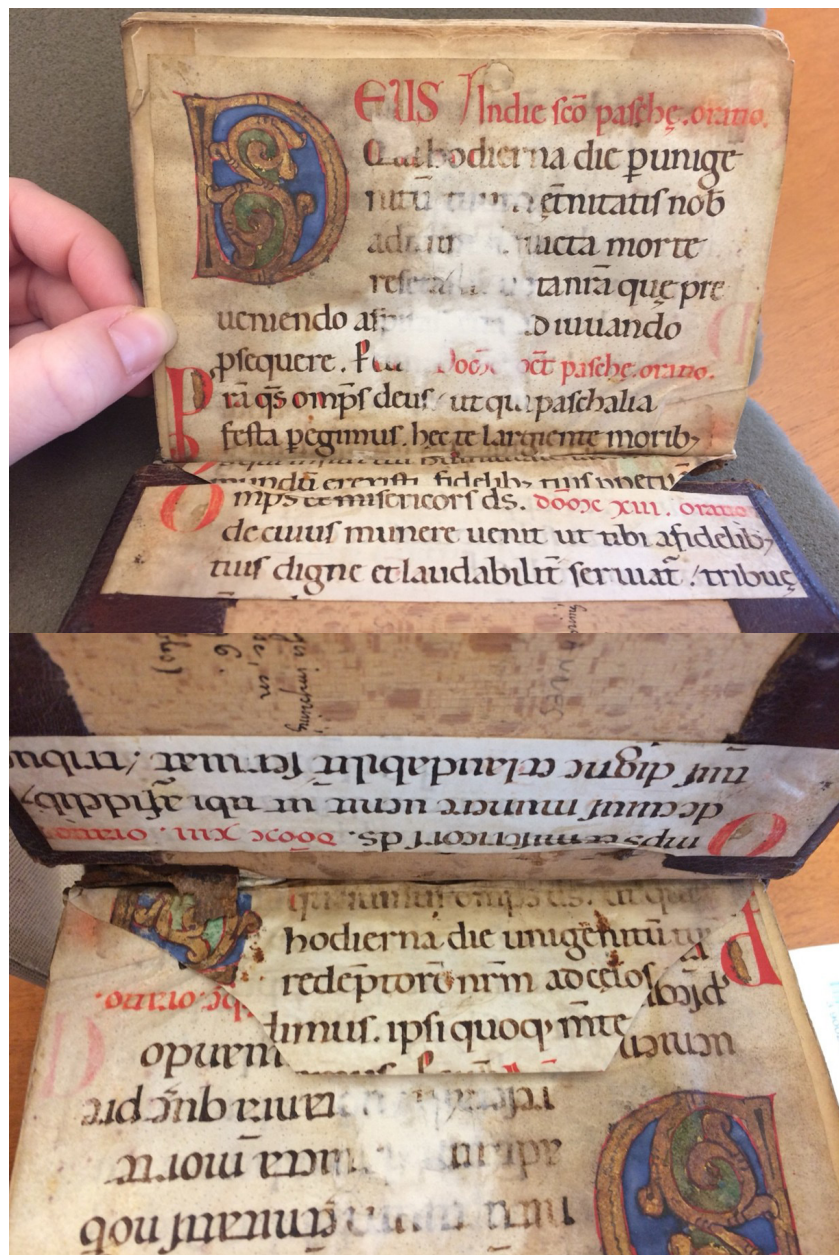


Figure 5: The unique tucked endleaves of 1988 834 with ink discoloration, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

octavo volume containing two titles, both printed in Venice in 1496: Beinecke Library 1988 834. In this volume, leaves from a beautiful, small format, twelfth-century Italian collectar have been turned perpendicular to the volume and folded widthwise to create endpapers. Instead of the more typical configuration of a conjoined flyleaf and pastedown, in this case the outer endleaves are trimmed into a lozenge shape to be tucked under a strip of parchment from the same manuscript—possibly a strip from the same leaf—which is adhered to the board only at the top and bottom [see Figure 5]. This arrangement protected and preserved a green paint color in a vine initial on the outer endleaf stub, where the green paint on the flyleaf vine initial has become significantly darkened by exposure. A similar tucked endpaper arrangement, particularly in another northern Italian volume, would immediately suggest the same binder or another from the same workshop, given the unique nature of this creative endpaper structure.

The oldest fragment identified in the survey, briefly mentioned above, was used as a wrapper over a Venice 1471 imprint of Leonardus de Utino's *Quadragesimale aureum* printed by Franciscus Renner de Heilbronn. The binding itself is more recent; it could be as late as the early nineteenth century, based on the use of Florentine paper and the condition of the wrapper. Certainly the paper was added at that time. The cover of Zi +4153 comes from a manuscript Bible dating to the late tenth or early eleventh century [see Figure 6]. The very measured Caroline minuscule has some beautiful early letter forms and abbreviations, such as the e caudata, the capital a, and the r of "Princeps" in column b at the top of the front cover. The *codex discissus* was a large volume, as this single leaf was sufficient to wrap around the boards of the quarto imprint. Visible on the cover are parts of the book of Job chapters 28, 29, and 30. The rubric on the back board is the first verse of chapter 29. The first verse of chapter 30 (*Nunc autem deridunt me iuniores temporum...*) in the second column, is, strangely, not rubricated. There is some discoloration present on both sides of the cover on the side nearest the hinge. This discoloration is due to a spine wrapper of Florentine endpaper material, remnants of which are still visible inside the boards. For such an early manuscript, the ink is incredibly well preserved.

Figure 6: A Bible leaf from the turn of the eleventh century used to wrap Zi +4153, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. From top to bottom: front cover, spine detail, back cover.



Indeed, the most significant damage to the parchment and to the writing is from the nineteenth-century paper that formed a sort of quarter binding. It is truly rare to find manuscript fragments this early in North America, let alone in such excellent condition. And it

is remarkable if indeed the leaf was repurposed in the modern era. If other leaves survive and were within reach of the same binder, they will certainly be easily identifiable through the early hand, the prominent featuring of the manuscript material on the volume's boards, and—if truly the work of a modern binder—the Florentine paper.

Finally, the Beinecke incunabula bindings contained numerous twelfth-century liturgical fragments from Austria and Germany, which are a strength of the manuscript collections of the Beinecke in general. One of the most surprising finds of the survey was an offset on the back board of a volume printed in Augsburg in 1471: Zi +1525. Lisa Fagin Davis identified this offset as belonging to a leaf of the Gottschalk Antiphonal, a manuscript produced at Lambach abbey which she has reconstructed [[F-75ud](#)] and published on extensively. She has also reported this particular offset already.¹⁷ Nevertheless, I mention this example again because the volume is an incunable that came to Yale as a gift in 1965—that is to say, via an entirely different route than the dozens of other Lambach Abbey fragments that are found among the Beinecke manuscripts.¹⁸ This volume bears provenance marks of the monastery at Scheyern and two private collectors who owned it before it came to Yale. This item is thus a perfect example of both the contingencies of collection formation as well as the promise of studying binding fragments both in and ex situ for the provenance information that they provide, each and together.

The particularity of North American rare books collections such as that of the Beinecke Library is that they have been formed piecemeal over time, constrained sometimes by import and export licenses, shaped by curatorial strengths and interests. By contrast, British and European collections may comprise whole or partial monastic and aristocratic libraries, offering collections cohesion and acquisition patterns that are entirely different in nature. These kinds of collections allow for the detailed study of individual monasteries and their scribal practices and textual traditions, of regional

¹⁷ L.F. Davis, "An Echo of the Remanent", *Florilegium* 35 (2018), 5–30.

¹⁸ See R.G. Babcock, *Reconstructing a Medieval Library: Fragments from Lambach*, New Haven, CT, 1993; and L.F. Davis, *The Gottschalk Antiphony: Music and Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Lambach*, Cambridge 2000.

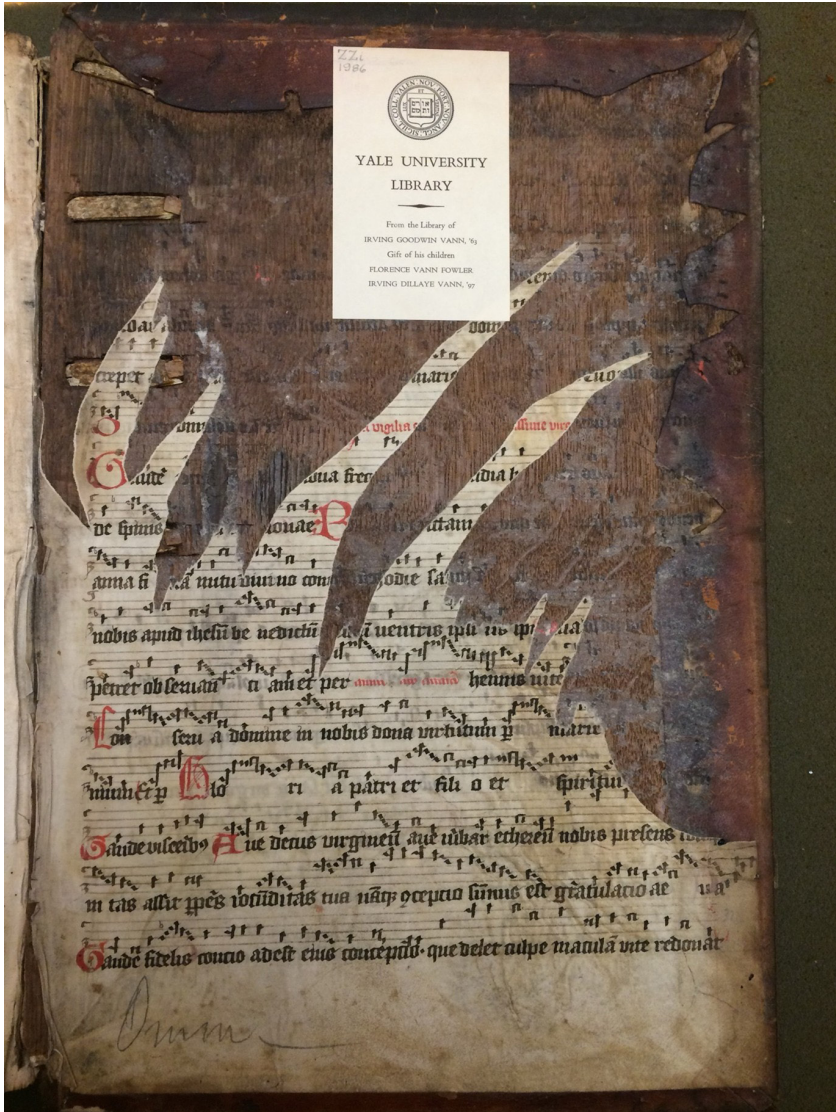


Figure 7: An antiphonal leaf used as a pastedown in ZZ1 1986, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. An attempt to remove the pastedown from the back board has shredded the parchment.

scribal and illumination techniques, and so many other localizable practices in premodern bookcrafts. In the context of binding fragments, binders often used bits of the same manuscript for multiple

Fragmentology VIII (2025)

volumes. In monastic binderies, an entire *codex discissus* might live on by its use in the bindings of dozens of other volumes, a fact which allows for the substantial reconstruction of that *codex discissus*. Indeed, this was the case for the abbey library at Lambach. Yet this kind of reconstructive study is more difficult in the US because of the eclectic nature of American institutional collections, the aleatory way that materials made their way across the Atlantic, and the shifting vagaries of the auction, rare book, and antiquarian markets that provide opportunities for the sale and acquisition of early books. At every change in custody, a book with in situ fragments might be rebound or repaired—such as replacing a partially lifted manuscript pastedown with a fresh paper one—to meet the needs and expectations of the market. In some cases, dealers themselves may have removed binding materials for their own purposes. The back board of ZZi 1986 testifies, it seems, to an attempt to remove a manuscript pastedown that was still well adhered to its host volume [Figure 7].

Collection-level binding surveys have been undertaken at the University of Notre Dame, the University of Texas at Austin, Harvard University, and the Library of Congress (ongoing). Aside from UT Austin, I am not aware of collection-level data about the results of these surveys.¹⁹ For this reason, the results of the Beinecke incunabula survey are a case study for the way in which they offer a large-scale overview of the incidence of in situ fragments in such a collection, and for how they might also suggest, in type and in number, the kinds of manuscript fragments to be found in other North American collections. The present article will serve, I hope, as an important first benchmark of the incidence rate of in situ manuscript binding material in North American incunabula collections, and it will be interesting to see how that benchmark will be adjusted as more binding surveys are completed and more data compiled.

As Husby's work suggests, other collections of early print materials—even on the campus of Yale University—deserve further attention. In 2017, in addition to the survey I conducted at the Beinecke Library, I also surveyed hundreds of incunabula in the Medical

19 M. Erwin, "Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts in Printed Books: Crowdsourcing and Cataloging Medieval Manuscript Waste in the Book Collection of the Harry Ransom Center", *Manuscripta* 60 (2016), 188–247. DOI: [10.24446/2wc6](https://doi.org/10.24446/2wc6)

Historical Library at the Cushing/Whitney Medical Library at Yale. Those 307 volumes included thirty-three volumes containing fragments from forty different original manuscripts, an incidence rate of binding waste of over 10% for the incunabula in that smaller collection. Hundreds of additional incunabula are held in the Yale Center for British Art and the Lillian Goldman Law Library. As I mentioned above, manuscript fragments were used in bindings across a wide chronological range, and so they might be found in any handmade bindings from the Middle Ages to the modern era. During work in the stacks of the Beinecke pulling volumes for this survey, I compiled an additional list of some forty volumes with binding waste visible on the outside of the volume, usually as a wrapper, of books printed in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. I have noted still others, contained within the bindings of medieval manuscript books. A catalogue search shows that the Beinecke Library holds at least 2,700 volumes printed in the sixteenth century, and 3,400 volumes printed in the seventeenth century that might be the object of a next phase of this survey. This is to say nothing of the more than 1,500 manuscripts held at the Beinecke. Where binding surveys have focused primarily on early print volumes, the systematic cataloguing of in situ binding material in medieval manuscripts themselves also needs to be part of the picture of binding practices, and may even provide points of continuity with the binding of incunabula and later print volumes. Binding surveys of all these types of materials across various collections will yield a great deal more information about binding practices and patterns. Indeed, in the course of a current grant project, my collaborators and I have encouraged partners to examine bindings in their collections. Partners have already identified more than 150 in situ binding fragments to date, with more certainly to come during the next three years of our work.²⁰

20 *The Peripheral Manuscripts Project* [<https://www.peripheralms.org>], PI: Elizabeth Hebbard; Co-PIs Michelle Dalmau (Indiana University Libraries) and Sarah Noonan (Saint Mary's College). This project was funded in a first phase by the Council on Library and Information Resources, and in its second phase, begun in September 2025, by the National Endowment of the Humanities. See, for example, a report on some binding fragments at our first-round partner, Xavier University: S. Noonan and A. Ryckbost, "The Manuscript Fragments of Xavier University", *Manuscript Studies* 8:2 (2023), 399–413.

Given the more than 19,000 incunabula currently in collections in North America, based on numbers self-reported by the institutions concerned, listed above, an incidence rate of books with in situ fragments of 8% still suggests more than 1,500 volumes containing binding fragments that remain to be identified and catalogued, and the *codices discissi* that those fragments represent, however many there may be, folded into our understanding of the medieval written record. Though data is not yet available on the incidence rate of in situ fragments within medieval manuscript codices, the survey of those volumes—which number more than 12,000 in North America—will certainly yield hundreds of additional examples. And of course, many of the single leaves and fragments in North American collections are ex situ binding fragments as well, either from host volumes in the same collection or from others. Every surviving off-set, then, represents the possibility of eventually reuniting binding material and host volume.

In their sheer numbers, these in situ fragments can shift the picture of the material landscape of the Middle Ages. They represent enormous research potential in liturgical studies, the history of libraries, our knowledge of bookbinding crafts, and in our understanding of the parchment trade. On this latter point, in situ fragments demonstrate the mobility of both manuscript and printed texts in the late medieval period. Volumes that house together printed bookblocks, binding techniques, and manuscript materials that originate in disparate geographic spaces are particularly suggestive of an economy of fragments and trade in parchment from discarded books. Moving beyond the analysis of individual volumes, more data on in situ and even ex situ fragments where they can be identified with their host volumes, will allow us to describe with more nuance how, why, and where manuscripts are recycled. It makes sense that, during the Reformation, we should see an increase in the number of liturgical manuscripts that get recycled within certain geographic parameters. It remains to be seen whether large scale in situ binding data will bear out this assumption. In the meantime, there are many more bindings to be examined and many more data points to be gathered therein.

Appendix: Babcock Binding Fragments Updates

The purpose of this appendix is to provide additional identifying information about the volumes identified in Babcock’s 1994 article, particularly the items’ Beinecke call numbers.

Two of the items mentioned in the article, however are not in the Beinecke collections. The copies of Girolamo Giganti, *Tractatus de crimine laesae maiestatis* and Marco Mantova Benevides’ *Enchiridion rerum singularium* that Babcock discusses are found in the Rare Book collection of the Lillian Goldman Law Library. At the time of Babcock’s article, the Law Library rare collections were on deposit at the Beinecke. They were moved in the late 1990s after a renovation at the Law Library included a dedicated rare book room and vault storage.

The Giganti volume remains as Babcock described. The Benevides volume only retains one fragment in situ; the other three have been removed and housed separately. The change of state of this volume was apparently due to damage it sustained during the 2003 bombing of the Yale Law School, which affected the library facilities and collections.²¹ I am indebted to Kathryn James for providing images of these two volumes as well as additional information about the Law Library collections.

Host Volume				Fragment		
Work	Printer	Year	Call number	Title	Dating	Comments
Girolamo Giganti, <i>Tractatus de crimine laesae maiestatis</i>	[none]	1557	Rare26 03-136	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>	First half of the 15 th c	
Marco Mantova Benevides, <i>Enchiridion rerum singularium</i>	ad signum Putei [Bartholomaeum Caesanum]	1551	Rare26 03-164	Priscian, <i>Institutiones grammaticae</i>	Mid-12 th c	Damaged in 2003; three of the four binding fragments are now housed separately

21 “Explosion at YLS”, *Yale Law Report*, 50:2 (2003): 7–11.

The other items mentioned in the article are given below:

Host Volume				Fragment		
Work	Printer	Year	Call number	Title	Dating	Comments
Urbano Bolzanio, <i>Grammaticae institutiones ad Graecam linguam</i>	Aldus Manutius	1560	Gb5 557Bb	Cicero, <i>De oratore</i> , c. 54 & 55	15 th c	Four parchment strips
<i>Lettere di principi</i> (in 3 vols.)	Giordano Ziletti	1575	Hd21 18L	Cicero, <i>De officiis</i>	15 th c	In four strips, with illuminated initial
Marc Antoine Muret, <i>Variarum lectionum libri VIII</i>	Giordano Ziletti	1559	Gr12 M942 A1 1559	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>	Mid-12 th c	The binding has since been removed and the manuscript fragments catalogued separately as 1993 1
Francesco Petrarca, <i>Sonetti et Canzoni</i>	Marcolini	1539	Hc53 41J	Livy, <i>Ab urbe condita</i>		Fragment contains text from the first Decade
Italian translation of Tacitus, <i>Le Historie Auguste di Cornelio Tacito novellamente fatte Italiane</i>	Vincenzo Vaugris	1544	Gnt1 ci544	Florus, <i>Epitome bellorum omnium</i>	14 th c	
Additional items mentioned in Babcock, "Manuscripts of Classical Authors", n. 7:						
<i>Rhetorica ad herennium</i> and Cicero, <i>De Oratore</i>	Aldus Manutius (Sammelband)	1569	Gnc60 a554b	Medical treatise	12 th c (?)	
Bernardo Segni, <i>Rettorica et poetica d'Aristotile tradotte di greco in lingua vulgare Fiorentina</i>	Bartholamio da Lodrone, Francesco Venetiano	1551	Gfa84 mi548B	Text on <i>amicitia</i>	15 th c	Fragment consists of strips

Research Note

Mise-en-page between Roman Egypt and Medieval Europe: The *Recette de Saint-Remi* and the Layout of an Early Greek Parchment Codex (P. Ant. 1 27)

Brent Nongbri, MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion, and
Society*

brent.nongbri@mf.no



Abstract: This article identifies a folium from an early Greek parchment codex (P. Ant. 1 27) that is arranged in a way that corresponds very closely to the layout prescribed by the medieval set of instructions known as the *Recette de Saint-Remi*. P. Ant. 1 27, probably produced in the late third or fourth century CE, would likely be the earliest surviving example of this layout.

Keywords: *Recette de Saint-Remi*, P. Ant. 1 27, layout, Antinoopolis

Introduction¹

In 1950, J. C. Dancy and Colin H. Roberts published an edition of a relatively well preserved parchment folium found during excavations of the garbage mounds of Antinoopolis in Egypt in the winter of 1913–1914.² The folium, P. Ant. 1 27, was once part of a codex containing works of Demosthenes that Roberts assigned on the basis

¹ Abbreviations for papyrological editions follow the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (<https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>).

² On the early twentieth century excavations at Antinoopolis, see J.d.M. Johnson, “*Antinoë and its Papyri: Excavation by the Graeco-Roman Branch, 1913–14*”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1 (1914), 168–181. See also the extensive photographic record and list of excavated artifacts published in E.R. O’Connell, “John de Monins Johnson 1913/14 Egypt Exploration Fund Expedition to Antinoupolis (Antinoë), with Appendix of Objects”, in *Antinoupolis II*, ed. R. Pin-taudi, Florence 2014, 415–466.

of its script to “the earlier part of the third century” CE.³ Dancy and Roberts described the appearance of the leaf in the following way:

A complete leaf of a parchment codex with two columns to the page, each column being carefully ruled at top, bottom and both sides. The outside margin measures 4 cm., that at the bottom 4.5 cm. and that at the top 3.1 cm., while the columns are separated by a space of 1.7 cm. The total effect is thus that of a spacious and well-proportioned page.⁴

And it is the proportions of this page that I would like to examine in this forum. The placement of the columns and the ratio of written areas to blank space very nearly approximate the proportions prescribed in a later medieval set of instructions for laying out codex pages. These “recipes” for page layouts have been discussed at length by Marilena Maniaci in a series of useful studies.⁵ In this instance, I would like to draw attention to the so-called *Recette de Saint-Remi*. This set of instructions is found on a folium now bound together with other unrelated manuscripts in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (=BnF), Latin 11884.⁶ The main text of the manuscript was

3 This folium is number 59621 in the Trismegistos database (<https://www.trismegistos.org/text/59621>).

4 C.H. Roberts, *The Antinoopolis Papyri, Part I*, London 1950, 64 and note the “Preface” on p. v for Dancy’s contributions. This folium contains *De Corona*, §§ 49–56. For additional palaeographic and codicological analysis of P. Ant. 1 27, see L. Sardone, “P. Ant. 1 27, tra i più antichi codici dell’orazione *Sulla Corona di Demostene*”, in *Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. M. Capasso, P. Davoli, and N. Pellé, Lecce 2022, vol. 2, 869–881 and L. Sardone, *I papiri del De corona di Demostene: Storia e critica del testo*, Bari 2021, 134–145.

5 M. Maniaci, “[Ricette di costruzione della pagina nei manoscritti greci e latini](#)”, *Scriptorium* 49 (1995), 16–41; M. Maniaci, “Costruzione e gestione dello spazio scritto fra Oriente e Occidente: principi generali e soluzioni specifiche”, in *Scrivere e leggere nell’alto medioevo*, Spoleto 2012, vol. 1, 473–514; and M. Maniaci, “[Ricette e canoni di impaginazione del libro medievale: Nuove osservazioni e verifiche](#)”, *Scrineum Rivista* 10 (2013), 1–48.

6 In the current binding, the recipe is found in the lower margin of f. 2v (image available online at Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10542292b>). The text was published by K. Hampe, “Reise nach Frankreich und Belgien im Frühjahr 1897 II”, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 23 (1898), 601–665, at 638–639.

copied in the late ninth century, while the instructions for laying out the page were written in a lower margin perhaps in the tenth century. P. Ant. 1 27, usually assigned to the third century CE, would be a very early instance of the layout prescribed in these instructions.

The Recette de Saint-Remi

Below I provide a transcription of the instructions and an English translation with explanations and calculations in brackets:⁷

Taliter debet fieri quaternionis forma: Quinta parte longitudinis, quarta latitudinis. Quintam partem da inferiori vel anteriori margini, et ipsam quintam partem divide in III et dabis II superiori, subtracta I. Rursus ipsas II partes divide in tres dabisque duas posteriori margini, subtrahendo unam. Huic compar erit, si media interfuerit. Lineas vero iuxta rationem scripturae divides, quia maior scriptura latioribus, minor autem strictioribus lineis indiget.

