

Fragmentology

A Journal for the Study of Medieval Manuscript Fragments

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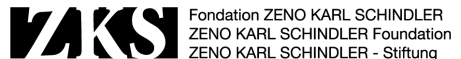
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Carolingian Bible Fragments in Dublin

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Abstract: Fragments from an early-ninth century Carolingian Old Testament are used as sewing guards in two incunabula currently held in the Special Collections Department of the James Joyce Library, University College Dublin. The host volumes are part of the four-volume 1481–1482 Nuremberg printing of Alexander of Hales’ *Summa*. The provenance of the UCD incunabula establishes that the two volumes bearing the Carolingian fragments were in the Bavarian abbey of Benediktbeuern in the fifteenth century. The fragments in these books can be associated with similar material in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich and in the Sir George Grey Collection in Auckland Central Library.

Keywords: Fragments, Carolingian Bibles, Benediktbeuern, quire guards

Fragments from a ninth-century Carolingian Bible remain in situ as sewing guards in two incunabula held in the Special Collections Department of the James Joyce Library, University College Dublin. The two host volumes are part of a four-volume set that contains the *Summa universae theologiae* of Alexander of Hales.¹ Colophons

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1 Alexander de Ales, *Summa universae theologiae*, partes I–IV, Nuremberg 1481–1482, Dublin, University College Dublin Special Collections, OFM XL 4 (I–IV). See the UCD catalogue entry at http://library.ucd.ie/iii/encore/record/C__Rb2125875.

in each of the four books attest to their printing by Anton Kobberger in Nuremberg between December 1481 and August 1482.² This makes these volumes some of the oldest members of UCD Library's collection of circa 5000 rare books that were formerly held in the libraries of Franciscan friaries in Ireland.³ The books comprising the *Summa universae theologiae*, now referred to by the shelfmark OFM XL 4 (I–IV), were transferred in 2006 to UCD from Dun Mhuire, the Franciscan House of Studies in Killiney, County Dublin. Previously, the set was part of the library of a Franciscan house in Killarney, County Kerry. This is indicated by the blind stamping “Holy Trinity Franciscan convent, Killarney” and a marginal inscription towards the end of OFM XL 4 (IV) that notes its presence in Killarney in 1899. There is no record of when the volumes arrived in County Kerry, but this can be dated to after 1860 when the friary in Killarney was founded.⁴

While the four volumes that make up OFM XL 4 (I–IV) were printed at the same time, their provenance split thereafter. This is evident most obviously in their binding. The first and fourth volumes of the set, having the shelfmarks OFM XL 4 (II) and (IV), are in fifteenth-century pigskin bindings that are decorated with blind tooling and have marks that indicate the original presence of metal clasps and ornament. Volumes two and three, OFM XL 4 (I) and (III) respectively, are in a sixteenth-century binding of wood and vellum and feature thumb indexes to allow for easier navigation of their volumes' contents.

The early history of the two pigskin-bound volumes is opaque. OFM XL 4 (IV) bears the inscription “*Mon(aste)rrii S. Zenonis*” in

2 GW 00871 (<https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW00871.htm>).

3 See I. Fennessey, “Alphabetical indexes for Irish Franciscan incunabula in Rome and Dublin”, *Collectanea Hibernica* 43 (2001), 34–49. Background information on the UCD Franciscan collection is available at <https://www.ucd.ie/specialcollections/print/franciscan/> and also E. Bhreathnach, “The Franciscan Library Killiney: the journey of a valuable historical repository from 1607 to 2007”, *Irish Archives* 14 (2007), 5–14.

4 For the history of the friary in Kerry see P. Conlan, “The Franciscan Friary, Killarney, 1860–1902”, *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society* 10 (1977), 77–110.

an early modern hand. While this could refer, for example, to the monastery of the Augustinian Canons of Saint Zeno at Reichenhall in south-eastern Germany, there are many possible candidates, such as the foundations dedicated to Saint Zeno in Verona or Pistoia, that could have provided homes for these books. Information about the provenance of OFM XL 4 (II) and (IV) may be uncovered by further research on surviving internal evidence, such as the pastedown of a printed page from Chapters 18 and 19 of the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony on the back cover of OFM XL 4 (IV) and on the vellum sewing guard in a later gothic script that directly precedes this.

The two volumes bound in the sixteenth century provide more information about their past. Both volumes include inscriptions and bookplates that identify them as former members of the library of the Abbey of Benediktbeuern, also in south-eastern Germany.⁵ The inscriptions are in the form of the commonly used attribution of “*Iste liber attinet monasterio n(ost)ro Benediktenpeyren*”.⁶ There are two types of *ex libris* in both volumes. The first type, which appears on the reverse of each volume’s opening flyleaf, comprises a black initial L on a yellow background, that is framed by a red circle set inside a green square. The other bookplate represents a shield with crossed croziers surmounted by bishop’s mitre, palm leaf, and crozier. This plate in OFM XL 4 (I) is inscribed: “*Hic liber spectat ad monasterium Benedictoburanum*”; in OFM XL 4 (III) it reads: “*Ludovicus . Perczl . Abbas in . Benedictn . Peyrn*”. The latter inscription associates the volume with Abbot Ludovico Perczl (1548–1570), who renovated the library at Benediktbeuern in the mid-sixteenth century.⁷

5 See the digitized *Ex libris* for Benediktbeuern in *Kloster-Exlibris der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, v. 1, 86–89 available at <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/details/bsb00056591>.

6 Included for example on the flyleaves of both OFM XL 4 (I) and (III) and on the page with the colophon in OFM XL 4 (I).

7 For a discussion of Perczl and of the history of the library at Benediktbeuern see J. Hemmerle, *Das Bistum Augsburg 1: Die Benediktinerabtei Benediktbeuern* (Germania Sacra N.F. 28), Berlin 1991, 64–73; “Benediktbeuern”, in *Owners of Incunabula* database (<https://data.cerl.org/owners/3828>); and S. Kellner, *Historische Kataloge der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, Wiesbaden 1996, 161–168 (https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00008931/image_195).

The secularization of the abbey in 1803 led to the dispersal of the library's holdings. Many of the monastery's books, especially manuscripts and incunabula, were transferred to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; other volumes, however, particularly duplicates, made their way into the nineteenth-century European book trade and hence to shelves in libraries such as those in the friary in Killarney.

The current catalogue entry for OFM XL 4 contains some information about the presence of fragmentary material in the volumes. While it does not mention the Carolingian sewing guards, the catalogue entry notes the presence of liturgical material under the backboard pastedown in OFM XL 4 (1) and of a fragmentary manuscript leaf (f. 331) containing 'text from Corinthians (first column) and a Prayer for souls (second column)'.

In fact, f. 331 is a fragment from a missal; the texts on f. 331r have lines from 2 Maccabees 12.43–44 and the opening words of the secret in a *Missa pro defunctis parentibus*, '*Suscipe sacrificium d(omi)ne quod tibi p(ro) animabus patris et matris*'.⁸ The leaf's verso contains text from 1 Corinthians 15.51 and the opening lines of the collect from a *Missa pro defuncto sacerdote*, '*DA NOBIS D(OMI)NE UT ANIMA FAMU-/li tui sacerdotis qua(m) de huius s(ae)c(u)li [educisti]*'.⁹ The pre-gothic script dates this fragment to the twelfth century. While the leaf cannot definitively be attributed to the scriptorium at Benediktbeuern, the place where its host volume was held, it is not implausible. The period between the middle of the eleventh and the middle of the thirteenth century was a productive one for the scriptorium, with a book list from around 1250 including some 267 entries. Indeed, catalogues of surviving manuscripts and fragments from the monastery record numerous liturgical books produced in this period.¹⁰

8 See *Usuarium. A Digital Library and Database for the Study of Latin Liturgical History in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (<https://usuarium.elte.hu/>)

9 Ibid.

10 See for example G. Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuern, Clm 4501–4663*, Wiesbaden 1994; and H. Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Fragmente der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Bd. 1*,

The Carolingian material in OFM XL 4 (I) and (III) consists in a series of sewing guards that, following a practice common in the fifteenth century, were used to reinforce the binding of the text block throughout both books.¹¹ Although used for each quire, only some of the guards are visible, mainly those supporting the quires towards the start and end of both volumes where the binding is looser. These guards are from bifolia cut into strips on the horizontal and then folded. While there is writing on the recto and verso of each side of the guard, it is often only the sides that face outward towards the book that can be read, at times partially. These sides contain at least one and sometimes parts of two lines of text from an Old Testament manuscript spread across four columns. Table 1 reconstructs what survives of the original books from these fragmentary witnesses, namely seven bifolia and an additional fragment.

Table 1: Carolingian Sewing Guard Fragments in OFM XL 4 (I) and (III)

Bifolium 1

Text from Exodus 37–38, on one leaf, and from Leviticus 9–10, on the other, preserved on one sewing guard in OFM XL 4 (III), f. 9/10.

Page	OFM XL 4 (III) loc.	col. a	col. b
Prior recto	f. 9/10	Ex 37.15	Ex 37.25
Prior verso	f. 9/10	Ex 38.10	Ex 38.20
Post. recto	f. 9/10	Lv 9.7	Lv 9.21
Post. verso	f. 9/10	Lv 10.6	Lv 10.15

Fragmenta Latina Clm 29202–29311, Wiesbaden 1994, available at https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00106368/image_7.

- 11 For sewing guards, see N. Pickwoad “The Techniques and Materials Used to Make bookbindings on Incunables” in *Materielle Aspekte in der Inkunabelforschung* (Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens 49), eds. C. Reske and W. Schmidt, Wiesbaden 2017, 189–212 and ‘sewing guards’ in the *Ligatus Language of Bindings* database (<http://w3id.org/lob/concept/3282>).

Bifolium 2

Text from Exodus 40 and Leviticus 1–2 on one leaf and from Leviticus 6–7 on the the other, preserved on two sewing guards in OFM XL 4 (III), f. 233/234, f. 240/241.

Page	OFM XL 4 (III) loc.	col. a	col. b
Prior recto	f. 233/234	Ex 40.17	Ex 40.33
	f. 240/241	Ex 40.20	Ex 40.36
Prior verso	f. 233/234	Lv 1.9	Lv 2.2
	f. 240/241	Lv 1.10	Lv 2.3
Post. recto	f. 233/234	Lv 6.15	Lv 6.28
	f. 240/241	Lv 6.17	Lv 6.30
Post. verso	f. 233/234	Lv 7.11–12	Lv 7.23
	f. 240/241	Lv 7.14	Lv 7.26

Bifolium 3

Texts from Leviticus 13–14 on one leaf and from Leviticus 17–18 on the other, preserved on four sewing guards in OFM 4 (III), f. 16/17, f. 32/33, f. 27/28, f. 67/68.