The layout of a quire should be made like this, a fifth part of the height being a fourth part of the width [i.e., height of page = 5 units, width of page = 4 units]. Give one-fifth to the lower and fore-edge margin [i.e. lower margin = 1 unit, outer margin = 1 unit] and divide the same fifth into three and give two to the upper margin, subtracting one [upper margin = $\frac{2}{3}$ of a unit]. Again, divide the same two parts into three [$\frac{2}{3} \div 3 = \frac{2}{9}$], and give two to the spinal margin [i.e., the inner margin], subtracting one [inner margin = $2 \times \frac{2}{9} = \frac{4}{9}$ of a unit]. It will be equal to this if an intercolumn is inserted [intercolumnar space = $\frac{4}{9}$ of a unit]. You will, however, divide the lines of writing according to the ratio of the writing, because larger writing requires wider lines, but smaller writing requires narrower lines.

In 1989, Denis Muzerelle produced a detailed study of these instructions and proposed an emendation to the formula, namely adjusting the inner margin (and the intercolumnar space) from $\frac{4}{9}$ of a unit to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a unit.⁸ This change results in a slightly smaller space for writing (each column is 1 unit wide, rather than $\frac{19}{18}$ units

⁷ My text follows that of Hampe.

⁸ D. Muzerelle, "Normes et recettes de mise en page dans le codex pré-carolingien", in *Les débuts du codex*, ed. A. Blanchard, Turnhout 1989, 125–156.

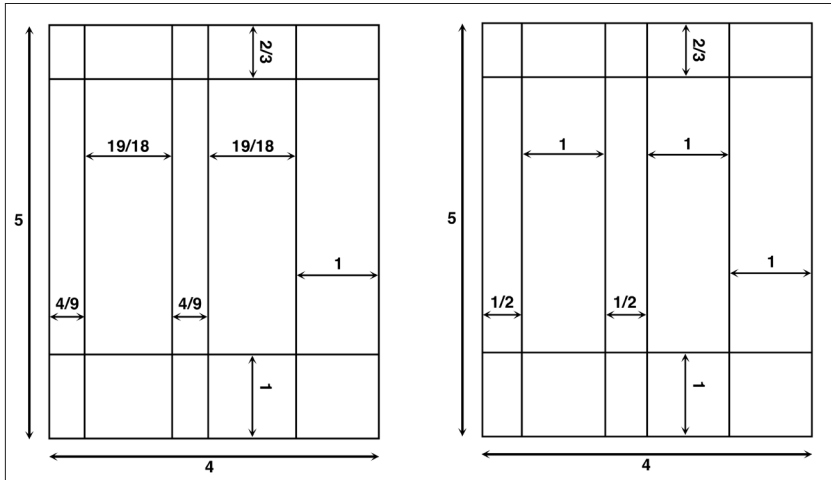


Figure 1: Layout of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* (left) and Muzerelle's emended layout (right)

wide) and produces an elegant set of ratios between the margins and written columns:

- outer margin to width of written column: 1:1
- lower margin to width of written column: 1:1
- inner margin to width of written column: 1:2
- upper margin to width of written column: 2:3

Muzerelle helpfully presented two diagrams, one derived directly from the instructions as written and one derived from his emended version of the text (see the slightly modified versions of these diagrams in [Figure 1]).

The emended version of the layout is highly appealing in its simplicity and has been adopted by subsequent scholarship.⁹ At the same time, however, examples that closely match all aspects of the layout prescribed in either the *Recette de Saint-Remi* or Muzerelle's emended version have not proven to be especially numerous. I would suggest that P. Ant. 127 may provide such an example.

9 In her 1995 publication, Maniaci characterized Muzerelle's proposal as "una brillante correzione" ("Ricette di costruzione", 26), but note the more reserved tone in 2013: "La correzione, necessaria, ma difficile da giustificare sul piano paleografico..." (Maniaci, "Ricette e canoni", 16, n. 39).

The Layout of P. Ant. 127

Highly precise measurements of P. Ant. 127 as it was originally produced are now somewhat difficult to obtain due to the heavy wrinkling and other damage to the folium, but reasonable approximations are possible.¹⁰ Dancy and Roberts reported a page width of 17.8 cm and a height of 23.1 cm. Eric Turner gave the same width but listed the height as 22 cm.¹¹ The measurement of the width seems basically correct in both cases (I find a maximum width now near the top of the leaf, of 17.6 cm). For the height, I measure a maximum in the intercolumnar space of 22.2 cm, closer to Turner's measurement than to that of Dancy and Roberts.¹²

For this manuscript, then, a "unit" (pars) in terms of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* would be about 4.4 cm (17.6 divided by 4) or 4.44 (22.2 divided by 5). And in fact the lower margin, which would be one pars in the *Recette*, measures between 4.4 and 4.5 cm. The maximum measurement of the inner margin I find to be 2.0 cm.¹³

-
- 10 Dancy and Roberts assert that the folium was reused: "At some later date the sheet was used for the binding of another book; the holes and the thread with which it was stitched are still visible" (Roberts, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, 64). This scenario seems unlikely to me. The holes and thread that they mention are not consistent with reuse in a binding, which generally involves the use of paste and/or major and obvious trimming. The threads in P. Ant. 127, which weave back and forth across the top and middle of the folium, look more like a crude reinforcement or repair, possibly related to the deep ruling cuts in the folium.
 - 11 E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia 1977, 27 and 104.
 - 12 Sardone reports the same dimensions as Turner. I am uncertain how Dancy and Roberts obtained their vertical measurement. Parchment may shrink over time in some environments, but it seems odd for only one dimension to be affected.
 - 13 In light of the fact the *Recette de Saint-Remi* does not provide specific instructions for the spacing of individual lines of text, it is perhaps also noteworthy that the only ruling lines on P. Ant. 127 are those that define the writing columns and margins. The individual lines of text are not ruled. It is then not so surprising to find different numbers of lines of text on either side of the folium: 28 lines in the columns on the recto but only 27 lines in the columns on the verso. As Sardone noted, the ruling pattern is V 00A2 in H. Sautel and J. Leroy, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin*, Turnhout 1995, 256.

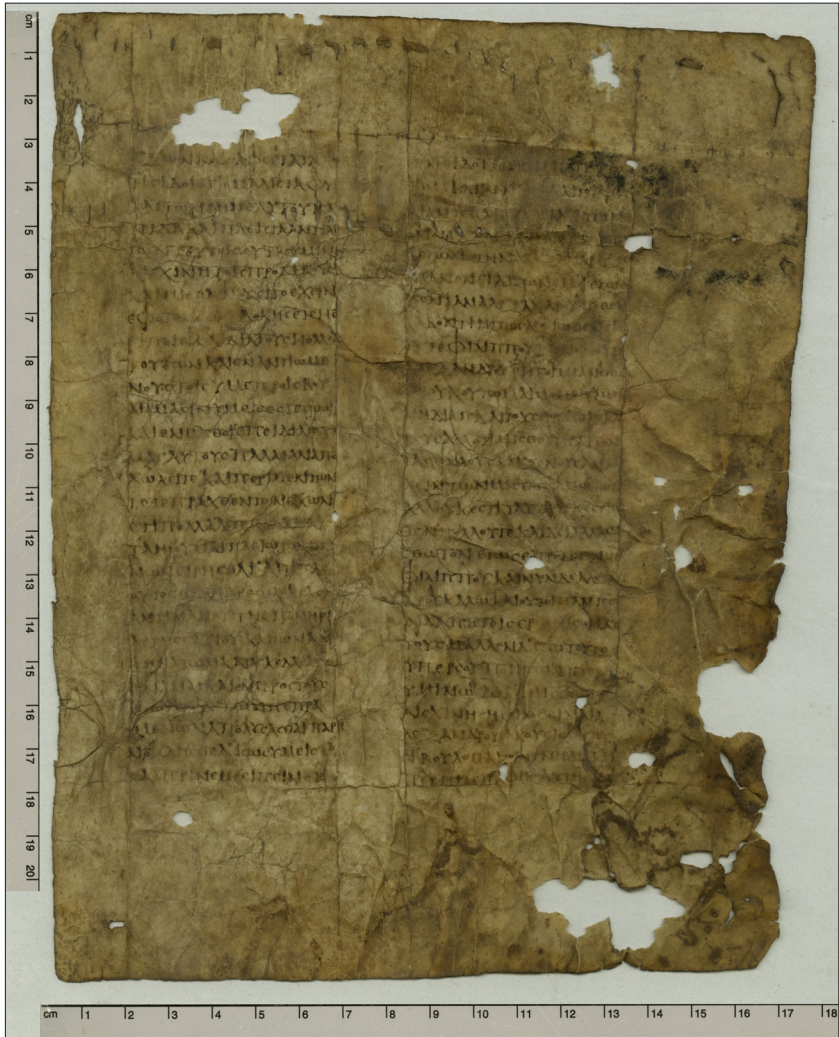


Figure 2: P. Ant. 127 with cm scales; image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society (© Egypt Exploration Society)

Indeed, the overall appearance of the folium certainly evokes the layout of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* [Figure 2]. It is an interesting exercise to superimpose both the layout of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* and Muzerelle's emended layout on P. Ant. 127 [Figure 3].

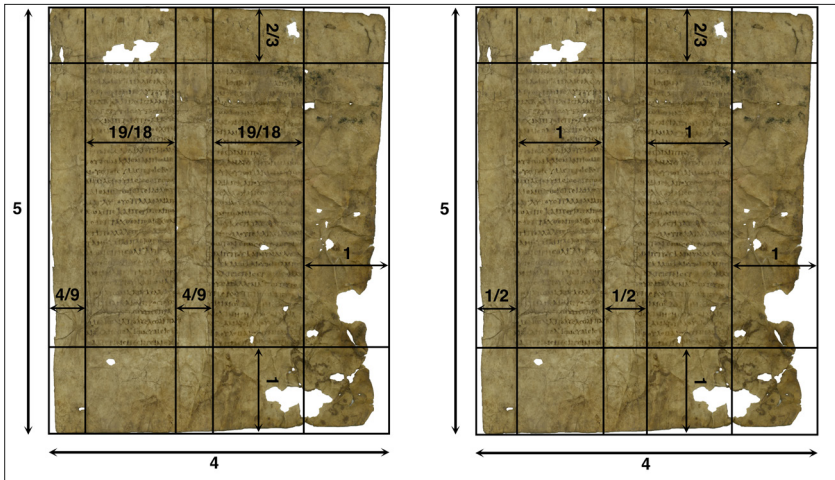


Figure 3: P. Ant. 1.27 with the *Recette de Saint-Remi* (left) and with Muzerelle's emended layout (right)

While both layouts provide a good overall fit for the upper, lower, and outer margins of P. Ant. 127, the positioning of the written columns in P. Ant. 127 is actually closer to what is prescribed in the *Recette de Saint-Remi*. Muzerelle's emendation puts the left column slightly out of alignment and the right column even further out of alignment. In any event, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the bookmaker who laid out P. Ant. 127 sought to achieve an aesthetic very similar, if not identical, to what is prescribed in the *Recette de Saint-Remi*.¹⁴

The degree of proximity between the layout of P. Ant. 127 and the layout prescribed by the *Recette de Saint-Remi* can be appreciated by carrying out a similar exercise with one of the layouts that Muzerelle identified from among his corpus at the Bibliothèque nationale as

¹⁴ Any single aspect of the layout might be a coincidental similarity: the 4:5 width-to-height ratio, the 3:2 lower-margin-to-upper-margin ratio, the 1:1 lower-margin-to-outer-margin ration, etc. But the simultaneous presence of all of the similarities seems to rule out simple coincidence. The proportions of P. Ant. 127 seem deliberate. It is of course possible that the edges of P. Ant. 127 have been trimmed down at some point, but if so, the trimming was shockingly fortuitous.

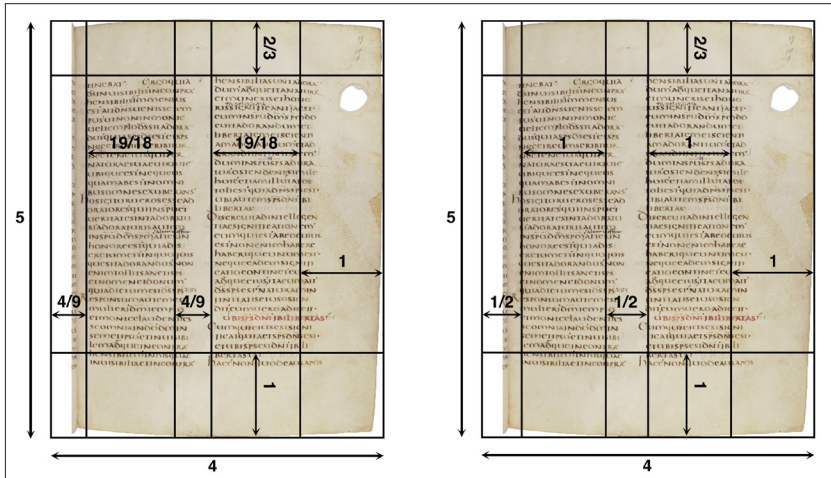


Figure 4: Paris, BnF, Latin 8907, f. 15r (gallica.bnf.fr), with the *Recette de Saint-Remi* (left) and with Muzerelle's emended layout (right)

being closest to that of the *Recette de Saint-Remi*, CLA 5 572, a codex containing Latin patristic literature usually assigned to the fifth century (Paris, BnF, Latin 8907 [Figure 4], and take into consideration the distortion caused by the curve of the open codex and the partial loss of the inner margin of the page in the gutter).

Muzerelle is certainly correct to say that the layout of BnF, Latin 8907 shows some relation to the layout prescribed in the *Recette*, but there are differences. The ratio of the upper and lower margin is different, and the right edges of the written columns are not justified. It is clear that the proportions of the margins of P. Ant. 1 27 more closely match the layout in the *Recette*. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to note that the non-emended version of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* instructions appear again to be slightly a better “fit” for the horizontal orientation of the written columns of BnF, Latin 8907, just as it is for P. Ant. 1 27. It could be the case that Muzerelle's emendation, despite its undeniably appealing simplicity, may not be necessary after all.¹⁵

¹⁵ A sample of two is of course hardly conclusive. Much more data would be needed to reach a firm decision about the necessity of Muzerelle's proposed correction.

Muzerelle had already noted that the *Recette de Saint-Remi* seemed to have a closer association with codices from a much earlier period than the ninth-century manuscript in which the instructions are found:

Specialists generally agree, based on the general appearance of the page that it produces, that [the *Recette de Saint-Remi*] could not be applied to manuscripts contemporary with the date when it was copied. The relatively wide format of the page, the size of the margins, and the narrowness of the columns irresistibly evoke what has come down to us from Late Antiquity.¹⁶

Examples like BnF, Latin 8907 show that something like this layout was in use at least as early as the latter part of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth century.¹⁷ Just how far back does P. Ant. 127 push the evidence for this kind of layout?

The Date of P. Ant. 127

The difficulty, as always when it comes to the earliest codices, is that we cannot be certain about the exact date when this folium was produced.¹⁸ As noted above, Roberts assigned the codex to the third century on the basis of palaeography, with comparison to

¹⁶ Muzerelle, “Normes et recettes”, 128: “Les spécialistes sont généralement d’accord pour estimer, d’après l’allure générale de la page qu’elle permet d’obtenir, qu’elle ne saurait s’appliquer aux manuscrits contemporains de la date où elle a été notée. Le format relativement large de la page, l’importance des marges, l’étroitesse des colonnes évoquent irrésistiblement ce qui nous est parvenu de la basse Antiquité”.

¹⁷ The dating of this codex has vacillated somewhat but generally remained in the range of the fifth century. In *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (=CLA), vol. 5, Oxford 1950, E.A. Lowe assigned BnF, Latin 8907 to the end of the fifth century. In CLA, vol. 6 published three years later, he revised the date to the first half of the fifth century (preface, p. x). The question was revisited again by Paola Supino Martini, who concluded that the uncial of BnF, Latin 8907 “possa assegnarsi a non prima della fine del secolo v e, più probabilmente, agli inizi del vi”. See Supino Martini’s review of R. Gryson and L. Gilissen, *Les scolies ariennes du Parisinus latinus 8907*, Turnhout 1980 in *Il Bibliotecario* 6 (1985), 111–113.

¹⁸ On the challenges of palaeographic dating of Greek writing in the Roman era, see B. Nongbri, *God’s Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts*, New Haven 2018, 47–82.

one relatively datable piece and two undated pieces.¹⁹ Eric Turner seemed to hesitate about this assignment, on one occasion describing P. Ant. 127 as “dubiously III” in a context that makes clear he was open to a later date.²⁰ Lorenzo Sardone, however, assigned the hand of P. Ant. 127 to the “pre-canonization” period of the development of the Alexandrian Majuscule and pushed for a date range including the latter part of the second century with the early third century as a *terminus ante quem*. He proposed no fewer than a dozen manuscripts for palaeographic comparison of different letters in P. Ant. 127. Of these many examples, however, only two of the manuscripts are datable by some means more objective than palaeography, and none of the twelve manuscripts are especially compelling comparanda.²¹

19 The relatively datable piece that Roberts adduced as a parallel for the script of P. Ant. 127 was P. Marm. 1 (Pap. Vat. gr. 11), a copy of an oration of Favorinus written on the back side of a roll of papyrus documents of the late second century. A stray dating formula in a different hand (the twenty-third year of Caracalla) appears in the middle of the oration, and the oration seems to have been copied in a way that intentionally avoids overlapping this formula, which may indicate a date for copying the Favorinus not long after 215 CE (image online at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pap_Vat_gr_11). The two palaeographically dated pieces Roberts mentioned were BKT 9 58 (P. Berol. inv. 11910), a copy of the *Iliad*, the back side of which is said to have been reused for a document, but, to the best of my knowledge, no information about that document has been published (image online at <https://berlpap.smb.museum/03391/?lang=en>), and P. Ryl. 3 489, a leaf of a papyrus codex containing works of Lysias (image online at <https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/6onic1>). Roberts also referred to an interlinear correction of five letters written in what he described as “a slanting hand often found in documents of the earlier part of the third century,” but the letter forms are entirely generic in character and also found in later periods.

20 E. G. Turner, “Towards a Typology of the Early Codex (3rd–6th Centuries A.D.),” in *La paléographie hébraïque médiévale*, ed. J. Glénisson and C. Sirat, Paris 1974, 137–152, at 150. The evidence for Turner’s view is mixed in *The Typology of the Early Codex*. On pp. 39, 42, and 94 Turner appears to consider P. Ant. 127 as a codex of the third century. Yet on pp. 27 and 104, the date appears as “III?”, indicating some lingering hesitation.

21 See Sardone, “P. Ant. I 27,” 872–875 and Sardone, *I papiri del De corona di Demosthene*, 136. The securely dated manuscripts cited by Sardone are P. Fay. 1 87 (155 CE) and P. Oxy. 3 473 (138–160 CE). Sardone’s appeals to palaeographic parallels in manuscripts that have themselves been dated only by palaeographic comparison demonstrates the drawbacks of this practice; in both studies mentioned here, Sardone cites the Chester Beatty codex of the Pauline epistles,

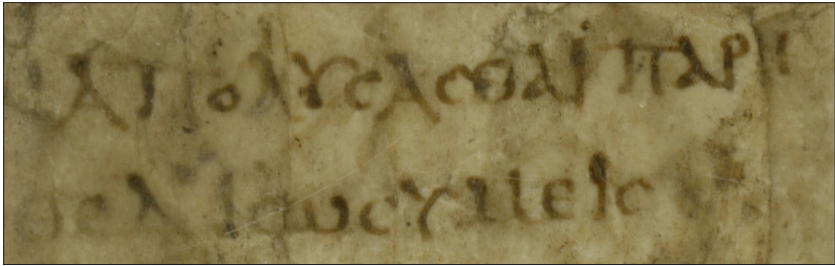


Figure 5: Script of P. Ant. 127; image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society (© Egypt Exploration Society)

The hand of P. Ant. 127 defies easy classification into any of the generally accepted “styles” of Greek literary writing of the Roman era. It is true that some of the letter forms (mu, occasionally nu, upsilon, and chi) resemble forms typical of the Alexandrian Majuscule, but the overall appearance of the script does not support the thesis of a direct relationship with the Alexandrian Majuscule. The variation in size between the round letters (small epsilon, theta, and sigma; extremely small omicron that often floats midway between the upper and lower notional lines) and the letters with vertical strokes (tall pi, tall mu, tall nu, tall iota), combined with periodic occurrence of a curiously formed alpha with three strokes, leaves an overall impression of awkwardness [Figure 5].

I confess that I am at a loss to provide a fully convincing securely dated parallel for this script, but I am hesitant to push the codex back to the second century. Two main reasons lead to this caution. First, the overall profile of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew material excavated during Johnson’s 1913–1914 campaign at Antinoopolis does

once citing it as a product of the second century and once citing it as third century. And indeed others have proposed a date range for this codex that extends into the fourth century. See S.R. Pickering, “The Dating of the Chester Beatty-Michigan Codex of the Pauline Epistles (P46),” in *Ancient History in a Modern University*, ed. T.W. Hillard et al., Grand Rapids 1998, vol. 2, 216–227. The words of Peter Parsons cannot be repeated frequently enough: Using a manuscript dated only on the basis of palaeography to assign a palaeographic date to another undated manuscript results in “jelly propped up with jelly.” See P. J. Parsons, [review](#) of G. Cavallo, *Libri scritte scribi a Ercolano*, Naples 1983 in *Classical Review* 39 (1989), 358–360, at 360.

not favor a date in the second century.²² Of the roughly 200 Greek and Latin pieces published from Johnson's excavations, there is precious little that is datable with certainty to the period before the third century CE.²³ The bulk of the material (94 %) has been assigned to dates between the third century and the seventh century. Second, a more specific find context of P. Ant. 1 27 can be identified, and it points to a relatively late date of deposition. Johnson mentioned that his team spent twelve days excavating mound N (in the eastern part of the city, near the temple of Isis) and noted that "the recovery of several papyri from the lower strata dated in the reign of Flavius Justinus was sufficient indication of the lateness of the accumulations."²⁴ A

22 To the best of my knowledge, the majority of the Coptic material from Johnson's excavations remains unpublished.

23 The Greek, Latin, and Hebrew manuscripts from Johnson's excavation have been published chiefly in the three volumes of the *The Antinoopolis Papyri* series. In the preface to the first volume in that series, Roberts notes the bibliographic details of nine pieces published in other venues. Roberts' reference to Johnson, "A Botanical Papyrus", is an error; the Antinoopolis botanical fragments were published by C. Singer, "[The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission to Later Ages](#)", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 (1927), 1–52, at 31–33. Of the fourteen excavated documents with a precise date, only 7% are from the second century (that is, one document, P. Ant. 3 187, copied in 198 CE). Otherwise, there are three precisely dated documents from the third century, eight from the fourth century, one from the fifth century, and one from the sixth century. Among the pieces that have been assigned dates based on palaeography or contents (in the case of documents), the breakdown is as follows (pieces described in the editions as borderline—"second-third century," etc.—have been divided by two and distributed to the counts for each of the relevant centuries): second century: 11; third century: 43; fourth century: 44; fifth century: 27; sixth century: 52; seventh century: 15. In this instance about 6% of the pieces are assigned to the second century. This latter count is of course open to revision. Two examples: A glossary to the *Iliad* (P. Ant. 3 150) has recently been re-assigned from the late second century or early third century CE to the late first century BCE or early first century CE; see D. Colomo, "Glossary to *Odyssey* VIII in a New Papyrus fragment from the Leipzig Papyrus- und Ostrakasammlung", in *Approaches to Greek Poetry*, ed. M. Ercoles et al., Berlin 2018, 61–79, esp. 74–75. On the other hand, P. Ant. 1 12, a fragmentary parchment folium containing 2 John, has been reassigned from the third century to the fifth century CE; see G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800*, London 1987, 22–23. Such changes will likely balance out across the corpus.

24 Johnson, "Antinoë and its Papyri", 177.

sixth-century *terminus post quem* for the lower part of the mound is thus established. It is worth quoting his description of the finds in the mound at length [with publication numbers added in brackets when they can be identified with confidence]:

In quantity Greek fell much below Coptic, and though some eighteen tin boxes were filled in all, the percentage of the useful was very low, a fact due to the broken state of the papyrus and the corrosive action of the sherds on the ink. Numerous scraps of vellum were obtained, including a fragment of Xenophon's Symposium [P. Ant. 1 26], and in a complete leaf of four columns, crumpled into a dry ball, mentions of Philip, Alexander and Aeschines could be seen [P. Ant. 1 27]. Among other literary or semi-literary finds here may be mentioned a page of a grammar somewhat similar to that already described, a charm (therapeutic magic), and a delightful illustration in colour, strangely modern in colour and feeling, in which stand a group of boys, one of them with a whip, in the picturesque dress of the time [the Antinoopolis Charioteers papyrus]. A fragment of Hebrew on brown leather attested the presence of the Jewish element [P. Ant. 1 49 and 1 50]. The documentary side was mainly unofficial and included a roll with an account of the incomings and outgoings of corn in certain τόποι [P. Ant. 3 190] and several letters.²⁵

The "complete leaf of four columns" that mentions Philip, Alexander, and Aeschines can be nothing other than our folium of Demosthenes' *De corona*. Some of the other materials from the mound are potentially informative. The papyri of the age of Justinian found at the bottom of the mound probably included P. Ant. 1 42 (542 CE), which mentions Justinian by name. P. Ant. 3 190 is a document assignable on the basis of its contents to the sixth or seventh century. Johnson's overall assessment of the material from this mound was that it dated from the late fourth century through the sixth century.²⁶ The excavation report also adds another element

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ See S.J. Gasiorowski, "[A Fragment of a Greek Illustrated Papyrus from Antinoë](#)", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (1931), 1–9, at 1: "This fragment [the Antinoopolis Charioteers] was discovered by Dr. Johnson in 1914 among a number of late papyri in a mound at Antinoë. He tells me that the material which came out of this rubbish mound ran from late fourth century onwards to sixth."

to the discussion: The earlier manuscripts found during this campaign—second century and third century—came mostly from a different mound, G, located half a kilometer south of N.²⁷ If our folium of Demosthenes was found in a mound with a *terminus post quem* in the sixth century for deposition, and which consisted of material mostly produced in the late fourth century through the sixth century, we should probably be reluctant to assign the production of P. Ant. 127 to an extremely early period. We may nevertheless imagine that a nicely laid out parchment codex such as this had a fairly long useful life before being discarded. A date of production in the late third or fourth century for P. Ant. 127 would be more in keeping with the general profile of this excavated material and would not, I think, run far afoul of the ambiguous palaeographic evidence. The script simply does not allow for the production of the codex to be restricted within a narrow range of dates. Even with this wider and more realistic range of possible dates, P. Ant. 127 still would move the evidence for this kind of layout back by at least a century, and perhaps more.

Conclusions

That the exact aesthetic of the *Recette de Saint-Remi* is attested so early in the history of the codex format is in itself intriguing and invites further investigation. It could prove illuminating to revisit the remains of early papyrus and parchment codices found in Egypt with a focus on questions of layout to see more exactly what forms of continuity might exist between the Egyptian papyrological corpus and the later medieval European productions.²⁸ As we have seen, the study of this material does present certain challenges. The dating

27 Johnson, “Antinoë and its Papyri”, 180: “Although the whole area [of the 1913–1914 excavation] seems to have been inhabited from the earlier days of its foundation, only at G did the strata of this period retain the properties which might have conserved papyri; elsewhere they had coagulated into a hard and concrete-like mass which was fatal to our quest”.

28 There have been preliminary attempts at this kind of study. See, for instance, R. Marichal, “Du volumen au codex”, in *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, ed. H.-J. Martin and J. Vezin, Paris 1990, 45–54; G. Menci, “L’impaginazione nel rotolo e nel codice: alcune note”, in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, ed. B. Kramer et al., Stuttgart 1997, vol. 2, 682–690;

of early papyrus and parchment codices is a fraught enterprise—no dated colophons can ground the comparative palaeographic exercise; other objective criteria for dating are rare.²⁹ In addition, the material remains from Egypt are often highly fragmentary and fail to supply the relevant measurements and dimensions. Nevertheless, I am convinced that a disciplined investigation could still potentially generate useful insights.³⁰

and several of the essays collected in N. Pellé (ed.), *Spazio scritto e spazio non scritto nel libro papiraceo*, Lecce 2017.

- 29 See the discussion in B. Nongbri, “[Palaeographic Analysis of Codices from the Early Christian Period: A Point of Method](#)”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 42 (2019), 84–97.
- 30 Acknowledgements: I am grateful to W. Benjamin Henry for facilitating access to P. Ant. 1 27 and other Antinoopolis materials. Thanks also to Mary Jane Cuyler, AnneMarie Luijendijk, and the journal’s anonymous reviewers for helping me to refine the argument and sharpen several points. Support for the research presented here comes from the Research Council of Norway, project number 314240, *The Early History of the Codex: A New Methodology and Ethics for Manuscript Studies* (EthiCodex), 2021–2026.

Research Note

Membra disiecta and the Dispersion of an Eighth-Century Codex in Rhaetian Script

Marina Bernasconi Reusser, Lugano, Biblioteca Salita dei Frati,
Centro di competenza per il libro antico

bernasconi.marina@bluewin.ch



Abstract: From the fragment collection of the Kantonsbibliothek Frauenfeld (CH) comes the discovery of two new leaves from a codex written in Rhaetian script in the final quarter of the eighth century. Until now, this codex was known through 9 leaves held in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, 18 in the Benediktinerkollegium at Sarnen, and part of a leaf in the Kantonsbibliothek of Solothurn. The article establishes as precisely as possible the appearance (dimensions, layout, etc.) and the composition of the original codex, and presents some hypotheses on when and where the codex was dismantled and the basis for the geographical dispersal of the leaves.

Keywords: Rhaetian minuscule, Swiss manuscripts, Muri, Eppis-
hausen

There are very few whole codices copied in Rhaetian minuscule, a pre-Caroline script that appeared in the Rhaetian area around the second half/final third of the eighth century before disappearing, being replaced by Caroline minuscule.¹ In the latest census of this

1 On the Rhaetian minuscule, see A. Bruckner, *Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica I: Schreibschulen der Diözese Chur*, Geneva 1935; B. Bischoff, "Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls der Grossen", in *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 2, ed. W. Braunfeld, Düsseldorf 1965, 244–45 (reprinted in *Mittelalterliche Studien* III, Stuttgart 1981, 5–38); A. von Euw, *Liber Viventium Fabariensis. Das karolingische Memorialbuch von Pfäfers in seiner liturgie- und kunstgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (Studia Fabariensia 1), Bern 1989, 59–76. For a more recent overview of the history of the characterisation, naming and spread of this script, see P. Erhart, "Die churrätische Minuskel", in *Mensch und Schrift im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. P. Erhart and L. Hollenstein, St. Gall 2006, 140–147; P. Erhart, "... a vice magistri mei Andreas: Von der Schreibschule zum Skriptorium im frühmittelalterlichen Rätien",

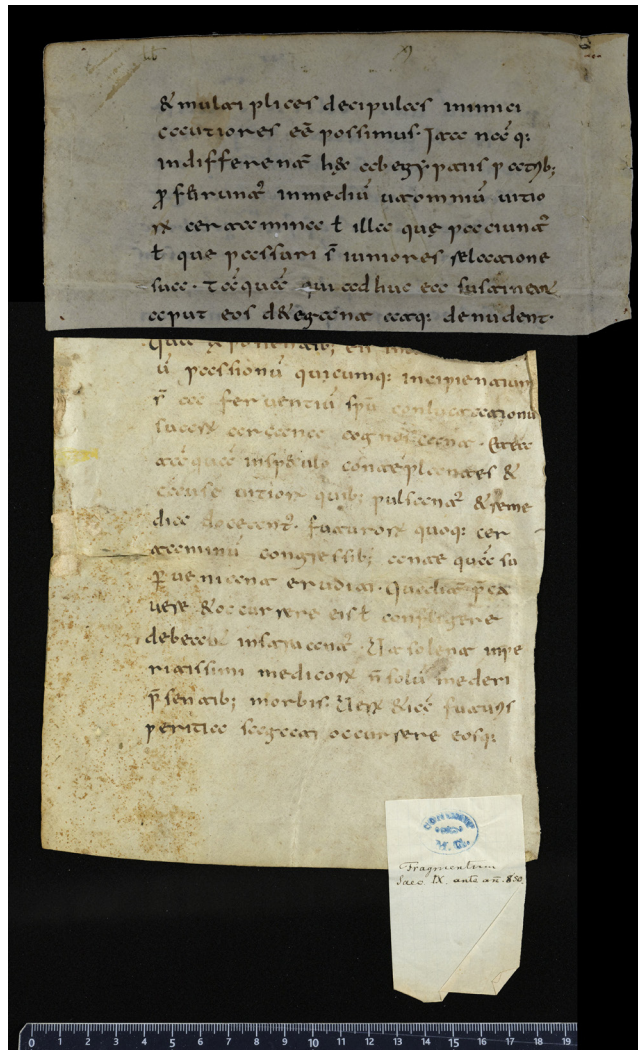
type of script, published in 2008, Marlis Stähli listed ca. 160 whole and fragmentary manuscript witnesses.²

To this list can now be added two leaves, hitherto unknown, that are kept in the Kantonsbibliothek Thurgau in Frauenfeld (henceforth Fr) [[F-tqf8](#) and [F-zilv](#)], which can be connected to others that have been known for some time.³ The original codex from which these two leaves come contained John Cassian's *De institutis coenobiorum*. One of the first scholars to specify the characteristic attributes of Rhaetian minuscule, Elias Lowe in the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*⁴ had already signalled the known fragments of this codex, linked them together, and dated them to the end of the eighth century. Nine leaves are kept in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart (St)⁵ [[F-pp5u](#)], 18 belong to the Benediktinerkollegium of Sarnen (Sa)⁶ [[F-asxq](#)] and the upper part of a leaf is held in the Kantonsbibliothek of Solothurn (So)⁷ [[F-offk](#)] [Figure 1].

in *Schrift, Schriftgebrauch und Textsorten im frühmittelalterlichen Churrätien*, ed. H. Eisenhut, K. Fuchs, H. Graf, and H. Steiner, Basel 2008, 264–287; J. Ackermann, “Fragmente frühmittelalterlicher Handschriften im Kloster Münstair”, in *Schrift, Schriftgebrauch*, 294–307; P. Erhart and B. Zeller, “Rätien und Alemannien. Schriftformen im Vergleich”, in *Wandel und Konstanz zwischen Bodensee und Lombardei zur Zeit Karls des Grossen. Kloster St. Johann in Münstair und Churrätien*, ed. H.R. Sennhauser, Zurich 2013, 299–318.

- 2 M. Stähli, “Handschriften, die im Zusammenhang mit der rätischen Minuskel genannt werden”, in *Schrift, Schriftgebrauch*, 314–386. To this list can be added a fragment of a lectionary detached from a binding and preserved in Zürich, Landesmuseum, LM 2799, published on [e-codices](#).
- 3 I identified the two leaves during my survey of the fragments preserved at the Kantonsbibliothek in Frauenfeld in 2024.
- 4 E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 12 vols., Oxford 1934–1971 (=CLA), vol. 7, n° 1023 and vol. 8, n° 1179.
- 5 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Don. B III 13. Description on [Fragmentarium](#); the images come from the library's [website](#).
- 6 Sarnen, Benediktinerkollegium, Frag 1.6. Description on [Fragmentarium](#). Since 2016, the monastery's manuscripts have been stored at the Obwalden Kantonsarchiv in Sarnen, see A. Holenstein, *Handbuch der schweizer Klosterbibliotheken / Répertoire des bibliothèques conventuelles de Suisse / Repertorio delle biblioteche degli ordini religiosi in Svizzera*, Basel 2022, 344–353, esp. 344. I would like to thank Fr. Beda Szukics and the archive for providing me with the images.
- 7 Solothurn, Kantonsbibliothek, S I 853, A.1. Description on [Fragmentarium](#). I would like to thank Dr Ian Holt for the fruitful discussions and for providing me with the images.

Figure 1: [F-f24y]
 Sarnen, Benediktiner-
 kollegium, Frag I,6, f. 6r
 (bottom); Solothurn,
 Kantonsbibliothek, S I
 853, A.1 (top)



The study of the whole group of fragments and their publication on *Fragmentarium*, individually and as a virtual reconstruction [F-f24y], facilitate the reconstruction of the original appearance of the codex, the development of the history of its fragmentation, and the establishment of the geographical area of its dispersal, in which other pieces of the manuscript might be found, probably still in situ in the bindings of printed books.

Codicological reconstruction

The parchment codex was written in a single column with pages measuring at least 300 × 205 mm.⁸ The current appearance of the parchment is partly compromised by traces of reuse, but the notable distinction between the flesh and hair sides can still be seen, and hence the observance of Gregory's Rule. On the whole, the parchment seems to have been of good quality with regards to its working; indeed there are only a few holes present, consigned to the margins, and a few natural edges [St 1, 2; Sa 16]. Pricking is visible in the outside margin,⁹ and the pages are blind ruled with a double vertical line in the outside margin. The script—21–23 lines per page—appears above the top line; the written area measures 200 × 130–140 mm and the line height is 10–11 mm. Probably owing to reuse, on some pages the script is faded.¹⁰ The gatherings are numbered on the verso of the last leaf with Roman numerals in the center of the lower margin, as can be concluded by the number XXVII or XXVIII that is still visible on Sa, f. 18v. This numbering appears on the hair side of the leaf, leading to the supposition that the gatherings began with the hair side outwards.

The script presents the chief characteristics typical of Rhaetian minuscule,¹¹ including above all the open *a* (like a *c-c* ligature) and the uncial *a*, the *t* with the upper stroke to the left bent towards the bottom, touching the shaft and forming a loop. The *g* appears in two forms, with the upper loop closed and open, like a 3; the *d* with a straight ascender that alternates with a *d* with a bent ascender (uncial form). The chief ligatures present are *et*, *re*, *et ri*. Even a superficial examination of the script reveals the presence of at least two copyists: the first, present in Fr and St, uses almost exclusively the *a* in the form of *c-c*; the second, in Sa, has a more pronounced stroke, and uses more often the minuscule *a* and the *g* in the shape

8 For codicological data on individual fragments and related bibliography, see the relevant entries in *Fragmentarium*.

9 Lowe, CLA 8, n° 1179: "Ruling apparently after folding, as prickings are seen in both margins".

10 St 4r/v, 5v, 9r; Sa 1v, 2r, 3v, 4r, 7r, 10r, 13v.

11 See the bibliography mentioned in note 1.

of a 3; the two are further distinguished in how they produce the *et* ligature.¹²

Rarely, marginal additions (Sa 7r) and interlinear corrections (Sa 5r) appear in the copyist's hand, or by a later scribe (Sa 1v, 7r).

Roman numerals placed between two dots mark¹³ the beginnings of chapters and are placed in the margin next to the initial or at the end of the preceding chapter.

In the upper margin of various leaves, a fifteenth-century cursive has indicated the number of the book on the verso and on the recto, the contents in an abbreviated form. Given that these additions appear on at least one fragment from each collection,¹⁴ we deduce that the manuscript was still intact at the time.

In addition to the numbering in Roman numerals, the individual chapters are introduced by a black, majuscule initial, two or three lines high, filled with red ink,¹⁵ or with its outline highlighted by red dots.¹⁶ The only larger initial, a six-line-high Q, introduces book IX (St 1r): it is drawn with black ink; the vertical shaft and the wider part of the bow are filled with orange-yellow lacework. The shaft itself ends at the bottom with scrolls that expand into the inside margin of the codex and which suggest a human or dog's head [Figure 2].¹⁷

12 Compare the ligature *et* of copyist 1 in St 1v l. 7 *nocet* and that of copyist 2 in Sa 6 1r l. 3 *et*.

13 The only exception is on St 9v: "xx.i."

14 Fr 3, 1v: *Lib(er)* vii(?); Sa: 1r, 2r: *De accidia*; 3v: *Lib(er)*; 4r: illegible; 5v: *Lib(er)* xi; 7v: *Lib(er)* xii; 8r: *De sup(er)bia*; 10v: *Lib(er)* xii; 11v: *Lib(er)* xii; 12r: *De sup(er)bia*; 13r: *De sup(er)bia*; 15v: *Lib(er)* xii; 17r: *De sup(er)bia*; St: 1v, 3v: *Lib(er)* 9(us); 5r: *De ira*.

15 Sa 2r, 14v; St 5v, 7r, 7v.

16 Fr 2 1v; Fr 3 1v; Sa 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r, 5v, 6v, 7v, 9v, 12v, 15v, 16v, 17r; St 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 5r, 6v, 7r, 8r, 8v, 9v. In some initials, the red colour appears silver, perhaps due to oxidisation: Sa 4r, 5r, 11r, 12r, 15v, 17r, 18r.

17 Initials of the same type are found in other codices from the Rhaetian area: A. von Euw, "Die Initialornamentik des Liber Viventium" in von Euw, *Liber viventium fabariensis*, 77–105, e.g., 70 figs. 12–19 and K. Holter, "Der Buchschmuck in Süddeutschland und Oberitalien", in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. W. Braunsfels, Düsseldorf 1966, vö. 3, 74–114, at 95–96.

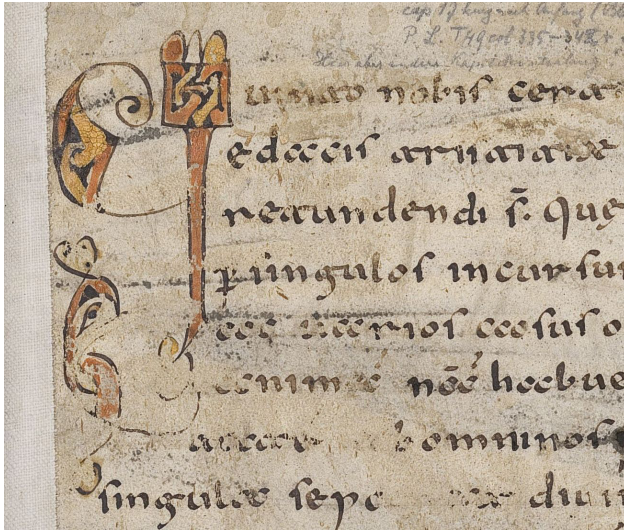


Figure 2: [E-pp5u]: Initial Q (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Don. B III 13, II, detail)

Content

The fragments contain parts of books VII–XII: Fr lib. VII, c. 7–10, St lib. VIII, c. 8–18, 20–21; Sa lib. X, c. 7, 12–14, 16–18, lib. XI, c. 8–11, 16, 17, lib. XII, c. 3–4, 8–11, 14–24, 26–27.¹⁸ A comparison with the edition reveals that the original manuscript contained around 230 leaves, corresponding to 29 quaternions.¹⁹

Reuse

From the original manuscript survive for the most part single leaves, but also a few bifolia²⁰, and, to a lesser degree, parts of leaves.²¹ Traces of a central fold²² or folds that run along the margins to create turn-ins²³ indicate that the leaves were most likely

¹⁸ M. Petschenig and G. Kreuz, *Johannis Cassiani opera* (CSEL 17), Vienna 2004.

¹⁹ The text copied onto each sheet corresponds roughly to one page of the edition, which comprises 229 pages. Confirming the hypothesis of 29 quaternions, the text ending on the gathering numbered XXVIII (more probable than XXVII) contains chapters 26–27 of the 33 that make up book XII.

²⁰ St 1/2, 4/8, 6/7.

²¹ Sa 1, 7, 10, 13 and 14 forming a whole leaf, and 6 forming a leaf with So.

²² E.g., St 8; Sa 3, 4, 5, 8, 9; Fr 3 with traces on the spine of the volume.

²³ E.g., St 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9; Sa 7, 11.

used as pastedowns and flyleaves, while the absence of labels with shelfmarks or titles written on what would have been the spine of a host volume tends to exclude that they were used as covers.²⁴ Traces of reuse survive exclusively in a few of the Sarnen fragments.²⁵ The heavy wearing of the writing on some leaves²⁶ are perhaps due to the fact that either these leaves were facing the outside, or, glued to the inside of the boards, they were damaged during removal. Most likely they were used in printed books, since the annotations from the end of the fifteenth century show that the codex was still intact at that point.

Provenance

Stuttgart

The fragments of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart came from the Hofbibliothek of Donaueschingen, whose name they carry in their shelfmark (Cod. Don B III 13), and whence they came, along with the collection of Latin codices, in 1992.

The Hofbibliothek was created by the Fürstenberg princes in the fifteenth century, using their own manuscripts basis and by acquiring the collections of various noble families. The most important of these was the 1853 acquisition of the library²⁷—273 manuscripts and 11,000 prints—of Joseph Freiherr von Lassberg (1770–1855), the lover of Princess Elisabeth von Fürstenberg, with whom he had a son,

24 In the bottom left corner of Sa 10v, it might be possible to see the mark left by an iron corner-piece.

25 Sa 1v paper strip reinforcing the seam, 4r upper edge, 5v traces of paper label with printed characters, 7r paper label, 9r paper margin reinforcement, 15r strip of adhesive tape with writing imprint, probably from the same manuscript, glued perpendicularly to the centre of the sheet, 18r paper strip with traces of writing.

26 Particularly St 4r/v, 5v, 9r; Sa 6v, 7r, 9r, 10r, 11v, 13r/v, 14r, 15r, 16r/v, and 18r; Fr 2, 1r; So r.

27 On this collection and its dispersion, see the article by K. Graf, “Der Tradition nicht verpflichtet. Ein Nachruf auf die Inkunabelsammlung der Fürstlich Fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek zu Donaueschingen”, *Badische Heimat* 75 (1995), 319–331 [https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/374/1/Graf_Tradition_1995.pdf].

Hermann von Liebenau (1770–1855).²⁸ Fascinated by the German Middle Ages, Lassberg tried to acquire as much as possible of the vast cultural patrimony scattered by the upheavals that took place after 1800, and among his most important codices is Manuscript C of the *Nibelungenlied*. In 1812, he acquired the castle of Eppishausen in the Canton of Thurgau, after the abolition of the lordship, which from 1698 to 1798 belonged to the monastery of Muri. From 1818 to 1838 he lived in the castle.²⁹

In 2001, the Lassberg library was sold at auction and part of the prints, especially the volumes linked to the Eppishausen stay, was acquired by the Canton of Thurgau.³⁰ In the manuscript catalogue of the Fürstlich-fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek of Donaueschingen, prepared in 1865 by Karl August Barack, there appears at the end, as number 925, a box with “Schriftproben”, containing ca. 120 parchment manuscript leaves from the eighth to the nineteenth centuries.³¹ During the preparation of this catalogue, the manuscripts received new numbers, and only the 273 manuscripts that had belonged to Lassberg kept, after the new number, the siglum L and the original number. Unfortunately, there are no indications of the provenance of the fragments in the box, but the hypothesis cannot be excluded that they were removed from bindings in the Lassberg collection.

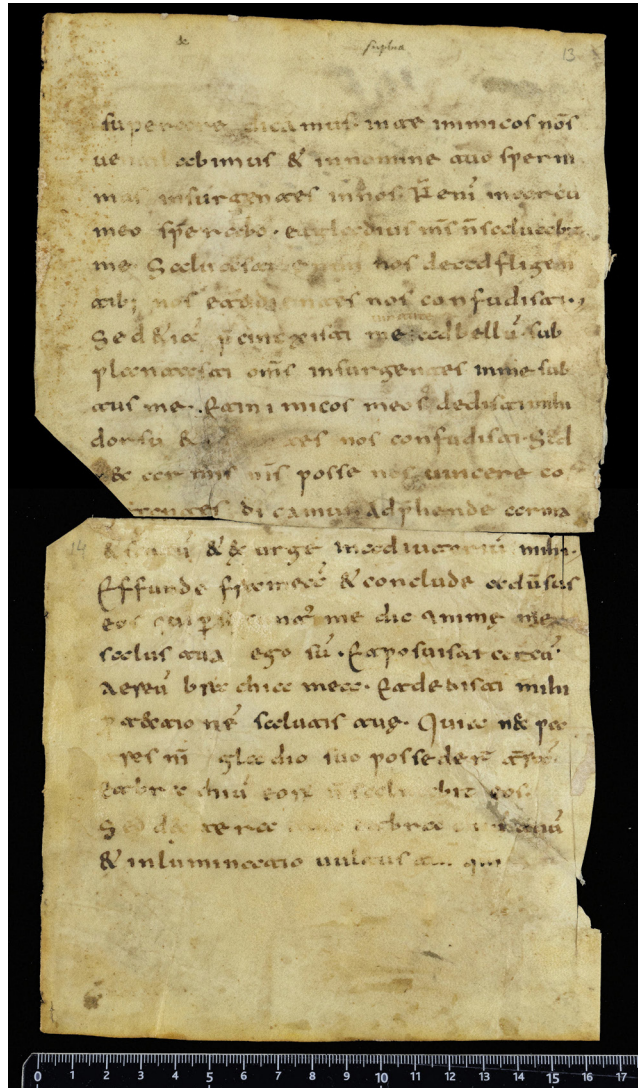
28 W. Hörsch, “Liebenau, Hermann von”, *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (HLS), 21.01.2008 version [<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/032163/2008-01-21/>].