Page	OFM XL 4 (III) loc.	col. a	col. b
Prior recto	f. 16/17	Lv 13.48	Lv 14.2
	f. 32/33	Lv 13.49	Lv 14.4
	f. 67/68	Lv 13.51	Lv 14.5–6
	f. 27/28	Lv 13.55	Lv 14.8
Prior verso	f. 16/17	Lv 14.13	Lv 14.23–24
	f. 32/33	-	-
	f. 67/68	-	-
	f. 27/28	Lv 14.17	Lv 14.29
Post. recto	f. 16/17	Lv 17.3	Lv 17.12
	f. 32/33	-	-
	f. 67/68	-	-
	f. 27/28	Lv 17.7	Lv 17.15
Post. verso	f. 16/17	Lv 18.6	Lv 18.20
	f. 32/33	Lv 18.7	Lv 18.21
	f. 67/68	Lv 18.10	Lv 18.23
	f. 27/28	Lv 18.12–14	Lv 18.26

Bifolium 4

Text from Deuteronomy 12 on one leaf and Deuteronomy 15 on the other, preserved on one sewing guard in OFM XL 4 (1), f. 162/163.

Page	OFM XL 4 (1) loc.	col. a	col. b
Prior recto	f. 162/163	Dt 12.17	Dt 12.27
Prior verso	f. 162/163	-	-
Post. recto	f. 162.163	-	
Post. verso	f. 162/163	Dt 15.5	-

Bifolium 5

Texts from Micah and Nahum 1 on one leaf and from Zachariah 7–8 on the other. The bifolium is preserved on one sewing guard in OFM XL 4 (1), f. 4/5. Additional partial evidence with text from Za. 7.9–10 on a guard on f. 20/21.

Page	OFM XL 4 (1) loc.	col. a	col. b
Prior recto	f. 4/5	-	-
Prior verso	f. 4/5	Explicit Micah, incipit Nahum	Na 1.12
Post. recto	f. 4/5	Za 7.7	Za 8.2–3
Post. verso	f. 4/5	-	-

Bifolium 6

Texts from Nahum 1–2 on one leaf and from Zachariah 5–6 on the other. The bifolium is preserved on one sewing guard in OFM XL 4 (1), f. 13/14.

Page	OFM XL 4 (1) loc.	col. a	col. b
Prior recto	f. 13/14	Na 1.14	Na. 2.9–10
Prior verso	f. 13/14	-	-
Post. recto	f. 13/14	-	-
Post. verso	f. 13/14	Za 5.5	Za 6.6

Bifolium 7

Text from Nahum 3 and Habakkuk 1 on one leaf and from Zachariah 2–5 on the other, preserved on two sewing guards in OFM XL 4 (I), f. 325/326, f. 333/334.

Page	OFM XL 4 (I) loc.	col. a	col. b
Prior recto	f. 325/326	-	-
	f. 333/334	Na 3.12–13	Hb 1.3
Prior verso	f. 325/326	Hb 1.5	Hb 1.15
	f. 333/334	-	-
Post. recto	f. 325/326	Za 2.3	Za 3.1
	f. 333/334	Za 2.10	Za 3.7
Post. verso	f. 325/326	-	-
	f. 333/334	Za 4.7	Za 5.4

Additional fragment

OFM XL 4 (III) f. 5/6: Running title in orange uncial for the prophet Joel.

The fragments listed feature texts from the Pentateuch: Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy; and from the Minor Prophets: Joel, Micah, Nahum, Zachariah, and Habakkuk. As noted earlier, the amount of legible text from each bifolium varies depending on the tightness of the binding.

For example, OFM XL 4 (III) has legible text, mainly from Leviticus, on both the outside and inside of four of the sewing guards towards the opening of the volume. In contrast, the first sewing guard in OFM XL 4 (I) only has visible text on the sides of the guards that face outwards towards the book [Figures 1–3]. In this example the part of the sewing guard that faces the recto constitutes the upper part of the Carolingian bifolium. So reading from the bottom of the host volume, column a facing f. 5r [Figure 1a, 2] contains the Carolingian minuscule text ‘...usalem habitaret(ur)’ and column a facing f. 4v [Figure 1b, 3] reads ‘...enta ipsa . (et) ipsae urbes’ which come from Zacharias 7.7 ‘cum adhuc Hierusalem habitaretur, et esset opulenta ipsa et urbes in circuitu eius’. Column b is from Zacharias 8.2–3 ‘...et indignatione magna zelatus sum eam. Haec dicit Dominus exercituum: reversus sum ad Sion et habitabo in medio Hierusalem’.¹²

¹² Column b of the strip facing f. 5r reads ‘magna zelatus sum eam Haec’ and that on the recto ‘dic(it) d(omi)n(u)s exercituum Reuersus su(m)’ with the upper



Figures 1a, 1b: University College Dublin Special Collections, OFM XL 4 (1) 4/5 (Bifolium 5)



Figure 2: University College Dublin Special Collections, OFM XL 4 (1) 4/5, detail, digitally segmented. A: Za 7.7, B: Za 8.2, C: Explicit Micah, D: Na 1.12