29 V. Rothenbühler, “Eppishausen”, HLS, 02.07.2001 version [<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/008184/2001-07-02/>]; K. Marti-Weissenbach, “Lassberg, Joseph von”, HLS, 20.10.2010 version [<https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/045629/2010-10-20/>].

30 Of the 10,000 volumes in the Lassberg library, the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe acquired approximately 896 volumes, while the library in Frauenfeld acquired approximately 230, see A. Reichmann, “Die Lassberg-Bibliothek – ein Epilog”, *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte und Naturgeschichte der Baar* 46 (2003), 195–197.

31 K.A. Barack, *Die Handschriften der fürstlich-fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek zu Donaueschingen*, Tübingen 1865, 608 n° 925: “Pergamenthandschriften vom VIII.–XIX. Jahrh., c. 120 Blätter. In einer Mappe in 2°. Schriftproben. Eine Sammlung von c. 70 Bruchstücken meist lateinischer Pergamenthandschriften, als Schriftproben der verschiedenen Jahrhunderte. Beginnt mit 4 Blättern Lombardischer Schrift des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts ...” [<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10800056?page=624>].

Figure 3: [F-asxq]:
Sarnen, Benediktiner-
kollegium, Fragm. I, 6,
13r + 14r



The Benedictine Alban Dold, during a visit to Donaueschingen, identified in this box the 9 leaves in Rhaetian minuscule that are today in Stuttgart, and he drew attention to them in a 1928 publication.³² The pencil annotation in the upper margin of the first leaf

32 A. Dold, *Getilgte Paulus- und Psalmentexte unter getilgten ambrosianischen Liturgiestücken aus Cod. Sangall. 90, mit Anhang: Unbekannte und bekannte*

that identifies the text is probably in his hand, as is the indication that the leaves, which had already been bound into a quire by the time of his visit in 1921, were out of order,³³ probably to place the only illuminated initial at the beginning of the gathering.

Sarnen

There are no elements that permit the identification of the host volumes from which were detached the eighteen leaves currently kept in the ancient collection of the Benediktinerkollegium of Sarnen, nor when they were detached. The majority of the leaves are still practically intact (Sa 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16), in three cases around three-quarters of the leaf remains (Sa 1, 7, 10), while the fragments 6, 13, 14 and 18 are half-leaves; Sa 13 and 14 combine to form a whole leaf. It should be noted that Sa 6, although cut more in the inside margin, constitutes the lower part of the So fragment.

The fragments today at Sarnen originally come from the library of the Abbey of Muri, as demonstrated by the label glued to Sa 6r with the stamp *Convent M. G.* from the monastery of Muri-Gries, and the correct dating: *Saec. IX ante an. 850*. These fragments are cited for the first time by Albert Bruckner in his volume dedicated to Argovian scriptoria,³⁴ and according to him the volume, perhaps still intact, arrived in Muri during the time of the administrator Ulrich (1075–1081), who was initially provost of the Rhaetian monastery of Disentis, to which he returned in 1082.³⁵

Donaueschinger Väterfragmente, Beuron 1928, 50.

33 In *Fragmentarium*, it is possible to view both the current sequence of leaves ('Sequence') and the correct sequence ('Content Structure').

34 A. Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii aevi Helvetica*, Bd. 7: *Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz. Aargauische Gotteshäuser*, Geneva 1955, 59–94, esp. 64.

35 Udalricus or Uodalricus was called to Muri to lead the monastery and introduce the Cluniac reforms, but after he declined, he was never named abbot and returned to Disentis: R. Amschwand, R. Brüschweiler, and J.J. Siegrist, "Muri", in *Helvetia Sacra III, Band 1: Frühe Klöster, die Benediktiner und Benediktinerinnen in der Schweiz*, ed. E. Gilomen-Schenkel, Bern 1986, 896–952, at 923 and G. Hausmann, "St-Pierre de Colmar", in *Helvetia Sacra III, Band 2: Die Cluniazenser in der Schweiz*, ed. H.-J. Gilomen with E. Gilomen-Schenkel, Basel 1991, 493.

In the period of monastery's greatest splendor, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, before the French Revolution, the Benedictines of Muri had acquired many lordships in the current canton of Thurgau, including, in 1698, the castle of Eppishausen, which they rebuilt and expanded, and which, in 1812, after the suppression of the lordship in 1792, was acquired by Lassberg.³⁶

After the secularization in 1798, the monastery of Muri was acquired by the Canton of Aargau, which restored it and returned its possessions to it. When, in 1841, the Canton decreed again the suppression of the monastery, the remaining abbot and monks moved to Sarnen to operate a Latin boarding school. In spite of the fact that the library was sealed, they managed, with the help of Hermann von Liebenau, the illegitimate son of Joseph von Lassberg, to take part of the manuscripts with them to Sarnen.³⁷

Solothurn

The fragment conserved in the Kantonsbibliothek of Solothurn is the only one that has indications of reuse. It is the upper part of a bifolium—a narrow strip of the other half is visible—whose lower part is the fragment Sa 6. It comes from the binding of a 1491 incunable³⁸, from which it was detached in 1953. The smaller dimensions of the fragment and the sparse information in the restoration report do not permit the identification of the position of the fragment in the folio-sized host volume.³⁹ The current binding is still original, except for the removal of the fragment, and is of the monastic type and very probably contemporary to or slightly after the date of the

36 Rothenbühler, "Eppishausen".

37 For more on the events that led the monks and their manuscripts first to Gries, where the monastery of Muri-Gries was founded, then annexed to South Tyrol in Italy, and the events that befell the library, see C. Bretscher-Gisiger and R. Gamper, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Klöster Muri und Hermerschwil*, Dietikon 2005, 50–62.

38 Solothurn, Kantonsbibliothek, ZBS Rar I 16, *Textus trium librorum de anima Aristotelis: cum commentarium secundum doctrinas venerabilis domini Alberti magni*, Colonia, [Iohannis Koelhoff, 1491], [GW 2347, MEI [02133887](#), [swisscol-lections](#)].

39 Email from Ian Holt, 11 June 2025.

incunable's printing. The date of the edition of the volume offers a *terminus post quem* for the dismantling of the original manuscript.

In 1598, the incunable belonged first to the Nikolaus Roth († 1622), canon and cantor of the College of St. Ursus in Solothurn, and then to Urs Gertenhofer († 1651), before passing in the nineteenth century to the library of the Franciscan Convent of Solothurn.⁴⁰

Frauenfeld

The two leaves Fr 2 and Fr 3 originally formed a bifolium and are kept in a box containing various fragments⁴¹ without indication of provenance, but for the most part removed from printed volumes.

The ancient collection of the Kantonsbibliothek of Frauenfeld, from which such volumes could have come, is chiefly made up of the collections of the most important convents present in the territory and secularized in 1848: the Ittingen Charterhouse, the Benedictine Abbey of Fischingen, the Augustinian convent in Kreuzlingen and the convent of Dominican Nuns of Katharinental.⁴²

To these should be added the 454 volumes acquired in 1999 which had belonged to Joseph von Lassberg, who spent many years in the castle of Eppishausen, where he had formed a friendship with Johann Adam Pupikofer, the Cantonal Librarian from 1862 to 1880.

Conclusion

The fragments known until now allow us to reconstruct the appearance of the original manuscript, to affirm with a certain level of confidence that it was dismantled at the end of the fifteenth century and that the leaves were reused in printed books. Although it is well

⁴⁰ A. Schönherr, *Schrift und Buch*, Solothurn 1959, 31 n° 5, 64; I. Holt, *Handschriftenfragmente in der Zentralbibliothek Solothurn. Eine Auswahl*, Solothurn 2012, 14–15.

⁴¹ Thanks to a project funded by the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, these and other fragments of this library are now presented online at *Fragmentarium*.

⁴² See the recent publication of the catalogue of medieval manuscripts in this library: D. Binotto, D. Führer, P. Jacsont, and M. Mangold, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Kantonsbibliothek Thurgau*, Basel 2025.

known that printed books are mobile objects and are capable of significant movements, the geographical area in which the fragments have been found is at the moment limited to Southern Germany (St) and to central-west Switzerland, north of the Alps (Fr, Sa, So). The figure of Joseph von Lassberg appears to be a common denominator, and it is perhaps in the volumes of his library that other fragments of this ancient manuscript, still in situ, may be found in the future. All that remains is for ancient book librarians to be alert to the presence of fragments of medieval manuscripts and to draw adequate attention to them. As a platform for the publication of fragments and as a research laboratory, *Fragmentarium* presents the most suitable site for the publication and the reunification, at least in a virtual sense, of these witnesses to ancient script.

Research Note

Tracing Origins and Reassembling Fragments: Material from St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1396.1-32

Brigitte Roux, e-codices/Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen
brigitte.roux@stibi.ch



Abstract: The recent publication on *e-codices* of the thirty-two fascicles comprising Cod. Sang. 1396 provides an opportunity to address certain questions relating to the long history of the use and reuse of a few selected fragments from this large collection. Additionally, the gradual availability online of the eight volumes of fragments compiled by Ildefons von Arx and Johann Nepomuk Hauntinger enables these volumes to be cross-referenced.

Keywords: fragment volumes, *Vita sancti Amandi*, virtual reconstruction

The Abbey Library of Saint Gall's collection of medieval manuscripts includes eight important volumes of fragments that were assembled by two monks, Johann Nepomuk Hauntinger (1756–1823) and Ildefons von Arx (1755–1833). Between 1774 and 1785, they removed these fragments from the bindings of medieval and modern manuscripts, and of printed volumes.¹ Von Arx entitled these volumes *Veterum fragmentorum manuscriptis codicibus detractorum collectio. Tomus I–VIII* (today Cod. Sang. 214, 730, 1394–1399) that he arranged and classified by themes. In 1822, he dedicated them to his old friend Hauntinger, who was the librarian of the monastery at that time.² While some volumes contain fragments from a single

1 C. Dora, "Ruinen aus Pergament. Die Fragmentensammlung der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen", in *Fragment und Makulatur. Überlieferungstörungen und Forschungsbedarf bei Kulturgut in Archiven und Bibliotheken*, ed. H.P. Neuheuser and W. Schmitz, Wiesbaden 2015, 51–78.

2 On the back of the title page of each volume was this dedication: "D. Joanni Nepomuc. Hauntinger, Bibliothecario inter primos eruditissimo. Quae quondam operculis librorum juvenes deglubegamus Fragmenta, quae tibi de re diplomatica scribendi dein ansa fuere, quae nostro ejecti Monasterio adhuc solliciti custodiebamus, haec in libros octo dispesta in contestationem veteris



Figure 1: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1396.1, open view, showing the 32 folders of the former Cod. Sang. 1396



manuscript ([Cod. Sang. 214](#) with eighth-century parts of the four books of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great and [Cod. Sang. 730](#) with fragments from the *Edictum Rothari*, dating around 670/680), others are thematically organized ([Cod. Sang. 1397.1–23](#), with fragments from liturgical manuscripts, or [Cod. Sang. 1398b.1–18](#), with biblical texts from the ninth century), and still others contain a wide variety of texts, of various dates and provenances, such as the volume we will discuss in this short note.

Ildefons von Arx ordered the fragments of Cod. Sang. 1396 by themes, that is into *Metrica*, *Grammaticalia*, *Medica*, *Ecclesiastica*,

necessitudinis nostrae offero, obsecutus Plinii monito: sit apud te antiquitati honos. In S. Gallo in die festo S. Galli MDCCCXXII. Ildefonsus ab Arx”. It is still preserved in the volumes that were not rebound in folders (Cod. Sang. 214, p. V4 [<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0214/V4>], Cod. Sang. 730, p. V4 [<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0730/V4>], Cod. Sang. 1394, p. V4 [<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/1394/V4>], Cod. Sang. 1395, p. V6 [<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/1395/V6>].

Historica and *Documenta*. The entire volume was first partially described by Gustav Scherrer in his catalogue of the manuscripts of the Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen.³ Since then, scholars have studied in detail only a few fragments.⁴ From 2001 to 2021, for reasons of conservation, the codex was taken apart and rebound into 32 fascicles [Figure 1], which contain two different types of materials: charters and charter fragments (Cod. Sang. 1396.10–14, 18–32), and manuscript fragments (Cod. Sang. 1396.1–9, 15–17). Not only do these fragments vary by type (charter⁵ or manuscript), but they also date from very different periods, ranging from the seventh century for the oldest example to the end of the fifteenth century, and they come from various places (St. Gall and abroad). In the following pages, we would like to highlight a few discoveries made possible through the recent publication of Cod. Sang. 1396.1–32 on *e-codices*.⁶ By selecting only certain fragments, we are aware that we are re-fragmenting the collection compiled by von Arx, but our interest here is not on the collection but only on a few items.⁷ As the fragments have already been identified, the aspect that interests us mainly concerns their history, either their original provenance, as shown in the case of a lost bifolium from a manuscript still preserved at the Stiftsbibliothek (n° 1), their reuse (n°s 2, 3, and 4), or their use by (in)famous scholars (n° 5). Finally, we would like to underline the benefits of publishing the different volumes of fragments from St. Gall, as it has been possible to assemble fragments that were previously scattered (n°s 6 and 7).

3 G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, Halle 1875, 464–467.

4 For the bibliography, see the descriptions on *e-codices*.

5 The complete or incomplete charters (Cod. Sang. 1396.10–14, 18–32) described and identified by Dr. Philipp Lenz on *e-codices* are excluded from this note. Furthermore, we will not resolve the question of whether charters are fragments in the same way as manuscript fragments. In any case, they were for Ildefons von Arx, who compiled these collections of fragments without distinguishing between the two.

6 See on *e-codices* for complete access to the images and the descriptions.

7 On this process of refragmentation, and for an interesting view on the St. Gall volumes of fragments as codices per se, see Mateusz Fafinski, “In an Archive of Fragments: the loud silences of Cod. Sang. 1394”, *Digital Philology: a Journal of Medieval Cultures* 13 (2024), 286–301.

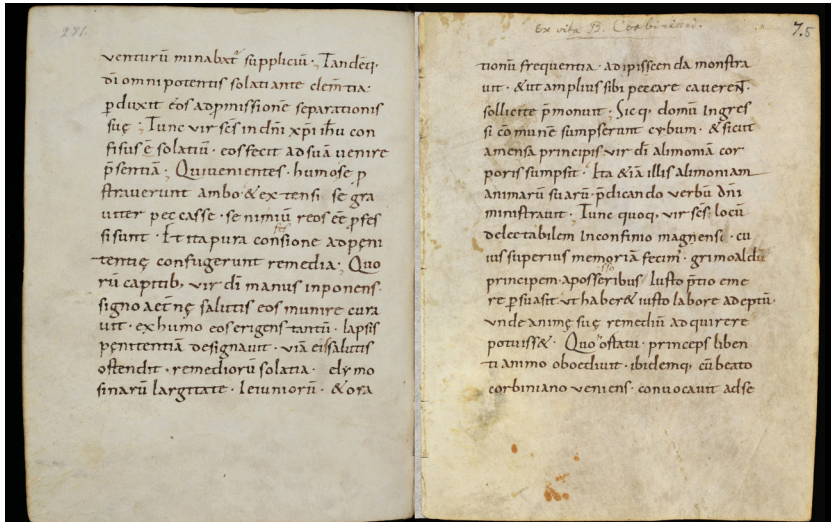


Figure 2: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 551, p. 281 (left) and 1396.15, p. 5 (right), reconstructing the open book



1. A lost bifolium rediscovered (Cod. Sang. 1396.15, pp. 5–8)

A [fragment](#) made up of four small leaves contains the life of saint Corbinian by Arbeo, bishop of Freising (723–783). It corresponds to the two missing folios that Scarpatetti thought were lost in his entry of [Cod. Sang. 551](#).⁸ This manuscript contains a series of saints' lives, including that of Corbinian (pp. 227–310). The four leaves of the fragment were to be found between pages [281](#) and [282](#) [Figure 2]. The end of the text on p. 281: “& ora” continues at the top of [page 5](#) of Cod. Sang. 1396.15: “tionum frequentia adipiscenda...”. Similarly, the first words on page 282: “signo cum laude” are preceded by “salutifero crucis Christi” on [page 8](#) of the fragment. The fragments form a bifolium that would have been at the center of the original

8 B.M. von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, Bd. 1: Abt. IV: Codices 547–669: Hagiographica, Historica, Geographica*, 8–18. Jahrhundert, Wiesbaden 2003, 16–19: “unter Angabe der Lücke cap. 18–21, wegen der 2 fehlenden Bll., dazu s. o. äussere Beschreibung: beim jetzigen Ternio p. 276–287 muss der innerste Bogen verloren gegangen sein”.

quaternion in Cod. Sang. 551, going from [p. 278](#) to [287](#) (quaternion number “IIII”, as written on the bottom of p. 287). It is impossible to say with certainty what caused the loss of this bifolium, or when it occurred. The current binding of Cod. Sang. 551 dates from the eighteenth century, and it is possible that, when the codex was rebound, this bifolium fell out.

Scarpattetti dates the manuscript to the tenth century, von Euw to the first quarter of the tenth century, while Bischoff estimates the fragments date to the third/fourth quarter of the ninth century. Several hands can be identified in the manuscript, and the one that copied the life of saint Corbinian (pp. 227–310) is the same that appears in the Passion of saint Pelagius (pp. 311–319). In total, this scribe copied the 6 quires (numbered I–VI) composing these two saints’ lives (pp. 227–319). Interestingly, the first 8 quires of the codex (pp. 1–145) are also numbered (from I to VIII), and the last ones (pp. 348–422) are numbered from I to V. The manuscript appears to be homogenous, particularly in terms of its size and overall layout (one column drawn with dry point, from 15 to 17 lines) despite these different numberings. One explanation for the signatures could be that the copying of the saints’ lives was entrusted to different scribes, each of whom numbered the quires he copied before the quires were bound together.

2. The long life of fragments (Cod. Sang. 1396.1, pp. 1–2)

This small [bifolium](#) (16.5 × 22 cm) contains an extract from Avianus’ fables, with some glosses. Written in elegiac verse imitating Aesop, these fables were a medieval success, and they were frequently used alongside Cato’s *Distichs* for the education of young students.⁹ Dating from the ninth/tenth century, this fragment comprises parts of the following fables: “de piscatore et pisce” (xx), “de alite et messione” (xxi) [p. 1], “de cupido et invido” (xxii), “de imbre

9 M. Baldzuhn, *Schulbücher im Trivium des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin 2009 (in part. 770–772 for Cod. Sang. 1396.1, pp. 1–2 = SGa).

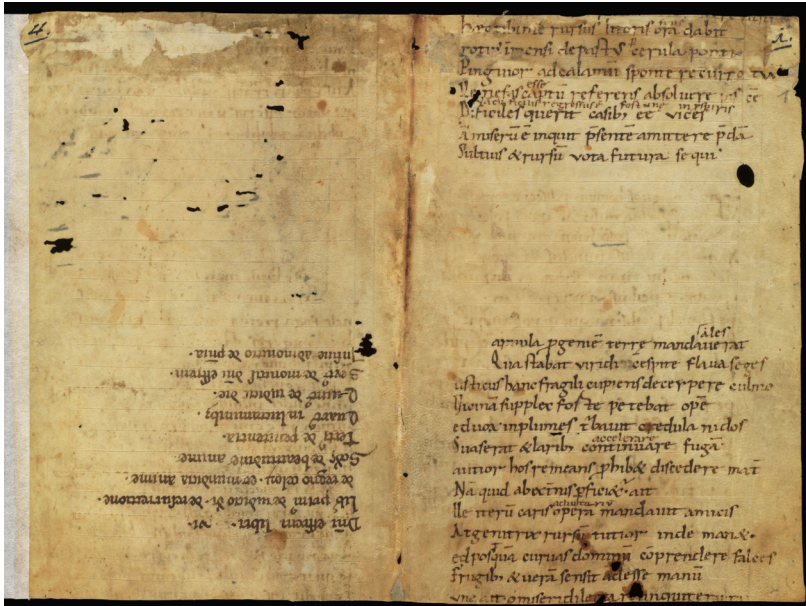


Figure 3: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1396.1, p. 1:
Avianus' fables, with table of contents on the left side.



et testa" (XLI) and "de lupo et haedo" (XLII) [p. 2].¹⁰ The text is copied in Carolingian minuscule, in one column of 28 lines. Some spaces are left empty at the beginning of each fable, probably for the insertion of an illustration, as shown in a similar Avianus-manuscript from the ninth/tenth century.¹¹ The initials of the fable are barely visible, almost entirely erased. The contemporary interlinear glosses and marginal notes indicate that the manuscript was used, even if the illustrations were not executed.

On the left half of page 1 [Figure 3], originally ruled but left empty, a note was added, probably in the thirteenth century, in Gothic script, providing a table of contents for the fragment's former host volume: "Domini effrem libri VI / Liber primus de iudicio dei / de resurrectione / de regno celorum et mundicia anime / Secundus de beatudine anime / Tertius de penitentia / Quartus in luctaminibus

¹⁰ J. Duff Wight and A. Duff Wight (ed.), *Latin Minor Poets with Introductions and English translations*, London 1934.

¹¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 1132 ([ark:/12148/bt1b8426793j](https://nla.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bt1b8426793j)).

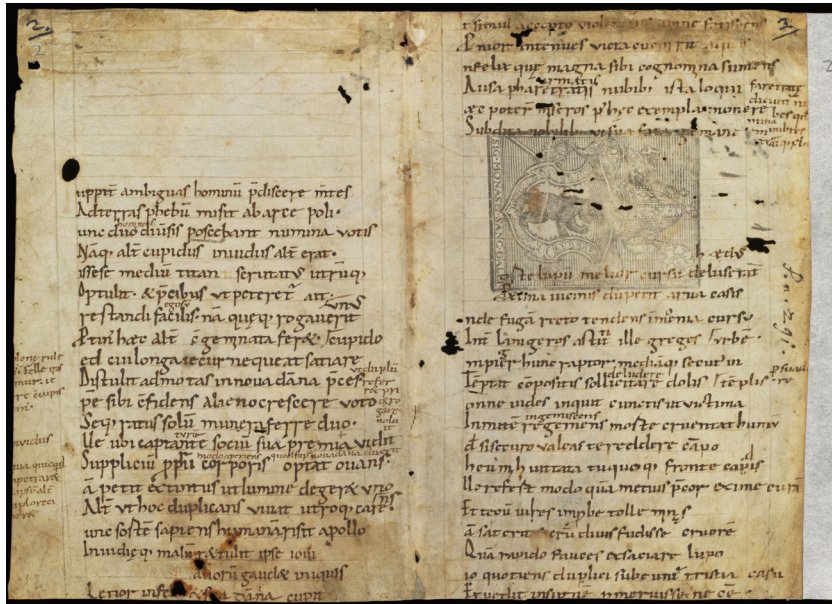


Figure 4: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1396.1, p. 2, with the old shelfmark and the stamp of Abbot Diethelm Blarer

/ Quintus de iudicie die / Sextus de monita domini effrem / In fine admonitio de penitentia". This table of contents accurately describes a manuscript of the Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, [Cod. Sang. 92](#). Dating from the ninth century and rebound in the fifteenth century,¹² it contains various works by the church father Ephraem the Syrian, exactly in the order listed on the fragment. Confirmation that the latter originates from this manuscript is provided by the old shelfmark indicated on page 2 [Figure 4]: "S.n. 291". Thanks to Pius Kolb's St. Gall manuscript catalog (1755/1759), the correspondence of the manuscript "S.n. 291" can be established with Cod. Sang. 92.¹³ On the same page of this fragment there is furthermore the library stamp of the Abbey of St. Gall of abbot Diethelm Blarer dating from 1553–1564. Both sides of the leaf had to be visible (p. 1 with the table

12 P. Lenz, *Reichsabtei und Klosterreform. Das Kloster St. Gallen unter dem Pfleger und Abt Ulrich Rösch 1457–1491*, St. Gallen 2014, 464, n. 59.

13 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, [Cod. Sang. 1400, p. 598](#).

of contents and p. 2 with the shelfmark and the stamp); therefore, it must have been used as a flyleaf and not as a pastedown.

As a matter of fact, Cod. Sang. 92 had another fragment as a pastedown, which is identified by a note (p. [V1](#)). It came from the collection of eighth century fragments of Gregory the Great's *Dia-logues*. The binding of Cod. Sang. 92 dates to the restoration campaign carried out by the librarian Ulrich Rösch in the 1450s and especially in 1460 and 1461, when nearly 180 manuscripts were repaired and rebound using old parchment.¹⁴ It was probably when the old binding was changed that the fragments of Gregory the Great were used to reinforce the volume. The fragment of Avianus' fables must have been used as a flyleaf or a cover in the binding of Cod. Sang. 92 before the current, fifteenth-century one was created. To sum up, the examination of this bifolium revealed that it came from an annotated copy of Avianus' fables and was reused as a flyleaf or a cover, during which reuse it received, in the thirteenth century, a table of contents. When the book was subsequently rebound in the fifteenth century, fragments from an even older text were also used.

3. A medieval drawing of Saint Paul (Cod. Sang. 1396.15, pp. 1–2)

Cod. Sang. 1396.15, [p. 1](#) shows a table of contents written in red ink and in Carolingian minuscule [Figure 5]. The text reads as follows: “Vita sancti Ermenlandi / Passio sancti Meginradi / Passio sancte Euphemie / Vita sancte Otilie / Faustini et Iovite / Passio sanctorum Theonisti Tabram et Tabratham / Vita et transitus sancti Innocenti / et inventio corporis sancti Martiani. / Post hec lege capitula que sequent[ur]”. Next to these titles of hagiographical works, a later hand noted the dates of the feasts of the corresponding saints (in black ink). They are the same saints who appear in the first part of the *Passionarum novum* ([Cod. Sang. 577](#), pp. 5–136), written in the ninth/tenth century in St. Gall. The fragment, cut very irregularly, is too small (20.2 × 16 cm) to be thought to come from this large manuscript (34.5 × 26 cm). Nevertheless, it can be assumed that it

¹⁴ Lenz, *Reichsabtei und Klosterreform*, 454–473.



Figure 5: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1396.15, p. 1, table of contents

was at the beginning of a manuscript containing the lives of saints, fewer in number but of the same type as the *Passionarum novum*. On the verso of the table of contents ([p. 2](#)), a drawing represents Saint Paul, along with the inscription: “Paulus servus domini nostri



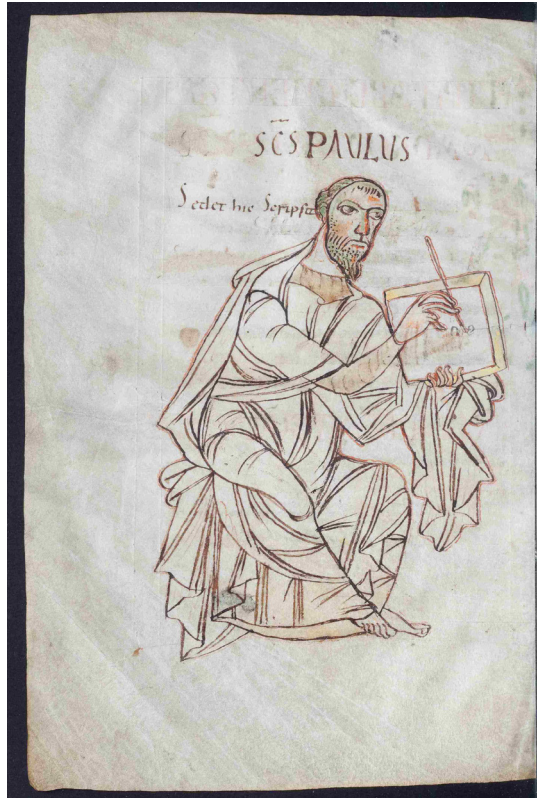
Figure 6: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1396.15, p. 2, drawing of St. Paul



ihu [Iesu] xpi [Christi] vas electionis” [Figure 6].¹⁵ The writing appears on the drawing, proving that the drawing predates it. Written in Carolingian minuscule, the inscription probably dates from the eleventh century. The Apostle is depicted in three-quarter profile, and in a slightly-sketched bust form. One of his hands, proportionally too small in relation to his face, can be seen, appearing to hold an unrolled scroll. The long head has the typical pointed beard and receding hairline of this saint. Entirely drawn in black ink, Paul’s face is enhanced with a small touch of red (minium) on his lips. His large eyes are turned to the left. Drawings from this period are rare, making this example particularly valuable. However, it remains difficult to understand its connection, if any, to the table of contents listing the lives of saints.

¹⁵ A second inscription placed near Paul’s head says: “Eme agros”, that does not seem to be related to the drawing.

Figure 7: Stuttgart,
Württembergische
Landesbibliothek,
HB II 54, f. 25v,
drawing of St. Paul



Given that the saints cited on the first page are the ones of *Passionarum novum* copied in St. Gall, can we assume that the drawing was also produced in the monastery? There is indeed a strong tradition of drawing at the monastery of St. Gall, between the eighth and eleventh century.¹⁶ The depiction of Paul at the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans in a Bible copied in St. Gall around 830–840 may have served as a model for the drawing on the fragment (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB II 54, f. 25v) [Figure 7].¹⁷ The physical characteristics (shape of the mouth, eyes, hairline)

¹⁶ A. von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, St. Gall 2008; M. Holcomb, *Pen and Parchment. Drawing in the Middle Ages*, New York 2009, n^{os} 4–5.

¹⁷ Von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst*, n^o 21. [URL : <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz349887195>]



Figure 8: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 555, p. 166, drawing of St. Columba

and the position of the head seen from three-quarters are common to both, even though the later reverses the direction. However, these common characteristics remain far too generic to establish a model relationship between the two. This example documents a common practice among medieval artists, who used all the free

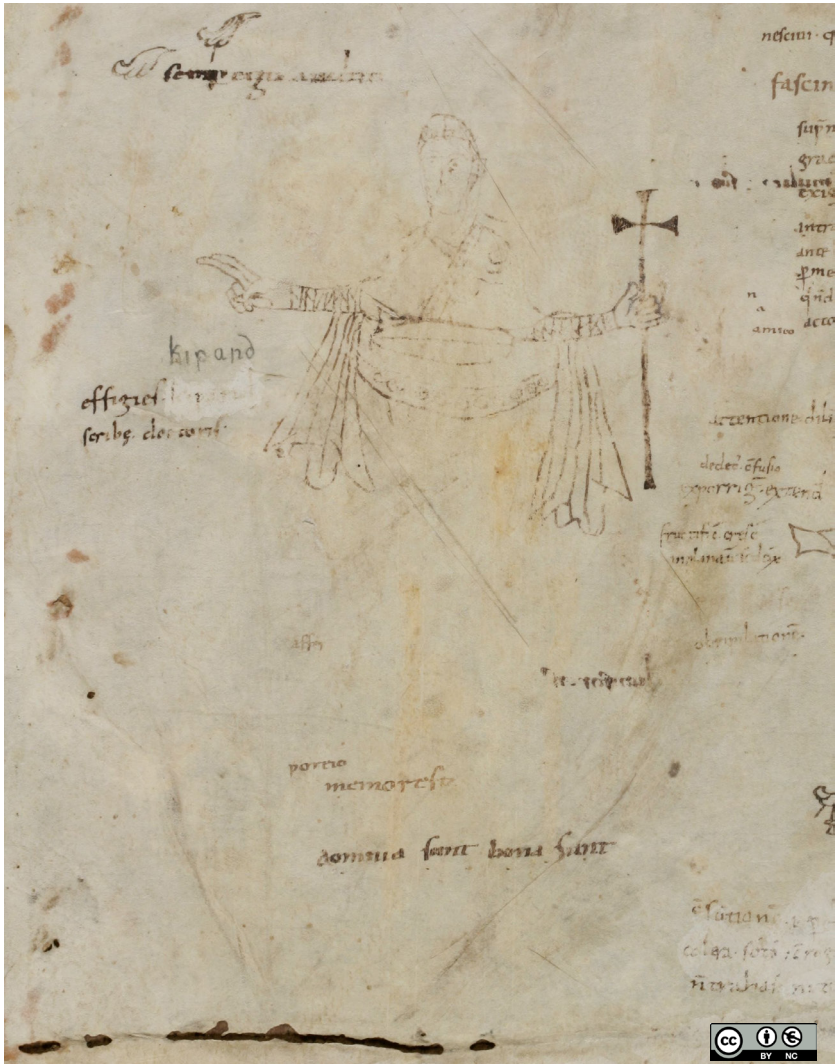


Figure 9: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 28, rear pastedown, drawing of a person wearing a tunic and a pallium and holding a crozier

space available to them for practice, as shown in other manuscripts from the same library (e.g. Cod. Sang. 555, [p. 166](#) [Figure 8]; Cod. Sang. 28, [rear paste-down](#) [Figure 9]).

4. Reuse as binding (Cod. Sang. 1396.9, pp. 1–4)

The oldest fragments of medical texts, mainly preserved in fascicules 8 and 9, were studied by Augusto Beccaria.¹⁸ Among these are six leaves that belonged to the medical-pharmaceutical compendium of [Cod. Sang. 217](#), which Peter Köpp edited.¹⁹ They have been removed from the *vademecum* before its rebinding around 1460,²⁰ but there is no indication as to what they were re-used for. There are other examples where the use of the fragments is quite clear, as shown by this bifolium (Cod. Sang. 1396.9, pp. 1–4). It contains medical recipes written in Carolingian minuscule, dating from the ninth/tenth century. On the first part (p. 1), a title has been written over the Carolingian text: “Discantus” [Figure 10]. This term refers a type of medieval polyphony having a plainchant tenor.²¹ One wonders if this bifolium would not have been used in the binding for one manuscript of the songbook collection of Aegidius Tschudi (1505–1572). The fold marks on the parchment suggest that the bifolium was used as cover for an oblong book, such as these songbooks, which are of a similar size, and some of which ([Cod. Sang. 463](#) [Figure 11], [Cod. Sang. 464](#)) were sold by his heirs to the Stiftsbibliothek in 1768. Could it be that the fragments were used to protect these manuscripts before they were rebound at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century?

5. *Vita sancti Amandi* (Cod. Sang. 1396.16, pp. 11–14)

Four pages written in Carolingian minuscule contain a fragment from the *Vita sancti Amandi* in prose, dating from the third quarter of the ninth century [Figure 12]. The provenance of a small strip of [p. 13/14](#) is known thanks to a note added by the Benedictine Alban Dold (1882–1960): “12. IX. 36 / Abgelöst von dem hintersten Blatt von cod. 299”. Dold, a renowned liturgical scholar, expert in paleography,

¹⁸ A. Beccaria, *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano*, Rome 1956.

¹⁹ P. Köpp, *Vademecum eines frühmittelalterlichen Arztes*, Aarau 1980.

²⁰ Lenz, *Reichsabtei und Klosterreform*, 464 (Einband Typ B).

²¹ R. Flotzinger, E. Sanders, and P. Lefferts, “Discant”, in *Grove Music Online*, 2001 [<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07839>].

Figure 10:
St. Gallen,
Stiftsbibliothek,
Cod. Sang. 1396.9,
p. 1, traces of reuse
as binding, label
“Discantus”

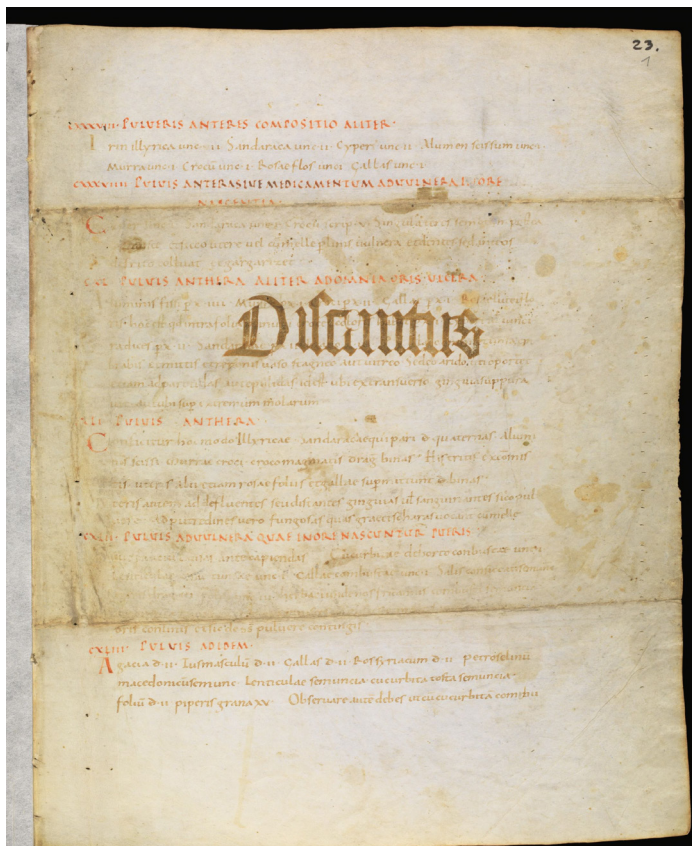


Figure 11: St. Gallen,
Stiftsbibliothek,
Cod. Sang. 463, Front
cover – From the
songbook collection
of Aegidius Tschudi:
volume for descant and
alto voices



a palimpsest researcher, conducted extensive research in the Stiftsbibliothek collection, where he found numerous fragments. With his discoveries, he had a habit of writing the date and the origin on the fragment itself and placing a note in the host volume. In this case, we still find in Cod. Sang. 299, a small piece of paper which states that “A strip was detached before the last page of Codex 299, the inscription on which probably belongs to the texts collected in anthology 1398b. Text identification not yet carried out” (p. 334a).²² In fact, this narrow strip of parchment belonged to a page in the collection of fragments Cod. Sang. 1396 (and not 1398b), to which it has since been carefully reattached by the restorer Martin Strebel.

The text contains chapters (cap. 17–20; 24–25) from the *Vita prima* of Saint Amand (BHL 332 – MGH, SS rer. Merov. 5).²³ Bischoff linked it to a fragment of the same text (cap. 1–15) housed at the Vatican Library.²⁴ This manuscript is a collection of fragments coming from “codicibus sangallensibus”.²⁵ This St. Gall provenance is suggested by various clues: there is the presence of Diethelm Blarer’s stamp (1553–1564) on f. 54v; the handwritten ex-libris of Bartholomäus Schobinger on f. 47r: “Bibliothecae Schobingiae ex Monast. fol. 8”, and on f. 70r a note by Melchior Goldast: “Ex ms Cod. Monasterii S. Galli inter Illustres Viros Hieronymi et Genadii interque Cl. Claudianum”.²⁶ Schobinger and Goldast were

22 “Vor dem hintersten Blatt der Codex 299 wurde ein Streifen losgelöst, dessen Beschriftung wahrscheinlich zu den im Sammelband 1398b vereinigten Texten gehört. Textbestimmung noch nicht geglückt”.

23 A. Verhulst and G. Declercq, “L’action et le souvenir de saint Amand en Europe centrale”, in *Aevum inter utrumque, Mélanges offerts à Gabriel Sanders*, ed. M. Van Uytanghe and R. Demeulenaere, The Hague 1991, 503–526 (at 506, n. 11).

24 B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden 2014, 337, n° 5892; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, [Reg. lat. 339](#), ff. 39r–46r.

25 A. Wilmart, *Codices Regenses latini*, vol. 2, Vatican City 1945, 263–269; E. Pellegrin, J. Fohlen, C. Jeudy, and Y.-F. Riou, with the collaboration of A. Marucchi, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Tome II, première partie. Fonds Patetta et fonds de la Reine*, Aubervilliers 1978, 66.

26 This note means that this page was detached from Cod. Sang. 191, where it would have been situated between the *De viris illustribus* by Jerome and Genadius (p. 115) and the poems by Claudian (p. 119).

and documents from there as well as from the Stiftsbibliothek.²⁷ However, upon Schobinger's death in 1604, Goldast was accused of, and partially admitted to, appropriating manuscripts and books from these libraries. He then sent his collection of books (one chest and ten barrels) to Bremen. Sometime after Goldast's death (1635), the city offered a lot of 32 Greek and Latin manuscripts to Queen Christina of Sweden.²⁸ Ten manuscripts from the Goldast collection became part of the Reginensis collection in the Vatican library, including Reg. lat. 339.²⁹

Goldast has left a note above the incipit of the prologue of the *Vita sancti Amandi* (Reg. lat. 339, f. 39r)³⁰ and some shorter remarks in the margins throughout these pages. The size and general appearance of the Reginensis fragment is like the ones of the Stiftsbibliothek.³¹ Copied in a single column in Carolingian minuscule, the text is divided into chapters introduced by a simple red initial two lines high, set off in the margin. However, the number of lines per column differs: 19 in the Vatican copy, 22 in the St. Gall one. Similarly, the chapter numbers, in Roman numerals, are written in brown ink in one case and in red ink in the other. The Reginensis and the St. Gall fragments have been produced in the scriptorium of Saint-Amand, as suggested by the characteristic script³² and the extraordinary

27 K.H. Burmeister, "Goldast von Haiminsfeld, Melchior", in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* [16.07.2024 version], <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/015859/2024-07-16/>.

28 See J. Sandrock and D.F. Jackson, "Melchior Goldast and Christina Queen of Sweden", *Scriptorium* 70 (2016), 116–153.

29 As a matter of fact, it seems that parts II and III of Reg. lat. 339 were bound with fragments composing the actual VadSlg [Ms. 317](#), (description by Rudolf Gamper, 2009) in the Kantonsbibliothek St. Gallen (B. Hertenstein, *Joachim von Watt (Vadianus), Bartholomäus Schobinger, Melchior Goldast, Die Beschäftigung mit dem Althochdeutschen von St. Gallen in Humanismus und Frühbarock*, Berlin 1975, 151).

30 "Auctor Milo S. Amandi monasterii qui Carolo Crasso vixit", and an identification with the Bollandist edition, providing the note "A. Maius" (cf. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses latini*, vol. 2, 266).

31 Cod. Sang. 1396.16, pp. 11–14: 21,8 × 15,6 cm; Reg. lat. 339, ff. 39–46: 22,6 × 18,3 cm.

32 See the relatively rectangular (instead of round) forms of the letters *m* and *n* and the ligatures *ct* and *ra*. Many thanks to Philipp Lenz from the Stiftsbibliothek, who examined the scripts.

ornate initial letter in the title (Reg. lat. 339, f. 41r). Indeed, this Franco-Saxon initial displays the main characteristics of the production of illuminated manuscripts of this scriptorium and must date from around 860.³³ Unfortunately, the fragment Cod. 1396.16, pp. 11–14 has no ornament that could link it to the Vatican one. However, on both fragments, the names of people have been underlined, certainly by Goldast, who had a habit of underlining the manuscripts he studied. Could it be that the differences of the number of lines per column, or the color ink of the chapter numbering, might only reflect the work of two different copyists? Or does it mean that there were two very similar copies (same text, same origin, same date) preserved in St. Gall, and that both underwent a fragmentation?

6. Layout issue (Cod. Sang. 1396.2, pp. 17–18 and Cod. Sang. 1396.3, pp. 11–14)

In Scherrer's catalogue, the current Cod. Sang. 1396.2, pp. 17–18 and Cod. Sang. 1396.3, pp. 11–14 were described as two separate fragments. The first one is identified as “Ein Blatt Hexameter in 12^o” and the second: “Hexameter mit einer Aufforderung zum Kreuzzug”.³⁴ As a matter of fact, these three leaves come from the same manuscript as shown by their common layout, writing and text [Figure 13]. Written in a Gothic minuscule in one column, they transmit some verses of Galfridus de Vino Salvo's *Poetria nova*. These verses are situated at the beginning of this poem on the art of writing verses, precisely in the third chapter on amplification and abbreviation. They belong to the same quire in the following order: pp. 13–14 (v. 319–405); 18–17 (v. 406–473); 11–12 (v. 545–589). There is therefore a leaf missing (approximately 80 lines) between p. 17 and p. 11. The *Poetria nova* is not uncommon in the Middle Ages, being widely used as a school textbook. However, there is only one copy preserved in the Stiftsbibliothek (Cod. Sang. 875), which dates from the fourteenth century. The fragments date from the thirteenth century, and unlike the manuscript, do not contain glosses.

33 Many thanks to Fabrizio Crivello for this information (email, June 2025).

34 Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, 465.

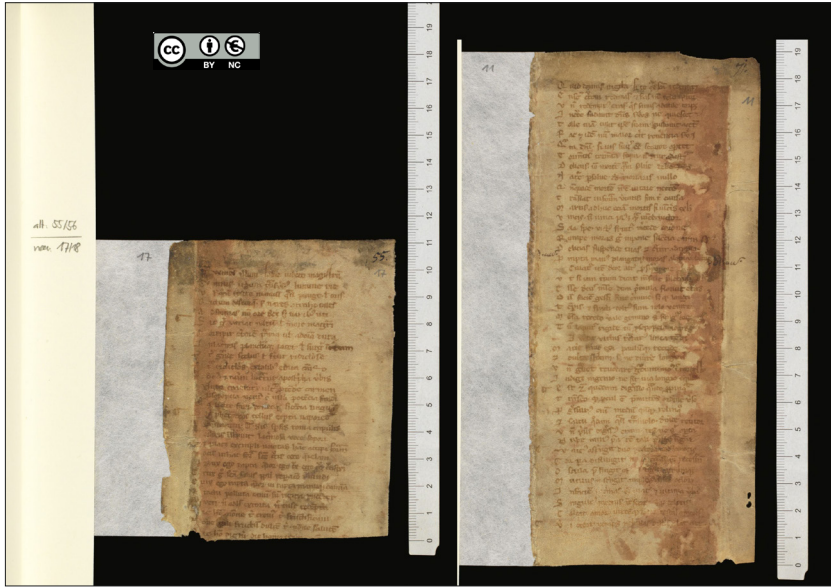


Figure 13: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1396.2, p. 17 (left) and 1396.3, p. 11 (right), compared

7. An initial reunited (Cod. Sang. 1396.16, pp. 19–20 with fragment Cod. Sang. 1398a.9, pp. 15–16)

Thanks to the online publication of the volumes of fragments from St. Gall, it is now possible to bring together some of them that have been scattered across different volumes. This is the case, for example, with a rather small fragment revealing part of an ornate initial drawn in ink ([Cod. Sang. 1396.16, p. 20](#)). Above it, the fragmentary title of the book, written in red capital letters, can be reconstructed: “[Inc]ipit vita sancti [Caril]effi abbatis [sacerdotis] presbiteri”. This fragment from Saint Carileffus’ life belongs to the same leaf as the one in Cod. Sang. 1398a.9, [p. 15](#), where the rest of the ornate initial “V” is drawn. If we put these two fragments together, we can see that the original manuscript was quite large, approximately 38 cm high [Figure 14]. This manuscript was probably copied at St. Gall in the middle of the ninth century.³⁵ The cult of this saint

³⁵ Bischoff *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, v. 3, 337, n° 5893.