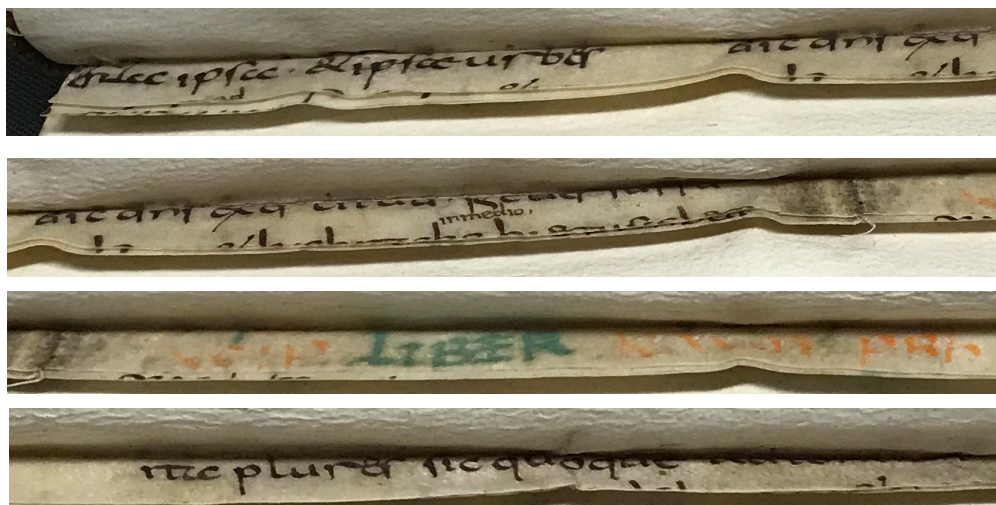


Figure 3: University College Dublin Special Collections, OFM XL 4 (1) 4/5, detail, digitally segmented. A: Za 7.7, B: Za 8.2-3, C: Incipit Naum, D: Na 1.12

In this case the ‘*in medio*’ appears as an interlinear correction contemporary with the main hand of the manuscript. Column c of this guard preserves the only visible example of the original manuscript’s use of display lettering with the inclusion of the title: ‘*EXPL(ICIT) MICHAS . PROPHE(TA)*’ on the part of the guard facing f.5r and ‘*INCIP(IT) LIBER NAUM PR(OP)H(ETA)*’ on the part facing f. 4v. These titles are written in uncial, with care taken to alternate the colours between green and orange ink. This fragment preserves the final column of the bifolium at the top of the host volume, where can be read Nahum 1.12 ‘*Haec dicit Dominus si perfecti fuerint et ita plures sic quoque adtontentur.*’¹³

Although the visible part of each sewing guard measures just ca. 8 mm × 41 mm, these small strips give a sense of the original layout of each folium in this manuscript, namely in two columns each measuring 80 mm. Including an intercolumnar space of 20 mm and margins of 30 mm at each side, the total width of the folium can be estimated at ca. 240 mm. While the height of the original volume is harder to calculate, there is a gap of around 169 words between the end of the line of one column and the start of the line in the next. With an average of 5 words per line, the manuscript is likely to have had roughly 34–35 lines per page.

Several sets of fragments survive that may derive from the same manuscript or manuscripts as are used in OFM XL 4 (I) and (III). Bischoff identified a total of five sets of Old Testament fragments from Benediktbeuern in his discussion of the scriptorium in *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*.¹⁴ One of these sets, comprising mainly of Clm 29260(6, was retrieved from the bindings of books from the nearby monastery

part of letters of the following line ‘*ad Sion et habitabo in medio Hierusalem*’ also visible.

13 ‘*Haec dicit d(omi)n(u)s si perfecti...*’ is evident on the part facing f. 5r; ‘*ita plures sic quoque a...*’ on the part facing f. 4v.

14 See B. Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, Teil 1, Wiesbaden 1974, 22–47. These are updated as entries 3345, 3357, 3358, 3361, 3369 in B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* 11, Wiesbaden 2004.

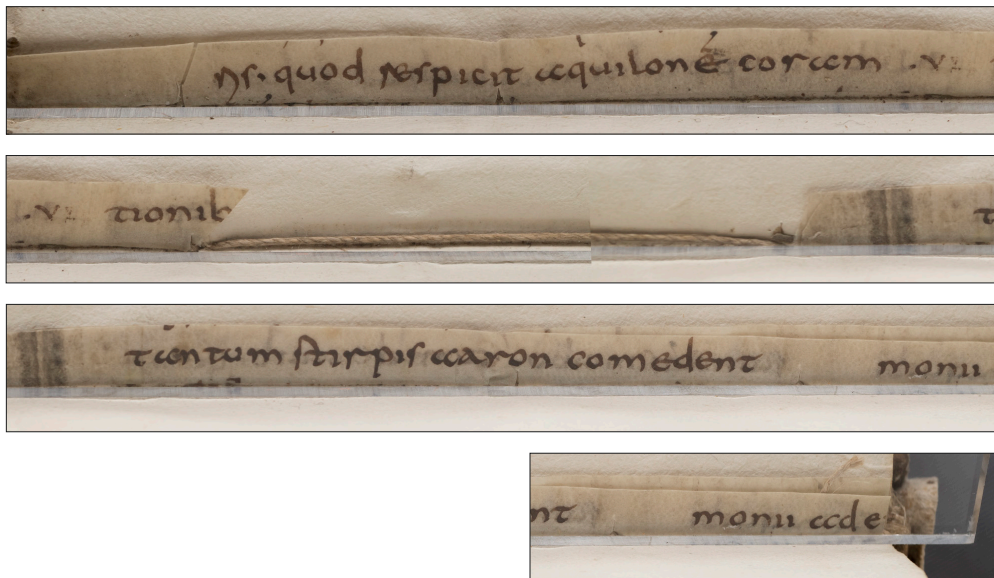


Figure 4: University College Dublin Special Collections, OFM XL 4 (III) 240/241, detail, digitally segmented. A: Lv 1.10, B: Lv 2.3, C: Lv 6.17, D: Lv 6.30