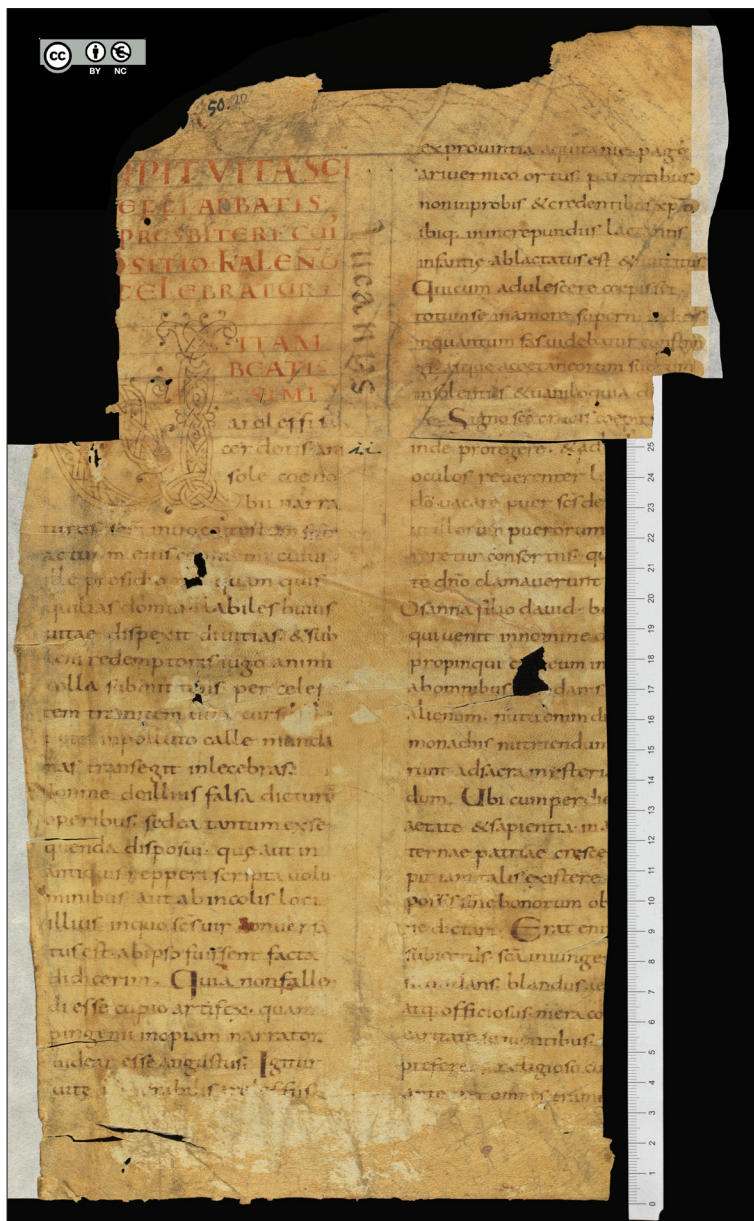


Figure 14: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1398a.9, p. 15 (top) and 1396.16, p. 19 (bottom), virtual reconstruction

must later have fallen into disuse at St. Gall, leading to the recycling of the manuscript. The inscription of the name of the Latin author Lucanus on Cod. Sang. 1396.16, p. 20, suggests that it was reused in a manuscript or a printed work containing a text by this author, but does not provide enough information to determine when the volume with Carileffus' life was dismembered.

Conclusion

The comprehensive description of the fragments contained in Cod. Sang. 1396 has made it possible to identify their contents, date them, and in some cases trace their long history of reuse. The work is often difficult due to the size of the fragments, their state of preservation, and even their legibility. These fragments are important for understanding the state of the Stiftsbibliothek's collections. Not only do they give us an insight into the texts it owned, but above all they allow us to trace a certain history of its collections. Furthermore, this study highlighted the diversity of fragmentation phenomena in medieval manuscripts in complete quires, single folios, and even small pieces of parchment. As we mentioned in the introduction, this note does not consider Cod. Sang. 1396 from the perspective of its existence as a codex, which it also is. As such, we have deliberately ignored the fascicles containing charters, whose characterization as fragments should be clarified. The result of this note is therefore biased and may resemble an anthology. However, this anthology is just waiting to be completed by other researchers. Indeed, the primary objective of gradually putting all the volumes compiled by von Arx online on *e-codices* is to make available all the images and brief descriptions in the hope that they will be studied further by specialists.

Research Note

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

Lisa Fagin Davis, Medieval Academy of America, and Simmons University School of Library and Information Science*

lfd@themedievalacademy.org



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

Keywords: Lambach Abbey, Gottschalk of Lambach

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

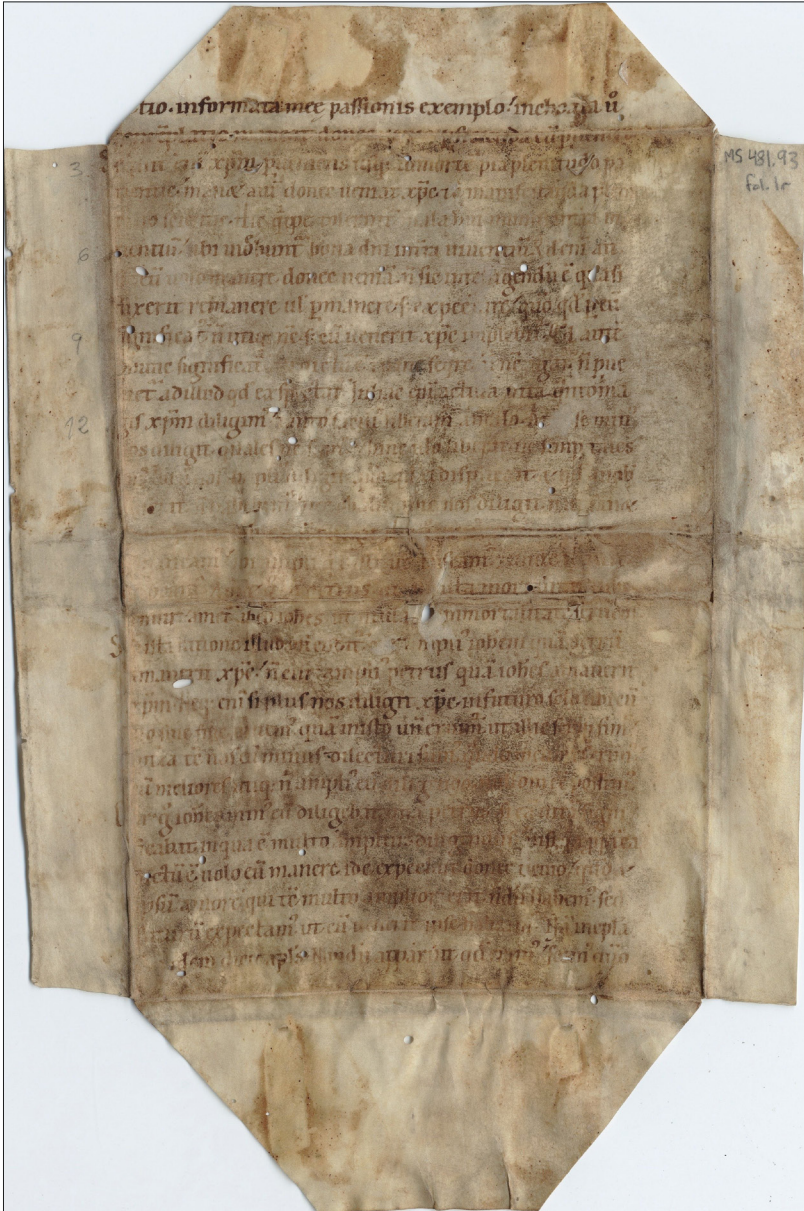


Figure 1: Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS 481, f. 93r

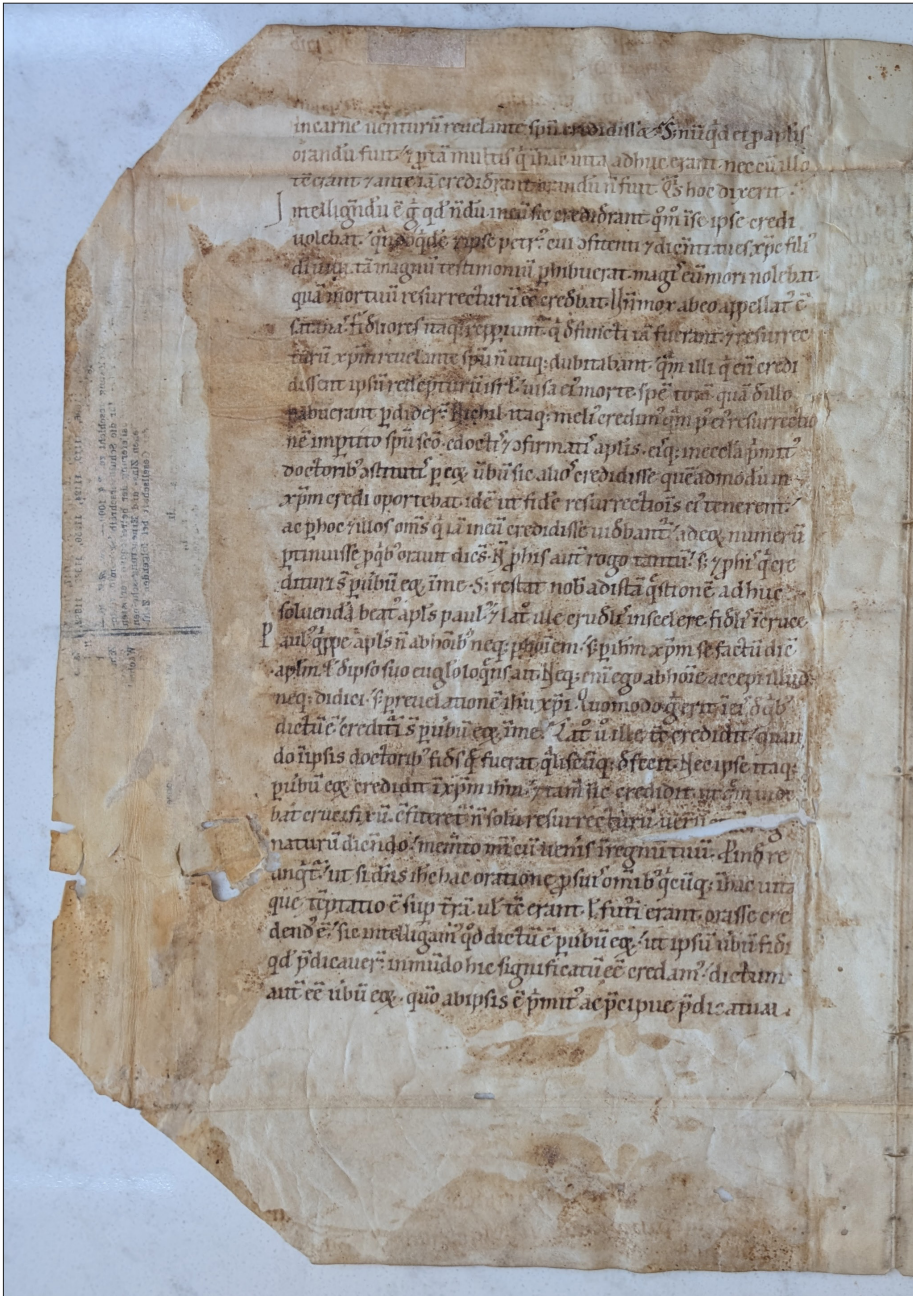
the end of the final tract, it can be shown that MS 481.93 was likely the penultimate leaf of the second volume.¹¹

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

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

¹¹ Babcock et al., *Catalogue*, 159.

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



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

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

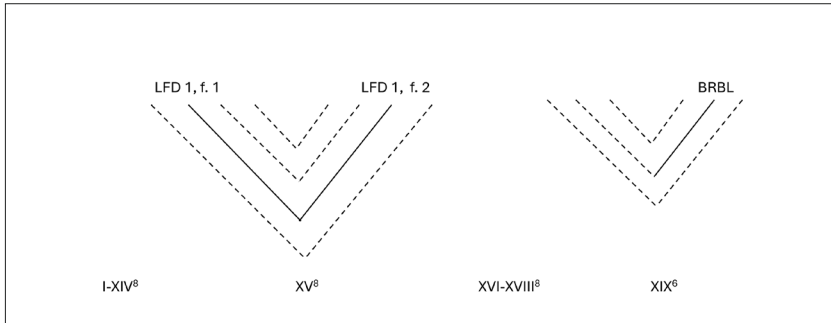


Figure 3: Hypothetical Quire Structure of Vol. 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Research Note

Hanc te volo diligentiam adhibere ...

Late-Medieval Fragmentary Instructions on Housekeeping

Pieter Beullens, KU Leuven

pieter.beullens@kuleuven.be



Abstract: Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 78 L 1506 is a convolute of seven sixteenth-century prints, with two binding fragments. One of them is a Latin text on household management, probably of French origin. The text preserved concerns the production of verjuice, the wine harvest, household linen, kitchen utensils, and the grooming of the palfrey. The tone and comments reveal a lord whose concern for thrift matches his suspicion of his workers. A provisional transcription provides access to the text.

Keywords: fragmentology, household management

Readers of this journal need not be reminded that manuscript waste can preserve unexpected treasures and lead to pleasant though time-consuming rabbit holes. Among the mass of remains from manuscripts with liturgical, religious, legal, and occasionally classical contents, from time to time an apparently unique gem stands out.

This article describes a bifolium from a manuscript re-used in the binding of a convolute of seven early-sixteenth-century printed publications [[F-cmyv](#)]. The fragmentary Latin text that it preserves offers a tantalising insight into the daily life and the restless mind of an unidentified well-off medieval man, most likely a cleric according to the garments that he mentions. Through the instructions for the administration of his household, which were probably intended for his steward, he not only allows us to get an idea of the staff and the material goods connected to his house, but also to trace the

broad lines of his character and his concerns. The instructions by the anonymous author and their background are all the more intriguing since the text lacks a beginning and ending, and the preserved sections are separated from each other by an undetermined number of lines or pages. As a result, it is impossible to connect the text with a particular individual, or even to situate it with certainty in time and space.

In the following paragraphs, I will describe the parent volume that preserves the leaves, their physical appearance, the content of the extant sections, and finally the language used by the author. I give my provisional edition of the preserved sections in an appendix.

Host volume

The parent volume of the manuscript fragment is a convolute of seven sixteenth-century publications from the holdings of the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (ULB) Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle, Germany (shelfmark: 78 L 1506). It consists of seven separate editions, most of them short pamphlets or letters with a link to Martin Luther and published in 1525 or 1527 in the German cities of Cologne, Dresden, Wittenberg, and Leipzig. The third item of seven in the convolute stands out: it is an incomplete copy of the works of Durand of Saint-Pourçain printed in 1506 in Paris (the title page and several leaves are missing).

1. John Fisher, *Defensio Regie assertionis contra Babylonicam captiuitatem*. Cologne: Peter Quentel and Hero Fuchs, 1525 (USTC 632189; VD16 F 1226).
2. John Fisher, *Sacri sacerdotij defensio contra Lutherum*. Cologne: Hero Fuchs and Peter Quentel, 1525 (USTC 691911; VD16 F 1240).
3. Durandus de Sancto Porciano, *In hoc volumine continentur Durandus episcopus meldensis ordinis predicatorum de origine iurisdictionum...* Paris: Jean Barbier and Jean Petit, 1506 (USTC 143165).
4. Martin Luther, *Ein sendbrieue Martin Luthers an den König zu Engelland Heinrichen des achten...* Dresden: Wolfgang Stöckel, 1527 (USTC 645696; VD16 L 4626).

5. Martin Luther, *Auff des koenigs zu Engelland lesterschrifft titel Mart. Luthers Antwort*. Wittenberg: Michael Lotter, 1527 (USTC 613889; VD16 L 3904).
6. Hieronymus Emser, *Emszers bekentnis das er den Tittel auff Luthers sendbrieff an den Koenig zu Engelland gemacht vnnd das yhm Luther den verkert vnd zu mild gedewt hatt*. Leipzig: Michael Blum, 1527 (USTC 649930; VD16 E 1099; <http://dx.doi.org/10.25673/opendata2-3398>).
7. Paul Anderbach, *Ein Sendbrieff darjnn angetzeigt wirt vermeinte vrsach warumb der Tuerck widder die Hungern triumphirt vnd obgelegen hab*. Dresden: Wolfgang Stöckel, 1527 (USTC 646839; VD16 ZV 556).

The contemporary binding of the convolute consists of worn brown leather with blind tooling over wooden boards. Three raised bands on the spine lay visible where the leather has vanished. The upper corners of the boards are damaged with loss of leather and wood. Two clasps are missing, but the original brass plates that held the hinges are preserved on the boards. The rear board is pierced by a small round hole approximately two centimetres from the top, which suggests that the book was once chained to a library desk.

The fragments

The rear pastedown consists of a paper bifolium turned sideways to fit the surface of the board. The page was taken from a MS of the *Dialogus Marie et peccatoris* by Denys the Carthusian with the text on the left in a late-fifteenth-century hand and commentary notes in a more recent hand on the facing page.

The text to be discussed here is preserved on a paper bifolium of which one leaf (I) is glued to the front cover as a pastedown while the other (II) serves as the front flyleaf of the convolute. The dimensions of the flyleaf, after irregular trimming, are approximately 190 × 145 mm. Since the fold of the original bifolium is not completely consistent with the fold of the host volume's binding, the width of the leaf that serves as pastedown is ca. 5 mm less than the hypothetical size of the original (II). As the result of the irregularity of the fold, on the verso of the flyleaf can be seen the first letters of the left



Figure 1: Halle, ULB Sachsen-Anhalt, 78 L 1506, rear paste-down: Dionysius Carthusianus, *Dialogus Marie et peccatoris* (left) with notes (right)

column of what was Ir, which is otherwise invisible, glued to the front board. At least one paraph (most likely introducing a section heading, see below) and a larger initial can be distinguished, but the visible letters are insufficient to reconstruct any part of the text. Both leaves (I and II) are written in two columns with 42 remaining lines in a late Gothic book cursive from the late fourteenth century.

It is difficult to compare the text with other similar works, although medieval household manuals from various linguistic backgrounds have been preserved. In French, there is the famous *Mesnagier de Paris* from the end of the fourteenth century, in which an older husband gives advice to his fifteen-year-old bride about moral and household issues.¹ Several treatises were known in medieval England, one of which was attributed to bishop and scholar Robert Grosseteste.² In Russian, from the sixteenth century onward,

1 G.L. Greco and C.M. Rose, *The Good Wife's Guide = Le ménagier de Paris. A Medieval Household Book*, Ithaca 2009.

2 E. Lamond, *Walter of Henley's Husbandry, together with an Anonymous Husbandry, Seneschauie and Robert Grosseteste's Rules*, London 1890;



Figure 2: Halle, ULB Sachsen-Anhalt, 78 L 1506, front pastedown and flyleaf (composite image): Instructions on housekeeping



a tradition of household rules circulated under the name of *Domostroi*.³ These works were all produced in vernacular languages. Apparently only the *Rules* ascribed to Grosseteste were also translated into Latin.⁴

While it seems doubtful that someone would want to reproduce this very privately oriented document in a literary hand for further dissemination, the presence of likely copying errors (which I have indicated with suggestions for their emendation in the apparatus

D. Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley, and other treatises on estate management and accounting*, Oxford 1971.

3 C. Johnston Pouncy, *The Domostroi. Rules for Russian Households in the Time of Ivan the Terrible*, Ithaca 1994.

4 M. Burger, "The date and authorship of Robert Grosseteste's *Rules for Household and Estate Management*", *Historical Research* 74 (2001), 106–116.

of the edition below) suggests that what is preserved is not a holograph. Is it the fair copy made by a professional scribe from a draft version written by the author himself or dictated to his secretary or steward? And for which purpose was the fair copy intended? In which context was it originally inserted? I am not yet able to suggest any hypotheses to answer those questions after this preliminary study.

The instructions

The text itself is divided into clearly distinguished sections, each starting with a descriptive subject title written by the same hand in a slightly paler ink. The titles are highlighted in freely drawn boxes made from extended paraph signs (¶) preceding the first words of the titles on the left hand side. The preserved sections deal with the production of verjuice and the wine harvest (treated over several paragraphs, including advice on the most advantageous purchase options and the preparation of the barrels), on household linen, on kitchen utensils, and on the grooming of the palfrey. That last section is introduced by the word ‘Denique’, clearly indicating that this is the last topic on which the author gratifies the reader with his advice. Since the section on kitchenware is introduced by ‘Quarto’, the fragmentation of the original manuscript has kept at least one topic from the original set of instructions from our knowledge. In view of the extensive treatment of the wine harvest and preservation, it could have been another subject from the life on the land, like breeding and fattening farm animals or growing wheat or olives. Yet any other guess might be just as likely.

Thrift

While many concrete references by the author remain without the necessary context to grasp their exact meaning, his uncouth blandness in phrasing his instructions is charmingly (or irritatingly, depending on the reader’s stance) revealing of his character. The bulk of his instructions is aimed at using the available resources as economically – not to say as miserly – as possible. For that purpose, he displays a healthy dose of suspicion towards almost everyone involved in the daily administration of the household. Only the

addressee of the instructions seems to be spared these signs of mistrust as he is implicitly considered a reliable understudy for the lord of the mansion.

Nothing should go to waste: feathers from the poultry served on the master's table can be used as cushion fillings, and no-one should take more than needed from the barrel of verjuice: leftovers are synonymous with loss (*"Numquam tamen de illa in tanta extra-has quantitate quod superflue debeat superesse"*)! Money can be saved by having the wine barrels repaired when the vines are still blossoming before the workmen become too expensive (*"antequam operarii esse incipiant cariores"*), probably because other estates also require their services during harvest.

Suspicion

While these approaches are to be considered sound stewardship, some of the other measures can only be qualified as inspired by a deeply rooted suspicion against other members of the human species. The procedure to get the household's bedlinen laundered is prescribed with extreme detail and formality. When the laundress comes to fetch the sheets, all servants have to be called upon to witness the number of items entrusted to the woman (*"vocatis servantibus omnibus domus nostre dicta lintheamina sub certo numero ac testimonio ei tradas"*). And when the laundry is returned, the steward has to ensure carefully by unfolding each piece that they are completely the same as when they left the house (*"ut singula lintheamina explices et considera diligenter si illa in ea integritate tibi restituit in qua tradidisti eidem"*). For as experience had taught our author, some laundresses do not shrink from substituting sheets in a bad condition for the good ones that they received or from claiming that they lost some when they still have them in their possession. And what is worse, they even get away with the fraud and are excused for it by foolish stewards (*"a dispensatore fatuo"*)!

The author's suspicious mind made him particularly sensitive to psychology. The approach that he prescribes for his steward whenever he hires a workman for the day is preciously straightforward in its analysis of human behaviour. Put all other tasks aside, he orders, and remain near the workman so he will work more faithfully and

strenuously in your presence (“ut ipse in tua presentia fidelius et obnixius operetur”)! Yet the steward should not exchange too many words with the labourer “lest he gives the impression of wanting to understand you better and leans on his mattock or axe and so the day goes by idly” (“ne forte ut melius te intelligere videatur se apodiet supra suam asciam vel securim et sic dies effluat et transeat ociosa”).

Obviously, the text’s vocabulary mirrors the author’s concerns. Many recurring words reflect his inclination toward meticulousness, like ‘diligenter’, ‘sollicite’, ‘competenter’, and others with the same roots. In other passages their antonyms figure in negative sentences, like ‘perfunctorie’ or ‘negligenter’. Numerous phrases urge the steward not to overlook (‘obmitto’) actions and things, or to avoid that resources are wasted (‘superflue’).

An almost natural complement to the author’s frugal disposition is his tendency to draw up numerically precise accounts of the household items. Surprisingly, the author explains his thoroughness with a rational motive: if lost or broken dishes or vessels are immediately replaced, he does not have to constantly update the relevant section of his will that he had already deposited (“ita quod testamentum meum quod de illis condidi non oporteat decetero immutare”).

Charity

From these character traits, a rather unpleasant picture of our author develops. Yet the document also contains several references to various acts of charity. His provisions include thirty muids of red wine for his household and for the poor (“de triginta modiis bonis vini rubei tam pro familia quam pro pauperibus”). Those poor apparently eat in his mansion on a daily basis (“Pauperibus autem illis qui in domo nostra cottidie comedunt”). On further observation, small details raise suspicion on the real intentions lying behind the charitable causes. Obviously, only linen that has become useless in his own household is donated to clerics of a lower status. And what is the reason behind the instruction that outworn sheets destined to bury the corpses of the deceased have to be given in secret (‘secreto’) to the head-nurse of the hospital (‘magistre hospitalis’)?

How many poor people were daily fed in the master's house remains unclear, as well as the menu and who prepared the food. From the limited array of cooking gear, it seems likely that it was exclusively used to prepare the master's meals. Only the 'famulus' (servant) and the 'gartio' (*garçon*, groom) are explicitly mentioned as positions held in the house although the phrasing in the scene of the transfer of linen to the laundress, when all members of the staff ("servientibus omnibus domus nostre") should appear as witnesses, suggests that they are numerous.

Nevertheless, many tasks are entrusted to external labourers. Apart from the laundress ('lotrix'), the text mentions the mason, the cooper, and the carpenter as examples ("cementarium vel religatorem doliorum seu carpentarium"). Patching the torn sheets is entrusted to the 'cousturaria' as a typically female task.