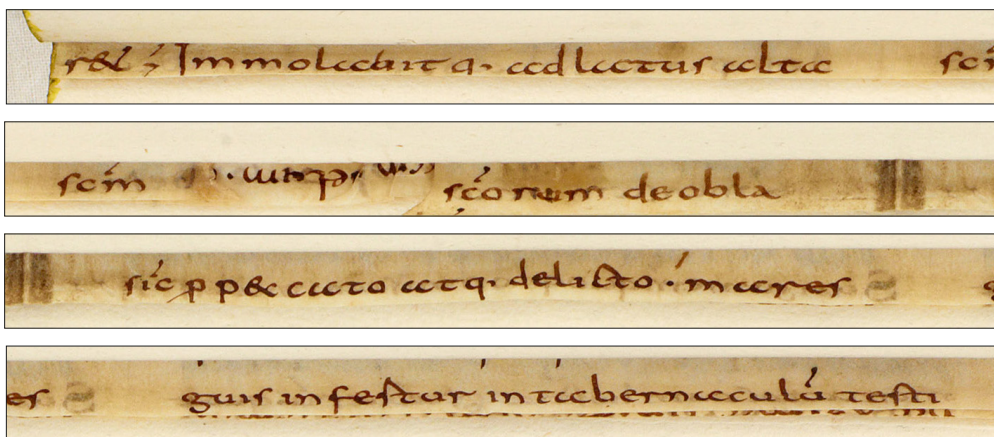


Figure 5: Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 1480 BIBL (IV), detail, digitally segmented. A: Lv 1.10–11, B: Lv 2.3, C: Lv 6.17–18, D: Lv 6.29–30

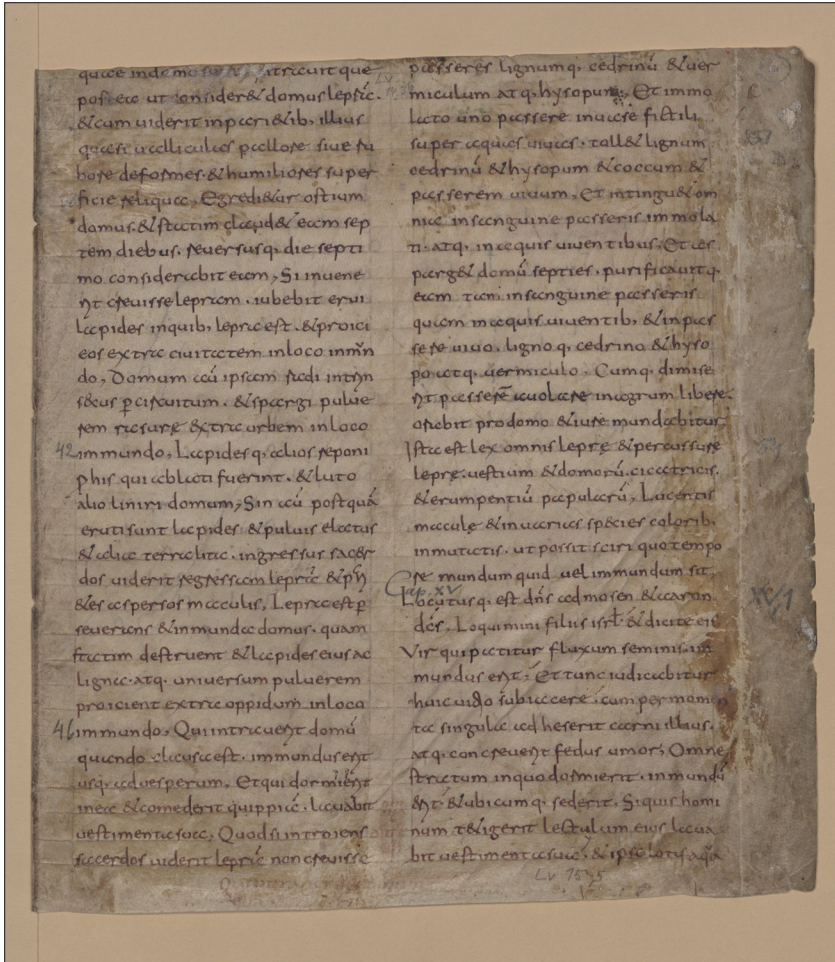


Figure 6: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29260(1: Lv 14.36–15.5 at Polling.¹⁵ These fragments, which feature texts from Samuel, III Kings, and Ezechiel, come from a full bible of a large size comparable

15 This set comprises München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 29260(6 (olim Clm 29158) + Clm 11754 (Back pastedown) + Clm 11796 (Front and back pastedown, front and back flyleaves) + Clm 11811 (Front and back pastedown) + 4° Inc. c.a. 1109 a (Front and back pastedown). Bischoff, *Katalog*, 3361; Hauke, *Katalog*, 67. Digital edition of 29260(6 available at [urn:nbn:de:hbz:12-bsb00071132-6](http://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:12-bsb00071132-6).

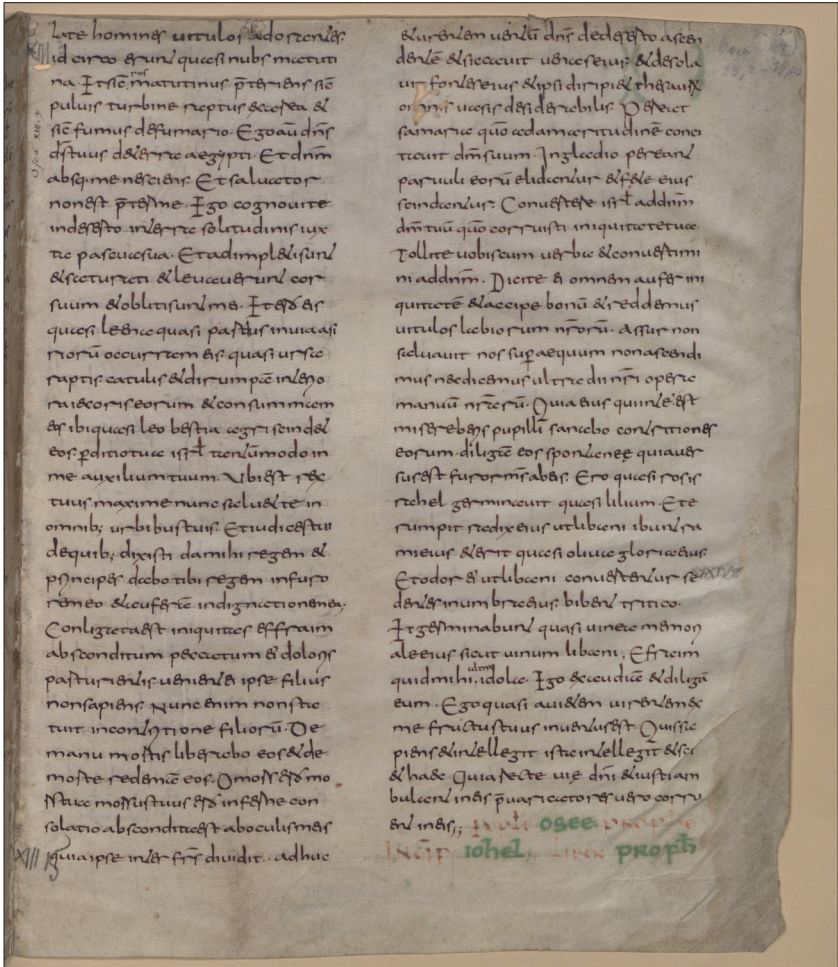


Figure 7: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29265(7: Os 13.3-14.9, explicit Osee, incipit Iohel

to those produced at this time at Tours. Yet its script and dimensions are very different from the Dublin fragments.

The four remaining sets of Old Testament fragments from Benediktbeuern in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek are thought to come from multi-volume bibles and are closer in layout and appearance to the Dublin material. Two sets of fragments, Clm 29260(1 + membra disjecta Clm 4525 and Clm 29260(2), belong to Bischoff's second

group from the scriptorium, which he dates on palaeographical grounds to the first quarter of the ninth century. Clm 29260(1 consists of 6 bifolia and 8 single leaves containing texts from Genesis, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Judges; the additional fragmentary leaf, Clm 4525, features text from Joshua 2.2/3.13.¹⁶ Clm 29260(2 comprises a single folium, two horizontal strips and four fragmentary pieces, and features texts from III Kings and II Paralipomenon.¹⁷

The second set of surviving Old Testament fragments linked to Benediktbeuern comprises Clm 27286 + membra disjecta and Clm 29265(7. This set belongs to Bischoff's fourth group of surviving material from the scriptorium. Also dated to the first quarter of the ninth century, the differences between the script of this group from that of contemporary manuscripts such as Clm 29260(1 led Bischoff to suggest that this material was produced in a foundation separate from, but closely associated with Benediktbeuern and he identified the nearby convent at Kochel as a possible candidate.¹⁸ Clm 27286 contains 46 leaves with texts from the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges.¹⁹ Related membra disjecta include sewing guards featuring text from Genesis 27/28 in Clm 4560, a single sewing guard in Clm 4524 and front and back cover pastedowns featuring text from Judges 14.13 in Clm 4620. Clm 29265(7, which comprises 7 fragmentary bifolia, one single page and one horizontal strip, preserves texts from the

16 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29260(1 (olim Clm 29156) + membra disjecta Clm 4525; Bischoff, *Katalog*, 3357; Hauke, *Katalog*, 65. Digital edition at [urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00071121-5](http://nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00071121-5).

17 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 69260(2, (olim Clm 29158); Bischoff, *Katalog*, 3358; Hauke, *Katalog*, 65. Digital images are available at [urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00071129-2](http://nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00071129-2).

18 See Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, 26–27; and G. Declerq, “The scriptorium of Benediktbeuern and the palimpsest codex Clm 6333”, in *Early Medieval Palimpsests* (Bibliologia 26), ed. G. Declerq, Turnhout 2007, 55–71, at 58–59.

19 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 27286 + Clm 4524 (Fold p. 9/10) + Clm 4560 (Folds) + Clm 4620 (Front and back pastedowns now free standing) + 2° Inc. s.a. 229 (Front and back pastedowns, folds) + 2° Inc. c.a. 273 (folds); Bischoff, *Katalog*, 3345.

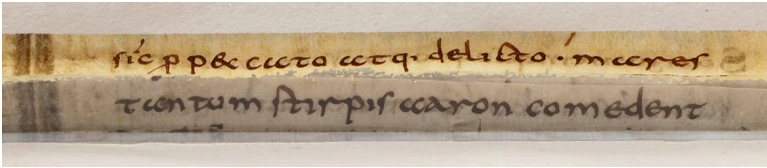
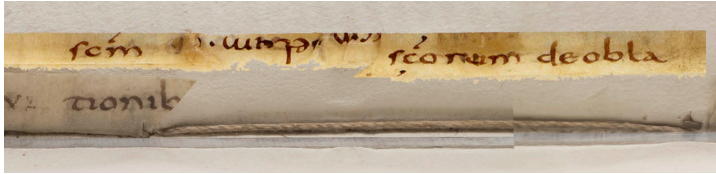
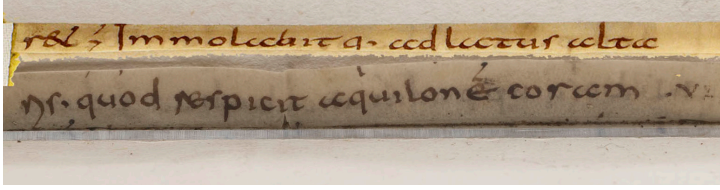
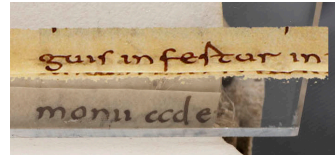