Language and origin

That last word might give us some indication of the author's linguistic background. In general, his Latin is grammatically quite acceptable and displays a broad vocabulary. Obviously, references to contemporary institutions and objects are medieval and not necessarily tinged by the local vernacular. One particular passage demonstrates that the author of the document himself was aware of the possibility that his vocabulary might not be understandable to everyone. When he gives instructions that servants need to 'curigerari' his horse, he adds "ut dictum est", as though the verb should be considered technical idiom. I was not able to find the meaning of 'curigerari', nor its etymology. The author's choice to label the seamstress 'cousturaria' rather than 'sartrix' could be an admittedly weak suggestion that his first language was French ('couturière'). If the document originated in France, that would at least be consistent with the strong emphasis on the wine harvest and its preservation.

Conclusion

This article is but a preliminary study of what remains of a fascinating and highly personal document. The provisional transcription in the appendix below aims at constituting the incentive to further

research on the text by other, more qualified scholars. In particular, the translation in a modern language and a historical commentary would provide this wonderful source of social history to scholars of the medieval period, especially if the time and location of its production can be established. I have therefore prepared this study in the hope of contributing to such a future project.

Appendix: Transcription

This is the transcription of the three pages of the bifolium that are visible. Loss of paper makes it impossible to read some passages. Missing parts are indicated as ... Dr. Julia Knödler (Halle) checked the bifolium in the library and was able to supplement some words that remain hidden on the digital images. Her contributions are acknowledged in the footnotes. I owe her my sincere gratitude. The footnotes also contain my suggestions for readings where I suspect that the scribe misinterpreted his model. This transcription is a working document and should not be considered a definitive edition.

(Iva)

... imminere que omnia si competenter vendiderunt nullatenus formidabis.

De agresta facienda idest viridi succo

Cum autem uva adhuc immatura fuerit et acerba, tunc exprimi facias dimidium modium de agresta vindemie frumentate et in duabus caudis parvulis pro toto anno reponi. Que, ut maiorem in se viriditatem retinere valeat toto anno, de foliis vinearum propriarum et de petrosillo—et si habere poteris de acedula—cum acino uve acerbe terifacias et calcari et terendo salem cum debito moderamine immisceri dictamque agrestam diligenter custodias toto anno, ita videlicet quod, quocienscumque pro conficiendis saporibus vel alia de causa trahere volueris de eadem, semper cum baculo in ipso dolio preparato commoveas ipsam prius, quia ex commotione huius semper viridior et melior emanabit. Numquam tamen de illa in tanta extrahas quantitate quod superflue debeat superesse.

De doliis religandis et de assistendo operariis et sollicitudine circa marellas adhibenda

Cumque propagines videris crescere paulatim in gemnas et post flores uvas maturescere et vindemias propinquare, facias nostra dolia vetera pro vino recipiendo rubeo religari, antequam operarii

5 frumentate] *legendum* fermentate?

esse incipiant cariores. Et quociens cementarium vel religatorem
 doliorum seu carpentarium sive quemcumque alium operarium
 in domo nostra ad diem conduxeris, semper obmissis aliis assistas
 eidem ut ei, si opus fuerit, aliquid administres et ut ipse in tua pre-
 25 sentia fidelius et obnixius operetur. Nec ponas eum in multis verbis
 neque multa respondeas verbis eius ne forte, ut melius te intelligere
 videatur, se apodiet supra suam asciam vel securim et sic dies effluat
 et transeat ociosa. Cum autem dolia fuerint religata, ea in cellario
 in frigidiori loco reponas et recentiori in quo circuli non valeant
 30 relaxari. Attentius ...

(Ivb)

... fuerit et sincerum. Sane si marellas nostras ante vindemias vende-
 re nequiveris competenter vindemiarum tempore imminente, dolia
 nostra mittas ad locum in quo percipiuntur marelle et erumptum;
 si in villa in qua marellas percipis dolia bona fuerint, non emas alibi
 35 dolia nisi ibi, nisi forte ea alibi pro tanto minus habueris meliora
 quantum plus dare oportet pro eis, ad villam in qua marellas perci-
 pio deferendas. Tempore vero vindemiarum ad marellorum custo-
 dem accedas et ei dicas ut finitis vindemiis, cum marelle ab ipso divi-
 se fuerint fideliter et partite, tibi significet diem in quo mittere debet
 40 sortes; et tunc non obmittas misioni sortium personaliter interesse
 ut videas que pars in meam exciderit portionem; et ex tunc ipsam
 non differas ab aliis separare. Et quia marelle apud bruerias ubi
 modo percipio vendi possunt melius quam laudum, queras locum
 apud bruerias in quo eas reponas quousque competenter vendere
 45 possis eas. Si autem locum competentem invenire non possis vel eas
 vendere nequiveris, apud bruerias competenter facias eas laudeam
 advehi et in nostro cellario collocari. Sed prius apud bruerias dolia
 si opus fuerit religari facias et barrari ita ut securius advehantur.

De vino rubeo emendo et doliis in cellarium celeriter avalandis

50 Interea domui nostre de triginta modiis bonis vini rubei tam pro
 familia quam pro pauperibus sollicite studeas providere ita quod
 si extra laudum rubeum vinum acceperis, ad locum illum mittas

33 erumptum] *legendum* emuntur? 36 percipio] *legendum* precipio?

37 marellorum] *legendum* marellarum

43 percipio] *legendum* precipio?

46 laudeam] *landeam legit* Knödler

dolia vacua religata ut plena quam citius reportentur. Verumptamen
antequam in vindemiis vina rubea emas, prius delibera et cogita in te
ipso et etiam consule peritos in huiusmodi facultate utrum habiliter
videatur quod post vindemias vinum rubeum intonatum dari debeat
promitti quam in vindemiis intonatum, sicut ... dicitur accidissee. Et
super hoc facias de ...silio

(Ilra)

... serunt quod de die circa me sudores et pulicum immundiciam
sentiebam et de nocte oppressus sumpno, petere novos pannos
oblivioni tradebam. Cetera autem lintheamina que non pertinent ad
me solum singulis quindenis tantum facias lavari. Superpellicia vero
et rocheta mea quociens opus fuerit et videris expedire. Quando
autem lotrix venerit pro pannis vel lintheaminibus ad lavandum por-
tandis, vocatis servientibus omnibus domus nostre dicta lintheamina
sub certo numero ac testimonio ei tradas. Et cum ea tibi retulerit,
hanc te volo diligentiam adhibere ut singula lintheamina explices
et considera diligenter si illa in ea integritate tibi restituit in qua
tradidisti eidem. Et si aliqua mutavit vel cambiavit, non dissimules
negligenter, et si qua perdidit, instanter petas ut ea tibi restituat
indilate, sciens quod nonnullae lotrices aliquando scienter pannos
vel lintheamina pro bonis cambiant minus bona et aliquando se as-
serunt perdidisse que forsitan non perdiderunt, sperantes se veniam
a dispensatore fatuo facile impetrare. Porro, si explicando dicta lin-
theamina inveneris dissuta vel rupta aliqua ex eisdem, et ea maxime
que pertinent ad me solum, antequam crescat dissutura huiusmodi
vel ruptura, illa facias per cousturariam quam citius resarciri et cum
opus fuerit facias reversari. Verum, cum aliqua lintheamina tam de
meis quam de aliis antedictis noveris adeo vetustate attrita quod
ad usum ad quem deputata fuerant amplius non sunt apta, illis ab
aliis separatis emas nova adeo festinanter quod semper predictum
numerus integrum habeamus tam de mantilibus et manutergiis
quam de pannis et superpelliciis et rochetis, de omnibus antedictis
ita quod testamentum meum quod de illis condidi, non oporteat
decetero immutare. Omnia autem lintheamina pro sui vetustate ab
aliis separata prius michi offensa ad hospitale portabis et ea trades
secreto magistre hospitalis pro mortuis sepeliendis. Pauperibus

57 promitti] precio in margine add.

autem illis qui in domo nostra cotidie comedunt cum eos vel ex eisdem ...

(IIrb)

... mea famularia vetera et camisias erogabis. Superpellicia vero subtilia vetustate consumpta dabis pauperibus monialibus vel conversis cisterciensium ordinum pro vitris et lacrimatoriis faciendis. Grossa autem superpellicia vetera pauperibus clericis chorum intransantibus et ecclesie laudem. Vetera vero capitegia tam grossa quam subtilia michi dabis pro quaternis meis involvendis.

95 **De utensilibus coquine custodiendis et mundicia coquorum et coquine**

Quarto trado tibi clavem coquine mee, non ut tu ipse ipsam custodias per te ipsum, sed ut eam famulo meo et gartioni custodiendam committas cum hiis que sub eiusdem clavis custodia recluduntur; et quia illa, scilicet utensilia, tuam nollo sollicitudinem ignorare, tibi duxi ea singulariter exprimenda. Siquidem trado tibi: septem potos cupreos in coquina, de quibus unus maior est aliis, secundus parum minor est illo, sed os habet superius magis satum, quinque alii tales sunt quod unus parum brevior est alio descendendo. Item, trado tibi septem patellas ex quibus tres sunt reche (?) patelle et quarta longa ad anseres, quinta est perforata pro pisis et fabis colandis et omnes predictae patelle ferrate sunt. Sexta magna est sine ferro pro recipienda aqua in ablutione manuum vel pro pedibus abluendis. Septima tota est de ferro. Item trado tibi tres bacinos, unum ad barbas radendas et duos alios breviores ad fundendam aquam in manus. Et volo ut sollicites famulum meum ut per gartionem coquine predicta omnia vasa non solum munda sed etiam nitida faciat custodiri, vel tu ipse etiam fieri facias si ipsum famulum videris negligentem. Item trado tibi duos cacabos et unam caldariam magnam, duos tripedes, quinque caminellos ferreos, unum videlicet magnum pro coquina, duos alios maiores pro camino superioris aule et alios duos inferiores pro camino aule inferioris, duo paria forcipum et unum igniregium et unam cramilleiam. Item unam flatonariam de auricalco, tres cutellos...

93 ecclesie laudem] legit Knödler 116 inferiores] legendum minores?

(Ilva)

... securim pro lignis scindendis, tria mortaria cum pistellis, unum 120
 pro aliis solum faciendis, secundum pro quibuscumque saporibus
 condiendis, tertium maius videlicet pro amigdalibus tantum terendis.
 Et quia non possem certum numerum tibi dare scutellarum, habeas
 semper multas et singulis mensibus volo ut ad minus sex scutellas
 novas habeas et totidem platellos ad ponendum coram me. In in- 125
 troitu autem quadragesime volo ut omnes scutelle annis singulis
 renouentur et veteres nichilominus facias custodiri, sciens quod
 numquam aut raro perdunt scutellam vacuum servientes. Predicta
 autem utensilia ita custodiri facias diligenter quod si aliquid defuerit
 ex eisdem, statim aliud emas, quia nolo te talia per vicinos mendica- 130
 re. Et si aliquando aliquid ex eisdem commodaveris, illud requirere
 celeriter non obmitas. Ipsam quoque coquinam totam superius
 et inferius mundam facias custodiri et frequenter scopari. Et solli-
 cites servientes ut cibaria in coquina cum omni mundicia studeant
 preparare quod facere non poterunt nisi et ipsi fuerint prius mundi, 135
 et quod caveant ne consumant superflue ligna nostra, et ut faciant
 offas in pinguedine de qua debent alia confici cibaria et condiri ego
 nullatenus eis do fas, nec tu hoc fieri patiaris. Et si aliquando pul-
 i vel anseres vel alia volatilia in coquina fuerint deplumata, plumas
 non patiaris diutius in coquina ne per ipsam spargantur turpiter vel 140
 per aulam, sed omnes plumas facias quam citius inferius deportari et
 in aliquo loco ad hoc apto reponi, et ad solem aliquando desiccari ut
 quarellum aliquem ad sedendum sive cussinum vel etiam culcitram,
 si in tantum habundaverint dicte plume, fieri facias aliquando ex
 eisdem sicut reolis aliquando factum esse. 145

De custodiendo palefrido

Denique meum committo tue sollicitudini palefridum ut illum et
 servientem et gartionem...

(Ilvb)

...<per>functorie sicut quidam faciunt servientes qui a capite usque 150
 ad caudam strigilim satis segniter in uno latere protrahentes, in crop-
 pa palma percussunt palefridum dicentes ei ita ut audiat dominus
 quod se giret, sub eadem negligentia latus alterum transeuntes et

sic nec pulverem nec pilos separatos a cute excutiunt, propter quod
 155 equus emendare non potest, sed ex hoc scabiosus efficitur et crapo-
 sus. Tu autem non sic fieri patiaris nec tali custodia sis contentus sed
 utroque latere palefridi cum strigili et expulsorio diligenter tercio
 repetito. Tandem cum tercia et manu caput et dorsum cum tibiis et
 160 felluncis ante et retro diligenter facias confricari, et alia loca ad que
 strigilis non poterit pervenire. Et aliquando eundem palefridum in
 crinibus et in cauda pectinari facias et trecari ut cum postea tre-
 ce fuerint dissolute, palefridus crispantibus crinibus decoretur. Et
 quociens tempus calidum fuerit vel serenum eum extrahi facias de
 stabulo et sub divo curigerari ut dictum est et parari. Cum autem
 sic stratus fuerit palefridus, tunc ipsum si estas fuerit tela grossa
 165 et alba, si vero hiemps super telam hicia de birello facias aperiri
 et postea hora debita adaquari. Iniungens etiam servienti ut, cum
 fuerit adaquatus, lente eum reducat et quod nullo umquam tempore
 absque mea spetiali licentia currat eum, quia ex cursibus huiusmodi
 170 servientum palefridus longo tempore diurnatus vel omnino rumpi-
 tur, vel in tantum gravatur quod ei genitalia intumescunt vel adeo
 refrigeratur quod nodus sub eius gutture invenitur, ex quo quamdiu
 vixit efficietur reumaticus et moruosus vel ...as occulte leditur licet
 lesio non protinus agnoscatur et aliquando ipse equus manifeste
 se ipsum precipitat et sessorem vel quando retineri non potest
 175 hominem quem habet obvium obruit et prosternit et ideo cursum
 huiusmodi penitus interdico. Cum autem de aqua reversus fuerit
 palefridus, tunc in ventre et tibiis feno et manu eum tergi (?) facias
 et siccari et...

168 eum] *legit Knödler* 171 invenitur] *legendum invertitur?*

Research Note

Fragments Combined: A Comprehensive Dataset on Medieval Book Fragments in Stockholm and Helsinki

Seppo Eskola, University of Helsinki
seppo.eskola@helsinki.fi



Abstract: This research note presents a new dataset on more than 29,000 manuscript fragments preserved in Stockholm and Helsinki. The dataset, created by the *Books of the Medieval Parish Church* project (2021–2025), hosted by the National Library of Finland, integrates these fragments into a single, coherent corpus. The dataset further contributes to the metadata on the fragments by adding new information especially on their early modern reuse—which is central to provenance analysis—and harmonizing metadata from institutional databases. For the first time, the entire corpus can now be considered systematically and analysed statistically. The dataset is published open access via Zenodo, with a full description of its structure and contents.

Keywords: manuscript fragments, Nordic fragments, dataset

Sweden and Finland hold unusually large collections of medieval parchment fragments. These derive from the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century practice of reusing leaves from medieval books as soft covers for tax records—a custom widespread in the early modern Kingdom of Sweden (which included Finland). More than 20,000 manuscript fragments are preserved in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm and roughly 5,500 in the Finnish National Library in Helsinki; with the addition of fragments from incunabula and early printed books, the combined total exceeds 30,000. For research purposes, the fragments are best regarded as a single entity—the Stockholm-Helsinki collection.¹

¹ For an introduction to the Stockholm-Helsinki collection, see Å. Ommundsen and T. Heikkilä (eds.), *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments: The Destruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books*, Abingdon 2017, and J. Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers. Medieval Book Fragments in the Swedish National Archives*, Stockholm 2013.

This research note presents a new dataset on the Stockholm-Helsinki fragments, created by the *Books of the Medieval Parish Church* project (2021–2025), hosted by the National Library of Finland.² The dataset advances the study of the fragments in two main ways. First, it integrates the physically separate collections in Stockholm and Helsinki into a single, coherent corpus, defining its scope and structure in greater detail than before. Achieving this required, among other steps, itemising the Helsinki fragments—earlier catalogued only as reconstructed codices, not individual objects. Over a thousand fragments of early printed books, not previously included in fragment catalogues, were also similarly itemised. Second, the dataset contributes to the metadata on the fragments, adding new information especially on their early modern reuse—which is central to provenance analysis—and harmonizing metadata from institutional databases. For the first time, the entire corpus can now be considered systematically and analysed statistically. The dataset is published open access via Zenodo, with a full description of its structure and contents.³ The following sections outline its principal features.

From Books to Fragments to Data

The reuse of parchment from manuscripts was already practised in medieval Sweden but became increasingly widespread after the Reformation. Although fragments served a variety of purposes,

² The project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 948497 (BOMPAC, *Books of the Medieval Parish Church*), PI: Dr. Jaakko Tahkokallio [<https://www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/books-of-the-medieval-parish-church>].

³ S. Eskola, J. Tahkokallio, and H. Kaasik, *Stockholm-Helsinki-Frs-Combined-BOMPAC* [Dataset], Zenodo 2025 [<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1751106>]. The data was compiled as a joint effort by several scholars and research assistants between 2021 and 2025. The project's metadata is also available as more detailed but less consistent sub-datasets, see S. Eskola, H. Kaasik, and J. Tahkokallio, *Raw-Metadata-BOMPAC* [Dataset], Zenodo 2025 [<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17701360>]; and S. Eskola and S. Rämö, *Early-print-fragments-BOMPAC* [Dataset], Zenodo 2025 [<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1771176>].

those that survive today were predominantly used as covers for tax records between ca. 1540 and 1630. During this period, Crown officials produced more than 40,000 tax books, most bound in reused medieval parchment. Compiled across the realm and covered with parchment sourced from all of its provinces, the accounts were sent annually to Stockholm for audit and archiving. They remained largely intact until 1807, when a fire destroyed roughly a quarter of the material. Following Sweden's cession of Finland to Russia after the war of 1808–1809, the collection was divided in two as records concerning Finland were transferred to Helsinki. Later in the nineteenth century, some further dispersal occurred through archival reorganisations and the activities of librarians and collectors. Today, the great majority of fragments remain in the collections of the National Archives of Sweden and the National Library of Finland, although at least a thousand are held in other institutions.⁴

The Stockholm-Helsinki fragments have been studied since the mid-nineteenth century, with systematic cataloguing beginning in the 1910s and now nearing completion. Research on the collection has generated numerous studies on liturgy, music, manuscript production, and literary culture more broadly—not limited to medieval Sweden, as many fragments originate from books produced in England or elsewhere in Western Europe.⁵ The collection represents

4 Most fragments outside these collections are parts of physically reconstructed printed works, such as diocesan missals, preserved, e.g., at the National Library of Sweden. Smaller amounts are dispersed around Sweden and, e.g., the British Library. On the archival situation, see Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 34ff.

5 Studies from the past twenty years include, e.g., J. Tahkokallio, “Fragments Re-Connected. Identifications of Leaves Stemming from the Same Twelfth-Century or Early Thirteenth-Century Missals Now Divided between the Collections of the National Library of Finland and the National Archives of Sweden”, *Mirator* 23:1 (2023), 1–29; G. Björkvall, *Liturgical Sequences in Medieval Manuscript Fragments in the Swedish National Archives: Repertorial Investigation, Inventory, and Reconstruction of Sources*, Stockholm 2015; J. Brunius, *Atque Olavi: Nordiska helgon i medeltida mässböcker*, Stockholm 2008; M. Gullick, “Preliminary Observations on Romanesque Manuscript Fragments of English, Norman and Swedish Origin in the Riksarkivet (Stockholm)”, in *Medieval Book Fragments in Sweden*, ed. J. Brunius, Stockholm 2005, 31–82.

an exceptionally rich source for the study of medieval book culture, particularly since most fragments derive from liturgical books of parish churches—a type of material that survives especially poorly elsewhere in Europe.⁶ Yet its scale also presents challenges, most notably the difficulty of reconstructing dispersed codices, often divided between institutions and countries. The publication of two databases in the 2000s—*Medeltida pergamentomslag* (MPO) [<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/mpo>] for the fragments in Sweden and *Fragmenta membranea* (FM) [<https://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi>] for those in Finland—has marked a major advance. However, inconsistent metadata, incompatibility between the databases, and the lack of digital images for many fragments continue to hinder research.

The present dataset unites the Stockholm and Helsinki collections, reconstructing—as far as possible—the archival situation preceding the collection’s division in 1810–1812. It lists 29,230 fragments: 22,553 recorded in MPO and 5,434 in FM, supplemented by fourteen manuscript fragments from outside these databases and 1,229 fragments of incunabula and early sixteenth-century prints previously absent from catalogues and databases relating to the Stockholm-Helsinki collection.⁷

The structure of the combined collections is as follows. Approximately 93% of the fragments derive from manuscripts and 7% from printed books.⁸ Of the manuscript fragments, about 74% are liturgical, subdivided into missals (37%), breviaries (27%), antiphoners (14%), and graduals (9%), with the remaining 13% representing other liturgical books. The liturgical fragments distribute fairly evenly from the twelfth to the fifteenth century (twelfth: 19%, thirteenth: 25%, fourteenth: 26%, fifteenth: 28%), with only a small minority dated outside this range. The non-liturgical fragments comprise

6 See J. Tahkokallio, “Lots of Fragments from Sweden: A Representative Sampling of the Manuscript Books of One Medieval Realm?”, *Digital Philology: A Journal of Medieval Cultures* 13:1 (2025), 107–126, and Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 40.

7 Ten of the fourteen manuscript fragments outside MPO and FM are preserved at the British Library and four at the Finnish National Archives.

8 The inclusion of all unlisted early print fragments would increase their share to over 10%.

theological (51%), legal (40%), and other—mostly philosophical—texts (9%). Their dating differs sharply from that of the liturgical books, as they mostly derive from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts (32% and 44% respectively). For a more detailed breakdown of data, see the accompanying data summary.

Defining the scope of the collection accurately required several steps. For the Stockholm material, catalogued in the MPO database, these were modest and involved chiefly removing duplicate entries and excluding paper items formally listed in the catalogue but representing, for example, remnants of accounts rather than their covers. The more than two hundred Helsinki fragments included in MPO were likewise excluded to avoid overlap. For the Helsinki fragments, catalogued in FM, the process was more extensive. The official catalogues on which the database is based list fragments only as reconstructed manuscripts, not as individual parchment items. The first step, therefore, was to itemise each fragment and bring the metadata structure into line with that of the MPO. The second step targeted the uncatalogued manuscript fragments, digitised under ‘DIG’ shelfmarks in the FM database. These 318 shelfmarks, which in large part reflect preliminary codex reconstructions, were further organised into ca. 250 provisionally reconstructed codices and provided with basic metadata.

The inclusion of fragments from incunabula and early sixteenth-century prints also required archival work. Although these differ in character from manuscript fragments—and appear only in modest numbers in MPO and not at all in FM—they originate from the same administrative process of reuse. For this reason, printed fragments were incorporated into the dataset when possible, ensuring that the material evidence of parchment reuse is represented in full. In total, 1,229 such items were identified, chiefly from the collections of the National Library of Finland and other institutions holding fragments of the *Missale Aboense* (Turku Missal, 1488). Owing to the specific research aims of the project in which the data were produced, most incunabula fragments preserved in Sweden were not included.⁹

9 In addition to the National Library of Finland, fragments of the *Missale Aboense* are preserved, especially, by the Jyväskylä University Library and the

The metadata in the dataset covers, among other categories, the dating, genre, type, origin, and size of the fragments as well as information on their early modern reuse. The process of creating this metadata differed between FM and MPO. For the Helsinki fragments, the repository metadata on the medieval books (dating, genre, etc.) was concise but consistent and easily adaptable to our purposes. However, these fragments lacked almost all data on early modern reuse, the creation of which became the main task. Information on, e.g., the fiscal year and administrative district of the pertinent records was retrieved for most fragments by reading the account markings on the covers, and this information is now, for the first time, systematically available for the entire Helsinki corpus. The early modern reuse has long been recognised as the key to determining the fragments' medieval provenance, and the lack of systematic metadata has been a major obstacle to research.¹⁰ In addition to supporting provenance studies, the availability of metadata on the fragments' reuse enables them to be used in other ways, including as material evidence of post-Reformation developments and for modelling the losses caused by the 1807 fire.¹¹

As regards the Stockholm fragments, MPO offered much more detailed metadata on the medieval manuscripts as well as data fields from which metadata on early modern reuse could be created. However, this data was also relatively inconsistent and needed cleaning and refining. Particular attention was paid to managing codex sigla—created at different cataloguing stages and often overlapping—and harmonising metadata across them. This significantly increased consistency and expanded the amount of information available for

Swedish National Library, both of which hold bound copies reconstructed from cover fragments.