Figure 8: Auckland and Dublin fragments [Figures 4 and 5, above], segmented into four parts and overlaid



Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezechiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, and Zacharias.²⁰

Since Bischoff's work, additional fragments from an Old Testament produced in Benediktbeuern have been identified by Alexandra Barratt as in situ sewing guards in a set of incunabula with the shelfmark 1480 BIBL that are held as part of Sir George Grey Special Collections in Auckland Central Library.²¹ These volumes were purchased by mail order from London by Henry Shaw, a wealthy accountant and keen bibliophile based in New Zealand, who donated them

20 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29265(7 fragment (olim Clm 29157 a.b); Bischoff, *Katalog*, 3369; Haucke, *Katalog*, 72. Digital edition at [urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00061139-3](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00061139-3).

21 See A. Barratt, "Waste not, Want not: Manuscript Fragments in the Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland", *Parergon*, 32:2 (2015), 19–37, at 27–30.

to Auckland library in 1911.²² Despite a nineteenth-century English rebinding, the volumes in Auckland retain their fifteenth-century structure, including sewing guards which feature texts from Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Ezechiel, and Hosea. Barratt's research on this material concluded that these sewing guards were part of the same multi-volume Old Testament as is preserved in Clm 29260(1 and (2.

While the visible fragments in UCD preserve material from many of the books listed above, there is no overlap between them, except in one place, namely a text of Exodus that is preserved in both OFM XL 4 (III) and Clm 27286, one of the Kochel manuscripts. Even without this textual evidence, this manuscript is unlikely to have been the source of the guards in Dublin due to its different layout with two shorter columns (ca.30 lines) on each page.

The second Kochel manuscript, Clm 29265(7, and the fragments in Auckland and in Clm 29260(1 and (2 are laid out in a way that is more like that reconstructed for the Dublin material with two columns of 34–35 lines. While some observations are made below concerning which of these manuscripts the Dublin guards may be part of, the limited nature of the evidence makes any determination difficult. It is also worth bearing in mind the suggestion made by Rosamund McKitterick, based on a surviving list of books from the eleventh century, that Benediktbeuern and Kochel collaborated closely in the production of manuscripts, with both writing centres working together on a shared corpus of books.²³

The closest connection that can be established here, which indicates that some of the surviving fragments come not just from the same manuscript, but even from the same bifolium, is between two of the sewing guards in Dublin and two in Auckland. These come from two bifolia containing text from the end of Exodus and the beginning of Leviticus. These guards are written in the same script and share a close codicological relationship. The first bifolium (Bifolium 1) contained texts from Exodus 37–38 on the recto and verso

22 For the life of Henry Shaw, see D. Kerr, "Shaw, Henry", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 1996. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3s13/shaw-henry>.

23 R. McKitterick, "Nuns' scriptoria in England and Francia in the Eighth Century", *Francia* 19:1 (1992), 1–35.

of one of the leaves and Leviticus 8–10 on the adjoining one. So, for example, in OFM XL 4 (III), as noted above, the outside part of the guard between ff. 9v–10r contains columns with text from Ex 37.15; Ex 37.25; Lv 10.6; Lv 10.15, while in Auckland there is a guard with texts Ex 37.17; Ex 37.27–28; Lv 10.7–9; Lv 10.16–17. The second bifolium (Bifolium 2) featured text on one leaf from Exodus Chapter 40 on its recto and Leviticus Chapters 1–2 on its verso and from Leviticus Chapters 6–7 on the recto and verso of the other [Figure 4]. In this case, the sewing guards now in Auckland and Dublin were not only from the same bifolium but were originally directly adjacent to each other [Figure 8]. So, the first column in the first fragment in volume 4 in Auckland [Figure 5] is from Leviticus 1.10 *‘ret Immolabitque ad latus alta’* which is directly continued *‘ris quod respicit ad aquilonem coram Domino sanguinem vero illius fundent’* in column a of the two visible sides of the sewing guard in UCD OFM XL 4 (III) ff. 240v–241r [Figure 4]. Although column b is only partially preserved, the same pattern is evident for the other three columns of these guards; these contain text from Leviticus 2.3–4, Leviticus 6.17–18 and Leviticus 6.30, with an exact correspondence of line breaks.

The script of the Dublin and Auckland guards from the Pentateuch is like that preserved in Clm 29260(1 and (2 [Figure 6]. As Barratt noted in relation to Auckland, they are all thus members of Bischoff’s second group from the Benediktbeuern scriptorium, whose hand is characterized as a leftward leaning minuscule with some cursive and half cursive elements such as the cursive *ti* ligature.²⁴ The likelihood that these fragments all came from the same copy of the Old Testament is supported by codicological evidence.

The earliest material from the book of Leviticus in Munich is preserved on two partial bifolia in Clm 29260(1. These contain a range of texts from Leviticus 12–20. The first bifolium has text from Lv 12.8–13.9; 13.23–46 on one leaf and Lv 19.4–25 and Lv 19.28–20.13 on the other. The second bifolium features texts from Lv 14.36–15.5 and Lv 15.6–17.1 [Figure 6]. Between these is a missing bifolium containing text for the final verses Leviticus 13, most of Leviticus 14 and Leviticus 17–18. It is this bifolium that may have been used

²⁴ This δ-shaped t occurs in the word *viginti* from Ex 38.10 in column a of the inside part of strip 2 in the guard in OFM XL 4 (III) ff. 9–10.

to make sewing guards in Dublin (Bifolium 3), such as for example that between ff. 27–28 where there is visible text from Lv 13.55; Lv 14.8; Lv 14.17; Lv 14.29; Lv 17.7; Lv 17.15; Lv 18.12–14; Lv 18.26. The visible strips in Auckland demonstrate a similar relationship to the Munich material for later chapters in Leviticus. Auckland contains strips from a bifolium containing texts from Leviticus chapter 22 and Numbers chapter 3. This bifolium may have been the outermost of the original quire, containing inside it the bifolium in Munich that features text from Leviticus 23 and 24 and Numbers 1.49–3.8; the innermost bifolium was the other Leviticus bifolium that survives in Munich, containing text only from Leviticus: Lv 25.46–27.32.

The final two sewing guards in Dublin as well as the fragmentary guard with a running title only preserve text from the Minor Prophets: Joel, Micah, Nahum, Zachariah and Habakkuk. There are no fragments from these books preserved in Clm 29260(1 and (2. Texts from the prophets are preserved however in Clm 29265(7, the manuscript from Kochel which has a similar layout to the Dublin material. The possibility that this manuscript is the source for these two sewing guards in Dublin is strengthened by the preservation in the first of the Dublin guards of the uncial titles marking the transition between the books of Micah and Nahum. Similar transitions in alternating uncials of orange and green are present in Clm 29265(7 [Figure 7]. This manuscript also preserves running titles in the same script as that for the book of Joel visible in OFM XL 4 (III).

The main script of the sewing guards featuring the prophets in Dublin has a slightly different appearance to that used for the guards featuring the Pentateuch. The difference between the script is most evident for example in the form of the *g*: the top lobe is consistently left open in the Prophets fragments and is closed almost entirely in the sections from the Pentateuch. There is also a different habit in relation to abbreviation: the fragments from the Prophets use straight horizontal lines rather than short vertical strokes. In these features and in its general appearance, including the nature of the interlinear glossing, the main hand of the Dublin guards from the Minor Prophets resembles that in Clm 29265(7, the hand suggested by Bischoff as coming from Kochel, which he describes as related

but more conservative than the hand evident in some of the other manuscripts from Benediktbeuern at this time.²⁵

Although not addressed specifically by Professor Barratt in her work, the images that are available from Auckland containing text from the prophets seem to share features with the Dublin prophets-guards, pointing towards a provenance in the Kochel volume. It is likely that both the Dublin and Auckland volumes draw on material from the same two manuscripts — the first volume featuring texts from the Pentateuch which belong to Bischoff's second group, now preserved most fully in Clm 29260(1); the second volume featuring texts from the prophets which belongs to the fourth group from the scriptorium that is preserved most fully in Clm 29265(7).

The fragments point to two different quire structures. The Pentateuch fragments appear to have come from quaternions. Bifolia 1 and 2 were in the same gathering as the outermost and second-innermost bifolia; Bifolium 3 was second-innermost in the next quaternion (and the third-innermost and innermost bifolia are preserved in Clm 29260(1)); Bifolium 4 appears later on, as the innermost of its gathering. The fragments from the minor prophets are related as fifth- (Bifolium 5), fourth- (Bifolium 6), and third-innermost (Bifolium 7); the posterior leaf of Bifolium 5 (with Za 8) is about one leaf distant from the [leaf in Clm 29265\(7\)](#) that transmits Za 9.16–12.5; if the catchword on the verso is to be believed to signify the end of a gathering, this gathering of the minor prophets, at least, was composed of senions.²⁶

Although slight, the sewing guards in Dublin supplement existing evidence for the kind of books that were being both written and used in the first part of the ninth century in the monastery of Benediktbeuern and its related foundations.²⁷ These fragments' layout

25 See Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, for the discussion of this script. On the decoration in Clm 29565(7 see K. Bierbrauer, *Die Ornamentik frühkarolingische Handschriften aus Bayern*, Munich 1979, 28–37.

26 I thank William Duba for this reconstructive work.

27 For general background see D. Ganz, "Carolingian Bibles", in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. R. Marsden and E. A. Matter, Cambridge 2012, 325–337.

indicates that they come from multi-volume bibles.²⁸ They contain a relatively standard Vulgate text.²⁹ When decoration occurred, as is evident in Clm 27265(7 and the Dublin fragment, it was limited to initial letters with uncials both used for running titles and marking the transition between books. In terms of further research, there are undoubtedly many other parts of these bibles preserved as loose fragmentary material in the spines and covers of other incunabula from Benediktbeuern scattered in various repositories in Europe and abroad. The similar histories of both the Dublin and Auckland volumes in the period after the monastery's secularization points to the potential of surviving nineteenth-century auction catalogues as a source for identifying more such fragments, which shed light on the earliest days of the monastery's existence.

28 See J. Hemmerle, *Die Benediktinerabtei Benediktbeuern*, 61–67; B. Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen*, 31; H. Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Fragmente*, 65.

29 For general background, see B. Fischer, *Lateinische Biblehandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1985. He deals briefly with the fragments from Benediktbeuern on 189.