10 For an introduction, see S. Eskola, "The Provenance of the Swedish-Finnish Manuscript Fragment Collection: A Case Study of Early Modern Parchment Reuse", in the present issue and J. Brunius, "The Recycling of Manuscripts in Sixteenth-Century Sweden", in *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments*, 66–81.

11 The scale of these losses, along with a preliminary proposal for estimating the types of fragments lost, is discussed in S. Eskola and J. Tahkokallio, "How many fragments? The original extent, nineteenth-century losses, and present size of the Swedish-Finnish medieval book fragment collections", *Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran vuosikirja* 114 (2024), 13–48. The same writers are also preparing an article on the fragments as evidence of liturgical change in sixteenth-century Sweden.

many fragments. Further, metadata on the fragments' early modern reuse was enriched for the MPO as well.

It should be underlined that the dataset does not include all institutional metadata. It is best understood as research data: a foundation for quantitative analysis and corpus management, not a substitute for institutional metadata. At present, it recognises roughly 12,300 codices (excluding printed fragments): about 8,600 consisting of a single fragment, 1,600 of two fragments, and 2,000 of three or more.

The publication of this dataset comes at a time when research on the Stockholm-Helsinki fragments is advancing at an accelerating pace. It mitigates the challenges inherent in a collection divided between countries and institutions, though further integration at the institutional level would be highly beneficial. Looking ahead, the ongoing *CODICUM* project (ERC Synergy Grant, 2024 [<https://www.codicum.eu/home>]) combines methods from both the humanities and the natural sciences to study not only the Stockholm-Helsinki collection, but all 50,000 medieval parchment fragments in the Nordic countries. With such initiatives under way, the prospect of a genuinely comprehensive understanding of the Nordic fragment collections is now closer than ever.

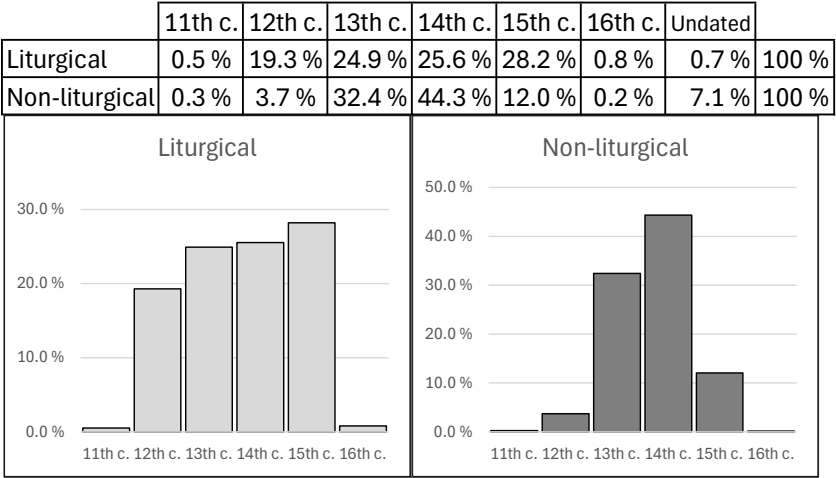
Data summary: tables and figures¹²

Share of manuscript/print fragments and liturgical/non-liturgical fragments

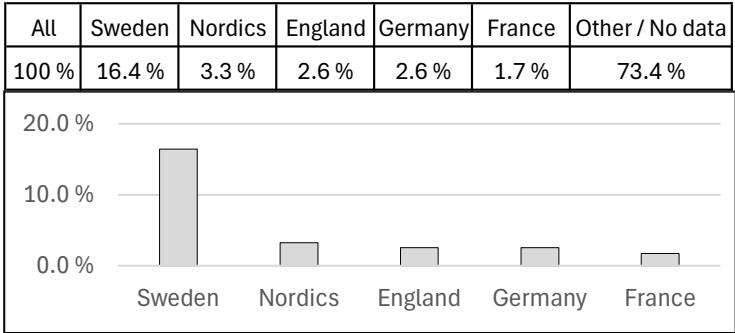
Category	Share		Liturgical	Non-liturgical	Indeterm.	
MS	93 %	Count	19,975	7,062	101	27,138
		Share	73.6 %	26.0 %	0.4 %	100 %
Print	7 %	Count	1,902	189	1	2,092
		Share	91 %	9 %	0 %	100 %
All	100 %	Count	21,877	7,251	102	29,230
		Share	74.8 %	25 %	0.3 %	100 %

¹² Concerning datings, fragments have been assigned to a century based on the midpoint of their dating range; if the midpoint falls on the turn of a century, the fragment is assigned to the earlier one. Regarding origin, 'Sweden' includes Finland, while attributions to, e.g., Denmark or Scandinavia are grouped under 'Nordics'. Dual attributions, such as 'England/France', are categorised as 'Other'.

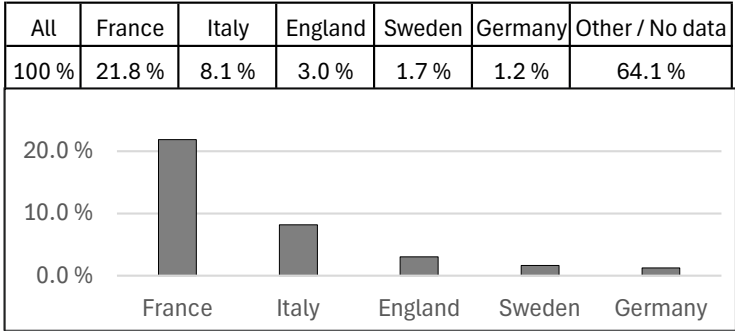
Dating of manuscript fragments



Origin of manuscript fragments: Liturgical fragments



Origin of manuscript fragments: Non-liturgical fragments



Review

Laura Albiero, Christian Meyer, *Fragments notés : Paris, Archives Nationales et Solesmes, Abbaye Saint-Pierre* (Catalogue des manuscrits notés du Moyen Age conservés en France 8), Turnhout 2023, ISBN 978-2-503-60339-1.

Recensé par **Luca Ricossa**, Haute École de Musique de Genève



L'ouvrage de Laura Albiero et Christian Meyer, qui s'inscrit dans le plus vaste projet *Tracing the past* et *Fragmenta Parisiensia*, est plus que méritoire. On arrive à peine à se représenter la masse considérable de travail qui a été nécessaire pour cataloguer le demi-millier de sources fragmentaires, en identifier le contenu, le répertorier, souvent en le mettant en relation avec d'autres répertoires tels *Cantus* ou le *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* (CAO).

Une introduction brève mais riche oriente le lecteur en lui montrant des pistes de travail à travers des exemples du plus haut intérêt, comme la réunion de fragments d'une même source éparpillés à divers endroits, ou la description de divers types de notation et des questions que peut susciter leur usage dans une région ou l'autre. Le fait qu'un fragment en notation de Novalèse se soit retrouvé à Moissac, ou des manuscrits en neumes alémaniques à Vienne, nous fait comprendre combien de choses nous ignorons encore sur les échanges culturelles dans le monde médiéval.

Ce travail est nécessaire pour que les chercheurs puissent élargir leur champ d'action, en retrouvant parfois des pièces liturgiques rares ou uniques. C'est le cas, par exemple, de l'office de Saint Antonin martyr, dont une grande partie est conservée dans le fragment PAN 26 (p. 13). À ma connaissance, cet office n'est représenté que à Tolède et au Portugal. La consultation de ces fragments pourra ainsi aider à vérifier ou mieux transcrire les versions souvent approximatives

données dans les transcriptions du répertoire Omnigreg (N° 5444 ou, pire, N° 5443).

Ou encore, deux feuillets mutilés, SO A 47 (p. 197) contenant une partie d'un office de Saint Yvon absent de tous les répertoires en ligne (le texte a été édité dans les *Analecta Hymnica*).

Ces fragments de Solesmes sont facilement consultables sur le site des Archives Départementales de la Sarthe. Les images en ligne, livrées sans index, représentent ainsi un complément nécessaire au répertoire édité par Ch. Meyer et L. Albiero. Il faudra juste un peu de patience pour les retrouver : les feuillets que nous venons de mentionner (A 47) ont la cote A 189–192 qui, sur le site des Archives Départementales, correspondent aux images 194–195.¹ De plus, la présence de ces images en ligne n'est malheureusement mentionnée que dans une note de la page XIV de l'introduction alors que ce lien aurait mérité d'être mis en relief de manière bien plus évidente. Les Archives Nationales de Paris sont moins généreuses et ne semblent pas donner un accès direct aux images (du moins je n'ai pas pu le trouver).

Les trouvailles sont parfois inattendues, comme le fragment PAN 10, le reste d'un antiphonaire néo-gallican, proche mais pas identique au parisien. L'attribution au XVII^e siècle est donc probablement à corriger. Malheureusement le classement des sources par notation (p. 351–352) ne le reporte pas. Je n'ai pas pu parcourir attentivement tout le catalogue, et je me demande si d'autres feuillets de ce type se sont glissés dans les boîtes à fragments des Archives Nationales. L'étude de ce répertoire souffre de la négligence des spécialistes, et nous n'avons toujours pas de catalogues de chants pour ces liturgies développées principalement, mais pas exclusivement, en France grosso modo entre 1670 et 1870. À ce propos, on fera attention aux pièces avec le même texte que celles du répertoire grégorien, car la mélodie peut être différente ! C'est le cas par exemple de l'antienne *Pastores loquebantur*, contenue dans ce fragment, pour laquelle on donne un renvoi au CAO 4225 mais qui dans l'antiphonaire parisien

¹ Les images des fragments de manuscrits musicaux de l'abbaye de Solesmes (cote FRADo72SOLF) sont consultables à <https://archives.sarthe.fr/ark:13339/s00585bf7ado8383/>.

(et je suppose celui-ci aussi) a une mélodie complètement différente. Ces pièces de chant mériteraient un classement à part.

Et encore, on apprend des choses, comme le fait que dans quelques antiennes pour la fête de Saint Symphorien, le mot *edue* que certains manuscrits et tous les répertoires en ligne transforment en *sedule* est en réalité un des noms latins de Autun, et doit être transcrit comme *Eduæ*. La lecture de la *vita* latine du saint aurait clarifié les choses, mais on fait confiance aux répertoires en ligne, et voilà que l'ouvrage de L. Albiero et Ch. Meyer (p. 22) vient clarifier et corriger la transcription fautive répandue partout.

Les index sont très bien faits et permettent un accès rapide aux diverses pièces, organisées par genre, et aux occasions liturgiques. On aimerait avoir aussi un classement chronologique des sources (il y en a un dans l'index des notations mais la section sur la notation carrée ne montre pas notre source néo-gallicane, et on se demande s'il y en a d'autres). Une autre chose un peu déroutante : l'Index I est intitulé « Antiennes et Répons », mais les deux genres sont séparés (ce qui est bien) sans qu'un titre autre que trois étoiles vienne les séparer. Ainsi, on trouvera les antiennes en tête d'index (p. 285) et les répons avec leurs versets (qui ne sont pas indexés séparément) à partir de la page 312.

Je signale ici une petite méprise. On chercherait en vain Saint Maurice dans l'index des « Circonstances Liturgiques ». Pourtant, le fragment PAN 245 contient bien la fête, à sa place, juste après Saint Mathieu. Mais dans l'index, *Mauritii* a été confondu avec *Maurilii* et indexé sous ce dernier (p. 358). Une faute curieuse que j'ai récemment signalée aux administrateurs de *cantusindex*, où on trouve quelques tropes dédiés à Maurice classés là aussi sous le nom de l'évêque d'Angers.

Cela dit, ce volume représente un formidable outil de recherche donnant accès à des sources qui n'auraient pas pu apporter leur contribution à la recherche.

Fragmentology 8 (2025)

Index of Shelfmarks



This index supplies the shelfmarks, classmarks, inventories, acquisition numbers, and similar identifiers of objects containing manuscript or early print material that are cited in the text.

A

Alençon

Bibliothèque municipale

144 97, 99, 100, 102–105, 107, 109–111, 113–116, 119, 123–125

B

Banyoles

Arxiu Comarcal del Pla de l'Estany, Collecció de manuscrits

1 59

Barcelona

Arxiu Capitular

Còdex 3 72

Còdex 8 72

Còdex 94 72

Còdex 183. 1 72

Còdex 183. 2 72

Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó

Fragm. 21 79

Fragm. 94 57

Fragm. 127 74, 75

Fragm. 172 62, 63

Fragm. 209 57

Fragm. 241 57

Fragm. 242 57

Fragm. 249 69

Fragm. 250 69

Fragm. 288 59, 60

Fragm. 322 59

Fragm. 402 79

Arxiu Diocesà

Carpeta 1 55

Carpeta 1, Fragm. 19 82

Carpeta 2 55

Carpeta 3 55

Arxiu Històric de Protocols

MisceHània 1/8 (olim Fragm. 16; olim 3)

66

Biblioteca de Catalunya

Ms. 193 55, 57

Ms. 193/12 78, 79

Ms. 193/4 56, 59

Ms. 2323 55

Ms. 2541 55

Ms. 2541/II 59

Ms. 3932 74, 76

Ms. 5067 55

Ms. Música 1408 55

Ms. Música 1409 55

Ms. Música 1451 55

Ms. Música 1463 55

UAB Ms. 33-35 55

UAB Ms. 34 55

UAB Ms. 35 55

Biblioteca de la Universitat

Ms. 228 67

Ms. 487 68

Ms. 491-Ms. 497 71

Ms. 498-Ms. 500 71

Ms. 501 71

Ms. 829 71

Ms. 1754 71

Ms. 1949 55

Ms. 1952 55

Berlin

Berliner Papyrussammlung

P. Berol. inv. 11910 164

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

MS Theol. Lat. qu. 140 207, 208

Boston, MA

Private Collection

LFD 1 [[F-ixor](#)] 211-215

Bruxelles

KBR

ms. 11817-40 121

C

Caldes de Montbui

Arxiu municipal

s. n. 65

Cardona

Arxiu Històric Municipal

Ms. 489 62

Città del Vaticano

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Pap. Vat. gr. II 164

Reg. lat. 339 200, 202, 203

E

El Escorial

Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo

Ms. Z. II. 2. 70

F

Frauenfeld

Kantonsbibliothek Thurgau

Frg 2 [[F-tqf8](#)] 172, 174–177, 182, 183Frg 3 [[F-zilv](#)] 172, 174–176, 182, 183X 96 [[F-xd3f](#)] 3

G

Girona

Arxiu Capítular

Ms. 4 67

Ms. 27 55

Ms. 51 71

Ms. 151 55

Ms. 151, Fragm. 5. 71

Ms. 151, Fragm. 7 68

H

Halle

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt

78 L 1506 [[F-cmyv](#)] 217–221, 227–232

Helsinki

Kansalliskirjasto¹

MS F.m.I.55	17, 20–22, 32, 33
MS F.m.I.137	21, 22, 32, 33
MS F.m.I.144	23
MS F.m.I.150	22, 32, 33
MS F.m.I.162	36
MS F.m.I.276	21, 31, 33
MS F.m.I.277	21, 31
MS F.m.I.281	21, 31, 33
MS F.m.I.283	21, 22, 32, 33
MS F.m.I.305	21, 32, 33
MS F.m.IIb.4	28
MS F.m.III.13	21, 32, 33
MS F.m.III.68	24
MS F.m.III.133	40, 43
MS F.m.III.140	23, 32, 33
MS F.m.IV.21	36
MS F.m.IV.146	41, 43
MS F.m.v.BI.1	21, 33
MS F.m.v.BI.8	41, 43
MS F.m.v.BI.22	23, 33
MS F.m.v.BI.42	41, 43
MS F.m.v.TH.AA.26	21, 32, 33
MS F.m.v.TH.AA.38	21, 31
MS F.m.v.TH.AA.40	25, 26, 39–40, 43
MS F.m.v.TH.AA.48	40, 43
MS F.m.v.TH.AA.86	33
MS F.m.v.TH.AA.87	20, 21, 37
MS F.m.v.TH.AA.128	41, 43
MS F.m.v.VAR.7	41, 43
MS F.m.vI.IUS.CAN.40	40, 43
MS F.m.vII.18	21, 22, 33
MS F.m.vII.25	28
MS F.m.vII.70	23
MS F.m.vII.99	40, 43
MS F.m.Temp.35	40, 43
MS F.m.Temp.49	36
MS F.m.Temp.60	28
MS F.m.Temp.65	21, 31
MS F.m.Temp.70	23, 33

¹ Shelfmarks for the Fragmenta membranea series (F.m.) include fragments conserved in London, British Library; Stockholm, Riksarkivet; and Uppsala, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.

MS F.m.Temp.105	23, 33
MS F.m.Temp.117	21, 33
MS F.m.Temp.191	40, 43
MS F.m.Temp.239	28

J

Jena

Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek	
El. f. 47	99

L

La Seu d'Urgell

Biblioteca Capitular

Ms. 180	55
Ms. 181	55
Ms. 182	55
Ms. 183	55
Ms. 184	55
Ms. 185	55
Ms. 186	55
Ms. 186. 4	72, 73
Ms. 1998	72
Ms. 2001	71
Ms. 2002	71
Ms. 2004	71

Lambach

Benediktinerstift

Cml XIX	209
Cml L	209

Le Mans

Archives Départementales de la Sarthe

A 193-208 (SO A 47)	242
---------------------	-----

London

British Library

P. Fay. 1 87 (Pap 825)	164
P. Oxy. 3 473 (Pap 1527)	164
(see also Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, Fragmenta membranea)	

Los Angeles

Collection of Gifford Combs

s.n.	66
------	----

Luxembourg

Archives nationales de Luxembourg

A-XXXVIII-01-0002	100, 101, 102–104, 113, 115, 116
A-XXXVIII-01-0609	100, 101, 104–106, 113, 115, 116
A-XXXVIII-01-0701	100, 101, 106–108, 113–116, 123–125
A-XXXVIII-01-1030	100, 101, 108–109, 113, 115, 116
A-XXXVIII-02-0744	100, 101, 109–113, 115, 116

M

Manchester

The University of Manchester Library

P. Ryl. 3 489 (Greek P 489)	164
-----------------------------	-----

Manresa

Arxiu de la Seu, Fragments de còdexs

s. n. 69

Montserrat

Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir

Ms. 756	55
Ms. 757	55
Ms. 761	55
Ms. 770	55
Ms. 790	55
Ms. 791	55
Ms. 792	55
Ms. 793	55
Ms. 793/v	66
Ms. 794	55
Ms. 795	55
Ms. 799	55
Ms. 804	55
Ms. 821/I	74, 77
Ms. 821/IV	59
Ms. 821/vI	75, 77
Ms. 1039	55
Ms. 1042	55
Ms. 1061	55
Ms. 1104	55
Ms. 1104/v	59
Ms. 1108	55
Ms. 1113	55
Ms. 1152	55
Ms. 1255	55
Ms. 1515	56, 59

Ms. 1520 69
 Ms. 1526 56
 München
 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
 Clm 11591 98, 99

N

New Haven, CT
 Yale University, Beinecke Library

1977 848	134
1988 834	143, 145
Gb5 557Bb	153
Gfa84 mi548B	153
Gnc60 a554b	153
Gnt1ci544	153
Gr12 M942 A1 1559	153
Hc53 41J	153
Hd21 18L	153
MS 481.51	208
MS 481.93 [E-mf51]	208–211, 214, 215
MS 482	208
Zi +1525	147
Zi +3487.3	141, 142
Zi +4153	145, 146
Zi 4158	133
Zi 5451	140, 141
ZZi 1986	148, 149
ZZi 7537	142

Yale University, Lillian Goldman Law Library
 Rare26 03-136 152
 Rare26 03-164 152

O

Oxford

Art, Archaeology and Ancient World Library
 P. Ant. 1 12 166
 P. Ant. 1 26 167
 P. Ant. 1 27 155–168
 P. Ant. 1 49 167
 P. Ant. 1 50 167
 P. Ant. 3 150 166
 P. Ant. 3 190 167

Balliol College

72	114
246	119

Bodleian Library

Canon. Misc. 573	119
------------------	-----

P

Paris

Archives nationales

AB.XIX.1722 (PAN 10)	242
AB.XIX.1723 (16) (PAN 26)	241
AB.XIX.1743 (94) (PAN 245)	243

Bibliothèque nationale de France

Français 2813	118, 119
Latin 8907	162, 163
Latin 11884	156
Latin 15895	116–118
NAL 1132	190

Poblet

Arxiu i Biblioteca del Monestir

Cod. 13	62, 63
---------	--------

R

Ripoll

Arxiu Comarcal del Ripollès, Fons Santa Maria de Ripoll

Ms. 1	62
-------	----

S

St. Gallen

Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung

VadSlg Ms. 317	202
----------------	-----

Stiftsbibliothek

Cod. Sang. 28	197
Cod. Sang. 92	91, 192
Cod. Sang. 191	200
Cod. Sang. 214	185, 186
Cod. Sang. 217	198
Cod. Sang. 299	198, 200, 201
Cod. Sang. 463	198, 199
Cod. Sang. 464	198

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| Cod. Sang. 551 | 188, 189 |
| Cod. Sang. 555 | 196, 197 |
| Cod. Sang. 577 | 192 |
| Cod. Sang. 730 | 185, 186 |
| Cod. Sang. 875 | 203 |
| Cod. Sang. 1394-1401 | 185 |
| Cod. Sang. 1394 | 186, 187 |
| Cod. Sang. 1395 | 186 |
| Cod. Sang. 1396.1-32 | 185-194, 198-206 |
| Cod. Sang. 1397 | 186 |
| Cod. Sang. 1398 | 186, 200, 204, 205 |
| Cod. Sang. 1400 | 191 |
- Sant Vicenç de Castellet
- Arxiu Històric Fàbregas
- | | |
|-------------|--------|
| Fragment 8 | 59, 61 |
| Fragment 9 | 65 |
| Fragment 10 | 56 |
| Fragment 22 | 64, 66 |
- Sarnen
- Benediktinerkollegium
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Frag I.6 [F-asxq] | 172-177, 179-181, 183 |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
- Solothurn
- Kantonsbibliothek
- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| S I 853, A.1 [F-offk] | 172, 173, 176, 177, 181, 183 |
|---|------------------------------|
- Solsona
- Arxiu Diocesà
- | | |
|------------|--------|
| Fragm. 82 | 59, 60 |
| Fragm. 106 | 59 |
- Stockholm
- Riksarkivet
- | | |
|---------------|--------|
| MS Codex-1334 | 23, 33 |
|---------------|--------|
- (See also Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, Fragmenta membranea)
- Stuttgart
- Württembergische Landesbibliothek
- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| Cod. Don. B III 13 [F-pps5u] | 172, 174-177, 183 |
| HB II 54 | 195 |
- T
- Tarragona
- Arxiu Històric Arxidiocesà
- | | |
|--------|----|
| Ms. 18 | 55 |
|--------|----|

Ms. 18/6	62, 63
Ms. 18/9	66
Ms. 19	55
Ms. 20	55
Ms. 21	55
Ms. 22	55

private collection of Joan Serra i Vilaró

s.n.	59
------	----

Tortosa

Arxiu Capitular

Ms. 332	55
Ms. 333	55
Ms. 334	55
Ms. 335	55
Ms. 336	55

U

Uppsala

Uppsala universitetsbibliotek

(see Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, *Fragmenta membranea*)

V

València

Universitat, Biblioteca Històrica

FR/1	65
FR/2	74

Vic

Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal

Fragm. I-XXIX	55, 88-95s
Fragm. XI/40	59, 61
Fragm. XIII/2	80
Fragm. XIII/7	80, 81
Fragm. XIV/64	65
Fragm. XIV/67	65
Fragm. XV/3	70
Fragm. XXII/5	62
Fragm. XXV/2	69
Fragm. XXV/14	65
Fragm. XXV/16	65
Fragm. XXV/26	65
Fragm. XXV/27	58
Fragm. XXV/28	65, 67

Ms. 79	55, 86, 95-96
Ms. 122	55, 86, 96
Ms. 123	55, 86, 96
Ms. 232-Ms. 290	86
Ms. 259	69

Vilafranca del Penedès

Arxiu Comarcal de l'Alt Penedès, Comunitat de Preveres de
Vilafranca

17: G-8-79	69
17: G-10-99	69

W

Wien

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Cod. 4319	99, 113, 114, 123-125s
-----------	------------------------